John of Damascus and Heresy

A Basis for Understanding Modern Heresy

Timothee Mushagalusa

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Christianity | The Trinity | Interpretation |
Heretics | Reformation | The Bible | Theology
Fanaticism | Dogmatism | Obstinacy
Church History | Kimbanguism | Truth | Socio
Orthodoxy | Apartheid | Heres

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated with gratitude firstly to my former Professors, Paul Gundani; the promoter of my doctoral thesis, R. O. Willems, my first academic guide to postgraduate studies, and to our Church (CBCA). Secondly, to Adolphine Mukosa, my beloved wife, for understanding and sharing in my vision. Thirdly, to our children, Ketsya Kinja, David Koko, Christian Neci, Obed Akonkwa and Christel Binja. Finally, to my parents, my father and mother-in-law.

PREFACE

(English)

It is a pleasure to me to write the preface of Mushagalusa'sbook. Indeed, I have to do a wonderful academic journey of three year with Mushagalusa as an enthusiastic and determined doctoral student. Without his wife and children in South Africa, Mushagalusa lonely spent days and nights grappled with books which enable him to write his doctoral dissertation in Church History in 2008 that he publish now into a book.

In fact, the value of this historical study consists in scrutinizing the understanding of heresy and the heretic according to John of Damascus. For this Church Father, a heretic was any Christian who, by willful choice, departs from the one orthodox tradition by adopting a personal opinion on the common faith which he intends to institute as sole truth. This book contains two parts with eight chapters. It aims to apply John of Damascus' understanding of the recurring and hydra identity of the Christian heretic and his behavior.

By using historical-theological, interdisciplinary and diachronical approaches, the author of this book demonstrates that this Church Father, who is the 'seal of the patristic era', remains a relevant authority for our modern comprehension of heresy and the heretic. Through two case studies, namely, the Dutch Reformed Churches and Apartheid, and Kimbanguism, that book specifies, on basis of willful choice and wrong exegesis and hermeneutics, that, on the one hand how a distorted Christian confession contributed to the rise of Apartheid, with its attendant sense of a theocracy, predestination, election, supremacy, divine love and justice. Kimbanguism, on the other hand, represents a heresy against

its will. It is an example of Christian leaders who abused their power to apply cultural elements that resulted in a dramatic misinterpretation of the Christian dogma of the Trinity. Finally, our study intends to apply the notions of willful choice, obstinacy and fanaticism, libertine exegesis, personal opinion and orthodox tradition or common faith, to portray a heretic by using an interdisciplinary approach: theologically as a libertine-exegete, psychologically as a dogmatic and fanatic person, and sociologically as a negative cultural reformer. Thus, our analysis is both historical and theological, and clearly and substantially elucidates the heretical mind in modern times.

Consequently, our inquiry may be summed up as follows. Firstly, heresy habitually comes from an existing text, doctrine or discipline; secondly, it concerns people who are originally Christians; thirdly, it demonstrates that a heretic may be a fervent and an educated Christian, a layman or a church leader, who, on the basis of willful choice, interprets Biblical texts freely, with his personal exegesis and hermeneutics, and ultimately incorrectly. From this exegesis and hermeneutics he deduces and sustains a new doctrine that he defends with obstinacy and fanaticism.

As argues Baumert (1996: 174), 'each age reads the Bible with its own eyes.' Apartheid and Kimbanguism after 2001 could be considered both 'colonial heterodox and religious movements' which are due to the search of novelty. Particularly, apartheid as an ideology was like a theocratic regime which does not separate religious and political matters, as was the case of Islam during the time of Muhammad and the four first caliphs. Moreover, Apartheid could be seen as 'ethical heresy.' It was based on the selective use of the Bible, as its theological justification, and by reading into the biblical text what is just not there. Indeed, their originators—Afrikaners with their 'popular hermeneutic' were 'libertine exegetes' who by obsessional disposition elaborated a kind of cultural, political and economic reform.

Moreover, from 2001, with strong interference from popular beliefs concerning the persons of Simon Kimbangu and of his three sons, there emerged a confused, unclear and distorted doctrine of Trinity. Until now, this doctrinal crisis remains unresolved. Would this be due to unconsciously incorporating a cultural idea into the original Christian Kimbanguist doctrine? That is to say that in the case of Kimbanguism, the heretical characteristic of willful choice is likewise reflected in the doctrines put forward by the leadership of Kimbanguism since 2001. This religious leadership, in our opinion, probably unwittingly, misused the notion of hierarchical power and the Bakongo cosmology to justify, on the basis of the Christian tradition and the Bible, the tenets of their Trinitarian doctrine. Indeed, this wilful choice is expressed through the free, culturally-based hermeneutics elaborated by Nzakimuena. In fact, we have already mentioned how on the basis of philosophical exegesis, Nzakimuena reinterpreted the biblical texts and substituted[1] the name of Kimbangu for the name of God in the Old Testament. In the Kikongo tradition, the name of Kimbangu means 'one who reveals hidden things.' Nzakimuena applied the same exegesis in the New Testament by substituting the title of Holy Spirit with the name of Simon Kimbangu, as the author of the conception of Jesus, as it written in Matthew 1, 18–20.

Apart from the substitutions already mentioned, the Kimbanguist leadership argues that the three sons of Simon Kimbangu are special creatures: '*Ba Nzambi ya nse*' (the gods come on earth). This conception, based on Kongo folk theology, constitutes the basis of the quest for purity which is conferred on the sons of Simon Kimbangu who are now considered as the 'trinity on earth.' It is clear that this heresy is initiated by the church leadership which purports to introduce dogmatic and ecclesiastic reform by way of cultural reform.

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[1] Gen. 41, 28; 41, 39; Jer 33, 3; Am 3, 7; Da 2, 22–23.

Historically speaking, this book is very relevant in portraying modern heresy and heretic even if the heretic remains still as a hydra. I recommend its reading and I wish a wealthy academic career and blessed ecclesiastic work.

Prof. Paul H. Gundani, Ph. D.; LL. B.
Head: Graduate Studies and Research
College of Human Sciences
University of South Africa

(Français)

C'est un plaisir pour moi d'écrire la préface du livre de Mushagalusa. En effet, j'ai eu à effectuer, avec Muahagalusa, un merveilleux voyage académique comme étudiant doctorant enthousiaste et déterminé pendant trois ans.

En l'absence de sa femme et de ses enfants en Afrique du Sud, Mushagalusa a passé des jours et des nuits seul, compulsant les livres qui lui ont permis d'écrire sa thèse de doctorat en Histoire de l'Église en 2008, qu'il publie maintenant comme livre.

La valeur de la présente étude historique se trouve dans le fait qu'elle scrute la compréhension de l'hérésie et de l'hérétique selon Jean Damascène. Pour ce Père de l'Église, un hérétique est n'importe quel chrétien qui, par choix délibéré s'écarte d'une tradition orthodoxe en adoptant une opinion personnelle de la foi commune et veut instituer son opinion comme l'unique vérité.

Ce livre contient deux parties composées de huit chapitres. Son but est de transposer la compréhension du comportement du chrétien hérétique telle qu'elle apparaît chez Jean Damascène et de saisir l'image de l'hydre qui s'y attache en éclairant son caractère de récurrence.

En utilisant des approches historico-théologiques, interdisciplinaires et diachroniques, l'auteur démontre que ce Père de l'Église, qui est le « sceau de l'ère patristique » en Orient, reste une autorité pertinente pour notre compréhension moderne de l'hérésie et de l'hérétique. À travers deux études des cas, notamment d'une part celui des Églises réformées hollandaises (en Afrique du Sud) et de l'apartheid, le livre spécifie, sur quelle base délibérée de fausses exégèse et herméneutique, une confession chrétienne réformée contribua à l'invention de l'apartheid, avec son sens déformé de la théocratie, de la prédestination, de l'élection, de la suprématie, de l'amour et de la justice divine. D'autre part, comment le kimbanguisme représente une hérésie involontaire. Il est un exemple de dirigeants chrétiens qui ont abusé de leur pouvoir pour appliquer des éléments culturels; ce qui, conduit à une dramatique interprétation du dogme chrétien de la Trinité.

Enfin, l'étude applique les notions du choix délibéré, de l'obsession et du fanatisme, de l'exégèse libertine, de l'opinion personnelle et de la tradition orthodoxe ou foi commune, pour dresser le portrait d'un hérétique. À l'aide d'une approche interdisciplinaire, du point de vue théologique, l'hérétique est décrit comme étant un exégète libertin; psychologiquement, comme un dogmatique et fanatique et sociologiquement comme un réformateur culturel négatif. Ainsi, l'analyse est-elle à la fois historique et théologique et éclaire fortement l'esprit hérétique d'aujourd'hui.

En conséquence, l'étude peut se résumer comme suit:

Premièrement, l'hérésie provient habituellement d'un texte, d'une doctrine ou d'une discipline existante;

Deuxièmement, elle concerne des gens qui, originellement sont des chrétiens;

Troisièmement, la recherche démontre qu'un hérétique peut être un chrétien, fervent, instruit, un laïque ou un membre du clergé, qui sur base d'un choix volontaire, interprète les textes bibliques librement avec

son exégèse et herméneutique propres et partant les interprète incorrectement. À partir de ses exégèses et de son herméneutique, il déduit et soutient une nouvelle doctrine qu'il défend avec intransigeance et fanatisme.

Comme Baumert (1998: 174) argumente, « chaque période lit la bible avec ses propres yeux », l'apartheid et le kimbanguisme après 2001, peuvent tous deux être considérés comme des « hérésies coloniales » et des mouvements religieux à la recherche d'innovation.

Particulièrement, l'apartheid était comme un régime théocratique ne séparant pas les affaires religieuses de celles politiques, comme c'était le cas pour l'Islam du temps de Muhammad et de quatre premiers califes. Plus encore, l'apartheid, peut être vu comme « une hérésie éthique ». L'apartheid était basé sur un usage sélectif de la bible, comme propre justification théologique, et par une projection sur les textes bibliques de vues qui n'y sont pas. En effet, ses initiateurs: les afrikaners, avec leur « herméneutique populaire », étaient des « exégètes libertins » qui, par une disposition obsessionnelle, élaborèrent une sorte de réforme culturelle, politique et économique.

En outre, depuis 2001, une doctrine de la Trinité confuse et alambiquée émergea, avec une forte influence issue de croyances populaires en rapport à la personne de Simon Kimbangu et de ses trois fils. Jusqu'à maintenant, cette crise doctrinale demeure irrésolue. Serait-elle due à une assimilation inconsciente d'éléments culturels dans la doctrine chrétienne originale kimbanguiste? Quoi qu'il en soit, dans le cas du kimbanguisme, la caractéristique hérétique de « choix délibéré » serait aussi perceptible dans la doctrine actuelle soutenue depuis 2001 par le leadership kimbanguiste. Ce leadership, détournerait, à notre sens sans doute largement inconsciemment, des notions de pouvoir et de cosmogonie kongo, pour justifier, sur base de la tradition chrétienne et de la bible, de principes de leur doctrine trinitaire.

En effet, ce choix délibéré est exprimé à travers l'herméneutique élaborée par Nzakimuena et fondée culturellement. En fait, nous avons déjà évoqué comment sur base de l'exégèse philosophique, Nzakimuena réinterprétait les textes bibliques et substituait Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament par le nom de Kimbangu[2]. En tradition kongo, le nom de Kimbangu signifie « quelqu'un qui révèle les choses cachées ». Nzakimuena appliqua la même exégèse dans le Nouveau Testament en substituant le nom du Saint Esprit par le nom de Simon Kimbangu, qui serait l'auteur d'une conception de Jésus selon Matthieu 1, 18–20.

En dehors de ces substitutions déjà mentionnées, le leadership kimbanguiste soutient que les trois fils de Simon Kimbangu sont des créatures spéciales: « Ba Nzambi ya nse » (des dieux venus sur terre). Cette conception, basée sur la théologie populaire kongo, constituerait la base d'une quête de la pureté conférée aux fils de Kimbangu, qui sont maintenant considérés comme formant la « trinité sur terre ». Il devient clair que cette hérésie serait initiée par le leadership ecclésiastique prétendant introduire une réforme dogmatique et ecclésiastique par voie culturelle.

Historiquement parlant, ce livre est pertinent par sa tentative de dresser le portrait de toute hérésie et de tout hérétique même si l'hérétique demeure comme une hydre. Je recommande la lecture de ce livre et souhaite une riche carrière académique et un travail ecclésiastique béni à son auteur.

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Traduit par Prof. Baha Muhyana Kambale, Ph. D, Leeds

Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Bukavu

Département d'Anglais

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[2] Gen. 41, 28; 41, 39; Jer 33, 3; Am 3, 7; Da 2, 22–23.

DECLARATION

'I declare that *John of Damascus and heresiology: a basis for understanding modern heresy* is my own work and all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references'

Timothée B. Mushagalusa
9th April, 2008

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the understanding of heresy and the heretic according to John of Damascus. For him, a heretic was any Christian who, by wilful choice, departs from the one orthodox tradition by adopting a personal opinion on the common faith which he intends to institute as sole truth. Our research is divided into two parts and aims to apply John of Damascus' understanding of the recurring identity of the Christian heretic and his behaviour.

By using historical-theological, interdisciplinary and diachronical approaches, our research demonstrates that this Church Father, who is the 'seal of the patristic era', remains a relevant authority for our comprehension of heresy and the heretic. Through two case studies, namely, the Dutch Reformed Churches and Apartheid, and Kimbanguism, our study specifies, on the one hand how a distorted Christian confession contributed to the rise of Apartheid, with its attendant sense of a theocracy, predestination, election, supremacy, divine love and justice. Kimbanguism, on the other hand, represents a heresy against its will. It is an example of Christian leaders who abused their power to apply cultural elements that resulted in a dramatic misinterpretation of the Christian dogma of the Trinity. Finally, our study intends to apply the notions of wilful choice, obstinacy and fanaticism, libertine exegesis, personal opinion and orthodox tradition or common faith, to portray a heretic by using an interdisciplinary approach: theologically as a libertine-exegete, psychologically as a dogmatic and fanatic person, and sociologically as a negative cultural reformer. Thus, our analysis is both historical and theological, and clearly and substantially elucidates the heretical mind in modern times.

Consequently, our inquiry may be summed up as follows. Firstly, heresy habitually comes from an existing text, doctrine or discipline; secondly, it concerns people who are originally Christians; thirdly, it demonstrates that a heretic may be a fervent and an educated Christian, a layman or a church leader, who, on the basis of wilful choice, interprets Biblical texts freely, with his personal exegesis and hermeneutics, and ultimately incorrectly. From this exegesis and hermeneutics he deduces and sustains a new doctrine that he defends with obstinacy and fanaticism.

Key Terms: John of Damascus, orthodoxy, heresy, heretic, church history, patristic era, Church Father, biographical method, interdisciplinary method, diachronical method, Kimbanguism, Apartheid.

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I am grateful to God for giving me the opportunity, through his grace, to publish into a book my Doctoral Dissertation. I give Him thanks and praise. This book would not have been feasible without the help of several individuals and institutions that have wholeheartedly supported me in the completion of this research. First of all, I wish to acknowledge and express my deepest gratitude and recognition to my Promoter, Professor Paul H Gundani, who has been especially helpful in guiding this historical research, and whose expert and brilliant guidance, enthusiastic motivation, encouragement, frank collaboration, and humanity has been invaluable to this dissertation which is not, in my opinion, a destination, but a wonderful academic journey. Thanks a lot to him for writing the preface of this book. My acknowledgement is also extended to Professor Michel Grandjean, my academic Supervisor during my twosemesters of research and study at the *Faculté autonome de théologie protestante de Genève*. I take this opportunity to thank the Department of International Relations of this University for their generous pecuniary aid. I thank all those teachers and professors and other scholars, who have formed my mind, stimulated my thoughts, and directed my study. I would like to mention in particular: Prof. Eric Junod, Prof. Frédéric Amsler, Prof. Philippe Borgeaud, Prof. Dr Valère Kambale Kandiki, Prof. Elisée Musemakweli, Prof. Kambale Baha, Prof. Murhega Mashanda, Prof. Joseph Tshimpanga, Prof. Jean Marcel Vincent, Prof. Kabutu, Prof. Masu, and Prof. Kitikila (who passed away in November 2005), Prof. Munayi, Bishop Kaboy Ruboneka. For reading and correcting my draft, I appreciate the assistance of Karen Breckon (Unisa Library), Nicole, Edmond Perret, and Ruby Morai. For biblio-

ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	: All Africa Conference of Churches
ABMS	: American Baptist Missionary Society
ABRECSA	: Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in South Africa
AD	*: Anno/Annis Domini*
BH	: Bibliothèque Historique
BHC	: Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Christianisme
BMS	: Baptist Missionary Society
BSa	: Bibliotheca Sancturum
BZ	: Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CBCA	: Communauté Baptiste au Centre de l'Afrique
Ca	: Circa
CE	: Common Era
CEPAS	: Centre d'Etudes pour l'Action Sociale
CERA	: Centre d'Etudes de Religions Africaines
CT	: Chef de Travaux
CRIDE	: Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaires pour le Développement de l'Education
CPC	: Conseil Protestant au Congo
DACL	: Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie
DEA	: Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies
DHGE	: Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique
Dial.	: Dialectica
Dir (s)	: Directeur (s)
DRC	: Dutch Reformed Church
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
DSp	: Dictionnaire de Spiritualité
DTC	: Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique

ECC	: Église du Christ au Congo
EPh	: Ekklesiastikos Pharos
Ed./Eds.	: Editor (s)
EJCSK	: Église de Jésus-Christ sur la Terre par Son Envoyé Spécial Simon Kimbangu
FCK	: Facultés Catholiques de Kinshasa
Id	*: Idem.*
LIM	: Livingstone Inland Mission
IPN	: Institut Pédagogique National
MEU	: Mission Evangélique Unie
NGK	: Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk
NHK	: Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk
POC	: Proche Orient Chrétien
PUF	: Presses Universitaires de France
OCT	: Oxford Classical Texts
QSJ	: Que-Sais-je
RDC	: République Démocratique du Congo
SACC	: South Africa Council of Churches
SC	: Sources Chrétiennes
CERA	: Centre d'Etudes des Religions Africaines
RSA	: Republic of South Africa
RTBF	: Radio Télévision Belge Française
ULPGL	: Université Libre des Pays des Grands Lacs
UN	: United Nations
UPC	: Université Protestante au Congo
UNESCO	: United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization
WARC	: World Alliance Reformed Churches
WCC	: World Council of Churches

PART ONE

Introduction: Historical Overview of the John of Damascus Era and his Understanding of Heresy

Four main chapters constitute the structure of this first part of our dissertation. The first chapter concerns the introductory elements: the Statement of the Problem of the research; the Motivation for the study; the Limitation of the work or the area where our investigation is located. It limits its aims and objectives, and defines the research methodology used, and provides an explanation of terms. Finally, an overview of our understanding of heresy, in general, is outlined, and the socio-political and historical background of John of Damascus and his thinking on heresy are described.

1

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK
OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter provides a synopsis of the framework of our research. It examines the following points. In the first place, the Statement of the Problem of the research will be expressed. Secondly, we will determine the Motivation for the study. The Limitation of the work or the area where our investigation is located will be stated. Next, the aims and objectives will be defined. The research methodology that we used to gather and the treatment of sources and data concerning our topic will be explained. Then, the explanation of terms that trace the larger context of our theme will be established. Finally, we will draw the rationale for the chapters of our dissertation.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Since the second century CE, the concepts of orthodoxy and of heresy have been intertwined. How did the Christians and mainly ancient guarantors of Christianity the Church Fathers understand the persistence of heretic during the seven or eight centuries of its existence? What could the sense of this persistence mean during our time for the Christians and Church historians who faced various heretical movements? Indeed, Safra & *al*. (1998:559), note that modern historians aim to reconstruct the record of human activities and to achieve a more profound understanding of them, and that the theologian's activities are concerned with this conception too. This is the reason why our topic

could help Christian orthodox thinkers to elaborate strategies to combat many contemporary Christian heresies and their founders, as was the case in the time of John of Damascus. Schriver (2004:863) asserts this view when he said: 'the last decade of the twentieth century witnessed an active interest in heresy and heretics on both doctrinal and moral grounds.' This is true because, as asserted by Sanders (1948:9), 'the rise of the current heresies throughout the world today, constitute one of the most remarkable features of contemporary religious history.' In the same context, according to the view of Lourdaux & Verhelst (1976: vii), heresy is a very important phenomenon not only in the development of Christianity but also in the social, political and intellectual development of every age. It is one of the reasons why modern historians study heresy. The Christian message is constantly being confronted with the development of science and philosophy; new questions arise and have to be answered, and so orthodoxy is repeatedly put to the test, as it faces new problems (see Lourdaux & Verhelst 1976: viii).

1.2 Motivation for the Study

Why do we choose this topic? Church History, as Brox argues (1994:119–120), does not only deal with success and unity, but also with the history of numerous conflicts and losses which have left a definitive stamp on the practice and theology of the Church over the long-term. These conflicts, explains Brox, included internal clashes within Christianity over discipline and true doctrine, or the right creeds. These disputes were waged as a battle between orthodoxy and heresy. Furthermore, Belloc (1968:245) named 'The Modern Attack' as the sole and serious heresy of the modern phase, but this scholar did not give the components of this heresy. The results of our inquiry are meant to identify the sorts or kinds of 'Modern heresy', and its illustrious founders and adherents. We argue that the case studies of Kimbanguism in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Apartheid in RSA, could serve

as modern examples. In fact, with regard to Brox's and Belloc's writings, we easily recall that 'heresy' is very much a matter of Church History. Our present work will describe the main understandings of the Church on heresy through the historical perspective. It is along these lines that we will undertake this investigation, with the main goal being to lay out the historical view of heretical identity as expressed in the writings of John of Damascus. We would also like to apply the 'arch-heretic'[3] to modern church history. Our choice of John of Damascus is justified for these reasons. First, his writings on Islam at the beginning of the eighth century could be considered much like the first early Christian writings[4], and the foundation of an eastern Christian apologetic (Jargy 1981:104–105). Secondly, he lived in the period ca. 630–ca. 750 CE, during which the Greek Eastern Church battled against the rise of Islam, which was considered as a heresy (Dagron 1993:118–121),[5] and he is considered as 'the first outstanding scholar to enter the field of polemic against the Moslem'[6]. Third, according to Camelot (1967:454), John of Damascus is still the 'veritable Father's seal'. Finally, as a theologian, John summarized the theological thought of the preceeding six

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[3] According to Einar Thomassen (2004: 243), Tertullian used this word to designate Marcion and Valentinus as the two first heretics who were thrown out of the Church because of their unbridled curiosity. Marcion is also named 'The arch-heretic' by Gerd Lündemann (1996: 148).

[4] To R. Le Coz (1992: 12), the novelty of the writings of John of Damascus is that they constitute the first Greek texts on Islam.

[5] See also H. Belloc (1968: 71–140), *The Great Heresies,* New York: Books for Libraries Press; WW. Biggs (1965: 75), *Introduction to the History of the Christian Church,* London: Edwards Arnold Publishers.

[6] See also the Tractate of Damascus on Islam in *Muslim World* vol. X (1950: 88). Indeed, John of Damascus' writings on Islam could serve as the model for any scholar who investigates the area of inter-religious dialogue between Christians and Muslims. The Journal *Islamochristiana*, reveals R. Le Coz (1992: 9), has as a main objective to draw up all data concerning the Christians and Muslims' religious dialogue.

centuries[7], and John of Damascus has been described as 'the greatest of the medieval systematizers'[8] who can inspire modern theologians and historians in their struggle against Christian perverted doctrines. Furthermore, we intend to investigate how, after the apostolic era, the first Christian theologians – the Church Fathers – viewed the 'heretic'. It would clearly appear that, from early on, the concepts of heresy and orthodoxy seem to have been intertwined, because, according to O'Grady (1985:4), there can be no heresy without orthodoxy. This assertion was accepted by August Franzen (1975:254f), who quoted Jerome and Augustine, when he said: 'Even the emergence of schism and heresies seem to be a part of the authentic reality of the Church (1 Co11: 9) and it would be wrong to misinterpret the moral quality of the conduct of the heretic, springing as this often did from a zealous search for the truth.' Nor can one establish a heresy 'unless he has an ardent heart and natural gifts created by the divine Artist', declared Jerome. 'Do not imagine, brethren that heresies can possibly arise from petty minds. Only great men have produced heresies', said Augustine.[9] According to Jerome and Augustine, it clearly appears that heresy originates from someone who possessed real gifts from God, and often from fervent Christians. Indeed, how did the other guardians or the guarantors of Christianity understand this interdependence between heresy and orthodoxy during their time, that is, the first seven or eight centuries? That is, did the work of John of Damascus, which criticised about one hundred and three false doctrines, serve as a reliable torch in the hand of a heuristic understanding of that antagonism between orthodoxy and heresy? Nowadays, according to Vernette (2002:7, 23), we are witnesses to the

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[7] See A. Golitzin (2000: 283). 'John of Damascus' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Theologians*, London: Greenwood Press.

[8] See WW. Biggs (1965: 75) *Introduction to the History of the Christian Church*, London: Edwards Arnold Publishers.

[9] See A. Franzen (1975: 254) Church History: Subject—Matter, in *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacramentum Mundi.* London: Burns & Oates.

failure of the great ideological systems connected with materialism and the political vacuum, and the lack of agreement on the big ethical questions. All these seem to have created within humanity some sort of vacuum. To fill this gap, humanity would seem to have limited itself to the type of spiritual quest characterised, Vernette says, by 'fundamentalism, spirituality of *pacotille* and sects of all kinds.' Faced with this state of affairs, would the Christian heretic not be the one who would want to create his own 'personal legend', like the biblical Melchisedek? Alternatively, who has a Spirit of renovation or who is filled with a spirit of error? In other words, ancient and modern heresies might be considered, suggests Jones (1993:314–332) as 'national or social movements', or, as 'ethical pathologies', according to Linda Mealey (2005:387)? Our work will deal with this in depth by drawing out the identity or personality of a heretic and, thereby, of any deviant founders of religion. At this moment, we could suppose that the Christian heretic would be a 'globalising reality, a phenomenon[10] or a hydra[11]'. It is the reason why our re-

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[10] For instance, in the psychology of religion, a heretic would be classed in the category of 'Apostasy' as an apostate. See for more information, B. Spilk, et al. (eds.) (2003: 134– 43), *The Psychology of Religion: an Empirical Approach.* New York/London: The Guilford Press; R. L. Burgess & K. Mac Donald (eds.), (2005: 1–19, 381–405), *Evolutionary Perspectives on Human Development*, 2nd Edition, London/New Delhi/Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

[11] We owe this word to Irenaeus of Lyon (Contra haeresis I, 30, 15), quoted by Le Boulluec (2000: 348), 'hydra with one thousand heads' ('*hydre à mille têtes*' in French), during his refutation against Valentinius' Gnostic doctrine as follows: 'As are the doctrines of those persons, doctrines from which is born, as an hydra of Larna, the animal with a multitude heads which is the school of Valentinius'. Our translation of this French paragraph: '*Telles sont les doctrines de ces gens, doctrines dont est née, telle une hydre de Lerne, la bête aux multiple têtes qu'est l'école de Valentin*'. In fact this expression of Irenaeus concerning Valentinus'Gnostic schools is symptomatic of the general or global vision that the heresiologists of his time had on the multitude of varied, elusive gonostic movements, which generated each other and constituted as an uninterrupted chain, always renewed.

search will attempt to explain a historical view of heretical reality, and to undertake bibliographical research for greater knowledge of John of Damascus and heresy. Clearly, our investigation could be a literary work on the biography of John of Damascus [12] and heresy in the historical perspective through which we want to elaborate our own thoughts on the guiding perspective of heresy and the heretic today. For us, the actual heretical mentality remains an ecclesiastic matter through which deviant Christians are addressed. It is the reason why modern theological historians could study this fact in depth. On the other hand, even if John of Damascus belonged to the past, his thoughts are still alive and current because, according to Jean-Yves Lacoste (2005: 702) 'the proper object of historical research is the past, but that the philosophy and theology of history generally permit themselves to consider history as a totality encompassing past, present and future.' This is to say, we can understand our present through our past. Biggs (1965: 8) states this point of view when he describes the role of Church History in these words: 'the Christian Church History is a historical phenomena; its present position, full of opportunities and problems, cannot be appreciated without some knowledge of its history.' Now let us argue on the limitation of our topic and the area where it is located.

1.3 Limitation and Area of Investigation

As asserted by M. D. Lambert (1977: xi), 'no hard and fast dates can be given for a subject of this type', for heresy is a permanent phenomenon and linked to the growth of the Church. Nevertheless, our topic has a departure from John of Damascus's epoch and jumps to our present

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[12] We chose this Father of the Church because, historically, he is considered as a seal of the Patristic era; and in this way, he was aware of all Church Fathers' thoughts. Secondly, theologically, according to Volk (2000: 338), John of Damascus' writings encompass the entire range of theology in his day.

day. Specifically, our investigation is located in Church History in the Latest Greek Patristic era[13]. Traditionally known as the 'formative period of Christian history'[14], this era is the epoch during which Christianity lacked a denominational connotation, and it was a time when the foundation of theology was placed before many heterodox or pseudo-Christian thinkers. In short, we can say that the Patristic period is still the main and most important source of inspiration for post-modern theologians, who, firstly, would understand the present of their Church through its past; secondly, who, following the example of John of Damascus, are also confronting many heretical Christian thoughts[15], movements[16], and practices[17], which destabilise the established ortho-

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[13] Theologians of Church History subdivide the Patristic epoch into two branches according to their liturgical languages: Greek or Eastern, and Latin or Western Churches. The epoch of the first branch ended in the Seventh Century with the death of Isidore of Seville (636 CE). The epoch of the second branch ended with the death of John of Damascus (ca. 749). This era could also be named 'Period of the first Christian Writers or Fathers of the Church'. These Fathers are currently considered as the first Christian Theologians, who helped during this early period of the Church, according to Caims (1981: 131), to resolve dogmatic conflicts during the councils convened by the Roman emperors. Specifically, the period where our theme is located, could be situated in the Early Middle Ages.

[14] E. Ferguson, (Ed.) (1993: ix), *Studies in Early Christianity, Vol. 4: Orthodoxy, Heresy, and Schism in the Early Christianity*, New York/London: Garland Publishing; see also Kelly (1994: vii), *Dictionnaire du christianisme ancien*, Paris: Brepols.

[15] As suggested by Lambert (1977: xi) in his study on Medieval heresies, the termini of heresies is not easily fixed. It is the reason why we will summarize the understanding or definition of heresies from the beginning of Christianity up today.

[16] As asserted by Berthold (1990: 498), John of Damascus struggled against four main heresies: Islam; Monophysiticism; Monothelism; Iconoclasm.

[17] Nowadays, some practices such as homosexuality, lesbianism, homosexuality in the priesthood, marriage between woman and woman [see Sheldon (2005: 128–9) for the case of South Africa], which to certain Christians could be con-

dox rule of Christian faith. Specifically, we shall focus in depth our attention on the period from 650 to 750.

After locating, the theme of our research, there follows the aims and objectives of our inquiry.

1.4 Aims and Objectives

Routinely, enquiries into history will focus on the starting point, the growth and the context, the causes and effects of a word, a fact, an idea, a person or an institution. Our investigation is focused on the person of John of Damascus and the word 'heresy'. It pursues two main aims and four objectives. The first main aim of this investigation is to sketch the identity of a heretic and, thereby, attempt to draw a portrait common to any deviant founder of religion. The second aim, which is linked, to the first, is to elaborate a historical understanding of heresy and heresiology[18] by showing as states Holland (1973: 430), that heresy is not a com-

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sidered as 'counter nature or unatural', are neither tolerated nor accepted by chosen Congregations and Governments.

[18] According to Lyman (2007: 296–7), heresiology has developed from the first three centuries, as a Christian literary discourse to defend and refute theological error, as a means of ensuring correct belief and exclusive identity. Like many of antiquity it was a hybrid of various local cultural and religious traditions that had been placed in dialogue by the unified Roman Empire. In fact, as a combative theological genre for asserting true Christian doctrine through hostile definition and ecclesiastical exclusion, heresiology also can be read as the political claim of an exclusive ideology made through the demonisation, exclusion and silencing of 'other'. Rather than merely a defensise declaration of establised belief or power, heresiology reveals the creative theological definition and social anxieties involved in a continual construction of ancient Christian identity. Ecclesiastical unity and doctrinal clarity were to be achieved as much as defended. The incresing classification of error therefore reflected the dynamism of the theological tradition as well as the general codification of Roman life and though during the later empire. Finally, heresiology was not 'a matter of unchanging literary traditions, but rather a dynamic means of cultural assimilation, historiography

pletely anachronistic notion, ad remains of particular concerns for those churches which are marked by a tight of confessional stance. Even if the goals of our research could be classified on three levels – descriptive, explanatory and evaluative – this work also pursues four objectives, that is to say, analytical, historical, ecumenical and political. The first objective is analytical: to make accessible literature related to the various heresies and sects available to young students and to Church leaders confronted by the threat of new contending and heterodox religious families. Along these lines, we hope to capture, in depth, the behaviour of a heretic and to synthesise the research on heresiology in and around John of Damascus' lifetime.

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and social stability' (Lyman, p. 309). However, in the totalising view of Epiphanius (ca. 315–403) states Lyman (302–303), external and internal error had been collapsed into one opposition to saving truth, i. e, heresy. Indeed, heresy was both external opposition and a lurking internal poison within the tradition in seemingly holy men. That is why Epiphanius insisted that only the orthodox faith of the church was the antidocte to the varied poison of heresy in his encyclopaedia heresiology, *Panarion* or the 'The medecine box': 'I shal be telling you the names of the sects and exposing their unlawful deeds like poisons and toxic substances, matching the antidoctes with them at the same time-cures for those who are already bitten and preventives for those who will have experience'. As Martha Nussbaum, quoted by Lyman notes, 'medical arguments are concerned with health and restoration: truth is already known, and then applied to the patient by the professional'. During the later Christian history, the role of Councils which are the meetings of bishops to discuss problems facing the Church, problems can be theological or disciplinary or both, consists in my opinion of providing this 'medical argument' to the Chistians. The name of 'Christian', 'was a name reserved for the orthodox only, and contemporary heretics were exteralised by being linked by name and succession to the traditional genealogies of error' (see Lyman, p. 302). However, Gouillard through his study on '*L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin*', quoted by Cameron (2005: 207), shows that heresy 'is limited on the whole to dogmatic, whereas even contemporaries debated whether heresy extended to ritual and behavior as well as doctrine'.

The second objective is historical: to correct the impression made by certain Christians and historians who consider that Islam is the exclusive expression of the Arabian psyche[19] by balancing this view with the figure of John of Damascus, a fervent Christian and an Arabian. Moreover, we would encourage the African Church Historians to make use of the biographical method in writing their Church History, especially for the biographies of their earliest leaders in the faith and other distinguished personalities right up to their first colonial encounters until to today. The third objective is ecumenical, by providing our religious fellows with written and accessible data on heresies in order to fix for them a blueprint to facilitate human coexistencebased on reciprocal knowledge and mutual respect for persons belonging to the various spiritual families. Indeed, during John of Damascus' life span, the city of Damascus became, according to Le Coz (1992: 9) on Ummayad's dynasty, the Headquarters of the Islamic reign, where the relationship between Christianity and Islam was quite positive. The knowledge John of Damascus possessed about Islam enabled him to resist it through a free and frank dialogue. John of Damascus battled against iconoclastic controversy (Edwards 1997: 119), and other heresies, and spent much of his time writing against 'deviant Christian doctrines', and so it is by thoroughly understanding his writings that we historians and other scholars may find applications likely to help the Christians of the third millennium to protect themselves against the erosion due to the eruption and emergence of rising heresies connected with sects and other kinds of pseudo-Christianity. In this way, Christian historical studies will be considered, states Safraet *al*. (1998: 561), as a 'defence of their religion against the pagan world or against rival Christian groups branded as heretical'. Finally, the fourth objective is political, by reminding professionals of

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[19] In his impressive and well-documented book entitled l'*Église des Arabes* (The Church of the Arabs), Cordon (1977, *passim*) confirms that Arab Christians existed from the Early Christianity until today.

religion and politics that reciprocal understanding between heretics, or
deviants, and orthodox Christians unavoidably contributes to the peace-
ful self-determination of all, because as observed by the editor of Hans
Küng's book (1986: editor's note on task cover sheet), 'there is no polit-
ical peace without religious peace'; and Küng & Moltman (1992: 7),
'without the desire of understanding each other, peace will not be estab-
lished'. Therefore, our study wishes to make specialists in international
relations sensitive to the role that religion could play in the maintenance
of peace at theregional, national and international levels. All these aims
and objectives will help us to sift the evidence of this study – heresy and
the heretic and John of Damascus – as this is the main function of the
historian (Kitson 1969: 23). As we saw, the function or duty of any
historian is generally based on either documentary or oral sources. What
might we use to gather and examine our material in order to elaborate
our own historical synthesis? The following section will outline our
proposed methodology.

1.5 Research Methods and Explanation of Terms

Research, notes Beaud (1985: 10), cannot exist without methods.
Research methodology, observes Mouton (2001: 56), 'focuses on the
research[20] process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used.' This

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[20] In the field of Church History many writings concerning methodology are
available among which we noticed, M. E. Bradely, R. A Muller (1995): *Church
History: An Introduction to Research, Reference Work, and Methods.* Grand
Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; D. Baker, ed.
(1975): *The Materials Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*, Oxford:
The Ecclesiastical History Society/Basil Blackwell; UKalu Ogbu (1988): *Afri-
can Church Historiography: an Ecumenical Perspective*, Bern. Vischer, Lukas
Bowden, H. W. (1971), *Church History in the Age of Science*, Kingsport, Ten-
nessee: Kingsport Press. The first publication is focused on the following point:
introduction to Church History and related disciplines where preliminary defini-
tion of terms, emergence of Critical Church Historiography and methods, and

models in the History of Doctrine are described; the problem of the past and the problem of objectivity in History, in historical study, historical source, the meaning and the importance of Church History, the initial stages of research and the use of bibliography, references and primary sources, tools, periods in Church History, historiography and historical methods, and the practice of research and the craft of writing are dealt with. The second book is concerning materials and methods of Church History. The third shows the actual written sources on the African Church. The last deals with history as science: Church history as a theological discipline and theory of Church as a social institution. After these, we have also the following: R. Aubert ed. Church History at a Turning Point, in *Concilium.* Vol. 7, no. 6, 1970 and V. Conzemius, The Necessity of Scientific Contemporary Church History, in: *Concilium.* Vol. 7, no 2, 1966 pp. 3–11; all these articles are concentrated on the specificity and methodology of Church History. The first volume deals with Church History. It is subdivided into three parts: Articles, Bulletin; and Documentation *Concilium.* The following articles are available: Church History and Reorientation of Scientific Study of History; Towards a Displacement of History and Positivism; Church History in the Context of Human Sciences; Church History as the Point of Religious Studies; New Frontiers in Church History; Church History as a Branch of Theology; Church History as an Indispensable Key to Interpreting the Decisions of the Magisterium. For the Bulletin there are the two following: Church History: A Survey of Major Modern Publications; Sociology and Religious History: A General View of the Literature. Documentation Concilium contains Theology at the Universities. The second volume deals with only one article: The Necessity of Scientific Contemporary Church History. In addition, an impressive and scholarly article is available for French-Speakers on the role of historians of Christianity by H. Leclercq, Historiens du Christianisme. In Cabrol, F. R & Leclercq, R. P. (eds), (1924: 2533–735), *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de la Liturgie*, Paris: Letouzey & Ané; *Concilium* no 57, 1970 (French Version). Other useful methodological information on church history could be found in the following books: F. Herchman (1913: 365–80), in: C. G Herbermann, et al. (eds.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church.* Vol. vii. New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc. H. Jedin (1967: 5–13), Ecclesiastical Historiography, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia.* Vol. vi. London/New York, San Francisco, Sydney, Toronto, McGraw-Hill Book Company; H. Butterfield (1973: 465–98), History of Historiography, in: P. Wiener (ed.), *Dictionary of the History of*

Ideas. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. R. M. Roberge (1989: 54–60), 'Principes d'élaboration d'un système documentaire en patristique', in *Studa Patristica* vol. xx. Leuven: Peeters Press; M. C. J. Bleeker (1981: 390–403), 'Histoire des religions, Histoire du christianisme, Histoire de l'Église: Réflexions méthodologiques' in M. Simon. *Le christianisme antique et son contexte religieux. Scripta Varia vol. 2,* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). B M Dale, P C Muller. (eds.) (2005) *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Ascetism, and Historiography*, Durham/London: Duke University Press; A. G. Burton, 'Methods of Work in Historical Seminaries', *American Historical Review*, 10 (1905: 521–33). I. Berlin 'History and Theory: The Concept of Scientific History', *Studies in the Philosophy of History* 1 (1960: 1–31), R N Swanson (ed.) (2002): *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History: Studies in Church History*, Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society/Boydell Press. Id. (1996) *Unity and Diversity in the Church History: The 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of The Ecclesiastical History Society.* Oxford. The Ecclesiastical/Blackwell Publishers Ltd.; R Larson & C Gustavsson (eds.) (2004). *Towards a European Perspective on religious Education: The Religious Education Research Conference. March 11–14, 2004.University of Lund,* Skellefteå: Artos & Norma Bokförlag; J Kent. (1987). *The Unacceptable Face of the Modern Church in the Eyes of the Historian*. London: SCM Press Ltd.; G. R. Treloar (1998). *Lightfoot the Historian: The Nature and the Role of History in the Life and the Thought of J. B. Lightfoot (1828–1889) as Churchman and Scholar.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; W. H. Petersen (1976): Frederick Denison Maurice as Historian. An Analysis of the Character of Maurice's Unsystematic Theology, Attempting to Disclose a Method Capable of Reconciling Secular and Ecclesiastical Historiography, A Doctoral Dissertation. California: The Faculty of the Graduate Theological Union Berkeley; F Kaufmann (1992): *Foundation of Modern History*, New York: Peter Lang; M Bauman, M I Klauber (1995). *Historians of the Christian Tradition: Their Methodology and Influence on Western Thought*. Nashville/Tennessee: Broadman & Holman Publishers; S Engler & G P Grieve eds. (2005). *Historicizing Tradition in the Study of Religion*, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter; W H C Frend (1988), *Archaeology and History in the Study of Early Christianity*, London: Variorum Reprints; R L Welken (1995): *Remembering the Christian Past*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; D Baker (ed.). (1978). *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian.* Oxford: The Ecclesiastical History Society/Basil Blackwell; J Neusner (ed.) (1990): *The Christian and*

Judaic Invention of History. Georgia: Scholars Press; R N Swanson (ed.) (1996), *Unity and Diversity in the Church,* Oxford: The Ecclesiastical History Society, Blackwell Publishers Ltd. M Welker & F Schweitzer eds. (2005): R*econsidering the Boundaries between Theological Disciplines*, Münster/New Brunswick/London: Litverlang/Transaction Publishers; L Woodhead (2005). *An Introduction to Christianity*, Cambridge University Press; E Henning, S Gravett & W Van Rensburg (2005), *Finding your Way in Academic Writing*, 2nd Edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers; W R Shenk (ed.) (2002): *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*. New York: Orbis Books; J L González (1996). *Church History: An Essential Guide,* Nashville: Abingdon Press. E Poulat. 2005: 13–31. *La question religieuse et ses turbulences au XXe siècle: Trois générations de catholiques en France*. Paris: Berg International; K Löwith 1949. *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History.* Chicago/London/Toronto: The University of Chicago/Cambridge University Press/W. J. Gage & Co; D Moulinet (2000): *Sources et methodes en histoire religieuse.* Lyon: PROFAC; Y Krumenacker, 1996. *Histoire de l'Église et théologie.* Lyon: PROFAC; H. Bost (1999) *Théologie et histoire: au croisement des discours,* Genève/Paris, Labor et Fides/Cerf; J D Durand (dir.) (1994): *Histoire et théologie.* Paris: Beauchesne; F. Hildesheimer (1996) *L'Histoire religieuse,* Paris, Publisud; YM Hilaire (ed.) (1999) *De Renan à Marrou. L'histoire du christianisme et les progres de la methode historique (*1863–1968*)*, Paris, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion; HI Marrou (1954) *De la connaissance historique.* Paris: Seuil, Id. (1968): *Théologie de l'histoire.* Paris: Seuil; Direction des Archives de France; (2001): *Les religions et leurs archives. Enjeux d'aujourd'hui.* Actes des journées d'ètudes des archivists de France tenues à Paris au Collège de France, 11–12 mars 1999, Paris, Direction des Archives de France; G. Declercq (2000) *Anno Domini: Les origins de l'ère chrétienne.* Paris, Brepols, B Pouderon, YM Duval (dir.) (2001): *L'Historiographie de l'Église des premiers siècles*, Paris: Beauchesne; M. Pacaut (1973) *Guide de l'étudiant en histoire médiévale*, Paris, PUF; Beaud, M. (1985) *L'art de la thèse. Comment préparer et rédiger une thèse de doctorat, un mémoire de D. E. A. ou de maîtrise ou de tout autre travail universitaire*. Paris: Edition La Découverte; E Hofstee, 2006. *Constructing a Good Dissertation: A Pratical Guide to Finishnig a Masters's, MBA or PhD on Schedule.* Johannesburg: EPE; J Barzun & HF Graff (2004): *The Modern Researcher, Sixth Edition*, Mexico: Thompson Wadsworth, pp. 3–14.

section deals with 'how' we will organize the work of reading, gathering, weeding out, selecting, and ordering the sources concerning our topic for the purpose of making our synthesis. Finally, the main terms used for our theme will be clarified.

1.5.1 Research Methods

Customarily, the main part of the research is geared towards finding or developing the most suitable methods, procedures and techniques. Lündmann observes (1996: 7) that scholarship lives in and by its methods, but that does not mean that it is exhausted in these methods and that of themselves they give it its value. There is no universally valid method which fits every source. Moreover, methodological reflection always follows methods which work organically.

In elaborating our synthesis of John of Damascus and the heresiology of his time, we will use the following main methods and techniques: the historical-biographical-method; the interdisciplinary and diachronical methods; the heuristic method through the review of literature[21]; documentary analysis; and reasoning by deduction and analogy will all serve us as techniques for our investigation.

1.5.1.1 Historical Method: Biographical

Indeed, our present study is, in its totality, qualitative, and we will apply the historical method, the biographical method, and diachronical method in particular.[22] In fact, many historians and sociologists have used

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[21] This review of the literature serves as the first step to being alert to existing data on our theme of John of Damascus and heresy, in the order to trace our personal comprehension of the identity of the heretic, which consists in globalizing the definition of the heretic, that is to say theologically, psychologically and sociologically.

[22] According to Poirier et al. (1983: 29), the biographical approach originated in the USA around 1920. It consists in collecting data concerning life and what a

this method in their research[23].According to Verhaegen (1979: 26), this method was used for the first time in the USA, around 1920, by the practioner of the 'Oral American History'project for the purpose of conserving the memories of successive waves of immigrants. In reality, the concept of biography was used around the eighteenth century to describe the life of very important personalities. The biographical method is useful in cases where we want, as Poirier asserts (1983: 23), 'to conserve documents or oral sources which are threatened with disappearance by listing and writing the declarations of the last witnesses.' In the light of this quotation, biographical work[24] could be written on the basis of either oral or written sources. In our case, we will use only the

person did. This method is recommended for those who study Human Sciences (see Erny [1979: 37–56]).

[23] For instance: D. Bertraux (1976). *Histoire de la vie ou récits des pratiques.* Paris; J. Poirier (1983). *Les récits de vie: théorie et pratique.* Paris: P. U. F.; B. Verhaegen (1979: 1–62). 'Introduction à la méthode qualitative: les autobiographies', in *C. R. I. D. E,* Série II, no 2. P. Erny (1972: 37–56): La méthode biographique dans les sciences de l'homme, in *Revue Zaïroise de Psychologie et de Pédagogie,* vol. I, no 1. L. Morrin (1973): *La méthodologie de l'histoire de vie: sa spécificité son analyse.* Québec: Université de Laval. D. Madelenat (1985: 640–41): Biographie, in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis, Corpus 3*, Paris: Encyclopaedia Universalis. D. Westermann (1930): *Les autobiographies des Africains.* Paris: Payot. G. H. Schriver (1987): *Philip Schaff. Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet: Centennial Biography for the American Society of Church History.* Georgia: Mercer University Press. Munslow, A. (2006): Biography and History: Criticism, Theory and Practice, in: Macfie, AL. *The Philosophy of History: Talks Given at the Institute of Historical Research, London, 2000–2006.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 226–236. Specifically, to B Verhaegen (1979: 26), the biographical method could also, be named the 'autobiographical method' when the author writes his own biography.

[24] A biographical work becomes an autobiography when the author writes the story of life. See another useful source on autobiographical theory during the Christian Antiquity: M Starowieyski (2006): 'Les éléments autobiographiques dans la littérature chrétienne ancienne' in: E Young, M Edwards & P Parvis eds. *Studia Patristica* vol. xl. Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters, pp. 289–307.

written sources on John of Damascus.[25] In practice, the historical or biographical method will be applied in chapters three and four concerning, respectively, the socio-political environment in which John of Damascus lived: his life, his writings, and doctrine, will be described.

1.5.1.2 Interdisciplinary Method

In addition, it is a reality that theological study does not exclude the possibility of knowledge from such sister sciences (Kritzinger [2002: 8]; Kirsch [1913: 371]) as Psychology, History, Sociology, and Philologyetc., so, secondly, we will use the 'interdisciplinary method.' This approach[26] is derived from Anthropology, Sociology and History. It is

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[25] But for those who decide to apply the biographical method in the area where oral tradition is prevalent, for example, with African personalities, could use oral sources. In this case, the researcher must follow these steps: identification of witnesses who lived with the person who is being studied, or choose witnesses according to certain valid criteria (age, profession, level of instruction…); collect their declarations by interview, preferably using a recorder to reproduce these declarations; finally, to organize the biographical synthesis chronologically and by themes. Moreover, according to Cornevin (1966: 16–17), from the first Conference of African History held at London in 1953, the Oral tradition became one of the sources of the history of the people without writing tradition. In the purpose of performing this method, the historian of Cental Africa, J Vansina wrote his very interesting book 'De *la tradition orale: essai de de methode historique.* Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961.

[26] The Interdisciplinary method today, is recommended by certain Congolese Historians, among them Kambayi Bwatshia who said that the past is the product of our collective memory; therefore, it is the business of all people or any researcher, (see Kambayi Bwatshia 1986). Réécrire l'histoire du Zaïre et à quel prix in *Problème de méthodes en philosophie & sciences humaines en Afrique; Actes de la 7ᵉ Semaine philosophique de Kinshasa, du 24–30 avril,* p. 207, Kinshasa: F. C. K. Traduction: Kambayi Bwatshia (1986: 207). *To Rewrite the History of Zaïre: The Why and at What Price in Problems of Methods in Philosophy and Human Sciences in Africa: Acts of 7ᵗʰ Philosophical Week of Kinshasa, 24–30 April.* Kinshasa: F. C. K. Moreover, Williams Frend, in the introductory part of his book focused on 'Archeology and History in the Study of Early

used also in Biblical exegesis, where it is known as the 'Socio-rhetorical method.'[27] Indeed, nowadays, it is recognised that events and facts exist

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Christianity', recommends the Interdisciplinary approach as a way of interpreting the Church's role and historical study. He says it as follows: 'It is no longer realistic to interpret the Church's role in the Greco-Roman world in terms only of Patristic and the history of doctrines: the approach has to be interdisciplinary, crossing subject divisions long established in British universities, and needing the close co-operation of historians and archaeologists with classicists and theologians' (see WH Frend 1988: ix). Finally, we are wondering if it could not be the Interdisciplinary method which was used by the Senegalese intellectual and historian, Cheikh Anta Diop, born in 1923, and died in 1986 (F. X. Fauvelle 1996: 5), who is considered as the 'father of Egyptology'. In fact, in the elaborating of his famous and very controversial theory on African history and cultures in his scholarly study upon the 'Anteriority of Negro Civilization', he demonstrates by using mathematics, physics, biology, chemistry, and linguistic in history that the cradle of civilization is Ancient Egypt with its 'preponderant black impact' (see Magha Keita 2002: 174) where Greek Philosophers came to study (see for more information: Cheikh Anta Diop 1967. *Antériorité des civilisations nègres: mythes ou vérité historique?* Paris: Présence Africaine, passim, id. (1955) *Nations nègres et culture. De l'antiquité nègre égyptienne aux problèmes culturels de l'Afrique noire d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Présence Africaine, *passim*)]. Finally, Bverhaegen, recommendsthis method as an element for the analysis of certain African syncretic religious movements (see B Verhaegen 'Elements pour une analyse des movements syncretiques religieux africains', in CERA, 1979/23–24, 259–265).

[27] For more useful information about using the Interdisciplinary method in Biblical Exegesis which could be named 'Socio-rhetorical method', see Craffert, P. F. (2003: 243–66). Crossan's historical Jesus as healer, exorcist and miracle worker in *Religion & Theology: A Journal of Contemporary Religious Discourse,* Vol. 10/3&4, Leiden/Boston: Bill. The author of this article demonstrates that an Interdisciplinary Approach also forces the researcher to rethink historiography as an interpretative and cross-cultural enterprise. The sensibilities for this cultural context and the nature of interpretative historiography create the insight needed to understand a historical figure; G J Pillay (2002: 75–93). The Challenge of Teaching Church History from a Global Perspective. In W R Shenk (ed.) (2002) *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History.* New

within a particular cultural system and that that system represents different realities. Consequently, such interdisciplinary research forces any researcher to rethink, globally[28], about the context of the event, fact or theory that he is investigating. W. Dilthey quoted by Adolf Darlap & Jörg Splett (1969: 35), described historicism and the historian, in the following way: '… Criticism of Historical Reason, in order to understand 'life' by the virtue of life itself, in a 'psychology' which aims at grasping the historical developments and inter-connections of life as the mode in which man really is.' From the above quotation, 'psychology' becomes a new element in the comprehension of historical reality. Practically speaking, the interdisciplinary method[29] will be applied in chapter two, which relates to heresy-heresiology and chapter seven, which concerns the identification of modern heretic. As asserted by Lourdaux, Verhelst (1976: vii) in the preface of the book concerning the concept of heresy in the Middle Ages:

> 'It is possible to draw valuable conclusions with regard to the concept of heresy on the basis of an analysis of certain social, cultural or political situations closely related to heretical move-

York: Orbis Books; L. Sanneh (2002: 94–114). World Christianity and the New Historiography: History and Global Interconnections. W R Shenk (ed.) (2002) *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*. New York: Orbis Books. B. Verhaegen (1979: 260), recommends the use of 'Interdisciplinary methodology' in the analysis of African religious syncretical movements.

[28] H. Küng, quoted by C. E. Spinosa (1988: 385), believes that, in accomplishing the task of announcing the Gospel in our contemporary time, today's theologian will have to think in a global perspective if he is to do justice to an epoch of growing international, interconfessional, and interreligious dependency, and of an awaking global consciousness in matters of Church and ecumenism. In our opinion, we think that sole the 'Interdisciplinary method, could enable the theologian-historian to do so successfully.

[29] In his study on Heresy- heretic, Merlo (1997: 725) reveals that in a historical perspective concerning this matter, it is important to overpass theological vision.

ments or trends, just as it is possible to discover an individual's implicit ideological background in his concrete behaviour'.

This method has already been effectively used by two international French scientific journals, namely *Social Compass* and *Concilium*.[30] These volumes are focused respectively on integrism, fundamentalism and fanaticism in the Abrahamic religions, and in Christianity in particular. Finally, Lambert (1977: xiv), in his investigation of medieval heresies seems to use this method without naming it clearly when he confirms that he believes that the first necessity for the historian of heresy is to examine the religious climate of orthodoxy in order to understand deviation from it.

1.5.1.3 Diachronical Method

This method consists, according to Perry (2006: 196), of a 'mapping out' of the major socio-historical factors which created, sustained and energized any movement, ideology or theory in its synthetic trajectory. This method which has also a theological feature, will be applied in the fifth and sixth chapters. It will help us to scrutinize the background of South Africa of which apartheid took birth, bed and failed. We will also pore over the pre-kimbanguist social milieu, the life and times of the personage of Simon Kimbangu in Low DRCongo, its teachings, its constitution as a Christian Church, and its actual doctrinal crisis since 2001, concerning the Trinity.

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[30] More details upon this matter are given in: Ladrière, P. (1985) Intégrisme religieux. Essai comparative, In: *Social Compass* 32/4 passim. This review is edited by the Catholic University of Louvain-Belgique. Küng, H. & Moltman, J. (1992). Le fondamentalisme dans les religions du monde. In *Concilium* 241 passim. This journal is edited in Paris by Bauchesne edition. In these revues, historians, psychologists, sociologists and theologians deal with the religious extremism and the personality of religious extremists.

1.5.1.4 Techniques

Concerning the techniques of research, which will be conformed to those used by literary studies, are the following: literature review, documentary analysis, reasoning by deduction and by analogy. At this moment, it is important to specify that, both methods (biographical, interdisciplinary, and diachronical, drawn from the historical field) begin with the heuristic approach which is followed by the analysis of materials or data[31] with the appropriated terminology. The analysis, say Klingstrin & Vessey (1999: vii), of terms and concepts is a means of structuring historical inquiry. After this, we begin the interpretation[32] of sources

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[31] Professor Munayi Muntu Monji who, since he obtained his Doctorate in History in 1974, taught History at '*IPN'* and *Church* History at the Faculty of Theology of the *Protestant* University of Congo DRC, recommends that any researcher in politico-religious movements in the Colonial era, in the Congo in particular, and in Africa in general, follows three steps in their study: Conceptual approach, Heuristic approach, and Interpretative approach. The first approach consists in semantic comprehension of used concepts. In the second approach, the researcher gathers all written and oral sources concerning his topic. The last consists in deep psychological study of the founder of the religious movement and in the economical, social, political era or period in which any founder of a religious movement lived. [Munayi Muntu Monji (1986: 85–91), La méthode de recherche en histoire des mouvements politico-religieux du Zaïre à l'époque coloniale. In *Problème de méthodes en philosophie & sciences humaines en Afrique; Actes de la 7ᵉ Semaine philosophique de Kinshasa, du 24–30 avril,* p. 207, Kinshasa: F. C. K. Translation: [Munayi Muntu Monji (1986: 85–91). The Methodology in History and Politico-Religious Movements during the Zairian Colonial Epoch. In *Problems of Methods in Philosophy and Human Sciences in Africa: Acts of 7ᵗʰ Philosophical Week of Kinshasa, 24–30 April*. Kinshasa: F. C. K. To my knowledge, and in my opinion, Munay's approach is the first elaborated which is specifically convenient for African historians and sociologists of socio-politico-religious movements or contemporary founders of sects.

[32] The most important task of the historian is 'interpreting of the facts and weighing up the evidence.' See J. Briggs (1977: 29). The Historian and his Evidence, In: Dowley, T., Briggs, HYJ. et al*.* (eds*.): Eerdman's Handbook to the History of Christianity*, Michigan: W. M. B. Eerdmans Publishers.

by external and internal criticism, during which we would be wise to remember that all 'books are useful but not infallible' (Kitson 1969: 57). That is why we will apply certain positive criteria of criticism to them, and for the heuristic aspects, we will gather written sources or documentary materials, and data findings concerning our topic.

1.5.1.5 Sources and Data

Our study is largely based on primary and secondary sources. These primary sources are composed principally of an interview with one Christian personality and his conception of the Christian status of Kimbanguism. We will also have to refer to some administrative letters concerning the Kimbanguist controversy. The secondary sources comprise reference books concerning early Christian encyclopaedias; dictionaries, Biblical commentaries and theological dictionaries; English and French translations of Greek Patristic writings; lexicons and concordances; books, and reviews or scientific periodicals on John of Damascus; heresy and heretic; apartheid, and Kimbanguism. All these will serve as tools for work. After the excursus on our methodological approach, it is necessary to understand the large background of our topic through the explanation of the main concepts of which it is constituted.

1.5.2 Explanation of Terms

In order to master the general context of our study, it is wise to clarify certain concepts. Among them we have: Church History[33], the Patristic era, the Church Fathers, Orthodoxy, and Heresy- the Heretic.

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[33] Since the eve of the World Council of Churches (1948) and the Council of the Vatican II (1962–1965), according to M Grandjean (2006), the historical methodology became 'ecumenical', by which no Confessional doctrine is considered as more important than another [see J Delumeau (2000: 6) 'Preface' in *Dictionnaire de l'Histoire du Christianisme,* Paris: Encyclopædia Universalis & Albin Michel]. Consequently, historians opted for the use of the terminology 'History

1.5.2.1 Church History

As asserted by Grant (1972: 166), the Christian movement started within a historical situation. In this light, the Evangelist Mark said: 'the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe the gospel' (1, 15). To this day, Church History becomes the way by which the actions of all who accepted the gospel of Jesus Christ are described. What should the definition, the nature, the scope, the branches, the periods, and the use of Church History be? What is the duty or the task of the Christian historian? This section attempts to respond to these questions.

i. Nature of Church History

Our intention here is not to describe all the literature concerning Church History, for many scholars have most capably done so already.[34]

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of Christianity', '*histoire de christianisme'* in French, instead of the terminology of 'Church history', '*histoire de l'Église',* in French [see E. Poulat (2000: 8) 'Introduction' in: *Dictionnaire de l'Histoire du Christianisme,* Paris: Encyclpædia Universalis & Albin Michel]. In this line, a very scholarly collection of 14 Volumes of History of Christianity, *Histoire de Christianisme,* in French, is already published. Indeed, for this available French version, notes Grandjean, some initiative are being made to translate it into German. We will use simultaneously the two terms — 'Church history and history of Christianity'- in conformity to our sources.

[34] As a rough guide, the following are recommended: M. Bauman, The Nature and Importance of Religious Historiography, In: M. Bauman, MI. Klauber, (eds.) (1995: 1–11): *Historians of the Christian Tradition: Their Methodology and Influence on Western Thought*, Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman & Holman Publishers. CS. Meyer (1969: 9–14): *The Church: From Pentecost to the Present.* Chicago: Moody Press, especially the pages concerning 'Toward an understanding of Church History'; D. MacCulloch (1987: 1–12): *Groundwork of Christian History*, London: Epworth Press. See the introductory chapter which deals with 'What is Christian History?' P. B. Hincliff (1960): *Ecclesiastic History: Its Nature and Purpose.* Grahamstown: Rhodes University. For him, 'Ecclesiastic History is a hybrid subject. On the one hand it must have some theologi-

cal function and importance, since it is a necessary discipline within every properly constituted faculty of divinity (though some theologians doubt this). On the other hand it must be a part of 'ordinary history', or it would not be history at all (and some historians seem to think it is not). The ecclesiastic History hangs, as it were, in tension between secular history and pure theology (see p. 3–4). RW. Nicoll ed. (1894: 1): *Kurtz's Church History*, London: Hodder & Stoughton. This author defines the 'Idea of Church History' 'as the one, many-branched communion, consisting of all those who confess that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ who in the fullness of the time appeared as the Saviour of the world. It is the Church's special task to render the saving work of Christ increasingly fruitful for all nations and individuals, under all the varying conditions of life and stages of culture, to describe the course of development through the Church as a whole, as well as its special departments and various institutions has passed, from the time of its foundation down to our own day, to what have been the Church's advances and regressions, how it had been furthered and hindered; and to tell the story of its deterioration and renewal'; P Schaff (1962: 2–6): *History of the Christian Church Vol. 1: Apostolic Christianity A. D. 1–100*, Grand Rapids/Michigan: W. M. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. According to Schaff, 'the Nature of Church History' has two sides, divine and human. On the part of God, it is his revelation in the order of time, and the successive unfolding of a plan of infinite wisdom, justice, and mercy, looking to his glory and the eternal happiness of mankind. On the part of man, history is the biography of the human race and the gradual development, both normal and abnormal, of all its physical intellectual, and moral forces to the final consummation at the general judgment, with its eternal rewards and punishments (p. 2). A H. Newman (1972: 3–5): *A Manual of Church History vol. 1: Ancient and Medieval Church History to A. D. 1517*, Revised and Enlarged. Valley Forge: Judson Press. This historian considers Church History as 'the narration of all that is known of the founding and the development of the kingdom of Christ on earth. The term church history is commonly used to designate not merely the record of the organized Christian life of our era, but also the record of the career of the Christian religion itself. It includes within its sphere the indirect influence that Christianity has exerted on social, ethical, aesthetic, legal, economic, and political life and thought throughout the world, no less than its direct religious influences' (see p. 4). D Baker ed. (1975): *Materials Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*, Oxford: The Ecclesiastical History Society/Basil Blackwell, specially, pp. 1–17 concerning 'church history and early church historians'; pp. 341–53 'the significance of

We intend only to outline the most relevant points and summarise the nature of Church History [35].The term 'History' [36] itself, asserts Walter

territorial history church history for church history in general; pp. 355–65 'the dilemma of the modern Christian historian'; G. Bedouelle (1994): *Dictionnaire d'histoire de l'Église*, Chambray-lès-Tours: C. L. D. E. Suire (2004): *Vocabulaire historique du Christianisme*, Paris: Armand Colin. Gerald Luiz de Mori (2006): 17–31. *Le Temps. Enigme des hommes, mystère de Dieu. Préface par Christoph Theobald.* Paris: Cerf *S. v. Histoire*. MM Mitchell (2006): 177–199, 'The emergence of the written record' in: MM Mitchell, FM Young, KS Bowie (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 1: Origins to Constantine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. R. M. Jensen (2006): 568–585, 'Towards a Christian material culture' in: M. M. Mitchell, F. M. Young, KS Bowie (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 1: Origins to Constantine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. J Roberson (2006): 181–196, 'History and the Bible' in: S. Gilley, B. Stanley (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 8: World Christianities c. 1815–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. U. Ogbu Kalu (2006): 576–592, 'Ethiopianism and the roots of modern African Christianity' in: *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 8: World Christianities c. 1815–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. GC Kohn (1991): *Dictionary of Historic Documents*. New York/Oxford: Facts on Files.

[35] For Jacob Neusner (1990: 3), history was born in the fourth century and it means 'the representation of intelligible sequences of purposeful events presented as narrative'.

[36] It is more important to begin this section by giving an overview and definition of the word 'history'. In fact, the concept 'History' is defined by the *Emile Littré: Dictionnaire de la langue française (1957: 546),* as the 'narration of facts, events concerning people in particular and humanity in general'. Twelve other senses are given to his concept (See pp. 547–49). Concerning its overview, according to Darlop and Speltt (1969: 31–9), the word 'history' has its own origin and development. Indeed, this word 'history', as is used in Europe, comes through the *Latin historia* from the Greek '*historein*, which means 'to know, investigate', except the German *Geschischte,* which was used by the Humanists in the scientific sense of *historia.* Concerning the development of the notion of history, it appears that, since humanity is, history too. There are no peoples without history. In the Occident, *historia* begun with Herodotus (c. 484–424 B.

C) who is considered as the 'Father of History' as is asserted by Cicero (106–43). Herodotus was followed by Thucydides (c. 456–396 B. C) and Polybius (c. 201–120 B. C). In addition, for Israel, history is above all else, the history of the covenant lived out along with the God of the covenant, and the history of the world itself is the pre-history of the covenant towards which it moves. The covenant itself will be finally one with the history of world. All the successes and reverses of history are phases of this dialectical process: sin, punishment, forgiveness, fidelity and fulfillment are the categories in which history is understood. In the experience of the messianic fulfillment of this history through Jesus Christ, its dialogical interpretation is again confirmed. This interpretation is outlined in the New Testament and found its great spokesman in St Augustine (354–430), whose historical thinking is developed in *De Civitate Dei*, which, as much as anything else, made him the 'Teacher of the West'. The work of St Augustine's disciple Orosius (Historiae adversus Paganus, 417/18) was richer in concrete historical details. However, with Otto of Freising (c. 1115–1156) and Bossuet (1627–1704) with their 'Universal History', in the meantime the understanding of history has undergone a decisive change. The notion of progress has taken the place of providence. With the Renaissance and the Humanists, were discovered the delights of experience, the value of the extraordinary, the special rank of the earthly. Attention was focused on the sources of ancient documents. On the eve of the 19th century George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and Savigny saw history as: 'the life of a body of peoples or rather a body politic and culture, the expression of the people's soul'. Thus the Hegelian understanding of history was changed by a positivist philosophy—such as Schellings's—the claim of the individual to existence as in Søren Kierkgaard (1813–1855), the effort to understand the concrete as in modern hermeneutics. The place of speculative interpretation and neat arrangement is taken by the demand for 'naked truth without adornment', the effort to show things 'as they really were' [Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) who, from 1825 till his death was professor of History at Berlin. His work was characterized by emphasis on the primary importance of the study of original sources, by psychological penetration and by a fundamentally objective attitude to history, as well as by an understanding of national tendencies in their relation to the history of their age. See F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone eds. (1974: 1158). *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Second Edition. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press]. The classical perfection which von Ranke's descriptive work aimed at was methodically attained in the history—writing of J. C. Droysen. Rejecting

Kasper (1969: 43), 'is one of the basic categories of biblical revelation. Revelation does not merely throw light on history; it also gives rise to it. Moreover, according to Brox (1992: vii), Church History is part of theology. It is impossible to know theology without Church History and Christianity cannot be described or understood without knowledge of the history that shaped it. Indeed, Church History, according to Hubert Jedin (1980: 1), 'treats of the growth in time and space of the Church founded by Christ.' In addition, the Church History would be Franzen reveals (1975: 256), the way to 'assist the Church to understand itself better.' Church History puts together the elements that all curious Christian believers need in order to know and understand the present state of the Church through its past. Church History as a 'narration of all that is known of Christ on earth', said Newman (1972: 5), is and should show, therefore, the progressive accomplishment of the divine purpose through the centuries, taking full account of the obstacles that have presented themselves to the triumph of Christianity and the means by which they have been surmounted. In fact, Church Historiography[37] has much to

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mechanistic natural causality and the organic thinking of the Romantic Movement, Droysen brought out the creative independence of the ethically—minded spirit. And this spirit cannot be grasped by disregarding the self of the researcher. It is attained by its being totally committed to 'inquiring understanding'. There is here above a summarized overview of history's historiography.

[37] According to H. Butterfield (1973: 464), the term 'historiography' designates the history of historical writing. It is initially tending to deal with a succession of books, authors and schools, but later extending itself to include the evolution of the ideas and techniques associated with the writing of history and the changing attitudes to the question of the nature of history itself. Ultimately it comprises the study of the development of man's sense of the manifold relationships between living generations and their predecessors. According to David J. O'Brien (1968: 80)', historiography can be seen as a category of intellectual history which relates historical works to the periods in which they were written and attempts to uncover their basic assumptions, revealing more immediately the limitations of the historical discipline, suggesting new questions to be asking,

teach about History, because Church History 'treats of the growth in the time and space of the Church founded by Christ' (see Baus 1980: 1) and it 'has two sides: a divine and a human' (see Schaff 1962: 2). It is important to say, firstly, on the part of God, that Church History is the revelation of God in the order of time (as the creation is His revelation in the order of space), and the successive unfolding of a plan of infinite wisdom, justice, and mercy, looking to His glory and the eternal happiness of mankind. Secondly, on the human side, Church History becomes the 'biography of the human race, and the gradual development, both normal and abnormal, of all its physical, intellectual, and moral forces until the final consummation at the general judgment, with its eternal rewards and punishments' (Schaff p. 2). In short, Church History, according to J. Pelikan, quoted by Bradley and Muller (1995: 5–60), 'is the

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new avenues to be explored, new techniques, new metaphors, new models to be utilized'[cited by W. H. Petersen (1976: 22)] For more details on the nature and importance of religious historiography, see M. Baum (1995: 1–11). The Nature and Importance of Religious Historiography, in: M. Baum and M. Klauber, *Historians of the Christian Tradition: Their Methodology and Influence on Western Thought*, Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman & Holman Publishers. Y. Congar (1982: 237–39): Théologie historique: avantages d'une connaissance de l'histoire. Éveil au sens historique, in: B. Lauret & F. Refoulé. *Initiation à la pratique de la théologie t. 1: Introduction*, Paris: Cerf; Y. Congar (1982: 237–39): Historical Theology: Advantages of the Knowledge of the History. Awakening to Historical Sense, in: B. Lauret & F. Refoulé, *Introduction to the Practice of the Theology, Vol. 1: Introduction*, Paris, Cerf; E. Cameron (2005) *Interpreting Christian History: The Challenge of the Church's Past*, Malden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishing; F. Laplanche (1992: 1071–1074) 'Le mouvement intellectuel et les Églises: l'historiologie protestante et la méthode des lieux' in: M Venard et al. (dir.): *Histoire du christianisme*, t. 8: Les temps des confessions (*1530–1620/30*), paris, Desclée; Id. (1992: 1085–1087): 'Le mouvement intellectuel et les Églises: l'histoire sacrée et histoire profane' in: M Venard et al. (dir.): *Histoitre du christianisme*, t. 8: Les temps des confessions (*1530–1620/30*), Paris: Desclée.

broadest of all traditional disciplines dealing with the Church's past.' In conclusion, and according to Newman (1972: 4), Church History is the narration of all that is known of the founding and the development of the kingdom of Christ on earth. In this line, 'Church History is commonly used to designate not merely the record of the organised Christian life of our era, but also the record of the career which Christianity has exerted on social, ethical, legal, economic, and political life and thought throughout the world, no less than its direct religious influences.

ii. Division and Branches of Church History, Division of Church History

As reveals Fischer (1904: 1), it belongs to the history of the Church to describe its rise and progress, to recount its effects wrought by this community in successive ages in the world of mankind, from its beginnings in Palestine with its founder, Jesus of Nazareth, to today. Indeed the study of Church History is, said Kalu (1988: 11), and divided into periods[38]. Such division is useful, since it helps to highlight the changes that have taken place from one period to another, and to put our knowledge within a time-framework. It is important to understand, however, that such divisions are always somewhat artificial, and that it is, therefore, impossible to divide the same history in different ways. Keeping that in mind, Church History outlined here may be divided into the

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[38] Joachim of Floris (ca 1135–1202), a monk of Southern Italy, states Clifton 1992: xv, thought that history could be divided into three epochs corresponding to the persons of the Trinity. The Age of the Father lasted from Creation until the incarnation of Jesus, which initiated the Age of the Son and replaced Old Testament law with New Testament grace. Around 1260 (this date is questioned) would come the dawn of the Third Age—the Age of Holy Spirit- when the inspiration of the Holy Spirit would become more central than the eucharistic commemoration of Jesus' sacrifice. In the Third Age, all believers would be moved to live purely spiritual lives as had the nuns and monks of the Second Age.

following periods[39]: the Ancient Church (from the Beginnings of Christianity to 476), the Church during the Middle Ages (476 to 1453), the

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[39] There is no unanimity between Historians concerning the subdivisions of the Church History. Certain authors subdivide it into nine periods and others into six, five, and three and so on. For instance, Kalu Ogbo (1988: 11–8) retains the following charts: The Ancient Church (from the beginning of the Christianity until Constantine's Edict of Milan in year 313), The Christian Empire (from the Edict of Milan 313 to the Fall of the Last Roman Emperor of the West in 476), The Early Middle Ages (between 476 to the Schism between East and West in the 1054), The High Point of the Middle Ages (from 1054 to the Beginnings of the Decline of the Papacy in 1303), The Last Middle Ages (from 1303 up to the Fall of Constantinople in 1453), The Conquest and Reformation to 1600, the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, the Nineteenth Century, the Twentieth Century. Walton, R. C. (1986) gives six periods: Ancient Church (from the Beginnings of the Christianity to 476), the Middle Ages (476–1517), the Reformation (1517 to 1648), the Modern European Church (1648–), the American Church (1607–); McGrath, A. E. (1998) finds four periods: the Patristic Period (c. 100–451), the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (c. 500–1500), the Reformation and the Post-Reformation Periods (1500–1750), the Modern Period (1750 to the present day); D. T. Jenkins (1965) speaks without precised delimitations about the Early Church History and the Modern Church History; G. R Evans ed. (2001: xiv) when he was drawing the framework of his study fixed for instance the period of Church History in the Middle Ages, from the fifth century to the sixteenth. L Emery (1954: 7), chronologically speaking, subdivides church history into four periods: Ancient period from the first Christian Pentecost to the death of Gregory the Great (604), the Middle Ages, from 604 to 1517 and the beginning of the Reformation, the Modern period, from 1517 to 1800, the Contemporary period, from 1800 to the present day; finally Cayré (1947: 1) subdivides Church history into three main periods: Christian Antiquity or the Patristic Period for the first eight centuries, the Middle Ages, and the Modern, from the Reformation to the present day. Facing this plurality of divisions in the field of Church History and the lack of unanimity between historians, we think it wise to have a consensual subdivision of this theological discipline into four periods according to the habitual History in general: Christian Antiquity (0–476), Medieval Church (476–1453), Modern Church (1453–1789), and Post-Modern Church (1789 to the present day).

Reformation era (1517 to 1789), the Modern and Post-Modern Church (1789 to the present Day). The first period, encompasses the Apostolic era (from Jesus to 100); the Patristic Period (100 to seventh/eighth centuries). The second, whole Middle Ages or the 'Millennium of Faith', which extends to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottoman Turkish Muslims. The third phase extends from the billposting of Martin Luther's thesis to the French Revolution in 1789; the last, from the French Revolution up to today.

iii. Branches of Church History

Even if the Church is universal, we must, as asserted by Schaff (1962: 6), not identify the kingdom of God with the visible Church or Churches, which are only its temporary organs and agencies, more or less inadequate, while the kingdom itself is more comprehensive,[40] and

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[40] For Nicoll (1894: 3–5), the constituent parts or branches of Church history are the following: History of Mission, History of Worship, and History of Customs known by the name of Christian Archaeology. He specifies also that, the history of the development of Doctrine falls into four divisions: a) the history of Doctrine in the form of a regular historical sketch of the doctrinal development of the Church; b) Symbolics, which gives a systematic representation of the relative final and concluded doctrine of the Church as determined in the public ecclesiastical confessions or symbols for the Church universal and for the sects; these again being compared together in Comparative Symbolics; c) Patristics, which deals with the subjective development of doctrine as carried out by the most distinguished teachers of the Church, who were usually designated as Church Fathers, and confined to the first six or eight centuries; d) the History of theology in general, or the particular Theological Sciences, which treats of the scientific conception and treatment of theology and its separate branches according to its historical development; while the History of Theological Literature, which when restricted to the age of the Fathers is called Patrology, has to describe and estimate the whole literary activity of the Church according to the persons, motives, and tendencies that are present in it. Finally the most works in these departments are: History of Missions, History of the Papacy, History of Monasticism, History of Councils, Church Law, Archaeology, History of Doc-

will last forever. Accordingly, Church History, continues Schaff, has various departments, proportional to the different branches of secular history and of natural life. Indeed, for him, the six main periods are: the History of Mission or the spread of Christianity; the History of Persecutions by hostile powers; the History of Church Government and Discipline; the History of Worship or Divine Service, the History of Christian Life, or Practical Morality and Religion; and the History of Theology, or of Christian learning and literature. However, Schaff notices that:

> 'each branch of theology – exegetical, doctrinal, ethical, and practical – has a history of its own.' And 'the various departments of Church History have not merely external and mechanical, but an organic relation to each other, and form one living whole, and this relation the historian must show. Each period is entitled to a peculiar arrangement, according to its character. The different divisions must be determined by their actual importance at a given time'. (Schaff 1962: 10–11)

iiii. Reasons for Studying Church History

According to Newman (1972: 17–19), seven reasons could be retained as a justification for the 'raison d'être' of the study of Church History. Firstly, Church History is knowledge of one of the most valuable instruments of intellectual culture. Church History is so essential a part of universal history that the history of humanity would be incomplete and unintelligible without it. Also, universal history is best understood when Christ is regarded as the central figure, for whose advent the past, with its systems of religion, philosophy, and government was, in an important sense, a preparation, and when Christ's Church, under his guidance, is recognised as the aggressive and conquering power in mod-

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trines, Symbolics and Polemics, Patrology and History of Theology, Literature, History of the Theological Sciences, History of Exegesis, History of Morals, and Bibliographies.

ern history. Secondly, without a knowledge of the history of the Christian Church in all its departments and relations it is impossible to understand the present condition of Christianity with its multitudinous sects, its complicated doctrinal systems, and its variegated forms of organisation, life, and worship. Along these lines, Wilken (1971: 190), in his digression on the role of historical Church memory and a Christian construction of history wrote: 'a people without a historical memory are like a country with no roads to guide the travellers'[41]. Thirdly, the study of Christian history is one aspect of the history of Christian life. To know how the people of God have, from age to age, struggled and suffered and triumphed will tend to prepare us to meet the trials that always attack the Christian life; to know how large a proportion of those that have professed Christianity have lived in sin and dishonoured the name of Christ will tend to put us on our guard against similar failure, and to prevent us from despairing when we see how imperfectly many of those around us fulfil their Christian duties, that is to say 'History as the Church's Understanding of Itself' (see Bost 2005: 711). In this way, says Jedin, quoted by Franzen (1975: 256), 'Church History[42] tries to assist the Church to understand itself better.' Fourthly, the study of Church History enables us to see the working of great principles through long periods of time. Church History is a commentary on the Scriptures, as, for every teaching of Scripture we can find many and practical examples. We can show, as it were, experimentally, how every departure from New Testament principles has resulted in evil – the greater the departure, the greater the evil. The study of Church History, while it may make us charitable toward those in error by showing us examples, in all ages, of high

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[41] For the Salvationist historian, General Frederick L. Coutts: 'history is to a community what memory is to an individual'. This phrase means that 'a person by the loss of memory could become an unperson, unable to say from whence he came, or more importantly, whither bound' [cited by B. G. Tuck (1982: i)].

[42] For further bibliography on this area see D. Moulinet (2000: 163–199).

types of religious life tended by the most erroneous views of doctrine, will tend to make us look out for slight doctrinal aberrations; for we shall know that the corrupt forms of Christianity have had their origin in slight deviations from the truth. Fifthly, it may be said with confidence that the great mass of minor sects have been formed by those ignorant of Church History, and that knowledge of Church History on the part of their founders would have prevented their formation. A widely diffused knowledge of Church History would tend powerfully toward a unification of thought as to what Christianity should be, and would be highly in favour of Christian unity.

On the other hand any knowledge of the vast results, that have followed from emphasing particular aspects of truth in the past, tend to cause an underestimation of their importance in the present. Sixthly, the history of the Christian Church furnishes the strongest possible evidence of the truth of the assurance of the final triumph of Christianity. If Christianity has surmounted obstacles that seemed almost insuperable, if, though it was sometimes submerged in corruption, it has again and again shown itself able to shake off the accumulation of error, and then to march onward with primitive vigour, then we have every reason to believe in its sufficiency for all the trials to which it may hereafter be subjected. Finally, knowledge of Church History is essential to any proper treatment and understanding of systematic theology as distinguished from Biblical theology. Any attempt to formulate theology in accord with existing conditions and modes of thought that do not take into consideration the formulations of the past in their historical relations to one another, must prove ineffective. Such systematizing may serve a purpose in indoctrinating the student in an accepted creed by arraying Scriptures from the Bible that appear to support it and to explain away obnoxious views, but it must also serve the highest ends of scientific Christian thought.

iv. Use of Church History

As asserted by Schaff (1962:20–1), Church History has, in its place, a general interest for every cultivated mind, as showing the moral and religious development of our race, and the gradual execution of the divine plan of redemption. For the theologian and minister of the gospel, Church History is the key to the present condition of Christendom and the guide to successful labour in her cause. The present is the fruit of the past, and the germ of the future. No work could stand unless it grows out of the real wants of the age and strike firm roots in the soil of history. Also, the historical facts are not dry bones, but embody living realities, the general principles and laws for our guidance and action. It is the reason why anyone who studies Church History studies Christianity itself in all its phases and human nature under the influence of Christianity as it now is, and will be to the end of time. In addition, Church History has a practical value for every Christian, as a storehouse of warning and encouragement, of consolation and counsel. If history in general is, as Diodorus calls it, 'the handmaid of providence, the priestess of truth, and the mother of wisdom', the history of the kingdom of heaven is all these in the highest degree. Lastly, the expert and distinguished Church historian, Cameron (2005: 1), formulates the importance of Church History as follows:

> 'Christian history is essential to anyone who wishes to understand the present-day Christian churches, or to assume any position of leadership within them. Historical insight is not an optional extra, a venture into the exotic, a distraction from more obviously urgent present-day issues of Church policy or social ethics. The processes of historical change and development are of the very essence of diverse and continuously unfolding Christian experience. Growingawareness of such historical change has played a critical role in the rise of modern theology, which cannot be understood without such awareness. In short, one cannot

understand faithworking in society unless one sees it with the help of a historical perspective.'

v. Duties or Tasks of the Church Historian

Besides his comprehension, fidelity and justice, the Church historian must accomplish according to Schaff [43] (1962: 22–7) three tasks [44].

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[43] According to Shriver (1987: vii, 1), Philip Schaff, who was born on January 1st, 1819, in Chur in Switzerland, was the Church historian who founded in his house in New York in March 1888, 'The American Society of Church History'. He served as its president until his death five and half years later in 1893 in New York. Schaff was fond of saying that he was 'a Swiss by birth, a German by education, and an American by choice'. That is to say that these three nationalities contributed to his mind, character, and spirit. In addition, in his more comprehensive and lucid book on Church History in the Age of Science, Bowden (1971: 43, 49, 53) formulates Schaff's conception of Church History as 'the Theological Discipline by advising any scholar that, historical understanding is the key to ecclesiastical progress because through it the great forces at work in previous epochs could be identified and possibly exploited for further development. How shall we labour with any effect to build up the Church, if we have no thorough knowledge of her history, or fail to apprehend it from the proper point of observation? History is, and must ever continue to be, next to God's Word, the richest foundation of wisdom, and the surest guide to all successful practical activity. So Church History was to be written in faith and hope with an eye towards God'redemptive purpose through the ecclesiastical office. Anyone who tried to approach such a study without the requisite faith in that 'definite end' would be able to understand only external matters. Cultivate your heart, as well as your head; look to your morals even more than to your attainments'.

[44] For a wide view on task of Christian History, the following writings are useful: A. F. Walls (2002: 1–21). The Task of Reconceiving and Re-visioning the Study of Christian History, In: W R Shenk (ed.) (2002): *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*. New York: Orbis Books. AN M Mundadan (2002: 22–53): The Changing Task of Christian History: A View at the Onset of the Third Millennium, In: W R Shenk (ed.): (2002). *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, New York: Orbis Books.

Firstly, to master his sources. For this duty he must be acquainted with such auxiliary sciences as ecclesiastical philology, secular history, geography and chronology. Secondly, to be able to make his composition (synthesis), he must not simply recount events, but reproduce the development of the Church in a living process. History, wrote Schaff, 'is not a skeleton, but an organism filled and ruled by a reasonable soul.' Thirdly, to guide his scientific research and artistic representation by a sound moral and religious, that is, a truly Christian spirit. In as far as the historian, combines these qualifications, advises Schaff (1962: 26), he fulfils his office.

After our brief synopsis of the nature, scope, divisions and branches, the importance of Church History and tasks of the Christian historian, we shall now move to what is the Patristic Period which straightaway could be regarded as the first period of the writing of Church History.

1.5.2.2 The Patristic Era

Under this heading[45] we shall study the concept, definition, delimitation, and history of patrology, and the importance of patristic studies, in the order to comprehend 'Patristic era'.

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[45] For other further information, it is helpful to consult: L. W. Barnard (1978). *Studies in Church History and Patristics*, Thessalonica: Panayotis C. Christou. J. M. Spieser (2001): *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, Aldershot/Burlington/Singapore/Sidney, Ashgate Publishing Limited. P Brown (2003): *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity: A. D 200–1000.*2nd Ed. Maden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishing; H. J. N. Hillgarth ed. (1986): *Christianity and Paganism, 350–750: The Conversion of Western Europe*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. W. H. C. Frend (1988): *Archaeology and History in the Study of Early Christianity*, London: Variorum Reprints. A Halleux (1990): *Patrologie et Oecuménisme: Recueil d'Études*, Leuven: Leuven University Press. B. D. Ehrman & A. S. Jacobs (2004): *Christianity in Late Antiquity 300–450 C. E: A Reader*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press; L. Woodhead (2004) *An Introduction to Christianity,* Cambridge: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.

i. Definition and History of the Concepts 'Patrology' and 'Patristic'

Etymologically speaking, as asserted by Reese (1980: 416–7), the terms 'Patrology'[46] and 'Patristic'[47] derive from the same Latin word 'Pater': 'Father' in English. According to Patricia De Ferrari (1994: 649), these two words were formerly synonymous and refer to the study of ancient Christian writers who were accepted as witnesses to Church life and teaching. Moreover, Patrology, as asserted by Quasten (1986: 1–5), is that part of history of Christian literature which deals with the theological authors of Christian antiquity. However, it comprises both the orthodox and the heretical writers, although it regards with preference those authors who represent the traditional ecclesiastical doctrine, the so-called 'Fathers and Doctors of the Church.' Thus, Patrology can be defined as the science of the Fathers of the Church. When Patrology focuses its sights on the doctrine of Fathers of the Church it becomes Patristic[48], which is a branch of theology. It includes, in the West, all

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N. P. Constas, 'The Last Temptation of Satan: Divine Deception in Greek Patristic Interpretation of the Passion Narrative', *Harvard Theological Review* 97: 3 (2004*:* 139–63); B Sesboüé 'Bulletin de Théologie Patristique Grecque', *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, 88/2(2000), 277–312. D. Moulinet (2000: 293–315). R. J. Kepple & J. R. Muether (1992: 135–139). FG Nuvolone (1994): 'Groupe suisse d'études patristiques' in *Revue des sciences religieuses* 68 no3, pp. 337–345.

[46] According to H. R. Drobner (1999: 9), this word derives from two Greek words πατήρ (Père/father) and λόγος (doctrine).

[47] For Tsirpanlis (1991: 20), the term patristic, also derives from the Latin word *Patristica*, originally used as an adjective in *Theology Patristica*, which was a branch of *Theology Positiva* in the seventeenth century; L. Brisson (1996: 1090–1104). Patristique: la morale des Pères de l'Église, In: M. Canton-Sperber (dir.) (1996): *Dictionnaire d'Éthique et de Philosophie Morale,* Paris: P. U. F.

[48] W. Little, H. W. Fowler, J. Coulson, eds. (1973: 1529): *The Shorter Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Vol. 2, Third edition Revised by C. T. Onions*.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. In this dictionary we found the words 'patristic, patristical and patrist'. The first word in singular designates 'a student or

Christian authors up to Gregory the Great (d. 604) or Isidore of Seville
(d. 636), and, in the East, it extends usually to John Damascene (d. 749).
In addition, the name of this branch of theology is young; the Lutheran
theologian, Johannes Gerhard, was the first to use it as a title of his
work, *Patrologia*[49]*,* published in 1653. The idea, however of a history of

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adherent of the doctrine of the Fathers'; used in plural, it designated the 'study
of the lives, writings of the Fathers'. By 'Patristical', which comes from patristi-
cism, designates 'a system founded upon the study of the Fathers, loosely, the
doctrine or mode of thought of the Fathers themselves.' 'Patrist', which is used
rarely, designates 'one versed in the lives or writings of the Fathers'.

[49] This term, as asserted by the same scholar, was used in the nineteenth century
to denote a catalogue of ancient Christian literature, or catalogues and collec-
tions of writings of early Christian Fathers. At this level it is important to note
the fact that the seventeenth century was a great century of publication of patris-
tic texts and antiquarians, and the history of texts. The Benedictine monks of
Saint Maurdes Fosses in Paris, and the Anglicans in Oxford and Cambridge,
were especially noted for their distinguished scholarship. It should be pointed
out that Migne (d. 1875) was an obscure parish priest, not a scholar, who com-
piled the great and most important collection of all the *Patrologiae Cursus
Completus (PG, PG).* His *Latin Patrology (PL)* contains 217 volumes and four
volumes of indexes. His *Greek Patrology (PG),* with Latin translation, goes as
far as the Council of Florence (1839) and contains 161 volumes. This work of
Migne, although it needs substantial reediting, is still the standard and basic
source. Migne was, ironically, condemned as a conspirator by his bishops and
died penniless and obscure. For other more useful information concerning 'Pa-
trology' and 'Patristic', see F. A. A. Cayré (1944–7), *Patrologie et histoire de la
théologie 3 volumes.* Paris, Tournai, Rome: Société de Saint Jean l'Evangéliste,
Desclée & Cie, Editeurs Pontificaux; E. J. Goodspeed (1966), *A History of Early
Christian Literature*, Revised and enlarged by R. M. Grant. Chicago, London,
Toronto: The University of Chicago Press, George Allen Union, Ltd., The Uni-
versity of Toronto Press; A. Puech (1930), *Histoire de la litérature grecque
chrétienne depuis les origins jusqu'à la findu IVe siècle. t. 3: Le IVe siècle.* Paris:
Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres'; R. M. Roberge (1989: 54–60), 'Principes
d'élaboration d'un système documentaire en Patristique', in *Studia Patristica*
vol. XX. Leuven: Peeters Press; R. R. William (1960), *A Guide to the Teachers
of the Early Church Fathers*, Grand Rapids, Chicago: WM. B Eerdmans Pub-

Christian literature in which the theological point of view predominates is old. It begins with Eusebius of Caesarea (c. A. D. 263–340), for in the introduction to his *Ecclesiastical History (I. 1,1),* he states that he intends to report on the 'number of those, who in each generation were the ambassadors of the word of God either by speech or by pen; the names, the number and the age of those who, by their desire for innovation and driven to an extremity of error, have heralded themselves as the introducers of knowledge, falsely so called'. Thus, he lists all the writers and writings that he is aware of, and gives long quotations from most of them. For Patrology, especially since a great number of the writings which he quoted have been lost, and for some ecclesiastical authors, he is the only source of information.

Nevertheless, Jerome (c. 345–420) is considered to be the first to compose Christian theological literature as history. In his *De Viris Illustrabus,* written in the year 392 at Bethlehem, Jerome intended to respond to those pagans who scoffed at the intellectual mediocrity of the Christians. For this reason, he enumerates the writers whom Christian litera-

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lishing Company. M. A. C. T. Crultwell (1971), *A Literary History of Early Christianity Including the Fathers and the Chief Heretical Writers of the Ante-Nicene Period: for the Use of Students and General Readers.* Vol. 2. New York: AMS Press. R S. Haugh (ed.) (1987): *The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century*, *Vol. 7–9* in: *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky* transl. by C. Edmunds. Vaduz: Büchervetriebsanstalt. J. Gaudemet (1980: 129–30), 'Patristique et pastorale: la contribution de Grégoire le Grand au 'Miroir de l'Évêque' dans le Décret de Gratien' in: *La société ecclésiastique dans l'Occident médiéval.* London: Variorum Reprints. W. Cunningham (1960): *Historical Theology: A Review of the Principal Doctrinal Discussions in the Christian Church since the Apostolic Age.* Vol. 1 (Reprinted) London: The Banner of Truth. AG Hamman (1975): Jacques-Paul Migne, *Retour aux Pères de l'Église*, Paris: Beauchesne; Id. (1977): *Dictionnaire des Pères de l'Église*. Paris: Desclé de Brouwer. HR Drobner (1999): *Les Pères de l'Église: Sept siècles de littérature chrétienne*, Paris: Desclée. E Honigmann (1953): *Patristic Studies*, Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

ture has honoured. Jerome's work was written at the request of the Prae-
torian Prefect Dexter, and was modelled on the *De Viris Illustrabus* of
Suetonius. It extends from Simon Peter to Jerome himself, whose prior
writings are listed. Jerome incorporated in this work, which comprises
135 sections, both the Jewish authors, Philo of Alexandria and Joseph
ben Matthias[50] known by the Roman name of Flavius Josephus (born A.
D. 37 or 38 and died A. D. 100), the pagan philosopher, Seneca, and
heretical authors of Christian antiquity. In fact, for the first 78 of these
sections, Jerome depends on the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Chroni-
cle* of Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 240–320) to such an extent that he re-
produces even the mistakes of Eusebius. Each section gives a biograph-
ical sketch and evaluates the writings of the author. As soon as the work
was published, St. Augustine (Ep. 40) expressed his regret to Jerome
that he had not taken the trouble to separate the heretical from the ortho-
dox writers. More serious is the fact that *De Viris illustrabus* suffers to a
great extent from inaccuracy, and that the work betrays the sympathies
and antipathies of Jerome, as, for instance, the sections dealing with St.
Chrysostome and St. Ambrose indicate.

Nevertheless, the work remains the basic source for the history of
ancient Christian literature. For a certain number of ecclesiastical writ-
ers, such as Minucius Felic,[51] Tertullian (c. 160–c. 220), Cyprian (c.
200–258), and others, it is the only source of information which we
possess. For more than a thousand years, all historians of ancient Chris-
tian literature regarded *De Viris illustrabus* as the basis of their studies,
and their sole endeavour was to write in continuation of this great work.
Then, about the year 480, Gennadius, a priest of Marseilles, brought out,
under the same title, a very useful edition, which most of the manu-

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[50] See Josephus (1988: 10) *Thrones of Blood: a History of the Time of Jesus 37
B. C to A. D. 70.* Uhrichsville: Barbour Publishing, Inc.

[51] Minucius Felix was a son of a bishop of Barcelona who was Prefect of Pales-
tine under the two Roman Emperors, Theodosius and Honorius.

scripts incorporate as a second part of St. Jerome's work. Gennadius was a Semi-Pelagian, a fact which here and there influences his description; otherwise he shows himself to be a man of extensive knowledge and accurate judgment. His work remains of prime importance to the history of ancient Christian literature. Of lesser value is Isidore of Seville's *De Viris illustrabus,* written between 615 and 618. This work represents another supplement to Jerome's work. It devotes special attention to Spanish theologians.

In the same line, Idelphonus of Toledo (d. 667), who was Isidore's disciple, wrote a similar addition, but his *De Viris illustrabus* is local and natural in character. He intends mainly to glorify his predecessors in the see of Toledo. Only eight of the fourteen biographies deal with authors, and the only non-Spanish author whom he mentions is Gregory the Great (540–604). A fresh attempt to give an up-to-date account of Christian literature was made by the Benedictine chronicler, Sigebert of Gembloux (d. 1112) in Belgium, but not before the end of the eleventh century. His *De Viris illustrabus* treats first the ancient ecclesiastical writers, following Jerome and Gennadius closely, and then scanty biographical and bibliographical notes on Latin theologians of the early Middle Ages; no mention is made of any Byzantine authors. Honorius of Augustounum, in about 1112, composed a somewhat similar compendium, *De luminaribus ecclesiae.* A few years later, about 1135, the so-called Anonymus Mellicensis, published his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*. The place of origin seems to be Pruefining near Ratisbon, and not Melk in Lowe, Austria, where the first manuscript of this work was found. A far better source of information is *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* by the Abbot Johannes Trithemius. This work, composed about the year 1494, supplies biographical and bibliographical details for 963 writers, some of whom are not theologians. Even Trithemius derives his knowledge regarding the Fathers from Jerome and Gennadius. The time

of the humanists brought a period of awakened interest in ancient Christian literature.

On the one hand, the contention of the reformers, that the Catholic Church had deteriorated from the Church of the Fathers, and on the other, the decisions reached at the Council of Trent (1545–63), contributed, to a large degree, to the renewed interest. The writings of Robert Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621)[52]: *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus,* which extends to 1500, appeared in 1613. Two works by French authors followed: L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de six premiers siècles*, Paris, 1712, 16 volumes, and R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques,* Paris, 1729–1763; this latter work comprises twenty-three volumes, and deals with all ecclesiastical writers prior to 1250. The new era of a science of ancient Christian literature, however, manifested itself especially in the first great collection and excellent special edition of Patristic texts, which originated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The nineteenth century enriched the field of ancient Christian literature by a great number of new discoveries, especially of oriental texts. The need for new and critical editions was felt. Thus, the Academies of Vienna and Berlin inaugurated critical editions of a Latin and Greek series of the Fathers, while French scholars began critical editions of two collections of oriental Christian literature, and in addition, most universities established chairs for Patrology. Finally, the twentieth century has been predominantly concerned with the history of ideas, concepts, and terms in Christian literature, and the doctrine of the various ecclesiastical authors.

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[52] Entered Society of Jesus in 1560 in Italy, and he studied at Padua and Leuven. He became professor of theology at this last university. As the chief Catholic apologist of his time, he became cardinal in 1599 and opposed the teaching of Galileo. In Canada and Paris there are Editions which are named 'Bellarmine' in order to immortalize his actions.

Moreover, the newly discovered Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi in Egypt, which contains papyri, enabled scholars to regain many Patristic works though to have been lost. Only a small number of them have been edited. The unknown work of Origen and of Didymus the Blind have been unearthed in Egypt at Toura. In our time, it is useful to note that Patristic studies,[53] as asserted by Y. Congar (1986: 27), have flourished in many countries. In fact, since 1951 the International Congress of Patristic Studies, founded by Cross, has been bringing together every four years the Patristic experts of the whole world.[54] W. Shleiermacher in Bonn publishes the annual *Bibliographia Patristica*. Wener Jaeger, before his death, gathered a team of scholarsat Harvard to editing the works of Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–394). The Collection *Sources Chré-tiennes* created in 1941 by Lubac and Daniélou has given a new impulse in France to Patristic studies. Italy possesses lively centres of research into the ancient Christian Writers in Milan, Rome and Turin. In Holland, Christine Mohrmann has demonstrated the originality of Christian Latin.

ii. Delimitation and Subdivisions of the Patristic Era

Delimitation of the Patristic Era

The start of this epoch is easily delimited around the end of the first century A. D., but concerning its end, there are divergent points of view between the historians of ancient Christianity. Indeed, certain scholars consider the date of 451, which is the date of the Chalcedon Council, as the end of this period [see MacGrath (1998: 17), J. N. D. Kelly (1965: 3)

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[53] The reviews *Sources Chrétienne (S. C), Augustinienne, and Studia Patristica;* J. Ghellink (1961). *Patristique et Moyen Âge: Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale 3 vol.* Bruxelles, Paris: Édition Universelle/Desclée de Brouwer; H. I. Marrou (1976), 'Patristique et humanisme: Mélanges', in *Patristica Sorbonensia no 9.* Paris: Seuil. All deal essentially with matters concerning the Patristic era.

[54] The Collection *Studia Patristica* appears every four years, and publishes the papers presented at the International Conference on Patristic Studies.

]. According to their view, this Council witnessed the curtain fall on the Church's first great doctrinally creative period. For others, Bede (d. 735), in the West, and Saint Theodore the Studite (d. 826) and the end of the Iconoclast controversy (842) in the East, ended this epoch [see Constantine, N. Tsirpanlis (1991: 26), AA. Cayré (1959: 22–23)]. On the other hand, the majority of experts in ancient Christianity customarily consider that this period ended in the West with the death of Isidore of Seville in 636 and in the East with the death of John of Damascus in ca. 749 (see Lloyd 1990: 345, and Brown 2003: 217).

b. Divisions and Subdivisions of the Patristic Era

According to Tsirpanlis (1991: 17–27), three major divisions are found in the Patristic era: the Origins of Patristic literature (100–300); the Golden Age of Patristic literature (300–430); and the later centuries (430–750 or the 9th century). Besides this, Kelly notes (1965: 3–6), two intersecting divided Patristic periods, the one vertically and the other horizontally. The former delineates the difference of theological temperament between East and West. In fact, for historical reasons, Rome and the Churches of Spain, Gaul, and North Africa, which used Latin as their liturgical language, were associated, and developed in relative independence of the Eastern Churches, which used Greek as their liturgical language,[55] and this is reflected in their Creeds, liturgies and doctrinal attitude. While Greek theologians are usually intellectually adventurous and inclined to speculation, their Latin counterparts, with the exception of those subject to Eastern influences seem, by contrast, cautious and

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[55] According to J. M. Campbell (1963: 20), for the three first centuries of her life, the Church had in Greek a universal language. Her Greek-speaking communities were in all the considerable cities of both East and West. Towards the end of the second century, Tertullian began to struggle with Latin as a medium for Christian ideas, but in him the substance of doctrine is wholly Greek, as in the Latin Fathers, generally, until Augustine's time and even the great Augustine leaned on Hellenistic predecessors.

pedestrian, confining themselves to expounding the traditional rule of faith. The horizontal line coincides with the reconciliation between Church and Empire effected by Constantine I (Emperor from 306 to 337), of which the Council of Nicaea (325) was the symbol. With the action of Constantine I, the situation of the Church changed radically because the Church was to enjoy the often embarrassing favour of the State by the positive effects of Edit of Milan (313).[56] In the meantime, the era of ecclesiastical controversy now began, and councils of bishops became the accepted instruments for defining dogma accurately. Most significant of all, however, is the fact that during the Patristic period

[56] Issued in February for the West in June for the East of the Roman Empire, this Edict constitutes nowadays the subject of many historical studies. See for further information the works of: *Sources Chrétiennes 39/1&2, Sources Chrétiennes 55;* R. P. Coleman-Norton (1966: 30–5), Roman and Christianity vol. 1.London. M. V. Anastos (1979: 13–41),'The Edict of Milan (313). A Defence of its traditional authorship and designation' in *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History*, London: Viorum Reprints. This article is intended as a refutation of the modern paradoxographers like Otton Seeks who have been seduced by the temptation to prove that, despite his friendly disposition towards the Christian Church, Constantine did not issue the Edict of Milan (313) but that, Lucinius, whom Eusebius condemns as a persecutor. On the contrary, the author of this article shows, first that Constantine was one of the authors of the Edict; second that Constantine must be regarded as having published it in his part of the Empire—the West; third, that his version of it was in essentials identical with, or very similar to that produced by Eusebius and Lactantius; four, that these two texts, not only constitute the Edict of Milan, but also are properly so designated; five, that the celebrated phrase, *instinctu divinitatis,* in the inscription on the Arch of Constantine was in all probability derived from the Edict, which the Roman senators took delight in imitation because by so doing they were enabled to pay a particularly delicate compliment to the Emperor Constantine, who they knew to be its author. P. Batiffol (1914: 203–67), *La paix constantinienne et le catholicisme,* Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gaballda, Editeur, especially chapter 3, which deals with 'Edit de Milan'. J. R. Palanque "La paix constantinienne" in J. R. Palanque, G. Bardy, P. De Labriolle (1914: 14–23), *Histoire de l'Église vol. 3: de la paix constantinienne à la mort de Théodose,* Paris: Bloud & Gay.

(around 2nd to 8th century), the Church existed in the complex environment of the Roman Empire. In short, this period is relevant for theological reasons. In fact, this period is accepted by the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the Anglican and the Reformed Churches as the definitive landmark in the development and elaboration of Christian doctrine.

iii. Importance of Patristic Studies

Under this section, we intended to show why the study of the Patristic era is relevant to the training of any theologian, and at the same time, to determine what we can actually learn from this period. Indeed, without knowledge of the Patristic background, theological training is cheated. This is confirmed by Tsirpanlis, quoted by J. N. D. Kelly, when he works out the importance of Patristic studies as follows:

> '…the only way to understand the mind of the early Church is to soak oneself in the patristic writings. Actually, theological training is defective and incomplete without the patristic experience – an experience of theological truth, of unity in diversity that highlights what is essential or central in Christianity, and what is peripheral. Study of patristic writings, furthermore, provides an experience in uniting heart and mind in theology. True theology, after all, is not dry knowledge nor just intellectual exercise, but heart and mind united with God always. That is why all the great theologians and saints studied the Fathers carefully; their theology is a work of holiness. There is an abundance of Christian feeling "in the works of the Fathers", as Bossuet said. And the study of Church Fathers presents a 'unique portrait gallery of Church, of holiness and learning. Their value to preachers is immense. And their exegesis (scriptural commentaries) is indispensable for the student of Biblical scholarship, the theologian and the exegete… All Christian Churches, today, hold the Fathers in high es-

teem, because in their ecumenical efforts they came to realise how the study of patristic treasures can bring Christians together, give them an objective and better knowledge of Christ's Mind and Heart and promote unity'. (see Tsirpanlis 1991: 20–1).

In the light of this quotation, we can make the following observations. Ecumenically, the patristic era has no confessional hue. That is why it serves so well as a model for the search for the unity of the body of Christ. As the period of the first exegetes, it also serves as a model for theologians tempted to misinterpret the Scriptures for a carnal purpose (for example the case of homosexuality, abortion, euthanasia, etc.).

In summary, the term 'Patrology' literally means the study of the Fathers of the Church, and the term 'Patristic' is usually understood to mean the branch of theology which deals with the study of the Fathers of Church. The Patristic theology is 'still primarily a way of looking at the Bible' (see J. Daniélou, 1969: 30). Consequently, the 'Patristic era' could be vaguely defined as the period of the Church which is often taken to designate the epoch from the closing of the New Testament writings (100) to the end of the seventh century (in the West) or eight century (in the East). That is to say that the 'Patristic period' coincides with the age of the Church Fathers. Where does the idea of the Church Fathers come from? Who were they and who should rightly be called Fathers of the Church? What were their categories, features and importance? All these questions will be examined in the following section.

1.5.2.3 Church Fathers

The term of 'Church Father' was used in a specific context and has its history. Our digression on this term follows this framework: its definition and history, its features, categories, and importance.

i. Definition and History of the Term 'Church Father'

The name of 'Church Father' is habitually given to 'all those catholic writers of the first centuries, whose works, in its broad outline, conform to traditional orthodoxy, and, in reality, are the mystics of Christendom' (Cayré 1959: 12–19). We are also accustomed to calling the authors of early Christian writings 'Fathers of the Church' (Questen, 1986: 9). They are so named because they were 'witnesses of the common faith of the Church' (J. Daniélou 1969: 29). This is the reason why the name 'Church Father' [57] was widely used with the implication of doctrinal

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[57] For other relevant writings on the concept of Father of the Church, although not exhaustive, see G. P. Lloyd (1990: 345). 'Father of the Church', in E. Ferguson, (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, New York, London: Garland Publishing; J. Daniélou (1969: 25–30), Patristic Literature, in J. Daniélou et al. (eds.), *The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology: Historical Theology.* Aylesbury: Hazell Wastson & Viney Ltd. C. T. Cruttwell (1971), *A Literary History of Early Christianity* vol. 2. New York: AMS Press. J. M. Campbell (1963), *The Greek Fathers*, New York: Cooper Square Publisher, Inc. J. Questen (1986: 9–13), *Patrology.* Westerminster: Christian Classics, Inc. F. A. A. Cayré (1959) *The First Spiritual Writers*, London: Burns & Oates. C. N. Tsirpanslis (1991: 21–3), *Introduction to Eastern Patristic Thought and Orthodox Theology*, Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press. C. A. Hall (2002: 15–23), *Learning Theology with Church Fathers*, Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press. C. Saulnier (1984: 1312–15), 'Pères de l'Église', in P. Poupard, (ed.). *Dictionnaire des religions.* Paris: P. U. F. R. S. Haugh, (ed.) (1944, 1947), *The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century*, 3. vols. in the *Collected works of Georges Florovsky* Vaduz: Büchervetriebsanstalt. E. J. Goodspeed (1966), *A History of Early Christian Literature*, Revised and enlarged by R. M. Grant, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, George Allen Union, Ltd., The University of Toronto Press; R. R. William (1960), *A Guide to the Teachers of the Early Church Fathers*, Grand Rapids, Chicago: W. M. B Eerdmans Publishing Company; A. Puech (1930), *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du IVe siècle. t. 3: Le IVe siècle.* Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres'; A. Hamman (2000), *Les Pères de l'Église,* Paris: Migne; I. Backus (ed.) (1997). *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West.* 2 vols. Leiden, New York,

authority attributed to it today' (Cayré 1959: 20). In addition, this name was originally a title through which the 'heads of Churches namely, bishops, who were guardians both of disciplinary and doctrinal authority 'were designated' (C. N. Tsirpanlis, 1991: 21). In their totality, all these attempts to define 'Church Father' emphasise upon their 'doctrinal authority' and lifetime in the first seven or eight centuries of Christianity. Consequently, the Church Fathers or 'Father in the faith' (C. A. Hall, 2002: 19), worked to elaborate on the Christian creeds and dogma. That is to say, for us, the advent of the Church Father was concomitant with the History of Dogma.[58] Concerning the prehistory of the expression, we notice that, in the religious sense, as asserted by U. Anthony and Clendenin, cited by C. A. Hall (2002: 19):

> 'The idea of a father in the faith has a rich and fruitful background in the Bible and in the ancient world. Paul, for example, describes himself as a 'Father' to the member of the Corinthian congregation, distinguishing the role of a father from that of a mere guardian (1Co 4: 15). The term "father" also occurred in rabbinic, Cynic and Pythagorean circles. Early Christian writers such as Clement of Rome, Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria all employ the term. Irenaeus speaks, not only of the students as

Köln: E. J. Brill. HV Campenhausen (1963), *The Fathers of the Greek Church*, London: A. and C. Black Limited.

[58] This expression 'Dogmengeschichte' in German was first used by Bauer, who was the founder of the Tübingen School, as well as the dialectical method in interpreting Christian Doctrine. Bauer discovered Paulinism in the New Testament and a synthesis of the Antiochian and Alexandrian School. Bauer's thought was continued by Ritshl and picked up by Von Harnack, one of the greatest patrologists and philologists, but not a patristic scholar. He was however, a great historian, and he believed his history was a history of human accretions. For Harnack 'Dogma was a human accretion too, an intellectual cultivator of Hellenization of Christian Doctrine.' The basic idea of Harnack was that dogma is an intellectual exercise and nothing more (see C. N. Tirpanlis. 1991: 20–21).

one "who has received the teaching from another's mouth" as being a son, but also of one's instructor as being a "father". A father in the faith, then, is someone who is familiar with the teachings concerning the life and the ministry of Jesus Christ and can be trusted to hand on faithfully and correctly the tradition that he himself has already received. Trustworthiness of character and rootedness in the gospel are nonnegotiable in the life of a father. There were also trusted mothers in the faith, but unfortunately non-negotiable we do not possess large written corpus from their hands. '

On the other hand, the advent of the Fathers of the Church was motivated by the eruption of controversies, a view confirmed by Lloyd when he wrote:

'It was in the midst of the controversies of the fourth and following centuries that the term came to be used in particular of those bishops who were remembered exponents of orthodox teaching (Basil, Ep. 140.2; Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. 33.5; Cyril of Alexandria, Ep. 390; it is used in this sense pre-eminently of the bishop of the councils of Nicaea, Basil, Ep. 52.1; Gregory of Nyssa, Ep. Can; Ephesus [431], Can. 7), and of the bishops of the council of Nicaea and Constantinople (Chalcedon, Def. 2;4). These were the "fathers" to whom regard was due for having affirmed the Catholic faith in a special sense. It is but a step from here to the point where the term begins to be used more generally of those teaching and can be appealed to for the establishment of orthodox doctrine. '

In the same line C. A. Hall also said:

'The idea of preserving and faithfully passing on the apostolic teachings concerning the meaning of Jesus is clearly evident in the era of the Trinitarian and Christological controversies. Bish-

ops who faithfully preserved and protected the conciliar decisions of key councils such as Nicaea (A. D. 325), Constantinople (381), and Chalcedon (451) received the title "father". The Church considered the Christian leaders worthy of special honour and regard for preserving orthodox teaching during the time marked by severe testing and occasional persecution. '

ii. Categories of Church Fathers

To qualify traditionally as a Church Father, state Tsirpanlis (1991: 21–20) and Hall (2002: 20–21), the following four key criteria[59] were required and often employed to determine whether a particular Christian teacher qualified as a father of the Church: antiquity, holiness of life, orthodox doctrine,[60] and ecclesiastical approval. To meet the first criterion, the postulant had to live and work from the close of the first century (c. A. D. 96) to the time of John of Damascus (750). By holiness we do not mean perfection. The Church Fathers were intensely human and struggled with all the same shortcomings and temptations common to humanity, but 'their hearts were set on fire by the Gospel. They lived and breathed the Scriptures. And many willingly laid down their lives for the sake of Christ' (C. A. Hall, 2002: 20). By orthodox doctrine, the

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[59] Vincent of Lerinus was among the first who in his *Community of 434,* shed light on the determining of the criteria in the choice of the Fathers of Church. He describes the fathers of the Church as people who 'each in his own time and place 'remained' in the unity of communion and the faith' and were 'accepted as approved masters'. Vincent afterwards, argues that 'whatsoever these may be found to have held one mind and one consent… ought to be accounted the true and catholic doctrine of the Church, without any doubt or scruple" (see C. A. Hall 2002: 19–20).

[60] An Orthodox Church Father is, according to Cayré (1947: 2), who leads his life in the faith and in the Catholic communion, in saintliness, wisdom, constancy; he teaches in accordance with the true faith and with this Catholic communion, he perseveres in the true faith until his death.

Church Fathers, as teachers of the Church, must line up with apostolic tradition. Finally, the Church itself had to identify and approve the teachings and lives of those who would receive the designation of 'Church Father'. No one can autonomously claim the title for himself.

Concerning their groups, according to Cayré, we shall have no difficulty in making out three fairly distinct groups or categories of Church Fathers. First of all, the *Initiators*, in the three first centuries, and among them are classified the Apostolic Fathers: Clement of Rome (c. 102), Ignatius of Antioch (? -107), Polycarp of Smyrna (70–156), Papias of Hierapolis (c. 130), and the Apologists[61]: Quadratus (c. 124), Aristides of Athens (c. 125), Aristo of Pella (c. 140), Justin Martyr (c. 165), Tatian the Syrian (post 272?), Apollinaris of Hierapolis (c. 172), Athagoras of Athens (c, 177), Theophilus of Antioch (post 181), and Melito of Sardis (c. 190). In this category are classed the most important anti-Gnostic writers such as Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian and the Martyrs. Secondly, the *Great Thinkers*, from the fourth to fifth centuries. Thirdly, the *Continuators,* from 461 to 843.

iii. Features of Church Fathers

We have already seen that, the expression 'Church Fathers', in a religious sense, refers to the person responsible for spiritual birth and formation by their teaching and conduct of life (1 Kings 20.35; 1 Co 4.15; 1 Peter 5.12). In 1 Clement 62.2., the apostles or patriarchs are designated 'Fathers'. Since bishops came to be regarded as 'fathers' of Christians in this sense, they were so addressed from the second century onward. However, what were their particular characteristics? F. A. A.

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[61] The Apologists were the founders of Patristic philosophy who, according to JM Campbell (1963: 23) and A. M. Malingrey (1968: 26–35), attempt to justify Christianity against their external enemies (pagan intellectuals and the Roman Empire) and internal enemies (the heretics). Apologists worked too for the 'Christianization of Hellenism' (see J. M. Campbell, 1963: 24).

Cayré reduces them to five points according to their conduct of life and work (1959: passim). In fact, Church Fathers were 'Instruments of the Holy Spirit in the mystical body of Jesus Christ, they are the men of the Spirit and the witnesses of his active presence in the womb of humanity' (p. 27); 'their writings were the source of Christian wisdom'; 'they are Churchmen in the highest sense; the contemplators of the great mysteries and are *ipso facto* the pioneers of the spiritual life; the teachers of the Christian life.'

iv. Importance of Church Fathers

Their importance is due to, and linked with, their Biblical, spiritual and theological works. That is confirmed by Cayré when he wrote:

> 'The authority of the Fathers as spiritual and mystical guides, as well as teachers of sacred knowledge, has always been recognized by the Church; the teaching value of their writings goes beyond the systematisation of doctrine, in spite of a modern tendency to enclose them within those systems. Protestantism, in all the form it took on in the sixteenth century, appealed to the ancient witnesses of Tradition in order to introduce its innovations in the Church.'

In addition, there was an eruption of many kinds of 'philosophers in speculative sense'. They rose after the Age of Enlightenment and due to the 'spirit of error' and 'modern errors' (spirit of specialisation). The appeal of Church Fathers who were the first Christian instructors and are regarded as 'spiritual writers and mystics', is the salutary way they laid down their orthodoxy and by what we learn from them 'contemplation, spirit for Christian education'. Basically, for Cayré 'the Fathers, like the inspired writers themselves, played a great part in leading Christians to a higher culture of the spirit, even the most specialized' (1959: 124). On the other hand, the Church Fathers worked for the establishment of the

right rule of the Christian faith or 'Christian orthodoxy'. What does this mean for the Christian life?

1.5.2.4 Orthodoxy

It is not easy to define the word 'orthodoxy' because, as C. F. Allison observes (1994: 11), 'there was never anything so perilous or as exciting as orthodoxy, nothing so sane, so thrilling'. In our attempt to understand this term, we will follow this framework: definition, historical overview of the word 'orthodoxy': Roman Catholic and Protestant overviews of this concept.

i. Definition of the Term 'Orthodoxy'

Etymologically speaking, as Hellwig (1994: 622–623) and Hensley (2004: 1422–1424) explain, the concept 'orthodoxy' is derived from two Greek words: *orthos* and *doxa*. *Orthos* meaning 'straight or correct' (Hellwig 1994: 622), or 'right' (Hensley 2004: 1422). *Doxa* means 'opinion' (Hellwig), 'belief or opinion' (Hensley). The word 'orthodoxy[62]' is therefore not a word of Biblical origin; it means 'holding the

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[62] In his very informative doctoral dissertation C. E. Spinosa (1988), which consists of five chapters and is focused on 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in Hans Küng: an Analysis and Critic of his Criteria and Norms of Christian Truth and Error', deals with the concepts 'orthodoxy-heresy' in the thought of this Swiss theologian. In the first chapter of this investigation, the broad outline of the development of Christian Orthodoxy and, by implication, of the heresy which opposed it, is sketched, starting with the New Testament times. Afterwards, the second chapter shows that the pastoral concerns which constitute Küng's theological starting point originated during the years of his priestly formation in Rome: his interest in ecumenical understanding among all Christian traditions and his preoccupation with proclaiming the Gospel in terms both intelligible and relevant to modern humankind. Chapter 3 endeavours to describe and analyze Küng's understanding of the principles, criteria, and norms of classical orthodoxy. Chapter 4 deals with the modern criteria and norms of orthodoxy. Finally, chapter 5 shows a critical appraisal of Küng's model of orthodoxy-heresy. It is

right beliefs according to official Church teaching' (Hellwig), or 'right belief, as contrasted with heresy or heterodoxy' (Hensley). However, in the second century of Christian history, this word took on importance as the Church faced the eruption of Gnosticism, and of the Trinitarian and Christological controversies of the fourth century. Indeed, orthodoxy functioned as the guardian of the authentic doctrines of the Church. As a consequence, the Emperor Constantine promptly initiated several ecumenical Councils which issued definitions, creeds, and condemnations, excommunications, organized schisms not just of individuals or factions, but of whole clusters of local Churches.

Moreover, orthodoxy disputes were concerned not only with major doctrines of the faith but with words in the Creeds such as the *Filioque* ('and from the Son' concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit) and with the proper Calendar of East, two issues which divided the Churches of East and West into a millennium-long schism which never healed. In addition, the sixteenth century disputes arose in the egregious Western Church over teachings concerning the sacraments, the vocabulary of 'justification' and 'faith' and so forth, dividing the Western Churches into Catholic and Protestant, roughly into South and North. When the first letter of the term orthodoxy[63] is written with a capital letter, it means and refers to the communication of Orthodox Churches compris-

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concluded that his decisive norm of Christian truth is the modern scientifichistoricist horizon of understanding. As for the gospel of Jesus Christ, which Küng claims is his ultimate criteria and norm of Christian truth, is considered as the centre of the theologian's personal faith. In addition, some of the contributions of Küng to the understanding of orthodoxy-heresy are mentined, as well as the the inner teensions of the model.

[63] According to Eliade (1978: 378), orthodoxy could be summed into four mains elements as follows: the fidelity to Old Testament and to the Apostolic tradition as attested by the documents, the resistance to the excesses of mythologist imagination, the reverence to the systematic thought, and the importance puts to the social and political institutions.

ing mainly Greek and Slavic groups. Finally, for a particular 'doctrine' to qualify as part of orthodoxy, usually it must either be explicitly included in the Bible or be a belief proposed by the faithful (*sensus fidelium)* as implicit within the Bible (Hensley 2004: 1244).

In conclusion, 'orthodoxy means the creeds and decisions of the first four General (or Ecumenical) Councils of the early Church, which have been the accepted guidelines for these many centuries' (see C. F. Allison 1994: 19–20).

ii. Historical Overview of the Word 'Orthodoxy'

a. Introduction

I would like to begin this section with Dorothy Sayers' enthusiastic words on Orthodoxy, quoted by Allison 1994: 11): 'there was never anything so perilous or exciting as Orthodoxy, nothing so sane and so thrilling'. By this term 'Orthodoxy', Christians express, asserts Allison (1994: 19–20), 'the creeds and decisions ofthe first four General (or Ecumenical) Councils of the early church, which have been the accepted guidelines for these many centuries. In fact, etymologically, the word Orthodoxy', states Allison (1994: 21), has a checkered history with a strangely ambivalent and even paradoxical connotation. On the one hand its basic definition has the purest positive meaning: *orthos,* meaning straight or correct or right or true, and *doxa* meaning opinion and, by extension, teaching. All, including ancient and modern heretics, claim that their teaching or opinion is true and correct. Who would ever claim one's own current opinion to be false? This is to say that there is erroneous orthodoxy'.

Furthermore, the concept 'Orthodoxy', whose very meaning begs the question of right and true, has somehow attracted to itself unmistakably negative and pejorative connotations such as 'not original' or 'conventionally approved'. 'Not independent minded or original' is another meaning found in dictionaries. One must face at the outset the reasons

for this development. What makes this issue a matter of crucial concern for Christians is that a justifiable case can be made for the claim that what is conventionally approved has almost always been heresy and not orthodoxy. Another barrier reveals Allison (1994: 22) is that orthodoxy, over time, seems to keep its form but lose its substance. This dynamic may be seen as the functional of what physicists call entropy in the physical world. Entropy is that law of physics which shows that in each transaction of mechanical work there is a loss or dissipation of energy. Similarly, as a fresh wording of Christian truth is initially received with power, over time the expression of that truth begins to be received as the truth itself and its power and energy are dissipated. The creeds, explains Allison, are good examples of this dynamic. They are expressions and symbols of the saving action of God. We believe the creeds only in the sense that we believe what they express. The creeds did not hang on a cross for sinners. The human tendency to confuse symbols with what they represent causes the loss of their passion and power, the loss and dissipation of their energy. Their entropy, or dissipation of energy, concludes Allison (1994: 22), would seem an apt model to help us understand how orthodoxy tends to lose its power as subsequent generations tend to recite the form without a genuine grasp of its substance. To counter this spiritual entropy and recover the original power of orthodoxy, each generation must struggle anew with its original meaning. It is said of Quakers that 'religion gave rise to prosperity and was devoured by its offspring'. Similar observations could be made of each tradition, indicating the human tendency to accept the fruit of grace while forgetting its roots.

Furthermore, the heresy which during the the Patristical era tended to destroy the power of some Christian dogma, in the modern age, heresy also, in my opinion, desempowers Christian original dogma, teaching by the intrusion and processus of modernism, secularization, pluralism, and relativism. After this gloss, which served as an introductory part of this

section, let us now show how the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches understand the concept of 'orthodoxy'.

b. Roman Catholic Overview

In the Catholic Church, states Hellwig (1994: 622–3), the touchstone of orthodoxy is the magisterium, the official Voice of the Church as embodied in the bishops and councils, but especially in the Pope. The content of Catholic orthodoxy, explains Hellwig, is less easily defined, consisting of Scripture as interpreted in creeds, formal definitions, ordinarily agreed teaching and tradition, and the cumulative body of papal and Episcopal writings and pronouncements.

c. Protestant Overview

As contended by Hensley (2004: 1422), the term orthodoxy in this area has an even more specific meaning than right belief. Protestant orthodoxy represents a period extending from the second half of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century when Lutheran and Reformed theologians developed highly sophisticated theological systems that became the standard theological understandings of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

It is often called Protestant Scholasticism for its resemblance to medieval scholasticism, the technical precision and rigour of much of late medieval theology. This present point briefly outlines Protestant orthodoxy's development out of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, charts its history in three periods of its development, and then discusses the factors that contributed to its decline before the dawn of the nineteenth century. [64] These periods are: early orthodoxy (c. 1560–1620),

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[64] Concerning our developing comprehension of 'Protestant orthodoxy', Hensley (2004: 1422–3) notes that, at one time, historians of theology viewed Protestant orthodoxy with some suspicion for being a theological movement that fixed the creative insights of the first generations of the Reformation and thereby turned them into arid scholastic systems of doctrine devoid of piety. By dynamic, per-

high orthodoxy (c. 1620–1700), and late orthodoxy (c. 1700–1790). Such a division is artificial but nevertheless helpful to see the progression of thought within the movement as well as the diversity of issues it faced over the course of the first two centuries of Protestantism. Indeed, early orthodoxy (c. 1560–1620), focused on the initial two challenges of developing ecclesiastical polities and confessions, and academies[65] of

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sonal, and perhaps unpredictable faith of Martin Luther (1483–1546), for example, with his emphasis on a theology ground in revelation and not reason, was turned by his followers into a dry legalism based more on Aristotelian metaphysics than Paul's notion of Justification by Faith. More recently, historians of this post-Reformation period have carefully corrected this misperception by noting the deep continuities between the thought of the initial reformers and its subsequent development into systems of doctrine by orthodox Lutheran and Reformed theologians which became the 'Church traditions of Protestantism made by the second generation of pastors and theologians who immediately followed the first generation of reformers. They did that for four reasons. First, those who followed the reformers necessarily needed organization and structure to their new Christian existence, as their definition and instruction in their new faith tradition was outside of Roman Catholicism. Second, a new generation of Clergy needed to be educated to continue the preaching and teaching of the Reformation by creating centres of theological learning where the systematic reflection on Reformation faith and piety could take place. Third, this systematic reflection allowed subsequent generations of theologians to extend and further nuance the theologies of the sixteenth century reformers through both developing more fully their own internal differences and struggling through issues and/or problems that the first generation of reformers had not or could not anticipate. Finally, Protestant thinkers continued to defend the Reformation theologically against its Roman Catholic critics, and through this progress used and developed for themselves the logic and subtlety of medieval scholasticism that their Catholic opponents had used against them. Thus these challenges—the needs for confessions and order, schools, further theological refinement and defence—contributed to the development of Protestant orthodoxy after the Reformation.

[65] The Academies helped in the establishment of Confessions: *Formula of Concord (1577) for Lutherans, Book of Concord (1580),* which helped both to unify

learning in which to teach them. The transition to the high period of orthodoxy (1620–1700) can be linked to the controversies over the doctrine of predestination raised by the teachings of the Dutch Reformed theologian Jacobus Arminius (1559–1609) and dealt with at the Synod of Dort (1618–1619). Arminius held that Christ died for all and that the grace offered to all is accepted by virtue of a decision by the will of each person. The Synod gathered representatives from all parts of the Reformed Church (except France) to form a council wherein they condemned Arminius's theology as Pelagian. Despite this, Protestant orthodoxy went into decline during the eighteenth century for two reasons: firstly, the revolutions in the natural and human sciences since the Enlightenment and the consequent Biblical criticism[66]. Secondly, the rise

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Lutheranism and to set out its differences from the Calvinists. Although the Book of Concord established a doctrinally definitive canon for much of Lutheranism, confessions of faith referred their followers to scripture, in1561as *Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1559–1560) had done, Heidelberg Catechism (1563), *Belgian Confession.* Theodore Beza (1519–1605), perhaps the most important Reformed theologian of this early period, was the successor to John Calvin (1509–1564) and as head of the Church and theological academy in 1559, he was crucial to the development of Reformed orthodoxy, not only because the academy educated many of the theologians who would define the future of Reformed theology during the period, but also because it served as a model for the establishment of other centres of Reformed theology throughout Europe.

[66] This criticism, in my opinion, is one of consequences of modernism and liberal theology. Indeed, for Chopin (1992: 247–249), 'Modermism', presents variety of aspects, is characterized by a contestation of the value of dogmatic formulations. The word 'Modernism', in fact, states Lilley (1994: 763–768), is the name given by the papal encyclical issued by Pope Pius X (1903–1914) and condemned it to a complex of movements within the Roman Communion, all alike inspired by a desire to bring the tradition of Christian belief and practice into closer relation with the intellectual habits and social aspirations of the time of the last decade of the nineteenth century. Cozens (1928: 79–85), notes that, 'Modernism' would be a heresy which attacked not one dogma, but the very

of various forms of Deism, scepticism and atheism. At the same time, the advent of Jakob Spener (1635–1705), with his 'Pietism', constituted the rescue of Protestant orthodoxy. Spener said 'orthodoxy had lost sight of the fact that theology is not an end in itself but a means to deep faith, a faith which is lived and visible in its piety' (Hensley, 2002: 1424). Thus, through pietism, concludes Hensley, Protestant orthodoxy mediated in important ways between the Reformation and the modern world.

In conclusion, the word 'orthodoxy' designates the true teaching and belief of the Christian faith. During its history, the Church through these eminent personalities, had to battle with those who deviated from its orthodoxy with their false teachings-heresies or 'erronous orthodoxies'.

1.5.2.5 Heresy – Heretic

Under this section we intend to explain historically,[67] etymologically and technically the sense of the term 'heresy-heretic'. Indeed, every

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roots of dogmatic theology. It originates in the progress of two scientific branches: biology and textual criticism. These sciences, for him became the 'idols of the universities and schools' during the nineteenth century and in the opening years of the 20th century. However, through his 'Anatomy of Error', John Henry Newman (1801–1890) quoted by Pattison (1991: 97–143), in his study on '*Heresy and Liberalism: Cicero, Arius, and Socinus*', the erroneous beliefs that had polluted Christian doctrine, are fundamentally originated in the liberalism, an older error. He meant by liberalism such an 'anti-dogmatic principle and its developments'. For Newman the 'father of liberalism was Arius, the first of those who had denied the dogmatic principle'.

[67] In his attempt to draw sketch of the history of heresies, K. Rahner (1969: 18–23) proposes the following patterns: first 'Basic considerations' by specifying that the history of heresies is to a large extent parallel to the history of dogma and that the real theological problem of a history of heresies is only apparent, however, when the ambiguous nature of heresy is taken into account; second, by identifying 'some pointers on the history of heresies.' These 'pointers' encompass the 'principles of arrangement' of the history of heresies. According to these principles, there are three sorts of heresies: 'reactionary heresies', 'heresies by reduction', and 'verbal heresies.' In fact, the first are those which shut them-

system of religion, philosophy, science or politics, said O'Grady (1983: 4), 'has its heretics.' Historically speaking, the word 'heresy' [68] itself

selves off from a historically necessary development in the Church and its teaching (for example Montanism or Novatianism, which wrongly wished to retain the systematically more severe practices of penitence). The second are which seek either to give Christianity a radical character or to relieve it of doctrines that are 'not modern', by restricting it to doctrines declared to be the only important ones. A heresy by radical reduction was the other Protestantism with its triple 'Sola' (Scriptura, Gratia, and Fides), Fundamentalism, heretical existentialist demythologizing, modernism, etc., seek to relieve Christianity of unwelcome burdens. Finally, 'verbal heresies', which think they cannot recognize their faith in a particular ecclesial formulation, although they in fact say the same thing or advocate an interpretation of an article of faith which is tenable inside the Church (e. g. certain forms of Monophysitism).

[68] Some historian scholars that I respect raise objections against the use of the words heresy and heretic without, in my opinion, proposing the correct and appropriate words which must be used in naming the reality that these words determine. In fact their conception originates from the edition of Walter Bauer's studies in 1934, especially when its German version, thirty seven years late, was translated into English by RA Kroft and G Krodel in 1971 with the title 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity'. The scholarly Bauer's theory demonstrates that heresy preceded orthodoxy during Early Christianity. Indeed, this theory, states A Boulluec (2000: 270), liberates historical research on heresy from the apologetics. Moreover, this theory has already been stigmatized by other scholars among them**,** Grant, R. M. (1981: 821–36). From Greek Hairesis to Christian Heresy, in Simon, M. (ed.) *Le Christianisme antique et son contexte religieux*, Scripta Varia, Vol. II, Tübingen: J. B. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). CE Spinosa, 1988, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Hans Küng: An Analysis and Critique of his Criteria and Norms of Christian Truth and Error*, p. 109ss. DJ Harrington, 'The Reaction of Walter Bauer's Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity during the Last Decade', *Harvard Theological Review* 73 (1980: 289–298). IH Marshall, 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christianity', *Themelios 2 (1976: 5–14).* Indeed, Grant's article is one of several in this book and it is, in general, a kind of 'counterattack' against Bauer's point of view on heresy and orthodoxy in Early Christianity which, in a nutshell, contends that 'Heresy precedes Orthodoxy.' Grant begins by defining the word orthodoxy as: 'constitutes the pure

was used the first time, according to Heinemann (1969: 16–23), by Herodotus in his *History V. 1.*[69] Etymologically speaking, the term heresy[70]

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tradition as handed down by successive generations in an unbroken line from the authentic Gospel of Jesus and his Apostles.' Contrary to Bauer's point of view, Grant emphasizes that the fondness for error appears only from the moment that Christ began to preach. In his investigation, the analysis of the terms hairesis and heterodoxia is intended to clarify the process by which the terms were transformed from the general meaning—according to its etymology 'choice, and specifically the choice of embracing a particular school of thought', because for the Greeks, the choice was praiseworthy, a legitimate decision to embrace a certain way of thinking by the use of human reason—to 'reprehensible aberration from Christian doctrine and practice', because, for 'Christians, since a complete and perfect revelation took place in Jesus Christ, choice is condemned.'

[69] Many scholars deal with the semantics of the word '*hairesis*', for instance: G. W. Bromileu (1982: 684–5) whose investigation reveals that this word *hairesis* derives from the Greek *hairesis—haierein*, which mean 'take, select'. The term has three meanings in classical Greek: 'seizure (i. e. of a city); choice or selection, resolve or effort directed to a goal'. This author specifies that in Hellenism, this word acquired the related sense of 'teaching' and 'school'. In the later sense this word came to be used of the philosophical school i. e. those that in a larger society follows the teachings of particular leaders in distinction from others. See also A. Michel (1920: 2208–57), 'Hérésie-hérétique', in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris: L. Letouzey, Successeur, especially the page 2208 where he specifies that in Greek antiquity the word *hairesis* etymologically speaking, could also mean 'to conquer or to take by force a city'. Moreover, JM. Clintock et al. (1969: 198) when he deals with the origin and early use of the word heresy consider that this word, originally meant simply 'choice' (e. g., of a set of opinions), later, it was applied to the opinions themselves; last of all, to the *sect* maintaining them. 'Philosophy was in Greece the great object which divided the opinions and judgments of men; and hence the term heresy, being most frequently applied to the adoption of this or that particular dogma, came by an easy transition to signify the sect or school in which that dogma was maintained' e. g. the heresy of the Stoics, of Peripatetics, and Epicureans. Josephus Flavius also speaks of the three heresies: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes in Ant. xii, 5, 9.

is "an English transliteration of the Greek word *hairesis (*see Cross 1913: 614), meaning originally "neutral term", and is defined as, according to Farrer (1960: 268), 'a choice'[71] (Lev. 22, 18, 21 [LXX]), 'a chosen opinion'[72] (2 Peter 2, 1) which in turn its means "destructive opin-

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[70] For WGDD Lampe (ed.) (1961: 51), *hairesis* means 'way of thought', 'system of thought or those who profess such a system, school, sect', 'a false teaching purporting to be Christian'. Corollary to this word, according to G. C. Cross (1913: 614), means 'an act of choosing, choice or attachment', then, 'a course of action or thought, and finally denoted a philosophical principle or principles of those who professed them, i. e. a school or sect'.

[71] The word '*hairésis*' comes from the Greek verb '*hairéô*' which means, in Latin 'choice' (see JN Pérès &JD Dubois (1988: 36). For Tertullian, it means, according to its etymology 'make a doctrinal choice' (see Mounier 1985: 15).

[72] According to J. M Clintock et al. (1969: 198–199), in the historical part of the New Testament, the word *heresy* denotes a sect or part, whether good or bad (Acts 5: 17; 15: 5; 26: 5; 28: 22). In Acts 26: 4–5, Paul, in defending himself before King Agrippa, uses the same term, when it was manifestly his design to exalt the party to which he had belonged, and to give their system preference over every other system of Judaism, both with regard to soundness of doctrine and purity of morals. In the Epistles the word *heresy* occurs in a somewhat different sense. Paul, in Gal. 5: 20, puts *hairesis,* in the list of crimes with uncleanness, seditions, *dichostasiai* etc. In 1 Cor. 11: 19 (there must also be *heresies* among you), he uses it apparently to denote schisms or divisions in the Church. In Titus 3: 10 he comes near to the later sense; the 'heretical person' appears to be the one given over to a self-chosen and divergent form of belief and practice. In the early post-apostolic Church, if 'a man admitted a part, or even the whole of Christianity, and added to it something of his own, or if he rejected the whole of it, he was equally designated as a heretic. In general, in the early Church, all who did not hold what was called the Catholic faith (the orthodox) were called *heretics.* Consequently, in the relationship between heresy and doctrine, heresy becomes like a 'sin, all spring from the natural man, but they first make their appearance in opposition to the revealed truth, and thus presuppose its existence, as the fall of Adam implies a previous state of innocence. There are religious errors, indeed, to any extent out of Christianity, but no heresies in the theological sense. These errors become heresies only when they come into contact, at least outwardly, with revealed truth and with the life of the

ions caused by false teaching". It is that meaning given to *hairesis* in 2 Peter which became predominant in Christian usage. Consequently 'heresy' becomes 'a deliberate denial of revealed truth coupled with the acceptance of error', a 'sect or party holding certain opinions' (Ac 5,17; 15,5; 24,14; 28,25; 1 Co 11,19; Ga 5,20). Despite the Greek origin of this word 'heresy', by the beginning of Christian era, wrote Richard (1994: 420), it was, and had come to be applied to, a religious or philosophical sect. In a Christian context, heresy normally refers to a false religious sect or to erroneous teaching and is consequently the opposite of orthodoxy.[73] Technically speaking, asserts Kelly (1994: 375), heresy must involve a conscious and deliberate deviation from a formally and publicly promulgated teaching by an authoritative organ of the Church. This view is confirmed by Webster, cited Sanders (1948: 15), where he defined 'heresy' as follows:

> 'A doctrine or opinion that is contrary to the fundamental doctrine or creed of any particular church, an error of opinion respecting some fundamental doctrine of religion; an opinion or doctrine tending to create division, an unsound or untenable doctrine of any kind. '

Moreover, Hjalmar says (1956: 332), the term 'heresy':

> 'Signifying any doctrine or belief which, though held by a professed adherent, is in opposition to the recognized and generally accepted standards of truth which are authoritatively defined and enforced by the established institution, part or system concerned.

Church. They consist essentially in the conscious or unconscious reaction of unsubued Judaism or heathenism against the new creation of the Gospel.' Heresy is the distortion or caricature of the original Christian truth.

[73] The very scholarly W. Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christianity (1977: xxiii),* confirms that 'heresy preceded the orthodoxy', it is actually proved, as asserted by M. Grant (1981: 821) that 'No, where there is heresy, orthodoxy must have preceded'.

It is a heresy for anyone professing the Christian faith to reject deliberately and pertinaciously by formal denial or by doubt the dogma established by the authority of theCatholic Church, a deliberate rejection of the Church's teaching'.

In addition, Safra, Yannias & Goulka (1986: 871–872), say:

'Heresy is a theological doctrine or system rejected by ecclesiastical authority. Derived from the Greek word hairesis which signified merely the holding of a particular set of philosophical opinions. The word was appropriated by Early Christian writers for designing false Christian teaching. The heresy differs from schism in that the heretic sometimes remains in the Churchdespite his doctrinal errors, the schismatic may be doctrinally orthodox but sever himself from the Church. '

Furthermore, the word 'heresy' with its connotation of 'choice', and according to More (1975: vii), which 'choice[74] implies thought', in the Middle Ages, continues More (1975: ix), heresy is defined by the medieval Church as 'an opinion chosen by human perception, founded on the scriptures, contrary to the teaching of the Church, publicly avowed and obstinately defended'. In conclusion, from all these attempts to define the word 'heresy' we deduce that the following elements qualify as heresy: thought and personal choice of a baptized and zealous Christian who usually remains in the Church. After all is said and done, heresies are assimilated as 'the snare of the devil, insidious encroachments of these satanic counterfeits of the true religions' (see Sanders, 1948: 6,9). Heresy, said Allison (1994: 23), 'is not an error of the understanding but an error of the will'. Today, this could be seen as 'a wound in the body

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[74] Through their work on Marc Lods, which delas with heresy in the Protestant Tradition, JN Pérès & JD Dubois (1988: 35–43), specify that: first, heresy is general 'internal choice in the Church'. But sometimes, according to Origen, heresy could be the product of using the secular science.

of Christ, something which must be healed, just as an individual will not amputate from the body of Christ one of its members, unless there is no other choice' (Kelly 1994: 376). As mentioned above, the word – heresy-heretic[75] – during its history knew a variety of uses according to O'Grady (1985: 5–7). Indeed, in Acts 26.5, Paul uses it in the sense that was conferred on this word by Josephus, the first Jewish historian, to say 'that, after the straitest sect, or heresy, of our religion, I lived a Pharisee'. But in his epistles, Paul uses this word in a condemnatory sense (1 Co11, 18–19 and Titus 3, 10). But after apostolic times, different interpretations of the Christian revelation forced the Church Fathers to name wrong teachings 'heresies'. Among them Bishop Ignatius of Antioch (d. 117) was the first to use the term 'heretic' against those who seemed to him to be confusing the true understanding of Christ.[76] Then, as doctrinal formulation began to have increasing importance, the world 'heresy' came to mean "any departure from the recognised creed" (O'Grady 1985: 5). Until the great controversies of the fourth century, the derogatory meaning of the term 'heresy' was used to define 'a doctrine maintained within the Church, but disruptive of its unity'. A 'schism' was an ecclesiastical cleavage, but a 'heresy' was a spiritual aberration (O'Grady 1985: 5); 'bad theology' (see J. W. C. Wand 1955: 13). By the fourth century, the word heresy had come to be used as "theological opinion or doctrine held in opposition to the 'Catholic' or orthodox doctrine of the Christian Church. It now included a yet stronger derogatory meaning of 'fundamental error adhered to with obstinacy, after it (that error) has been defined and declared by the Church in an authorita-

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[75] For CF Allison (1994: 23), the claim that heresy is largely a matter of sin is a spiritual challenge that begs serious attention by any researcher in this field of scientific investigation.

[76] The heresies about which Justin speaks are Jewish. See article "Les sectes juives d'après les témoignages patristiques" in M. Simon (1982: 205–218), *Le Christianisme antique et son contexte religieux, Scripta Varia, vol. 1*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

tive manner" (O'Grady 1985: 6). In the Middle Ages, continues O'Grady (1985: 7), most of the heresies centred on ecclesiastical and practical controversies or on the individual conscience against the established order (of the Papacy)[77]. From the Reformation[78], Christendom has been divided. The term 'heresy' designates for John Calvin in his commentary on 1 Tim 1, 19, 'all errors that have existed in the Christian Church from the beginning, proceeded form this source, that in some persons, ambition, and in others, covetousness, extinguishing the true fear of God. A bad conscience is, therefore, the mother of all heresies' (see Alisson 1994: 11). Finally, the notion of heresy in modern time has been put into perspective by the notion of pluralism, observes Holland (1973: 430) when he writes:

> 'The important role of pluralism in the disruption of the traditional views of heresy for the contemporary world must be noted. The basic principle of pluralism removes the question of heresy from the area of truth and places it in the area of discipline. Each church can work out its own confession stance, regard it as true, and demand that its members subordinate themselves to it. Each church may also choose to regard all others who claim to be Christian as heretics. But those so accused can either leave that particular church or, if they are not members of it, simply ignore the charge. Neither punitive action against person or property nor social stigma attaches to such a 'heretic' in the larger pluralistic society. This also means that not every 'Heresy' will affect every church; e. g. the confessional Protestant churches were little

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[77] See M. Zerner 'hérésies', in: C. Gauvad, A. de Libera, M. Zink (dir.) 2004: pp. 667– 671 for a wide view on the heresy during this epoch.

[78] To Martin Luther, quoted by M. Lienhard, heresy is the manifestation of the overproud will of man in asserting himself against God (our translation from the following French sentence: *'Luther définit l'hérésie comme la manifestation de la volonté orgueilleuse de l'homme s'affirmant face à Dieu'*.

touched by the excesses of liberal theology. It has also tends to mean, historically, that the relativizing of dogma begun, in a sense, by the humanists (e. g. Castellio) and given impetus by the nineteenth century's great theologians (e. g. Schleirmacher) has rendered many churches less sensitive about doctrinal dissent and deviation… There is a mood of impatience with preoccupation in doctrinal concerns and a distinction to regard any formulae as prepositional absolutes. Claims to absolute truth are not widely accepted. Nevertheless, heresy is not a completely anachronistic notion, and it remains of particular concerns for those churches which are marked by a tight confessional stance'.

1.6 Rationale for Chapter division

Our dissertation attempts to chart the identity of modern heretics through the blueprint of John of Damascus. It compounds two parts. The first part is constituted by four chapters. It is concentrated on the introduction, the overview and John of Damascus understanding of heresy. In fact, the introduction examines the problem concerning the perennial question of heretical behaviour, which problem our research seeks to solve. It shows the strategy used in the quest of solving the posed problem. In addition, this chapter specifies the large context of our theme by defining some key concepts.

The second deals with a synopsis of definition of heresy from early Christianity up to modern time, the causes of their birth and spread, and the strategy used by the Church to struggle against it is given. The background during the lifetime of John of Damascus constitutes the essential matter of material of the third chapter. It demonstrates that this father of the Church lived in the century of the Ummayad dynasty which saw the period of Muslim expansion. The fourth chapter demonstrates John of Damascus understanding of heresy.

The second part deals with the case studies of modern Christian heretical movements and compounds three chapters. The fifth chapter explains how with the scientific support of DRC, segregation became the basis of the racial policy-Apartheid- in South Africa. It argues that segregation was primarly the product of imperialism and a triumph of the influence of the racial attitudes on the frontier. The sixth chapter discuses the opened heretical cases study: Kimbanguism. Indeed, it would be there arose in the personage and movement of Simon Kimbangu a socio-political and religious awakening. It represents both internal indigenous structural critique of traditional African values and religious beliefs and from a more general external indigenous critical reaction to culture-contact of colonial exploitation and oppression. Chapter seven paints an attempt at a portrait of modern heretic in the light of John of Damascus. It reveals three ways to comprehend and define the heretic: theologically, psychologically and sociologically. Lastly, the concluding remarks bring to end our investigation.

1.7 Conclusion

From this introductory chapter, it is evident that the question of heresy is still relevant. First of all we have to state that there is no suitable research without relevant methodology that is focused on the research process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used. We showed how the historico-theological (biographical and diachronic), interdisciplinary methods and their appropriate techniques are applied to our topic.

In general, ideas about the key words cited above help in our attempt to comprehend them as follows. Concerning 'Church History', it is the one of the four pillars of theology, a specific field of theology with its appropriate methodology, aims, objectives, and advantages. Concerning especially the ultimate advantage of history in general and Church History in particular, we noticed with Halphen cited by Y. Congar (1984:

237), that the knowledge of history teaches the historian about modesty, equity in his judgments of facts, prudence opposing any kind of untimely or hasty assessment, reasoned and reasonable doubt, good sense and measure. Anyone who knows History must replace the '*truquages*' or apologetic camouflage with the cult of truth. Afterwards, any historian must develop a rich 'historical sense'. By 'historical sense' we mean, according to Y. Congar (1984: 238) 'to be aware that every thing which comes from human changes, that texts and gestures must be dated, have a context, are situated between what preceeded them, determining them, and that which follows and on which they depend. '[79] Because Church history describes the past of the Church, it begins with the advent of Jesus Christ. The Patristic era is the period during which the history of Christianity began to be written and organised by the Fathers of the Church. These Church Fathers are classed according to their languages (Greek and Latin Fathers); their importance as doctrinal authorities and historical figures; and chronologically. That is why, through their style of life, and their theology, they contributed to the correct formulation of the data of the faith (see Daniélou, 1969: 33) and by placing the Bible in the centre of the Christian life (see Daniélou, 1969: 29, 33).

As said above, Church History could not be written without the participation of certain zealous and fervent Christian writers who lived during the first centuries of the Christian Church named 'Church Fathers'. The expression 'Church Fathers' does not denote writers who enjoy personal reputation, but the bishops in as much as they enjoy an authority bound up with their function. That is to say that they are the Church Fathers in that they were the witnesses of the common faith of the Church. Defined as 'the elaborators of the orthodox faith', the ques-

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[79] Our translation from the following French paragraph: "avoir conscience que tout ce qui vient des hommes change, que les textes et gestes sont datés, ont un contexte, prennent place entre ce qui les a précédés et les conditionne et ce qui les suivra et qu'ils conditionnent".

tion of Church Fathers has become a matter of urgency to current Church historians to appeal to them to give light to solve several challenges faced by the post-modern Church. Daniélou (1969: 32) writes: 'Church Fathers perhaps lose something of their 'stained-glass' character, but they appear closer to us, and doubtless can consequently better assist us in solving our own problems'.

In addition, one of the big questions which preoccupied the Fathers of the Church was the appearance and development of false Christian teachings-heresies. This word is the transliteration of the Greek word *hairesis*. Its use in the pejorative sense in the Christian area is, according to Le Boulluec (1985: 550–551), the combination of borrowing the Hellenic word 'heresiography', Jewish and Christian expression of 'false prophets', who were inspired by demonic mind.[80] In fact, etymologically speaking, *hairesis* means 'choice'. According to Belloc (1968: 4), the word 'heresy' designates the dislocation of some complete and self-supporting scheme by the introduction of a novel denial of some essential part of it.

Moerever, Heresy by the fourth century was still a 'clear phenomenon' (Kelly 1994: 375), because by this time 'the Christians had determined the canon of the Old and New Testaments. For all Christians, deviation from Scripture is heresy, although such deviation depends upon the type of exegesis involved' (Kelly 1994: 375). Consequently, 'a heretic is one who deviates from the teaching of the Church and so is in danger of being cut off from the Church' (Kelly: 375). Finally, because heresy is a denial of an accepted Christian doctrine, it could thus affect the individual, and the rest of society. That is why it is important to

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[80] Translated from the following French paragraph: 'le sens péjoratif du terme *hairesis,* qui prend la valeur d'hérésie, résulte de la conjonction de deux facteurs: l'emprunt à l'hérésiographie hellénistique d'une part, et le thème juif et chrétien des 'faux prophètes', d'inspiration démonique de l'autre'.

study it historically. The following chapter will deal with the historical overview of definition of heresy.

2

THE HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
OF UNDERSTADING OF HERESY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter does not purport to furnish an exhaustive history of heresies[81], but to detect how the heresy was understood through the time.

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[81] In his impressive and scholarly essay on 'How to read Heresiology' in late antique and Byzantine literature, A Cameron (2005: 194–196), recognizes that heresiology is an embarrassment to modern scholars. It began early and never lost its appeal, but our modern liberal prejudices make us highly resistant to the idea that there can be much imaginative content in such writing, still less that anyone can have found it interesting. Is heresiology therefore merely utiritian, or worse, a kind of scholastic exercise? For whom was it written, and did anyone bother to read it? Was it equivalent of publishing a note in a learned journal, whose main claim to fame will be the number of entries in a future citation index? One suspects that this last purpose was indeed the case with John of Damascus's *De haeresibus*, a hundred chapters refuting wrong beliefs, which drew the first eighty on Epiphanius, but with further additions including a controversial and tanalizing final chapter on Islam, the 'hersy of the Saracens.' In fact, scholars frequently complain that writing about heresy is made the more difficult because we have to depend so heavily on the versions of the winning side, those who successfully appropriated for themselves the term 'orthodox'; this bias is reinforced by the representations of heretics in Byzantine art, which again naturally stem from the 'orthodox'side and tend equally to reduce their subjects to caricatures and stereotypes. So Byzantine heresy is doubly difficult for the historian. On the one hand, the catologuing hersy itself is a subject with which most of us in the post-Enlighement West have little sympathy and which

As Murrayobserves (1976: vii), 'the writing of any kind of history in-volves selection, and different writers vary in their opinion of the rela-tive importance of different aspects of their subjects'.

Thus, it traces only the historical understanding or synopsis of defi-nitions of heresy. In fact, we have previously seen, according to O'Grady (1985: 4), that every system of religion, philosophy, science or politics has had its heretics. Particularly in the religious field, 'ortho-doxy and heresy are obviously correlative notions' (see W. Lourdoux 1976: viii) because it is impossible to speak about one without reference to the other. O'Grady (1985: 4) puts it in very well as follows: 'there can be no heresy without orthodoxy'. Later on, the origin of the New Testa-ment's use of the term heresy, which is derived from the Greek word *hairesis* – 'choice' in Latin—a bad choice—will be determined. Indeed, the term itself describes the propagation of, and adherence to religious opinions which are contrary to the declared teaching of the Church ex-pressed in the creeds and in the Bible (see E. Lord and D. Wittle 1969: 54). When and how was this bad 'choice' made? Our present chapter will respond to this question, firstly by examining the importance of heresy as a subject of historical study, and secondly, by investigating the various interpretations of heresy made by early Christians (in the New Testament in particular), during the Patristic Period, the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the Reformation era, and up to the present day.

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we are apt to dismiss with dispaging remarks about superficiality and stereotyp-ing, and on the other hand, the texts themselves, with few exceptions, present heresy and heretics from only one side, as the realm of the 'other', or even the demonic. Despite Cameron's sceptic apprehension about heresiology, we are still confident that heresiology is an ecclesiastical and historical issue that can yield important insights.

2.2 Understanding Overview of Heresy

2.2.1 Importance of Heresy as a Subject of Historical Study

Church History studies reveal how many heresies[82] have arisen since the beginning of the Christian Church right up to today. Clearly, '*le vide hérétique*'[83] did not exist for the entirety of Church history. Lambert's investigation[84] outlines the most recent research on heretical movements in the Late Middle Ages. First of all, he presents the 'Problem of Heresy' which reveals that heresy, and the horror it inspires, intertwines with the history of the Church itself. Lambert notes that Jesus himself warned his disciples against false prophets who would take his name, and the

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[82] RM Grant's article (1972: 170–171), especially its subtitle 'History against Heresy', observes how heresy and schism give impetus to historical study as evidenced by the fragments of Hegesippus (around 170), who wrote against heresies in Rome during the episcopate of Eleutherus. Hegesippus viewed the Church as a "pure virgin", uncorrupted by heresy, until the death of James—an event which occurred in 62 but is placed by him immediately before Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem in 70. The chronological displacement shows how important the theme was to him. Within the Church a certain Thebuthis, who failed to be elected bishop, permitted the seven Jewish sects to introduce heretical developments. To sum up what we have learned of the uses of history to this point, we should say that history could be used in relation to the world outside the Church to create links between what Richard Niebuhr called "Christ and Culture". Within the Church, history first provided an example for imitation, then supplied structure of thought in relation first to the transmission of authority and, related to his authority; second the priority of orthodoxy over heresy. In both instances the contemporary Gnostic view was being opposed. Justin the Martyr (C. E 89–163) insisted on the point that Simon Magus (Acts 8, 9–25), the father of heretics arose only after the Ascension. What he is obviously emphasizing is the chronological priority of apostolic orthodoxy to deviations from it.

[83] We owe this French expression which means 'the heretical vacuum' to C. Thouzellier 1967: 12.

[84] M. Lambert (2002), *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd. edition, Malden: Blackwell Publ. *passim.*

Epistle to Titus states that a heretic, after a first and second abomination, must be rejected. Church History has revealed how through many types of Council the true faith was preserved from the errors of the various heresies. However, this work was not easy. Guitton (1965:14–15) observes in 'Heresies and Church Councils' that:

> 'Here I must note a difficulty that arises in any study of heresies undertaken from anabsolute viewpoint. And that is that the heresy, like a Platonic idea, seems to have always existed in the realm of shadows and temptations, as though it had come down to earth by settling in an agitated and obstinate brain to become visible among men's minds; if it did have a history before emerging as heterodoxy, it was the clandestine history of all conspiracies; orthodoxy has exposed to the bright light of day a traitor who had always existed in its bosom. It is difficult to get away from this impression of the virtual existence of the heresies within orthodoxy before their condemnation, difficult not to see in Arius, in Luther, in Pelagius minds which were false from the outset; for the effect of an anathema is to brand the accused, or rather to create the impression of a prior defect, a black predestination. And every historian tends to make it look as though an event that cannot be explained by its causes could not have been won already… In our case, such a false impression is more serious still, since it would lead us to think that the history of the councils and of their condemnation shows how long the Church hesitated before it did discriminate, and condemn. ..'

Furthermore, Belloc (1968: 4) discerns that Christian heresy is a real way to understand Church history. Moreover, heresy, argues Belloc (1968: 11), 'is not a fossil subject. It is a subject of permanent and vital interest to mankind because it is bound up with the subject of religion, without some form of which no human society ever has endured, or ever can endure'. As the previous heresies attacked our ancestral religion

during its existence, it is important to learn the history of the heretical mind because, justifies Belloc (1968: 15), 'we are living today under a regime of heresy with only this to distinguish it from the older periods of heresy that the heretical spirit has become generalized and appears in various forms'. Finally, Wilhelm (1913: 261) recapitulates the role of heresy in history as follows:

> 'The disruption and disintegration of heretical sects also furnishes a solid argument for the necessity of strong teaching authority. The endless controversies with heretics have been indirectly the cause of most important doctrinal development and definitions formulated in councils to the edification of the body of Christ. Thus the spurious gospels of the Gnostics prepared the ways for the canon of Scriptures; Patripassian, Sabellian, Arian, and Macedonian heresies drew out a clear concept of the Trinity; the Nestorian, and Eutychian errors led to definite dogmas on the Nature and Person of Christ. And so down to Modernism, which has called forth a solemn assertion of the claims of the supernatural in history. '

From this last quotation we may deduce that the history of heresies is closely connected with the history of Christian orthodox dogmas. This point of view is confirmed by O'Grady (1985: 7):

> 'The early heresies were primarily concerned with doctrine. In the early centuries it was often due to the very heresies themselves that doctrines were formulated and re-formulated. Formulations were made in order to counteract or refute the heresy and this, in turn, led to further need of Clarification. So the body of dogma requiring Christian assent continued to grow. The early heresies are important, not only because of their content, but because of their influence on doctrinal developments.'

Similarly, Le Boulluec (1985/1: 16) in his study on 'The notion of heresy in Greek Literature during the 2nd -3rd centuries', affirms that the evolving discussion of what constituted heresy inevitably sharped the history of dogmas which were defined from a series of refutations. That is why the knowledge of the history of heresies is still precious to any-one who wishes to master Church History[85]. Moreover, the study of heresies, suggests Lündemann (1996: xv) helps us to describe an un-known side of Christianity, because heretics were, in general, Chris-tians[86]. In fact, at times during the early Church, 'heresy was of great importance in the early centuries in forcing the Church progressively to

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[85] MD Lambert (1977: xii-xv) demonstrates in his study of medieval heresies that: first, the history of heresies is 'the history of failure'. Second, the history of heresies implies the differentiation between 'real' and 'artificial' heresies. The 'real heresies' involved a major distortion of orthodox belief or practices; and the 'artificial heresies' which, as an ensemble in a living context, did not exist. The concept of 'artificial' heresy also enables one to give attention to the cases in which unpopular groups or individuals were smeared with slanderous charges by authority at various levels or local opinion and to allude to the closely allied subject of witchcraft. Third, the historian of heresies would be advised of the fact that he must encounter the conflict of emphasis between the supporters of religious and of socio-economic factors as prime movers in the genesis of here-sy. Here starts the first necessity for the historian of heresy to examine the reli-gious and intellectual climate of orthodoxy in order to understand deviations from it. On the other hand, supporters of the 'religious' view, have not always read enough to visualize the concrete situation in which heresy arises, and have been too easily satisfied with merely negative refutations of simplified socio-economic views. Fourthly, the need for information on the origins, social class and wealth of heretics, which must be essential preliminaries to knowledge.

[86] See also W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst (1976: vii), in the preface to the study on the concept of heresy in the Middle Ages, who affirm that heresy 'is a very important phenomenon not only in the development of Christianity but also in the social, political and intellectual evolution of Europe during the Middle Ag-es… Heresy is not an opposition between the members of the Church and others outside it; it is not a conflict between believers and unbelievers, between Chris-tians and atheists, or agnosticists. It is a struggle among Christians.'

define its doctrines and to anathematise deviant theological opinions'
(MD Lambert 1977: 3), and nowadays its study is also useful for the
protection of Christian orthodox faith against religious deviants and
thinkers of deverse kinds . The first part of the understating of heresies
is the notion of heresy in the Early Christian era.

2.2.2 In Early Church

This epoch covers the first two centuries CE of the Church's exist-
ence. These centuries, assert Hultgren and Haggmark (1996: 1), were the
most formative of all owing to their theological and organizational de-
velopments. This era[87] witnessed the rise of the writings of the New

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[87] For detailed bibliographical presentation on the *Early Church era*, see DD
Wand (1955), *The Four Great Heresies*, London: AR Mowbray & Co. L. Chris-
tiani (1959), *Heresies and Heretics*, London: Burns and Oates. DC Murray
(1976), *A History of Heresy*, London: New English Library. Ml Cozens (1928),
A Handbook of Heresies, London. H Belloc (1968), *The Great Heresies*, New
York: Books for Libraries Press. C. C. Clifton, (1992), *Encyclopedia of Heresies
and Heretics*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc. E. Ferguson (ed.) (1993), *Studies
in Early Christianity. Vol. 4: Orthodoxy, Heresy and Schism in Early Christiani-
ty*, New York/London: Garland Publishing. C. F Allison (1994): *The Cruelty of
Heresy: an Affirmation of Christian Orthodoxy*, Harrisburg: Morehouse Publish-
ing. A. J Hultgren, S. A Haggmark (1996): *The Earliest Christian Heretics:
Readings from their Opponents*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press. J. O Sanders
(1948): *Heresies Ancient and Modern*, London & Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan
& Scott. HOJ Brown (1984): *Heresies: the Image of Christ in the Mirror of
Heresy and Orthodoxy from the Apostles to the Present*, New York: Doubleday
& Company. R. M Grant (1993): *Heresy and Criticism: The Search for Authen-
ticity in the Early Christian Literature*, Louisville & Kentucky: John Knox
Press. W. Bauer (1971): *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christianity*, Philadel-
phia: Fortress Press. G. Lüdemann (1996): *Heretics: the Other Side of Early
Christianity*, Louisville & Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press. G. Bonner
(1999: 63–79): 'Dic Christi Veritas Ubi Nunc Habitas: Ideas of Schism and
Heresy in the Post-Nicene Age', in: W. E. Klingshrin & M. Vessey (eds): *The
Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Thought and Culture in Honor of*

Testament, the Apostolic Fathers, and some of the Apologists, and saw the growth of liturgies and Church orders, the shaping of doctrine by controversies, the facing of persecution, and the proliferation of sects and so on. In this section our approach consists, first of all, in seeing how the diverse authors of the New Testament designate heresy and

R. A. Markus; JH Blunt (ed.) (1974) *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought*, Detroit: Gale Research Company. RW Farrer (1969): *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*, Michigan: Baker Book House. EW Lord (1969): *A Theological Glossary*, London: Eric Lord & Whittles S. V. H. Heinemann 'Heresy: Canon Law', in K. Rahner (ed.) (1974: 604–05), *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacrementum Mundi*, London: Burns & Oates. H. Heinemann 'Heresy: Concept' in: K. Rahner, J. Alfaro, et al. (ed.) (1969: 16–23), *Sacrementum Mundi: an Encyclopedia of Theology. Vol. 3. London*: Burns & Oates. K. Rahner, 'History of Heresy' in: Rahner, K. (ed.) (1975: 605–11), *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacrementum Mundi*, London: Burns & Oates. W. Braxendale (ed.) (1888: 393–94), *Dictionary of Anecdocte, Incident, Illustrative Fact*, London: Ballantyne, Hanson and Co; R. A Norris 'Heresy' in: S. Döpp & W. Greerlings (eds.) (1998: 420–22): *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature,* New York: Grossroad Publishing. The *New Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Vol. 20*, *Knowledge in Depth* (2002: 871–72) Chicago/London: Encyclopedia Britannica. Sv 'Heresy' in: *The New Encyclopedia Vol. 5. Micropaedia Ready Reference* (1986: 871–72); sv. Heresy: FX Lawlor (1967: 1062–63), *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. VI*, London/New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. P. Roche (1967: 1063–64) 'History of Heresy in Early Church', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. II*, London/New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. AMH Jones, 'Were Ancient Heresies National or Social Movements in Disguise?' In: E Ferguson, et *al.* (eds.) (1993: 56–67), *Studies in Early Christianity: a Collection of Scholarly Essays*, New York, London: Garland Publishing Inc. J. Lebreton & J. Zeiller (1962): *Heresy and Orthodoxy: Book iii of A History of the Early Church*, Translated from French by E C Messenger, New York: Collier Books. A. Cameron, 'How to Read Hereseology' in: D. B. Martin & P Cox Miller (eds.) (2005: 193–212). *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Ascetism, and Historiography*, Durham/London: Duke University Press.

heretics. Secondly, how the heretical reality was understood after the apostolic period and up to the eve of the patristic period.

2.2.2.1 In the New Testament

As asserted by Wilhelm (1913: 259), Jesus warns his apostles of the dangers of heresies in Matt 18: 17; Matt 24: 11, 23–26; Mk 13: 5.14–23; Luke 11: 23. In his commentary on Mk 13: 14–23, Dunn (2003: 1094–1096), considers that the emergence of the false prophets and messiahs is 'one of several Signs of the Last Days'. That is to say, first, that by this emergence Jesus describes a range of signs that will precede his second coming. Secondly, in our opinion, this emergence of false prophets and messiahs could not be considered by the true Christians as something new. In fact, in his older research, Vigoureux (*Dictionnaire de la Bible. t. 3*: 607–609), cited by Michel (1924: 2209–10), asserted that the word $\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is used nine times in the New Testament[88]. The Greek word is translated in the Vulgate four times as *hairesis (*Acts 5,17; 15,5; 24,14; 1 Co 11,19), and five times in Acts 24,5; 26,22; Gal 5,20; 2 Peter 2,1 as 'sectae', and Titus 3,10 by *$\acute{\alpha}\iota\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa o\varsigma$*[89]. Moreover, the New Tes-

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[88] According to S L Greenslade (1972: 1–2), the New Testament occasionally calls a group *hairesis* without pejorative implication. But when Paul blamed the Corinthians for their divisions (*schismata*), he continued with a fateful proof-text: there must be *haireis* so that the *dokimoi,* the sound*,* among you may be manifest (1Co 1: 19). The blame is moral, for creating a faction, and in the context, the soundness is not explicity doctrinal. Furthermore, in Pastorals, which Irenaeus and the rest took to be Pauline, the concept of heresy is doctrinal. There is a sound and false religious teaching. *Heterodidaskalia*, the false teacher, is ignorant and diseased. The heretic is obstinate, self-condemned, and he will not respond to warnings twice given, he is to be shunned—more fateful proof-texts (1 Tim. 6: 3–5; Titus 3: 10).

[89] According to J O'Grady (1985: 5), the word 'heretic' is used for the first time in the Christian era during the first century by the Church Father, Bishop Ignatius. He used it against those who seemed to him to be confusing the true understanding of Christ. Then, as doctrinal formulation began to have increasing importance, the word 'heresy' came to mean 'a departure from the recognized

tament[90], originally written in Greek, utilizes the following alternative words to describe the heretical mind according to certain New Testa-

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creed'. It was not until the great controversies of the fourth century that the derogatory meaning of the word 'heresy' became finally fixed—namely, as a 'doctrine maintained within the Church, but disruptive of unity'. In addition, it is important to specify that 'heresy' and 'schism' are different. Heresy specifies O'Grady (1985: 5–6), is the spiritual aberration, a theological opinion or doctrine held in opposition to the Catholic or orthodox doctrine of the Christian Church. But a 'schism' is an ecclesiastical cleavage. The same point of view is confirmed by Paul Tillich (1970: 129). However, before them, St Thomas cited by J Wilhelm (1913: 256–7), differentiated heresy from apostate and schismatic. To St Thomas Aquinas, 'The apostate *a fide* abandons wholly the faith of Christ either by embracing Judaism, Islamism, Paganism, or simply by falling into naturalism and complete neglect of religion; the heretic always retains faith in Christ. Schismatics, in the strict sense, are they who of their own will and intention separate themselves from the unity of the Church… Heresy is opposed to faith; schism to charity so that although all heretics are schismatics, because loss of faith involves separation from the Church, not all schismatics are necessarily heretics, since a man may, from anger, pride, ambition, or the like, sever himself from the communion of the Church and yet believe… Such a one, however, would be more properly called rebellious than heretical. '

[90] During the Apostolic Age, states W Cunningham (1960: 121–133), certain heretics are mentioned by name in the New Testament as having in some way set themselves in opposition to the apostles, or as having deserted them: Hermogenes, Phygellus, Demas, Hymeneos, Philetus, Alexander, and Diotrephes. But we do not have trustworthy information from early writers concerning them. However, the most specific indication given us in the New Testament of a heresy, combined with the mention of names, is in Paul's statement regarding Hymeneos and Philetus, of whom he says that 'concerning the truth, in a matter of doctrine, they have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some'. Of Hymeneos and Philetus personally we learn nothing from subsequent writers; we have no information throwing any direct light upon the specific statement of Paul as to the nature of the heresy held by them. But, in what we learn generally from subsequent writers as to the views of some of the Gnostic sects, we have materials for explaining it. We know that the Gnostic

ment commentaries: JDG Dunn (2003: 1019, 1094–96); AJC Holman (1973: 4289); JC Allen et al. (eds.) (1973: 249–51); and Texts- Lexicon-like Nestle-Aland (1993) *Novarum Testamentum Graece*; M. Carrez et al. (1992) Nouveau Testament Interlinéaire Grec/Français; M. Carrez & F. Morel (1992) *Dictionnaire Grec-Français du Nouveau Testament*: 4è édition revue et corrigée) the Epistles of Paul[91], and others[92], like 'false prophets or teachers (*pseudodidaskaloi*), 'liars', 'spirit of error', 'de-

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sect in general denied the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, that is to say, they denied the resurrection of Christ.

[91] Historically speaking, Paul's authentic epistles are considered, states J O'Grady (1985: 13), as the first known readings that the Churches would have used, but these epistles do not retain stories from Jesus' life, nor his sayings or parables. The following words are used to identify a heretic: 'spirit of error' [ενργιανπλαυης (2 Th 2,11), 'divisions' or 'factions' 'σχσματα or αιρεσεις'(1 Co 11,18–19)]. For useful information on the Canon of the New Testament, see: À Cause de l'Évangile: Études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes. Mélanges offerts à Dom Jacques Dupont à l'occasion son 70ᵉᵐᵉ anniversaire (1985). In: *Lectio Divina 1985/123*, Paris: Cerf/Publications de Saint André. J. Dupont (1985): *Les trois apocalypses synoptiques: Marc 13, Matthieu 24–25; Luc 21*, *Lectio Divina 121*, Paris: Cerf. G. Lündemann (1984): *Paul Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology*, London: SCM Press Ltd. F. Neirynck (1982): Evangelica: Gospel Studies-Études d'Évangile, In: *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Loveniensium L X.* Leuven: Leuven University Press. F. Segbroeck (ed.) (1992): *The Four Gospels Vol III*, Leuven: Leuven University. G. Stanton (2002): *The Gospels and Jesus*, 2ⁿᵈ edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press. G. Theissen (1999): *The Religion of the Earliest Churches: Creating a Symbolic World*, Translated by J. Bowden. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

[92] False prophets ['*πσευδοπροφηται*'(Mt 7,15); false Christ *πσευδοχριστο* (Mk 13: 22); God's enemies θεομαχοι; 'savage or fierce wolves' λυκοιβασεις (Ac 20,28–29; persons who are guided by the 'power of error (2 Th 2: 11); by the spirit of lying and liars (1 Tm 4: 1–2); false teachers *πσευδοδισκαλοι* (2 Pi 2: 1); persons who distort the Gospel of Christ (Jude 4); who are possessed by the spirit of enmity towards Christ or the Sprit of error (1Jn 4: 1–6); deceivers and antichrist (2 Jn 7); Nicolaitans (Rev 2: 5); immoral (Rev 21: 8)].

ceivers', 'perverted persons', 'antichrist', 'savage or fierce wolves'[93]
and 'immoral or Nicolaitans'[94]. All these words and expressions qualify
those who disrupt or fight against the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Why did
they qualify as heretics and upon what did they found their inspiration?
O'Grady (1985: 15) responds to these two questions as follows:

> 'The documents which the first Christian communities used and
> which are now included in the Christian New Testament did not
> define in clear words exactly what had taken place. Different
> types of hearers were asking for an explanation and the first
> teachers of the new religion had to give them one. The first

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[93] This qualification is also given to heretics by Tertullian, quoted by S. L.
Greenslade (1972: 1), who certifies that heretics are the ravening wolves who
attacked Christ's flock. To him, humanly considered, heresy is a sin of the flesh
for, as an act of choice, it is a self-assertion against God, and so the heretic is
self-condemned. More properly it is demonic, the spiritual wickedness from
which it comes is sent by the devil. Heresy is blasphemy, a kind of adultery,
close to idolatry. To Irenaeus of Lyons, heretics are self-condemned since they
oppose their own salvation, they are blasphemous, they are slippery snakes, and
they will go to eternal fire. Since they bring strange fire to the altar, they will be
burned by fire from heaven, like Nadab and Abihu.

[94] There is no unanimity concerning what this heresy represents during its histo-
ry. But we can only retain from many accounts of it, Pearson's (2005: 868) view
which certifies that: 'We know from the Book of Revelation that, in the late 1st
century, there was a group of Christians called Nicolaitans, whose views regard-
ing pagan associations were rather liberal. They may have traced their beliefs
and practices back to Nicolaus, the 'proselyte of Antioch' (Acts 6, 5). They may
also have claimed a special knowledge of spiritual "deep things", but whether
they were at that time 'Gnostics' in the full sense of the term cannot be estab-
lished with any certainty. By the time of Irenaeus (ca. 185), however, the Nico-
laitans' association with Gnostic heresy has become an established part of the
tradition. Although Nicolaus and the Nicolaitans persist in the heresiological
catalogues into the 5th century (Theodoret, *Haereticarm fabularum compendium*
III, i), it is not clear how long the sect itself lasted. Eusebius, at last, regards the
Nicolaitans as part of a history long past. '

> Christians themselves had varying conceptions as to the nature of
> their founder, and these sometimes conflicting conceptions had to
> be made understandable to people of different races, classes and
> cultures. There were problems therefore, from the very beginning
> and it is by no means simple to discover how the mainstream of
> 'orthodox' belief emerged.'

Noting this quotation, we are tempted to consider that to the third
generation of Christians, the heretical mind originated in their search for
the nature of Jesus Christ the founder of Christianity. Furthermore, this
heretical behaviour could be influenced by the fact that, 'the Christian
message is constantly being confronted by the development of science
and philosophy; new questions arise and have to be answered. Ortho-
doxy is repeatedly put to the test, because it has to face new problems'
(see W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst 1976: viii). To Malingrey (1968: 7–8),
the heresies could be traced to the alteration of the original Gospel dur-
ing its transmission and translation into Greek[95]. What did Church Fa-
thers say about 'heresy-heretic'?

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[95] This is true because according to A. M. Malingrey (1968: 7–8), since its ori-
gins, the Greek Christian literature is, in fact, the convergent point of two very
different cultures, Judaism and Hellenism, in the unity of one belief. Its histori-
cal development makes many problems in the field of ideas, of literary genres,
of the language. In the domain of ideas, Christ's message was transmitted by
men who came from either Palestinian Judaism or from fthe Diaspora and who
had already assimilated a part of Greek thought. It was also developed through
concepts which came down from Greek philosophy. The matter here becomes to
determine in which proportion the originality of Christ's message could be
altered during its transmission. In the domain of literary genres, Christian au-
thors used the words or expressions borrowed either from Israel's tradition or
from those of Greece. Here the question is to know if these words or expressions
were used as well in the original context or used in the adapted versions. Finally,
in the domain of language, because the Christian Greek carries concepts from
Judaic and Greek areas, they were synthesized, and despite their similarity, these
words and expressions had been enriched with new resonances.

2.2.2.2 In the Patristic Era

During this time[96], the word' heresy and heretic' are etymologically studied. In fact, according to Lawlor (1967:1: 7:1062), from the late 2nd

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[96] See the following detailed bibliography which supplies more information on heresy during this epoch: EW Lord (1969): *A Theological Glossary,* London: Eric Lord & Whittles S. V 'heresy'. H. Heinemann 'Heresy: Canon Law', in: K. Rahner ed. (1974: 604–05), *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacrementum Mundi*, London: Burns & Oates. H. Heinemann 'Heresy: Concept' in: K. Rahner, J. Alfaro, et al. (ed.) (1969: 16–23): *Sacrementum Mundi: an Encyclopedia of Theology*, *Vol. 3*, *London*: Burns & Oates. K. Rahner, 'History of Heresy' in: Rahner, K. (ed.) (1975: 605–11), *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacrementum Mundi*, London: Burns & Oates. W. Braxendale (ed.) (1888: 393–94): *Dictionary of Anecdote, Incident, Illustrative Fact*, London: Ballantyne, Hanson and Co. R. A Norris 'Heresy' in: S. Döpp & W. Greerlings (eds.) (1998: 420–22): *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, New York: Grossroad Publishing. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Vol. 20*, *Knowledge in Depth* (2002: 871–72), Chicago/London: Encyclopedia Britannica. Sv. 'Heresy': *The New Encyclopedia Vol. 5*, *Micropaedia Ready Reference* (1986: 871–72) sv. 'Heresy'; FX Lawlor (1967: 1062–63): *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. VI*, London/New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. P. Roche (1967: 1063–64). 'History of Heresy in Early Church', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. II*, London/New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company; GC Hebermann, AE Pace & BC Pallen, (eds.): *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. VII*, *An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, New York: The Encyclopedia Press sv heresy; J. McClintock & J. Strong, (1969: 198–02): Heresy in: *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, *Vol. 4*, Michigan: Baker Book House. Schriver, H. (2004: 862–64): 'Heresy' in: *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, *Vol. 2*, London & New York: Routledge. JF Kelly (1994: 375–78), M. Glaziel, & K. Monika, (eds.): *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, Minnesota: A Michael Glazier Book, sv heresy. B. D. Ehrman & A. S. Jacobs (2004), *Christianity in Late Antiquity 300–450CE: A Reader*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, especially, pp. 155–241 which concern 'Heresy and Orthodoxy'. E. Thomassen, 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in Second-Century Rome' in: *Harvard Theological Review* 97/3, 2004: 241–56. A. LeBoulluec (1985): *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque II-III siècles*, Tomes 1 & 2. Paris: Études Augustiniennes. A.

century onward the Fathers usually discriminated accurately enough between heresy and schism. Both were understood not as abstract error or as individual attitudes, but rather as organised bodies or sects outside the Catholic Church. Heresy, explains Lawlor, involved doctrinal error, whereas schism meant orthodox dissent. How did Church Fathers view heresy and the heretic? First of all, Clement of Rome[97], ca. 96, assert Rordorf and Schneider (1982:12), did not explicitly use the word 'heresy' but designated opponents of Christ's Gospel who trouble the harmony of God's people in Corinth by the term '*heterognômôn*', '*heteroklineis',* *'dichostasiai'* or *divided soul','schismata',* and'*prosklisis'*. Furthermore, Ignatius of Antioch compares heretics to 'poisonous plants' or 'animals in human form' (see J. Wilhelm, 1913: 250). He uses also *hairesis* opposed to *alètheia,* which refers to those who did not obey Episcopal authority (LeBoulluec 1985/1: 23), and heterodoxy is likened to 'bad plants', 'mortal poison given mixed with wine and honey', '*dichostasiai' (*LeBoulluec 1985/1: 23). Ignatius of Antioch[98], according

Michel, 1920: 2207. Hérésiarque, Hérésie, Hérétique in: *DTC* vol. 6, Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, A. Michel, 1920: 2208–2257.

[97] See for further information AM Malingrey (1968: 16–19): A. Le Boulluec (1985/1: 21–2). The latter text uses the Greek political term '*stasis*' to designate the 'discord or revolt' of youth against the Elders' *stasianzein'*, in Corinth. The younger persons destroyed the unity '*homonoia'* of the people of God in Corinth. This '*homonoia',* states Clement of Rome, is the basic element of the harmony of the world as the unity of the social and political body; '*homonoia',* is sometimes associated to the 'eirènè'*: Peace'*. The origin of this disorder is the '*zèlos':' jealousy'.* It is by jealousy that the death comes to the world (cf Rom 5; 12). Clement of Rome utilises also the following terms to name who are the source of this disorder: '*heterognômôn*' which is applied to Lot's wife (Gn 11: 2), '*heteroklineis', 'dichostasiai, 'schismata', prosklisis'*

[98] For detailed information on Ignatius' life and writings see: J. Rius-Camps 1980, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius the Martyr, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 213.*Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum; R Weijenborg (1969), *Les letters d'Ignace d'Antioche. Étude de critique littéraire et de théologie*, Leiden: EJ Brill, Sources Chrétiennes no 10. P. TH. Camelot (1969):

to Malingrey (1968:1: 8:19–21), lived from 98 to 117. Justin of Rome[99], who died around 165 [100], which is the time, certifies, Le Boulluec

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Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne. Lettres: Martyre de Polycarpe. Texte grec, Introduction, Traduction et Notes, Paris: Cerf.

[99] For more detailed information concerning him, See LW Bernard (1978: 107–130): *Studies in Church History and Patristics*, Thessaloniki: Panayotis Christou. However, Justin considered Christianity as 'good philosophy', and for him, the philosopher had three different roles: as 'educator and adviser of individuals', 'teacher of ethics in Schools opened to public, missionary and popular preacher' (see P. Lampe 2003: 279–84). For other detailed accounts on him see Joly (1973) *Christianisme et Philosophie: Études sur Justin et les Apologistes grecs du deuxième siècle,* Bruxelles, Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles: E. Robillard (1989) *Justin: L'itinéraire philosophique*, Montréal/Paris: Les Éditions Bellarmin/Cerf. C. Munier (1994) *L'apologie de Saint Justin: philosophe et martyr*, Fribourg, Éditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse; Id. (1995) Saint Justin: *apologie pour les chrétiens: Edition et traduction.* Fribourg: Éditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse. P. Bobichon (2003) *Justin Martyr. Dialogue avec Tryphon*, *Edition critique Vol. 1–2: Introduction, Texte grec, Traduction*, Fribourg: Departement de Patristique et d'Histoire de l'Église de l'Université de Fribourg/Academic Press Fribourg/Editions Saint Paul Fribourg Suisse. A. Wartelle (1987) *Saint Justin. Apologies: introduction, Texte critique, Traduction, Commentaire et Index*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes. Justin Martyr, *Oeuvres complètes: Introduction, Traduction, Note sur la chronologie de la vie et des oeuvres, Nouvelle annotation, Table analytique des thèmes, Justin et le texte de la Bible.* Paris: Bibliothèque Migne 1994. WJ Burghardt, JJ Dillon, DD McManus (eds.) (1997) *St. Justin Martyr the First and Second Apologies*, Translated by Leslie William Barnard, with Introduction and Notes, New York/Mahwah, Paulist Press.

[100] Justin Martyr, states Lyman (2007: 297–8), during the second century Rome began to use the neutral term for sect or choice (hairesis) as a demonic label for Christian error: 'heresy'. The labelling of opponents as erronous or innovative and the construction of genealogies to show their illegitimate successions were acknowlwdged means of bedate in Hellenic culture. However, the uniting of demonic inspiration with doctrinal error created the sharp spiritual and apocalyptic boundary between truth and 'heresy' by Justin in his *Apology* and continued by Irenaeus of Lyon in *Against all heresies*; this theological category mirrored

(1985/1: 21), when the Christian doctrinal deviations began definitely to be named 'hairesis'. Heresy has a Demonic nature explains Le Boulluec (985/1: 64–65) because heretics are bad Demons and Satan's instruments. They are false prophets full of the sprit of error and of impurity who have twisted minds. The major heretics according to Blunt (1874: 184) were: Simon Magus, Menander, Marcionites, the Marcians, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, the Saturnilians, the Colorbasians Carpocrates, the Cerinthians, the Ebionites, the Nicolaitans, the Cerdonians, the Tatianites, the Encratites, the Barbeliotes, the Orphites, the Sethians, and the Cainites. Polycarp of Smyrn (died ca. 168 Malingrey 1968: 23) personally knew the apostle John. He regarded Marcion as 'the first born of the Devil'. Irenaeus of Lyons (A. D. 130–202)[101], in his wide study 'against all heresies', supposed to have been written about the year 185

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of course the high religious and sociological boundaries of their early sectarian communities. Saving belief could not be a neutral choice. Those whose choices or communities were different were literally demonised. The image of the 'heretic' was further cast rhetorically in a combination of immoral charges (deceptive, unfaithful, duplicitious and promiscuous) as well as social violations (supertitions, elitist, social climbing, plagiarist, rebellious). These literary strategies of pejorative and excluding labels, immoral charges, and demonic and therefore external genealogies became the foundation in Christian thought and life for categorising theological opponents.

[101] For additional information upon this Bishopand his struggle against the Gnostics, see E Ferguson, 'Irenaeus. Adversary of the Gnostics' in: J. D. Woodbridge (ed.) (1988: 44–47), *Great Leaders of the Christian Church*, Chicago, Moody Press; L. Irénée (de) (1991) *Contre les hérésies. Dénonciation et réfutation de la prétendue gnose au nom du menteur*, Paris, Cerf; A. G. Hamman (2000: 28–37) A. Benoît, Irénée et l'hérésie. Les conceptions hérésiologiques de l'évêque de Lyon in: E. Furguson et al. (eds.) (1993: 56–67) *Studies in Early Christianity: A Collection of Scholarly Essays,* New York/London: Garland Publication Inc; J. M. Fridevaux (1959), Irénée de Lyon, *Démonstration de la Prédication Apostolique. Nouvelle traduction de l'Arménien avec Introduction et Notes. Sources Chrétiennes* no. 62, Paris: Cerf.

against the Gnostics [102], but principally against the Valentinians (Blunt1874:184). Irenaeus stated that a 'heretic is in the search of profit and is conducted by the spirit of lucre' (Le Boulluec 1985/1: 145).

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[102] See for further bibliographical details on this philosophic-religious movement, the following scholars: A BH Logan (1996), *Gnostic Truth and Christian Heresy*, Edinburgh: Hendrickson Publishers. G. Quispel (1974–5), *Gnostic Studies no 122*, Istanbul: Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique nerlandaise de Stambul; E. Procter (1995) *Christian Controversies in Alexandria: Clement's Polemic against Basilideans and Valentinians*, New York; Peter Lang (1977) *Pistis-Sophia*: *Le livre sacré des Gnostics d'Egypte,* Paris; Robert Laffont. S. Pétrement (1991) *A Separate God: The Christian Origins of Gnosticism*, Translated by Carol Harrison, London: Darton/Longman and Todd Ltd.; P. Perkins (1993) *Gnosticism and the New Testament*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press. *Idem.* (1980): *The Gnostic Dialogue: The Early Church and the Crisis of Gnosticism*, New York, Paulist Press; B. A. Pearson (1990) *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press; C. W. Hedrick (ed.) (1986) *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism and Early Christianity*. Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers. *Proceedings of the International Colloquim on Gnosticism*, *Stockholm August 20–25, 1973*, Stockholm/Leiden, Almqvist & Wilksell International-al/E. J. Brill; T. V. Smith (1985) *Petrine Controversies in Early Christianity*, Tübingen: JCB Mohr (Paul Siebeck). IP Couliano (1992): *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism*, Translated from French into English by HS Wiesner and the author, New York: Harper Collins Publishers; E. J. Hunt (2003) *Christianity in the second Century: The case of Tatian*, London/New York; E. Faye (de) (1903) *Introduction à l'étude du gnosticisme*, Paris; *idem.* (1925) *Gnostiques et gnosticisme: Étude critique des documents du gnosticisme chrétien aux II et III siècles*, 2ème edition, Paris. P. Lampe (2003): *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the first two centuries*, Translated by M Steinhauser, Minneapolis: Fortress Press. J. Le Breton & J. Zeiller (1962): *Heresy and Orthodoxy. The Early Challenges to Christian Orthodoxy in the first half of the third Century, from the Gnostic Crisis to the Pagan Opposition*, New York: Collier Book. L. Toth, 'Gnostic Church' in: W. J. Hanegraaff (ed.) (2005: 400–403), *Dictionary of Gnosis & Esotericism*, Leiden/Boston: Brill. R. Broek (van den), 'Gnosticism I: Gnostic Religion' in: W. J. Hanegraaff (ed.) (2005: 403–16): *Dictionary of Gnosis & Esotericism*, Leiden/Boston: Brill. *Idem* 'Gnosticism II: Gnostic literature' W J Hanegraaff

However, Clement of Alexandria's (A. D. 150–216) general view on heresies[103], as asserted by Le Boulluec (1985/2: 263), is more nuanced or 'liberal'. Heresy is defined as a 'school of thought, a group of doctrines, or a certain mental attitude with regard to the philosophical prob-

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(ed.) (2005: 417–32): *Dictionary of Gnosis & Esotericism*, Leiden/Boston: Brill. J. Ries (1982) *Gnosticisme et monde hellénistique. Actes du colloque de Louvain-La-Neuve. 11–14 mars 1980. Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain no 27*, Louvain-La-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain; E. Procter (1995) *Christian Controversy in Alexandria, Clement's Polemic against the Basilideans and Valentinians*, American University Studies Vol. 172 of American University Studies, Series VII, Theology and Religion, New York, Peter Lang Publishing; CWMA King (1973) *The Gnostics and their Remains: Ancient and Medieval*, Minneapolis: Vizards Bookshelf; AHB Logan (1996) *Gnostic Truth and Christian Heresy: A Study in the History of Gnosticism.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd.; R. Haardt (1971) *Gnosis: Character and Testimony*, Leiden, EJ Brill; R. M. Grant (ed.) (1978) *Gnosticism: A Source Book of Heretical Writings from the Early Christian Period*, New York: Harper & Brothers; D. M. Scholer (ed.) (1993) *Studies in Early Christianity*, *Vol. V: Gnosticism in the Early Church*, New York/London, Garland Publishing, Inc.; G. W. Macrae 'Why the Church rejected Gnosticism' In: DM Scholer (ed.) (1993) *Studies in Early Christianity*, *Vol. V: Gnosticism in the Early Church,* New York/London, Garland Publishing, Inc.; J. E. Goehring, C. W. Hedrick, J. T. Sanders, B. Dieter (eds.) (1990) *Gnosticism and the Early Christian World*, California: Polebridge Press; M. Scopello (2000: 330–366). In this last work, the question of the Gnostic writings is announced: that is to say, the Nag Hammadi Scrolls. These Scrolls were found by chance by Fellahs of High Egypt in December, 1945, at Nag Hammadi in the grotto of Djebel el Tarif., near the ancient town of Chenoboskion, on the Nile. It said that this entire twelve codices in Papyrus constituted a coherent document and are genuine Gnostic writings, according to H-Ch. Puech (French), and J. Doresse (French), and G. Quispel (Dutch man), who are the first scholars to have access to these Scrolls. GW Macrae 'Why the Church rejected Gnosticism' in: E Furguson, DM Scholer, PC Finney (eds.) (1993) *Studies in Early Christianity vol 5: Gnosticism in the Early Church,* New York/London: Garland Publishing, Inc., pp. 380–399.

[103] Clement of Alexandria discusses the question of heresies in the *Stromate vii* (A. Le Boulluec 1985/2: 264).

lems'. The term 'heterodox' designates 'who seemed to be Christians but at the same time professed doctrines opposed to ecclesiastical orthodoxy' (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 266). Heretic and philosopher are named by οιησισοφοι or δοκησισοφοι and οιὲσισοφοι[104], βαρβαροι σοφισται' (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 270). Clement of Alexandria places the Devil as the originator of the heretic (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 275), and sees in the perversity of their sophism their ability to impose meaning on the texts of Scriptures by false exegesis (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 282). Heretics, in the mind of Clement of Alexandria, are like the Epicureans who 'did not make the difference between the necessary things and the simply natural things among, e. g., sexual pleasure-licentiousness' (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 289). Clement of Alexandria compares heresy with paganism[105] and uses the term 'indifference' (*adiaphoria*) to stigmatize as libertine certain Gnostics [106] that advocate 'indifference' in sexual matters – *porneia* - (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 312–13), likewise with 'incest'[107], and 'bestiality' (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 316–17). In summary, heresy accord-

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[104] That is to say that to Clement of Alexandria, 'pride and vanity characterize the heretics' (see A Le Boulluec 1985/2: 270); the heretic as well the philosopher limit their knowledge to their personal or own knowledge.

[105] A. Cameron (2005: 197–8) writes of Epiphanius in his *Panarion* that he was who outlined the 'five mothers of heresies': barbarism, Scythianism, Hellenism, Judaism, and Samaritanism. Epiphanius deduced these from Colossians 3: 11.

[106] According to the Fathers of the Church, states Le Boulluec (2000: 350), Simon the Magician, was the one of the first Gnostics. He come from Samaria but made himself an itinerant preacher in order to defend his cause. Concerning the origin of their inspiration, they took it from different cultural and religious areas, principally Paganism (Greek or other Oriental philosophies), and Judaism. All Gnostics built their message by adopting, according to the case, traditions which belonged to the relevant religious movements of their epoch, in which them had been involved or entrenched.

[107] By this term, Clement of Alexandria reveals that 'the heretic contravenes the rules which define the models of wisdom and of comportment' (see A. Le Boulluec 1985/2: 317).

ing to Clement of Alexandria consists on the one hand of not interpreting the Scriptures according to the truth: Christ. On the other hand, heresy gets its authorityfrom itself. It is the reason why heretics make mistakes through their self-importance or arrogance (φιλαυτοι), and by their 'love of glory' (φιλοδοξοι) (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 374).

Finally, heresies, said Clement of Alexandria, had blown off (αποσπασαντες) elements of the truth, and had become 'the absolute opposition to the truth defended by the Church' (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 389–90; 391). He closes the psychological portrait of the heretic by specifying that the heretic suffers from self-importance or arrogance, obstinacy[108], and negligence. The heretic is unable to hear what is useful and agreeable. He is accused of acting contrary to nature and of generating soul sickness (Le Boulluec 1985/2: 414–15). Tertullian (c. 150–c. 212)[109], who wrote voluminous treatises against Marcion, Praxeas, and the Valentians (Blunt 1874: 185), condemns their errors as inspirations of the Evil One (Wilhelm 1913: 259). According to him (Verbeke 1976: 172), 'philosophy is the ancestor of all heretics'[110]. Theophilus compares them to 'barren and rocky islands on which ships are wrecked'

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[108] According to Clement of Alexandria who struggled against the disciples of Valentines, Marcion, Basilid, and other Gnostics, another aspect of the obstinacy of the heretic is situated in the boundary between brainstorm (*paranoia)* and reason (see A. Le Boulluec 1985/2: 419).

[109] See G L Bray. 'Tertullian and the Western Theology' in: JD Woodbridge (ed.) (1988: 49–54): *Great Leaders of the Church*, Chicago: Moody Press. A. J. Hultgren & S. A. Haggmark (eds.): (1996: 131–2).

[110] Tertullian is referring to the influence exerted by the use of Greek philosophy upon the interpretation of the Christian message: in his view heresies are provoked by introducing Greek philosophical categories in order to explain the content of faith. The same statement occurs in the *Philosophoumena of Hippolytus* who agrees with Tertullian that all heresies ultimately originate from philosophy: each heretical sect derived its ideas and theories from some ancient Greek philosopher (see G. Verbeke1976: 172).

(Wilhelm 1913: 259). Origen (185– 254)[111] says, that as the pirate places lights on cliffs to lure and destroy vessels in quest of refuge, so the Prince of this world lights the fires of false knowledge in order to destroy men (Wilhelm: 259). Consequently, for Origen, heretics are 'the misinterpreters of Scriptures', 'who are not able to interpret truthfully the promises which are in the Torah and in the Prophets' (see Origen, *De Oratione 29,10,* quoted by JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988:38). Along the same lines, Augustine of Hippo said that heresy is born because the Scriptures were not well understood (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988:39). Jerome calls heretics' congregations, the 'synagogues of Satan', and their communion is to be avoided like that of vipers and scorpions (Wilhelm 1913: 259).

What can we summate from all the assertions of the Church Fathers concerning heresy and heretics? On the one hand, concerning their origin, Hegesippus reveals that heresies which 'defile or sully the Church' (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 44), have a unique point of departure: for example, in 62 CE, Thebuthis, a Jew, fell into schism because he was not elected as a bishop.[112] For this Western historian, heresy originates in personal motive, and the doctrinal question is either an accessory or is absent altogether. To Irenaeus, Simon the Magician is considered the 'source and root' *fontem et radicem* (JN Pérès & JD

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[111] For more information see R V Schnucker 'Origen: Scholar and Ascetic', in: JD Woodbridge (ed.) (1988: 55–8): *Great Leaders of the Church*, Chicago: Moody Press. AM Malingrey (1968: 48–58); A Le Boulluec 1(985/2: 439–558). *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque. IIe–IIIe siècles*, t. 2: *Clément d'Alexandrie et Origène*, Paris: Études Augustiniennes. The last two pages explain heretic figures found in the Holy Scriptures (A. T) according to Origen.

[112] Tertullian later confirms that the 'rivalry about episcopate was the mother of schisms' *(episcopatus æmulatio scismatum mater est).* Tertullian suggests that it is that motive—the lack of access to the episcopate function, which forced the Gnostic Valentinius to fall into the secession (see JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 44, note 11).

Dubois 1988: 45) of heresies, especially the Gnostic Valentinians. For Theodoret of Cyrus,[113] the most prolific writer of the Eastern Church agrees with Irenaeus that heresies originate with Simon the Magician and not with the Greek philosophers (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 45). This is further supported by Hippolytus (A. D 160–236), according to JH Blunt (1874:185), in his *Refutatio omnius Hæresium*, formerly known in a more fragmentary form under the name of *'Philosophumena'*. It was once attributed to Origen, but the complete text has recently been discovered and was shown to be the work of Hippolytus.

On the other hand, concerning its meaning, heresy, first of all, is a choice; a 'bad choice' specifies Tertullian (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 36). Secondly, heresy 'has a Christian origin' (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 37).Thirdly, heresy is 'a choice inside the confession of faith' (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 37). Ultimately, heresy is 'a choice inside the Scripture' (JN Pérès & JD Dubois 1988: 37). Finally, for Isidore of

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[113] For more data concerning the Bishop of Cyrus in Syria and heresiologist who lived (A. D 393– 430), see B. Altaner & A. Stuiber (1978: 339–41) *Patrologie* 9th edition, Fribourg: Herder. J. Questen (1960: 536–55), *Patrology, Vol. 3*, Westminster/Maryland: The Newman Press; P. Rousseau 'Knowing Theodoret: Text and Self' In: D. B. Martin & P. C. Miller (eds.) (2005: 278–97) *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, Durham/London, Duke University Press; G. F. Chesnut (1977: 199–222) *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*, Paris, Editions Beauchesne; B. D. Ehrman & A. S. Jacobs (2004: 377–87) *Christianity in Late Antiquity 300–450 CE: A Reader*, New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press; G. H. Cope (1990) *An Analysis of the heresiological Method of Theodoret of Cyrus in the Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, Doctoral Dissertation, The Catholic University of America. Sources Chrétiennes (SC) no. 57; N. N. Glubokowskij (1890) *The Blessed Theodoret: His Life and His Work,* 2 Vols. Moscou. JN Guinot, 'Un évêque exégète: Theodoret de Cyr' in: Claude Mondesert (ed.) (1984: 335–60): *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, Paris.

Seville (ca. 570–636)[114], a Father of the Church, as described by Peters (1980: 50), heresies have risen against the Catholic faith. While they are not in agreement with one another, being divided by many errors, it is with one name that they conspire against the Church of God. But whoever understands scriptures in any sense other than that which the Holy Spirit, by whom it was written, requires, even though he may not withdraw from the Church, may nevertheless be called a heretic. He is dangerous because, explains More (1976: 20), heresy 'is generated by polluted air –*corrupto aere*- and it infects a man by penetrating the *viscera'*. What connotation does heresy have during the Middle Ages[115]?

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[114] According to E. Peters (1980: 47), Isidore was the bishop of the City of Seville in Spain. He was one of the most influential writers of late antiquity. He writes theological and devotional works, histories, and the immense, encyclopedic *Etymologies*, a compendium of human knowledge in twenty books. Isidore preserved many important opinions of earlier Christian writers and some interesting pieces of pagan lore. But the great importance of the *Etymologies* lay in its immense popularity. It was the most generally used and cited reference book down to the twelfth century, and later medieval encyclopædic compilations followed in its wake. Thus, Isidore's remarks on heresy and schism played an important and familiar part in later approaches to heresy.

[115] Actually, the Journal '*Heresis. Revue semestrielle d'Histoire de Dissidences médiévales*' (Heresis. A Biannual Journal of Mediaeval Dissidences) a twice-yearly published at Montpellier, France. For instance we mentioned the following: 'L'Inquisition et la répression des dissidences religieuses au Moyen Âge' in *Heresis no 40,* 2004, *passim.* JP Albert (2003): 'Croire et ne pas croire. Les chemins de l'hétérodoxie dans le registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier' in: *Heresis*, no 39, pp. 91–106. B. Jeanjean (2006): 'L'élaboration du discours antihérétique dans l'Antiquité tardive', in: *Heresis* no 44–45, pp. 9–36. Also, the question of heresies constitutes the focus of the following medieval researchers: RI Moore (1977): *The Origins of European Dissent*, London: Penguin Books. L. Milan (1974): *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague/Hague: Academia Publishing House/Martinus Nijhoff N. N. P. Biller & A. Hudson (eds.) (1994): *Heresy and Literacy: 1000–1530*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. RI Moore (1975): *The Birth of Popular Heresy*, London: Edwards Arnold Publishers. *The Heresy of Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages*, London: University of

Notre Dame Press. B. J Russel. (1965): *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages with a New Preface by the Author*, New York: Ams Press. H. Fichtenau (1998): *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages*, *1000–1200*, Translated from German by D. A. Kaiser Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press. M. Lambert (2002): *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation.* Third edition. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. W. Lourdaux and D Verhelst (eds.) (1976): The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages, 11th-13th C. in: *Mediavelia Lovaniensia Series I/Studia IV.* Leuven/Hague: Leuven University Press/Martinus Nijhoff. E. Peters (ed.) (1980): *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, London: Scholar Press. W. L. Wakefield (1974): *Heresy, Crusade and Inqisition in Southern France 1100– 1250*, London: George Allen & Unwin. S. Runciman (1982): *The Medieval Manichee, a Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. R. Kieckhefer (1979): *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. E. Chudoba (1967: 1064–64): 'History of Heresy in the Medieval Period', in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. II*, London/New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. RI More 'Heresy as Disease' in: W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst (eds.) (1976: 1–11): *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *11th– 13th C.* Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain May 13–16, 1973. Leuven/Hague: Leuven University Press/The Hague Martinus Nijhoff. J. Leclercq, 'L'hérésie d'après les écrits de S. Bernard de Clairveaux' in: W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst (eds.) (1976: 12–26): *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *11th–13th C.* Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain May 13–16, 1973, Leuven/Hague: Leuven University Press/The Hague Martinus Nijhoff; S. Trawkowshi, 'Entre l'orthodoxie et l'hérésie: Vita apostolica et le problème de la désobéissance' in: W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst (eds.): (1976: 157–66), *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *11th–13th C.* Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain May 13–16, 1973. Leuven/Hague: Leuven University Press/The Hague Martinus Nijhoff. J. Duvernoy, L'acception: 'Haereticus' (iretge) = 'parfait cathare' en Languedoc au xiiie siècle' in: W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst (eds.) (1976: 198–210): *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, *11th–13th C.* Proceedings of the International Conference Louvain May 13–16, 1973. Leuven/Hague: Leuven University Press/The Hague Martinus Nijhoff. M. Eliade (1978: 351, 377–8): *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuse, t. 2*, *De Gautama Bouddha au triomphe du Christianisme*, Paris: Payot; *idem.* (1983: 67). *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuse, t. 3*, *De Mahomet à l'âge des Réformes*, Paris: Payot. R. Wil-

2.2.3 During the Middle Ages

The term of 'Middle Ages', states DL Edwards (1997: 165), was coined by Christopher Kellner (1634–1680) in his handbook published about 1669. This period is considered by Protestant historians as 'the valley of shadow in which the pure Church of the ancient era of Church history was corrupted (p. 166). Indeed, Edwards subdivides the history of Western Europe into three periods: ancient history which ended at 325, modern history, which had its beginning in 1453 when the fall of Constantinople brought a flood of Greek scholars and manuscripts to the West. Edwards characterized the years between the two dates (325 and 1453) as the Middle Ages because of their apparent sterility and absence of the classical influence. Since that time historians have used this term as a convenient designation for that era. However, only the first five centuries of this era, from about 500 to 1000, may be designated as the Dark Ages, and even in that period Western Europe was not totally lacking in culture, because the monasteries made and preserved intellectual contributions.

In addition, as asserted by L. Woodhead (2004:9–149), during the Middle Ages, 'Christianity came to power'[116]. Moreover, it is habitually

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liams 'Defining Heresy' in: A. Kreider (2001: 313–35): *The Origins of Christendom inthe West*, Edinburgh & New York: T & T Clark.

[116] For how the Western Church became a stronger and organized institution, see: B. Ward & G. R. Even, 'The Medieval West' in: A Hastings (ed.) (1999: 110–147): *A World History of Christianity*, Walden: The Bath Press. P. Brown (2003: 217–380): *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity. A. D. 200– 1000*, 2nd edition Malden: Blackwell Publishing. E. D. Logan (2002: 13–30): *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, New York: Routledge. E. Cameron (2005: 21–23): *Interpreting Christian History: The Challenge of the Church Past*, Malden/Oxford/Victoria: Blackwell Publishing. WR Cannon (1960): *History of Christianity in the Middle Ages: From the Fall of Rome to the Fall of Constantinople*. Nashville/New York: Abington Press. M. Deanesly (1976): *A History of the Medieval Church 590–1500*. Seventh edition. London:

known that this epoch is the millenary of faith when we consider 476 and 1453 as its termini even if Brown (2003: 217) asserts that the period between 600–750 is qualified as 'the end of Ancient Christianity'. In fact, the history of the Church in the Middle Ages[117], traces, according

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Methuen &Co Ltd.; A. Kreider (ed.) (2001): *The Origins of the Christendom in the West.* Edinburgh & New York: T & T Clark. G. Tellenbach (1993): *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century.* DJ Geanakoplos (1966). *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance. Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell. JH Lynch (1992): *The Medieval Church: A Brief History*, London/New York. P. Dinzelbacher & AL Clark (2003): 'Middle Ages: Church History. Culture' in: E Fuhlbush et al. (eds.): *The Encyclopedia of Christianity vol. 3*, Cambridge, U. K. Leiden, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Compagny Brill, pp. 519–531. CH Lawrence (2000): 'Middle Ages: an Overview' in: A. Hastings, A. Mason, H. Pyper et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 430–435.

[117] According to FD Logan (2002: xi), the Middle Ages covers the Christian church, from the conversion of Celtic and German peoples up to the discovery of the New World (at the end of 15th century). It explores the role of the church as a central element in determining a thounsand years of history. This period also reveals how the Church unified the people of Western Europe as they worshipped with the same ceremonies and used Latin as the language of civilized communication. In the same sense, through his massive investigation into the role of religion in Modern European history, particularly the point concerning 'the Church in a changing World: a contribution to the interpretation of the Renaissance', SA Burrel (ed.) (1964: 10) summarizes the major creations of the medieval World as follows: 'One of the creations of the medieval World was the massive, supranational institution of the Western Latin Church, whose supreme pontiffs at the height of their power during the thirteenth century laid claim to the suzerainty of all Christendom. For centuries its existence was taken for granted, and the Church was praised or criticised according to one's point of view. More recently, however, scholars of very divergent outlooks have to regard the medieval Church quite differently, namely, as one of the most unique, even extraordinary, achievements of Western man. Whatever, one's judgments about the Church, it cannot be denied that under the medieval conditions the organization of such a strong and effective system of international ecclesiastical

to Logan (2002: xi), the story of the Christian Church in Western Europe over the thousand years or so that comprise the medieval age, from the conversion of the Celtic and Germanic peoples up to the discovery of the New World, and reveals the central role of the church in determining a thousand years of history. Indeed, the Church during the Middle Ages is the main characteristic of this period. Burrel (1964: 10) when he speaks about 'the Church in the changing World puts it very well:

> 'One of the major creations of the medieval World was the massive, supranational institution of the Western Latin Church, whose supreme pontiffs at the height of their power during the thirteenth century laid claim to the suzerainty of all Christendom. For Centuries its existence was taken forgranted, and the church was praised or critized according to one's point of view. More recently, however, scholars of very divergent outlooks have to regard the medieval church quite differently, namely, as one of the most unique, even extraordinary, achievements of Western man. Whatever one'sjudgement about the Church, it cannot be denied that under medieval conditions the organization of such a strong and effective system of international ecclesiastical administration was one oftheimportant facts of Western history. Furthermore, despite the later diminution of its authority, the continued existence of this powerful organization affected the history of the West as have few other influences.'

From where did the Western Church inherit its strong and effective system of ecclesiastical administration? Cameron (2005: 20–23) places its roots it in the personality and actions of certain bishops and theologians like Ambrose of Milan, Jerome and Augustine of Hippo; and in

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administration was one of the important facts of Western history. Furthermore, despite the later diminution of its authority, the continued existence of this powerful organization affected the history of the West as have few other influences'.

monasteries which were centres for the conservation and protection of Catholic Christian culture. He formulates it as follows:

> 'By about 400 one is justified, probably for the first time, in regarding the Western, Latin Church as having attained a level of intellectual and spiritual distinction to compare with the Greek Church. It owed this status above all to three very different theologians and writers: Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (339–97); Jerome (c. 345–420) monk, biblical scholar, and translator of the Bible; and Augustine of Hippo (354–430), Bishop, controversialist, theologian, and spiritual writer. These writers formed a constellation of authorities whose reputation would dominate much of the later history of the Church that could demand the support and the obedience of the political powerful. All were convinced of the truth of Catholic Christianity and the utter wrongness of heresies. All were ascetics, who taught that Christian virtue required the subjection of human physical nature. All three of these 'Catholic Fathers' were products of the declining decades of the Roman Empire in the West. In the course ofthe fifth century the institutions of the Western Roman Empire gradually unravelled… certain types of center preserved the 'Romanness' of imperial, Christian culture more successfully than others. Probably the most important were those cities that had become the centers of a Christian bishop. Bishops in the fifth and sixth centuries became the embodiment of civic pride, community identity, and political cohesion. The other centers for the conservation and protection of Catholic Christian culturewere the monasteries. Soon after monasticism had developed in the West, it acquired a role as a locusfor education and learning… Their libraries, far more than any material mythically rescued from Byzantium before the Turkish advance, would ultimately feed the classicizing Renaissance of the fifteenth century in Europe.'

In the light of this quotation it is clear that the Church Fathers during the Antiquity and the early Middle Ages had to combat a number of heresies. On that subject, many modern historians give attention to medieval heresies.[118] Thereby, we intend to point out a catalogue of medie-

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[118] As an example, we retain: H. Belloc (1968): *The Great Heresies*, New York: Books for Libraries Press. RI Moore (1977): *The Origins of European Dissent*, London: Penguin Books. L. Milan (1974): *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague/Hague, Academia Publishing House/Martinus. Nijhoff N. N, RI Moore (1975): *The Birth of Popular Heresy*, London: Edwards Arnold Publishers. DD Wand (1955) *The Four Great Heresies,* London. A. R. Mowbray & Co. L. Christiani (1959) *Heresies and Heretics*, London. Burns and Oates, DC Murray (1976) *A History of Heresy,* London, New English Library. ML Cozens (1928) *A Handbook of Heresies*, London. M. L. Cozens, CC Clifton (1992) *Encyclopedia of Heresies and Heretics,* Santa Barbara. RE Lemer (1972) *The Heresy of Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages,* London, University of Notre Dame Press. BJ Russel (1965) *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages with a New Preface by the Author*, New York. Ams Press. H. Fichtenau (1998) *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000–1200,* Translated from German by DA Kaiser, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press. M. Lambert (2002) *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, Third edition, Malden, Blackwell Publishing. W. Lourdaux, and D. Verhelsteds (1976) The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages 11th–13th C. in: *Mediavelia Lovaniensia Series I/Studia IV.* Leuven/Hague: University Press/Martinus Nijhoff. J. O. Sanders (1948): *Heresies Ancient and Modern,* London & Edinburgh, Marshall, Morgan & Scott. H. O. J. Brown (1984) *Heresies: the Image of Christ in the Mirror of Heresy and Orthodoxy from the Apostles to the Present,* New York, Doubleday & Company. E. Peters (ed.) (1980) *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe.* London, Scholar Press. WL Wakefield (1974) *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100–1250.* London. George Allen & Unwin. S. Runciman (1982) *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. R. Kieckhefer (1979) *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany,* Liverpool, Liverpool University Press. L. Newman (1966) *Israel, Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements,* New York, AMS Press. P. Hinchliff 'African Separatists: Heresy, Schism or Protest Movements', in Baker, D. (ed.) (1972) *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest,* Cambridge, Cambridge University

Press. D. Baker (ed.) (1972): *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. J. H. Blunt (ed.) (1974) *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought,* Detroit, Gale Research Company. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 20, Knowledge in Depth* (2002: 871–72), Chicago/London, Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 5*, Micropaedia Ready Reference* (1986: 871–72). S. v Heresy; FX Lawlor (1967: 1062–63): 'Heresy' in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VI*, London/New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company. E. Chudoba (1967: 1064–64) 'History of Heresy in the Medieval Period', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, *Vol. II,* London/New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company. ED McShane (1967: 1065–69) 'History of Heresy in Modern Period', in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. II,* London/New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company. J. Wilhelm (1913: 256–62) 'Heresy' in: Hebermann, G. C., Pace, A. E., Pallen, B. C. (eds.): *The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. VII, An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church,* New York, The Encyclopedia Press. J. McClintock and J. Strong (1969: 198–02) 'Heresy', in: *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, Vol. 4*, Michigan, Baker Book House, H. Schriver (2004: 862–64) 'Heresy', in *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, *Vol. 2*, London & New York, Routledge. JF Kelly (1994: 375–78) 'Heresies-Heretics', in M Glaziel, & K Monika (eds.) *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia,* Minnesota, A. Michael Glazier Book. H. C. Lea (1888) *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York, G. Verbeke (1976: 172–198) 'Philosophy and heresy: Some Conflicts between Reason and Faith' in: W. Lourdaux & D. Verhelst (eds.) *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages 11th - 13th*, C. Leuven/The Hague, Leuven University Press/Martinus Nijhoff. YMJ Congar, '*Arriana haeresis* comme designation du néomanichéisme au XII siècle, contribution à l'histoire d'une typification de l'hérésie au Moyen Âge' in: *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 43,1959: 449–61. G. Leff (1967) *Heresy in later Middle Ages*, *Vol. 2*, Manchester. GG Merlo (1997: 726–726) 'Hérésie, Hérétique', in A. Vauchez (éd.) *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen Âge.* T. 1. Cambridge, Paris/Rome, James Clarke & Co. Ltd. A. Le Boulluec (2000: 492–6) 'Hérésie' in *Dictionnaire de l'histoire du Christianisme. Préface de Jean Delumeau,* Paris, Albin Michel. M. Zerner (2004: 667–671) 'Hérésies au Moyen Age' in C. Gauvard, A. de Libera, M. Zink (dir.) *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge*, Paris, PUF. A. Le Boulluec (2000: 492–496) 'Hérésie' in *Dictionnaire de l'histoire du Christianisme, Préface de Jean Delumeau,* Paris,

val scholars who deal with the question of heresy. Before that, it is important to specify according to Gordon Leff (1973: 416) that, in the Middle Ages this was done by the Church, as the arbiter of Christian faith; and its decrees were binding upon all members of society, who were regarded by definition as Christian. However, it might arise, then, that heresy was the outcome of official condemnation by the Church. Indeed, Lawlor reveals that, like Church Fathers, so too the scholastics delineated only in a very generic way which is, objectively speaking, the heterodox teaching required to constitute heresy; they laid much more stress on the moral aspect of heresy, i. e., on the sin of heresy with its wilful, proud isolation from the communion of the faithful, its contemptuous rejection of Church discipline, and its tragic religious consequences for the life of the believer. It was not so much abstract heresy that was catalogued, as the guilty heretic rebuked. From the Middle Ages until well beyond the time of Trent, the basic correlative concepts, faith and heresy, were often used and both of them theologically[119] . Bernard of

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Albin Michel. M. Lienhard (2006: 581) 'Hérésie' in P. Gisel (dir.) *Encyclopédie du Protestantisme*, Paris/Genève, PUF/Labor et Fides.

[119] This view is confirmed by Thomas Aquinas (1163–1273). According to RB Williams (1994: 869–70), Thomas Aquinas was a famous and influential theologian in his lifetime, and became one of the true giants of Christian theology in the Western Church and one of the most influential thinkers in history. His literary output was prodigious, despite his many duties, and his relatively premature death at age forty-eight/forty-nine. His 'Summa Theologiae' is the most famous and influential work. Actually the term 'thomism' is used broadly to describe efforts to base philosophical or theological thought on the writings and insights of St. Thomas Aquinas. For additional information on this Saint and Catholic scholar, see B. Davies (1992) *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas*, Oxford, Clarendon Press; N. M. Healy (2003) *Thomas Aquinas: Theologian of the Christian Life*, Burlington, Ashgate Publishing Limited; J. A. Little (1988) *Toward a Thomist Methodology,* New York, The Edwin Mellen Press; A. A. Maurer, E. Gilson, J. Owens (eds.) (1974) *St Thomas Aquinas 1274–1974, Commemorative Studies*, *2 vols,* Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Clairvaux,[120] asserts Leclercq (1976:13–14), uses the following expressions to designate heresy (Catharism)[121]: heresy is among the 'temptations' of the Church'; 'heresy presents an obstacle to the unity of faith'. He compares heretics to 'the devil transformed in angels of light'; 'cun-

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[120] Bernard of Clairvaux, according to B. Pennington (1994: 82) and P. Zerbi (1967: 335), was born in 1090 in Fontaines-les-Dijon. He died in Clairvaux on August 20, 1153. P. Zerbi asserts that St Bernard was an Abbot, a monastic theologian, and Doctor of the Church. His gifts as a theologian were called upon to respond to the dangerous teachings of the scintillating Peter Abelard, of Gilbert de Porree and of Arnold of Brescia. His masterpiece, his Sermons on the Song of Songs, was begun in 1136 and was still in composition at the time of his death. With great simplicity and poetic grace Bernard writes of the deepest experiences of the mystical life in ways that became normative for all succeeding writers. He founded in 1115 a new monastery near Aube at Clairvaux, the Valley of Light (see B. Pennington 1994: 82).

[121] As a right guide to master Catharism, see: A. Brenon (2006) *Père Autier (1245–1310), Le dernier des Cathares,* Paris, Perrin. Id. (1988) *Le vrai visage du catharisme,* Toulouse, Loubatières. Id. (1992/2004) *Les femmes cathares*, Paris, Perrin. Id. (1996) *Les Cathares, Vie et mort d'une Église Chrétienne,* Paris, J. Grancher. Id. (1997) *Les Cathares: pauvres du Christ ou Apôtres de Satan?* , Paris, Gallimard/Découvertes. Id. (2001–2003) *L'Hiver du catharisme, Vol. 1, L'Impénitence, Vol. 2, Les Fils du malheur (1300–1311), Vol. 3, Les Cités sarrasines (1312–1324),* L'Hydre Éditions. Id. (2003) *Les Archipels cathares. Dissidence Chrétienne dans l'Europe médiévale*, L'Hydre Editions. Id (2005) *Inquisition à Montaillou, Guillelme et Peire maury, deux croyants cathares devant l'Histoire, 1300–1325,* L'Hydre Editions. Id (2006) *Le Choix hérétique, Dissidence Chrétienne dans l'Europe médiévale, XIe—XIVe s*, La louve éditions. R. Nelli (1995) *Écritures cathares, Nouvelle édition actualisée et augmentée par Anne Brenon*. Le Rocher. J. Berlioz (dir.) (2000) *Le Pays cathares, Les religions médiévales et leurs expressions méridionales,* Paris, Le Seuil. E. Le Roy Ladurie (dir.) (2001) *Autour de Montaillou, un village Occitan,* Textes rassemblés par Anne Brenon et Christine Dieulafait. L'Hydre Éditions. M. Aurell (dir.) (2005), *Les Cathares devant l'histoire, Mélanges offerts à Jean Duvernoy,* Textes rassemblés par Anne Brenon et Christine Dieulafait, L'Hydre Éditions, M. Prigent (dir.) (2005), *Histoire de la France littéraire, Vol. 1, les Querelles de Dieu*, Paris, PUF.

ning devil' (Leclercq 1976: 18). Before all this, Bernard of Clairvaux first denounces, and refutes, the error through which the heretics affect negatively the public morality, especially in the case of those who pretend that marriage is bad, but at the same time allow all kinds of licentious behaviour in their followers (Leclercq: 20). However, for Duvernoy (1976: 201), heretics were designated during the Council of Toulouse in 1119 as 'pseudo religious or disguised religious'. Thomas Aquinas (II-II, Q. xi, a. 1) defines, according to Wilhelm (1913: 256), heresy as 'a species of infidelity in men who, having professed the faith of Christ, corrupt its dogmas'. There are, explains Thomas Aquinas, two ways of deviating from Christianity: the one by refusing to believe in Christ Himself, which is the way of infidelity common to Pagan and Jew; the other by restricting belief to certain points of Christ's doctrine selected and fashioned at pleasure, which is the way of heretics. The subject-matter of both faith and heresy is, therefore, the deposit of the faith, that is, the sum total of truths revealed in Scripture and Tradition as proposed by the Church; the heretic accepts only such parts of it as commend themselves to his own approval. The heretical tenets may be adhered to from involuntary causes: inculpable ignorance of the true creed, erroneous judgement, imperfect apprehension and comprehension of dogmas: in none of these does the will play an appreciable part, where as one of the necessary conditions of sinfulness (free choice) is wanting and such heresy is merely objective, or material. On the other hand the will may freely incline the intellect to adhere to tenets declared false by the Divine teaching authority of the Church. The impelling motives are many: intellectual pride or exaggerated reliance on one's own insight; the illusions of religious zeal; the allurements of political or ecclesiastical power; the ties of material interests and personal status; and perhaps others more dishonourable. Heresy thus willed is imputable to the subject and carries with it a varying degree of guilt; it is called formal, because to the material error, it adds the informative element of

'freely willed'. Tenacity, that is, obstinate adhesion to a particular tenet is required to make heresy formal. For as long as one remains willing to submit to the Church's decision one remains a Catholic Christian at heart and one's wrong beliefs are only transient errors and fleeting assent amounts only to opinions. Considering that the human intellect can assent only to truth, real or apparent, studied obstinacy, as distinct from wanton opposition, supposes a firm subjective conviction which may be sufficient to inform the conscience and create 'good faith'. Such firm convictions result either from circumstances over which the heretic has no control or from intellectual delinquencies in themselves more or less voluntary and imputable. A man born and nurtured in heretical surroundings may live and die without ever having a doubt as to the truth of his creed.

On the other hand a born Catholic may allow himself to drift into whirls of anti-Catholic thought from which no doctrinal authority can rescue him, and, where his mind becomes encrusted with convictions, or considerations sufficiently powerful to overlay his Catholic conscience. It is not for man, but for Him who searches the inward parts and heart, to sit in judgement on the guilt which is attached to a heretical conscience. Thomas Aquinas dealt also with the gravity of heresy as follows: 'all sin is an aversion from God. A sin, therefore, is the greater the more it separates man from God. But infidelity does this more than any other sin, for the infidel (unbeliever) is without the true knowledge of God: his false knowledge does not bring him help, for what he opines is not God: manifestly, then, the sin of unbelief (*infidelitas*) is the greatest sin in the whole range of perversity. Although the Gentiles err in more things than the Jews, and although the Jews are farther removed from true faith than heretics, yet the unbelief of Jews is a more grievous sin than that of the Gentiles, because they corrupt the Gospel itself after having adopted and professed the same. It is more a serious sin not to perform what one has promised. It cannot be said in extenuation of those guilty of heresy that

heretics do not deny the faith which to them appears necessary to salva-
tion, but only such articles as they consider not to belong to the original
deposit. In answer it suffices to say that two of the most evident truths of
the *depositum fidei* are the unity of the Church and the institution of a
teaching authority to maintain that unity. That unity exists in the Catho-
lic Church, and is preserved by the function of her teaching body: these
are two facts which anyone can verify for himself. In the constitution of
the Church there is no room for private judgement to sort out essentials
from non–essentials: any such selection disturbs the unity, and challeng-
es the Divine authority of the Church; it strikes at the very source of
faith. The guilt of heresy is measured not so much by its subjectmatter
as its formal principle, which is the same in all heresies: revolt against a
divinely constituted authority.

After Thomas' view on heresy, Gordon Leff (1973: 418) in his study
upon heresy during the medieval era notices that: firstly, the great
sources of heresy were among the most universally venerated – the
Bible and heretics who could be individuals or groups of laymen and/or
clergymen, were prepared to take God's law into their own hands and
reject that of the Church. This led to treating the Bible as supreme truth,
to be understood according to their own interpretation.[122] Secondly, the
heresies shared certain common traits that came from being a movement
of protest. In this sense, heretics felt persecuted and were an elected
group opposed to the Antichrist who was their persecutor. It is important

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[122] In this view, RI Moore (1977: ix) in his research on heresy during the 11–12th
centuries, defines the heresy as 'an opinion chosen by human perception, found-
ed on the Scriptures, contrary to the teaching of the Church, publicly avowed
and obstinately defending'. This author specifies also that, heretics, here the
Catharists, for example, who declared that 'a sinful priest could not administer
the sacraments' (G. Leff 1973: 418), are a product of aspirations, anxieties and
frustrations. This definition would be quoted from the illustrious Robert Grosse-
teste (died in 1253), Bishop of Lincoln (see A. Vauchez 1990: 321).

to note that during the later Middle Ages, observes David L. Holland (1973: 425):

> 'The interpretation of heresy as a civil offense punishable by death had been given legal basis by Emperor Frederick II (Contitutions of Melfi, 1231), and Innocent IV, in his bull, *Cum adversus haereticam pravitatem,* of 1245, sanctioned the Emperor's view with papal approval'.

From this quotation, it is clearly identified that there was more cooperation between Church and State leadership in the struggle against heresies and heretics by means of the Inquisition and Index. Heresy, in fact, was considered as the origin of 'civil disorder' [123] (Kieckhefer 1979: 75–82).

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[123] In his book on the repression of heresies in the Middle Ages in Germany, Kieckhefer reveals that the heretical groups in question were the Beghards, Beguines, Waldensians, and Cathars. All of them were accused by the authorities of being the source of civil disorder. It is the reason why they were repressed. Because, observes Kieckhefer, 'whether genuinely heretical or not, religious deviants were seen as a threat to the society'. Summarily, MD Lambert (2002: 381–83), defines these medieval heretics as follows. The Beghards were men who lead a religious life without rule or vows, similar to the female equivalent, the Beguines, but more mobile, gaining a living by begging, and accused of Free Spirit heresy in the early fourteenth century. The Beguines, were the pious women who lead a religious life without rule of vows, singly or in convents, often linked to the mendicant orders, popular from the early thirteenth century, but inhibited by prejudice and accusations of Free Spirit heresy in the fourteenth century. Their name originally was a popular and pejorative form of Albigensis. The Waldensians or Waldenses were an evangelical heresy of the late twelfth century, springing from an orthodox poverty and preaching movement launched by Valdes, a former businessman of Lyons; fell into heresy following refusal of the right to preach and subsequent condemnation by Lucius III in 1184; Split into a Lyonist and Poor Lombard wing, but continued in France, Germany, parts of Eastern Europe and Italy and survived into modern times. The Cathars were the Dualist heretics who thought that all matter is evil. Derived originally from

Let us now see how the reality of heresy was considered during the Renaissance.

2.2.4 During the Renaissance

It known that the Renaissance was the period in Europe during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries when European people became interested in the ideas and culture of ancient Greece and Rome and absorbed these influences into their own art, thought and literature. Sometimes the Renaissance and Humanism[124] are used as synonyms. The Renaissance is the term used to designate the ancient Arts and Architecture (Graeco-Roman). Humanism refers to the Literature.

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the Bogomil influence and possibly Paulicians in Western Europe; foreshadowed in eleventh century Western heresy; active from twelfth to late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, especially in parts of Lombardy and southern France. Term (Greek, 'pure ones') should properly be restricted to their leading class, the *perfecti*, but is commonly applied to the whole movement.

[124] Humanism is a system of thought that considers that solving human problems with the help of reason is more important than religious beliefs, and emphasises the fact that the basic nature of human beings is good. During this period, a Humanist was someone who studied Ancient languages like Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Moreover, concerning the Renaissance humanists, asserts David L. Holland (1973: 427), they intended to reprise the thought forms of antiquity, and fewer still can be said seriously to have adhered in any religious sense to the pagan mythologies so ubiquitous in their works. Rather this material served as foils for wrestling with Christian themes. Though generally antagonistic to ecclesiastical and theological authority, these men were not necessarily irreligious or even anti-Christian. They thought Scholastic theology unimpressive and brittle. And their thought often lent itself to relativism in dogma, tolerance of different ideas, and syncretism. Finally, some Reformers especially Guillaume Farel (1489–1565), castigated Erasmus of Rotterdam as a "pestilent adversary of the Gospel"(see David L. Holland [1973: 427]) for theological reductionism. For other useful bibliographies upon Humanism, see J. Kirk (1991) *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400–1643*, Oxford, The Ecclesiastical History Society/Blackwell Publishers.

According to David Holland (1973: 425), Renaissance thinkers, saw an ever increasing disagreement on what constituted "right" belief. There was opposition both within and without the churches to their treatment of heresy, and the Renaissance produced literature advocating tolerance of dissent. The literary debate fell largely into the hands of the humanists. Some of these men were no longer content to seek solutions to religious and ethical questions within the elaborate dogmatic and legal structures of the Scholastic Roman Church. For them, theology should be simplified and virtually reduced to ethics, and only the very minimum of dogma essential to salvation ought to be required of any man. These persons were anti-traditional, anti-Scholastic, and, in some senses, anti-theological in inclination.

In consequence, they were incensed by the viciousness with which the churches persecuted the heretics. It appears clearly that contrary to the previous period (Middle Ages), during their lifetime, the adepts of the Renaissance did not agree with the lack of consideration and harsh treatment conferred upon the heretics even if some of them viewed heresy as false Christian opinions. For example, Erasmus of Rotterdam[125]

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[125] At his birth, asserts JDD M'Clintock & JSTD Strong (1969: 277), he was called 'Gerhardus Gerhardi', which name he changed into the name of 'Erasmus, Desiderius. Erasmus, which name means in Greek and Latin: 'amiable'. Erasmus of Rotterdam observes MP Gilmore (1967: 508) was a humanist, classical and patristic scholar, who produced the first edition of the Greek New Testament. Moreover, reveals J. Quinn, Erasmus Desiderius is more widely remembered for his earlier writings, such as *Encomium Mariae* (The Praise of Folly, 1511, a satire on theologians and Church dignitaries); *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503*),* a simple book of spirituality which had a huge circulation in many translations, and *Institutio Christiani Principis* (Education of a Christian Prince). In 1520, we learn from MP Gilmore that Erasmus moved to Basel in Switzerland, where he worked as an editor at the publishing house of Johann Froben until 1527. During this period, he published some of his works on the Church Fathers and an edition of Aristotle. Erasmus Desiderius saw the need for Church reform, but distanced himself from Luther, feeling that reform was

(1466/7–1536),[126] in 1535, defines heresy not as error but a stubborn mischief which, in quest of some advantage, destabilizes the Church by false opinions (see A. Godin 1994: 668).[127] Indeed, Erasmus in his view had an apprehension that, states Godin (670), the bad leaders of the Church's behaviour could be considered as a kind of heresy, 'the heresies of life' (*hérésies de la vie*). Because for him, their bad behaviour is prejudicial to the spiritual health of Christians.

In addition, what were the characteristics of heresies during the Renaissance? The arguments formulated by Holland can help in responding to this interrogation. In fact: not all of the medieval movements which continued as heresies in the Renaissance were intellectual, however. Many of the sects the Church labelled heretical were originally reform movements. They advocated reform of the Church, apostolic simplicity in demeanour, and renewed concentration on the Bible with a literal understanding of its injunctions. They generally opposed sacramentalism, clericalism, and intellectualism. Since they were not ordinarily

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possible without dividing the Church. Erasmus, finally, was befriended by popes and princes, but maintained his respect for truth, tolerance, moderation, and independence. A person of great integrity and learning, he has had a lasting cultural influence over the centuries. Erasmus of Rotterdam deals with the question of human dignity see JC Margolin. La notion de la dignité humaine selon Erasme de Rotterdam. In: J. Kirk (1991: 37–56) *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400–1643,* Oxford, The Ecclesiastical History Society/Blackwell Publishers.

[126] According to David L. Holland (1973: 426), Erasmus of Rotterdam was a theological reductionist with an aversion to dogma. To him, Faith is inward and simple and should consist in assent to minimal propositions. Correct belief about complex theological questions is not essential to salvation, and as little definition should be made as possible. In any case sincere faith cannot be induced by coercion. An utterly contumacious heretic may, however, be punished, not so much because of his error as because of his attitude.

[127] This is our translation of this French sentence « j'appelle hérésie non n'importe quelle erreur, mais une malice obstinée qui, en vue de quelque avantage, dérange la tranquillité de l'Église par des fausses opinions ».

made up of learned men, the Church's intellectual elite often thought of them as anachronistic. Alienated from the Church, some of them moved into superstition and witchcraft, but most of the disenchanted remained much closer to a traditional faith. Witchcraft, explains Holland, was another element with medieval roots which penetrated the Renaissance. It is not clear that those regarded as witches and warlocks were technically heretics—claiming to be Christian—but the Church exercised itself against them on scriptural grounds, principally Exodus 22, 18 and Deuteronomy 18, 10 (See Holland 1973: 426–427).

The other side of the Renaissance from the religious point of view was the Reformation.[128] With this event, Christianity was divided into two streams of obedience: to the Roman Catholic Church or to the Protestant Churches. Both, observes David L. Holland (1973: 427), agreed on a formal definition of heresy, and drew up quite different lists of heresies, but the Protestants rejected the appellation heretic for themselves. They thought of themselves as representing the truth against apostasy. Curiously, however, the major Reformation groups did not label Roman Catholicism *per se* heretical. Luther (1483–1546), for instance regarded the pope as the apostate of the New Israel and spoke of 'the swarm of vermin in Rome', but he did not designate Catholicism as heresy even if the Catholics determined at the Council of Trent (1545–

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[128] The Reformation designates the new ideas in 16th century Europe that led to the attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church and to the forming of the Protestant Churches; the period of time when these changes were taking place. For more useful bibliographies on this era see O. Chadwick (1962: 32–41) *The History of the Church: A Select Bibliography*, London, Historical Association. S. J. Case (ed.) (1932: 94–102) *Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. L. Woodhead (2004: 159–204) *An Introduction to Christianity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. A. Pettegree: 'Reformation and Counter-Reformation' in: A. Hastings (ed.) (1999: 238–81), London, The Bath Press. M. Venard (dir.) (1994) *Histoire du Christianisme. Volume vii: De la Réforme à la Réformation,* Pars, Desclée, *passim*.

63) that Lutherans, Calvinists, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and some of the humanists as heretics. Luther[129] was pessimistic about the outcome, but he did not yield his hope for peace with a reformed Rome. For Calvin (1509–1564), there was no Church of Christ at Rome because the signs of the true Church—the Word rightly preached and the sacraments rightly celebrated—were missing. On the other hand, through his commentary on 1 Tim. 1, 19, John Calvin (1509–1564) outlines the origin of heresy. Allison (1994:11) states that 'All errors that have existed in the Christian Church from the beginning proceeded from this source that in some persons, ambition, and in others, covetousness, extinguished the true fear of God. A bad conscience is, therefore, the mother of all heresies…'In addition certain learned persons, remarks David L. Holland (1973: 428), among them Bacon, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Gassendi, and Newton, refused to regard reason as ancillary to theology and set themselves vigorously to its use in science with inductive methodologies. They challenged the notion of miracle. They developed principles of critical study. With respect to heresy, they raised the question of what could be accepted as individual adiaphora in the Christian confession. Was egocentrism essential? Catholicism ruled that it was, although the Protestant Osiander's preface to Copernicus' work tried to make it optional.

2.2.5 In the Modern Period

This period started with the 'Enlightenment' during the eighteenth century. The century was characterised by the flourishing of 'rational-

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[129] According to M. Lienhard (2006: 581), Martin Luther defines 'heresy' as follows: « la manifestation de la volonté orgueilleuse de l'homme s'affirmant face de Dieu » (the manifestation of overproud human will by asserting itself against God).

ism' or the use of reason to weight the merits of everything. Concerning this period[130], David L. Holland (1973: 428) notes that:

> 'The later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, however, mark important shifts away from, the older views. Not disjunction from the past but reorientation in view of various challenges emerged. The eighteenth century experienced an increasing exasperation with the dictum of Vincent of Lérins (ca. 434), *quod ubique, quod simper, quod ab omnibus creditum est* ("what is believed everywhere, always, by everyone") with respect to the doctrinal content of the faith. J. B Bossuet, representing the epitome of Gallicalism, had written in 1688 to the effect that tradition is absolutely unchangeable, that Christian doctrine came from Christ true and complete. '

But even as Bossuet wrote, continues Holland, critical principles of historical studies which were making them impatient with attempts to

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[130] ED McShane (1967: 1065–69) 'History of Heresy in Modern Period' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. II,* London/New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company; J. O Sanders (1948) *Heresies Ancient and Modern.* London & Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott; L. Christiani (1959) *Heresies and Heretics.* London, Burns and Oates. DC Murray (1976): *A History of Heresy,* London, New English Library. Ml Cozens (1928): *A Handbook of Heresies,* London. M. L. Cozens, J O'Grady (1985) *Heretical Truth or Error?* , Dorcet Element Books. C. C. Clifton, (1992) *Encyclopedia of Heresies and Heretics,* Santa Barbara. HOJ Brown, (1984) *Heresies: the Image of Christ in the Mirror of Heresy and Orthodoxy from the Apostles to the Present,* New York, Doubleday & Company. P. Hinchliff, 'African Separatists: Heresy, Schism or Protest Movements', in D Baker (ed.) (1972) *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. T M Shaw 'Ascetic Practice and the Genealogy of Heresy: Problem in Modern Scholarship and Ancient Textual Representation' in D B Martin & P Cox Miller (eds.) (2005: 213–36) *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography,* Durham/London, Duke University Press. V. Augiron (2005) 'La notion d'hérésie dans le Passavant de Théodore de Bèze' in *Heresis no. 42–43*, pp. 121–138.

describe and adduce in support of a polemical position a supposed patristic consensus. Catholic opponents of Jansenism were having to oppose Augustine, and Catholic biblical scholars were wondering about the historical reliability of some details of the Gospel narratives. Protestants, in contesting Gallicanism, were, especially among English Latitudinarians, more than prepared to espouse the view that theology had changed and improved since the early Fathers. The Enlightenment taught them that doctrine does not remain static simply because formulae remain unchangeable. Words change meanings as time passes and our understanding of terms and ideas changes also. Some sort of development was inherent in the situation. And as this spirit entered the nineteenth century, the breach between propositional theological certitude and the relativity of the results of historical investigation became clear.

Moreover, various components of the nineteenth century only exacerbated that problem and brought additional challenges to traditional modes of Christian thought. Historical relativism in the guise of so-called 'historicism' occupied the foreground. Scientific method in the Enlightenment recovered the rationalist emphasis of the Renaissance which both Protestantism and Catholicism had feared so intensely. The growth of science passed on to the nineteenth century not only great confidence in natural theology, but also the Newtonian revolution, the dispute about evolutionary geology and Genesis, the Darwinian controversy, social Darwinism, environmental sociology, and a positivistic empirical approach to all reality.

We learn from Holland (1973: 429) that the churches reacted variously to these developments. Some Protestants took refuge in Pietism. Some embraced the rationalism of the Enlightenment and adopted an indifferentist, common sense attitude toward these problems and accepted easily the notions of natural law and of Christianity as merely an example of a universal natural religion. Still others concentrated on feeling in religion. Liberal Protestantism in general emphasized subjec-

tive experience and, relatedly, a philosophical idealism which, in some quarters, came virtually to replace theology. The doctrine of man was revised in man's favour and to the disadvantage of Augustinian ideas of original sin. Men like Albrecht Ritschl (1822–89) viewed history with great optimism about the destiny of man. History, for some, virtually became the agent of salvation, the Christ.

Moreover, ethics and social concerns were strongly emphasized and evoked responses like America's Social Gospel movement. Positivism and realism were victorious. Friedrich Schleiermacher [131], a German theologian working at the beginning of the nineteenth century, illustrates the response in terms of subjectivism and antipathy to propositional theology. John Locke, in his *The Reasonableness of Christianity (*1695), had wanted to reduce the essential Christian confession to the proposition "Jesus the Messiah". His position was similar to the theological reductionism of Erasmus. The Schleiermacher position was quite different. He shifts the fundamental basis of the problem. In his *Der Christliche Glaube (*1821) he brings his view to bear on the problem of heresy. Heresy is described as a sickness of the whole organism of the Church. It must, for the good of the whole, be healed. Every dogmatic system, he held, will have a principle which serves as a criterion of judgement for that which is acceptable and which is unacceptable. That principle will be the essence of Christianity. Schleiermacher's principle was the redemption wrought in Jesus Christ. He then proceeded to interpret that principle subjectively. What is essential is the relation of the individual to Christ, his saviour, and this relationship determines his relationship to the Church. He saw this view as opposite to that of Roman Catholicism

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[131] As asserts WE Wiest (1967: 1136–7), Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, was born at Breslau, November 21, 1768. He died in Berlin, February 12, 1834. This German Protestant theologian, philosopher, and educator came from a Moravian background, and is called the 'father of modern theology' (i. e., of 19th and early 20th century Protestant liberal theology).

which he understood to hold that one's relation to Christ was determined by his relationship to the Church. The result of Schleiermacher's position was to render uncertain each delineation of heresy and to deny the absolute validity of the formal decisions of the Church respecting heresy. Not right belief, but a relationship to Christ, saves. Doctrinal heresy is thus virtually obsolete. Disapprobation of dogma is also present in Ralph Waldo Emerson's 'Divinity School Address' at Harvard in 1838. Contempt for propositional theology also appears in Horace Bushnell's essay on 'Language' in his *God in Christ* (1849) which denies the validity of rationalism and dogmatism. The logical is rebuffed: religious language is always ambiguous and always partly false. Bushnell would prefer to affirm logical contradictions when speaking of God rather than accept logic and rationalism as absolutes.

In addition, there were other reactions, explains David L Holland (1973: 429), by tenaciously conservative Protestants to the challenge of the nineteenth century. Indeed, various confessional movements emphasized radically the differences between theology and contemporary philosophy. John Newman's emphases on the historical Church and its creeds exemplify such a mood in England. Lutheranism saw a revival in Germany, and in America, Charles Hodge of Princeton illustrates the conservative response. Finally, so-called Fundamentalism,[132] in America represented the height of the retreat from the modern world, and looked at 'modernism 'as heretical'. Consequently, the result of these conflicting strands of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, concludes David

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[132] The Fundamentalist movement brought together people who were basically alienated from the newer current of intellectual life at the end of the nineteenth century. These Protestant Christians regarded acceptance of the following doctrines as essential for the true Christian faith: inerrancy of the scriptures, the deity of Christ, his virgin birth, the substitutionary atonement, and Christ's physical resurrection and visible second coming. Challenges to any of these points were heretical, and most intellectual movements were ruled out of bounds for the Christian.

L Holland (1973: 429–30), is that 'the notion of heresy and its place in Christian history was altered. The dominant stress within Protestantism was a move away from propositional theology toward an emphasis on feeling and subjectivity. Inductive sciences were gaining credence at the expense of traditional views of theology. Despite occasional conservative revivals, the prevailing mood of the period was not in that direction. The historiography of heresy has also made significant contributions toward a change in attitude concerning heresy. Much of the recent literature on the topic – both historical and systematic – reflects this important shift. Indeed, until the monumental effort of Gottfried Arnold in his *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688 (*1699–1700), polemical interests had never been far from the consideration of the problem of heresy. The heretic was an enemy who was to be held in disgrace. Arnold and, following him, Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, in 1746, attempted to write fair and objective histories of heresy. Party loyalties were consciously subordinated to faithful recitation of the facts.

Moreover, more recently, several studies have been published which build upon the spirit of fairness, and the development of critical historical methodologies, and the destruction of such myths as the patristic consensus. Many current Roman Catholic scholars are also treating the question of heresy differently from their predecessors. Karl Rahner has suggested that adherence to unmodified formulae from the past may involve one in heresy in the present. Hans Küng [133] has called for a change in attitude toward the heretic. Not only is the punitive power of

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[133] Hans Küng's point of view on heresy constitutes the main point of CE Spinosa's Dissertation. See CE Spinosa (1988) *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Hans Küng: An Analysis and Critique of his Criteria and Norms of Christian Truth and Error.* Dissertation presented at AndrewUniversity. Michigan: UMI Dissertation Information Service.

the Inquisition[134] rejected, but its spirit also, and the heretic is to be treated with love and understanding. Heresy is seen as a call to self-criticism by overemphasizing one aspect of Christian truth respecting which the Church has been lacking. Thus an *interpretation benigna* is required. At last, the important role of pluralism[135] in the disruption of the traditional views of heresy for the contemporary world must be noted. The basic principle of pluralism removes the question of heresy from the area of truth and places it in the area of discipline. Each Church can work out its own confessional stance, regard it as true, and demand that its members subordinate themselves to it. Each may also choose to regard all others who claim to be Christian as heretical. But those so accused can either leave that particular church or, if they are not members of it, simply ignore the change. Neither punitive action against person or property nor social stigma attaches to such a 'heretic' in a larger pluralistic society. This also means that not every 'heresy' will affect every church, so for example, the confessional Protestant churches were little touched by the excesses of liberal theology. It has also tended to mean, historically, that the relativizing of dogma begun, in a sense, by the humanists (e. g., Castellio) and given impetus by the nineteenth century's great theologians (e. g., Schleiermacher) has rendered many churches less sensitive about doctrinal dissent and deviation. During the twentieth century, notes Holland (1973: 430), there is a mood of impa-

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[134] Cfr *infra*, the point 2.4 Church's riposte against heresies' which concerns the repression of heresies for more detail.

[135] Pluralism asserts Welker (2006: 1461), consists of a complex, but clear, form of social, cultural, and religious coexistence. True, pluralism is still repeatedly confused with a certain vague 'multiplicity', a 'plurality', or a 'pluralization', to which person may ultimately react only with diffuse enthusiasm, or diffuse fears and defensive attitudes. For extensive analysis of this word, see Woodbridge (1994: 66–7); Welker (2006: 1460–1464); Safra, Yannias, Goulka (1998: 528–529) 'Pluralism, pluralism and monism, plurality system'; Basset (1993: 175–200); Henn (1992: 963–966); Noll, Wells (1988: 263–284).

tience with preoccupation in doctrinal concerns and a disinclination to regard any formulae as propositional absolutes. Claims to absolute truth are not widely accepted.

Nevertheless, heresy is not a completely anachronistic notion, and it remains of particular concern for those churches which are marked by a tight confessional stance. To sum up, the main heresy during this period still, asserts Belloc (1968: 245), is the 'modern attack' or 'anti-Christ' (Belloc 1968: 247) which is a wholesale assault upon the fundamentals of the Faith – upon the very existence of the faith. Sometimes, it is named by certain persons 'a return to Paganism'[136] (Belloc 1968: 248) or 'Modernism' which is considered as:

> 'The only one 'heresy' which has had significance for twentieth century Roman Catholics is Modernism, a name given less to a movement than to an attitude which emerged in the latenineteenth century. The Modernists were theologians who accepted the advances in biblical exegesisand Church history taken for granted by liberal Protestants; furthermore, they reject-

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[136] For H. Belloc (1968: 249), that definition is true if we mean by Paganism a denial of Catholic truth: if we mean by Paganism a denial of the Incarnation, of God, of man's direct responsibility to God, and culture which is summed up in the word 'Catholic', then, and in that sense, the modern attack is a return to Paganism… Now since, from all of these, it has been found possible to draw men towards the universal Church, any new Paganism rejecting the Church now known would (p. 249) certainly be the Paganism to which the Church was unknown. A man going uphill may keep the same level as another man going down hill; but they are facing different ways and have different destinies. Our world, passing out of the old Paganism of Greece and Rome towards the consummation of Christendom and a Catholic civilization from which we all derive, is the very negation of the same world leaving the light of its ancestral religion and sliding back into the dark. The modern attack is named also 'the anti-Christian advance'. In our opinion we are witnesses of the eruption and emergence of many kinds of deviated Christian practices and movements which are the visible effects of modernism.

ed the overrationalism of contemporary Scholasticism' (Kelly 1994: 375).

In the light of all that said above, we notice that during the whole existence of the Church, there is the emergence of different heresies. Why did they spring up, exist and spread even today? The following section will respond to this interrogation.

2.3 Causes of the Birth, Spread, and Persistence of Heresies

'The origin, the spread, and persistence of heresy', notes Wilhelm (1913: 257), 'are due:

> 'to different causes and influenced by many external circumstances. The undoing of faith infused and fostered by God Himself is possible on account of the human element in it, namely, humanity's free will. The will determines the act of faith freely because its moral dispositions move it to obey God, whilst the non-cogency of credibility allows it to withhold its consent and leaves room for doubt and even denial. The non-cogency of the motives of credibility may arise[137] from three causes: the obscuri-

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[137] For Rudolph (2005: 3922–3923), the rise of heresies is due to seven causes. 1. Dogmatico-theological questions understood as problems of doctrinal tradition and their interpretation (personal factors may at times play a role here, e. g., the apostasy of disciples). This cause is admittedly found in a pure form, but is a minor factor in almost all confessional religions. Doctrinal questions supply the ideological backbone of almost all heresies and sects; every 'heresy' seeks doctrinal justification as an expression of its immmediate self-consciousness. 2. Questions of lifestyle, or, if the reader will, of ethics and morality (in any case, problems of practice). Frequently these are directly connected with the questions mentioned above or else are consequences of divergent doctrines. In most instances sects follow a 'radical 'line and thus tend to extremism. 3. Questions of ritual and cultic observance. Once again, these are usually connected with doc-

ty of the Divine testimony (*inevidentia attest antis);* the obscurity of the contents of Revelation; the opposition between the obligations imposed on us by faith and the evil inclinations of our corrupt nature.' (Ibid.)

To find out, continues Wilhelm, how human free will is led to withdraw from the faith it once professed, the best way is observation of historical cases. Pope Pius X, scrutinising the causes of Modernism, says:

'The proximate cause is, without any doubt, an error of the mind. The remoter causes are two: curiosity and pride. Curiosity, unless wisely held in bounds, is of itself sufficient to account for all er-

trinal problems but rarely in 'book religions' as distinguished from cultic religions.' Even Christianity, a book religion, has known such cases: The controversy over the date of Easter in the second century, for example. 4. Social problems, with are closely conected with moral and ethical problems. Sociorevolutionary movements come under this heading. Marxist analysis and more recent sociological analyses have shed a great deal of light on this area, showing that a good many heresies have been the expression of critical situations. The important part played by this sort of background should not, however, lead one to interpret every religious sect or heresy as a crypto-revolutionary movement. There is good reason to reject the old ahistorical underestimation of such causes, but one should not replace it with a one-sided overestimation of them. 5. Political causes. These are often closely connected with the social causes described above, because the politico-religious ambitions of a stratum or classusually alsoinvolve social interests that can lead to divisions with an established religion of the type being discussed here. 6. Cultural anthropological (racial), and ethnic factors that are evident in Islam, in the history of the Eastern Christian Church. Also to be mentioned under this heading is the continued influence of past forms of religion, the various forms of 'paganism', for insance, which either give the impulse to emerging heresies and divisions or at least supply them with ideologicalmaterial. 7. The figure of a charismatic leader often plays a role that should not be underestimated in the separate or combined operation of these various factors. The leader has an important part in shaping a heresy and its further course. The leader can develop from the founder of a sect into the founder of a new religion.

rors… But far more effective in obscuring the mind and leading it into error is pride, which has, as it were, its home in Modernist doctrines.' (Ibid.)

It is psychologically interesting to note the turning point or rather the breaking point of faith in the autobiographers of seceders from the Church. A study of the personal narratives in 'Roads to Rome' and 'Roads from Rome' leaves one with the impression that the heart of man is a sanctuary impenetrable to all but to God and, in a certain measure, to its owner. It is, therefore, advisable to leave individuals to themselves and to study the spread of heresy, or the origin of heretical societies. From Wilhelm's introductory clarification on this section; let us now move to the cases for birth of heresy.

2.3.1 Causes for the Birth of Heresy

By the birth of heresy, we mean its origin. Among the main causes of heresy we note the following, that is to say: free will in distortion of Holy Scripture, a Spirit of innovation and personal glory, seeking to purge religious doctrine, a Sprit of social contestation.

2.3.1.1 Free Will in Distortion of Holy Scripture

Kelly states (1994:375) that, at the outset, it is important to note that heresy must be distinguished from speculative theology. The theologian starts with the data of revelation and then investigates these data. Often the theologian will reach a conclusion at variance with the prevailing magisterial teaching, but this is not heresy since the theologian is voicing a theological opinion and expects to dialogue with other theologians on that point. Instead, 'deviation from the Scripture is heresy, although such deviation depends upon the type ofexegesis involved' (Kelly 1994: 375). Here, the free will of the heretic is determined by his 'type of exegesis', which could be neither a kind of illumination or private inspiration, and personal perception which could be caused by his aspira-

tions, anxieties and frustrations. This free will, in our opinion could be what Christiani (1959: 9–10) names 'human freedom.' For him, heresy 'springs from the diversity of minds, from personality, from temperament, and ultimately, from the human freedom.' Moreover, sometimes this free will is due to the level of instruction of the heretic which may be low like an 'illiterate' or 'semi-illiterate'. This view is stated by Fichtenau (1998: 21) in his study on the origins of heresy during the 11th to 13th centuries: 'Somebody who did not know Latin – the liturgical Language – was easily able to become a heretic'. On the other hand, this free will could be expressed through the extreme use of the progress of textual criticism by certain Christian intellectuals characterized by their intellectual freedom and deductions about the revelation, and sometimes they became heretics. In this sense, it clearly appeared that an excess of textual criticism could be a source or cause of heresy (see Cozens 1928: 79).

2.3.1.2 Spirit of Innovation and Personal Glory

This cause of heresy depends very much on the first andupon the sorts of heresies or heretics,[138] especially the 'Reformists', and the 'Eccentrics', who sought, during the Middle Ages to transform certain practices of the Catholic Church. It depends also on the conclusions of their 'pseudo-exegesis' or 'deluded Spiritual exegesis'[139], by which heretics

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[138] For BJ Russell (1965), in his research on 'Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages', finds four sorts of heretics: Reformists, whose enthusiasm for the reform of the Church took them to the extreme; the Eccentrics, whose odd and peculiar doctrines took them far from orthodox traditions; Reactionaries, who were overeager in their devotion to the past and refused to go along with the development of newer Christian doctrine and practice; the Intellectuals were the dissenters whose deviations were philosophical, and who took a variety of positions.

[139] I owe this expression to Newman (1966: 12) from his very impressive and scholarly investigation on *Israel: Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements.* New York: AMS Press. This book deals with heresies in the history of

seek something new. In fact, the heretical mind originates, asserts Sanders (1948: 10) in 'the desire to tell or to hear some new thing'. Heretics are people, states Wilken (1971: 65), 'who through a passion for innovation have wandered as far as possible from the truth'. Concerning the search for personal glory as a source of heresy, Bernard de Clairvaux, quoted by Leclercq, asserts:

> 'In the origin of perverted and various dogmas that made the heretics who came out of the Church, there was a search of personal glory… In the same manner that philosophers like syllogisms, and his proper judgement, the heretic trusts rather in his personal judgement than in the common teaching of the Church.[140]'

All told, for Thomas Aquinas, quoted by Wilhelm (1913: 256), the following elements contribute to the birth of the heretical mind: intellectual pride or exaggerated reliance on insight, the ties of material interest and personal status, the illusions of religious zeal, and the allurements of political or ecclesiastical power, and intellectual delinquencies. Finally, observes Fichtenau (1998:124–5), one no longer needed to become a

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Catholicism during the Middle Ages and in Protestantism during the Reformation era. This investigation has been undertaken with a view to describing and analysing the contributions by Jews and Judaism to the rise and development of the movements classified as heresies. This author reveals also, how certain Church Fathers were not only acquainted with the religious documents of Judaism, but that they stood in personal relations with Jews: like Clement of Alexandria during his sojourn in Syria; Origen, who on his mother's side may have been of Jewish descent; Jerome and Theodoret of Mopsuest.

[140] This is our translation from the following French sentences: Pour Bernard de Clairvaux, 'à l'origine des dogmes divers et pervers que fabriquèrent les hérétiques sortis de l'Église, se trouvait une recherche de gloire personnelle'… Il a en commun avec les philosophes de se fier aux syllogismes, et à son propre jugement, plus qu'à l'enseignement commun.'

heretic in order to practice the apostolic life, free of institutional constraints.

2.3.1.3 The Search to Purge Religion

In general, heretics claim that the Church of which they were previously members, did not live in conformity with the original practices of their religion. They usually justify their actions as a return to the original practices of their belief. Moreover, for Wakefield,[141] six causes or explanations of the birth of heresies are outlined: the resentment against a corrupt clergy in the Church that had became wealthy, worldly, and forgetful of its evangelical mission; leaving a religious order for a revival of piety; a desire for personal spiritual perfection; a diminished sense of need for the clergy and the sacraments; the spirit of reform based on 'the vita apostolica: life based on Gospel precepts in imitation of the Apostles'; the infectious preaching zeal of the Reformers, a natural and good way of instructing the people, in a largely illiterate society.

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[141] Cfr WL Wakefield (1974: 18) *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France 1100–1250,* London, George Allen & Unwin. In this book, the author examines the history of dissent and its repression in the European High Middle Ages from 1100 to 1240. The rise of heresies in general is dealt with and in particular, the Cathars, Waldensians, and Albigensians. Then, the problem of the causes for the birth of heresies is posed. Indeed, among the numerous explanations advanced for the rise and spread of heresies in the Middle Ages, six causes or explanations are outlined: resentment against a corrupt clergy in the Church that had became wealthy, worldly, and forgetful of its evangelical mission; leaving a religious order for a revival of piety; a desire for personal spiritual perfection; a diminished sense of need for the clergy and the sacraments; the spirit of reform based on 'the vita apostolica: life based on Gospel precepts in imitation of the Apostles'; the infectious preaching zeal of the Reformers, a natural and good way of instructing the people, in a largely illiterate society. Moreover, for C Thouzellier (1968: 2–3), the originality of the heretical group as 'a social factor', consists in the new orientation of the life of its members in opposition to the Church from which they were withdrawn. It is a rupture with their previous social rules.

2.3.1.4 The Obstinate Spirit

According to Moore[142] and Lambert (1977: 4), heresy is 'an opinion chosen by human perception, founded on the scriptures, contrary to the teaching of the Church, publicly avowed and obstinately defended'. From this quotation appears the qualification 'obstinate'. It refers to a person who refuses to change his opinions even if other people try to persuade him. Consequently, heresy becomes, as reveals Wand (1955: 13), a mistake in thinking on religion. It is therefore bad theology.'[143] The heretic therefore persists in that 'spiritual aberration' (see O'Grady 1985: 5).

2.3.1.5 Other Causes

As Burkitt (1932: vii-viii) asserts, the transfer of the Gospel from Palestine to Europe, from a Semitic environment in the cultivated, scientific, philosophical civilization of the Greco-Roman World, could be considered as one of the sources of heresies. That is to say that, the ef-

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[142] In his study on *The Origins of European Dissent*s, RI Moore, after defining the concept of heresy in the medieval era, especially the 11th and 12th centuries, mentioned the fact that he treated the ideas of the heretics less as components of a religious outlook or philosophy than as indications of the aspirations, anxieties and frustrations which lay behind the deviation. In addition, even if the founder of Christianity said that in the house of his father there are many mansions, his followers persist in the conviction that they must live in the same one. It is the reason why early Christianity rapidly developed an insistence that righteousness required a scrupulous adherence to the correct interpretation of the writings upon which the true faith is based. Finally, this author deals with Catharism as the main heresy that, in fact, he examines in detail.

[143] This author notes also that Schism is a cleavage in the ecclesiastical organization, a breach in the unity of the Church. In itself it implies not constitutional but intellectual alienation from the main body of Christians. It is failure to think with the mind of the Church. It was the way in which a person chose to think. Historically, for this author, the year 95 is considered the beginning of the first heresy—the Ebionites and Docetics. For him, the notion of liberty could be a most important element in the birth of Christian heresies.

fort of Christians, particularly whose who lived during the second century to make synthesis, could be apprehended as the origin of a distortion of Christianity. Moreover, argues Wand (1955: 14, 16), the notion of liberty could be a common element in the birth of Christian heresies. Finally, for Allison (1994: 27), first, the contamination by political interests, rivalry, partisanship, fear, strife, and other 'works of our fallen nature' (Gal 5, 19), would contribute to the birth of Christian heresies. Second, when Jesus Christ is not seen as 'the way, the truth and the life' such teachings fall far short of the fullness of the Christian truth and ultimately distort its message (see Allison 1994: 10). In conclusion, for Allison (1994:10–11), 'the Human Factor', which constitutes the 'ultimate cruelty of heresy' must be considerate as a prevalent element in the birth of heresy. He certifies that as follows: 'that the human heart is a veritable factory of idols in a truth attributed to various Reformers. The heart is certainly far gone from original righteousness, and it is a filter through which the gospel must pass in its hearing and its telling.

2.3.2 Spread and Persistence of Heresy

According to Wilhelm (1913: 257), the growth of heresy, like the growth of plants, depends on surrounding influences, even more than on its vital force. Philosophies, religious ideals and aspirations, social and economic conditions, are brought into contact with revealed truth, and their interaction results in both new affirmations and new negations of the traditional doctrine. The first requisite for success is a forceful man, not necessarily of great intellect and learning, but of strong will and daring action. Such were the men who in all ages have given their names to new sects. The second requisite for success is accommodation of the new doctrine by the contemporary mentality, to social and political conditions. The last, but by no means the least, is the support of secular rulers. A strong person in touch with his time, and supported by material force, may deform the existing religion and build up a new heretical

sect. After having seen how heresy originates and how it spreads, let us now answer why it persists, or why so many persevere in heresy. Wilhelm (1913: 258–9) responds to this double interrogation as follows:

> 'Once heresy is in possession it tightens its grip by the thousand subtle and often unconscious influences which mould a man's life. A child is born in heretical surroundings: before it is able to think for itself its mind has been filled and fashioned by home, school, and church teachings, the authority of which it never doubted. When, at a riper age, doubts arise, the truth of Catholicism is seldom apprehended as it is. Innate prejudices, educational bias, historical distortions stand in the way and frequently make approach impossible. The state of conscience technically termed *bona fidei*, good faith, is thus produced. It implies inculpable belief in error, a mistake morally unavoidable and therefore always excusable sometimes even laudable. In the absence of good faith worldly interests often bar the way from heresy to truth. When a government, for instance, reserves it favours and functions for adherents of the state religion, the army of civil servants becomes a more powerful body of missionaries than the ordained ministers.'

We have seen previously that heresy and orthodoxy are intertwined and correlated. We want now to demonstrate how orthodox Christianity preserves its true belief when faced with heretical teachings.

2.4 Church's Riposte against Heresies

Through this section we intend to show the means used by which the Church represses heresies and heretics. These ways or methods compound ecclesiastical legislation and the political laws. It also important to recall, according to Chudoba (1967: 1065), that it is to the medieval concept of 'kingdom 'as a morally unified society that one must turn to

understand the cooperation of Church and secular power in the repression of heresy during the Middle Ages. Medieval people believed that civil society, in order to survive, must adhere to a well-defined moral system. When Hugh of Saint-Victor declared that 'the spiritual power must institute the temporal that it might exist', and when Pope Boniface VIII asserted in *Unam Sanctam* that the Church had both swords, spiritual and temporal, they meant that the contemporary civil powers, deriving their justification from Christian moral doctrine, depended necessarily on the fountainhead of that doctrine. Thus, the temporal power[144]

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[144] This habit of political powers to repress heresy begins with advent of Constantine the Great in the fourth century. Indeed, asserts J Wilhelm (1913: 260), Constantine had taken upon himself the office of lay bishop, *episcopus externus*, and put the secular arm at the service of the Church, and the laws against heretics became more and more rigorous. Under the purely ecclesiastical discipline no temporal punishment could be inflicted on the obstinate heretic, except the damage which might arise to his personal dignity through being deprived of all intercourse with his former brethren. But, under the Christian emperors rigorous measures were enforced against the goods and persons of heretics. From the time of Constantine to Theodosius and Valentinian III (313–424), various penal laws were enacted by the Christian emperors against heretics as being guilty of crime against the State. In both the Theodosian and Justinian codes they were styled infamous persons; all intercourse was forbidden to be held with them; they were deprived of all offices of profit and dignity in the civil administration, while all burdensome offices, both of the camp and the curia , were imposed upon them; they were disqualified from disposing of giving of their own estates by will, or of accepting estates bequeathed to them by others; they were denied the right of giving or receiving donations, of contracting, buying, and selling; pecuniary fines were imposed upon them; they were often proscribed and banished, and in many cases scourged, before being sent into exile. In some particularly aggravated cases sentence of death was pronounced upon heretics, though seldom executed in the time of the Christian emperors of Rome. Theodosius is said to be the first who pronounced heresy as a capital crime; this law was passed in 382. Heretical teachers were forbidden to propagate their doctrines publicly or privately; to hold public disputations; to ordain bishops, presbyters, or any other clergy; to hold religious meetings; to build conventicles or to avail

was expected to react against doctrines that undermined its own position. Practically, two main methods of riposte against heresies and heretics were used: Peaceful Christian riposte or the way of *caritas*, and coercive riposte or the way of *potestas*: Inquisition and the Index[145].

2.4.1 Peaceful Christian Riposte

It is also called 'way of *caritas*' which consists of persuasion through preaching to the heretic to make penitence. This way is a pastoral one. Indeed, persuasion is a peaceful method to convince the heretic

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themselves of money bequeathed to them for that purpose. Slaves were allowed to inform against their heretical masters and to purchase their freedom by coming over to the Church. The children of heretical parents were denied their patrimony and inheritance unless they returned to the Catholic Church. The books of heretics were ordered to be burned '(Codex Theodosianus, lib. XVI, tit. 5, '*De Hæretics*'). See also for other useful information on state laws against heretics, JN Hillgarth (ed.) (1986): *Christianity and Paganism: The Conversion of Western Europe,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press., especially the pages 45–52 which deal with 'The Roman State and the Church' and compound the following subtitles: Decree against heretics, No Public discussion of religion, Prohibition of all Pagan Worship, Reinforced Penalties for Pagans…; E Peters (ed.) (1998): *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation.* London: Scholar Press, especially the pages, 43–47, entitled '*Compelle intrare*: The Coercion of Heretics in the Theodosian Code, 438'.

[145] In his much documented research focused on 'Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe', E. Peter (1980: 144–216) in the fourth chapter deals with the Waldensian movement and the first and peaceful Christian riposte to heterodoxy which is named 'way of *caritas*'. It urged penitence, reform, preaching, exhortation, propaganda, and instruction to convert heretics and maintain the faithful in their faith. Chapter five gives some exemplary texts on the way of *caritas*. The sixth chapter deals with the second Christian reaction to heresiology. It is named 'way of *potestas*'—the coercive one. It consists in the use of legal coercion against the heretics and their supporters by the Inquisition and the Crusades. The first heretic to be executed was the Spaniard Priscillian in the 383.

to return to the orthodox faith, because asserts Bernard of Clairvaux, quoted by Chudoba (1967: 1065), 'faith was a matter of persuasion. '

2.4.2 Coercive Riposte

Historically speaking, the way of riposte[146] originates from the legislation elaborated previously by the following Roman Emperors: Constantine the Great (C Piétri. 2000: 220), Theodosius by his edict XVI, 5, and Justinian by his code, issued in April 7, 529 (P Maraval. 1998: 390). It is named the 'way of *potestas'* which consists of crusade and criminal sanctions against heretics by Inquisition[147] and Index[148], as it was effec-

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[146] For Allison, C. F. (1994) *The Cruelty of Heresy: an Affirmation of Christian Orthodoxy*, Harrisburg, Morehouse Publishing, it is timely to notice that, the coercive way to fight against heretics was the initiative of Constantine the Great. He (in 318) and his successors attempted to use Christianity to bring unity to the empire by coercion, exile and the imprisonment of 'heretics.' Certainly the imposition and enforcement of the church's teaching by law was one of the less fortunate aspects of the agonizing process of determining orthodoxy. It is to say therefore that political influence could generate heresy**.** Certainly the imposition and enforcement of the church's teaching by law was one of the less fortunate aspects of the agonizing process of determining orthodoxy.

[147] The Inquisition was the organization set up by the Roman Catholic Church during the Late Middle Ages, to punish people who opposed its beliefs by being burned at the stake. For more bibliographical details on this matter see: G Henningsen, J Todeschi, C Amiel (eds.) (1986): *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods*, Dekalb, Northern Illinois University Press. J Plaidy (1978): *The Spanish Inquisition,* London. Robert Hale B. Hamilton (1981) *The Medieval Inquisition,* Translation by E. G. Messanger, London, Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd. EM Perry & AJ Cruz (eds.) (1991): *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford, University of California Press. F. Coulton (1938) *Inquisition and Liberty*, London/Toronto, William Heinemann Ltd. id. (1974) *The Inquisition*, London, Ernest Benn Limited. J Todeschi (1991) *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy,* New York, Center for Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies/State University of

tively allowed by Pope Innocent III in 1199, and Saint Dominic, who approved of the Church's method through the Lateran Council (1215), for its part in the effective repression of heresy (see B Chudoba1967: 1065). This way was extremely cruel [149]. This creates, according to Chudoba (1994: 1065), and to St Augustine two attitudes: one stresses the voluntary character of faith and the other underlines the right of society to compel its members to good actions.

New York at Binghamton. S Haliczer (ed.) (1987): *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe*, London/Sydney, Croom Helm. R Sabatini (1925): *Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition,* London, Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd. H. Beinart (ed.) (1974): *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciuda Real. Vol. 1, 1483–1485,* Jerusalem, The Israel National Academy of Sciences and Humanities. E. Peters (1989) *The Inquisition,* Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California. H. C. Lea (1955) *A History of the Inquisition, 3 Vols,* New York, The Harbor Press Publishers. R: Kierckhefer (1979): *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany,* Liverpool, University of Liverpool Press. W. L. Wakefied (1974) *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France,* London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. M. Venard (1992: 404–426) 'La Répression de l'hérésie' in M. Venard et al. (dir.): *Histoire du christianisme, T. 8, Le Temps des confessions (1530–1620/30),* Paris, Desclée. ME Ducreux (1997: 22–36) in M Venard & *al*. (dir.): *Histoire du christianisme, t. 9, L'Age de raison (1620/30–1750),* Paris, Desclée.

[148] The Index was a list of books written by heretics elaborated by the Ecclesiastical Medieval leadership which orthodox Christians were forbidden to read. Sometimes these books were burned.

[149] According to Piétri (2000: 215–216), Constantine the Great enacted many laws against heretics by constituting spiritual courts. By his law issued in 527, Emperor Justinian reinforced Constantine's legislation against Heretics. He stressed, states Maraval (1998: 397), 'the name of heretics must be erased on the earth' (« le nom même des hérétiques, écrit-il, devrait être effacé de la surface de la terre »).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the historical overview of the understanding of heresy and we retain the following main insights. First of all, during the whole of Church history, there is no heretical vacuum. Any religious family or system of thought has its own heretics. Secondly, heresy is still a Christian deviation and a 'spiritual aberration' or a 'bad theology' which expresses a struggle between Christian believers. Thirdly, the word 'heresy', which was, for the first time, used religiously, states O'Grady (1885: 5), by the Church Father Ignatius, by definition is, 'an individual choice in religious matters, whereby some aspects of truth were stressed at the expense of others, or alien beliefs grafted into the whole body of Christian truth' (M Deanesly 1976: 215). Therefore heresy is a product of the Devil, 'a snare of the devil' (Wand 1955: 9), and a product of fallen human nature. Moreover, heretics were either a layperson, a member of clergy—priest/bishop—or political leader. Heresies, states Allison (1994: 187), are not 'errors of understanding but errors of the will'. Fourthly, heresy is due to main causes but the psychological state of its originator plays a great role in its birth, spread, and growth. Fifthly, heresy as a wound in the Christian Church, and a social case. Christian history always provokes reactions against it: peaceful and coercive. A heretic, in our opinion is a Christian who has, according to Wand (1955: 133), a 'split personality.' Lastly, heresies, observes Brown (1984), are thus, formally speaking, the story of the Church's quest, of many wrong turnings, deceptions, and disappointments, and perhaps – we hope – of discovery as well. John of Damascus in his fight against Iconoclasm is cited by Brown (1984: 213), as being 'the most eminent orthodox theologian since the Cappadocian Fathers'. He was declared Saint and doctor of the Church by the edict of August, 19th 1890 by Pope Leo XIII. The following chapter discusses the political and religious context during which time John of Damascus, who is considered to be the seal of the patristic period, lived.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS
BACKGROUND DURING THE ERA
OF JOHN OF DAMASCUS (650–750)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes broadly the milieu prior to, and contemporary with, John of Damascus. It was a period characterized by political and religious quarrels. Politically, the Byzantine and Persian leaders fought for control of the Syrian area, and in the religious arena, internal quarrels over the differing Christian confessions took place between the Chalcedonian, the Monophysite or Jacobite, and the Nestorian or Persian Churches. At the same time, the Christians and the Muslims who lived under the Ummayad dynasty, which had established Damascus[150] as the

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[150] In giving an account of any eminent person, asserts Lupton (1882: 1), it is natural to bestow some attention on the place from which he sprang. Just as our understanding of a rare plant would be incomplete without information about the soil in which it grew, so we better understand the life and character of a great person by studying the environment into which he was born. In fact, states JH Everett (2005: 128), the origins of the name of 'Damascus' are not known, although this city has been called Damascus since the 15th century BC. Colloquially, it is known as *ash-Shām*: the Northern (Region), which can also refer to Syria as a whole. It fell to Muslim Arab forces in 635 and thereafter was occupied by Seljuk Turks, Egyptians, Mamluks, and others, before the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in 1516. They retained control until 1918, although this was temporarily lost to the Egyptians in 1831–1840. The city became capital of an

headquarters and 'City of Islam', were mutually suspicious of one another.

3.2. The Socio-Political Context and Religious Environment of Syria

Under this heading we shall investigate the socio-political and the religious context of Syria on the eve of, and during, the Islamic Conquest.

3.2.1 The Eve of the Islamic Conquest (600–630)

3.2.1.1 The Political Context

The historian[151] Starcky, quoted by Jargy (1981: 21–26), reminds us that Damascus was a product of the general regional and international context of the East. This area, states Jargy (1981: 22), experienced continuous wars for hegemony[152] between Constantinople (Byzantium) and

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independent Syria in 1919, but the next year it was occupied by French forces when France assumed a League of Nations mandate until 1946. It has given its name to 'damask', the patterned fabric (often made of linen) originally produced in Damascus in the Middle Ages, and to 'damson', the small, dark purple plum originally called 'damascene', meaning 'of Damascus'. It is important to note, according to Janin (1960: 43), that the Islamic army which conquered Damascus in 635 was lead by the Caliph Umar (634–644). Under the Mu'awiya's Caliphate, Damascus became the headquarters of Islam. Damascus was still the second ranking Islamic city after 750, when the Abbasid dynasty transferred the centre of Islamic government to Baghdad.

[151] For a wide view of this historical period, see the massive and well-researched article of J Starcky (1964: 886–1017), *Petra et la Nabatéenne*. In *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* (DHGE), Paris; D. J. Sahas (1972: 2–31) *John of Damascus on Islam: The Heresy of the Ishmaelites,* Leiden, E. J. Brill. PG Nasrallah (1950: 9–55) *Saint Jean de Damas: Son œuvre-sa vie–son œuvre,* Beyrouth, Harissa; A. Louth (2002: 3–5) *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[152] See also P. G. Nasrallah (1950: 12); E. Rabbath (1980: 8).

Ctesiphon (Persia), and for control of the great trade and communication routes. Indeed, from the 5th to the 7th Centuries, the classical East was under the power of three empires, two of which could be classified as true powers: the Byzantine Empire in the West, and the Persian Empire in the East, and the much less powerful Abyssinian Empire. Brown notes (2003: 272–276) that the Arabian region was caught between these two great powers and lay 'at the Crossroads of Asia' where it suffered interminable wars. He describes the situation as follows:

> 'The shrinking of Asia at this time was in part the result of renewed conflict in the Near East. In Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, the Christian populations were divided between two worldempires. Those in the west (in what are now modern eastern Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel) weresubjects of the Christian empire of East Rome and those to the east (in an area which coincides roughly with modern Iraq) belonged to the Pagan, Zoroastrian empire of SasanianPersia. These twoempires were spoken of as 'the two eyes of the world'. For almost 70 out of the90 years between540 and 630, they were at war. From the Caucasus to Yemen in the south of Arabia, and from thesteppe lands of the Euphrates to eastern Central Asia the two superpowers manoeuvred incessantlyto outflank each other. As a result, the inhabitants of the Near East found themselves caught between 'two powerful kingdoms who roared like lions, and the sound of their roaring filled the whole world with thunder'…Most paradoxical of all, the generals and the troops who fought across these Near Eastern landscapes were usually foreigners to the region. The armies of the Romans were largely recruited in Asia Minor and the Balkans; those of the Persians came from the closed world of the Iranian plateau and from the steppes of Central Asia … Both empires fought to control a Syriac-speaking 'heartland' whose language they did not understand.

> As for the inhabitants of the region-the political and military frontier between the two empires meant little to them. Syriac-speaking Christian villages stretched on both sides of the frontier, without a break, from the Mediterranean to the foothills of the Zagros. It was possible to travel from Ctesiphon, the Persian capital in southern Mesopotamia, to Antioch, speaking Syriac all the way. Despite the ravage of war, the sixth–century Near East was crisscrossed by travelling clergymen and intellectuals for whom the political frontier between Rome and Persia was irrelevant.'

In 610, at the height of these wars between the two empires, Le Coz (1992: 23) describes how the Persian Emperor invaded Syria and Palestine. The inevitable consequence of this invasion was occupation, and the ensuing persecution of Christians who remained loyal to the Christian Byzantine Empire. A peace agreement was finally signed between the Byzantine Emperor, Heraclius, and the Persian Emperor on the 17th June 628.[153]What was the religious situation of this area at this time? The following subheading will respond to this question.

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[153] Sahas (1972: 2–31) stresses that the political developments in Syria at the time of the Muslim conquest were characterized by the capitulation of Damascus, in which Mansour played such a great role, but it is difficult to assess exactly what Mansour's role was in those events. It may be that Mansour was the friend of the bishop who, according to al-Baladhuri's story, came and informed Khalid of the best time for occupying Damascus. In fact, Damascus was besieged on the 13th of March 635 and surrendered within six months. Heraclius was stationed in Antioch and his army was expected to relieve the city, but in vain. It was not until the following year that Damascus returned, for a short period only, to Byzantine hands. The battle of Yarmuk, on 20th of August 636, marked the end of the Byzantine presence in Syria. Heraclius' farewell exclamation is expressive of his disappointment: 'Peace unto thee, O Syria, and what an excellent country this is for the enemy' ['Adieu , ô ma Syrie, ma belle province, tu es à l'ennemi' see PJ Nasrallah. (1950: 26)].

3.2.1.2 The Religious Context

Under this heading, the background [154] of the various Christian Churches in the Middle East will be described. Le Coz (1992: 24) relates that as a result of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, held respectively in 431[155] and 451[156], the Middle Eastern Christians were divided

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[154] About this point see also A. Ducellier (1996) *Chrétiens d'Orient et Islam au Moyen Ages VIIe-XVè siècle,* Paris, Armand Colin; *passim,* especially pages 459–472 concerning the bibliography; id. (1971) *Le Miroir de l'Islam: Musulmans et chrétiens d'Orient au Moyen Age (VIIe -XIe s),* Paris, Julliard; PJ Nasrallah (1950: 50–55) *Saint Jean de Damas: Son époque, sa vie, son oeuvre.* Beyrouth, Harissa; RR Khawam (1987) : *L'univers culturel des chrétiens d'Orient. Préface de Henri-Irénée Dalmais,* Paris, Cerf. *passim;* J. S. Trimingham (1990) *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times,* Beirut, Librairies du Liban; G. Dagron (1993: 9–91) 'L'Égliseet la chrétienté byzantines entre les invasions et l'iconoclasme (VIe-VIIIe siècle)' in G. Dagron, P. Riché, A. Vauchez (dir.) *Histoire du Christianisme. t. 4: Evêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054),* Paris, Desclée; E. Rabbath (1980) *Les Chrétiens dans l'Islam des premiers temps. Vol. xxiii: L'Orient chrétien à la veille de l'Islam,* Beyrouth, Librairie Orientale; A. M. Eddé, F. Micheau, C. Picard (1997) *Communautés chrétiennes en pays d'Islam: Du début du VIIe siècle au milieu du XIe siècle,* Condé-Sur-Noireau, Editions SEDES; R. Bell (1968) *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment,* London, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., especially Chapters 1 and 2, concerning 'the Eastern Church and the Christian environment of Arabia' p. 1–32; for Christianity in South Arabia and its influence upon the Arabs in general, see p. 33–63.

[155] As Wessels states (1995: 49–50), this Council faced the Nestorian position. Nestorius was a Patriarch of Constantinople, and like most Antiochians, he emphasized Christ's humanity over his divinity. Nestorius taught that the unity of the divine man was some form of conjunction, not unlike that of a marriage. For that reason, Nestorius contested the reference to Mary as 'mother of God' (*Theotokos),* a title which had been in circulation since the time of Origen. Moreover, according to Nestorius, Mary was not the mother of the divine, but only of the human nature of Christ. The child that Mary brought into the world could not have been God, he contended. Therefore, Nestorius preferred to speak of Mary as 'Christokos'. He said, 'I acknowledge no God of two or three months of age', a statement that was later used in Moslem polemic against the doctrine

into three communities: the Chalcedonian Church, the Monophysite or Jacobite Church, and the Nestorian or Persian Church. These three Churches hated one another and sought the support of the political powers of the day to eliminate their rival Churches[157]. They might be viewed

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of the Trinity. Consequently, Nestorius placed the emphasis on the division of the natures in Christ in contrast to the teaching of Appolinaris, which is considered the predecessor of Monophysitism: that is, the belief in the one divine-human nature of Christ. The inevitable conclusion was that the human nature of Jesus was not of one essence with the divine. According to Appolinaris, the divine Logos did everything to ensure that redemption did not fail. The Third Council of Ephesus condemned the teachings of Nestorius, and relieved him of his position as Patriarch.

[156] According to Wessels (1995: 51), this Council was convened in order to fight the teachings ofEutyches (ca. 378–454), the 'Archimandrate' or Abbot of one of the monasteries in Constantinople. Eutyches taught that Christ had two natures before his incarnation, but only one after his incarnation: the divine, which was absorbed completely into the humanity of Christ. In other words, he taught an exaggerated Monophysite position, namely, that the body was transformed by the divinity. In opposition to these teachings, Leo I (440–461), the Bishop or Pope of Rome, in his doctrinal letter, states that before the incarnation there was but one nature, which was divine; the human nature came into being only in the incarnation, so that after the incarnation both natures were present. In conclusion, during the Chalcedon Council, the words '*without confusion*' and '*without change*' were included in response to Eutyches, who taught that the two natures were merged in a single divine man. The words '*without division*' and '*without separation*' were included in response to Nestorius, who viewed the two natures as two different persons, which were one only in will. Through its four negative predications, Chalcedon sought to preserve the mystery of Christ.

[157] The understanding of Jesus must be considered as the basis of the birth of these churches. In fact argues Wessels (1995: 49), in the early centuries of church history the church wresled with its understanding of the person and the message of Jesus of Nazareth. What is significance for eternal salvation, and how is herelated to God? The Christological struggle resulted ultimately in the birth of various 'national' churches in the East, as wellas the rupture between the Western church and the Earter church (es).

as 'national Churches' which Wessels (1995: 52–54) explains as follows:

> 'Even more important than these dogmatic differences, however, were the more or less 'national' lines along which the churches were divided. There were clergy who were imperially or melchitically (*melchos* is the Syriac word for 'prince') orientated. It was their intention to enforce the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (located next to Constantinople, the second Rome, and the residence of the emperor) amongst other metropolitans, such as those of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch. This led to the confrontations, some of them bloody. An identification of sorts arose between emerging nationalisticsentiments and *Monophysite* inclinations. Constantinople recognized only the Greek Orthodox (Melchite) Patriarch of Antioch and those clergy of Greek orthodox bent. The 'Nestorians' moved beyond the border of Persia. Where the Jacobites remained in Byzantine territory, they were forced underground and had to endure persecution… At the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553 Cyril's interpretation of Chalcedon was confirmed under Justinian's influence. The 'national' churches of Jacobites, Armenians, Copts and Ethiopians continued, however. It is said concerning the wife of Justinian, Empress Theodora (died 548), that she was secretly a Monophysite and supported adherents of Monophysitism. Her influence in the political formation of the empire was probably considerable. The Melchites were supported by imperial weapons, while the Monophysites had their own armies of monks. In the ensuing struggle, the Syrian Orthodox or Jacobites were raided. They lived in conflict with Byzantium and had to suffer under discrimination.'

Thus, it is apparent that during this period the following main churches [158] still operated inthe Middle East, namely, the Jacobite or Monophysite, the Nestorian, the Armenian, and the Coptic churches. They had in reality, however, amalgamated into three major confessions: the Chalcedonian, the Monophysite, and the Nestorian Churches. Wessels (1995: 54) points out that all these Churches considered the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch as their own, while they saw Pope Leo I as Roman. This was one of the reasons why the Egyptians and the Syrians initially welcomed the Persians, and later the Arab Muslims as liberators from the Byzantine yoke.

i. The Chalcedonian Church

According to Le Coz (1992: 24), after the Byzantine Emperor's victory over Persia in 628, the Chalcedonian Church[159] drew to itself all the Christians who accepted the conclusions of the Council of Chalcedon (451). It was the official religion of the Byzantine Empire, but it is useful to note that, at the beginning of the Seventh Century, for the sake of

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[158] According to A Vauchez (1993: 5), the Armenian, Syrian, Lebanese, and Egyptian countries had a certain form of religious dissidence based on dogmatic divergences that affirmed the Byzantine Empire and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It was for this reason that the Arab Conquest was sometimes welcomed in these countries.

[159] Called by the given name of 'Melchite' by the Jacobite Churches (R Le Coz 1992: 26), this Church was very powerful under the Byzantines. The word 'Melchite', derived from '*melchos*' which Wessels (1995: 52) explains is the Syriac word for 'prince'. According to JP Trimingham (1990: 213), the word is derived from the Syriac *malkā* or the Arabic *malik*, 'king'. This terminology has been anglicized to distinguish the Byzantine Church. Syro-Melkite might describe them more accurately, but the word came to be applied to all who remained in communion with Contantinople, whether Syrian or Greek. In writings, they are referred to as 'Chalcedonians' to distinguish them from the 'Orthodox', as the Jacobites called themselves. Thus, the Jacobites viewed the Melkites as 'imperialists. '

'unity and reconciliation with the Monophysite and Chalcedonian Churches' (Cunnington 1999:75), and in order to recuperate Syria, Palestine and Egypt which were once under Roman rule, it seemed imperative to Heraclius (610–641) and his ecclesiastical advisers, that the prolonged misunderstanding between the Chalcedonian and Monophysite Christians be resolved. The attempt to solve the misunderstanding concerning the 'persona' (*hypostasis*) and 'nature' (*phusis*) of Jesus Christ[160] caused Emperor Heraclius to impose yet another new heresy – monothelitism [161]. This heresy, Cunnington explains (1999:75), was

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[160] L Christiani (1959: 40–57) asserts that from the fourth to seventh centuries, the following 'Christological errors' appeared: Appolinarianism, Nestorianism, Euthychianism, and Monothelitism. Appolinarius was the Bishop of Laodicea, and a learned and virtuous person, resolutely opposed to Arianism, and who upheld the divinity of the Word or Logos. However, he shared the error of Arius concerning the soul of Christ. For him, as for Arius, he interpreted the words of the Gospel 'and the Word was made flesh' (John 1: 14) in that sense. He believed that this interpretation better safeguarded the unity of the person of Christ, and especially his perfect holiness, for he said that where there is complete man there is also sin. However, Nestorius did not accept the use of the title of 'Mother of God' when applied to Mary. If it was given to her, the unity of person in Jesus Christ was impaired. Instead of one person, two were implied, the human person of Christ of whom Mary was the mother (*Christotokos)* and the divine person of the Word, superimposed on that of Christ in a purely moral union. If, on the other hand, in accordance with Christian tradition, only one person in Christ was admitted, that of the Word, it followed that the relation of motherhood insofar as it affected that person through giving birth to the nature, must include the Word. Mary must be called— inasmuch as she was the source of the human nature of Christ— Mother of God. Motherhood and filiation in fact are said to be from person to person. For Nestorius, Mary is only the mother of Jesus Christ in his humanity. Eutychianism had been a reaction against Nestorianism in its extreme aspects. In fact, Eutyches was a monk and an Archimandrite of a large monastery of Constantinople. For him, the humanity of Christ was absorbed by his divinity and merged in it, like a drop of water in the ocean.

[161] In short, according to Christiani (1959: 52), the monothelitism or the 'theory of one will', was conceived by Sergius, a person of clever and acute mind, and

initiated by Sergius and originally named 'Monoenergism.' It was an-
other attempt to devise a formula for dogmatic compromise. It taught
that whereas Christ has two natures, one divine and one human, he pos-
sesses a single activity or 'energy' (in Greek). Doctrinally, the Chalce-
donian Church recognized the tenets of 'without *division*' and '*without
separation*', and the '*without division*' and '*without separation*' of the
two natures of Jesus Christ. It was finally named the 'Melkite Church'[162]
and established in the great cities and central and southern regions of
Syria. Chalcedonian Christians were of the Greek tradition, with the
exception of the Arabs settled in the South.

ii. The Monophysite or Jacobite Church

According to Brown (2003:279), by the middle of the Sixth Century,
a 'dissident' Monophysite Church had become established throughout
the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. A network of counter-
bishoprics, monasteries, village priests and holy men of anti-
Chalcedonian views stretched its tentacles from Egypt to Nubia and
Axum, across the Fertile Crescent, and into the territories of the Persian
Empire as if no frontier stood in its way. Based on an unusual combina-
tion of theological sophistication and intense, Christ-centred piety,

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Patriarch of Constantinople (between 610–638), as a new method of conciliation
by teaching the union of the two natures in Jesus Christ. For Sergius, in Jesus
Christ, this union was so close that in him there had never been anything but a
single will and a single activity. This view was published in 638, in '*Ecthesis
(Statement)* ', by Heraclius, the Byzantine Emperor. In addition, states Cunning-
ton (1999: 75–76), Monoenergism appears initially to have met with some suc-
cess in local Eastern Churches. It was fairly successful among the Monophysite
population of Egypt. For a wide view on this matter, see infra point 4.4.5 of our
dissertation, which concerns 'Monothelitism. '

[162] According to A Louth (2002: 12), John of Damascus's Syrian family back-
ground meant that he belonged to the Melkite Church, which supported the
imperial Orthodox of the Byzantine *basileus*, king, and in Syriac, *malkâ* .

Monophysitism, in its various forms, was the dominant, and certainly the most vocal, faith of the western Syriac world. Indeed, states Le Coz (1992: 25), the Monophysites are, theologically speaking, the disciples and heirs of the AlexandriaSchool. As followers of Origen and Cyril, they opted for an allegorical and mystical exegesis of the Scriptures. Consequently, they were in opposition to the theological School of Antioch concerning the nature of Christ. Between 512 and 518, the entire Syrian and Egyptian ecclesiastical leadership was Monophysite. The Emperor Justinian disbanded the Monophysite Church which stressed the unique, divine nature of Christ. At the request of the Arab Monophysites, who lived in the Syrian desert and were allies of the Byzantine Emperor, James Baradius[163] was made the sacred Bishop of Edessa in 543. A brilliant leader, he improved the ecclesiastical structure of his church. In memory of his actions, his name was given to the ArabMonophysite Church: 'Jacobite. '

iii. The Nestorian Church

The Nestorian Church is also called the 'Church of Persia. '[164] Its denomination originated from Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, who was discharged in 341 by the Ephesus Council. This Bishop did not agree with the title of *'Theotokos'*. According to Nestorius, Mary was not the mother of the divine, but only of the human nature of Jesus. Driven beyond the Persian border by persecution, the Nestorians came to be called the 'Churchof Persia. '[165] With the conquest of Edessa by

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[163] This name it is our translation of 'Jacques Bardée'. See R. Le Coz (1992: 26).

[164] For a wide view of the Persian Church, see W. Baum (2003: 7–41) *The Church of the East: A Concise History,* London, Routledge Curzon.

[165] For more information on this Church, see A. S. Atiya (1968) *A History of Eastern Christianity,* London, Methuen & Co. Ltd., especially, pages 237–256; G. Every (1980) *Understanding Eastern Christianity*. It is interesting to note, states Jargy (1985: 24), that around the end of the fifth century, Nestorius, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, who was originally from Antioch, taught that

the Byzantines, the Nestorians moved on to Nisibia, and settled finally in Seleusia. In Persia, the Nestorians were a minority and the official Persian religion was Zoroastrianism. Persia directly opposed anything Byzantine and, therefore, the Nestorians had to adopt the Syriac language one century before the Jacobite Church, their eternal enemies. The Nestorians evangelized the Arab tribes who were organized under the 'Lakhamid Empire' which extended from Lower Iraq to the centre of Arab territory. One further element of the Arabian religious environment must be mentioned: that is, the presence of the *Hanifs* who were considered as independent ascetics. SP Trimingham (1990: 261–267) argues that in the accounts of Muhammad's life, these ascetics are called *hanifs*, and the origin and meaning of this term have been much discussed. The word *hanif*, or *hunifa*, in the plural form was used in the Qur'ân where it occurs twelve times: six times in Mecca and six in the Medinan suras. This term, explains Trimingham, occurs mainly with reference to Abraham; in eight passages it used to describe the *millat Ibrahim,* 'the way of Abraham'. In two of the Medinan suras, it is joined to the term *muslim*, or its verb, as in *aslama wajhahu*:'Abraham was not a Jew, nor was he a Christian, but he was a *hanif,* a *muslim,* and not of the polytheists' (soura 3, 60). Philologists propose that the word *hanif* is derived from the Syriac usage root *h:n:p*. In Christian Syriac usage *hanputho*[166] describes

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there are two natures in Jesus Christ: divine and human. He denied the appellation 'Theotokos' which was used in Alexandria for Mary. He said, 'God cannot beget or be begotten' (*Dieu ne pouvant jamais engender, ni être engendé).* This formulation would be taken up later in its totality by Islam (Coran 112: 3). The question of 'Nature' (*phusis*), and 'Person' (hypostasis), was the main question which generated Christological discussions and divisions among Eastern Christianity during the sixth and seventh centuries. Therefore, states Gonzālez (1971: 195), the Nestorian Church, as well as the various bodies that did not accept the Council of Chalcedon, were called Monophysites.

[166] For J Bowker (1997: 407), the word *hanif* derives probably from the Syriac *hanpe*: 'pagans. '

the religious way of life of the Aramaeans, their natural pagan religion. The term *hanif* refers to neither a Jew nor a Christian, since these cults were not in existence in Abraham's time. Therefore, this word in the Qur'ân[167]relates to a natural, as distinct from a prophetic, monotheism, and, thus, links Muhammad directly to a natural Arabian monotheistic tradition. Traditionally, *hanifs*are mentioned as contemporaries of Muhammad and linked with Christianity. Traditionalists, wishing to show certain men as being religiously distinctive from Quraishite paganism, seized the word for this purpose. The *hanifs* by tradition are recognized like 'Abraham as self-submitted monotheists' (Qur'ân 3, 60), not bound up with any specific cultic expression, and who, when they sought a cultic identity, became Christians.[168] As mentioned above, the idea of

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[167] As states PS Trimingham (1990: 266), the vocabulary of the Qur'ân contains numerous borrowed words: Syriac, Ethiopian, Persian, and Hebrew, which have been transformed in ways that attest to a process of vernacular change. The dominant influence was naturally Syriac, since this was the Semitic language with the Arabs were most closely in touch, and Christian Arabs, not having yet begun to undertake independent transformation work, used only Syriac terms. The reason why the forms of Arabic words for the Hebrew prophets derive from the Syriac and not directly from Hebrew is due to the influence of Christian Arab folklore.

[168] The account, states PS Trimingham (1990: 263), of the *hanifs* who withdrew from an annual Meccan pagan festival, 'to follow their own bent, seeking the *Hanifiyya,* the way of our father Abraham', is derivative from the Qu'rân. The four *hanifs* mentioned in the *sira*, who became Christians, were: Zaid ibn 'Amr ibn Nufail, who visited Syria and Mesopotamia in quest of the true religion, but died before Muhammad's mission; Waraqa ibn Nawfal, a cousin of Muhammad's first wife Kadija, also died during the *fatra* (…) before Muhammad experienced his call; 'Ubaid Allah ibn Jahsh, an early follower of Muhammad, became a Christian in Abyssinia in A. D 615; 'Uthman ibn al-Huwairith went to Constantinople where he became Christian. On the question of *hanif* see, from a rapidly growing bibliography, J. R. Hinnells (ed.) (1995: 203) *New Dictionary of Religions,* Oxford, UK, Blackwell; J Bowker ed. (1997: 406–407) *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; J. Jomier.

hanif was crucial to the personal definition of Muhammad's identity as the Prophet, independent of the Jewish and Christian considerations which existed prior to Muhammad.

To summarise, on the eve of the Muslim conquest around 632, the Middle East had been deeply affected by over two centuries of Christological quarrels. Consequently, the Christians were divided into the three Monophysite, Nestorian and Chalcedonian Churches who were actively hostile towards one other.[169] Nevertheless, in the Arab area, the monks adopted the model of Simeon the Stylite. It is said, according to Jargy (1985: 30–31), that Simeon, who lived inthe north of Syria, spent thirty years blessing and preaching the Arab *Bedouins* who came from all over the Syro-Mesopotamian desert.

3.2.2 The Period of the Muslim Conquest and the Reigns of the First Four Caliphs (632–661)

Historically speaking, the Islamic conquest started during the reigns of the first four caliphs (632–661)[170]. Before the advent of Islam, the

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'Hanif 'in P Poupard (dir.) (1993: 817) *Dictionnaire des religions,* 3e édition revue et augmentéetome 1, Paris, P. U. F; Tor Andrae (1955: 39–65) *Les origines de l'Islam et le christianisme,* Paris.

[169] According to A. Wessels (1995: 18), national churches such as the Syrian and Coptic Churches were in continual conflict with Byzantium and viewed 'Moslems as Liberators', who freed these churches from 'imperialistic' Byzantium.

[170] According to Newby (2002: 221–2), the four caliphs were: Abû Bakr (632–4); Umar Ibn al Khattab (634–44); Uthmân (644–56); and 'Alî (656–61). It important to note that the battle of Siffin in 557 against Mu'awiya, Governor of Damascus, took place during the Caliphate of 'Ali. This first fratricidal war in the *Umma (Muslim* community) divided the 'Umma' into three factions: the Sunni, the Shi'i, and Kharijites. In fact, according to L Gardet, quoted by Le Coz (1992: 33), the Sunni or *ahl al- sunna (who follow the tradition),* constituted the majority of Muslims. It is around the end of Ummayad's dynasty and at the beginning of Abbasid's era (750) that the Sunni became aware that they were themselves a distinct faction in opposition to the minorities: Kharijites and Shi'i.

Arab Christians were divided over the nature of Jesus Christ[171]. They were fertile ground for any teachings concerning this sensitive matter. Islamic doctrine, which uses the Arabic language, contains one point that speaks also about Isa or Jesus Christ. It is known that Mohammad[172] died in 632. The following year, states Le Coz (1992: 28–29), Hira, the

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The word '*Shi'i*' 'derives from the word '*shi'a*' which means 'partisan of.' In the present case, it is 'partisan of 'Ali.' This important community of Muslims were established in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and Pakistan. At last, the word '*Kharijites*' comes from the Arab word '*kharaja*' which means 'go out of.' This faction assembled Moslems who agreed to the convenant that was concluded between Ali and Mu'awiya during the battle of Siffîn. Indeed, explains Newby (2002: 9), at the crucial point of the fight between the two armies, Mu'awiya proposed they negotiate and 'Ali accepted. From the outset, they conducted the negotiations with differing terms and expectations, and the parleys failed to lead to a satisfactory end. Some of 'Ali 's forces, frustrated with the unsatisfactory outcome and disillusioned with his leadership, seceded and began to attack both 'Ali's troops, who would known as Shi'i, and Mu'awiya's forces, the 'Umayyads. They became known as the Kharijites, and were eventually hunted down by both sides and reduced in number, but not before they had severely weakened the Shi'i cause. The Kharijites were powerful until the 9th century, after which this Muslim faction lost its influence. It still survives in a minor way in Algeria (Mzab), in Tunisia (Djerba), in Oman–Mascot, and in Libya

(Djebel Nafusa). For a panoramic view of the Arab conquest of this region, consult S. P. Colbi (1988) *A Historyof the Christian presence in the Holy Land,* Lanham/New York/London, University Press of America, p. 27–37.

[171] For the 'Orthodox Caliphs', namely, Abu Bakr (632–634), Omar Ibn al-Khattab (634–644), Osman (644–656), and Ali (656–661), it is interesting to read SF Mahmud (1988: 27–52). For additional information on the state of the Christianity in the Middle East during this epoch see SH Moffett (2004) *A History of Christianity in Asia. Vol. 1: Beginnings to 1500.* Maryknoll/New York, Orbis Books, pp. 326–340, which pages deal successively with *Muhammad and the Christians (622–630)* and *Christianity under the Patriarchal Caliphs (632–661)*

[172] According to Baum (2003: 42), it is mere legend that Sergius Bahira was the Syriac teacher of Muhammad.

great city of the Arab kingdom, which was allied to the Persian Empire, surrendered without a struggle to the Muslims. Saint Sophronius (560– 638), the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, had to negotiate the surrender of this city in 636 with the second successor to Mohammad, Caliph Umar Ibn al Khattab, while Mansour Ibn Sarjun, the grandfather of John of Damascus had to negotiate the capitulation of Damascus. In the same year, with the battle of Yarmuk – in Syria—the way for Islam to convert the entire Near East was opened, that is to say, to conquer the North of Syria[173], Antioch, and Edessa. By 638, Syria and Persia were under Islamic power. Egypt fell in 642. At this date, notes Brown (2003: 296), Iran and Central Asia were controlled by the Muslims. In addition, in the ten years it took the Muslims to conquer this region, politically, observes Le Coz (1992: 29), the Jews, who like the Christians were considered 'people of the book' (*ahl al-kitab*), were a 'people under protection' (*dhimmi*),[174] and were forced to pay only tribute. The status of the dhimmis was to change with the rise of the Ummayad dynasty.

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[173] According to Sahas (1972: 20–26), the loss of Syria, followed immediately by that of Palestine and Egypt, ended the dream that the Middle East would be an integral and unified territory of Byzantium. An era of renewed and exhaustive conflict began between the Muslims and the Byzantines. With the words of Zonaras, quoted by Sahas, '…since then [after the fall of Syria] the race of the Ishmaelites did not cease from invading and plundering the entire territory of the Romans.' The Muslim dream of making Constantinople the capital of the Muslim empire would not be fulfilled until 1453. Sahas points out (1972: 22) that the 'Arabs remained for more the eight centuries in a situation of political and military antagonism, a fact which had great impact upon the religious and theological encounter between Byzantine Christians and Muslim Arabs.'

[174] Under the successors of Mohammed, reveals Wessels (1995: 17–18), the following provisos were required of the *dhimmi* (Jews and Christians): the obligation to wear distinctive clothing; the prohibition against constructing buildings higher than those of the Moslems; the prohibition against the public consumption of pork or the public display of crosses or pigs; the obligation to bury the dead without crying or wailing; and the prohibition against riding a horse.

3.2.3 During the Ummayad Dynasty (661–750)

The word '*ummayad*', states Brown (2003: 299), is derived from the family of *Ummaya*, members of the clan of the *Quraysh* of Syria, from which the Caliph Mu'awiya ibn Abu Sufyan (661–680) had come. In fact, during the 'Ummayad Empire' (661–750), politics and religion were not differentiated from one another[175]. Nevertheless, notes Brown (2003: 298), for the duration of this era 'justice flourished in this time and there was great peace.' It is interesting to see how John bar Penkâye, a Christian in the Near East, regarded the development of the Arab Empire under Mu'awiya[176] whom he praised as one who brought an end to civil war: 'He became king, controlling the two kingdoms, the Persians and the Byzantines. Justice flourished in his time and there was great peace in the regions under his control. He allowed everyone to live as they wanted. '

It emerges from the last part of this quotation that Mu'awiya, who became Caliph one year after the Qur'ânhad been written down (660), tolerated Christians. Indeed, it is probable, according to Le Coz (1992: 36) that Mu'awiya spent most of his spare time with Christians and used their services. It is said that within a short time the Mu'awiya's lovely wife was a Christian Jacobite; the private tutor of his son, and his private Physician were all Christians.

In addition, the famous Akhtal,[177] the official poet of Mu'awiya's Court, was an Arab Monophysite. Mansour Ibn Sarjun, the grandfather

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[175] For an overview of this dynasty, that originated with Amir Muawiyah (661–680), see S. F. Mahmud (1988: 52–77); S. H. Moffett (2004) *A History of Christianity in Asia, Vol. 1: Beginnings to 1500,* Maryknoll/New York, Orbis Books, pp. 340–348, which pages especially deal with *Christianity under the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750).*

[176] J Herrin (1987: 260) reveals that Mu'awiya was a good administrator and soldier who worked for the political unity of Islam.

[177] According to Wessels (1995: 19–20), and in addition to John of Damascus, the renowned Jacobite poet Akhtal who died in 710, came from the Monophysite

of John of Damascus, occupied the highest position in the administration
in Damascus. Lastly, Mu'awiya showed his good feelings toward Chris-
tians by rebuilding a Church which was destroyed by the earthquakes in
Edessa. However, according to Le Coz (1992: 33), the year 661 is a very
important date in the Islamic calendar. It marks a historic turning point
in the relations between Christians and Muslims. Indeed, Damascus[178]
became the headquarters of Islam and the seat of Islamic government.
Jerusalem was given prominence, and Christians played an important
role in the public administration [179] even if there was no unanimity

Christian Arab tribe of the Babu Taghlib of northern Syria. His poetry still ap-
pears in Arab school books. He held the favour of Caliph Yazid (680–83), and
'Abd al- Malik (685–705), even though he was ostentatiously Christian and
wore a large gold cross around his neck in public.

[178] Concerning the attitude of the Syrians toward the Byzantines and Muslims
after the defeat of Byzantium, Sahas (1972: 22) explains that in Syria the Mus-
lims found themselves in a familiar environment. Indeed, since pre-Islamic
times, the Arabs, especially those of Northern Arabia, travelled as far north as
Syria in search of pasture and food for their flocks and themselves. Syria was, to
a great extent, Arab in character. Moreover, the Syrians were known for inde-
pendent thinking, a trait which, as far as theology is concerned, is reflected in
the appearance of various schools and heresies. In spite of a long history under
foreign dominion they preserved their religion, their culture, and their language,
and they kept themselves, essentially, intact from the influence of the Greco-
Roman ruler. Furthermore, politico-religious events served to sharpen the differ-
ences between the Syrians and the Byzantines. The efforts of Heraclius, for
example, to bring the Monophysites and Chalcedonians closer together, and thus
to draw the provinces politically closer to the capital, led to the outbreak of
Monothelitism, which disappointed both the Monophysites and the Chalcedoni-
ans, and increased the tension in the relations between Syria and Constantinople.

[179] As Wessels remarks (1995: 19), Christians played an important role in the
formative period of early Islam in Damascus. They shared in the transmission of
Hellenistic culture and philosophy and were active in the medical sciences. The
use of Christians in their administration was the key of Ummayad's politics. PJ
Nasrallah (1950: 7) asserts that: 'cadre d'une jeune royauté musulmane, pleine
de vigueur etde vitalité qui détrône le vieil empire byzantin décrépit et haï par

among them concerning the nature and person of Jesus Christ. The Muslims, on the other hand, had still not solved the question of who could legitimately succeed 'The Prophet'. They faced the dual dilemma of Muhammad's succession as both a religious and a political authority. In Islam, the religious and political powers are not separated. The question of the succession was solved by Mu'awiya when he established the hereditary regime and made Damascus, which is occupied in its majority by Christian people, the capital of the large Muslim Empire which extended from China to the Pyrenees in Europe. Administratively, Muslim leaders used the expertise of Christians. That is the reason why Greek remained the language of the administration. It was in Damascus that, for the first time, reveals Le Coz (1992: 35), Islam developed its theological thinking and exegesis. This encounter with the cultivated Christians of Damascus coincided with the Muslim struggle over succession.

Therefore, we witness, points out Le Coz (1992: 35–6), the elaboration of the first elements of what would subsequently become the *'ilm al-kalām*: Muslim theology. [180]Damascus was the crucible in which the exchange and collaboration between Muslims and Christians became

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ses sujets syriens; royauté qui ne connaît pas encore le formalisme de la loi et qui , consciente de son inexpérience , saura mettre à service celle de l'élément chrétien rompu aux affaires. C'est cette largeur de vue chez les dirigeants et ce concours dévoué des gouvernés qui feront la puissance et la gloire du califat omayade. '

[180] At its beginning, Muslim theology, clarifies Le Coz (1992: 36), dealt with the following main items and questions: first, is the human being free of his actions or is all predetermined by God. In the case of the advent of Ummayad's dynasty, could it be understood as allowed by God? Unfortunately, this is the view that was defended by the caliphate authority of Damascus. Secondly, the Muslims fought among themselves and they considered this a great fault. So, who is good Muslim? Who is sinner? What is the status of the sinner? Can the sinner belong to the *Umma*? Thirdly, the quarrels between Christians concerning Christ and the Word of God, caused to the Muslims to thing about the Koran: is the Word of God created? Is an attribute of God?

established in all domains. But, continues Le Coz (1992: 36), the relations were developed according to such circumstances or situations as the resumption of the fight over Byzantium or the personality of the Caliphate. This is the reason why, it is recommended that we examine the evolution of these relations during the Ummayad's dynasty, specifically under the reign of the successors to Mu'awiya[181]. Indeed, the Muslim state set up during the epoch of the successors of Mu'awiya, and in particular the Caliphs 'Abd al- Malik (685– 705), al-Walid (705–715),

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[181] It is known, wrote Brown (2003: 299–304), that the Ummayad dynasty was characterised by the creation of monuments. In fact, the Ummayads demonstrated that the Near East had become a common market of skills in building Mosques. To take one example: the Ummayad palace of Khirbet al- Mafjar, now known as the Hisham Palace from its supposed connection with the Caliph Hisham (724–743), stands a little outside Jericho in modern Palestine. It lies near the road across the Jordan, in the steppelands, which had one market on the military frontier; but after the establishment of the Islamic empire, the steppes beyond Jericho marked the starting point of routes which continued without a break, within the territories of a single state , as far as Central Asia. The cultural frontier between the world of Persia and the Mediterranean world of Rome had been expunged. To observe the astonishing stone-carving, mosaic, and stucco-work in the Hisham Palace, we realize that two once separate worlds had come together to create something new and strange. The mosaics of the great private bathhouse are recognizably East Roman in design and layout; and yet, there is a sense of colour and pattern which makes them look like beautifully woven carpets. The stucco-work has the same exuberance as we find in the palaces and hunting lodges of Persian kings on the Iranian plateau, and yet it includes figures that gesture like Roman orators in carefully folded togas. Modern stereotypes of what an Arab, Muslim world should look like are undermined by this art. It is neither recognizably Muslim nor particularly Arab as we now imagine 'Muslim' and 'Arab' to be. This art was new, but it did not come from the desert, nor did it owe anything to Islam. It was created by the joining of the two sides of the Fertile Crescent. What we call Islamic art began with the mutation of the old traditions brought about through the creative splicing of elements taken from the hitherto divided cultures of the western (East Rome) and the eastern (Persian) regions of the Near East.

'Umar II (717–720), Yazid II (720–724), Hisham (724–743), Walid II (743–744), and Marwan II (744–750). 'Abd al- Malik (685–705), [182] asserts Brown (2003: 301–302), did not tolerate Christians. He made Arabic, the sole official language of the bureaucracy after 699. At the time, this change affected only those involved in the business of administration, but the Caliphs also used this as a very visible way to make their presence felt in the world at large, as the East Roman emperors had done. By 693, the Muslims replaced the Roman coins. By the year 700, the public spaces of Syria, Egypt, and Iraq began to look distinctively Muslim and Arabic. Arabic script could be seen on coins, in inscriptions, and textiles. However, 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) recommended, states Wessels (1995: 16), that Muslims make their pilgrimage to the holy rock in Jerusalem instead of to Mecca. 'This rock for you will take the place of the Ka'bah [in Mecca].' There is even a tradition according to which Mohammed regards Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem as being important sites for pilgrimage, and indeed, that Jerusalem ought to be placed above the other holy sites. As an expression of his high regard for Jerusalem, 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) had a dome built in 691 over the rock on which, it was believed, the hoof print of the winged horse of Mohammed, Boraq, could still be seen. This dome was supposed to surpass the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in beauty in order to symbolize Islam's conquest of Christianity. Both holy places are referred to by Arabs as *Al-Haram al-Sharif* (The Noble Sanctuary). According to the regulations, specifies Wessels (1995: 20), traced back to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Kattab (634–644), but probably having been derived instead from 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Christians were required to dress distinctly; they were not permitted to ride horses, carry weapons, or build

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[182] According to JC Cheynet (2006: 9), it was the Caliph 'Abd al- Malik who ordered the arabization of the Islamic administration in order to cease with Byzantine customs. He minted new coins, 'dînâr' without the Byzantine Emperor's effigy.

new churches, and limits were placed upon the restoration of existing church buildings; they could not ring the church bells, hold processions, or wear the cross in public. There were also personal restrictions. An Islamic man could marry a Christian wife, but a Christian could not marry an Islamic woman unless he converted to Islam and raised the offspring of the mixed marriage in the Islamic faith, a regulation that continues almost universally in the Islamic world to the present day. Al-Walid (705–715) had a reputation for hating Christians and destroyed churches. Initially, he promised Christians that they could keep their churches, but he is thought to have been the one who destroyed the Church of John the Baptist, one of the many churches that claimed to have the head of John the Baptist. This mosque is viewed by Moslems as the most important 'holy place' after Mecca, Medina, and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

In spite of the persecutions under 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) and the discriminatory regulations of 'Umar II[183] (717–720), remarks Wessels (1995: 20), Christians remained loyal to the Ummayad's authority. It is important to keep in mind, however, observes Wessels (1995: 20–21), that the pressure frequently exerted y on the Christians was not primarily religious, but economic in nature. That was also the case, for example, during the reign of 'Umar II. According to Denis of Tell-Mahré, the Jacobite historian, the Caliph Yazid II (720–723), in 723, allowed the destruction of images in application of the Islamic rule which bans the artistic portrayal of humans. In addition, the Caliph Walid II (743–44) exiled the Patriarch of Antioch for his preaching on Islam.

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[183] This Caliph, according to Le Coz (1992: 36), was said to be pious, definitively excluded Christians from all administrative functions and imposed upon them certain humiliating rules such as: the obligation to dress distinctively, and to pray in low voice, and the building of new Christian churches was banned.

It emerges from this that during the Ummayad's dynasty, in spite of some persecution[184], Christians were tolerated; but, in general, states Meyendorff (1974: 42), 'the non Greek-speaking were almost entirely Monophysite by the eighth century and as we shall see, Monophysitism tacitly or explicitly provided the iconoclasts with the essence of their theological arguments.' As indicated above, it was in this political and religious context that John of Damascus, an Arab Christian and the famous Greek orthodox Father, was born, lived and died.

3.3 The Advent of John of Damascus

Under this heading, we intend to focus our attention on the following elements: sources from which we can master the life of this eminent religious personality, and his life itself.

3.3.1 His Life

It is known, assertsHerrin (1987: 256–63), that during the second half of the seventh century, Muslim forces entrenched their control over Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and extended their power from Byzantium territory to the sea by the construction of a fleet. John of Damascus lived in a totally Muslim environment. Every (1980: 75) certifies that the whole lifetime of John of Damascus passed under the Ummayad's Caliphate at Damascus. In reality, according to Florovsky (1987: 254), we

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[184] Wessels observes (1995: 20) that the pressure exerted on Christians was not primarily religious, but economic in nature. That was also the case, for example, during the reign of 'Umar II. Economic factors are primarily to blame, for example, for the sudden disappearance of the now so-called 'dead cities' of northern Syria, east of Antioch, in the direction of Edessa. These cities had increased in importance before the Arab conquest as a result of trade between East and West. This trade came to an end, however, when the Arab empire gained the upper hand. Since the commercial ties were no longer possible, the cities were depopulated.

do not know much about St John of Damascus' life because, as Sahas (1972: 32) reveals, we lack a comprehensive account of his life, and the biographies known to us were composed much later in the eleventh century, and so it is not easy to pick out what is authentic and what is disputable. In addition, John Damascene, states Louth (2002: vii), 'has been oddly served by scholarship.' The many biographies concerning him are contradictory and were written more than one century after his death.

3.3.1.1 Sources

Despite what we have said above, Sahas (1972: 32–38) enumerates the following fundamental sources which were used by medieval and contemporary biographers of John of Damascus: the Arabic Vita[185], the

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[185] The source commonly used is available in Lequien's and Minge's editions under the title: *Vita Sancti Patris Nostri Joannis Damasceni: A Joanne Patriarchi Hierosolymitano Conscripta.* This John of Jerusalem, whose name appears in the title, is not the original author of this biography. He himself admits that he had found this *Vita* in an unrefined form, 'sketched' in the Arabic language and that the author of the Arabic version was the one who had undertaken the collection of the original information about John of Damascus. John of Jerusalem, therefore, is actually the translator and editor of this text. The Arabic original has been edited by Constantine Bach from three manuscripts: an old manuscript of Homs, a manuscript of Kafr-bu, written in 1646 by a certain Gabriel, and the Arabic manuscript 79 of the Vatican Library. This last is the work of a monk of St. Sabas, named Poemena, and it was written in 1223. Without omitting the discussions between historians about the author of the first known biography and why it was written in Arabic instead of in Greek which was the language of John of Damascus, Peeters, AB, XXX [(1911: 393–427)], reveals that, after the Iconoclast controversy, the Orthodox monks considered it preferable to use Arabic to express their indignation against Constantine Copronymus and his iconoclastic policy. During that period it seemed too dangerous to mention and commemorate in Greek some names, especially that of John of Damascus, and this is likely to be the reason why his biographer wrote his *Vita* in Arabic.

Greek translation[186], and Other Vitae.[187] There are, states Le Coz (1992: 41–3), numerous ancient biographies on John of Damascus[188]. The most

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[186] The identification argues Sahas (1972: 35), of John of Jerusalem, mentioned in the title of the Greek *Vita*, is stillan open issue. There are at least four Patriarchs with the name of John who have been considered as probable translators of the Arabic original. On the basis of Hemmerdinger's arguments about the date of the Arabic original, the possibilities for the translator are limited to John VI (838–842) and John VII (964–966 or 969) of Jerusalem. This *Vita* must be used with caution. It is obvious that it was not meant to be a historical document, but rather a hagiological treatise. Expressions of exaggeration in various descriptions and legendary incidents (in BZ, II (1893: 110s: 'Anacréontiques toniques dans la vie de Saint Jean de Damascène') abound in it. Although this is not the best source of John of Damascus' life it includes, nevertheless, a number of valuable indications which cannot be ignored.

[187] On this rubric we found four *Vita*: 1.*Vita Marciana*, which is short, written by an anonymous author. It has been published by Gordillo, OC, VIII. 1926: 62–65, from the *Codex Marcianus Graecus* 363. Gordilo claimed that this is the earliest Greek Vita, and he placed it at the end of the 10th or at the beginning of the 11th century. It deals with the family background, education, and entance into the monastery of John of Damascus, his visit to Constantinople, his writing in defense of the icons, and his condemnation by Constantine Copronymus. 2. The Sermon of Constantine Acropolite: A biographical treatise on John of Damascus dated ca. 1270 under the title *S. Joannem Damascenum*. As the title clearly indicates, it is an oration rather than a historical document and it too must be used with caution. 3. The *Vita* was elaborated by John Merkouropoulos. In fact, Merkouropoulos-Kerameus has published a Vita from a thirteenth century (1267) codex of Athens. Its author is John IX Merkouropoulos, Archbishop and Patriarch of Jerusalem (1156– 1166). Written in the style of a *synaxarium,* with the all characteristics of biography with its stress on ethical character and flowery language, this document lacks supporting historical evidence and dates. 4. An anonymous *Vita*. Papadopoulos–Kerameus has also published a *Vita* by an anonymous writer, with the title "life and acts and narration of a part of the miracle of our blessed and God-inspired fathers Cosmas and John of Damascus, the poets, " *Analecta.* IV, 271–302. Indeed, the style and form of this writing reveal that it is a hagiographical text. Its content is not different from that of the *Vitae* of John Merkouropoulos and John of Jerusalem, even if it contains some

well known one, notes Le Coz (1992: 41), was written in Arabic during
the ninth century[189] which was translated into Greek by John, Patriarch
of Jerusalem. This translation could be found in the Greek Migne Col-
lection of Patrology (PG 94, c. 429–490). Many short stories concerning
the life of John of Damascus are available: *Vita Marciana*, edited by M
Gordillo, 'Damascenia, I. Vita Marciana'[190], OC VIII (1926), p. 60–68,
which was written during the eleventh century by an anonymous author;
a *Vita*, written in the 13th Century by John Merkuropoulos, the Patriarch

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data which are not found in the others. The form and the structure of this *Vita*
are also, somewhat, different from the *Vita* by John of Jerusalem. This *Vita*
speaks also of Persia and Persians instead of Muslims. It emerges from all these
four *Vita* that three of them come from the area of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem:
the *Vita* by John of Jerusalem, the *Vita* by John of Merkouropoulos, of the thir-
teenth century, and, most important, the Arabic original. This fact is evidence
that John of Damascus was particularly honoured by the Church of Jerusalem,
with which he had close relations.

[188] The following names are given to this Church Father by certain biographers:
John of Damascus, John Damascene, Joannes Damascenus, Jean Damascène, Le
Damascène, John Chrysorrhoas, the Golden Speaker, John Mansur (see WA
Jurgens 1979: 330), and the Damascene Saint. In Arabic, states A Louth (2002:
6), the name of John of Damascus was the same as his grandfather, Mansur ibn
Sarjun. He took the name of John as his monastic name, by which he is known
to this day. We will use, during this inquiry, the name John of Damascus.

[189] This Arabic biography of John of Damascus was edited in French by C.
Bacha. *Biographie de saint Jean Damascène, texte original arabe.* Harissa from
the Arabic title: *Sīrat al- qiddī yūhannā al dimashqī al-asliyya tasnīf al-rāhib
mīkhā 'īl al-sam' ānī al-anatākī* which was composed by Michel of Simon, the
Monk of Antioch. According to M Hemmerdinger, "*La Vita arabe de saint Jean
Damascène et BHC 884*", OCP XXVIII (1962), p. 422–23, is an anonymous
document written between 808 and 869. Michel of Simon only wrote the intro-
duction to this document.

[190] This denomination asserts Khawam (1987: 61) comes from Marciana which
is the name of the library of St Markus of Venisa (Italy).

of Constantinople, and another anonymous *Vita*[191]. At last, Constantine Acropolite wrote the book concerning John of Damascus known under the title of 'Sermo in *S. Joannem Damascenum (*in PG 140, c. 812–885). All Greek texts observes Le Coz (1992:42), furnish little bits of genuine information on the life of John of Damascus because they are hagiographical. Even if we cannot totally disregard this data, it is necessary to utilize it carefully by distinguishing between what could be allocated to Hagiography, and what could be, simply, marvellous legend. The additional information on John of Damascus states Le Coz (1992: 42), on his family and his milieu are reported by Greek and Syriac chroniclers. The Syriac chroniclers were Jacobite, and consequently did not like the Damascene's family which was Chalcedonian. The Greek chroniclers, who were sympathetic to the Iconoclast heresy, saw John of Damascus as their enemy, so their information should be considered with some caution. On the other hand, Arab historians accurately describe the conquest of Damascus and life in Syria under the Ummayad's dynasty. They also furnish precious information on the epoch in which John of Damascus and his family lived.

In spite of the abundance of documents or sources, notes Le Coz (1992:42–43), scholars are unable to date with certitude the main and great events of the life of John of Damascus. For instance, explains Le

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[191] These two anonymous documents were edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analecta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias*. t. IV, Bruxelles (1953), pp.271–302, 305–50. Modern biographies of John of Damascus have been written, among others, by Dom Remy Céillier (1862) XII, 67–99. *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, Paris, Chez Louis Vivés; Dyovouniotes (1903) 'Ιωάνης ο Δαμασκης'; Chrysostomos A. Papadopoulos (1910) Ο Αγιος 'Ιωαννηνοζ ο Δακηνος in *EPh*, V, 193–212; Ioannes Phokylides (1922) 'Ιωαννης ο Δαμασκηος και Κοσμας ο κατα πνευμα αυτου αδελφός' in *EPh*, XXI, pp. 357–440; Jugie, *DTC* (1924); Nasrallah (1950) Saint Jean; Joseph-Maria Sauget, 'Giovanni Damasceno, santo' in BSA, VI9 Roma: Instituto Giovanni XXIII DELLA Pontificia Università Lateranese, (1965), 732–739.

Coz (1992:43), the date of his birth and death, the year of his entry into the Sabas' Monastery[192], the date of his ordination as a priest cannot be exactly identified. However, it is still possible to reconstitute the most important steps of John of Damascus' life by giving to it a description which is in accordance with historical truth as supported by certain scholars.[193] In fact, we endeavour to subdivide the lifetime[194] of John of Damascus into two phases:[195] the pre-monastic and monastic life.

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[192] There is no unanimity between historians concerning the real date of his entry into the monastic life. A Golitzin, for instance, quoted by Patrick & Lienhard (2000: 283–4), locates the entry of John of Damascus into the monastic life around the year 700. Without intending to neglect this discussion, we think that it must have taken place between 715 and 724.

[193] To our knowledge, the major modern and contemporary biographers of John of Damascus are: *Echos d'Orient*, t. ix. 1906, p. 28–30; C. Bacha (1912) *Bibliography of Saint of John of Damascus: Original Arabic Text,* Londres; J. H. Lupton (1882) *Saint John of Damascus,* London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; M. Jugie (1924) 'Jean Damascène', *DTC* 8.1, col, pp. 693–751; H Leclercq. ' Jean Damascène (saint) '. *DACL* 7 (1927), col. 2186–2190; J Nasrallah (1950), *Saint Jean de Damas, son époque, sa vie, son œuvre*. Beirut, Harissa; J. M. Sauget, 'Giovanni Damasceno, santo'. *BSA* 6, pp. 732–739; PTH Camelot. Jean Damascène'. In G. Jacques (ed.) (1967). *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain. t. 6.* col. 451–455, Paris, Letouzey & Ané; B. Kotter (1969–1988) Die Schriften desJohannes von Damaskos 5 vols, Patristische Texte und Studien 7, 12, 17, 22, 29, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & CO (see PG 94–6); DJ Sahas (1972) *John of Damascus on Islam*, Leyden, E. J. Brill; B. Studer 'Jean Damascène ou de Damas', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité 8.1* (1974), col. 451–466; B Flusin (1989) : *Une vie de St Jean Damascène: traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Age*, Paris. G. Contamine; B. Studer (1992: 442–443) : 'John Damascene', *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, vol. I, Cambridge, James Clarck & Co. R. Volk, 'John of Damascene' in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (1998), pp. 338–340.

[194] Despite this, HR Drobner (1999: 569) specifies that the following elements could help us to fix approximately the dates of his life: the tradition which certifies that this religious personality lived more than a hundred years, the synods of Hiera, held in 754, which condemned him after his death, and the Caliph Yazid,

3.3.1.2 Pre-monastic Life (ca. 650–ca. 717)

This stage of the life of John of Damascus consists of his family,[196] his birth and childhood, his youth and professional life in Damascus.

i. The Family of John of Damascus

This section deals with his family, his birth[197], and his childhood. Indeed, John of Damascus, asserts Wessels (1995:19), belonged to 'the Mansur family'[198]. It is said that, in 635 Mansour,[199] the grandfather of

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born around 642–647, who has been the companion of John of Damascus during his childhood.

[195] PJ Nasrallah (1950: 57–137) proposes the following pattern of John of Damascus' lifetime: 1. The Damascene's family *milieu* focuses on his birth, education, and his teenager; 2. Damascene in the service of Caliph; 3. Damascene, a monk at Mar Sabas; Damascene in fighting against Iconoclasm; 4. Damascene's last years, and his death.

[196] For an important attempt to master John of Damascus' biography and the history of his family, see: MF Auzépy (1994). 'De la Palestine à Constantinople (viiie–ixe siècles) Etienne Sabaïte et Jean Damascène'in *Travaux & Mémoires*12, 183–218; M Jugie (1924). 'La vie de Saint Jean Damascène' in *Echo d'Orient* 23,137–161; Id. (1929). 'Une nouvelle vie et un nouvel écrit de Saint Jean Damascène' in *Echo d'Orient.* tome 28, 35–4; G Richter (1982). 'Johannes von Damaskos' in *Philosophische Kapitel*, Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur, 15, 2–24, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann.

[197] B. Kotter (1988) 'Johannes von Damaskos' in Gerhard Müller (ed.) *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, xvii*, Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 127–132), suggested the year 650 as the date of his birth.

[198] Jugie (1924: 693) states that the Arabic given name of 'Mansur or Mansour' belonged to the grandfather of John of Damascus, Mansūr Ibn Sarjūn states Le Coz (1992: 45), who was chosen by Mu'awiya as the chief representative of the Christian Chalcedonian community in Damascus when the religious leaders moved to Antioch and Constantinople at the fall of Damascus. The word 'Mansour' means 'victorious, triumphant', and not 'λελυτρώμένος' (redeemed person), as Theophanous translated it incorrectly. Moreover, states WA Jurgens (1979: 330), the Emperor Constance V Copronymus (A. D. 741–775), Incense at

John of Damascus, was involved in the opening of the gates of Damascus to the Moslem armies of Khalib ibn al-Walid (died 641/642). Even if the Mansour family was accused by the Tareq Mitri, a contemporary Lebanese historian, of betraying Eastern Christianity, it is certified that this family was very Christian and served as chief representative of the Christians at the court of the Ummayad Caliphs of Damascus. This was in contrast, reveals Hitti (1937:153), quoted by Le Coz (1992: 43), to the majority of people of his area who spoke Aramaic and who were Jacobite, the elite or the cultivated class of people of this region, which included the Mansour family, but were absorbed in the Greek civilization, and were the followers of Chalcedon's Creed. The father of John of Damascus was Sarjūn Ibn Mansūr[200] who had inherited the function of his own father. We do not, asserts Sahas (1972: 42), know the exact date of Ibn Mansur's death, but it is likely that this was between 691–695 and not later than 705, because the last incident that Theophanes narrates with regard to 'Abd al-Malik[201] and Ibn Mansour took place in the year

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John's anti-Iconoclastic writings, put a slightly different inflection on the latter name and called him John Mamzer, or Bastard John.

[199] According to Sahas (1972: 26), the grandfather of John of Damascus seems to have played an important role in the capitulation of Damascus to the troops of Khalid b. al-Walid. Eutychius and Ibn al-'Amid present him as the person who negotiated with the Muslim commander for the surrender of the city and who opened the Eastern gate (al-Bab al-Sharqi) of Damascus to the Muslim troops.

[200] Ibn Mansour, the father of John of Damascus served as a government official, a *logothetes*, during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (684–705), a fact which is attested to by both Muslim and Christian sources: Ibd Rabbihi, al-Masudi, Ibn Asakari, Michael the Syrian, and Theophanes (see DJ Sahas 1972: 41–42, and PJ Nasrallah 1950: 35). On the other hand, PJ Nasrallah (1950: 57) makes the spiritual religious portrait of the father of John Damascus, Mansur ibn Sargun, by qualifying him as: 'a very Christian man', ("un homme très chrétien"), ανηρ Χριστιανικωτατός.

[201] It is true, states DJ Sahas (1972: 45–46), that the Greek remained, for a period at least, the official language of the Umayyad administration in Syria, although Syriac and Arabic were widely spoken. But in Church circles the Arabic element

691, and it presupposes that Emperor Justinian II was still alive (685–695).

Furthermore, concerning the date of the birth and the death of John of Damascus, better known in Arabic, as Yanah ibn Mansur ibn Sargun, there are only conjectures or assumptions, because scholars do not agree about the unanimous date of birth and death of this religiously prominent person. This is confirmed by Sahas (1972: 38): 'one of the great problems in the study of the life of John of Damascus is the uncertainty as to the dates of his birth and death. Most of the scholars placed his date of birth, without discussing it, in 675.[202] For Florovsky (1987: 254), he must have been born in the late seventh century, from around 645 to 675, and passed away before the Iconoclast Council of 754. The date of his death is usually calculated about 749/750. But asserts Sahas (1972: 38), Nasrallah has challenged this date, as well as any date between 670 and 680.[203] In fact, to sum up, the following dates are proposed: ca. 644[204]; ca. A. D. 645–ca. A. D. 749[205]; ca. 650 (unknown year of death);[206] ca. 650– ca. 750[207]; ca. 650–ca. 753[208]ca. 650 or 675– 749[209];

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was already present. Moreover, it was the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (684–705) who first introduced reforms in the administration by imposing the use of Arabic as the official language of the government and minted news coins, which, unlike the ones that had been used until then, bore no images, but only inscriptions from the Qur'an; he also barred Christians from high posts in the Islamic administration.

[202] The following scholars had to fight for this date to be accepted: Jugie, 1924 in *DTC*, VIII. Col. 695; B. Altaner (1971).*Patrology:* Paris/Tournai. p. 635; Anamantos (1940), *Η Δογματιακη Διδασκαλια του Ιωαννου του Δαμασκηνου.* Athens, S. Vailhé (1913: 611–613).

[203] See PJ Nasrallah (1950) *Saint Jean de Damas: son époque, sa vie, son œuvre,* Beyrouth, Harissa, p. 58.

[204] See J Nasrallah (1950: 58–59).

[205] See WA Jurgens (1979: 330).

[206] See R Volk (1998: 338–339). For this historian , the date of 749 is not tenable

ca. 655–ca750[210]; ca. 656–ca. 754[211]; ca. 657–ca. 749[212]; ca. 660–ca. 750[213]ca. 665– ca. 749[214]; ca. 665–ca. 749[215]c. 674/675–749[216]; ca. 675–ca. 745[217]; ca. 675– 749[218]; ca. 675–753[219]ca. 676– ca. 749[220]; ca. 676–ca. 749/753[221]; ca. 679–ca. 749[222]; ca. 690 as date of his birth[223]; ca.

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[207] See B Studer (1974: 451), R Volk (2000: 338–340), HR Drobner (1999: 568), B Kotter (1969: v); L Hödl (1991: 566); M Spaneut (1990: 336); R Aubert (1997: 1448–1459.

[208] See AG Hamman (1977: 228); C. Modéret (1988: 88).

[209] See Berthold (1990: 498–9), J Dillon (1994: 460), A. Golitzin (2000: 283).

[210] EA Livingtone (ed.) (1997: 891–2).*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 3rd revised ed.
 Woodhead (2004: 412), DJ Sahas (1972: XII).

[211] SeeRE Pike (1956: 213); he must be dead before 754 see DJ Sahas (1972: 47); M Walsh (1985: 402–403), deals only of the date of his death which he fixes in 749.

[212] See DH Farmer (1978: 219); M. Jugie (1924: 693).

[213] See EA Livingtone. ed. (2005: 896).*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* 3rd revised edition.

[214] See P. Brown (2003: 385); K. Parry, DJ Melling, D. Brady et al. eds. 1999: 270.

[215] See K. Parry (1999: 270).

[216] See D. Jugie (1924: 693).

[217] See DL Edwards (1997: 189), AG Hamman, MH Congourdeau (dir.), 1994: 19.

[218] See J Bowden (1990: 67), D Attwater (1983: 190–1), M. Eliade (1983. 3: 69), Le Coz (1992: 49),
Our Sunday Visitors Encyclopedia of Saints (1998: 336–7), LC Sherbok (1998: 155), CN Tsirpanlis (1991: 26); *Jean Damascene: Le visage de l'invisible,* traduction de AD Worms, 1994: 19; F. Cayré. (1947: 322).

[219] See AT Khoury. (1969: 47).

[220] See HOJ Brown (1984: 213), FG Holweck (1969: 536*); Les Benedictins de Ramsgate* (1991: 283); *The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of Servants of God.* (1989: 316).

[221] See A. Wessels (1995: 19).

[222] See SH Stanley (1987: 110–12).

[223] See *A New Dictionary of Saints* (1993: 161).

690– ca. 749[224]; and ca. 675– ca. 777.[225] The study of these dates leads us to make the following observations: first, that one demonstrates that John of Damascus could have been born around the end of the first half of the seventh century. Second, the others located his date of birth in the second half of seventh century. Third, the date of his death is placed around the end of the first half of the eighth century (c. 749 or 750). Fourth, one scholar fixes the date of his death at the beginning of the second half of the eighth century. Fifth, one historian places his death in the middle of the second half of eighteenth century. Sixth, according to The Lives of the Saints of the Holy Land and the Sinai Desert (1990: 431,447), this Holy Father lived during the reign of the Emperor Leo III Isauria (717–741) and until the time of Constantine Copronymous (A. D. 741–775) his son. In the light of all this, the only certitude, states Le Coz (1992: 49), is that John of Damascus was born into a very pious, privileged, and fortunate Arabian Christian family. This environment predisposed him to have a profound attachment to the Christian faith. Let us now consider how John of Damascus passed his youth.

ii. John of Damascus' Youth

As Le Coz reveals (1992: 49), biographers have little to tell of the childhood and youth of this honoured personality. Indeed, according to Nasrallah (1950: 64–65), the hagiographical sources give nothing concerning the teenage years of John of Damascus. The only thing that is known states Le Coz (1992: 49–50) is that John of Damascus passed all of his childhood and youth in Damascus where his family enjoyed a privileged status and maintained warm relations with the Ummayad's caliph and his court. Many biographicalnarratives of John of Damascus

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[224] See M. Walsh (1985: 402–3).

[225] See *The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church* (1990: 431,447).

enlarge upon his education[226] by stressing the great importance of it. The Monk Cosmas, to whom the father of John of Damascus gave the task of his son's instruction,[227] said that he was a Greek scholar who came from Cretan country, mastered rhetoric, physics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and theology (see PG 94, C. 941–44 quoted by Le Coz 1992: 50). As mentioned above, we can say that John of Damascus was very highly educated in Greek culture. It is also said, according to Le Coz (1992: 52), that John of Damascus was around twenty years old at the end of the 'Abd al-Malik reign (685–705), when he began his first professional position, states Every (1980: 76), as the Administrative Secretary[228] of the Caliph[229], which lasted for many years. Unfortunately, we

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[226] We are aware of the educational organisation in Damascus at the beginning of Islam, states Le Coz (1992: 50), by M Abiad's research *'Culture et éducation arabo-islamique au Sām pendant les trois premiers siècles de l'Islam'.* Summarily, this reveals the following main elements. First, concerning the Primary school, 'Umar the second Caliph followed the example of The Prophet who asked the Syrian captives who knew how to read and write to teach Muslims reading and writing. The Muslims brought their children to the existing schools where they learned reading and writing with the Christian children. In these schools, the teachers (*mukattib)* used maxims and poetry as their teaching material. Mu'awiya instituted the schools which were lead by the Muslim teachers with the same programme. With the eve of 'Umar II's reign (717–720), the education system which previously balanced the religious and secular subjects of Arabian-Islamic culture during the first Ummayad Caliph's reign, was abandoned in favour of the sole Islamic connotation. For other useful information on the educational environment of John of Damascus, see G. Every (1980: 75–84) where we can deduce that John of Damascus beneficiated with *Trivium* which consisted of three main subjects: grammar, the study of literary language and its correct pronunciation, developed through the study and composition of verses, rhetoric, the art of expression, originally in terms of logical argument. To these we added Quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music.

[227] Accoding to DJ Sahas (1972: 40), it is possible that John of Damascus attended the school with Prince Yazid I.

[228] Sahas asserts (1972: 43–44) that after the death of Ibn Mansour his son, John of Damascus, inherited his function as secretary to the 'prince of that city',

cannot say exactly when John of Damascus discarded his public post for the contemplative life at Sabas monastery. According to Sahas (1972: 43), the Greek *Vita* suggests that this took place after the eruption of the iconoclastic controversy and was probably one of his reactions in 727 to Emperor Leo III the Isaurian's (717–740) policy and, perhaps, the issuing of his edict. It also relates John's resignation from the court, his confrontation with, and his punishment by the Caliph, an incident which has been recorded in a legendary form. Therefore, the question of when he moved to Palestine (Saint Sabas, near Jerusalem) remains open. Indeed, many scholars focused their investigation on this question without finding the true and unique reply.[230] We may suppose that he retired,

advancing to a higher position than that his father had occupied, as the Arabic and Greek *Vitae* indicate. However, it not clear from these sources what exactly John of Damascus' responsibilities were. The Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (A. D. 787) imply that John was in charge of a financial office in the administration, because they compare him with Matthew, the former publican. It is obvious that this comparison is meant to indicate not only a similar decision to abandon his position and follow Christ, but also the similar nature of the profession which Matthew and John shared. However, Sahas explains that this reference from the Seventh Ecumenical Council does not definitively describe John of Damascus' position as being in charge of collecting taxes from the Christian community alone. The Greek *Vita* defines John of Damascus' position as πρωτσυμβουλος, that is, as head advisor, or *primus a consilii*. Constantine Acropolite remarks that John of Damascus was one among the λογαδες (ministers or advisors) of public affairs, received 'first honour', was the 'one next to the Caliph' and was considered as a co-ruler. These expressions may exaggerate, but they are indicative of the important rank that John of Damascus held.

[229] On John of Damascus' service during theCaliphate period, see PJ Nasrallah (1950: 71–74) where it is asserted that the pious Christian inherited the post of his father and eventually became the secretary of the Caliph.

[230] For more discussions on this question, see R. R. Khawam (1987: 127–130). For him, the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685–705), was one of the critical periods of the history of the Muslim Empire. A rival Caliph, Abdallah was established at Mecca. In Iraq, the rebels and the Byzantine army resumed their fight against him. During this period of unrest, coupled with the false denunciation from the

asserts Sahas (1972: 44–45), no later than the date indicated in the *Vita*, that is, between 717–720. This argument is hardly convincing, explains Sahas, because the unfavourable situation for the Christians started long before this suggested date for John's retirement. We think, concludes Sahas (1972: 45), that John's motive for retiring to the monastery is primarily his personal choice to follow a life of complete devotion, although the political situation in Damascus, as well as that in Byzantium may have played a role in his decision. His withdrawal from public life must be placed after the beginning of Caliph Hisham's reign in 724 and after a considerably long period of his life in the Muslim administration. This is the reason why, unfortunately, he later withdrew to the Saint Sabas monastery south of Bethlehem, which may indicate, asserts Wessels (1995:19), that he had fallen into disfavour, probably because, notes Le Coz (1992: 52,54), the Caliph Walid I (705–715) dismissed the Christian workers. Le Coz (1992:52) makes the interesting supposition that, as a Syrian, John of Damascus did not master Arabic. That is why when the 'arabisation' of the administration initiated during the reign of Abd al-Malik (685–705) was effected, and then reinforced during the Caliphate of 'Umar II (717–720)[231], John's ability to play a role was diminished and perhaps urged him to move to the monastery.

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enemies of the Chalcedonian Christians, among them, John of Damascus, all this no doubt predisposed him to retire in 685. See also PJ Nasrallah (1950: 75), for, contrary to Sahas, Nasrallah fixes John's retirement during the reign of the Caliph Umar II (717–720) who initiated many harsh and intolerant measures against Christians. Other modern scholars fix his date of retirement during the reign of the Caliph Hisham (724–740) (see PJ Nasrallah 1950: 81).

[231] This Caliph, according to Le Coz (1992: 54), in contrast to the previous Ummayad Caliphs, who were considered to be bad Muslims, was a pious Muslim who harassed Christians with various rules and sought to eradicate their presence in the Islamic government and administration. It said that at this time many Christians became Muslims in order to conserve their work.

3.3.2 Monastic Life (ca. 717–ca. 750)

As discussed previously, the date of the departure[232] of John of Damascus to the monastery[233] of Sabas[234], observes Le Coz (1992:54) and others, is not known. For instance, according to Peebles (1958: xii), the harsh policy of the Caliph Al-Walid (705–715) towards the Christians may well have been the influential factor in John of Damascus' decision to embrace the monastic life, during which he devoted himself to the practice of asceticism and the study of the Fathers. It is said thus, observes Nasrallah (195: 123), that John of Damascus spent the whole of his monastic life in teaching, preaching, and writing, But it could be that he went to this monastery during the time of the Caliphate of 'Umar II (717–720). Thus, John would have entered, before the year 720, when he was around forty years old (Le Coz 1992: 55). This monastery re-

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[232] For example, RR Khawam (1987: 64), fixes his departure to Abas' monastery in 685 at the beginning of 'Abd al–Malik's reign (684–705), and HR Drobner (1999: 568) proposes that he embraced the monastical life at Saba, outside Jerusalem, around 700.

[233] The name of this monastery, states PJ Nasrallah (1950: 88–89), comes from Sabas, an anchorite who, in 478, after wandering for five years through the Judaean desert, settled in a cave located to the left side of the Cedro River in front of the actual monastery. He lived there for five years, praying and doing manual work every day. Fascinated by his pious life, many other monks from St Euthymos, St Theoctistos, and Gerasimos monasteries, went to join him and began to enlarge the monastery from 482 to 501

[234] Useful information on this monastery may be found in: H Leclercq. 'Sabas'. *DACL. t. 15. c.* 187–211; S Vailhé, 'Les Ecrivains de Mar Saba'.*Echos d'Orient* 1899, p. 1–11, 33–46; S Vailhé. ' Le Monastère de S. Sabas'. *Echos d'Orient* 1899, p. 332–341; S Vailhé. Le Monastère de S. Sabas'. *Echos d'Orient* 1900. p. 18–28; J Patrich (1994) Sabas, *Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 32, Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; MAJH Lipton (1882: 8–13). For more on the Judaean monasteries in the Byzantine period, see Y. Hirschfeld (1992) *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

marks Le Coz (1992: 55), was an imposing spiritual and intellectual centre. As a seat of Melkite thinking, this monastery where the Monks spoke either Syriac or Armenian, was brilliant in the beginning of the eighth century and was influenced by Greek culture. Greek was still its liturgical language even if Arabic was spoken by the people who surrounded it. In addition, it is significant to say at this stage that by 706, a noteworthy event had been produced. In fact, asserts Le Coz (1992: 55), the Melkite Church had been without a Patriarch for sixty years, and received John V as Patriarch at Jerusalem. It was this new Patriarch explains Le Coz (1992: 55) who ordained John of Damascus[235] as Priest and became his theologian.

John of Damascus was a learned and prolific monk and theologian who spent all his monastic life writing biblical and theological pamphlets in order to defend the Orthodox faith against many Christian deviations until his death[236]. These deviations were not initiated by imperial policy, laypersons or other church persons. Thus, as theologian, it seems, remarks Sahas (1972: 48), that the qualities of John of Damascus are even better reflected in his own writings which, for this purpose, are the best sources of information about his personality. Perhaps, it was for that reason, that John of Damascus, was sometimes called, and rightly so, 'Chrysorrhoas: flowing gold', because, explains Peebles (1958: xiv), of the golden grace of the spirit that is reflected in his speech.

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[235] According to PJ Nasrallah (1950: 100), the date when John of Damascus was ordained is not known, but it must be fulfilled eventually before the controversy of Iconoclasm started.

[236] As asserted by WA Jurgens (1979: 330), an Arabic *Menologion* says that at his death John of Damascus was 104 years of age, which would fix his birth at ca. 645 A. D. Some, however, think that his age is greatly exaggerated and suggest that he was born ca 645, or closer to the end of the seventh century. Whatever the dates, it does seem certain enough John of Damascus was born at Damascus and died in the Monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem, where he had long since become a monk.

Chrysorrhoas[237], was the name of the river which irrigated the gardens of Damascus. That this epithet was most fittingly applied to this Father has been well borne out by his extensive writings, particularly his sermons. Also, John of Damascus has been called 'flowing gold' because of the elegance, and eloquent beauty of his writings.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter examines the general environment into which John of Damascus made his appearance. Politically, the Middle East between 600 and 630, knew an everlasting tension of hegemony between Byzantium and Persia. From the religious point of view, this region had been shaken by Christological quarrels which divided Christians into the Jacobite, Nestorian, and Armenian Churches. All these Churches were in opposition to, and lived in suspicion of, each other. On the other hand, from 630 to 750, this area was led by a new united political and religious power: the Islamic government. It is at this point that John of Damascus was born, into the prominent, pious, and Melkite Christian family. Historically speaking, he lived the whole of his life in the Middle East in the period of the Umayyad caliphate (651–750), first in Damascus, where he was born, and later in Palestine, where he became one of the Palestinian monks (see Louth 2002: 3,12). For the duration of the first century of Islam's expansion under the leadership of the Ummayad's Dynasty, the situation of the Christians was not too severe. In fact, even if some Umayyad Caliphs such as Abd al-Malik (685–705), Al-Walid (705–715), and 'Umar II (717–720)[238] disliked the presence of the Christians,

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[237] This name was given to John of Damascus for the first time, states Nasrallah (1950: 135), by Theophanes, because of his virtue. It was the same Theophanes and Stephen of Byzantium who designated him for the first time as 'Saint' at the beginning of the 9th century (see P. J. Nasrallah 1950: 132).

[238] PJ Nasrallah (1950: 74–75) states that during his reign the chronicler, Abu Yusuf, relates to us Umar II's letter to one of the Governors of the provinces of

a number of them survived in office because they were the prime experts in Islamic Administration. Following the example of Gregory the Great in Rome, who later dumped John of Damascus for becoming a clergy-man, and who was (Louth 2002: 5) a son of a family prominent in the civil administration of Syria, also abandoned his lay functions in the court of the Caliph of Damascus.

Becoming a onk and the protégé (his theologian) of Patriarch John of Jerusalem, by whom he would be called to the priesthood and ordained before or around 726, John of Damascus devoted himself to the rehears-al of asceticism and the study of the Church Fathers with the purpose of preserving the Orthodox Christian faith amidst new and ancient heresies. That is the reason why Sahas (1972: xii) considers him as one of the most celebrated figures of the Christian community, an outstanding contributor to the History of Christian thought, one of the most talented theologians and hymnographers of his time and, for many, the last of the great fathers of the classical period in the Christian East. For Every (1980: 76), John of Damascus became a systematic theologian whose theology was extensively used as a textbook afterwards in the Byzantine

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the Muslim Empire. Here is a part of this letter where the Caliph prohibited certain Christian practises and signs, like the public presence of the cross, to pray loudly etc. It says the following: 'Il faut briser ou effacer toutes les croix sans exception qui se trouvent en public; nul chrétien, ni juif ne servira d'une selle, mais seulement d'un bât; de même leurs femmes devront se servir du bât au lieu de la *rihala* (selle de femme). Vous devez donner des ordres positifs à cet égard. Vous devez encore défendre aux chrétiens de votre province de porter des tuniques et des robes de soie ou de linge fin. On m'a rapporté qu'il y a chez vous beaucoup de chrétiens qui ont repris le turban, qui ne portent pas de ceinture et qui, au lieu d'avoir les cheveux ras, portent une chevelure abondante. Par ma vie, j'ai été bien informe, vous êtes coupables de faiblesse et de connivence. Ils n'oseraient le faire, s'ils ne savaient pas qu'ils n'avaient rien à craindre de votre part. Prenez donc note de tout ce que j'ai défendu et mettez fin à toute infrac-tion' (from Baladuri, p. 73, quoted in Gœje. *La conquête de la Syrie*, p. 148–149).

Church. The following chapter will show us how this prolific Christian thinker wrote to contradict Christian deviations with the purpose of maintaining the Orthodox faith intact.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS' UNDERSTANDING OF HERESY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at how the scholarly writings of John of Damascus preserved orthodox[239] Christian doctrine and faithfrom several heret-

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[239] We interpret the epithet 'orthodox' to mean 'without confessional connotation', and, in keeping with its etymology, in the sense of 'right Christian opinion.' Nevertheless, we are awake of the reality of '*Radical Orthodoxy'* that is a contemporary theological movement. This movement, asserts Leiner (2006: 1024–1025), originated during the last decade of 20th Century at the University of Cambridge. In fact, after the publication in 1990of his book entitled *Theology and Social Theory*, the theologian John Milbank, born in 1952, published, programmatically, a further title, '*Radical Orthodoxy: A New Theology'*, incollaboration other Anglican professors, such as Catherine Pickstock and Graham Wardy, and with some of his Roman Catholic colleagues, such as William Cavanaugh, Andrian Pabst, and Olivier-Thomas Venard. This ecumenical team integrate Reformed theologians like James K. Smith, and Methodists such as D. Stephen Long. For these scholars, the notion of 'Orthodoxy' does not connote denominational colours, nor does it concern any religious Confession in particular, but chooses rather to stress the millenarian common Christian heritage of the first millenium. The '*Radical Orthodoxy'* movement is involved in the renewal of *Social Christianity* in the sense of a Critical Christianity in response to the economic liberalism and the political individualism which are altogether de-

ical threats. Within this scope, we will deal with the context of these scholarly writings, and enumerate their features and categories, and examine this Church Father's portrait of the heretic and elaborate on the strategems he used to confront these heresies. The chapter will close with a brief abstract.

4.2 The Literary Output of John of Damascus

It is best for the historian or researcher to begin any investigation of this Church Fatherby clarifying the environment of his scholarship,[240]

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nounced as forms of selfishness opposed to the Christian ethic. More fundamentally, the epithet 'radical' designates a critic of the sources of modernity. Along these lines, '*Radical Orthodoxy'* denouncesthe inclination of contemporary advocates of the Social Sciences who deny their Christian origins and develop parallel '*parodies'* and '*heretical versions'* of the Christian Orthodox position. See also S Platten, 2003. 'Radical Orthodoxy', in LHoulden (ed.), *Jesus*: *The Complete Guide*. London/New York: Continuum, pp. 695–697.

[240] According to Jurgens (1979: 330–331), although The Damascene knew Arabic and Syriac, he chose Greek alone for his literary endeavours. He was a fluent preacher and a prolific writer. Abbot J M Hoeck has listed 150 titles as his authentic works. A great deal of work has yet to be done in editing his writings and in scientifically establishing the authenticity of the many works attributed to him. An enormous number of his manuscripts are extant, which testifies to his popularity, and many of his writings are extant in Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Old Bulgarian or Old Slavonic, Georgian, and Latin translations. Finally, the first collected edition of John of Damascus' writings is the folio edition in two volumes, Paris 1712, by the Dominican Michael Lequien. It is an excellent edition and was reprinted at Venice in 1748. Migne's edition in PG 94–96 (see also A. Tangher 1966: 410) is likewise a reprint of Lequien, but with a supplement drawn from works first printed by Andrew Galland and Cardinal Angelo Mai and others. As Louth (2002: vii) states, The Byzantine Institute of the Abbeys of Scheyern and Ettal, the life's work of Dom Bonifatius Kotter (1912–1987), OSB, has already achieved a complete and new critical edition of John of Damascus' works.

and secondly, to define the characteristicsof his writings and determine their types or categories.

4.2.1 The Context of the Writings of John of Damascus

Earlier, we described how John of Damascus' lifetime extended through the emergence of a new political and religious power: the Islamic regime. In practice and from its very beginnings, this regime made no distinction or separation between religious, political, and cultural matters.[241] Mohammad embodied the dual and amalgamated function of religious and political leader[242] at Medina[243] and Mecca until his death.

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[241] Throught his recent article, O Roy (2007: 242–252), demonstrates that it not possible in Islam to separate religion and culture.

[242] Many Islamic Scholars attest to this—see, for example, B. Lewis (dir.) (1996) *L'Islam d'hier à aujourd'hui*. Paris: Editions Payot & Rivages, p. 9, (translated from the English original title of: *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture*); M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes (1969) *Mahomet*, Paris, Editions Albin Michel, pp. 57–222; J. Burlot (1995): *La civilisation islamique*, Edition revue et augmentée, Paris, Hachette Edition. pp. 12–16; L. Gardet (2002) *L'Islam: Religion et Communauté: Présentation de Malek Chebel.* Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, pp. 273–286; D. Sourdel (2002) *L'Islam.* Coll. Q. S. J. no. 181, Paris, PUF. p. 13; M. C. Hernadez (2005) *Histoire de la pensée enterre d'Islam: Traduit de l'Espagnolet mise à jour par Roland Béhar*, Paris, Desjonquères. p. 24, where it is said that 'as the Special Envoy of God, Muhammad must be the religious chief, social, juridical, political, and military chief of that embryonic Muslim community. 'This is our translation from the French: 'en tant que envoyé de Dieu Mahomet devint chef religieux, social, juridique, politique et militaire de cet embryon de communauté musulmane'; D. Sourdel & J Sourdel-Thomine (2002) *Vocabulaire de l'Islam*, Paris, PUF. p. 83.sv. Muhammad ou Mahomet; id. (1996) *Dictionnaire historique de l'islam*, Paris, PUF. p. 595, where the role of Muhammad is nominally précised as follows: 'from that moment, Muhammad added to his role of transmitter of divine secrets, the role of political chief, and of the military chief who is tasked with the organization and defence of the new Muslim state'. Our translation from this French paragraph: '*A partir de ce moment Muhammad ajouta à son rôle de transmetteur des révélations divines,*

Firstly, this is argued by Sami Aldeed Abu-Sallieh (2006: 23), who says that the Islamic religion encompasses not only the cultural questions, but also the juridical questions.[244] Secondly, Brissaud (1991: 11–13) says that Islam is a political religion. Furthermore, Khawam (1987: 17) points out that John of Damascus lived during the Umayyad's Caliphate, in which context he was faced by the radical message of Islam, and which led to the catastrophic collapse of the Byzantine era in the Middle East (Syria and Palestine) and its replacement with the new conquerors and the expansion of their religion: Islam. It was a period of complete destruction of the past, but it also saw the edification of a new Christendom on a revolutionary basis: a time of testimonies, of radiance or influence, and of fraternal dialogue with the non-Christians. The situation into which John of Damascus entered is summarized by Louth (2002: 12) as follows: 'a process of refining the tradition of Christian Orthodoxy.'

Finally, Sahas (1972: 48) reveals the active involvement of John of Damascus in the public life of Damascus and his awareness of the two religious traditions co-existing in the Muslim capital. According to Du-

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un rôle de chef politique et de chef de guerre qui avait pour tâche de d'organiser et défendre le nouvel Etat musulman.'

[243] For A Ducellier (1996:35), Islam, according to the Nestorian conception, owes a legacy to certain Hebrew traditions. Indeed, to this confession, Muslims are legally in the continuum of Abraham. Medina and Mecca would be equivalent, by analogy to the choice which would be made by the Patriarch Abraham when he escaped the Canaan creeds. Moreover, *Yathrib-Medina*—which means 'what belongs to Arabs'.

('*qui appartient aux Arabes*'), would be the Ancient '*Iathrippa',* which would be '*Hazor',* which the Bible named 'the head of kingdoms' (*la tête des royaumes)* (Joshua 11,12), actually named Medina, which derives from the name 'Madinât al-Nabî', which means etymologically 'the city of the Prophet.'

[244] Translated from this French paragraph: '*la religion comprend ainsi non seulementles questions culturelles, mais aussi les questions juridiques'* ; [see A Sami Aldeed Abu-Sallieh (2006: 23)].

cellier (1996:32–33), Islam at its beginning was considered by Christians as 'a true religion.' Nevertheless, it seems that by the time of John of Nikiu's chronicle at the end of the 7th Century,[245] Islam was seen as a pagan and idolatrous religion. Consequently, in my opinion, this environment must have greatly influenced the main writings of John of Damascus. Even if he had previously spent his time within the Ummayad administration, he was still seeking to find out what Islam was. In my view, this approach constitutes a model for the investigations of modern historians of religion and of ecumenical theologians, in that it seeks first to understand new contemporary religions before formulating any opinion about them.

John of Damascus' writings should be seen, and placed, in the wide context of the defence and definition of Orthodoxy. Louth (2001:46) puts it very well when he speaks about 'post-patristic Byzantine theologians:' 'the apogee of this defense and definition of Orthodoxy by the

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[245] John of Nikiu, states Kazhdan et *al*. (1991: 1066), is known as an Egyptian bishop and chronicler who flourishedlate 7th Century A. D. Indeed, little is known of his life save that as the bishop of Nikiu he was appointed overseer of all the monasteries, but was suspended from the priesthood because he caused the death of a monk whom he had severely disciplined. It was probably after this incident that John of Nikiu wrote a chronicle along conventional Byzantine lines, beginning with Adam and ending with the immediateaftermath of the Arab conquest of Egypt. This chronicle was thought to have been written in Greek, originally, with some sections in Coptic, and it has survived in two late Ethiopic MSS. The Ethiopic text, translated from Arabic in 1602, is in deplorable condition. Sections are missing, and some chapter headings are unrelated to the contents of the chapters. How faithful the Arabic and Ethiopic translations are to John of Nikiu's original cannot be determined; the Ethiopic version indicates the influence of traditional Arabic historiography. For the period of the Arab conquest, the chronicle remains the earliest and only eyewitness account, and antedates the earliest Arab accounts by almost 200 years. It is possible that the European conception of Islam as a heresy dates from his chronicle.

monks of Palestine is to be found in the works of St. John Damascene.'
Louth further affirms (2002:10–11) that while many anathematized the
Chalcedon Synod, John of Damascus anathematized those who con-
demned the Synod. In doing so, he became the historical link between
the monks of Palestine and Chalcedon Orthodoxy and, as Flusin (1992:
ii. 59) puts it, 'the function of the monasteries of Palestine was to be one
of the strongholds, perhaps, for the East, the very hearth of Chalcedoni-
anism.' This is why it is important, notes Louth (2002:13–14), to link
John of Damascus to the background of the Palestinian monks for the
following three reasons.

Firstly, the later Byzantine tradition was willing to treat John in iso-
lation, given that the Byzantine Church itself had responded so abysmal-
ly to iconoclasm. That one single monk in Palestine spoke out against
iconoclasm could be tolerated, but the fact that he was a member of a
large Christian community that stood fast when Byzantium wavered
made all the difference. In the aftermath of iconoclasm, the Byzantines,
especially the patriarchal court, rewrote the history of the period to bring
out the heroic role played by the patriarchs Germanos, Tarasios, and
Nikephoros in the prevention of a complete collapse before the imperial
will. The resistance, insists Louth (2002: 13), of the people and the
monks of Palestine did not fit this picture, whereas an isolated voice like
John's could be accommodated.

Secondly, the community of Palestinian monks was important for
John himself. He was no isolated genius, but one who participated in an
extended collaborative exercise. The history of the dissemination of his
works, many of which exist in parallel forms,[246] is really puzzling unless

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[246] It said, states Sahas (1972: 53), that during the last decade of his life, John of
Damascus was given to revising, completing, and simplifying flowery and ex-
cessively pompous passages and expressions, so that his writings would not
leave an impression of personal arrogance, especially such important works as
The Fount of Knowledge, and his treatises against iconoclasts and monothelites.

we remember that John was writing for the people of his time. It took a long time, perhaps almost a century, for his works to reach Byzantium. The different editions of his great work, *The Fount of Knowledge,* the different versions of his attack on iconoclasm (which is what the three different treatises really amount to), and the alternative versions of some of his other treatises (e. g., *On the Two Wills in Christ*) make sense if we bear in mind that John's writing is addressed to a contemporary audience, amongst whom his works were promptly (and thereafter, irrevocably) distributed.

Thirdly, John's possible renown and his place in Byzantine theology may be seen as part of the general influence of Palestinian monasticism on Byzantium in the wake of iconoclasm. This is usually regarded as part of the reform of Byzantine monasticism initiated by St Theodore of Studios in the lull between the two periods of iconoclasm, although it may well have been part of a more general influence of the traditions, not least the liturgical traditions, of the Holy Places in Constantinople.

In conclusion, states Louth (2002: 14), the process of refining, defining, and celebrating Orthodoxy in which John of Damascus took part was the work of Palestinian monks, living and working literally in the shadow of the mosques of the Dome of the Rock and of Al-Asqsa, newly built on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and overshadowing the Christian Holy Sites. The Palestinian monks belonged to a minority whose power was diminishing and who endured attacks from fellow Christians (who called them 'Maximianists, ' that is, followers of a monk who had been condemned for heresy by the Byzantine Emperor), from Jews, Samaritans, Manicheans, and eventually Muslims.[247] This

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[247] There is discord between scholars concerning John of Damascus' authorship of the heresy of Islam and of the *Dialogue between a Muslim and a Christian.* Le Coz has made an excellent contribution to this discussion (1992: 184–203). However, see also Chase (1958: xxxi), Merril (1951: 88–97), Sahas (1972: 66), Kotter (1981: 7), in the opposition to Abel (1961: 61–85), Altaner (1961: 725), Géro (1973: 61), and Studer (1974: 454), who confirms that the heresy 100

Christian Orthodoxy was not the expression of human triumphalism, but rather something fashioned in the crucible of defeat. After this brief panorama of the context of John of Damascus' writings, located in the general context of the Palestinian monasticism and the Umayyad reign, let us now delineate the characteristics of his erudition.

4.2.2 Features of his Writings

Le Coz (1992: 60–61) reveals that in Medieval Europe, some of the writings of John of Damascus were translated from Arabic versions.[248] Louthstates (2002: 7) that the intellectual work of this thinker must not be dated chronologically,[249] because the cases, he argues, were the same

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belonged to John of Damascus. Moreover, for the dialogue between a Muslim and a Christian, Jugie 1924: 701 thinks that this work could be considered as the summary of the oral lessons of John of Damascus. Le Coz (1992: 203) sustains the same point of view in these words: '*S'il n'est pas possible d'affirmer que Jean en est le rédacteur définitif, il est cependant légitime de considérer ce texte au moins comme un héritage de l'enseignement du Damascène, et, à ce titre, de le retenir comme partie intégrante de ses œuvres, ainsi que l'a jugé B. Kotter dans son édition critique*' (If it is not possible to affirm that John is the definitive author, it is however legitimate to consider this text at least as indebted to his *œuvres*, as B. Kotter judged it in his critical edition).

[248] See also J Nasrallah 1950: 179–188.

[249] Despite this difficulty, RR Khawam (1987: 199–201) proposes a chronological classification of John of Damascus' writings into the following eight groups: (1) the defense of sensibility which compounds the three Apologetic Discussions against those who reject the Holy images, written between 726 and 730 (PG 94, col. 1231–1420); History of Barlaam and Joasaph, entitled 'Useful history for the soul' (PG 96, col. 860–1240); (2) Hymns which constituted the Greek Orthodox liturgical Books; 3.General knowledge which compounds: On the Dragons and the Wicked Fairies (PG 94, col. 1599–1604), The Sacred Parallels (Biblical and Pagan Quotations) PG 95, col. 1039– t. 96, col. 442, t. 96, col. 442–544; 4. Historical Theology: Against a Jacobite Bishop of Dara PG 94, col. 1435–1502, Discussion against Manicheans PG 94, col. 1505–1585, and also Discussion of John the Orthodox with a Manichean PG 96. Col. 1319–1336,

throughout his life. This is true also for certain events of his life in general. In addition, their fundamental specificity is their Christological stamp[250]over such Christological heresies as Monophysitism, Monothelitism, and Nestorianism. Louth (2002: 8–9) makes the following comment: 'the doctrine of Christ is clearly of great importance, and he defends Orthodox teaching principally against the Monophysites; he is equally passionate in his attacks on Monothelitism, which can be found

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Dialogue between a Saracen and a Christian PG 94, col. 1585–1598, PG 96, col. 1335–1348, Treatise on the composed nature PG 95, col. 111–126, Treatise on the two wills in Jesus Christ (refutation of Monothelitism) PG 95, col. 127–186, Treatise against the heresyof Nestorians (refutation of Nestorianism) PG 95, col. 441–1034; 5. Church's Dogma: Exposition of the Faith (conserved only in Arabic) PG 95, col. 417–436; Small Treatise on the Orthodox doctrine. PG 94, col. 1421–1432; Treatise on the Holy Trinity (dubious) PG, 94, col. 9–18, Treatise on the *Trisagion*. PG, col. 21–62, Elementary introduction on dogmas PG, 95, col. 99–112, Letter on the Body and the Blood of the Saviour (dubious) PG 95, col. 441–1034, Commentaries on Saint Paul's Epistles PG 95, col. 441–1034; 6. Homilies: Thirteen Homilies (PG 96, col. 545–814), among which, nine are genuine: Transfiguration, Parable of the Withered Tree, Holy Saturday, Saint John Chrysostom's Panegyric, Saint Bearb's Panegyric, Homily on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (PG 96, col. 661–680, Three homilies upon Mary's *Dormition* (96, col. 99–762); 7. Christian life: Treatise upon the eight bad spirits PG 95, col. 79–84, Treatise upon the virtues and the vices PG 95. col. 85–98, Treatise upon fasting PG 95, col. 23–78; 8.General Synthesis: The Source of Knowledge (PG 94, col, 521–1228: Dialectica, col. 525–676, *De Haeresibus*, col. 677–780, *De Fidei Orthodoxa*, col. 784–1228). See also Jugie 1924: 705–708 for another attempt to outline a chronology of John of Damascus' writings.

[250] Lang (1998: 648–649) sustains and précises this view as follows: John of Damascus, in an attempt to reformulate the Christology of Chalcedon, takes up the strands of thought we have traced until now and binds them together. The character of The Damascene's Christology is essentially 'ἑρώέμονμενούδέν'. Nonetheless, the synthesis achieved by him is original in that for the first time an explicit doctrine ofhumanity's in-existence in the hypostasis of the Logos emerges–and here he differs from Anastasius of Antioch, who is denoted by the term *enthypostatos.*

in his homilies…' On the other hand, argues Le Coz (1992: 58), these works were first produced in the second period of his life during his ascetic and monastic stay at Sabas.[251] Relating to the first half of eighth century, Nasrallah (1950: 94–95) qualified it as a time during which the monastery of Sabas knew an especially peaceful period of Providence, for the monastery was not attacked or looted by the Bedouins. Secondly,[252] the liturgical language of the Melkite Church to which he belonged was written Greek. This was done with the purpose, explains Le Coz (1992: 56), of hiding his critical view of Islam from the Umayyad authorities who neither understood nor spoke Greek.[253] Le Roy (1992: 60) explains this strategy of John of Damascus as being necessary to protect his freedom of thought. In fact, by using the Greek language, John of Damascus could feel free and safe to develop his thoughts without the fear of being punished by the Islamic authorities.

In addition, it was probably easier for him to express and formulate his theological discourse using Greek philosophical words and concepts rather than the Arabic language, which in those days, had a limited vocabulary for that purpose.[254] In addition, some of John of Damascus'

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[251] This view is also defended by B Altaner 1961: 636 and C Dyovouniotes (1903: vii). *Ιωαννηςο Δαμασκανος,* Athens.

[252] Along these lines, Ponsoye (1966: 6) believes that even if John of Damascus spoke and prayed in Syriac and in Arabic, he thought and wrote in Greek.

[253] According to J Hajjar (1962: 95), in seeking to understand what was contained in these Greek writings (and the significance of Christian worship and cultural elements), 'Abd al-Aziz, the Governor of Egypt, requested that all these works be translated into Arabic to ascertain that the Christians were not covertly heaping abuse on Islam through their teachings.

[254] It is certain, moreover, reveals Le Roy (1992: 60), that Theodore Abu Qurra translated several of John of Damascus' writings, in the early time, in Arabic for the needs of different people. He was born at Edessa around 750, and died around after 825. It said that at the time he was the Patriarch of Harran (793). For many he is considerate as the 'Arab continuator of John of Damascus'. For other useful information concerning him, see: *POC* 12 (1962) p. 209–223, 319–

writings were written at the behest of various other bishops, principally John V of Jerusalem (707–735), states Volk (1998: 339). As a conservator of the history of theology, John of Damascus' works can be qualified as being of a 'systematic nature'[255] (G. Florovsky 1987: 355). His theological work, is 'the product of both the intellect and the heart'[256] (see Louth 2002: 14) combined with humility.[257] Moreover, his writings have

332; *POC* 13(1963), p. 114–129; Migne, PG 97, col. 1461–1606; Cheikho, *al-Mashriq* 15 (1912), p. 757–774, 825–842; C Bacha, *Mimars de Théodore Abu Qurra, évêque de Harran*, Beyrouth 1944; A Ducellier (1996: 119); AT Khoury. 1969: 83–105.

[255] See also I Karmires (1940: 3); DJ Geanakoplos (1966: 22). Indeed, states F Dölger. 1966–1967: 211,214, quoted by D Sahas (1972: 52), after the Council of Chalcedon (451) and the establishment of the classical terminology of the Christian dogma, a period of decline began which, by the time of John of Damascus, was almost complete. The importance of John of Damascus lies in the fact that at that moment he undertook the task of summarizing all the previous theological teaching and of offering a complete system of Christian dogma.

[256] This intellectual capacity can be seen through his use of the term 'Philosophy' in his work entitled '*The Fount of Knowledge*' which according to JM Hussey and TA Hart's 'Byzantine Theological Speculation and Spirituality' in *Cambridge Medieval History,* IV 2: 187ff, is the best demonstration of how he combined various disciplines in a major theological writing. Whenever he employed a philosophical term or definition, he did so in order to clarify and establish those presuppositions which arebasic for theological understanding. Although philosophy, and especially the Aristotelian philosophy, played an important role in his works, the classical patristic definitions constitute the predominant element in his thought and style. Moreover, for John of Damascus, asserts D. Sahas (1972: 51), philosophy and theology are intimately related. Theology as a discipline belongs to the theoretical branch of philosophy. For him the wide definition of the term 'philosophy' as the 'knowledge of things that exist, in so far as they are' (PG 94,533) as well as other more specific definitions, but he concludes with this statement: 'Philosophy is love of wisdom, and true wisdom is God; therefore the love of God, this is the true philosophy. '

[257] D Sahas (1972: 53) draws attention to his sentence in the preface to *The Fount of Knowledge*: 'I shall say nothing of my own' is only one of many exam-

the following distinctive characteristics: apologetic discourses, the refutation of heretical teachings, notably either polemical or disputational, moral, exegetic, hagiographic, homiletic, or hymnologic [258] (AP Khazhdan & AM Talbot 1991: 1064).

The Apologetic Discourses, asserts Chase (1958: xviii), were written against the attackers of the Holy Images (Pg 94.1231–1420). John of Damascus used the Disputation in order to refute the heretical teachings. His other preaching, for the edification of congregations, constitutes the rest of his writings (polemic attack). In addition, asserts Louth (2001: 46), we must place the apogee of the defence and definition of Orthodoxy by the monks of Palestine into the works of John of Damascus. At last, for Ducellier (1996: 103), John of Damascus used all his writings in two complementary directions: to fight against doctrinal divergence, and to illustrate the accurate or orthodox doctrine. In order to have a handle on all of these writings, it is wise to study them by categories.

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ples of the modesty of John of Damascus. It seems likely that such expressions of humility are meant to de-emphasize his own contribution, contrary to others scholars who read such sentences as an admission and acceptance that he is merely a slavish compiler. Recently, Bouteneeff (2006: 291) supports this hypothesis in his study on 'The Two Wills of God: Providence in St John of Damascus' with these words: 'St John effectively perceives himself as sitting on the shoulders of giants, but what he sees and is able to express from that lofty perch makes him a giant himself.'

[258] For an accurate view of John of Damascus as a poetic hymnologist, see: S Eustratiadis [S. d]. *Poiêtai kai humnographoi tês Orthodoxou Ekklêsias,* Jerusalem; A. Laïly (1950). *L'Influence liturgique et musicale de S. Jean de Damas.* Harissa; C. Emereau, 'Hymnographi byzantini' in *Echos d'Orient* (1923), pp. 20–22.

4.2.3 Categories of the Writings of John of Damascus

Historically speaking, the writings of John of Damascus were trans-lated into several languages[259] and it was the work of Bonifatius Kotter (1912–1987) which brought them together[260]. At the end of the Middle

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[259] See RR Khawam for an historical assessment of translations. 1987: 175–178, PJ Nasrallah 1950: 161–168; FCJR Chase1958: xxxv-xxxviii.

[260] Hoeck's survey on John of Damascus, states Louth (2002: 24), constituted the preparation for the edition to which his fellow-monk, Kotter, was to devote his life. The original project envisaged an edition of about eight volumes, covering all the Damascene's prose works. Nowadays, Kotter's published edition must be a 'renewed reflection on the theological *oeuvre* of the Damascene' (see A Louth 2002: vii). This edition is entitled *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. It consists of five volumes: Vol. I: *PTS 7,* 1969, Berlin. The first volume to-gether his philosophical writings; Vol. II: *PTS* 12, 1973, concerns the Orthodox Faith; Vol. III*: PTS 17*, 1975, Berlin, deals with his Apologetic Discourses against those who rejected the Holy Images; Vol. IV: *PTS 22,* 1981. Berlin, concentrated on the polemical works of John of Damascus: it is his treatment of heresies (his treatises against the Manichees and the Christological heresies of Monophysitism, Monothelitism, and Nestorianism), and the controversy be-tween a Muslim and a Christian; Vol. V: *PTS 29*, 1988, Berlin, was published posthumously and contains John of Damascus' homilies and hagiographical works. The final volume, reveals Louth (2002: 23), is devoted to John of Da-mascus' exegetical works and this has yet to appear. This magnificent edition is based on a thorough analysis of the tradition to which John belonged, in the two senses we have outlined: that is, the tradition John inherited and the one he shaped. Kotter's edition makes clear the tradition on which John relied: his edition is furnished with an apparatus detailing the patristic works and other sources used by John in his own writing, but Kotter also explored the tradition of the manuscript of John's works, revealing much of interest about the way John's works were valued by those who preserved them, as well as some differences between what seems to have been John's original intention and the way his works were read later. Finally, one striking finding of Kotter's research is how much John became assimilated into the tradition. He had renown as a preacher, but no one seems to have thought to make a collection of his sermons that sur-vive in liturgical manuscripts such as *Menaia*: John's extant sermons have be-

Ages, states Khawam (1987: 177), six different translations of John of Damascus's writings were used in Western Europe. One of these was Burgundio of Pisa's version [261], a partial and anonymous translation elaborated in Hungary by the Monks at Saint-Marie-de-Paszto, a mixed monastery of Benedictines and Cistercians, and dated before Robert Grossetête's version of 1150. The last one was by a bishop of Lincoln in Great Britain. His work made corrections to Burgundio's translation, based on Greek manuscripts. There was also Panetius's version. He was a Carmelite who died in 1497. Conon's version, elaborated in 1512, by altering the Burgundio translation conformed to the Renaissance style, and that of Lefèvre d'Estaples. It was printed in Basel in 1539.

Moreover, the Barlaam and Joasaph's[262] novel contributed to make the name of John of Damascus famous in the well-read *milieu* of the

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come a continuing part of the liturgical celebration for which they were originally composed. The same is true of his poetry. For another complete *oeuvre* of John of Damascus, see also N. Matsoukas et al. (eds.) *Oeuvres completes* [avec traduction en grec moderne], Pournara/Thessalonique, 1976–1995.

[261] For K Parry, DJ Melling, and D Brady (1999: 271), there is a Slavonic translation of a part of the *De Fide Othodoxa* by John, the exarch of Bulgaria in the late ninth century. Burgondio of Pisa in 1148, and a further translation, along with the Dialectica, by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, in 1235, began a Latin translation. Thomas Aquinas (1224–1274) cites John of Damascus extensively. In addition, remarks Louth (2002: 84–85), in the Latin tradition, the translation of the Orthodox Faith by Burgundio of Pisa was by 1224 divided into four books corresponding to the division of the *Sommae* of the scholastic theologians: book 1, consisting of chapters 1–14, concerning God and the Trinity; book 2, chapters 15–44, on creation and human kind; book 3, consisting of chapters 45–73, on Christology; and book 4, beginning with the resurrection (chapter 100), giving it a broadly eschatological orientation. It is in this form, the division into four books, that *On the Orthodox Faith* has been generally known in the West.

[262] For recent information on this work in German, see R. Volk (2006) *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos VI/2: Historia animae utilis de Barlaam*

mediaeval universities. All these works, remarks Louth (2002: 9), fall roughly into three categories: the exposition and defence of Orthodoxy, sermons, and liturgical poetry. In composing these works, specifies Louth (2002: 9), John of Damascus has returned to an old tradition from the time of the Apostles, but which in a particular way had evolved since the establishment of monastic settlements in Palestine in the fifth century, and which took on a special role during the century that followed the conquest of the Middle East by the Arabs in the seventh century. This being said, it is obvious therefore that there are writings of John of Damascus which are genuinely[263] his work, and others which remain unclear, or doubtful, or apocryphal works.[264] This makes it difficult to categorize John of Damascus' works.

However, in our attempt to do so, we shall follow Nasrallah and Louth's models, followed by a synthesis. In fact, for Nasrallah (1972:137–157), there are five groups within John of Damascus' writings: the dogmatic (among which the more incisive is *The Fount of Knowledge*), the polemical (against iconoclasts and other heretics), the ascetic, the exegetical, and the poetic (musical and liturgical). For Louth (2002: 29–282), for whom the main criteria in his categorization is the Faith, he divides the works into four main categories in accordance with the following titles: Faith and Logic: The Fount of Knowledge; Faith and Images; John of Damascus as Preacher (Chrysorrhoas: 'flowing gold'): Homilies; John of Damascus the Poet: hymns and liturgies. In the light of these two previous attempts to categorize the works of John of Damascus, I believe, that, for reasons of conformity, it would be wise to group his writings into five categories, namely: the dogmatic *oeuvres—The Fount of Knowledge* (PG 94, col. 521–1228), *Elementary*

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et Ioasaph (spuria). Text und zehn Appendices, Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter.

[263] For their list, see M. Jugie (1924: 696–707).

[264] See J. Nasrallah (1950: 157–160); B. Kotter (1981: 60–67).

*Introduction to Dogma (*PG. 95, col. 99–112), *Libellus on the Right Opinion* (PG 94, co. 1421–1432), *The Exposition and Profession of Faith* (PG 95, col. 417–438), *On the Holy Trinity (*PG 95, col. 9–18); polemical *oeuvres*: against the iconoclasts and other heresies; exegetical works; moral and ascetical writings; liturgical: The Homilies, and The Hymns.

4.2.3.1 Dogmatic Oeuvres

i. Presentation of These Oeuvres

It is his works of a systematic nature, states Florovsky (1987: 255), which primarily determined John of Damascus' place in the history of theology. In fact, states Sahas (1972: 51), all the works of John of Damascus which were written during his time in the the Sabas monastic community, were devoted to dogmatic, moral and ascetic theology, exegesis, history, homiletics and hymnology. John of Damascus is, primarily, a theologian and the various forms of writing that he chose became the means to express his theological insights.

However, he remained open to knowledge from various other disciplines and also to the definitions of the 'outside' philosophers, in as much as they could lead to anything 'worthy' and 'profitable to the soul', and he referred to these disciplines as 'servants' in the service of the 'queen' which is Truth. For him, the ultimate goal of philosophical and theological endeavour 'is to elevate man to Him who is Author, Maker and Creator of all comprehension, through sense perceptions' (see D. Sahas 1972: 51–52, F. Chase 1958: 9–10). In addition, John of Damascus, asserts Sahas (1972: 52), the last of the great fathers of the Church in the East, is primarily recognized as the first classical systematic theologian.[265] He dealt with the issue of doctrine which had caused

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[265] The other following historians recognize this qualification to John of Damascus: I. Karmires (1940): *Η Δογματικη Διδασκαλια του Ιωαννου Δαμασκηνου.*

controversy and theological speculation in the Church and he formulated the Biblical teaching and its interpretation by the Councils and the thought of the Church Fathers in a logical and systematic way. [266] Among his dogmatic works, the most celebrated is the*Fount of Knowledge*.

ii. The Fount of Knowledge

The Fount of Knowledge,[267] notes Chase (1958: xxv), is the major theological work of John of Damascus. He wrote it in the later years[268]

Athens p. 3; DJ Geanakoplos (1966) *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, p. 22 f.

[266] That is the reason why F. Dölger (1966: 211, 214) 'makes a parallelism between John of Damascus and Thomas Aquinas. Indeed, after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and the establishment of the classical terminology of the Christian dogma, begins a period of decline which by the time of John of Damascus was almost completed. The importance of John of Damascus lies in the fact that at that moment he undertook to summarise all the previous theological teaching and to a complete system of the Christian dogma.

[267] ItsGreek name is *πηγη γνωσεως or Πηγη γνωσεως ονομαζσθω (*see PG. t. xciv, col. 533 A, quoted by D Sahas 1972: 137, and J Nasrallah 1950: 137), *The Fountof Knowledge* (See A Louth 2002: 31), or 'Fons Scientiae' (see L Sweeney 1962: 248). Moreover, it is important to note, according to Nasrallah (1950: 138), that the two first parties of The *Fount of Knowledge* are the philosophical chapters that constitute the introductory part to the third part that is the Exposition of the Orthodox Faith. It also said that, according to Andrea Dué (1998: 93) this work, written around 742, constituted one of the basic texts of Scholastic.

[268] Le Roy (1992: 62) and Sahas (1972: 54) are sure that it was written in 743 at the request of Cosmas. By this work, states Le Roy (1992: 62), John of Damascus expected to make a first attempt at rational organization on the knowledge of Christian Faith. In opposition to them, Louth in his scholarly survey maintains that the dates of the composition of The Fount of Knowledge, and its preface letter to Cosmas are complicated. In fact, for Louth (2002: 32–33), the date given, A. D 743, is said to be the year of the accession of Cosmas to his see and is based on a long-standing error. In fact, this date arose from a misreading of

of his monastic life at the request of his adopted brother Cosmas. The latter succeeded Bishop Peter at the episcope's throne of Maiuma near Gaza in 743 (see D Sahas 1972: 54). Indeed, concerning the 'nature and development' of this work, it had two different traditions in its structure. Jurgens (1979: 331) describes them as follows:

> 'In their Eastern tradition, these three very different parts constituted a single work *The Fount of Knowledge*. Western tradition has treated the three parts as separate works: 1) *Dialectica,* 2) *De Haeresibus*, 3) *De fide orthodoxa*. Furthermore, Western tradition, probably in order to make this third conform at least externally to the design of Peter Lombard's four books of Sentences, has broken part three into four books: 1) on God; 2) on Creation and Providence; 3) on Christ; and 4) a continuation of Christology, dealing also with Baptism and the Eucharist, veneration of saints and images, the Canon of Scripture, evil, and the last time.'

In the light of this quotation, it appears that what the West subdivides, the East unifies! Indeed, this threefold work, was composed, states Louth (2002: 37), primarily as a member of a monastic community in Palestine for his fellow monks. This writing provides a recapitula-

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the passage in Theophanes' *Chronographia*, which tells of the martyrdom of Peter, metropolitan of Damascus, in 743/4, and at the same time of the martyrdom of another Peter, from Maïuma, whose panegyric was delivered by St John the Damascene himself. Peter is not described as a bishop; on the contrary, Theophanes says that he was tax official, and it has further been suggested that this 'Peter of Maïuma' is the Peter of Capitolias (in Transjordan) who is commemorated as a martyr. Whoever this Peter was, there seems no reason to suppose that he was bishop of Maïuma, and therefore no reason to suppose that Cosmas succeeded him. Nevertheless, Louth demonstrates that the idea that *The Fount of Knowledge*, in its threefold form, was both John's intention and belonged to the later years of his life can be defended, because John of Damascus undertook a revision of some of his writings.

tion of Christian doctrine in its Chalcedonian form, of which the Palestinian monks proved themselves such doughty defenders.

In addition, concerning its scheme, *The Fount of Knowledge,* explains Louth (2001: 46), marks out the true faith and distinguishes it from the hundred-headed hydra of heresy. The most popular form of this work—born in John's lifetime and later—seems to have a collection of 150 chapters, consisting of the early form of the *Dialecta* in 50 chapters, and the 100 chapters of *De Orthodoxa Fide*. Concerning its authorship, Louth points out that (2001: 46) few of the chapters of *The Fount of Knowledge* are original in the sense of having John of Damascus as the author. In fact, most of the *Dialectica* is drawn from already existing epitomes of classical logic, and is dependent on the work of the fifth- and sixth-century Alexandrian commentators on Aristotle. The first 80 chapters of *De Haeresibus* is taken directly from the fifth-century summary of Epiphanios' *Panarion*; and the chapters of the *Orthodoxa Fide* are culled from a wide range of patristic sources.[269]

Furthermore, asserts Louth (2001: 46), in summary, *The Fount of Knowledge*[270] is an epitome of the aspects of this process: the *Dialecta*

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[269] In his Exposition of the *Orthodox Faith*- the other denomination of the *De Orthodox Fide*- John of Damascus, argues Florovsky (1987: 255), follows, often literally, the preceding fathers, especially Gregory of Nasianzus and the 'the great Dionysius.' Less frequently used are the other Cappadocians, Cyril and Leonitius of Byzantium.' For Louth (2001: 46), the *De Orthodoxa Fide* is a forilegium, without acknowledgement of its sources. The most popular form of *The Fount of Knowledge*-both in John of Damascus' lifetime and later- states Louth (2001: 46), seems to have been a collection of 150 chapters, consisting of the early form of the *Dialectica* in 50 chapters, and the 100 chapters of the *De Orthodoxa Fide.*

[270] For Metallidis (2006: 341–243), John of Damascus derives the word 'Knowledge' from the word '*γνώσις*', which comes also from the Greek verb *γνώσκω* that have both positive and negative definitions in his works. In fact, we read in *Contra Manichaeos* 78 that 'knowledge is to know the beings or those things which are coming into being', while in *The Exact Exposition of the Or-*

(*Καθαλαια φιλοσοφια*) *(*Nasrallah1950:138) being the last of the Christian textbooks of logic. *De Haeresibus* (Nasrallah 1950: 138) follows it. This section deals briefly with heresy, and lists the various heresies and delusions known to that time, one hundred and three in all.[271] It ends with *De Orthodoxa Fide* (*Εκδοσις* or *Εκθεσις ἀκριβής τηςόρθοδοξου πιστως*) (Nasrallah 1950:138).

The first part of the *Fount of Knowledge* begins with the introductory letter, states Louth (2002:31), where John of Damascus says:

'First, I shall set forth what is most excellent among the wise men of the Greeks, knowing that anything that is true has been given to human beings from God, since 'every good endowment

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thodox Faith 4, we read, 'Provided that we know the beings, that which is incomprehensible is supersubstantial, and, conversely, that which is supersubstantial is incomprehensible.' For him there exists a difference between the human knowledge of the uncreated God and of creation. In essence, for John of Damascus, what is called theological knowledge is part of theoretical philosophy. Philosophy is divided into two parts, the theoretical and the practical. Theoretical philosophy is that which 'sets in order the knowledge', while practical is that which is engaged with the virtues. 'Theoretical philosophy' is itself divided into three parts: the *θελογικόν, 'theological'; the φυσιολοκόν* 'physiological'; or *φυσικόν*; and the *μαθηματικόν, 'mathematical. 'For 'theological'* we comprehend 'the incorporeal and immaterial' beings, that is, God, the Angels, and Souls. Through the 'physiologica' we 'recognize' material 'things and beings, like animals, plants, stones, and so so on.' 'Mathematical' is knowledge of immaterial beings which are observed in material ones. To this category belong numbers and the harmony of notes, four types of (equal *φθόγγων, Practical theology,* on the other hand*, 'adorns conducts' (ήθος)* and teaches one how to love. From these above classifications of philosophy we can see that only the 'theological' part refers to pure theological knowledge as the knowledge of God. However, all parts of philosophy can be connected with 'theological knowledge' as they help man either to understand or to express theological knowledge- the revered or holy- beyond all these classifications.

[271] For these l03 heresies listed by John of Damascus, see F. Chase (1958: 111–163).

and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights'. If anything is opposed to the truth, then it is a 'dark invention' of Satan, error, 'and an invention of the mind of a wicked demon', as Gregory said, who is rich in theology. Imitating therefore the ways of a bee, I shall gather what belongs to the truth and pick the fruits of salvation from the enemies, and reject everything that is evil and falsely called knowledge. Then I shall set forth in order the chattering nonsense of the heresies hateful to God, so that by recognizing what is false we may cleave the more to the truth. Then, with the help of God and by his grace, I shall set out the truth, truth that destroys error and drives away falsehood, and is adorned and made beautiful, as with golden tassels, by the words of divinely inspired prophets and divinely taught fishermen, of God-bearing shepherds and teachers, that truth, the glory of which shines from within and illuminates by its rays those who encounter it with due purification and having set aside troubling trains of thought.'

A threefoldprogramme emerges from this quotation: firstly, what could be derived from the Greek philosophers; secondly, an account of the errors of heresies, and thirdly, an exposition of the truth faith. This threefold programme is the prelude of the scheme of *The Fount of Knowledge*.

Moreover, states Florovsky (1987: 255), the *Dialectica*[272] constitutes the 'Philosophical chapters'[273]. It is composed in the style of Aristotle.

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[272] The *Dialectica* itself, specifies Louth (2002: 38), exists in two different forms: a short version of fifty chapters and a longer version of sixty-eight chapters; in addition, there is a much briefer work of similar content called *Elementary Introduction* (see Kotter 1.1969: 19–26) which is described as being 'from the voice' (*apo phônês*) of John of Damascus, a phrase states G Richter (1982: 20), which at this date usually refers to an account of someone's oral teaching. This is much shorter than either form of the *Dialectica*, and probably represents

Here, John of Damascus mostly discusses the definition of basic concepts. That is to say, states Louth (2002: 38–39), essence (*ousia),* nature (*physis*), and form (*morphé*) which are said to be the same, *hypostasis*, person (*prosôpon*), and individual (*atomon),* again they are the same, difference (*diaphora*), quality (*poiotês*), and property (*idiotês),* again they are the same, essential and non-essential, natural difference and accident, separable and inseparable accident, thing of the same essence (*homoousion*), and of different essences (*heteroousion*), genus (*genos*) and species (*eidos),* activity (*energeia*), affection (*pathos*), will (*thelêma*).

Why did John process that? For Louth (2002: 38), with this procedure, John of Damascus attempts to provide the basic logical and conceptual tools for understanding theology, which is challenged by heretic terminology. Louth (2002: 47) stressed it as follows, 'The *Dialectica* and the Christian logical handbooks on which it relies are not, however, simply collections of logical terms and methods. As we have noticed several times, they focused on the terms important to Christian controversy in the sixth and seventh centuries'.

Furthermore, in the *Dialectica*, John of Damascus' purpose consists in drawing attention to the voice of a monk who is searching for the way to pursue the Truth, namely Christ. To follow this way demands humility and purification. It demands also one's whole life, not just one's committed intellect. However, the focus on this search, as Louth (2002: 45) warns, is not the subject of the *Dialecta* itself, rather, it is a careful and repeated reading of the Scriptures, a reading that enables one to hear the voice of Christ, the Truth, speaking in the Scriptures. This reading

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an early stage in John of Damascus attempt to provide the basic logical and conceptual tools for the understanding of theology.

[273] For Le Roy (1992: 62), the principal part of The *Fount of Knowledge* is the *Orthodox Faith* which is preceded by a double introduction: philosophical *(Dialectica)* and historical *(On the Heresies).* In addition to this bibliographical element see Chase 1958: 7–110 for more detailed information.

and pondering on the Scriptures is a work of love: the one who pursues it enters into a bridal relationship with Christ, and delights in the truth discovered in the bridal chamber. John of Damascus is drawing on a long tradition, going back at least to Origen, in seeing meditation on Scripture as leading to a loving relationship with Christ, such as is celebrated in the Song of Songs.

The second part of John of Damascus' *Fount of Knowledge*, is the *De Haeresibus* [274] (*περι αιρεσεων ἐν συντομια οδενηρξαντο καιπόθενγεγόνασιν*) Nasrallah (1950: 138). It is, as we said previously, a list of heresies and delusions, one hundred and three in all. Through this second part *On Heresies*, John of Damascus intends to understand what heresy was for him. In fact, from the beginning to the end of this section, John of Damascus begins by 'defining error' (Louth 2002: 54), that he develops in his dedicatory letter to Cosmas underlining the 'chattering nonsense of the heresies hateful to God'. Indeed, John of Damascus, states Louth (2002: 57), stills knows the original, neutral connotation of the word '*hairesis*' (*Dial*. 65.60–61): it indicated a choice, a way of life or a way of thought. Josephus used it for schools of philosophy and, by extension, to qualify the different groups within Judaism. In Christian usage, it quickly meant a *wilful* choice to separate from the orthodox tradition. It is perhaps first used in this sense by Hegesippos, who, according to Eusebios, named seven 'heresies' among the Jews 'all hostile to the tribe of Judah and the Christ', which, introduced into the 'virgin Church', developed the heresies of various groups that scholars generally nowadays call 'gnostic.' Many of the names of these heresies, as recorded by Eusebios, are preserved in the early parts of Epiphanios' *Panarion*. It is the picture of an original pure orthodoxy that splits into a multiplicity of heresies. Drawing on earlier attempts, as well as on

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[274] For detailed information and data on all these heresies see Chase 1958: 111–162.

Hegesippus, Justin Martyr's[275] lost work on heresies, the now lost Greek original of Irenaeus's *Adversus Haereses*, and Hippolytus's *Syntagma-Epiphanios* seeks to provide a genealogy of this process. Epiphanios,[276] however, provides an elaboration of prehistorical heresy. He does not satisfy himself by tracing the manifold points of the beginning of heresies from the historic Gospel proclaimed by Jesus in the first century; rather, he sees heresy as the deviation from an aboriginal faith as old as creation. In this, Epiphanios[277] is simply following one of the lines of the Christian apologists of the second century: that Christianity is no newly acquired superstition, but an ancient faith of which the pristine clarity of the Gospel of Christ has been covered up. This idea provided the structure for the first book of Eusebios's *History of the Church*.[278]

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[275] According to Munier (2006: 11), Justin Martyr, born around 100 A. D, at Flavia, Neapolis, actually Naplouse, in Israel, from a pagan family, was a philosopher. After his conversion to Christianity, he defended it from all pagan attacks by affirming that Christian doctrine was superior to pagan conceptions of the divinity.

[276] For this learned heresiologist there are, asserts Louth (2002: 57), 'four mothers' of the pre-Christian heresies, derived it seems, from Col. 3, 11, and the sixteen heresies that have flowed from them. The first is 'barbarism', the antediluvian heresy that prevailed from the fall, proceeding from Adam's disobedience. The second is Systhism', which prevailed from the Flood until the Tower of Babel (or Terah, the first potter, who made idolatry possible—Epiphanios's account is not at all clear- marked by 'error proceeding from the nature of the individual will, not from what was taught or written.' The third mother of heresy is Hellenism, which is identified with idolatry, and the fouth Judaism, marked by circumcision. For more information concerning these four 'mothers of heresies' see Chase 1958: 111–113.

[277] Epiphanius was the bishop of Salamis (365–403). He is qualified as 'the pathologically pious heresy-hunter' (see S. G. Hall [2006: 37–48]).

[278] There are two known versions of Eusebios'works: (1) H Hemmer, P Lejay. (Dir.) (1905, 1911, 1913) *Eusèbe: Histoire ecclésiastique. Livre i-iv, Livres v-viii, ix-x. Texte grec et traduction francaise par Emile Grapin,* Paris, Librairies Alphonse Picard & Fils; (2) C. Mondésert (Dir.) (1960) *Eusèbe de Césarée:*

The third part of *The Fount of Knowledge* is the *De Orthodoxa Fide*[279] (*Εκδοσις*or *Εκθεσις άκριβής της όρθοδοξου πιστως: Nasrallah* 1950: 138). It is, argues Louth (2002: 84–85), probably the best known of the works of John of Damascus, and certainly, outside the Byzantine world at least, the most influential. For Chase (1958: xxxv), John of Damascus as the author of this work, does not appear to him as a compiler, but through the high standard of the writing, he demonstrates his talent. It is a statement formulated in the very clear language of the teaching of the Greek Fathers and his capacity for synthesis. He puts it in these words:

> *'The Orthodox Faith* is, as has already been pointed out, not a compilation, but a synthesis, of Greek theology. It is a statement in very clear language of the teaching of the Greek Fathers in its

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histoire ecclésiastique. Introductuion par Gustave Bardy, Index par Pierre Périchon. SC 73. Paris: Cerf, *Eusèbe de Césarée.* T. 1: Livres I-IV. Texte Grec de S Schwartz. Traduction de Gustave Bardy (2001) SC 31. Paris, Cerf; Livres V-VIII. Texte Grec. Traduction et notes de Gustave Bardy (1955) SC 41. Paris: Cerf; C Mondésert. (Dir.) (1960) *Eusèbe de Césarée: histoire ecclésiastique. Livre viii-ix et les martyrs en Palestine. Texte Grec, traduction et notes de Gustave Bardy.* SC 55. Paris, Cerf. Other works which deal with Eusebios: 1986. *Eusèbe de Césarée: Contre Hiéroclès.* Introduction, traduction et notes par Marguerite Forrat, texte grec établi par Edouard des Places. Paris: Cerf; *Pamphile: Eusèbe de Césarée. Apologie pour Origène suivi de Rufin d'Apulée sur la falsification des livres d'Origène.* Texte critique, Traduction et notes par René Amacker et Eric Junod. T. 2 & 2. SC 464/465 (2002) Paris: Cerf.

[279] Through *The Orthodox Faith*, as a theologian notes (Golitzin 2000: 283), John of Damascus summarized the theological thought of the preceding six centuries in *Fount of Wisdom,* especially Book 3, 'The Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith.' This remains a work of penetrating brevity and succinctness. For more detailed information on this subject, see St. Jean Damascène. *La foi orthodoxe suivi de défense des icônes.* Préface de Monseigneur Jean Kavalevsky, Traduction, Introduction et Notes Du Docteur E Ponsoye (1966) Paris: Cahiers de Saint Irénée, p. 11–212, Chase (1958: 165–405).

most developed form. Of course, there is nothing original in the matter of doctrine, but there is something original in the treatment and in the clarity of this treatment. For instance, the chapters on psychology, providence, predestination, the divine Maternity, the Eucharist, and the cult of the saints and sacred images show a fresh point of view clearly stated in a language that anyone can understand. This is also noticeable throughout the entire treatment of Christology, which makes for an extraordinarily complete and understandable exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation.'

Concerning its content,[280] it includes 100 chapters and is subdivided into four books[281] in consecutive chapters: Book 1 concerns God and the Trinity (chapters 1–14);[282] Book 2 deals with the created order and human kind (chapters 15–44);[283] Book 3 talks about the incarnate *oikonomia* (dispensation) (chapters 45– 81); [284] Book 4 (chapters 82–100):[285] these last nineteen chapters deal with faith, baptism, the Cross, praying towards the East, the mysteries (or sacraments), the genealogies of the Lord and the Mother of God, the Saints and their relics and icons, the Scriptures, and a long discussion of the different ways of speaking of Christ.

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[280] At the Byzantine Congress held in Paris in August 2001, argues Louth (2002: 89), Vassa Conticello suggested that the sequence of the chapters of the *Orthodox Faith* might be derived from (or at least echo) the structure found in Eucharistic Prayers, or *Anaphorae*, such as those in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and in the ninth-century Liturgy of St Basil. It is an extremely attractive idea, which fits in well with what is suggested about the nature of John of Damascus's theology.

[281] See also Khawan (1987: 115–116).

[282] For detailed analysis on this part, see Chase (1958: 164–202).

[283] See Chase (1958: 202–266).

[284] See Chase (1958: 267).

[285] See Chase (1958: 335–406).

Other chapters are focused on the following items: four chapters directed against the Manichaean view, three chapters against the Jews, four show how John of Damascus describes the 'heresy of the Saracens' (Islam) in *Haeresibus* 100 as the 'forerunner' of Antichrist. Finally, there was a chapter on the Resurrection, upon which Jews, Christians, and Muslims were in agreement. At this stage, however, it is notable that the practices such as 'Baptism, the sacraments, the veneration of the Cross, praying towards the East, (instead of facing Jerusalem or Mecca), veneration of the Mother of God, Saints, relics, and icons', all these, specifies Louth (2002: 85), were practices that distinguished Orthodox Christians in the Middle East from their neighbours.

After this survey on the general structure of *The Fount of Knowledge*, it is relevant to explore the other dogmatic works which bear the name of John of Damascus.

iii. Elementary Introduction to Dogma

Its Greek title is *Εισγωγήδογμάψωνστοιχειώγης* (PG 95, col. 99–112).

It much resembles the *Dialectica*, or *Philosophical Chapters,* of *The Fount of Knowledge*, but in an abridged and imperfect form (see FC Chase 1958: xxi). This work according to Nasrallah (1950: 139) is an added treatise made by the disciples of John of Damascus. It seems that this treatise must be anterior to *The Fount of the Knowledge*. Indeed, the chapters of this work, asserts Louth (2002: 38–40), give a very clear idea of the kind of material John of Damascus wanted to introduce to his students – presumably intellectual novices. There are ten chapters, as follows: 1. On essence (*ousia*), nature (*phyusis*), and form (*morphé*): they are said to be the same; 2. On *hypostasis*, person (*prosôpon*), and individual (*atomon*): again they are the same; 3. On difference (*diaphora*), quality (*poiotês*), and property (*idiotês*): again they are the same; 4. On essential and non-essential difference and accident; 5. On separable

and inseparable accident; 6. On things of the same essence (*homoousion*), and of different essences (*heteroousion*); 7.On genus (*genos*) and species *(eidos)*; 8.On activity (*energia*); 9. On affection (*pathos*); 10. On will (*thelêma*).

It is not difficult, states Louth (2002: 39), to work out the background to this list of concepts needed for the study of theology. One simply has to cast one's mind back over the theological controversies before the Ecumenical Synods and up to the time of John of Damascus. The Synod of Nicaea (325) introduced the term *homoousios,* and once that term became accepted in theological discourse, both it and its root, *ousis*, essence or being, needed some definition. The so-called Cappadocian settlement, that marked a victory for the Nicene position, made a provisional distinction in Trinitarian theology between *ousia*, used to refer to the oneness of the Godhead, and *hypostasis*, used to designate Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. *Hypostasis* is distinguished from *ousia* by characteristic *properties* (*idiômata*). The Synod of Chalcedon in 451 made a distinction between *hypostasis* and *physis* (nature) to affirm that in Christ both the divine and human natures are united in a single *hypostasis* and *prosôpon* (person). Later, defenders of Chalcedon sought to bring these two distinctions together, so that there would be a uniform terminology in both Trinitarian theology and Christology: the two distinctions – between *hypostasis* and *ousia* and between *hypostasis* and *physis*- were to be regarded as identical. This clarification did not go uncontested: the opponents of Chalcedon resisted it with an array of arguments.

But this clarification of terminology focused on the term hypostasis as something more than simply an instance of some universal kind (such as humankind), a discussion that involved an exploration of what constituted 'difference', the nature of qualities, and so on. The first three chapters of the *Elementary Introduction* with their categorical identification of 'essence' with nature and form, of *hypostasis* with person and indi-

vidual, and of 'difference' with qualities and property, represent an attempt to lay down the basic ground rules for an understanding of the notion of person, or *hypostasis*. The next four chapters introduce some of the terms involved in this endeavour. The seventh century saw an attempt at final reconciliation with Monophysites, in the doctrines of Monoenergism and Monothelitism—the theories that Christ's unity constituted by a single divine-human activity (*energia*) or by a single divine will (*thelêma*) respectively. Much of this discussion revolved around what could be meant by the divine Logos submitting to external effects ('suffering' in the widest sense). The terms used to elucidate these issues are defined in the last three chapters of the *Elementary Introduction*. This set of ten chapters is much focused: a very basic introduction to the terms needed for the theological arguments still raging at the time of John of Damascus.

iv. Libellus on the Right Opinion[286]

This small book is considered by Chase (1958: xxi) as a profession of faith composed at the request of Peter of Damascus for a Monothelite bishop—Eliah of *Yabrûd*—who returned to Orthodoxy. Particular stress is laid on the twofold nature and operation of Christ.

v. The Exposition and Profession of Faith[287]

This has come down to us reveals Chase (1958: xxi), only in an Arabic translation, of which Migne reproduces the Latin version given in Lequien's edition of the *Works*. The Arabic translation was made by a certain Anthony who was a superior at the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites near Antioch sometime during the twelfth century and who translated many of the Damascene's works into Arabic. The authenticity of the *Exposition of the Faith* has been questioned, but there seems to be

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[286] See PG 94, col. 1421–1432 with the title *Λιβελλος περι ὀρθούφρόύματος* □
[287] See PG 95, col. 417–436.

no good reason for doubt. Internal evidence alone would seem to offer sufficient proof of the genuineness of its authorship. If it is genuine, then it is the profession of faith made by John of Damascus on the occasion of his ordination to the priesthood. Its importance for determining the chronology of the Damascene's life has already been discussed.

vi. On the Holy Trinity

In PG 95, col. 9–18, this work is entitled *Περι τής άγιας τριαδος*. It is a concise summary of the Damascene's teaching on the Trinity, including that of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father through the Son. It is given in question and answer form.

4.2.3.2 Polemical Oeuvres

i. Presentation of these works

Nasrallah remarks that in general (1950: 140) the polemical works of John of Damascus are evidence of the preoccupation of the Eastern Christian Church with its many internal and external enemies. Even when the adversaries of the Trinity[288]—Arius, Sabellius, and Eunomius—were respectively defeated by Athanasios of Alexandria (295–373), Basil (329/330–379) and the adversaries of the Incarnation were still powerful and numerous. To face them, John of Damascus wrote a polemic attack that focused on questions of Christian faith. That is the reason why polemical works must sometimes be assimilated as dogmatic. Below follows the most relevant John of Damascus' polemic works.

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[288] For useful information on these heresies: 1. Arianism, see JWC Wand (1955: 38–62); CS Clifton (1992: 14–15); H. Belloc (1968: 31–69); 2. Sabellianism or Monarchianism, see C. S. Clifton (1992: 97).

ii. The Three Apologetic Discourses against the Attackers of the Holy Images (PG 94, col. 1231–1420, Λογοιαμολογητικοι προςτουςδισ διαβαλλοντας τας αγιας εικονας).

As Chase reveals (1958: xviii), internal evidence shows the first was written before 729, and the second and the third not earlier than 729 or later than 730. Schönborn (1994: 20), locates and describes these three Discourses as follows:

> 'Dès le début de la querelle, peu après 730 (date de l'édit de Léon III), Jean rédige un premier discours, en forme de plaidoyer accompagné d'un florilège: il s'agissait de réfuter les arguments des iconoclastes et de démontrer que le culte des images était une tradition bien établie depuis l'origine. Ce discours est la première synthèse en forme sur le sujet. Des réactions à ce premier discours, auxquelles fait allusion le préambule du second, l'amènent très vite à remanier, préciser, compléter son œuvre, ce qui donne la seconde version de sa défense des images, ou second discours. Enfin, vers la fin de sa vie, devant le développement de la crise sous Constantin V, Jean reprend une troisième fois ce discours, s'efforçant de lui donner une forme plus argumentée, et augmentant considérablement son Florilège. Une trentaine de manuscrits de cette oeuvre nous sont parvenus, mais les trois discours se trouvent rarement réunis. Un seul manuscrit, en fait, les contient tous les trois: le Neapolis 54 (II B 16), du xiiie s. C'est ce manuscrit qui a servi de base à l'édition de Kotter.'[289]

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[289] That is to say: 'Since the beginning of the controversy, near 730 (date of Leon III's edict) John writes a first discourse in the form of an apology accompanied by a *florilège*: we have to refute the Iconoclast arguments and to demonstrate that the cult of icons was an ecclesiatic tradition which was well established from the beginning. This discourse is the first synthesis in form concerning this question. Reactions to this first discourse which alluded to the *préambule* of his second version, forced him to revise and write the second version of

In general, these threediscourses contain a sound dogmatic defence of the veneration of the holy images, each concluding with an impressive series of patristic testimonies. The last two are to some extent repetitions of the first. Through all of this, John of Damascus focuses his defence on the Scripture, Tradition, and reason. Besides these apologies against the Iconoclasts, the Damascene found it necessary to write other works against still more heresies.[290] Monophysitism, which had been suppressed under the imperial rule, was now free to flourish in Syria under the Arabs. The Monophysites of the time were known by several names: Jacobites, after the founder of their hierarchy; James Baradeceus, had been clandestinely consecrated in 543 through the contrivance of Empress Theodora; Severians, from the name of an originally extreme but very small group, which by the eighth century had become the dominating Monophysite party. The Nestorians had long been safely established in Persia, well out of reach of the Greek emperors.

iii. The Short Disputation with a Manichaean (PG 96, col. 1319–1336 Διαλεξις ᾿Ιωαννου ορθοδοξουπροςΜανιχαιον) and the Much Longer Dialogue against the Manichaeans (PG94, col. 1505–1584 Κατα Μανιχαιον Διαλογος)

All of these were directed against the Paulicians or the Neo-Manichaeans who infiltrated all Asia Minor and the East. We must re-

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his apology of icons, or second discourse. Finally, towards the end of his life, before the expansion of the crisis (iconoclasm) under Constantin V, John rewrote this discourse for the third time and did his best to give his discourse more breadth. More than thirty manuscripts of these three discourses are available until now, but never these three discouses put together. Only one manuscript contains all the three manuscripts: the *Neapolis* 54 (II B 16), of the 13th Century. That is the manuscript B Kotter used for his edition.

[290] See, for more detailed information on these heresies during the John of Damascus' epoch, *infra* at 4.4.

call, states Chase (1958: xix), that with the Arabs in Syria and Palestine, there was nothing to prevent them from penetrating into these former imperial territories. These were also directed against Manicheans. Among other things, they contain important discussions on the nature of God, the problem of evil, and the reconciliation of God's foreknowledge with the freedom of human will. Both are in the popular dialogue form.

iv. A Most Exact Dissertation against the Heresy of the Nestorians (PG 95, col. 187–224 Κατα της αιρεσειων Νεστοριάνων) and On the Faith against the Nestorians

These two works were directed against the Nestorians. The first is a very clear discussion and proof of the Catholic doctrine of the duality of the natures and unity of the person of Christ, based upon Scripture and the Creed. The second has only fairly recently been brought to light and published.

v. On the Composite Nature against the Acephali (PG 95, col. 111–125 Περι συνθετουφυσεως κατα ακεφαλων)

It was directed against the Monophysites and contains the central Christological teaching of John of Damascus. In fact, this work shows how in Christ there is not one composite nature but one person in two natures.

vi. Letter on the Thrice Holy Hymn against Trisagion (Περι Του Τρισαγιου υμου)

Through this work, John of Damascus protests the addition that the Monophysites had made to the *Trisagion*. Indeed, to the formulation 'to Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us', the Monophysites added 'who wast crucified for us', thus applying the *Trisagion* not to the Trinity but to the Second Person alone.

vii. The Tome against the Jacobites (PG 94, col. 1435–1502)

This consists of the long letter written by John of Damascus in the name of Peter, Bishop of Damascus, to a certain Jacobite bishop in view of his conversion. It contains a clear demonstration of the truth of the Catholic doctrine of the two distinct natures in Christ and the absurdity of the Monophysite doctrine of the one nature after the union.

viii. On the Two Wills and Operations (PG 95, col. 127–186 Περι των Χριστωνδυοθεληματωνκαι ενεργείωνκαι λοιμώιδιοματω)

It is an outstanding work against the Monothelites who, while admitting two natures in Christ, would not admit to more than one will and operation; it is a concise and lucid discussion of person and nature and the consequences of two natures in one person all upon purely philosophical grounds but with confirmation from Scripture.

ix. Disputation between a Saracen and a Christian (PG 96, col. 1335–1348 Διαλεξις Σαρακννου και Χριστιανου).

Even if its authenticity, asserts Louth (2002: 77), is still questioned,[291] this work is principally concerned with the refutation of fatalism and the defence of the doctrine of the Incarnation.

x. On Dragons and On Witches (PG 94, col. 1599–1604)

Before leaving the works of a polemical nature it is necessary to mention two short but interesting fragments which, asserts Chase (1958: xx), were probably a part of some extensive work against the popular

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[291] For a more extended discussion of the authenticity of this work, see Kotter (1981) iv: 420–421; Le Coz (1992: 1993–203); Sahas 1972 *passim*. Furthermore, Louth sustains the hypothesis that it is plausible that the *Dispute*is based on John's oral teaching and was not written by John himself.

superstitions of the Saracens and the Jews. In these, he appeals in a very natural way to ordinary common sense.

4.2.3.3 Exegetical works

According to Chase (1959: xxii-xxiii), the only extant exegetical work of John of Damascus is an extensive commentary on the Pauline epistles, entitled *Chosen Selections from the Universal Commentary of John Chrysostom* (PG 95, col. 439–1034). As its title indicates, the material for this exegetical work is drawn principally from the homilies of St. John Chrysostom and from the interpretations of Theodoret of Chyroas, states Nasrallah (1950:148). Consequently, it has little to offer which is the author's own work. Far more important than the exegetical works are his moral and ascetical works.

4.2.3.4 Moral and Ascetical works

This group consists of the following works: Sacred Parallels[292] (Τα ιερα παραλληλα), Eight Spirits of Evil (ΠεριΤωνοκτω της πονηνηριαςπν ευματων), The Virtues and Vices of the Soul and Body (Περι αρετω και κακιων φυχικων και σωμρτικων), and the Holy Fasts (ΠεριΤων αργιών νηστειων). In fact, remarks Chase (1958: xxi-xxii), the work Sacred Parallels is of a moral rather than a dogmatic nature and has come down to us in two renditions under the title of Sacred Parallels. This was originally an immense, carefully arranged and indexed collection of scriptural and patristic texts that illustrate almost every aspect of Christian moral and ascetic teaching.

It may well have been composed as a moral companion to the dogmatic *Fount of Knowledge*. The patristic texts are drawn from almost all the Greek Fathers, both ante- and post-Nicene. Even the two great Jews,

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[292] PG 95, col. 1041–1588 and PG, 96, col. 9–442 give the longer version; the shorter known as the *Parallela Rupefucaldina*, is in PG 96, col. 441–544. In addition, certain scholars deny that John of Damascus could be the author of the *Sacred Parallels*.

Philo and Josephus, are quoted. The two renditions which we have of this work do not represent the original work of the Damascene, but only that of compilers who have drawn upon the original as they saw fit; however, even in its present reduced and mutilated form, the work still has great practical value. Fortunately, we have the original introduction (PG 95, col. 1041–1044) and from this we know the original plan of the whole work. It was, states Jugie (1924:702), divided into three books, of which the first dealt with God, one and triune; the second, of man and the human state; and the third, of virtues and vices. The title given by the author himself was *Sacred Things*, that is, 'Sacred Sayings', but because of the manner of presenting the virtues in Book 3, each with its parallel vice, the work came to be known as *Sacred Parallels*. Another moral work is the *Eight Sprits of Evil (*PG 95, col. 79–84) which is addressed to monks and deals with of the eight vices[293] which so particularly beset them and with which the Greek ascetic writers have always been so especially preoccupied. *The Virtues and Vices of the Soul and Body (*PG 95, col. 85–98) seems to be an enlargement of the preceding work. It may be the result of the Damascene's practice of revising his works in later life. Still another work of a moral nature is the *Holy Fasts* (PG 95, col. 63–78), written to a brother monk on the subject of the keeping of the Lenten fast.

4.2.3.5 Liturgical works: Homilies and Hymns

i. Presentation of these works

As the modern Greek philosopher Christos Yannaras (1991: 17) has said: 'The apophatic attitude leads Christian theology to use the language of poetry and images for the interpretation of dogmas much more than the language of conventional logic and schematic concepts. " In the

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[293] These are: fondness, lust, miserliness, sadness, anger, laziness, futile glory, and pride (see Jugie [1924: 703]).

case of John of Damascus, asserts Louth (2002: 223), it is rather the case that he uses both equally: the language of poetry and images, and the language of conventional logic and schematic concepts. In fact, as an excellent and fluent preacher – Χρυσορροας: 'flowing gold' – John of Damascus, in his homilies, and in his liturgical poetry, expresses his faith in terms of imagery. As we shall see notes Louth (2002:223), this is not at the expense of precise conceptual terminology; rather, the two forms of expression—images and poetry—complement each other. This has long been recognized. Basil Studer (1956: 15), in his monograph on John of Damascus' theological method, remarked that 'not only his songs, but also his sermons,[294] particularly those on the fasts, the Transfiguration and the Dormition of the Mother of God, give eloquent witness of his poetry powers, even if there are models for these sermons.' Moreover, reveals Louth (2002: 253), with his epithet of 'Γλυκορρήμων' ('sweetly speaking'), John of Damascene was the Poet. After this short overview of these works, it would be wise for us to look

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[294] According to Chase (1958: xxiii-xxiv), there are thirteen extant homilies which are attributed to John of Damascus, but of these, only nine are certainly authentic. The one authentic *Homily on the Nativity of Our Lady* (PG 96, col. 661–680) and the three *Homilies on the Dormition* (PG 96, col. 697–762) give precious testimony on the fundamental points of Mariological doctrine. Alone, these two works would merit bestowing the title of Doctor of Mary upon the Damascene. On Our Lord, there are two authentic homilies, one on the *Transfiguration (*PG 96, col. 545–576) and one on *Holy Saturday* (PG 96, col. 601–644). In both of these, the Damascene appears at his best, the eloquent preacher and profound theologian. John of Damascus was a preacher of the first order and, although his style is at times more effusive and exalted, he may be said to rank with the great Chrysostom. His sermons have not only great literary value, but dogmatic as well. In them we find, in a different form, the same teachings on the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Virgin Mother of God as we find in the more sober and didactic *Fount of Knowledge*.

at the two hats he wore, those of preacher [295] and poet. Indeed, the Preacher corresponds to his homilies, and the Poet to his hymns.

ii. Homilies

What was the prehistory of the use of homilies in Christian preaching and tradition in order that John of Damascus should make use of it? In fact, Louth (2002: 224–226) replies to this question by giving the nature of John's preaching, and specifying the place of this Father of Church in the history of Christian preaching. It is described by Cunningham and Allen (1998) as follows:

> 'Before looking at John's homilies, we should perhaps attempt to place him in the history of Christian preaching. The evidence of the first five or six centuries of Christianity makes clear the importance that Christians attached to preaching. The ministry of Jesus is presented in the Gospels as a ministry of preaching and healing, and a similar picture of the apostolic mission emerges from the Acts of the Apostles. There we see the Apostles preaching in synagogues and also in specifically Christian gatherings, as well as in public places. Justin Martyr makes it clear that in the middle of the second century the president of the Eucharistic assembly preached after readings from the Prophets and the Apostles (Justin Martyr I *Apol.* 67.4). The works of the Fathers bear witness to the importance of preaching. In the third century, Origen, through only a presbyter, preached, and many of homilies survived. From the fourth and fifth centuries, very many

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[295] Concerning this epithet, states Louth (2002: 224), it is clear from the references to John Damascene in Theophanes' *Chronicle* that, in his time, John had acquired a substantial reputation as a preacher. First Theophanes always calls him John *Chrysorrhoas*, and explains the epithet 'flowing with gold' as referring to his fame as a preacher. The same epithet is used as a variant of the more usual *chrysostomos*, of John Chrysostom himself.

Christian homilies survive, both ordinary homilies for Sundays, and even weekdays, and special homilies for dedication festivals (the earliest extant perhaps being Euseubios's homily at the dedication of the new basilica in Tyre, built after the end of the Great Persecution, preserved in his *Church History,* x. 4), for saints' days (especially for the translation of their relics), and those preached to catechumens (notably those of Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia). In many cases homilies constitute the principal genre through which the Fathers expressed their theology, this is the case of John Chrysostom (who composed little else), Augustine (whose extant homilies bulk larger in his corpus than the better-known treatises), and Gregory Nazianzus (whose verse, however, rivals his homilies in quantity).Many of the great patristic preachers had been highly trained as secular rhetors, and carried their classical training over to this new genre. It is clear that it was normal for such homilies to be delivered *ex tempore*, though the texts that survive have usually been prepared for publication by their authors from versions taken down in shorthand. As time passed, the homily seems to have become more formalized (though it may simply be that every day homilies from later centuries have not been preserved, their significance fading before the great homilies of the likes of Chrysostom an Nazianzen; it is striking that later homilies that have survived tend to be for feasts and saints' days introduced after the time of the great patristic preachers). The late fifth and early sixth centuries saw the introduction of kontakion, [296] a verse sermon that is unlikely to have been deliv-

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[296] Even if the monasticism was initially opposed to singing, it is now held that this idea of monastic opposition to singing is a later development, as there are no such stories from the early Desert Fathers. Nevertheless, the first form of liturgical poetry to develop in the Byzantine world emerged not in the monastic office,

ered *ex tempore*. The kontakion, once composed, was repeated
yearly as the feast for which it had been prepared returned year
by year. Later sermons, like John's, seem to have been composed
in a high, poetic style, and preserved for repeated liturgical use.
Such formalization of the homily in the Byzantine world, turning
it from a free composition into a liturgical or quasi-liturgical text,
finds later historical confirmation in the opposition which the
eleventh-twelfth-century Cypriot saint Neophytos of Paphos en-
countered, when he dared to preach in his own words.'

Furthermore, what homilies of John's do we now possess? Volume
5, states Louth (2002: 226), of Kotter's edition, containing '*opera homi-
litica et hagiographica',* prints fifteen items, five of which he judges
spurious. This leaves the following ten authentic homilies: a homily on
the figtree and the parable of the vineyard, a homily for Holy Saturday,
the passion of the great martyr Artemios, the praiseof the martyr St
Barbara, a homily on the Nativity of the Lord, the praise of John Chrys-
ostom, a homily on the Transfiguration of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and

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but in the services in the great city churches, in the so-called Cathedral Office
(see Taft 1986: 31–56, 165–190, quoted by Louth 2002: 253). This was the
konation, a kind of verse sermon, which formed part of the vigil service for
Sundays and great feasts and during Lent. Its origins appears to be Syrian, and
its first great exponent—indeed, the greatest composer of *kontakia* was Ro-
manosthe Melodist, a native of Emesa (modern Hims in Syria), who spent most
of his adult life in Constantinople, his time there coinciding with the reign of
Emperor Justinian The name for this kind of liturgical verse, kontakion, is late,
not found before the ninth century, and those who composed these verses called
them hymns or psalms, poems, songs, praises, or prayers. The form of the kon-
takion consists of an initial stanza, called in Greek the *koukoulion,* followed by a
number of longer stanzas, all in identical metre, called *oikoi* ('houses', a term
used in Syria for stanzas or liturgical poetry, the modern transliteration of *oikos*
is *ikos,* which is more commonly used) (see Louth 2002: 253).

three homilies on the Dormition of Mary the Mother of God.[297] All these are preserved in Greek, and were presumably delivered in Greek. Nevertheless, where were they preached? There is, says Louth (2002: 226), hardly any evidence from the homilies themselves as to where they were preached, exceptfor what clues can be gleaned from the nature of the audience, and similarly there is little more evidence as to when they were preached except in terms of liturgical time.

Concerning the three homilies on the Dormition which, reveals Louth (2002: 232), were originally given in the course of an 'all-night' (John speaks of *pannychoi statis),* we note that the first homily was given while 'the rays of light were fading' (*Dorm*. I. 4.5). The second homily speaks of honouring the Mother of God with 'all-night stations' (*Dorm*. II. 16.2). His third homily mentions that he is looking forward to breakfast (*Dorm*. III. 1.6). Relating to the homily on the Transfiguration[298] of the Lord, it takes place, says Coune (1985: 187–207), in a long tradition of interpretation of the Gospel mystery. Indeed, from the very beginning, this mystery held a particular fascination forthe Fathers: Ireneaus's famous assertion – *Gloria enim Dei vivens hom, vita autem hominis visio Dei,* 'the glory of God is living as a human being, and a truly human life in the vision of God' (Ireneaus, *Haer*. *iv*. 20.7) – occurs in a chapter in which, without explicitly mentioning the Transfiguration, Irenaeus draws together all the themes brought into focus in this mystery: the unknown aspect of God, his manifestation in the Incarnation, and the transformation of the body seen there and offered to those who acknowledge the manifested glory.

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[297] For Louth (2002: 226), Kotter's objections to this homily included by Voulet (1961, *passim*) and Nellas (1995, *passim*) in their editions of John's Marian homilies do not seem to him conclusive.

[298] For a collection of the texts in French translation, illustrating the history of the interpretation of the *Transfiguration*, McGuckin (1986) contains a wide selection of texts translated into English on the Transfiguration. There is a French translation of John's homily in Rozemond (1959: 93–103.)

It is already apparent that, as they seek to understand the Transfiguration, the Fathers are not talking about an event confined to the life of Jesus, but about an event known and experienced in the life of the Church. Therefore, we read in the late fourth century in the Macarian Homilies: 'as the body of the Lord was glorified, when He went up into the mountain and was transfigured in the divine glory and the infinite light, so are the bodies of the saints glorified and shine like lightning' (see Dörries   et al. 1941: 149).

In the Greek tradition, Origen established the pattern of interpretation of the Transfiguration. For, explains Louth (2002: 234), certain features of the Gospel account were significant. For Origen, states Louth (2002: 234), 'the Transfiguration was seen, then, as the summit of the Christian experience of Christ, and the Apostles could provide insights as to the qualities required … The Transfiguration has a sense of a 'lofty spiritual experience'. The face of Jesus, 'altered' (Luke 9, 29) or 'shining like the sun' (Matt 17, 2), and his garments, radiantly white, all needing interpretation: the shining face indicates that the transfigured Lord appears only to 'the children of light', while the whitened garments indicate the transparency of the Scriptures to those of a real and deep spiritual experience.

Furthermore, Origen's interpretation of the Transfiguration, remarks Louth (2002: 235), provided a basis for later interpretations. However, these could take very different forms. Eusebios of Cæsarea, the Church, used the Transfiguration to respond to a request from the Emperor Constantine's sister, Constantia, for a picture of the Lord. This, he says, is not possible, for Christ is now raised, so his bodily form is now transfigured, and even the disciples could not bear to look at the transfigured Lord. Such an interpretation was probably unusual, but the latter became part of the arsenal of the iconoclasts (probably later, as John seems not to have known of it).

After this background for John of Damascus' interpretation of the Transfiguration in his homily, let us move to its content. In fact, in this homily, John of Damascus displays his skills both rhetorical and theological. It is addressed to what seems to be a monastic congregation (*philotheon systêma*: *Transfig*. I. I), and is punctuated by appeals to them to celebrate the mystery of the Transfiguration and meditate on its meaning. Where John of Damascus excels is in his theological meditations, principally on the Trinity and Christology. His theology is expressed with precision, much as we find it in *On the Orthodox Faith.* This long homily which 'all ages have thought a competency', remarks Herbert (1941: 235), is a slow-moving, meditative sermon full of repetition, which enables complex theological considerations to be developed. It moves back and forth from image to idea, building up before the minds of his congregation the implications of what is involved in the whole tableau of the Transfiguration. It is, in fact, a kind of audible icon, in which biblical imagery and the technical terminology of Chalcedonian theology are used to draw out the significance of the subject of our contemplation; the transfigured Christ. Here, in the contemplation of Christ, as Keetje Rozemond rightly remarks, we are at the heart of John's Christology. Moreover, with reference to the *Homilies on the Dormition of the Mother of God,* as previously noted, the three homilies on the Dormition (or Koimesis, or falling asleep) of the Mother[299] of God were delivered as a trio, as part of an all-night-vigil, and the three

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[299] For detailed analysis of John of Damascus' Mariology in general, see Chevalier 1936, and for the Homilies on Dormition in particular, see *idem*. p. 83–93, 198–206. Indeed, Chevalier's research, as do many Roman Catholic works on Mariology published between the proclamation of the two Marian dogmas in 1854 and 1950, suffers from a tendency to read back later developments; but he draws widely on the words on the Damascene, and gathers a great deal of material (see Louth 2002: 243); and *Saint Jean Damascène: Homélies sur la Nativité et la Dormition.* Texte grec, Introduction et Notes par P Voulet. (1961) Paris: Cerf.

homilies themselves give evidence of the demands of such a strenuous occasion. They are among the most carefully crafted of his homilies, with regular use of rhetorical devices to considerable dramatic and theological effect: the rhetoric reflects the theological reality it is expounding. The structure of the homilies, taken as a trio, is very significant: the first homily is mainly concerned with the Incarnation, including the events of Mary's life that lead up to the Nativity of the Lord – especially her Presentation in the Temple and the Annunciation, and prophetic signs of the Incarnation. The second homily moves to the event of the Dormition and Assumption itself, and its theology is based on the fact of Mary's perpetual virginity, an entailment of the Incarnation already drawn out in the first homily. The third homily is a celebration of the Assumption via the metaphor of Mary as the ark that bears God and a tapestry of elaborate imagery.[300] The theological exposition is supported by imagery that drew its inspiration almost entirely from the Old Testament (and already current in Byzantine poetry, not least in the Akathist Hymn[301] and the canon that accompanies it liturgically). Another striking feature of these homilies is that John of Damascus makes use of the Song of Songs in relation to Mary.[302] Although, notes Louth (2002: 244), the tradition into which John of Damascus enters in his homilies

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[300] On the use of density of imagery in the homily on the Dormition, see Daley 1998, which contains also fine translations of early homilies on the Dormition and an excellent introduction.

[301] According to Louth (2002: 246), the Akathist hymn speaks of Mary as ladder, bridge, (tilled) ground, table, tabernacle, ark, treasury, and bridal chamber; in addition, the canon that accompanies the hymn (somewhat later than it appears, is perhaps more nearly contemporary with John) uses images of the queen, the fiery throne of the Almighty, the source of living water, rose, apple, lily, city, fleece (in this case Gideon's), Eden, dove, and the dwelling-place of light.

[302] According to Matter (1990), quoted by Louth (2002: 244), such use is often alleged to be less common in the Byzantine East than in the Latin West; and it is certainly true that the veritable explosion of commentaries on the Song in the twelfth century in the West had no parallel in the East.

on the Dormition does not stretch back as far, historically, as the meditation on the century, around the time when the Emperor Maurice decreed that 15 August was to be observed as the feast of the Dormition—it is scarcely less developed, for the themes of the feast are clearly stated in the earlier homilies that survived. Development meant more imagery, rather than new ideas. A more significant tradition is that of the devotion to the Mother of God. What can be tracked accurately[303] is that from the fifth century onwards, and especially after the Synod of Ephesus, ecumenical authority was given to her title of *Theotokos*, and devotion to the Mother of God[304] gained wider and wider expression. This expression took the form of icons, hymns and liturgical poetical forms such as the kontakion (a fine example of the latter is the work of Romanos Melodist.) Regarding the content of these three homilies we must not look at the following as Louth (2002: 244–249) detailed it. In fact, the first homily begins with three biblical quotations, one each from Proverbs and Psalms which bear directly on the death of the saints (Prov. 10, 7 and Ps. 115, 6), and another rather different one from the Psalms— 'Glorious things are spoken of you, city of God' (Ps. 86, 3). The city of God, the dwelling-place of God, is the Mother of God herself, who 'alone truly contained, uncircumscribably and in a way transcending nature and being, the Word of God who is beyond being. '

After a brief apostrophe to Mary herself, John embarks on a brief, profound exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, in an apostrophe addressed to Christ (*Dorm. I. 3).* In the dialogue John moves between

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[303] For the earliest prayerto the Mother of God, which has been preserved on Papyrus John Rylandsno. 470, must be dated no later than the early fourth century. For more information concerning it, see Mercenier 1939, and Stegmüller 1952.

[304] For other useful information on Mariology, see A. Stacpoole (1982) *Mary's Place in Christian Dialogue,* Middlegrenm St. Paul Publications; Jean Damascène *Homélies sur la Nativité et la Dormition.* Texte grec, Introduction, Traduction et Notes, par P. Voulet (1961), Paris, Cerf.

Mary and the angel (*Dorm. I. 7.29–32).* Then follows an apostrophe to
Mary using a series of titles; the royal throne, the spiritual (*noêtê*) Eden.
The one born of Mary is called the flame of divinity, the 'definition and
Word of the Father' (an expression from one of Gregory Nazianzus's
homilies), the manna, the unknown name 'that is above every name'
(Phil. 2, 9), the eternal and unapproachable light, the heavenly bread of
heaven, the uncultivated fruit. John then says that the fire of the furnace,
a fire at once dewy and burning (*per drosizon hama kai phlogizon*),
prefigured Mary—the furnace of the three holy children (Dan. 3, 49–50).
Like the concepts of John Donne, this concept of the Damascene gives a
precise statement of (in this case) christological doctrine through image-
ry astutely perceived. John then introduces the image of Jacob's ladder –
as if he had nearly forgotten it—and passes on to consider other imagery
provided by the oracles of prophets. There is the fleece on which the
Son of God descended like rain (Ps. 71,6), the conception of the virgin
foretold by Isaiah (Is. 7,14), the mountain, 'out of which the corner-
stone, Christ, is cut without human hand' (Dan. 2,34,44, also Isa. 28,16,
Ps. 117,22, Luke 20,17, and Eph. 2,20) – 'Is not this the virgin who
conceived without seed and remained a virgin?' (*Dorm*. I. 9.). The sec-
ond and the third homilies are built on this basis. The second homily
focuses on the account of the Assumption itself, based on traditions that
have been handed down 'from father to child' (*Dorm. II. 4.4),* presuma-
bly in Jerusalem, where John may have been preaching. John dwells on
the reality of the Incarnation and the divine motherhood, to which there
corresponds the reality of Assumption that will lead to a *prosopopeia* of
the tomb, which had become a source of grace: as in Christ's case, the
same will be for his mother (*Dorm. II. 17).* In between the tomb's words
and the response of John and his audience, long extracts have been in-
corporated in all the manuscripts and explicitly a long extract from the
Euthymiac History, which itself is linked with the legend of the discov-
ery of the robe of the Virgin.

Nevertheless, it is so evidently an interpolation that we can omit any consideration of it here. The response of John and his audience to the tomb ends the homily. The final homily is very brief, and expressed almost entirely in terms of encomiastic imagery. He begins by saying that it is not difficult to give a third homily in one night on the Dormition of the Mother of God, for lovers always have the name of their beloved on their lips, and pictures of her in their minds day and night. It is a celebration and reminder of the earlier homilies: the imagery is the same, there are the same *anaphorae*, including another one as the base. This final homily ends with an elaborate encomium of the Mother of God. From this account, concludes Louth (2002: 249), it will be evident that John expresses his theology in these homilies in a way that, far from aspiring to the condition of an anthology of words, he aspires rather to that of poetry, but poetry that is expressed as precisely as any prose, a carefully formulated doctrine of the Incarnation. How did John of Damascus organize his poetic writing?

iii. Hymns

We have noted what a respected preacher John of Damascus was during his lifetime, but Louth points out that he (2002: 252) enjoyed fame for his liturgical poetry. Several learned scholars were aware of his *On Orthodox Faith*, and even fewer knew of his polemical works, his introduction to logic, and his sermons, but everyone in the Byzantine world knew John's great Easter canon, 'The Day of Resurrection' (*Anastaseôs hêmera),* sung at midnight as part of the Easter Vigil and knew that it was John's work. In addition, any singer or *psaltes* knew that many pieces were attributed to John because they genuinely originated from him. Such was his fame as a liturgical writer that a few centuries after his death, he was thought of as the liturgical poet and credited with the whole of the *Paraklitiki* – the book of the service that the Byzantine liturgical year follows. This widespread recognition of John of Damas-

cus as a prolific composer of hymns appears in the *Second Sticheron* at vespers on the feast of St John Damascene:

> 'What shall I call you, divine sweetly speaking John: most radi-
> ant star, one whose sight is illuminated by the lightning flash of
> the Trinity? You entered into the dark cloud of the Spirit; you
> were initiated into the ineffable mysteries of the Divine; like Mo-
> ses you made things clear in the beautiful language of the Muses.
> Intercede that our souls may be saved.'

It is with this epithet that John of Damascus is named 'sweet speak-
er' (*glukossêmon*). Our concern, however, is with John of Damascus and his liturgical poetry. Eustratiades (1931: 500) characterizes John's poeti-
cal gifts in these terms:

> 'He does not have the spontaneity nor the lyricism of Romanos
> or Cosmas, but there is sweetness in his rhythm and diction and
> simplicity in his description. His lyre is inspired by the life-
> giving tomb and floods the souls of Christians with joy and hap-
> piness. The resurrection of the Lord is the subject of his greatest
> song, and his grace-filled flute plays about it.'

What is said above, notes Louth (2002: 257), echoes the sweetness of his poetry, and the clarity of its description. In the latter case, compar-
ing John of Damascus to Moses, who is seen less as lawgiver and prophet, or the one who recounted the creation of the world, than as one who expressed himself through songs. In particular the songs that consti-
tuted the two odes.[305] We shall examine this further shortly, as this sub-

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[305] From the time of John of Damascus, reveals Louth (2002: 254), there devel-
oped another form of liturgical poetry, called the canon. This formed part of the monastic vigil service, which included the singing of the nine biblical odes, or canticles, which are normally included in psalters after the psalms, and therefore printed after the psalms in editions of the Septuagint. These nine odes are: 1. The Song of Moses (Exod. 15, 1–19); 2. The Song of Moses (Deut. 3,1–430; 3.

section is devoted to an exploration of the the three canons of John of Damascus, namely, his most famous canon, the 'Queen of Canons', the canon for *Pascha*, and then the canons devoted to those mysteries we have to explore in his homilies, the Transfiguration of the Lord and the Dormition of the Mother of God. John of Damascus, relates Louth (2002: 258), did, in fact, compose liturgical verse in forms other than the canon; Eustratiades[306] lists as authentic many *irmoi*, a great number of *troparia* for Easter and the week following ('Bright Week' or the 'Week of Renewal').Most of these have not found their way into the service books, 'dogmatic *theokotia'* (*troparia* to the Mother of God that praise her in elaborately theological reflections on the Incarnation), other *troparia* in honour of the Mother of God, and many of the so-called *ana-*

The Song of Anna or Hanna (I KGD. [I Sam.] 2, 1–10); 4. The Prayer of Avvakum or Habakkuk (Hab. 3, 1–19); 5.The Prayer of Isaias (Isa. 26, 9–20); 6.The Prayer of Jonas (Jonas 2, 3–10); 7.The Prayer of the Three Holy Children (Dan. 3, 1–26–56 (LXX); 8. The Song of the Three Holy Children (the 'Benedicite') (Dan. 3, 57–88 (LXX) and three further verses ('Blessed are the Lord, Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs of the Lord, praise him and exalt him to the ages. Let us bless the Lord, Father, Son and Holy Spirit; Let us praise and exalt him to the ages. Let us praise, bless and worship the Lord, praising him and exalting him to the ages'); 9. The Song of the Mother of God (the *Magnificat)* (Luke 1, 46–55), and the Song of Zacharias (the *Benedictus*) (Luke 1, 68–79).

[306] From Nasrallah (1950: 151–157) we learn that John of Damascus'hymnographical *œuvre* is rich and varied. His compositions are of two kinds: metric hymns and others are attached to the rhythmic poetry. According to Eustratiadis, quoted in Nasrallah (1950: 152), John of Damascus composed 531 irmoi, 75 monologue canons, 15 canons for the *Parakletiké*, 454 idiomèles, 138 *stichères prosomii*, 13 s*tichère*s for mortuaries, and 181 *stichères anatolikoi* (see Laïly 1950: 86). Moreover, for Khawam (1987: 38), John of Damascus composed around 500 *troparia,* 100 canons, 400 *idiolmèles*, and 250 hymns with adapted melody. Indeed, a *troparia* according to Khawam (1987: 35) is a poetic composition, a development of an actual theological idea of an imitation of a biblical verse (*tropos).* This poetic genre has been detached with the Psalm. *Irmoi* is the musical type to imitate.

*tolika, troparia*are interspersed in the set psalms for vespers on Saturday and lauds on Sunday. It is in the canons, however, that his poetic imagination gives most striking expression to his theological[307] insight.

In the light of this, we may detect John of Damascus' musical touch. It grants him, as a musician and a poet, the paternity of *Oktoèchos*which means, states Khawam (1987: 25), *'the eight times for the song' (les huit tons pour le chant)*.

To sum up, there flows through all these writings the theological system[308] of John of Damascus. That is why we intend to formulate succinctly the theological thought that he to face heresy.

4.3 The Theological System of John of Damascus

4.3.1. Preliminary

In view of the works of John of Damascus as detailed above, two main features must be noted concerning his theological thought: the preservation of patristic tradition and the use of other disciplines[309] to formulate theological theories. Indeed, as a theologian, remarks Flo-

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[307] The word 'theology', notes Khawam (1987: 112–113), was for the first time used in the Christian conception by Origen, who spoke on 'Persian theology' and 'Greek theology.' In fact, Origen fixed the Christian signification of the word 'theology' by affirming that it is 'the veritable doctrine upon God, the recognition of Christ as Savior and God, by defining the content of the Christian theology. '

[308] We owe this expression, 'theological system' to Florovsky (1987: 257–292). His scholarship deals with the theological thought of this last Greek Father of Oriental Christian Church.

[309] Through his theological writings, John of Damascus, notes Sahas (1972: 51), remained open to knowledge from various other disciplines and to the definitions of the 'outside' philosophers, as far as they could lead to anything 'worthy' and 'profitable to the soul', and he referred to these disciplines as servants of the 'queen' which is Truth.

rovsky (1987: 257), John of Damascus was a 'collector of patristic materials.' In fact, in the Father he saw 'God-inspired' teachers and 'God-bearing' pastors. For John of Damascus there can no contradiction among them: 'a father does not fight against the father, for all of them are communicants in a single Holy Spirit.' John of Damascus collected not the personal opinions of the fathers, but precise *patristic tradition.* 'An individual opinion is not a law for the Church, he writes, and then he repeats St. Gregory of Nazianzus: one swallow Church does not a summer make.' And one opinion can by no means overthrow the Church tradition from one end of the earth to the other (Florovsky 1987: 257). In addition, John of Damascus is closer to the Cappadocians and the *Corpus Areopagiticum*. The connection with the Cappadocians and with the 'Great Dionysius' [310] is proclaimed first of all in the very formulation of the question of God in the very first chapters of his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. Customarily, in addition, doctrinally, John of Damascus' theological system is contained through many Patristic books. [311]

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[310] According to Coss & Livingstone (1983: 405–407), historically speaking, eight figures named 'Dionysius' are known. (1) Dionysius the Areopagite. His conversion by Paul at Athens is recorded in Acts 17, 34. It is said that he must be the first bishop of the Church of Athens; (2) Dionysius (c. 170), bishop of Corinth; (3) Saint Dionysius of Paris (c. 250); (4) Donysius the Great, who died ca. 264, and was bishop of Alexandria (247–464). His importance rests on the writings evoked by many controversies in which he engaged. He decided to readmit the lapsed into the Church without the need to re-baptise heretics and schismatics, although he refused to break with the Churches which did so; (5) Dionysius, bishop of Rome (259–268); (6) Dionysius, the Pseudo-Areopagite (c. 500), a mystical theologian; (7) Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk who lived in Rome c. 500–550; (8) Dionysius the Carthusian (1402–1471), a theologian and mystic educated at the University of Cologne. He compiled a series of very extensive commentaries on the Old Testament and New Testament.

[311] At the beginning of his discussion of the doctrine or theology fond in John of Damascus' writings, Jugie (1924: 707–709), defines the merits of these works by refuting some epithets and affirmations falsely attached to his works. In his argumentation, Jugie certifies that this Father was not a compiler because he

We cannot claim to explore them fully here, but we intend to summarize them by following Jugie's scheme[312] with a few adjustments.

4.3.2 On the Trinity

John of Damascus notes Florovsky (1987: 257–259), begins with a confession of the inscrutability of the Godhead[313] and limits theological

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used a genial technique of condensing by producing a personal r*ésumé* of previous Fathers' teachings through his *Exposition of Truth Faith*, *Polemical writings, homilies, and hymns.* Jugie captures it in these words: '… It circulatesthrough Patristic books and somewhere else, certain affirmations which, after a serious reading of works of the holy doctor, seem to us not justified. It states first that John was a compiler. The term is convenient for certain of his works, such as the Commentary on Paul's epistles and the Sacred Parallels. It does not appear to be that for the 'Exposition of the Orthodox Faith', which is not a compilation but a personnel *resumé* of previous Fathers' teachings on the fundamental Christian dogmas, which shows hard work at assimilating and a genial effort to condense, in correct speech, clearly and specifically the revealed truths. His polemical works and homilies contained no trace of compilation. It is said that all the Damascene's theology is contained only in the 'De Fide Orthodoxa.' That is also not true, because other useful elements of his theology are also scattered through his other works. For example, in the Orthodox Faith we find nothing concerning the Primacyof Holy Peter, whereas this dogma ismarvellously expanded in the Homilyof the Transfiguration. It is also wrong to affirm that 'De Orthodoxa Fidei' contains the entire Greek Patristic heritage. We also exaggerate the importance that John gave to Philosophy in his works. It is true, however, that the Church Fathers and the Holy Books were the true sources of his thought.

[312] According to Jugie (1924: 707–748), that scheme consists of eighteen (18) items: 1. Metaphysics of Dogma; 2. Christian Demonstration; Sources of Revelation; 3. The Faith; 4. The Church; 5. *De Deo Uno*; 6. The Trinity; 7. The Creation; 8. Angelology; 9. The Human (Man); 10. Providence and Predestination; 11. Christology; 12. Soteriology; 13. Mariology; 14. Cult of Saints, relics and images; 15. Grace and the necessity of acts; 16. The Sacraments; 17. Eschatology; 18. Heresiology and the history of dogma.

inquisitiveness to the 'eternal bounds', the bounds of Revelation and 'God's tradition.' In addition, not everything cognizable can be expressed easily. The truth of God's existence is obvious, immutable and natural, and is understood by examining the world itself. But what God is 'in essence and nature'- this is beyond comprehension and knowledge. However, on the contrary, we can perceive with certain evidence what God is not. Firstly, negative definitions are possible. 'Through the negative of everything 'said about creation one thing is certain or sure': 'that in God one thing is comprehensible: his boundlessness and inscrutability. 'Secondly, there is knowledge of that which is not the very essence of God, but 'refers to nature'. Such are the definitions of God as Wise and Good. Positive names of this kind signify that God is the Author of everything in his creative revelation to the world, and these are transferred to God from his works. John of Damascus thus makes a distinction between apophatic and cataphatic theology[314]. Cataphatically, he speaks only of God's actions or 'energies', 'provided the cataphatic form does not conceal the apophatic meaning. Theological cataphatic thought must also always rely on the direct testimony of revelation. In his account of the doctrine of the Trinity, John of Damascus again repeats the Cappadocians, as well as most of Gregory of Nazianzus' in-

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[313] For relevent information on John of Damascus' theodicy, see P. Faucon, 'Infrastructures philosophiques de la théodicée de Jean Damascène', in *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (1985), p. 361–387.

[314] For Jugie (1924: 717), John of Damascus' Theodicy combines elements borrowed from different sources which are difficult to synthetise. Nevertheless, this Doctor derives the word *Theos (θεός)* from four etymologies. 1. Form the verb '*θώ' (τίθημι)* which means *compono and efficio:* God is the Author and Ordinator of every thing. 2. From the verb*θέειν* which means 'to run, to circle around all'. With this came acceptance that God is present everywhere. 3. From the verb *θεάσθαι*: to see. God sees all, and nothing escapes his view. 4. From the verb *αίθειν*: to heat, to burn. From this ethymology God is a fire which consumes or purifies all spite or malice (see *De fide orth.* 1.I, 9, col. 836–836–837, *De S. Trinit.,* 5, t. xcv, col. 16).

sistence on the ineffability and uncognizable reality of the Trinitarian mystery. 'Believe that God has three hypostases. But how? He is above any 'how'. For God is inscrutable. Do not say: 'how is the Trinity a Trinity, for the Trinity is not to be analyzed.' It is also impossible to even seek out a suitable image or example for comparison. 'But there is a Unity and a Trinity—there was, is, and will be forever, by faith it is known; and the more curiosity it arouses, the more it hides.' This does not mean, however, that the truth of Divine Unity [315] is indistinct or dumb for that reason.

On the contrary, it is in Trinitarian revelation that the contradictions of natural thought, which constantly waver between pagan polytheism and the stagnant monotheism of the Jews, are resolved. The antinomy is removed in synthesis: 'from the doctrine of the Jews comes the Unity of nature; from Hellenism comes the differences in hypostases'. Following the Cappadocians, John of Damascus speaks mostly about the difference of the hypostases. In God's single being the three hypostases are united without mixing or blending; they are 'inseparably, separated'- here is where the mystery lies. In this consists the incommensurable difference between Divine Existence and creation. In created existence and in reality, we see at once the difference of the hypostases or 'invisibles'; and then 'with the mind and thought' we perceive communality, connection, and unity. For in the world there exists only indivisibles, individuals, hypostases- and what is common which does not exist by itself, but only in many, is realized in them. This is based on Aristotle. Therefore, here we go back to what is secondarilycommon, singling out the identical, repeated characteristics or traits.

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[315] The Unity of God, states Jugie (1924: 718), is described in *De fide orth.,* 1.I, 5. This unity is defended with four brief arguments which are clearly and meta-physically developed through the great *Dialogue against Manichees* which was posterior to *De fide orthodoxa.* First of all, God's perfection, his immensity, his government of the world, and the principle of metaphysics: of that the unity is anterior to the plurality, and explains it.

In other words, creation is an area of real multitudinousness, in which we discover the common, the singular, the identical, the united, with our minds and numbers in the strict sense of the word: two, three, many. We must speak about God differently. God is one in essence, and is revealed as one. We believe in a single God: a single force, a single will, a single action, a single kingdom. We know the one God's unity as one and in reality.' We know the one God but with our thought we understand the difference of characteristics in the Godhead'- that is, the difference in hypostatic properties. In the one God, we 'comprehend' the Trinitarian differences, the very Tri-unity of he hypostases. We come to the hypostases, but we do not come from them; and we mentally come to them, not as separate 'individuals' or 'indivisibles' but as inseparably, unmixed 'eternal images of eternal existence.' We distinguish the hypostases only in thought (or in 'intellectual reflection'- *ἐπίνοια),* but this does not lessen their ontological irreducibility.

The word *ἐπίνοια* means the same thing in the thought of John of Damascus as it does in the thought of the Cappadocians: first of all a 'certain reflection, and an intensification which simplifies and clarifies the integral and undivided perception and knowledge of thing', which reveals complexity and variety in what had at first seemed to the senses to be simple. The variety, however, really exists. From Unity, we descend to Tri-Unity. Tri-Unity is entirely real, but real in a different way from all the multitudinousness in creation. In the Godhead Tri-Unity is given and revealed in the indivisibility of a Single Being. In the Holy transsubstantial, and most high, and inscrutable Trinity, communality and unity are perceived in fact and not in meditation because of the coeternity of the persons and the identity of their essence, action, and will, and because of unanimity of thought and identity of power and energy. I did not say 'likenesses but 'identity'. For there is one essence, one goodness, one will. One power, One and the same. Not three which are similar to one another, but the same movement of three hypostases-*μία*

καί ἡ αὐτή. For each of them is united to the others no less than to himself'.

Therefore, the distinction is *only thought-* distinction and never crosses over to cleavage, as difference never crosses over to separation. It is inseparable separation, for the hypostases of the One God are not only similar, but are *identical in essence*. It is not simply the communality of traits or characteristics that unites created hypostases into single grouping or form, but no more.

On the contrary, the difference or traits or 'peculiarities'only marks the Tri-Unity of incommensurable and irreducible 'forms of existence' in the essential unity of Divine Life. God is a 'single simple essence in three complete hypostases, above and before any perfection'. Divine Unity is not composed of hypostases, but is in three hypostases; is not composed of hypostases, but is three hypostases, is in the Three *and is Three*. And each of the Three has a 'complete hypostasis'; that is, a complete fullness of existence, just as every rock is 'complete', and is not merely a part of its aspect. 'We call the hypostases complete so as not to introduce complexity into the Divine Unity, for composition is the beginning of discord'- composition will never give the actual solidity, continuity, and unity. 'And again we say', St. John continues, 'that the three hypostases are *situated in one another reciprocally.'* Not only does the single Godhead not consist of hypostases, but neither does it split up into hypostases, so that *the entirefullness of Divine Nature is contained equally and identically* in all of them and in each of them.

In addition, the distinguishing 'peculiarities' are not of an 'accidental' nature as is the case in created individuals. 'The Godhead is indivisible in the divided'; and what is the common in the divided is inherent in them' individually and jointly.' The Father is light, the Son is light, the Holy Spirit is light; but the three-shining light is One. The Father is Wisdom; but the Son is Wisdom, the Holy Spirit is Wisdom; but the Divine three-sunned Wisdom is One. God is One, and not three-

lightened, three-sunned Wisdom is One. God is One, and not three. The Lord is one-the Holy Trinity.

Consubstantiality means exactly this concrete identity of essence-not an abstract communality, but identical. For the 'origin' of the Second and Third Hypostases taken from the First does not introduce any division or distribution, for there is no fluctuation in the Trinity. St. John of Damascus constantly repeats the word 'non-fluctuating'-*άρρευστος*. The Father does not find expression or expend himself in the Son and Spirit. But everything that the Father has, the Son and Spirit also have, while, of course, abstracting themselves from the incommensurable hypostatic differences. The hypostases abide, and are firmly established in one another. 'They are permanent and cannot be removed from one another. They are accommodated in One another' without any destruction, or mixing, or blending.' The Divine Hypostases differ form one another in that which cannot concern the essence itself, for, as St. John constantly remind us, 'all of it is in the Father, all of it is in the Son, and all of it is in the Holy Spirit'.

The names of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit signify the form of existence and the form of the reciprocal relationship to the hypostases. What do these 'relationship' two one another signify? As opposed to the relationships between to one created hypostases, whose very existence does not necessarily presuppose a situation in which they are in definite relationships to one another, the Divine Hypostases are not distinguished from one another by anything other than their correlative 'peculiarities'.

Therefore, it is these traits, characteristics or 'peculiarities' which are not 'accidental'. They coincide with the very existence of the Hypostases. The Divine Hypostases have one nature inseparable and identical-not only the same nature. The mystery of Divine Life is revealed in the Trinitarian 'relations'-*solitude would be devoid of love,* a theme which

Richard of St. Victor will pick up and develop, albeit within a *filioque*[316] context. St. John of Damascus does not develop this thought, and generally does not go into any speculation exposure of the Trinity. He limits

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[316] According to Heron (1997: 313–314), this Latin word translates 'and from the Son'. It is an addition to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed that was adopted by the Western Church in the Middle Ages, but was emphatically rejected by the Eastern Church. Along with other factors, this difference led to the schism between East and West in the 11th Century, and is still an unsolved, though ecumenically less acute problem. In fact, the confession made by the Council of Constantinople in 381 declared that the Holy Spirit 'proceeds from the Father.' A few decades later Augustine's theology explained that the Spirit does indeed proceed 'in the first instance' *(principaliter) from the Father but that at the same time he also proceeds from the Son by virtue of the Son's eternal begetting from the Father. Thus the Spirit in the bond of love (vinculum caritatis)* between the Father and the Son (*Trin.* 15.17.29). This conviction gradually permeated the Western church, as one may see, for example, at the Council of Toledo in 589. Charlemagne wanted to have the *filioque* anchored in the wording of the creed but met with opposition from Leo III (795–816), who regarded *filioque* as theologically correct, but did not think that one should tamper with a creed that had been formulated by an ecumenical council. Later Benedict VIII (1012–10249 agreed to the addition, probably at the same time (1014) as the introduction of singing the creed in the Roman Mass. In the centuries that followed, theologians like Anselm (in his works *De processione Spiritus Sancti*) and Thomas Aquinas(*Somma theol. I*, p. 36) set forth arguments for the accuracy and necessity of the filioque. Attempts at reconciliation with the Eastern at Alayon (1274) and Florence (1439) met with no lasting success. After the Reformation, the churches of the Reformation in general retained the *filioque*. In the whole debate, there have been three essential questions: *1.* Does the biblical testimony justify the statement that the Spirit proceeds from the Son? 2. Is the *filioque* theologically tenable, or even necessary? 3. Was it right of the Western church to add to the creed on its own? In the modern ecumenical climate of the 21st Century, some Western churches are ready to follow the example of the Old Catholic Church and drop the *filioque* in order to draw closer to the Eastern Church. Before a genuine solution is possible, however, the exegetical and dogmatic questions need greater clarification than has been achieved thus far.

himself to a repetition of earlier patristic conclusions. 'By the word of the Lord the heavens were established…'-*τώ λόγω τοῦ κυρίου οί ούρανοί έστερεώθησαν καί τώ πνηματι τού στόματος αύτού ή δύναμις αύτών*. This line from the Psalms [32, 6 in the Septuagint], and other similar texts, were more than once the object of Trinitarian interpretation in Eastern Fathers before St. John of Damascus. This is connected to a typical feature of the Eastern notion of the relation between the Second and Third Hypostases: as Logos and Breath, the Son and the Holy Spirit originate from the Father 'jointly' -άμα, 'co-originate' from him-*ξυμπροείσι.*

In this respect the Eastern, form of representation substantially differs from the Western-the analogy with the human soul, for example, in St. Augustine's Trinitarian thought. For the East the ancient form for representing the Trinitarian mystery always remained typical – it started from contemplation of the First Hypostasis as the single beginning and source of the Godhead. In the Latin West a different type of idea, for which it is characteristic to begin with contemplation of the general 'nature' of the Godhead, has been maintained since St. Augustine. St. John of Damascus belongs entirely to the Eastern tradition. And if he says that in theology we proceed from Unity to arrive at Tri-Unity or Trinity, this in no way means that we are starting with contemplation of a common 'nature'. It means recognizing the Father in God. Hence, the Father of the Only –Begotten Son, and the beginning of the Holy Spirit, which co-proceeds to the eternally begotten Son. We 'believe in a Single God'- this means at the same time: in the Single God the Father. The Son and the Spirit are certain hypostastatic 'energies' of the Father, and originate-or, more accurately, '*co-originate*'-from the Father. They co-originate, but in such a way that at the same time the Son's birth is mysteriously and incomprehensibly first: there is a kind of 'condition, pleasing to God 'for the co-origin of the accompanying Spirit, '*who proceeds through the Son and rests in him*άναπανόμενον. For there is a certain

mysterious, God –pleasing 'order'-*ταξις* – of the Divine Hypostases, which is signified and unchanged by the order of the names themselves, and which allows no arrangement. Is it not in this sense that one should understand the famous words of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, which are repeated by St. John of Damascus. 'The Unity, having moved from time immemorial to duality, stopped at the Trinity. And this is what we have –Father and Son and Holy Spirit.' The Father, as the name of the First Hypostasis, indicates his relation to the Second- and, one must add, only to the Second, for 'Fatherhood' and 'Sonship', as St. Basil wrote, are correlative. The Father does not beget the Holy Spirit. 'The Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Father, but the Spirit of the Father, *proceeding* from the Father.' The Holy Spirit has his existence from the Father' not according to the image of birth, but *according to the image of procession,* although for us the difference between the images of birth and procession is vague. In any event, the name of Father refers to the First Hypostasis as the beginning of the Second. At the same time St. John of Damascus, following St Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389), calls the First Hypostasis 'Unborn' in order to set off the Father's intra-Trinitarian lack of a beginning –that is, the fact that the Father is the *first* and the beginning Hypostasis, the 'beginning of the God head', the 'only' and 'pre-beginning cause' of Divine Life, the root and source of the Godhead. Without beginning the Father is the beginning –of course 'without beginning', that is, the eternal and extra-temporal beginning of the 'coeternals'- of the Second and Third Hypostases. Only the Father is the beginning or 'natural' cause in the Trinity's life. 'The Son is not called the cause', for he is *of* the Father. The basic name of the Second Hypostasis is the Son, and correspondingly the hypostatic property is birth, birth outside of time and without beginning, birth 'from the father's nature'- that is, by virtue of the 'natural productiveness' of the Godhead. As an 'action of nature' St. John of Damascus, following the ancient Fathers, contrasts birth to creation, as an 'act of will' or desire. The Divine birth

is without beginning and end-it is higher than any change and origin. There is 'nothing created, nothing first, nothing second, nothing master-slave' in the Holy Trinity. The Son is the counsel, wisdom, and power of the Father. And there is no other Logos, Wisdom, Power, or Will in the Father besides the Son. The Son is the *image* of the Father, a living, 'natural 'and 'identical' image 'by nature'. He is like the Father in eve-rything- he 'bears the whole Father in himself.' For John of Damascus the name of the Holy Spirit indicates more a kind of Divine breath-πνευμα from πνείν- than spirituality. In this meaning is a certain proper name of the Third Hypostasis. The Holy Spirit *proceeds* from the Fa-ther—ἐκπορεύται. The Father 'projects 'the Spirit-προβαλλει, and is the 'projector'προβολευς, πηγή προβλητική – while the Spirit is the projec-tion πρόβλημα. The Holy Spirit, in John of Damascus' confession, pro-ceeds *from the Father-ἐκ τού πμτρός,* but *through the Son- δι 'υιού.* The Holy Spirit, as John of Damascus defines him, 'is the force of the Father and he reveals the hidden Godhead, *who proceeds from the Father through the Son*, as he himself knows.' There is hardly any doubt that here John of Damascus has in mind not only the temporal mission or descent of the Holy Spirit into the world for revelation and the illumina-tion of all creatures. The Holy Spirit is 'the force of the Father who proclaims the hidden God head.' But not only in revelation is he the Spirit of the Son. In his explanation of the Thrice-Illumined Trinity John of Damascus says directly: 'The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, but not filially.' And in his book *Against the Mani-chees* John of Damascus writes: 'The Father existed eternally, having his Logos out of himself, and through his Logos his Spirit, *who proceeds out of him.'*

However, the mysterious 'mediation' of the Son in the Holy Spirit's eternal intra-Trinitarian procession from the Father 'through the Son' which, John of Damascus maintains, is in no way equivalent to that 'causing' by the Father which is the beginning of the Holy Spirit's hy-

postatic existence. So any notion about some 'co-causing' 'by the Son' is unquestionably excluded. 'Of the Holy Spirit we say that he is *of the Father,* and we call him the Father's Spirit, *but we do not say that the Spirit is also of the Son*. And we profess that he was revealed to us and given to us through the Son' (John 20, 22). 'The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, not as from him, but as through him, proceeding from the Father. For the only author, the only Causer-μόνοςαίτιος- *is the* Father alone. John of Damascus steadfastly distinguishes ἐκandδιά, and for him διά, does not compromise any causal factor. Through the Son expresses a completely special relationship between the Second and Third Hypostases- a kind of 'mediation' of the Son as the 'preceding' in the order of the Holy Trinity, as the Second before the Third.' The Holy Spirit is *of the* Father, the Spirit is *of the* Son but *not from out of theSon*. The Spirit is the Spirit of God's mouth, the proclaimer of the Logos. The Holy Spirit is an image of the Son, as the Son is an image of the Father. This means that the Logos is revealed in the Holy Spirit as the Father is revealed in the Logos. For the Logos is the herald of the Mind, and the Holy Spirit is the disclosure of the Logos. The Holy Spirit, *who proceeds from the Father,* rests in the Son as his power of manifestation. In speaking of appearance, the 'passage', the 'shining' of the Holy Spirit through the Son, the fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries meant primarily to reveal and affirm the truth of Trinitarian consubstantiality, and the most genuine eternal unity of the Holy Spirit with the Logos and the Father.

Therefore, one must not *limit through the Son*only to the fact of the Holy Spirit's descent in time to creation. In this sense, the doctrine of the Cappadocians, St. Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395) in particular, is especially significant. St. Gregory of Nyssa directly points out as the distinguished feature of the Third Hypostasis the fact that the Son originates 'directly from the Father', while the Holy Spirit comes; from the First with the mediation of –'through'- the One who came from the

Father directly. And this 'mediation'- *η Τουυιου μσιε* preserves the uniqueness, the 'only –Begottenness' of the Sonship.

According to Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395), the Holy Spirit originates *through* the Son himself, as a light which shines *through born light'* which, in turn, however, 'has the reason of hypostasis from the prototypical light.' John of Damascus attaches himself directly to these words of Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330–c. 395). He also repeats the latter's notion of the Holy Spirit as the 'middle' or 'that which connects the Father and the Son: the Holy Spirit is the 'middle between the not-born and the born', and through the Son the Holy Spirit is united to- or is 'attached to'- the Father, in the words of Basil.

Maximus of Confessor (c. 580–c. 662)[317] expressed himself in the same way: the Holy Spirit 'ineffably proceeds in essence from the Father through the born Son'. John of Damascus was only the exponent of a common Eastern theological tradition. With him, perhaps, 'through the Son' obtained the additional contrast to the Latin *filioque,* which had –as early as St Augustine of Hippo (354–430) — a causative nuance, the motif of the Son's co-causality. Let us now see how John of Damascus comprehends the phenomenon of creation.

4.3.4 On Providence

John of Damascus deals with this subject notes Bouteneff (2006: 291–292), in the *Expositio fidei*[318] and in his other polemical writings

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[317] He was a Greek theologian and ascetic writer, a member of the old Byzantine aristocracy, and after holding the post of Imperial Secretary under Emperor Heraclius (575–641), around 614, he became a monk and later abbot of the monastery of Chrosopolis. During the Persian invasion in 626, he fled to Africa. From c. 640, he became a determined opponent of Monothelitism.

[318] According to Bouteneff (2006: 292), it is certain that Nimesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis* (of the late Fourth Century) is one of John of Damascus's main patristic sources for the anthropology of the *Expositio fidei*.

especially in his treatise against the Manichees and the Dispute between a Saracen and a Christian. In fact in his attempt at defining the 'Providence', John of Damascus, states Bouteneff (2006: 294), begins by quoting two sentences from Maximos the Confessor: 'Providence, then, is the care that God takes over existing things. Providence is the will (*Βούλησις)* of God through which all existing things receive their suitable direction'.

4.3.4 On the Creation

In his conception, creation compounds things, angels, demons and human. In fact, according to Florovsky (1987: 260–270), John of Damascus speaks little and fragmentarily about creation. Following the ancient fathers, John of Damascus defines creation as an act of Divine will, which brought into existence that which had not been, and which kept what had been created in existence. God creates by brought and this brought, fulfilled by the Logos and accomplished by the Holy Spirit, becomes deed. This is literally from Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389). The reason for creation provided it is possible to speak of the reason for Divine creativity-lies in the most abundant goodness of God[319], which willed that something originate which could communicate with God. Concerning the Angels, John of Damascus follows Gregory of Nazianzus' theory. It consists in which Angels were created before man. Angels are created also as others in God's image.

Nevertheless, there are good and bad angels. The good angels take their sanctity no in their nature but from of Saint Spirit (Jugie 1924: 723). The Devil is among the bad angels. Their number is uncalculated and lived on earth. They can reveal to the men the future but sometimes they lie. For Jugie (1924:724), John of Damascus, demons are those who suggest wrong mind to the human. He sees in their influence the origin

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[319] His immense goodness *ὑπεραάγαθος* (see Jugie 1924: 72).

of heresies and other errors, which lead the men out (De *imag*. I, col. 1285, 1288). The man[320] is states Jugie (1924: 724), the last God's creature. He is both flesh and spirit. He constitutes in himself the summary of creation. He is in reality a 'real small world' (un *vrai petit monde*).

Concerning his liberty, John of Damascus notes that'liberty is inseparable with the reason, and the psychological act of deliberation would be none-sense if we are not free' (*la liberté est inséparable de la raison, et l'acte psychologique de la délibération serait un non-sens, si nous n'étions pas libres*) (Jugie 1924: 725).

Moreover, in man's will and freedom remarks Florovsky (1987: 267), is the beginning of evil-not in nature, but in will. Sin, evil, or vice is something anti-natural, but living virtuously conforms to nature. The fall shakes man's nature. Having turned from God, man gravitates towards the side of matter – after all, man in his make-up is placed 'in the middle' between God and matter. Plunging into matter, man becomes mortal and falls under lust and passions. The Lord himself came to triumph over death and vice.

4.3.5. On Christology

We learn from Jugie (1924: 730) that John of Damascus is excellently the 'theologian of Incarnation.' This question is the mystery on which John of Damascus focuses much emphasis through all his writings. The synthesis that he made on this mystery encompassed around previous of Greek Fatherscontribution. Indeed, states Florovsky (1987: 269–276), all Christ life –but most of his entire Cross – was a redemptive deed and a miracle. It is the Cross, which abolished death, resolved sin, revealed resurrection, and secured a return to ancient bliss. 'Christ's death, on the Cross, vested us in God's hypostatic wisdom and force' (Galatians 3,

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[320] For a wide analysis on John of Damascus' Anthropology, see C. N. Tsirpanlis (1980) *The Anthropology of Saint of John of Damascenus,* Athens, *passim*.

22). We are essentially adopted from the time of our birth by water and the Spirit. In his interpretation of Christ's redemptive deed, John of Damascus follows the Cappadocians.

Following Gregory of Nazianzus, John of Damascus rejects the Origenist view of Christ's sacrifice as a ransom to the devil, but retains individual features of this theological theory-probably under the influence of Gregory of Nyssa. It is the notion of the devil's misuse of the power, which he has seized, and the notion of the devil being deceived. Death approaches and, having swallowed the body – the lure – is pierced by the Godhead as if by a fishhook. Having tasted the sinless and life-giving body, it perishes and gives back all whom it had once swallowed'. In addition, in the Incarnation, God the Lord receives not abstract humanity, as it is perceived by pure speculation, for this would not be Incarnation but a phantom and deceit. Nor did he receive all of human nature as it is realized in the entire human race, for he did not receive all the hypostases of human race. But he receives manhood as it is, in the indivisible. He received it, however, in such a way that by itself it was not and is not a special or preexisting hypostasis. Manhood in Christ is hypostasized in the very hypostasis of the Logos. It is *enhypostasized* to the Logos. And therefore Christ in his manhood is similar to people as to numerically different hypostases of the human race, even though there is no human hypostasis in him.

When summing up the struggle with the Monophysites, John of Damascus expresses Christological dogma in terms of his predecessors – Leonitius of Byzantium and Maximus the Confessor. Everything exists *only in hypostatic form,* either as a hypostasis of its own kind or *in* the hypostsis of another kind. Christ's Manhood exists precisely this way-*enhypostatically*, in the hypostasis of the Logos. Therefore the hypostasis of the Logos turns out to be 'complex' and two-fold.' Following the thought of Leonitius of Byzantium, John of Damascus insistently stress-

es that the unique union of the person of the Logos in his Divinity and in his Humanity.

Moreover, there is no, will be no, and can be no other, second Christ, no other God-Man. The name of Christ receives the Logos with the Incarnation, in which the Divinity of the Logos anoints humanity. The two natures are not separate, for they are inseparable within the union of the hypostasis-contrary to the thought of Nestorius and the rest of their 'demonic mob'- and they are not mixed, but abide - contrary to Dioscorus[321], Eutyches[322], and their 'Godless followers. The unmixability and

[321] According to Walsh (1985: 390), his date of his birth is unknown. He died on 4 September 454 at Gangra. In fact, states Livingstone (2005: 489), Dioscorus, during Cyril's patriarchate, became Archdeacon of Alexandria, and on his death in 444 succeeded to the see. When C. 449 Eutyches began to attract attention with his Christological doctrines Dioscorus supported him, and in 449, presided over the so-called 'Latrocinium Council' at Ephesus, in which Flavius, bishop of Constantinople, was deposed. Dioscorus' fortune changed with the reversal of theological policy on the death of the Emperor Theodosius II in 450. At the Third Session of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, he was deposed, and the civil authorities to Gangra in Paphlagonia banished him. A few of his letters, and a legendary panegyric of his life by the deacon Theopistus, have survived in Syriac. He is accounted a saint in the Coptic Church, and his feast day is celebrated on the 4th September.

[322] He was born in 378 at Constantinople where he was an Archimandrite of a large monastery, with great influence at the court through the eunuch Chrysaphius. He became a heresiarch Christological theologian. Indeed, states Livingstone (2005: 581), his keen opposition to Nestorianism led him to be accused in 448 by Eusebius of Dorylaeum of the opposite heresy of confounding the two natures in Christ. Deposed by Flavius, Archbishop of Constantinople, after synodical action, he then appealed to Pope Leo for support, and by court influence secured a retrial and acquittal at the Latrocinium at Ephesus in 449. Meanwhile, Leo repudiated his doctrine in his Tome. A change of emperor in 450 turned the scales against him, and at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, he was deposed and exiled. Through his teaching, Eutyches affirmed that there was only one 'nature'(φύσις) in Christ 'after the union', and denied that His manhood was consubstantial with ours, a view which was held to be incompatible with

immutability of natures and reciprocal imparting of properties or recip-
rocal penetration of natures are characteristic for hypostatic union-in an
equal degree. At the same time, everything said about two natures is said
about the united and identical hypostasis. Therefore, although the na-
tures are enumerated, the enumeration does not separate. In Christ man-
hood is deified – not through transformation, change, or mixing, of
course, but through manhood's complete union and permeation with the
flame of the Godhead, which is all penetrating and imparts perfection to
its flesh without striking it with weaknesses and passions, as the sun
which illuminates us does not damage itself.

Furthermore, following Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus
develops the doctrine of the God-Mans's two wills and two energies.
The Monothelite storm had not yet abated, and it was still necessary to
elucidate and justify the definition, the *oros,* of the SixthEcumenical
Council (680). Will and energy belong to nature, and not to the hyposta-
sis. It is also necessary to clearly distinguish 'natural will' and 'elective
will.' The property of the 'capacity for willing' belongs to man's nature,
and in this God's image is proclaimed, for freedom and will are charac-
teristic of the Godhead by nature. But the definiteness of will and voli-
tion, the 'image of volition', does not belong to nature. And making has
the possibility of choice and decision- *Της γνωμης.* Man has this possi-
bility, but God, to whom it is not things over, does not fitting to ascribe
choice in the true sense, for God does not change his mind, 'does not
advise'- God is a being who is unquestionably Omniscient. Like Maxi-
mus the Confessor, John of Damascus infers from the two natures in
Christ the two wills, for the Lord also accepted our will in nature. One
must not, however, speak of choice and reflection in the proper sense

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our redemption through Him. Although the Oriental Orthodox Churches share
his language of 'one nature after the union', they explicitly condemned him for
his denial that Christ's human nature was consubstantial with ours. He died in
454.

when discussing the Savior in human will, for it was not characterized by ignorance. The Savior did not have 'certain inclinations of the will'.

Moreover, what has been said about the will must also be said about the mind, about knowledge, and about wisdom. In conformity with the two natures, the Lord had two minds, and it is through the human mind, as an intermediary, that the Logos is united with the coarseness of the flesh-not, however, in simple co-habitation, but in dwelling. Having accepted, on the one hand, the human mind, Christ thought, and will always think, like a man.

On the other hand, 'Christ's holy mind of God, and that all thinking and understanding that it is the mind of God, and that all creation worships it, remembering at the same time his sojourn and suffering on earth. Christ's mind participates in the activity of the Divinity of the Logos, in the Logos, in the Logos arranging not like a normal human mind but like a mind hypostatically joined to God which receives the title of the mind of God.' The Lord suffers and dies on the Cross for our sake. He suffers, of course, through his manhood, that is, what suffers is his suffering human nature body and soul.

To conclude, John of Damascus, states Lang (1998: 648–649), in his attempt to reformulate the Christology of Chalcedon, takes up the strands of thought traced until his time and binds them together. The character of Damascene's Christology is essentially synthetical, as can be expected from a theologian whose explicit aim was 'ιερω εμον ουδέ'. Nonetheless, the synthesis achieved by him is original in that for the first time an explicit doctrine of the humanity in-existence in the hypostasis of the Logos emerges that is-and here he differs from Anastasius of Antioch-denoted by the term *enhypostatos*[323].

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[323] This word, remarks Lang (1998: 649), on the one hand means 'simple being' (*Το απλως όν)* and can thus be used not only for substance, but also for accidents. On the other hand, it is also equated with hypostasis or individual, i. e. being on its own; finally, *άνυπότατος* is either that which never exists, according

4.3.6 On the Cult of Saints and Relics

John of Damascus asserts Jugie (1924: 738), deals with the worship celebrated to the Saints. For him the relation, a rapport of this creature with God, motivales worship that celebrated in honour to a creature. This general principle must be applied both to the cult of Saints and of their relics. We revere the Saints because of God that they served during their life. Also because they are his servants, his children and his heirs of heaven by participation, the friends of Christ, the living temples of Holy Spirit. This honour goes directly to God himself by which He considers himself honored through his servants. In fact, to John of Damascus, the Saints are the patron Saints of the human '*Προστατα Του γενους παντος'*.The Saints advises John of Damascus are not dead, theirs relics are still alive, and their bodies, their relics merit our worship.

4.3.7 The Cult of Holy Icons

In our discussion on this matter, we followed Chase'spattern (see Chase 1958; 367–373). Indeed, Chase's merit consists of translating into English all written works of John of Damascus. In fact, concerning icons[324], John of Damascus begins by stigmatising those who disliked

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(*τόμηδαμήμηδαμώςόν*), or the accident which has no existence of its own, but only in another subject.

[324] According to Louth (2002: 194), it is important to realize that by 'icons' or images(*eikôn* is the Greek for image) is meant any representation of Christ, the Mother of God, or the saints (and also angels), or of the Cross 'made of colors, pebbles, or any material that is fit, set in the holy church of God, on holy utensils and vestments, on bills and boards, in houses and in streets', as the definition of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod put it (see Mansi 13. 377D.). In fact, the term, 'icon' explains Buckton (1994: 156) in Louth (2002: 195–196), is not, in the context of Byzantine iconography, restricted to panel icons (as in current art-historical usage), but includes mosaics, frescoes, manuscript illustrations, images woven into cloth, engraved on metal, carved in ivory or wood, and probably also statues, although there is little evidence of religious statues in Byzantium.

icons. Thereafter he explained the *raison d'être* of the honor due to icons. Since there are certain people, he said, who find great fault with us for adoring and honoring both the image of the Saviour and that of our Lady, as those of the rest of saints and servants of Christ, let them hear how from the beginning God made in his own image (Gen. 26).

For what reason, do we adore one another, except because we have been made in the image of God? As the inspired Basil, who is deeply learned in theology, says: 'the honor paid to the image redounds to the original' (Basil, On the Holy Ghost 18.45 [PG32.149C]), and the original is the thing imaged from which the copy is made. For what reason did the people of Moses adore from round about the tabernacle, which bore an image and pattern of heavenly things, or rather, of all creation? (Exod. 33, 10).

Indeed, God had said to Moses: 'See that thou make all things according to the pattern, which was shown thee on the mount.' And the Cherubim, too, that overshadowed the propitiatory, were they not the handiwork of man? (Heb. 8, 5; Exod. 25, 40, 20). And what was the celebrated temple in Jerusalem? Was it not built and furnished by his hands and skills? Now, sacred Scripture condemns those who adore graven things, and those who sacrifice to the demons. The Greeks used sacrifices to the demons, whereas the Jews sacrificed to God. And the sacrifice of the Greeks was rejected and condemned, while the sacrifice of the just was acceptable to God. Thus, Noah sacrificed 'and the Lord smelled a sweet savor' (Gen. 8, 21) of the good intention and accepted the fragrance of the gift offered to Him. Thus, the statues of the Greeks happen to be rejected and condemned, because they were representations of demons.

But, furthermore, who can make a copy of the invisible, incorporeal, uncircumscribed, and unportrayable God? It is, then, highly insane and

See also C Von Schönborn, La sainteté de l'icône selon saint Jean Damascène', in *Studia Patristica*, XVII(1982*)*, p. 188–193.

impious to give a form to the Godhead. For this reason it was not the practice in the Old Testament to use images. However, through the bowels of His mercy God for our salvation was made man in truth, not in the appearance of man, as He was seen by Abraham or the Prophets, but really man in substance. Then He abode on earth, conversed with men, worked miracles, suffered, was crucified, rose again, and was taken up, and all these things really happened and were seen by men and, indeed, written down to remind and instruct us, who were not present then, so that, although we have not seen, yet hearing and believing we may attain to the blessedness of the Lord.

Since, however, not all know letters not do all have leisure to read, the Fathers deemed it fit that these events should be depicted as a sort of memorial and terse reminder. It certainly happens frequently that at times when we do not have the Lord's Passion in mind we may see the image of His crucifixion and, being thus reminded of His saving Passion, fall down and adore. But it is not the material which we adore, but that which is represented; just as we do not adore the material of the Gospel or that of the cross, but that which they typify.

For what is the difference between a cross which does not typify the Lord and one which does? It is the same way with the Mother of God, too, for the honor paid to her is referred of Him who was incarnated by her. Similarly, we are stirred up by the exploits of the holy men to manliness, zeal, imitation of their virtues, and the glory of God. For, as we have said, the honor shown the more sensible of one's fellow servants gives proof of one's love for the common Master, and the honor paid to the image redounds to the original. This is the written tradition, just as is worshiping toward the east, adoring the cross, and so many other similar things. (Basil, *On the Holy Ghost*, 27.66 [PG 32.188 B]).

Furthermore, there is a story[325] told about how, when Abgar was lord of the city of Edessenes, he sent an artist to make a portrait of the Lord, and how, when the artist was unable to do this because of the radiance of His face, the Lord Himself pressed a bit of cloth to His own sacred and life –giving face and left His own image on the cloth and so sent this to Abgar who had so earnestly desired it. And Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, writes that the Apostles handed down a great many things unwritten: 'therefore, brethren, stand fast: and hold the traditions wich you have learned. Whether by word or by our epistle'; and to the Corinthians: 'Now I praise you, brethren, that in all things you are mindful of me and keep my ordinances as I have delivered them to you' (2 Thess. 2, 14; 1 Cor. 11, 12).

4.3.8 On the Faith

John of Damascus states Chase (1958: 348), distinguishes two kinds of faith 'faith cometh by hearing' (Rom. 10, 17), and 'which is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not' (Heb. 11, 1). Indeed, concerning the first kind of John of Damascus identify it as follows

> 'When we hear the sacred Scriptures, we believe in the teaching of the Holy Ghost. And this faith is made perfect by all those things which Christ has ordained; it believes truly, it is devout, and it keeps the commandments of Him who has renewed us. For he who does not believe in accordance with the tradition of the

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[325] It concerns the earliest form of the Syriac legend of Abgar, the first Christian king of Edessa, which isfound in Eusebius (Eccles. *Hist.* I. 13*)*. The later and more amplified version containing the incident of the portrait referred to here, may be found in the Syriac document known as the *Doctrine of Addai* (translated and published by Philips, London, 1986).

Catholic Church or who through untoward works holds commun-
ion with the Devil is without faith.'

For the second type of faith, he notes that 'this is an undoubting and
unquestioning hope both for the things promised us by God and for the
success of our petitions'. Then, the first category of faith comes precise
this Father of Church from our faculty of judgment (*γνώμη*), whereas the
second is one of the gifts of the Spirit. Furthermore, continues John of
Damascus (Chase 1958: 349), one must know that by baptism we are
circumcised of the entire covering that we have borne from birth, sin
that is, and become spiritual Israelites and a people of God.

4.3.9. On the Church and State

In John of Damascus' mind, these two realities must not be con-
fused. First, the Church is the distinct and independent society from the
Imperial power (see Cayré 1947: 335; Khawam 1987: 140–142). Indeed,
remarks Jugie (1924: 716), it is John of Damascus' merit to have to
proclaim, in front of the Oriental's *cesaropapism*, the doctrine of the
distinction of the two powers civil and ecclesiastic, and to have to de-
mand against the Iconoclast *Baseleus* the whole independence of the
Church in its sphere: 'It is the matter of Synods and not Emperors on
decide of Ecclesiatical questions. It is not to the Emperors that God gave
the power to tie and absolve[326], but this power devotes to the Apostles
and to their successors, pastors and doctors those to whom God estab-
lished to lead the Church. I do not allow to imperial decrees to regulate
the Church, the Church detains its law contained in written an unwritten

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[326] For a relevant analysis on how the power given to the ecclesiastical authori-
ties of trying and absolving Christians during the Middle Ages, see B Margerie
(ed) (1985: 33–50).

Ecclesiastic traditions'[327]. Second, the Church is a monarchical society. For him argues Jugie (1924: 716), the monarchy is the unique principle of peace, of order, of calmness, and progress. The polyarchy leads to the war, to the division, and to the anarchy (see Contra Manicheans, II, col. 1516). Third, this ecclesiastical monarchy is not only the case of a diocese or partially, but universal.

After this few overview on John of Damascus' system of theology, we intend to concentrate now our attention on the heresies[328], to which

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[327] Our translation from this French paragraph: *'C'est l'affaire des synodes et non des empereurs de décider des affaires ecclésiastiques. Ce n'est pas aux empereurs que Dieu a accordé le pouvoir de lier et de lier, mais aux apôtres et à leurs successeurs, pasteurs et docteurs que revient le gouvernement de l'Église. Je ne permets pas aux décrets impériaux de régenter l'Église; elle a sa loi dans les traditions des Pères écrites et non écrites'* (see Jugie 1924: 716).

[328] Berthold (1990: 498) recounts that John of Damascus wrote defences of orthodox Christianity against the following heresies: Nestorians, Manicheans known as Paulicians, Monophysites, Monothelites, and against Muslim fatalism; but Chase (1958: 111–163) lists the following heresies: 1.Barbarism; 2. Sythism; 3.Hellenism; 4.Judaism; 5.The Pythagoreans, or Peripatetics; 6.The Platonists; 7. The Stoics; 8.The Epicureans; 9.Samaritanism; 10.The Gorthenes; 11.The Sebyaeans; 12.The Essenes; 13.The Dosthenes; 14.The Scribes; 15.The Pharisees; 16.The Sadducees; 17.The Hemerobaptists; 18.The Ossenes; 19.The Nasaraeans; 20.The Herodians; 21.The Simonians; 22.The Menandrianists; 23.The Saturnilians; 24.The Basilidians; 25.The Nicolaitans; 26.The Gnostics; 27.The Carpocratians; 28.The Cerinthians; 29.The Nazarenes; 30.The Ebionites; 31.The Valentinians; 32.The Secundians; 33.The Ptolemaeans; 34.The Marcoseans; 35.The Colarbasaeans; 36.The Heracleonites; 37.The Ophites; 38.The Cainites; 39.The Sethians; 40.The Archontics; 41.The Cerdonians; 42.The Marcionites; 43.The Lucianists; 44.Appelians; 45.The Severians; 46.The Tatianists; 47.The Encratites; 48.The Cataphrygians, or Montanists, or Ascodrugites; 49.The Pepuzians, or Quintillians; 50.The Quartodecimans; 51.The Alogians; 52.The Adamians; 53.The Sampsaeans, or Elkesaites; 54.The Theodotians; 55.The Melchisedechians; 56.The Bardesanites; 57.The Noetians; 58.Valesians; 59.The Cathari; 60.The Angelici; 61.The Apostolici; 62.The Sabellians; 63.The Origenians; 64.Other Origenians; 65.The Paulianists;

his writings were addressed. Indeed, as the last great Father of the Church in the East, John of Damascus notes Sahas (1972: 52), is fundamentally recognized as the first classical systematic theologian[329]. He dealt with the issues of doctrine, which had caused controversy and theological speculation in the Church, and he formulated the Biblical teaching and its interpretation by the Councils and the thought of the Church Fathers in a logical and systematic way. John of Damascus recalls his conception on the relation between State and Church through his reaction against Iconoclasts' Emperors.[330]

4.4 Heresies during the John of Damascus' Epoch

We have seen previously that John of Damascus must be considered as a theologian of the Church who attempted to elaborate a synthetic treaty of the Christian dogma. In his intention and effort to perpetuate the accuracy of this dogma, he did his very best to defend it by writing against those who made distortion over it. His works, we said, have been

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66.The Manichaeans; 67.The Hieracites; 68.The Maletians; 69.The Arians, or Ariomanites, or Diatomites; 70.Audians; 71.The Photinians; 72.The Marcellians; 73.Semiarians; 74.The Pneumatochi; 75.The Aerians; 76.The Aetians or Anomaeans; 77.The Dimoerites, or Apollinarists; 78.Antidicomarianites; 79.The Collyridians; 80.The Massalians, or Euchites; 81.The Nestorians; 82.The Eutychians; 83.The Egyptians, or Schematics, or Monophysites; 84.The Aphthartodocetae; 85.The Agnoetae, or Themistians; 86.The Barsanouphites, or Semidalites; 87.The Hicetae; 88.The Gnosimachi; 89.The Heliotropites; 90.The Thnetopsychites; 91.The Agonyclites; 92.The Theocatagonostae, or Blasphemers; 93.The Christolytae; 94.The Ethnophrones; 95.Donatists; 96.The Ethicoproscoptae; 97.The Parermeneutae; 98.The Lampetians; 99.The Monothelites; 100.The Autoproscoptae; 101.The Ishmaelites; 102.The Christianocategori, or Accusers of Christians, or Iconoclasts; 103.The Aposchistae, or Doxarii.

[329] According to Volk (2000: 339), John's writings encompass the entire range of theology in his days.

[330] See below under section 4.4.7

grouped in the following categories: dogmatic, polemic, exegetical, moral and ascetic, homiletic, and liturgical poetry.

As revealed by Berthold (1998: 339), John of Damascus faced the following heresies: Nestorians, Monophysites, monothelites, Pulicians or Manicheans, Muslims, and according to Wilson-Kastner (1980: 139), to Iconoclast Controversy. In our discussion we will study all these Christian heterodox movements chronologically even if John of Damascus's polemical writings faced Iconoclast controversy; they may be considered the first. They are located between and around 726 to 730 (see Chase 1958: xviii; Nasrallah 1950: 108; Sahas 1972: 10)

4.4.1 Nestorians

This Christian heterodox doctrine originates from Nestorius bishop of Constantinople [428–431 (see Kelly 1994: 376)]. In fact, at its center, states Clifton (1992: 103), lies a disagreement over the divine and human natures of Christ. Nestorius[331] and his followers taught that Christ's

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[331] Wand (1955: 95–96) remarks that the fact that his own teaching was also specifically condemned by name should not blind us to his true greatness or to the valuable service he rendered to the discussion of the Incarnation. It was ultimately determined that his teachings fell outside the area of orthodoxy, though on the opposite side from his great opponent. He carried the discussion a stage further and compelled the Church to make up its mind at a higher level than had hitherto been reached. He continued his examination along the psychological lines initiated by Apollinarius and in his theory of *eudokia* he brought the characteristic moral interest of the Antioch school to bear upon the problem. Nestorius was previously a monk of Antioch who earned fame not only as an ascetic, but as a preacher. It was hoped that his eloquence might bring peace to the divided community of Constantinople and the Emperor Theodosius II (401–450) therefore appointed him to the see in 428. In addition to his evangelistic work and the administration of the monastery of which he was apointed head, Nestorius was deeply interested in questions of theology. He was a staunch supporter of the AntiocheneSchool, although he had at least once criticized some expressions of Theodore as unorthodox. His was not a conciliatory temperament

human nature came from his mother, Mary, and his divine nature from God the Father; therefore, Mary could not be called the Mother of God as she was in the Catholic Church. They believe that the two natures were entirely separate, although they acted as one. Condemned by the Council of Ephesus I (431)[332], Nestorius was deposed as patriarch and exiled from Constantinople, the imperial capital.

His followers crossed the border into Persia, where some Christian congregations survived despite opposition from the official religion of

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and he marked his entry into office with a promise of a place in Heaven for the Emperor if he would only give him 'the earth purged of heretics.' However, argues Wessells (1995: 50–51), the rhetorical gifts of Nestorius, a Syrian monk form Antioch heled him to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. He followed the direction of the Antiochians which emphasized more Christ'humanity than his divinity. In fact, Nestorius taught that the unity of the divine man was some form of conjunction, not unlike that of a mattiage. For that reason Nestorius constested the regerence to Mary as 'mother of God' (Theotokos), a title which had been in circulation since the time of Origen (died 253/4). According to Nestorius, Mary was not the mother of the divine, but only of the human nature of Christ. In the expression 'mother of God' Nestorius heard a denial of the full humanity of Jesus. The child that Mary brought into the world could not have been God, he contended. Therefore he preferred to speak of Mary as '*Christoto-kos*'. He was supposed to have said 'I acknowledge no God of two or three months of age', a statement that was later used in Moslem polemic against the doctrine of the Trinity. Thus, Nestorius placed the emphasis on the division of the natures in Christ in contrast to the teaching of Apollinaris.

[332] Athis Third Ecumenical Council, the teaching of Nestorius and Eutyches (ca. 387–454) was condemned and Nestorius was relieved of his position as Patri-arch. Eutyches who was the 'archimandrate' or abbot of one the monasteries in Constantinople, was a follower of the Alexandrian school and was active in struggle against Arius. Indeed, Eutyches taught that Christ had two natures before his incarnation, but only one after his incarnation. Just as the sea absorbs a drop of honey, so also the divinity had absorbed completely the humanity of Christ. In other words, Eutyches taught an exaggered Monophysite position, namely, that the body of Christ was unlike that of most humans. The nature of the body was transformed by the divinity.

Zoroastrianism. The Persian church officially adopted Nestorian doctrines in 486, making a complete break with the West that mirrored the political difference between the Byzantine Empire and the Persian. The Nestorian church survived the introduction of Islam and the conquests of Tamerlane (1380) and other warlords. It was carried to China during the T'ang dynasty and to India, where it was known as the Church of St. Thomas after its legendary founding by the apostle Thomas. Beginning in the fifth century, the Nestorian church and the Roman Catholic Church were gradually reconciled, although the Nestorians retained their own liturgy. Congregations remain in India, the Middle East, and through immigration, in North America.

What was the state of the teaching on these different EasternChristian Churches on the eve of John of Damascus? Faced with Nestorianism, John of Damascus, states Louth (2002: 172–173, wrote two treatises: *Against the Nestorians* and *On the Faith, against the Nestorians*. These works must be seen as mostly Byzantine attacks on Nestorians, as sheer repetition of an old debate. Perhaps were they intended to be as sort of theological exercise? It may be possible that John of Damascus envisages real Nestorians, as the incorporation of the former Persian Empire into the Umayyad Empire. This would have meant that the Chalcedonian Orthodox were once again under the same political regime as the Nestorians. Nevertheless, as their name suggests, the Church of the East (as the Nestorians are properly called) made its mark further east, rather than in the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire. In this works against Nestorians, John of Damascus begins *On the Faith* by putting forward his conciliatory analogy of Orthodoxy as a royal middle way (*Fides*I. 10–11), his way with the Nestorians is quite terse, presenting brief syllogistic arguments in the refuting of their position. Much of his effort is spent seeking clarity on the technical terms of the Christological debate, as with the Monophysites and the Monothelites. John of Damascus agrees with the Nestorians in their insistance on the immuta-

bility of the divine (*Nestor.* 2). However, he argues that their failure to distinguish properly between hypostasis and nature renders their position open to all sorts of errors: only personal (*hypostatic)* union makes it possible to affirm the incarnation of the Word, without making the Father and the Spirit incarnate as well (*Nestor.* 21). In his presentation he defends the legitimacy of the Virgin's title *Theotokos*, as we would expect, and expounds what one might call the doctrine of the 'two births':

> 'We must say that the Virgin bore the Word and that the Son and Word of God was not born of a woman. For we know two births of the only-Begotten Son and Word of God, one from before the ages, immaterially and divinely, from the Father alone, according to which birth he was not born of a woman and is motherless, and the other, in the last days from a mother alone in the flesh in accordance with the divine economy and for our salvation, according to which birth he is fatherless. According to the first birth, he was not born of a woman; according to the second birth, he was born of woman. For he does not have the beginning and the principle of his divine existence from a woman, but from the Father alone, but the beginning of his incarnation and becoming human is from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.'

> (*Fides.* 49.1–11)

From the quotation we must remember that John of Damascus, reveals Louth (2002: 173), goes on to say that such apparent contradictions are commonplace, and simply need careful attention.

4.4.2 Monophysites

The word 'Monophysite or monophysism means, from the Greek etymology, 'one nature'. It derivates from two Greek words, *monos* (one) and *physis* (nature). Concerning its birth, it arose, states Clifton (1992:

98), in the Eastern Roman Empire in the fifth century, as another controversy over the nature of Christ.

Theologically speaking, remarks Lyman (2003: 637), Monophysite doctrine grew out of the Alexandrian Christological tradition, which focused on the redemption activity of the word of God becoming incarnate. Drawing on statements by Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 375–444), Eutyches[333] (ca. 378–454) in 448 rejected the Ephesus formula of 431 and taught that Christ is 'one nature after union'. Leo I of Rome and Antiochian theologians at Chalcedon opposed his teaching. Christians in Egypt and Palestine, however, rejected Chalcedon as untrue to the teaching of Cyril and the early Church, preferring the language 'out of two natures' rather than 'in two natures' to protect the 'one nature of the incarnate Word of God'- a phrase invented by Apollinaris (ca. 460–ca. 390) against adoptionist[334] or divisive Christologies.

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[333] Eutyches, notes Clifton (1992: 98), headed a monastery near Constantinople, now modern Istanbul in Turkey. He and his adherents claimed that when Jesus performed the miracles recounted in the Gospels, he acted as a mortal man, but transcended the laws governing other people. His nature, they said, could not be divided into human and divine elements as awoodsman splits firewood with an axe.

[334] Adoptionism, argues Clifton (1992: 5), describes any doctrine held by some Christians- and sympathetic non-Christians—that Jesus was God the Father's 'adopted' son. In other words, he was a man of special powers, consciousness, or holiness that God raised to divine status. Adoptionism appeared in Rome in the late second century in reaction to Gnosticism or Docetism, which taught that Christ was a purely spiritual being who, with his divine power, created the illusion of a physical body that ate, drank, and otherwise seemed to be flesh. In fact, according to the Christian writer, Epiphanius, Theodotus the Tanner, originally from the eastern part of the empire, was the first Adoptionist teacher. He taught that Jesus was a 'mere man' - in Greek, *psilos Anthropos* - who received his divine status at his baptism. Victor, the bishop of Rome between 189 and 198, excommunicated Theodotus. Herodotus the Tanner was succeeded by Theodotus the Money-Changer and Aesclypedotus as an Adoptionist teacher in the early third century. Finally, Adoptionism, which resembles Unitarianism today in its

In the centuries after Chalcedon, Monophysite theology developed in many forms amid controversy with Chalcedonians. Severus (ca. 465– ca. 538) used a Platonic analogy of body and soul to express the one- nature definition, which underlined the unity of Christ and the reality but also dependence of the humanity of Christ's divinity. For Severus, one incarnate nature ensured one source of activity. In contrast, Julian of Halicarnassus (dead after 518) taught a more extreme version in which the body of Christ was incorruptible before the resurrection. Other ex- treme Monophysites defined the humanity of Christ as an illusion – Docetism-. Moreover, John of Damascus deals with Monophysitism[335] in one chapter of his work *On Heresis*. It begins states Louth (2002: 157–158), thus: 'Egyptians also called schematics[336] or Monophysites, who, on the pretext of the document, the *Tome,* agreed at Chalcedon, have separated themselves from the Orthodox Church, They have been called Egyptians, because it was the Egyptians who began this form of thought under the Emperors Marcian and Valentinian; but in every other respect they are orthodox' (*Haeres*. *83, 1–5*). The *Tome,* explains Louth (2002: 158), is assumed that of Leo's *Tome and* was certainly unac- ceptable to the Monophysites), though it could perhaps refer to the Chalcedonian Definition itself. But, from the way John puts it, he seems to be suggesting that their separation from the Church was more a matter

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rationalistic and non miraculous emphasis, faded as the Orthodox church stressed that Jesus was God incarnate.

[335] According to Kelly (1992: 177), Monophisites added to the phrase 'who was crucified for us' to the *Trisagion*. In fact, this doxalogical chant 'Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us', was introduced into the Greek liturgy by Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446), and it made its way eventu- ally into the Roman liturgy for Good Friday.

[336] What this means has puzzled ancient copyists, as the variant reading 'schis- matic'. Lampe (1961: 1359) suggests 'one who believes that Christ's humanity is only in appearance, i. e. Docetist. The Greek *schêma* is perhaps where 'schis- matic' is derived from.

of geography than some fundamental doctrinal disagreement[337]. This statement of John of Damascus's was cited by the Greek Orthodox theologian Karmiris (1981: 30–31) at a meeting held in the 1960s between the Orthodox and the Oriental Orthodox (as the 'Monophysites' should properly be called), as an appropriate starting –point for a series of discussions that reached the conclusion that there were no fundamental Christological differences between these two groups of Churches.

Such a conclusion seems to be borne out in John's engagement with the Monophysites, where he generally took a quite irenic position. Of the three treatises directed against the Monophysites, the most significant is *Against the Jacobites,* the others being concerned with particular issue: the Monophysites interpretation of the *Trisagion* and the Monophysite designation of Christ as 'one composite nature'.

In *Against the Jacobites* John of Damascus presents Orthodox doctrine as a middle way, or, more precisely, as 'the royal middle way' (*Jaco.* 3.4), developing an image that goes back at least to Gregory of Nyssa, who uses it in relation to Trinitarian theology. The first objection from the Monophysite is states Louth (2002: 159), the rejection of 'Chalcedonian logic' which constitutes the fundamental error of Monophysites. He meets this error in various ways. Immediately in *Against the Jacobites* he subjects it to ridicule by pressing the consequences of Trinitarian theology in failing to make such a distinction – here he seems to have Philoponos in mind, and scoffs that none of these problems would have arisen had the Monophysites not introduced 'St. Aristotle' as the 'thirteenth apostle': *Jacob.* 10.13.

Moreover, there is a good deal more in *Against the Jacobites* than John's defence of Chalcedonian logic against the Monophysites insistence on the identity of *physi*s and h*ypostasis*, and this defense is the heart of the matter. It is striking, however, that John seems to regard the

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[337] For a rather different interpretation of John of Damascus's treatment of the Monophysites in *On Heresies,* see Larchet (2000: 66–69).

Monophysite assertion here as potentiallyheretical, rather than being actually so. At several points, John of Damascus appeals to the Jacobites as sharing a common faith, rather than as heretics who determine the faith.' It is confessed by all the holy Fathers that the union has come to be from divinity and humanity, and that there is one Christ, perfect in divinity and at the same perfect and lacking nothing in humanity.—and adds, significantly: 'Tells us: do these things also appear so to you? You are making a common confession with us, so it seems to me' (*Jacob.* 14. 1–4). Again, when John of Damascus turns to the Christological formula most precious to the Monophysites, he affirms: 'You confess one incarnate nature of God the Word, and this is something held in common by you and us, for it is a saying of the Fathers.' In John of Damascus's presentation of the Incarnation in *Against the Jacobites* there is a striking emphasis on its asymmetry, in Florovsky's (1987: 297) sense:

> 'Incarnation is to partake in flesh and what belongs to the flesh. The real hypostasis of God the Word, that is, God the Word, was made flesh and assumed density and became Hypostasis to the flesh, and, first being God later became flesh or human, and I called one composite hypostasis of two natures and in it the two natures of divinity and humanity are united through the incarnation and coinhere in each other. The coinherence (*perichoresis*[338]) comes about from the divinity, for it bestows on the flesh its own glory and radiance, and does not partake of the passions of the flesh. Therefore, the nature of the flesh is deified, but the nature of the Word is not incarnate, for the worse derives advantage from the better. The better is not damaged by the worse.'

> (*Jacob.* 52.29–41)

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[338] On *perichoresis* in Christology, see Twombly (1992: 82–152); Wolfson (1970: 418–428). For the concept of *perichoresis* in the Christological sense in Maximus of the Confessor, see Thunberg (1995: 21–48).

4.4.3. Manicheans

According to Louth (2002: 61), John of Damascus included Mani-chaeism in his *On Heresies*. He owes his data from the epitome of Epiphanios's *Panarion*. In fact John of Damascus presents the summary of this heresy *On Heresies*as follows: Manichees, also Aconites, there are the disciples of Mani the Parsian, who say that Christ only appeared in a form; they worship the sun and moon, and pray to stars and powers and daimons; they introduce two eternally existent principles, one good the other wicked; they hold that Christ was only born and suffered in appearance, and blaspheme against the Old Testament and the God who speaks in it, maintaining that it is not the whole cosmos that has been created by God, but only a part of it (*Haeres*. 66). This is a fifth-century summary of how Manicheism appeared to Christians. At that time, it was, reveals Louth (2002: 61), an active missionary movement that constituted a serious threat to Christianity. Indeed, to Christians, Mani-chaeism meant first of all a docetic understanding of Christ. The Mani-chees also held astrological beliefs, including the idea, common in Late Antiquity, that the heavenly bodies were intelligent beings, and offered some form of worship to the sun and moon. Another important aspect of the Christian view of the Manichees was their dualism, like the dualistic Gnosticism of the second century, which lingered along side in the minds of Christians; the Manichees also rejected the Old Testament and its God. The same kind of picture of Manichaeism emerges from other contemporary Christian accounts, such as what we read in Athanasius, his friend Serapion, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil the Great, Nemesios of Emesa, and even Augustine himself.

To Christians, Manichaeism represents dualism, a dualism in which matter was evil, whence the rejection of the Old Testament, and a docetic view of Christ; for most fourth-century Christians it is men-tioned in the same breath as Gnostic heresies of the second century such as Valentinianism and Marcionism.

Alongside dualism, another Manichaean doctrine prominent in Christian accounts from the fourth century appears to be a kind of panpsychism: the idea of that everything has a soul, including the earth, the stars, and the planets. That is all that Manichaeism seems to have meant to Nemesios of Emesa (ca. 350–ca. 420)[339], and it features along-side dualism in Basil's attacks on Manichaeism in his commentary on the six days of creation, his *Hexaemeron*.

In addition, remarks Louth (2002. 63), Manichaeism constituted a powerfulchallenge to Christianity just as the Church was coming to provide the Roman Empire with its religious ideology. Within the Empire Manichaeism[340]seems to have emphasized its undeniable affinities

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[339] We find little information concerning Nimesios of Emesa. Nevertheless, it said that he was a medical scholar and a physician, who became Christian. He was chosen bishop of Emesa, actually Homs in Syria, around 400. He wrote a treatise entitled '*Traité sur la nature humaine*—Treatise on Human Nature' which had great resonance during the Middle Ages, but was attributed to Gregory of Nyssa. Nimesios'thought influenced the Anthropology. He expected to know how the relation that unites the soul, which is immortal, to the flesh, which is a created principle (see B Patar [2000] *Dictionnaire abrégé des philosophes médiévaux,* Québec, Les Presses Philosophiques, p: 329–330).

[340] For prominent analysis on its religious types and features, ethics and community life, writing, spread, and relation to Christianity, see the scholarly and relevant article of P. Nagel (2003: 394–396) 'Manichaeanism', in E. Fahlbush, JM Lochman and J. Mbiti et al*. The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, Vol. 3, Grands Rapids/Michigan/CambridgeUK/Leiden/Boston: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company/Brill; Luigoi Cirillo & Alois van Tongerllo (eds.) (1993) Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico. Third International Congress of Manichaean Studies. New Perspectives in Manichaean Research. Proceedings. Lovanii/Neapoli: Brepols; Luigoi Cirillo & Alois van Tongerllo (eds.) (2005): Il Manicheismo- Nuove Prospettive della Richerca. Fifth International Congress of Manichaean Studies Proceedings. Lovanii/Neapoli: Brepols; AP Nils (2004): *Demonstrative Proof in Defence of God: A Study of Titus of Bostras's Contra Manichaeos- The Work's Sources, Aims and Relation to its Contemporary Theology.* Leiden/Boston: Brill; P. Mirecki, J. Beduhn (eds.) (2001): *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and its World.* Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill;

with Christianity. Pope Leo[341] also knew a good deal about Manichae-
ism, and regarded it as a peculiarly insidious threat to Orthodoxy. He
treats it as a Christian heresy, and it has been argued that his association
of the 'Monophysitism' of Eutyches, condemned at the Synod of Chal-
cedon in 451, with Mani (and Valentinus) is more than an attempt of
malicious misguiding of Christian by associating his Christology with
docetism, but rather a serious effort to analyse the nature of docetism in
terms of what he knew out of his own experience. Eventually Christiani-
ty won the allegiance of the Empire, and Manichaeism came to be per-
secuted as its most dangerous rival. In 527, an edict of Justinian has
made Manichaeism a capital offence. It seems that Manichaeism did not
survive in the Byzantine Empire beyond the end of the sixth century.

Elsewhere, however, towards the East, it flourished and went as far
as China, and continued to do so for many centuries. Furthermore, what
about John of Damascus' attack on Manikaeism in his *Dialogue against
the Manichees* is*?* Kotter (1981/4:334) reports states Louth (2002: 64),

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HJ Klimkeit (1982): *Manichaeean Art and Calligraphy*. Leiden: E. J. Brill; F
Decret (1974): *Mani et la tradition manichéenne,* Paris, Seuil; HC Puech (1979)
Sur le manichéisme et autres essais. Paris, Flammarion, FC Burkitt (1925): *The
Religion of the Manichees,* New York, AMS Press; J. C. Reeves (1996): *Heralds
of that Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions,* Lei-
den/New-York/Köln: E. J. Brill; P Mirecki and J Beduhn (eds.) (1997): *Emerg-
ing in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources,* Leiden/Boston/Köln, Brill; M.
Heuser, HJ Klimkeit (1998): *Studies in Manichaean Literature and Art.* Lei-
den/Boston/Köln: Brill; SNC Lieu (1998): *Manichaeism in Central Asia and
China,* Leiden/Boston/Köln, Brill.

[341] This Pope is known as 'Leo the Great.' His Papacy extended from 440 to
460. It was remarkable chiefly for the enormous extent to which he advanced
and consolidated the influence of the Roman see. At the time of general disorder
he sought to strenghen the Chruch by energetic central government, based on a
firm belief that the supremacy of his see lay in divine and scriptural authority,
and he pressed his claims to juridiction in Africa, Spain, and Gaul—see FL
Cross & EA Livingstone (1983: 811).

that this dialogue is contained in few manuscripts, and this relatively late. He notes that this may be because of the lack of relevance ('geringe *Aktualität*') of the subject. This does not seem very likely, even though Manichaeism itself may have been of little concern to the Byzantine after the religion was exterminated within the bounds of the Empire after the sixth century, Johns main concern -as Kotter states- is dualism, which was far from being of little relevance to the Byzantine mind. Indeed, one might argue that, states Hamilton (1981), the Byzantines were obsessed by the threat of dualism, in the forms of Paulicianism- which had already made its appearance in John'lifetime- and Bogom- ilism, both of which were regarded by Byzance heresiologists as being forms of Manichaeism. While it is a puzzle that John's treatrise against the Minichees attracted so little later attention, it is also worth asking why he composed it. Louth (2002:64) responds to this interrogation in these words:

> 'Manicheaeism, as we have seen, had been exterminated in the Byzantine Empire, but in the Umayyad Empire, and there is some evidence that the tolerance of the Umayyads for other faiths, especially 'people of the book'- which the Manichees could claim to be with some justification- led to the revival of the Manichees within the former eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, and perhaps the return of some exiled Manichees to Mesopotamia. It is thus possible John's engagement with Mani- chaeism was a matter of immediate concern rather than being simply theoretical.'

In addition, clarifies Louth (2002: 70), the nature of John's engage- ment with Manichaeism in this dialogue is puzzling. The issues dis- cussed –dualism, the origin of evil, the nature of the devil and eternal punishment, the nature of providence- are all issues on which Christians

and Manichees disagreed[342]. In his response to Manichees' attack, John of Damascus, argues Louth (2002: 70), returned to what they had said, and the agenda of the debate was determined entirely by John of Damascus himself.

Let us conclude this point with the words of Lieu (1988: 175): 'The anti Manichaean works of Byzantine theologians including John of Damascus should perhaps be interpreted as 'a standard form of rhetorical training for the theologians', given that Manichaeism no longer existed as a religion within the Byzantine Empire after the end of the sixth century'. Although, says Louth (2002: 70), as we have seen, Manichaeism may have had something of a revival in Mesopotamia and Syria under the Umayyads, John's dialogue with a Manichee does not look like a genuine engagement with Manichaean ideas; it is, rather, an opportunity to refute dualism and solve the theological problems to which dualism might seem to provide an answer.

Given that these are issues that engaged his Muslim contemporaries, and the fact that John at one point seeks to respond to problems raised by the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, one might conjecture that this dialogue was indeed a rhetorical exercise, from the time when John was in contact with Muslims, his ears full of their debates and their taunts against Christianity. If this work does belong to John's time in Damascus, we might also see in it a safe way for him to think through arguments that were hotly contentious among Muslim thinkers, as well as meant to work out a defence against Muslim objections to Christianity, in a way that would not attract unwelcomed attention. John's defence of human free will might have been thought to align him with the Qadarites, who asserted the reality of human free will, believing that an abso-

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[342] There are, states Louth (2002: 70), much the same issues as those covered by the four chapters in *Expos.* 92: 'That God is not the cause of evil'; 93: 'That there are not two principles'; 94: 'Why God created beings, foreknowing that they would sin and not repent'; 95: 'On the law of God and the law of sin. '

lute determinism was unworthy of God (note how John defends the notion of eternal punishment against the idea that it is unworthy of God). Qadarites were apparently, to be found in the administration of Damascus, as was John, and were the object of persecution by the Umayyad Caliphs, including 'Abd al-Malik, whom John's father served as treasurer. If the Dialogue against Manichees belonged to the early period of John's life, when he was in Damascus, this might explain why so few manuscripts of the text survived. Copies of such early work might not have been part of collections of the works of John the monk.

4.4.3. Messalians

Although John of Damascus, notes Louth (2002: 71), tells us a great deal about Messalianism[343]. Indeed, his engagement with this heresy is

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[343] According to Clifton (1992: 95–96), Epiphanius of Salamis mentioned two types of Messalians, a name he defined as meaning 'those who pray.' The earlier sect he described as deriving from neither Christian nor Jewish roots. Messalians are simply Pagans who admit the existence of gods, but worship none of them. They adore one God only, whom they call the Almighty. Some of the Messalians, according to Epiphanius, prayed outdoors in the morning and evening, but others 'have built for themselves something like proper churches where they gather at evening and morning with much lighting of lamps and torches and lengthy singing of hymns and acclamations to God by the zealous among them. Through which hymns are acclamations they fondly think to conciliate God'. By going out into the open air, he added, they 'departed from the truth.' Epiphanius also described a contemporaryfourth century group of Christian Messalians, 'people who haverenounced the world and withdrawn from what is theirs, and sleep in the same place together, men with women and women with men, in the puplic squares when it is summer, because, they have no possessions on earth.' In this lifestyle, Messalians claim the model of Christ and his disciples; we may see a prefiguring of such later heresies as the Free Spirit. The Messalians beg for their needs, Epiphanius added, and preach nonsense: 'Whichever of them you ask will say that he is whoever you want. If you say 'prophet', they will say: Iam a prophet. If you say 'Christ', he will say: Iam Christ, and if you say 'patriarch',

rather different from his engagement with either Manichaeism or Islam. In both the later cases we see John of Damascus bringing up own arguments, whereas in the case of Messalianism, what we have is rather a kind of dossier. Messalianism was the last of the heresies included in Epiphanius's *Panarion,* and John includes the brief section devoted to Mesalianism from the *Anakephalaiosis,* which forms the basis of John's *On Heresies*. But John of Damascus adds two lengthy sections, the first called 'Chapters of the impious doctrine of the Messalians, taken from their book', and the second being an extract from Theodoret's *Church History,* in which he tells of the Messalians. These two sections amount to a remarkable dossier, telling us virtually all that we know about this heresy. To recall, we can retain that Messalians were members of an enthusiastic monastic group that emerged in the fourth century. Their name states Louth (2002:72), derives from the Syriac, *Msalyane,* meaning 'those who pray', which was translated into Greek as Massaliano, or translated as *Euchitai*. Who or what they were is obscure, as most of what we know about them directly comes from their enemies. As their name suggests, reveals Louth (2002:72), the Messalians originated in Syria. Their name also points to the importance they attached to pray. In the propositions drawn from the *Asketikon* it appears that they attributed almost exclusive power to prayer. To be saved, all one could do was

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he will not hesitate to say that that is who he is, or 'angel', he will say that too. Oh, the frivolity of the human mind!' In Mesopotamia, some Messalians lived in monasteries or 'folds', Epiphanius wrote, 'they wear sack-cloth for all to see.' These Messalians reminded Epiphanius of the Manichaeism elect, who did not work and lived on fruit. Epiphanius argued that they should follow instead the words of Paul in 2 Thessalonians 3, 10: 'For even during our stay with you welaid down the rule; the man who will not work shall not eat.' Furthermore, some historians perceive a connection between the Messalians and Montanism or the New Prophecy movement. Finally the term 'Messalian' was also applied in the eleventh century to some heretics in the Byzanzine Empire whowere accused of worshipping Satanel—an angel fallen from heaven, practicing sexual orgies, and otherwise acting as Epiphanius described the Gnostics.

pray for the descent of the Holy Spirit, which, when gratend, was experienced in a palpable way- 'as a women experience intercourse with her husband'; (Haeres, 80, 22). The sacraments, the Episcopal hierarchy, and priestry ministry were of no value.

A long with this insistence on prayer, the Messalians depicted the fallen human state in the darkest colours. As a result of Adam's primal sin, sin had become a kind of second nature to human beings. Inside, they experienced the mingling of good and evil, the presence of evil being due to a demonic force. Only the Holy Spirit could drive out this demon. To acquire the Spirit, all one could do was to pray. Another problem posed by the Messalianism concerns the relationship of the so-called Macarian Homilies to this movement. Many of the passages of the *Asketikon* condemned as Messalian seem to be drawn from these homilies; indeed, the comparison with the Macarian Homilies are even more striking in the material kept by John of Damascus. First noticed in the 1920s, the apparent dependence of the most influential sources, along with the words of Evagrios, of Byzantine monastic spirituality, has caused heated debates. But it is now coming to be accepted that, although the *Asketikon* draws on the language and ideas of the Macarian Homilies, the author of the homilies is in fact often critical of the more extreme tendencies of Messalianism, and the most recent study of this question, by Klaus Fitschen (1998: 218), comes to the conclusion that 'the Messalians were therefore a group that grew out of the same ascetical milieu as Ps-Makarios, shared his ideas, but radicalized them, as well as making use of both his writings and the oral tradition. Ps-Makarios is not Messalian heresiarch, nor even a Messalian theologian, but an involuntary source of slogans feeding the movement'. The direct' sources for Messalianism, mentioned above, includes as well the chapter of John's *On Heresies,* a list put together by Timothy of Constantinople towards the end of the late sixth century, and the nearly contemporary accounts by the fifth-century theologian and church historian Theodoret: the pas-

sage from his *Church History* that John reproduces and also a chapter from his *Compendium of Heretical Fables* (*PG*83.429–432) With the words of Louth (2002: 76), we shall retain that the long life of Messalianism as a heretical category in Byzantine theology and heresiology is probably due to the persistence of this tradition in Byzantine monasticism, when spiritual experience tend to overshadow sacramental efficiency. The prominence given to Messalianism in John's *On Heresies* is an early indication. This is why we must be grateful, for without John's chapter on Messalianism, our knowledge of that movement would even be poorer.

4.4.5 Monothelites

As states Louth (2002: 166), in John's Christological works, one of the most popular, judging by the manuscript tradition, was John of Damascus' treatise *On the Two Wills in Christ*. It was oriented against the Monothelites[344]. Indeed, Monothelitism was a refinement of Monener-

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[344] Historically speaking, notes JH Blunt (1874: 335), this heretical school developed in the Eastern Church in the earlier half of the seventh century, through an attempt to harmonize the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation with the opinion held by monophysites. Its distinctive tenet was that the Divine and Human Natures of Christ did not possess separate Divine Wills, but one Will, partly Human and partly Divine. The name of Monothelites first appears in the writings of John of Damascus in the middle of the eighth century, but the origin of their opinion may be traced as far back as Severus, the deprived patriarch of Antioch, who, during the last fifteen years of his life (A. D 520–535) resided in Alexandria, and became the founder of the later school of Monophysites. In the some fragments of his writings, which have come dawn to modern times, Severus remarks that our Lord's words, 'Not My will, but Thine be done', (Kuke xxxii, 42) do not prove the existence of a will distinct from the Divine Will, nor that there was any struggle or resistance on the part of the Saviour's Soul as if He had a human fear of death or a human unwillingness to die; but that the words are so set down by way of accommodation, and for Christian instruction. But the distinct formulation of the Monothelite dogma is attributed to Theodore,

gism, devised by the theologians of the Byzantine capital in a further attempt to heal the long-standing schism between Monophysite and Orthodox in the East. . In that regard it seems to have had a little success, but there were supporters of Chalcedon in the eastern provinces who embraced it: namely, the Maronites[345] of the Lebanon. They were unimpressed by the decision of the Ecumenical Synod held in Constantinople in 680–681 and as at the time, they were beyond the reach of the Byzantine Emperor, they continued unhindered their adherence to Monothelitism. John of Damascus' treatise against Monothelitism exists in two slightly different forms in manuscript tradition. In the lengthy treatise, John explains carefully the nee d to confess the two wills in Christ. The treatise begins, by presenting the Chalcedonian logic of *hypostasis* and nature, demonstrating how it operates in both Trinitarian theology and Christology[346]. John then moves on to expound his doctrine of hu-

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bishop of Pharan in Arabia. Moreover, specifies Letourneau (2005: 412), etymologically, the word 'monothelitism' derives from two Greek words: '*monos*' (a one), and '*ethelô*' (will). The followers of this Christological heresy affirm the existence of one will in Christ. The initiator of this movement intended to convince Egyptian Mononphysites and Jacobites to be won over to the Chalcedon Christological Creed (451). Constantinople III Synod (680–681) condemned Monothelitism. By his '*Ekthésis*', decree on Faith, of 638, The Emperor Heraclius looked for a compromise solution without success. Finally, Dagron (1993: 40–49) through his research on *Église et la chrétienté Byzantines entre les invasions et l'iconoclasme vii-vii siècle* considers this controversy as a neochacedonian expression, and an expression of contention between the Eastern Church and the State (Emperor Heraclius).

[345] For Van Roey (1944: 30), at the time of the Crusades, the Maronites accepted papal authority although many of them continued to adhere to Monothelitism as late as the fifteenth century. On the Maronites and Monothelitism, see Suermann (1998: 159–237, 259–267); Atiya (1968: 75–78).

[346] The errors of Christological heresy, explains Louth (2002: 167), arise from the confusion of these terms: that is, confusion between the definitions of 'nature' and 'person.' Both Monophysites and Nestorians confuse these terms and argue that one person implies one nature, or that two natures imply two persons.

man nature, in which, as we noticed earlier, he develops his doctrine of the angelic state, a purely spiritual condition, contrasting with the human state, in which the spiritual and the material are united. All the functions of human nature, whether active (*energeiai*) or passive (*pathè*), are innocent; there is nothing natural that is opposed to God the Creator.

However, the spiritual being is created rational, and, by the free inclination (*gnômê*) or choice of will, it can be good or evil. John of Damascus goes on to clarify the nature of the will. In fact, 'will' (*thelêma*) is an ambiguous term. It can mean either the process of will (*thelêsis*), or the thing or action willed (*thelêton*). The process of willing is a matter of nature; only a being with a free rational nature can have a will. But the act of willing, as we know it, it involves a process of deliberation, leading to inclination (*gnômê*). Persons will, and will in a particular way- indeed, they will particular thing. They are, however only able to will because they have a nature that is free. It is the confusion over the nature of the will that leads to the heresy of Monothelitism. Monothelites confuse the different meanings of will, and they leed to conclude that because Christ wills as a single person, it must follow that he has a single natural will. On the contrary, Christ's wills are both human and divine; there is no opposition to the wills in Christ, for nothing natural is opposed to the divine will of the Creator; the two natural wills are always united in being directed to a single goal. John sustains his account by listing definitions of natural will as being essentially' rational desire'. This is naturally directed towards the good, drawn from the Fathers, especially Ireneaeus and Clement of Alexandria. These definitions reveals Madden (1982), come immediately from Maximos's Christological *Opuscula*, and it has been argued that it is unlikely that any of these definitions is genuine; they demonstrate, nevertheless, John's dependence on the Confessor. John of Damascus moves on from this exposition

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Confusion also typically arose over the natural will and hypostatic or personal or 'gnomic' will, in the case of the Monothelites.

of the correct use of terms to a more theological argument -that God in the Incarnation respects the integrity of the natural is a theological argument, and- that Monothelitism jeopardizes human salvation in the same way as Apollinarianism[347] did. Later on in *On the Two Wills,* John of Damascus waxes eloquent thoroughly about Christ's human experience. Citing scriptural support at every step, he argues Christ's posses-

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[347] In his impressive and classical book, Wand (1955: 63–88), deals with Apollinarianism in *The Four Great Heresies.* Before that, in the introduction to the book, Wand describes the early struggles, and summarises the meaning of heresy and the difference between heresy and schism as follows: 'Heresy is bad theology. It is not necessarily bad religion, but like all wrong thinking, it may lead to bad religion. Religion and theology are not identical. Religion is our belief in God and our effort to live by that belief. Theology is the effort to give a rational explanation of our belief: it is thinking about religion. Heresy is a mistake in that thinking. It is therefore bad theology. A distinction should be drawn between heresy and schism. Schism is a cleavage in the ecclesiastical organisation, a breach in the unity of the Church. In itself it implies not contitutional but intellectual alienation in the main body of Christians. It is failure to think with the mind of the Church. It was the way in which a person chose to think. Historically, for this author, the year 95 is considered the beginning of the first heresy—the Ebionites and Docetics. For him, the four great heresies are: Arianism, Apolinarianism, Nestorianism and Eutychinism. In addition, concerning Apollinarian heresy, we can note, first of all, that Apollinaius was a theologian, well read in philosophical and classical literature, a scholar and teacher, and bishop of Laodicea during the fourth century. When the pagan Emperor Julian had forbidden Christian teachers to give instruction in the classics, he set to work to reproduce the scriptures in classical form, turning the early part of the Old Testament into an epic poem of twenty-four books, and the gospels into Platonic dialogues, as well as producing a number of tragedies and comedies in the style of the Greek dramastists. The importance of Apollinarius lies in the fact that he was the first to make a genuinely psychological approach to the examination of the persona of Christ. To him, there was only one Person concerned. There were not two Christs, a divine and a human, subsumed under the name of Jesus Christ. The other given fact was the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father.

sion of a human soul and a body, the arrangement of his bodily members, 'the mouth that bestows the Holy Spirit', teeth and throat, stomach, liver, muscles and nerves which, when exercised, lead to tiredness, a foreskin that was circumcised, buttocks with which he sat on a donkey, a back that was scourged, cheeks that were slapped, and a face that was spat on. That he had the activities and passions (*energeiai* and *pathê*) of the soul is clear from his weeping over Jerusalem and at the death of Lazarus. He tasting the bitterness of gall mixed with wine, his touching the leper, his physical nourishment and growth, his hunger, his thirst, his anger, his own sweat, saliva, blood, and water. Much of this expressed by John in contemporary medical terms. John concludes: 'The two natures, divine and human, come together in a genuine union, in which they work together.' (See Louth 2002: 171).

At last, John's difference states Louth (2002: 172), from Monothelitism is sharper than his difference from Monophysitism, which might seem surprising, since Monothelitism accepted Chalcedon and was intended as a compromise between Monophysitism and Chalcedon orthodoxy. Perhaps this only goes to show the danger of compromise in ecumenical dialogue. But the reason for John's position is clear: in his eyes, the Monophysites are simply muddled, whereas the Monothelites base their heresy on the denial of a human will in Christ, which in John's eyes is tantamount to a denial of human salvation.

4.4.6. Ishmaelites

John of Damascus according to Le Coz (1992: 70), did not use the word Islam[348] or Muslim to designate this religious movement and its

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[348] This name of the last of the great Semitic religions derives from the verb 'aslama' (slm: to subject oneself to). This word states Fazlur Rahman (1987: 1) literally means 'to submit to God's will or law.' This verb, states Guellouz (1993: 263) also means 'put in peace' or 'to make his peace.' In consequence,

followers. He designates them respectively by 'Ishmaelite'. The word 'Muslism or Moslim' was later used by Byzantine Polemists, specifically in the first time by Barthélémy of Edessa through his work entitled *Réfutation d'un Agarène* (PG 104. Col. 1393 C, 1401 D: τών μουσουλμανών). For Louth (2002: 76), the final heresy –apart from Christological heresies, which will be dealt with in the following section[349] of this chapter- to which John of Damascus devotes his attention, is Islam[350]. In the surviving works credited to John of Damascus, there are states Louth (2002: 76), two works that discuss Islam[351]: the final

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the Muslim is somebody who lives in peace with God without contesting his power.

[349] See infra the section 4.4.7 Iconoclasts.

[350] In his book, Belloc (1968: 72–139) deals with this religion by naming it 'the great and enduring heresy of Mohammed'. But Belloc (1968: 98–99) notices the specificity of the fact that 'this heresy is different from others for two reasons which would be carefully retained as follows: First, 'it did not rise within the Church, that is, within the frontiers of our civilisation. Its heresiarch was not a man originally Catholic who led away Catholic followers by his novel doctrine as did Arius or Calvin. He was an Outsider born a pagan, living among pagans, and never baptized. He adopted Christian doctrines and selectedamong them in the true heresiarch fashion.' Second, 'this body of Islam attacking Christendom from beyond its frontiers and not breaking it up from within, happened to be continually recruited with fighting material of the strongest kind and drafted in from the pagan outer darkness. '

[351] For more extensive analysis on the authorship of John of Damascus' works upon Islam, see Le Coz, R. (1992) Jean Damascène: Ecrits sur l'Islam. Présentation, Commentaires et Traduction in *Sources Chrétiennes no 383*, Paris, Cerf, *passim*; Sahas, D. (1972) *John of Damascus on Islam: The 'Heresy of the Ishmaelites'*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, *passim;* A. T. Khoury (1969: 47–82); Hoyland (1997: 480–489). Moreover, this heresy in *On Heresies* occupies chapter 100/10, and it is named 'the heresy of Ishmaelites. In fact, concerning the place (100 or 101) of this heresy depends on which edition one uses. Indeed, remarks Sahas (1972: 57), the study of manuscripts has shown that the *De Haeresibus* included originally only one hundred chapters and that the one hundredth was the one which appears in Lequiem's and Migne's editions as chapter 101 on Islam. This

chapter of *On Heresies* and his *Dispute between a Saracen and a Christian*. The authenticity of both these works has been questioned[352]. This is partly the case because the version in which *On Heresies* has long-been known, published in Migne's *Patrology Graeca* (PG 94.677–780), consists of 103 chapters, of which the last two are on Islam. It has sometimes been suggested that the last three chapters constitute an addition by John to an already existing work of 100 chapters or, on the contrary, that these additional three chapters[353] were added later.

Kotter's edition reveals that the original version of *On Heresies* was a century[354], and that the chapter on Islam was the final Chapter. Part of

conclusion comes in accordance with the creedal statement at the end of *De Haeresibus* which mentions explicitly that the heresies included in this book number one hundred. All these heresies have been stated briefly because they are the ones which gave birth to the remainder. In addition, the *Doctrina Patrum* also includes one hundred heresies, Islam being the last one. Finally, Dyovouniotes (1903: 44), considers the three heresies after Islam as later interpolations in *De Haeresibus.*

[352] The question of whether this writing is authentically that of John of Damascus constitutes the main topic of Sahas (1972: 60–66). In fact, the *Doctrina Patrum* includes only a very small portion of the text of Chapter 101, which has been edited by Lequiem and Migne. Diekamp (1907) has expressed the opinion that John of Damascus borrowed it for his list of heresies, but this thesis has been challenged by the study of Kotter. The opposite opinion has been expressed by Altaner (1961: 636) without further elaboration, namely that Chapter 101 was added by another author. Furthermore, the great majority of scholars consider the chapter on Islam as an authentic writing of John of Damascus.

[353] For Chase (1958: xxxi) these three last chapters (101 to 103) constitute the original part of *On Heresies.* We find in this part the following heresies: the Ishmaelites, or Mohamedians; the Christiancategori, or Iconoclasts, and the Aposchistae, a sect which rejected the sacraments and the priesthood, and for which this is our only source of information.

[354] Chase (1958: xxxi) explains the prehistory of this number 'century.' Indeed, the 'century', or group of one hundred sentences or chapters, was a popular literary form with Eastern ecclesiastical writers. It was used for the first time by Evagrius Ponticus (died in 398). St. Maximus the Confessor (died in 662) also

this demonstration points to an early manuscript (Mosqu. Synod. gr. 315), from the ninth or tenth century, which closes with chapter 100 on Islam, claiming, that the view, long held, about the chapter on Islam[355] depends on the *Treasury of Orthodoxy* by the twelfth –or thirteenth – century Nicetas Choniates can no longer be maintained. However, remarks Louth (2002: 76–77), the case of the *Dispute* is rather different. Robert Grosseteste, who translated it in the thirteenth century, first explicitly ascribed it to John. The Arab Christian theologian Theodore Abu Qurrah used it, however, in the ninth century, which indicates that the material in it cannot be much later than John himself. It has plausibly been suggested that the *Dispute* is based on John's oral teaching, rather than having actually been written down by him (see Kotter1981: 420–421).

Contrary to his other works where he drew his accounts from patristic sources and consisted of compilation of earlier patristic material, in his writings on the Islam, John of Damascus, however, is a pioneer. In addition, the two works constitute the earliest explicit discussions of Islam by Christian theologians. Explicit, because explains Griffith (1987), and Haldon (1992: 131), it is evident that Anastasios of Sinai is

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used it. The third part of the *Fount of Knowledge* is itself a 'century' of dogmatic chapters. Le Coz (1992 71) describes the number 'hundred' as the synonym of perfection. See also I. Hausher (1953) 'Centuries-Ἑϰστοντάς' in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité,* t. II, Paris, Beauchesne, col. pp. 416–418.

[355] Islam, remarks Ducellier (1996: 32–33), was not regarded as a heresy by contemporary Christians at its beginning. In fact, the error to qualify it as a heresy comes from the custom to consider every new doctrine as derived from a pre-existent religion, which tended to deny originality to any new doctrine, and on the other hand, the old Jewish phobic feeling against Christianity gave a suspect colour to any wave of religion which grew out of Judaism. This attitude of contemporary Christians to the advent of Islam is more important, because it give birth to two false judgments on the origins of Islam: the fact of definingthe Islamic religionas a heresy, and not a new doctrine; and the fact that the origins of Islam were seen as a consequence of a plot made by Jews against Christians.

aware of Islam and some of the Qur'anic traditions. They are thus of intrinsic interest. Both works present Islam as politically dominant: *On Heresies* 100 presents it as 'the religion that leads people astray and prevails up to the present' and both works give the impression that Christians are under pressure from the Saracens[356] to Defend their faith. *On Heresies* 100 we find an attempt to give an account of Islam, while the *Dispute*, simply goes through a series of topics of disagreement between Muslim and Christian or topics for debate on which the Muslim hope to corner the Christian and demonstrate the absurdity of Christian theology. The final chapter of *On Heresies* begins by identifying its subject as the 'religion of the Ishmaelites[357] that leads people astray and

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[356] This word, states Le Coz (1992: 70), for John of Damascus designatess the adept of Islam that he calls 'religion of Ishmaelite.' That is to say that John of Damascus did not use the words 'Islam' and 'Muslim'. These words were invented later. But we think that it is wise to use them, because these words were thoroughly used in Arabian current speech for designating 'Islam', as a religion, and 'Muslimum' as the adherent of this religion.

[357] Because, explains Chase (1958: 153), they are descended from Ishmael, who was born to Abraham of Agar, and for this reason they are called both Agarensand *Ishmaelites*. The historian Sozomen also says that they were descended from Agar, but called themselves descendants of Sara to hide their servile origin (Ecclesiastial *History* 6, 38 PG 67.1412 AB). They are also called *Saracens*, which is derived from Σαρραςκενοι or *destitute of Sarra,* because of what Agar said to the angel: 'Sara hast sent me away destitute' (Gen. 16,8). Moreover, the Damascene's derivation of 'Saracen', notes Louth (2002: 78), etymologically perhaps a term meaning 'Eastern' applied to Arabs, is more fanciful. John's etymologies, however, identify Islam as the religion of the Arabs, which is historically sound for the Umayyad period, though contrary to the portrayal of Islam in the Qur'an as a universal religion. This people, says John, once worshipped the morning star and Aphrodite. They remained idolaters until the time of the Emperor Herakleios, when there appeared a false prophet called Muhammad. He concocted his own heresy, from conversation with an Arian monk. He made out that there had been revealed to him a 'scripture from heaven', and from these 'laughable revelations' he taught his followers to worship God. Furthermore, Ishmael was Abraham's elder son by his wife's slave. He figures in

prevails up to the present', and asserts that to be the 'forerunner of the Antichrist[358]'. Following John of Damascus tradition on texts on Islam, three propositions may be formulated concerning the intention of this ChurchFather on this religious movement at its beginning. Indeed, states Le Coz (1992: 71–75), first of all, the only sources of information of John of Damascus to compose these writings on Islam were based on his personal knowledge of this religion and this during his youth, over thirty forty years earlier. His memory, so far back is bound to certain inaccuracies or even errors in these texts on Islam. Secondly, on the eve of the eight century, the full text of Qur'an was not yet finely edited[359] as was

the Qur'an — nor is Sarah mentioned by name. In conclusion, the 101[st]heresy, states Sahas (1972: 70), gives three names to the Muslims: Ishmaelites, Hagarens, and Saracens.

[358] In the same year, states Sahas (1972: 68), that the *Fount of Knowledge* was written (743). Peter, bishop of Maiuma, was sentenced to death because he condemned Islam publicly and he called Muhammad a 'false prophet' and the forerunner of the Antichrist. This expression, however, was not employed for the first time against only Islam and Muhammad. It had been used for Emperor Leo III, his son Constantine V, the Patriarch of Constantinople John VII Grammaticos (836–842) and possibly for some other prominent political and religious leaders. This grave accusation was directed against those who were believed to lead men astray from the Orthodox faith, by 'deceiving' the believers. Thus, in a special chapter 'On the Antichrist' in the *De Fide Orthodoxa* John of Damascus considers as Antichrist not only Satan, but also any man 'who does not confess that the Son of God came in flesh, is perfect God and He became perfect man while at the same time He was God'. In accordance with his definition John of Damascus applied this name to Nestorius, whom he called 'Antichrist' as well as 'son of Satan', for ascribing to Mary the name'*Christokos*' instead of '*Theotokos.*' It is obvious, therefore, that the epithet 'forerunner of the Antichrist' was a condemnation of those who perverted the basic doctrines of the Church especially with regard to the divinity of Christ, and as such it was used against Islam.

[359] For an excellent survey on the constitution of the Qur'an version, see R. Blachère (2002): *Le Coran*. Treizième édition, Paris, PUF, p. 14–30; *Le Coran* (1967) *Introduction, Traduction et Notes par D. Masson,* Paris, Gallimard, p. xl-xliv; R. Analdez (1983): *Le Coran: guide de lecture,* Paris, Desclée, p. 40–46. In

the case with the Hadith, on the Prophet's tradition. For this reason it would not be wise to judge John of Damascus'apprehension on Islam with our present knowledge of Islam. Third, the intention of John of Damascus was neither to offer a complete treatise of the Islamic faith, nor to present this religion with the idea and the purpose of entering dialogue[360], as we understand it today.

Nevertheless, the book of heresies was written for another purpose: to fight against the errors and false doctrines. Specifically, by the heresy 100, John of Damascus denounces Islamic dogmas and customs in that they clash with Orthodoxy and Christian morality. Fourthly, John of Damascus did not bring confusion on the definition of heresy as a 'commonly accepted opinion by a group of persons, but rejected by others. He saw it as a dogmatic error in the strict sense' (see Le Coz 1992: 63). Concerning Muhammad's teaching Louth (2002: 78–80), synthesizes it as follows. In fact, the essence of Muhammad's teaching is that there is one God, the creator of everything, who himself neither begets nor is begotten. Christ is a word of God and his spirit, created and slave, born from the Virgin Mary. Christ was not crucified, nor did he die, but was assumed into heaven by God 'because he loved him'.

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addition, John of Damascus, notes Sahas (1972: 74), employs constantly the word$γραφή$—scripture or book when referring to the Qur'an. The Qur'an itself uses the word *Kitab* (Book) as a self-designation, as well as a name for all the revealed Scriptures.

[360] The breakdown of this dialogue, argues King (1966: 81), may be the consideration of early Islam by certain Christians. Through his article on *De Haeresibus. CI* andIslam, in which this author expects to review what John of Damascus' *oeuvre* tells us about the encounter of Christianity and Islam in late patristic times, and what relevance it has for us today. He notes that in these words: 'We may suppose that classifying Islam as a Christian heresy contributed something to the break-down of discussion. More probably political and social circumstances forced upon the Greek Fathers the acceptance of a kind of 'apartheid', which remained the status quo even when the Turks replaced 'the Saracens'.'

After this brief account of Muhammad's teaching, John becomes critical. He criticizes the revelation to Muhammad, because there were no witnesses- he draws an unfavourable comparison with Moses- indeed, the revelation was made to Muhammad in his sleep. John then turns to Muslim attacks on Christians. First, he dwells on the charge of being 'associates' (*hetairiastai*)—that is, those who associate with someone, in this case Christ, with God, and thus they depart from the unique sovereignty of God[361] . Secondly, the charge of being 'idolatrous', who worship the Cross. John defends Christians against these charges. In the first case, he appeals to the Scriptures, in particular to the prophets, who teach that Christ is 'the Son of God and God', and further argues that if Christ is the word and spirit of God, then to deny that Christ is God is to deny the divinity of the word and spirit of God. As a result, John calls the Muslims in turn 'mutilators' (of God). In the second case, he charges Muslims with worshipping the *Ka'ba* at Mecca, and mocks the traditions he alleges are associated with the *Ka'ba*[362]. Therefore, it is worth reflecting specifies Louth (2002: 79), on the nature of these charges against Christians with which John is familiar. The charge of *shirk* is a standard charge against most non- Muslims, including Christians, in the Qur'an, but the charge of idolatry because of Christian veneration of the Cross is not. There is, however, in the *hadith,* -traditions about Muhammad- a story about a discussion between Muhammad and some Christians, in which he represented, saying: 'What prevents you from becoming Muslims is your claim that God had a son and your worship of the Cross and eating the flesh of swine' (see Haleem 1996: 77). Such a charge is not surprising, as there is a good deal of evidence that in the seventh century Jews taunted Christians with

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[361] This accusation, asserts Louth (2002: 78), is called *shirk* in Arabic.

[362] Le Coz (1992: 117–119) and Sahas (1972: 86–89) demonstrate that John of Damascus is in some confusion here, perhaps associating slaughteron the Ka'ba during the Hajj with Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.

idolatry for venerating the cross-as well as icons and relics[363]-. It may well be that Muslims added this charge to the Qur'anic accusation of *shirk*. Then, John turns to discuss the Qur'an. He discusses or mentions four suras, which he calls 'the woman', 'the camel of God', 'the table', and 'the cow'[364]. Three of them can be identified: 'the woman' is sura 4 – properly: 'woman'-; 'The table', sura 5; 'The cow, sura 2 –all lengthy suras, dated by scholars to the later Medinan period of Muhammad's life. The sura called 'The camel of God' does not appear in the Qur'an. In his discussion of the sura 'Woman', John of Damascus criticizes the Muslim law of marriage permitting polygamy and divorce; he also accuses Muhammad of adultery over Zayd. Although there is no sura called 'camel of God', elements of the story which John tells of the camel occur in the Qur'an (in sura 7, 11, 17, 26, 54, 91), though there appears to be no trace of the accompanying story of the 'little camel'. John uses the story to attack the prophetic authority of Muhammad, and mocks his portraying of paradise. John's account of the sura 'The table' is very brief, summarizing accurately enough the passage in which Christ asked God for a table and was given an incorruptible table.

Of the sura 'The cow', John simply says that it contains some 'ridiculous sayings' which he is going to pass over. *On Heresies* 100 closes abruptly with a list of Muslim customs: the practice of circumcision, even in the case of women, abjuring the Sabbath and baptism, diet laws forbidding certain foods allowed by the Old Testament and permitting others that are forbidden.

Finally, the absolute prohibition of wine is mentioned without any more comments. There is concludes Louth (2002: 80), no doubt from

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[363] Leontios of Neapolis, Jerome of Jersalem, Stephen of Bostra, and Isaac of Nineveh all defended the veneration of the Cross against Jewish objections of idolatry, the first three in conjunction with the veneration of icons (see Louth 2002: 79).

[364] John of Damascus uses the unusual diminutive *boidion,* 'little ox', which is, however, found in Scripture (Jer. 27,1, LXX).

this that John has a fairly accurate picture of Islam. First, he dates Muhammad correctly, and knows about the revelations that come from the Qur'an. Secondly, he seems to know of the Qur'an as a book, and knows certain of the suras, though it appears that he was mistaken about 'The camel of God', however much of the stories he relates are authentic enough. Third, his summary of Muslim teaching, especially, is accurate, as it affects Christian beliefs. His account of charges made by Muslims against Christians is precisely what one would expect, even though some John's replies reveal a level of misunderstandings of Muslim practices. Fourth, if *On Heresies* 100 is indeed by John, then from his knowledge of the Qur'an, limited as it is, one can deduce that he was familiar with parts of the Qur'an in the Arabic original, as the earliest Greek translations post-date him.[365]

In addition, if states Louth (2002: 81), if in the chapter of *On Heresies*, we have a Christian response to a credible, early Muslim attack on

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[365] All this, suggests Louth (2002: 80–81), is entirely likely, from what little is known of John's upbringing in Damascus. But I am tempted to go further, and suggest that it fits in with the account of the growth of Islam that has been advanced by scholars in the last decades. According to this account, associated especially with Patricia Crone (1980, 1987) and Patricia Crone and Cook (1977), Islam was not fully formed by the time of the death of Muhammad in 632, but was, in part, a reaction to the success of the Arab conquest of the Middle East in the 630s and 640s. Form a movement inspired by apocalyptic Judaism, emerging Islam distinguished and separated itself from Judaism, and found its identity in the revelations made to Muhammad. The development of the religion took some decades, and only towards the end of the seventh century did something recognizable as Islam emerge. John's account, if written at the turn of the century, would fit with such a picture. The clear sense of Islam as a (pseudo)—prophetic religion, focusing on the unity and transcendence of God, John's understanding of Islam as finding its identity in Ishmael (as opposed to Isaac), his rather fluid awareness of the scriptural status of the revelations made to Muhammad— awareness of written traditions, most, but not all, of which were soon to find their place in the 'book', the Qur'an: all this fits such a picture. Nevertheless, here is not the place to pursue this topic any further.

Christianity. In the *Dispute* we find something rather different: a Christian engagement with theological issues disputed in early Muslim theology[366]. In fact, as Khoury (1967: 71) remarked long ago, 'one fact has attracted the attention of critics: the text is concerned with the central problems that occupied Muslim theological reflection at the beginning, in the eight century'. So even if, the *Dispute between a Saracen and a Christian,* in its present form, is unlikely to be by John.

It is however appropriate to discuss it here, for it concerns issues that were lived in the Damascene's time, issues to which he certainly devoted much attention. Certainly topics were discussed about which Christians and Muslims might well have argued- principally Christological issues, such as the divinity of Christ, and the coherence of the notion of incarnation of the transcendent God- but several times the debate touches on issues that were disputed among early Muslim thinkers, such as reconciliation of human free will with divine predestination, about the created or uncreated status of God's word. The question, about divine providence, is one of the first issues we know to have been discussed in early Muslim speculative theology (*kalam*). The discussion concerned the nature and extent of the divine decree (*qadar*): does this leave room for humanfree will, or do people act under compulsion? According to Abdel Haleem (1996: 78–79), this dispute gave rise to two groups: the Qadrites, who held that people had *qudrah* (power) over their actions. Some of whom went so far as to deny the pre-existent knowledge of God', and the Jabriyyah, 'who affirmed the divine power and held that one is under compulsion to the extent that God creates one's actions, good or bad, and one is like a feather in the breeze without any power of one's own'. John of Damascus's discussion in the *Dispute* certainly

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[366] See also A. L. Rey (1995) 'Remarques sur la forme et l'utilisation de passages dialogués entre chrétiens et musulmans dans le corpus sur saint Jean Damascène' in AD Lazaridis, V. Barras and T. Birchler (eds.), *ΒΟΥΚΛΕΙΑ Mélanges offerts à Bertrand Bouvier.* Paris: Belles Lettres, p. 70.

reflects awareness of the arguments of the Jabriyyah, whom he repre-
sents as arguing that God is the cause of everything, both good and evil
(*Sarac*. 1.29–30*).* John's response pursues a middle way between the
Qadarites and the Jabriyyah, arguing that God has foreknowledge, but
works with and through his created order, which is itself has a relative
freedom, not least in the case of beings with free will, such as human
beings, so that there is a distinction between what is expressly God's
will, and what takes place by his consent, tolerance, or long-suffering
(*Sarac*. 3.19–20).

It is also worthy to recall here, that the doctrine of providence is a
principal concern in John Damascene's *Dialogue against Manichees,*
which itself, may be seen as reflecting the intellectual climate of early
Islam, of which John seems to have been thoroughly aware. The other
subject of early Muslim debate that seems to be reflected in the *Dispute*
is that concerning the nature of the Qur'an, whether it is created or un-
created. Dispute about this reached its apogee after about a century later,
when the Mu'tazile doctrine that the Qur'an had created was opposed by
Ibn Hanbal, who maintained the orthodox teaching of Islam, namely that
the Qur'an is uncreated, as it is part of God's uncreated attribute of
speech. In the Dispute there seems to be echoes of this debate. In chapter
5, John defends the divinity of Christ by arguing for the eternal aspect of
the attributes of God, such as word and spirit, which he claims are as-
cribed to Christ in the Qur'an itself: the Muslim must accept the eternal
aspect of these attributes, for the alternative would be that before their
creation God was without his word and spirit. John also remarks that to
deny the uncreatedness of God's word and spirit is dire heresy on the
part of the Muslims, and that those who made such a denial could be in
danger for their lives (*Sarac*. 5.19–22): a remark that Le Coz (1992:
162–163) plausibly argues, suggesting a date of the last decade of the
Umayyad Empire – probably the last decade, too, of Damascene's earth-
ly life-. In chapter 6, the Muslims follow up his argument by pursuing

the uncreatedness or not of the 'word' (logia) of God, forcing John to make a distinction between the 'personal' (enypostatos) word of God, which is uncreated, and what are properly called 'divine communications' (*rêmata theou),* which are created.

To sum, in this section, we have to explore John of Damascus' engagement with the manifold variety of heresy. In our opinion, these heresies reflect the nature of Orthodox Christianity in Palestine during the competitive situation for the religions of the Middle East. In addition, this section shows awareness of the emerging structures-especially intellectual structures-of Islam, in the context of which, John of Damascus seeks to define Orthodox Christianity. A last, we learn from Dagron (1993:9) that civilizations, build their reputation through crisis[367], that is why we turn now by demonstrating how through the extremely complex controversy, which occurred in Byzantine Empire during the eighth century, Christianity made and maintained its Orthodoxy.

4.4.7. Iconoclasts

4.4.7.1 The Background of the Iconoclasts[368]

It is known notes Schönborn (1994:8), that John of Damascus is the first Byzantine theologian who had attempted to face up to the attacks of Iconoclast[369]controversy with an elaborate theology. This controversy

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[367] We deduce this idea from Dagron's French sentence '*Les civilisations se forgent dans les crises...'*

[368] According to Sahas (1972: 6), the author of the*Vita* of John of Damascus makes an allusion to the preoccupation of John of Damascus with the Iconoclasm and he, somewhat, distinguishes it from other heresies when he calls it 'the refuted heresy' which constitutes a 'darkness of false beliefs.' Because of his victory over the heresies, this biographer calls John of Damascus 'the greatest and hightest star in the constellation of the Church. '.

[369] This controversy, notes Clifton (1992: 64), not only cited the second commandment to justify their actions, but echoing the earlier Arian and Monophysite controversies over the nature of Christ, claimed that his human and divine

reveals Sörries (2001: 659), lasted almost one and half centuries, from 726 to 843. The controversy remarks Dagron (1993: 94), knew two phases. The first began with Leo III (717–741) and ended with the Nicaea II Ecumenical Council held in 787[370]. It attempts to justify the legitimacy of image-worship[371]. The second phase was launched with Leo V (813–820). It deals with the questioning about whether or not it was allowed to represent Christ by an image, even to portray Him[372]. It

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natures could not be contained in a statue or picture. To make a picture or a statue representing Christ, they said, was a vain attempt to place limits on the divine. In addition, according to the Iconoclast, his only correct representation was in the Eucharistic host. Likewise, a graphic representation of a saint was wrong because the saints were free from their material bodies.

[370] Irene, who assumed the throne after the death of Leo IV, convened this Council. This widow reigns without the support of the colleagues and friends of her deceased husband. She convenes at Constantinople this Council, previously in 786 on his initiative, but this meeting was banned and dispersed by the *tagmata*, the Byzantine army that did not agree this meeting by which Irena would like to reinstitute image worship. Nevertheless, by this council, Irene would reign based on the support of many people who agreed with image worship. That is the reason why, by treachery, one year later, she convened this Council again at Nicaeaafter she had been taken the precaution of moving the *tagmata* awayfrom Constantinopleon the pretext of the campaign against Arabarmy [see Cheynet. (2006: 17)].

[371] The Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787) permitted and explained the veneration of images on the basis, states Sörries (2001: 658–660), of John of Damascus' theology. In fact, John of Damascus supplied the latter with their theological justification, namely, that the visible is an image of the invisible, and that the veneration of images is transferred to that of which they are images. 'The seventh ecumenical council, Nicaea II (787), tried to mediate the controversy by distinguishing between the forbidden adoration of images (*laitreia*) and the permitted veneration (*timetike proskynesis*). Those who favoured images eventually prevailed, but they took steps to establish strict Church supervision for the regulation and systematization of Byzantine art.'

[372] On the other hand, Khawam (1987: 134) considers that the iconoclastic controversy was not only a 'quarrel of images' but a 'political crisis'. In fact, the

ends with the formulation of Icon's theology during a Local Synod held at Kanikléion Palace in 843[373], around Constantinople.

Furthermore, states Louth (2002:193), the period of Iconoclasm was critical for the Byzantine Empire. It can be seen as the last of the religious reactions to the loss of the eastern provinces in the early seventh century, first the Persians, and then, permanently, the Arabs. Indeed, explains Louth, as Monothelitism offered the possibility of healing the divisions between Christians that had weakened the eastern provinces, where such divisions were rife, and then with iconoclasm[374] the Byzantines seemed to take the blame upon themselves, seeing in their plight God's punishment for the idolatry implicitly in the veneration of icons. Moreover, by definition, Iconoclasm was 'a controversy over the use of holy pictures and images in the Eastern Christian (Byzantine) church in the eighth and ninth centuries' (see C.S. Clifton 1992: 64).

Etymologically, this word is derived from the Greek words (*icon*) meaning 'image-breaking', or destroyers of images. Nevertheless, it not easy to define the Iconoclasm controversy, because notes Wilson-Kastner (1980: 139) 'the iconoclast controversy in Byzantium is ex-

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iconoclasts expected two advantages through their strategy. First, it would be a way from which the Byzantine tax system would gainby drawing precious metal off from the artistic objects after their seizure; secondly, to stop the dispersion of monks and their becoming soldiers to defend orthodoxy. Similarly, the Byzantine people still iconodule and was sustained by the Popes Gregory II and Gregory III.

[373] For the second time a woman defended Christian Orthodoxy. Indeed, states Clifton (1992: 64), the Empress Theodora restored icon worship in 843, the position held by the Eastern Orthodox Churches to the present day.

[374] Even if the date of the beginning of iconoclasm is disputed, the date of 726 is commonly proposed as its eve (see Anastos 1968). In addition, the chronology of John's treatises against the iconoclasts would seem to support 726 over 730 (see Louth 2002: 193). Moreover, the bibliography on iconoclasm is vast, relatively uptodate accounts of iconoclasm, with excellent bibliographical references, can be found in Hussey 1986: 30–68, and Dagron 1993: 93–165.

tremely complex, involving political, economic, and social factors, as well as the interplay of theology and popular piety… various dimensions which generally have been well explored, while certain corners remain to be illuminated.'

Similarly, Dagron (1993: 93), who considers the Iconoclasm not as a crisis but as a mutation of the Empire and Orthodoxy, and a period of stability and consolidation after a crisis, it became a cross between theology, of anthropology, and of religious sciences. For Dagron, when Leo III decided to be enthroned at St. Sophia, on 25 March 717, he puts an end to the political imbroglio during which three emperors reigned in six years. By this act, Leo II saved Constantinople which was besieged by Islamic armies (717–718), by giving the political power and succession to his descendents who already constituted a 'embryo of the dynasty of Military Emperors': Constantine V (741–775), Leo IV (775–780).

In addition, the second iconoclasm that began with Leo V (813–820), corresponded to a political and military reestablishment. In fact, Michael II (820–828), passed on the Empire to Theophilus (829–842). His reign is considered as the most brilliant one of the Byzantine times. Sometimes, we guess based on data of dubious authenticity that iconoclast Byzantine Emperors had a high idea of their mission at the head of the Church as was the case during the epoch of the 'Sacerdotal monarchy'of Hebrews (of David or of Melchisedech) in opposition to the theory of the 'two powers'[375]: spiritual and temporal. Furthermore, be-

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[375] According to Sahas (1972: 7), it was by reacting to that conception that John of Damascus opposed Leo's iconoclastic policy and not merely for a theological purpose. He saw also in Leo's edict the danger that the State would interfere in questions of belief, which is the responsibility of the Church alone. In all three treatises—*Orationes*—John of Damascus protests against the interference of the Emperor in the Church's affairs, and he condemns this transgression. In the third *Oration* John of Damascus bursts into a literal condemnation and, although he uses instead the words of Galatians 1,8: 'Even if an angel, or even a king, should teach you contrary to that which you have been handed down—close your ears,

fore ending this prehistory of the Iconoclast controversy, it appears more important to us to demonstrate its theological relevance. In fact, theologically, notes Louth (2002: 195–197), the heart of the iconoclast controversy was a matter of tradition. Did the veneration of icons belong to the tradition of the Church that went back to the Apostles?

Alternatively, was it an innovation - and therefore a corruption, a conclusion of which all sides would have drawn? Modern scholarly discussions have all too readily conceded in the iconoclast case that the veneration of the icons was an innovation. To our knowledge, a recent book[376], on the background to the iconoclast controversy begins with the blunt statement that 'the early Christian community grew out of the picture-free Synagogue (*bildlosen Synagoge*), the Old Testament with its prohibition of banging on pictures as relics or souvenirs for posterity. It is odd that such a statement can still be made, since twentieth –century archaeology has made clear that the early synagogue, not least in Palestine, was far from being 'bildlose'. Dura Europos, with its richly decorated synagogue and church dating from no later than 256, when Dura Europos fell to the Persians, is but one example among many. The traditional scholarly interpretation of the literary evidence from the early Fathers, which sees it as unyieldingly hostile to religious pictorial art, has been questioned in an article, strangely neglected by Byzantine scholars, by Mary Murray (1977), who argues that opposition to religious idolatry – that is, images of pagan gods - is what we find in the Fathers, rather than opposition to religious imagery as such: precisely the argument the iconodules used about the Old Testament prohibition of image- making. Sister Mary Murray's claim has been developed more

for I can hardly restrain from repeating that which the divine Apostle said 'Let him be anathema, until he will correct his mind. '

[376] See Thümmel (1992) *passim*; J Herrin (1987) *The Formation of Christendom,* Oxford, UK, Basil Blackwell, pp. 307–343, above all, MF Auzépy (2006) *L'iconoclasme,* Paris, PUF, *passim.*

recently, and supplemented by archaeological evidence, by Paul Corby Finney (1994). The idea that early Christianity was opposed to the use of religious pictorial imagery must be laid to rest. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the use of religious imagery assumed a more prominent role in religious devotion, both public and private, of Christ as the centuries passed, especially in the East, and that the sixth century, in particular, saw a marked increase in devotion to icons. [377] Popular religious literature begins to tell of wonder-working icons, but it is clear too that Christian icons came to play a role in imperial ceremonies in the latter half of the sixth century (Cameron 1979). By the turn of the century, icons of saints assume the role of protector of cities, the most striking examples being St Demetrios's defence of Thessaloniki against the Slavs and the Avars, and the Virgin's defence of Constantinople, espe-

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[377] The term 'icon', states Louth (2002: 194–195), or 'image' (*eikôn* is the Greek word for image) is meant any representation of Christ, the Mother of God, or the saints (and also angels), or the Cross 'made of colours, pebbles, or any other material that is fit, set in the holy churches of God, on holy utensils and vestments, on walls and boards, in houses and in streets', as the Definition of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod put it. In addition, the term 'icon' is not, in the context of Byzantine iconography, to be restricted to panel icons as in current art-historical usage, but includes mosaics, frescoes, manuscript illustrations, images woven into cloth, engraved on metal, carved in ivory or wood, and probably also statues, though there is little evidence of religious statues in Byzantine except the fine Byzantine ivory statue of the Mother of God in the Victoria and Albert Museum. For other information of the conception of images during the patristic epoch, see D. J. Sahas, (1989: 66–73) γλη and *φύσις* in John of Damascus's Oration indefence of the icons. In ED Livingstone (ed.): *Studa Patristica vol. XXIII.* Leuven: Peeters Press; C. Scouttris (1984), 'Never as gods: icons and their veneration. In *Sobornost Icorporating Eastern Church Review. Vol .6/1:* 6–18; SJ Spidlik, 1989: 74–86. 'Le Concept de l'image chez les Pères jusqu'au concile de Nicée II', In ED Livingstone (ed.): *Studa Patristica vol. XXIII.* Leuven: Peeters Press; M Latzer, 'Using A Picture: Wittgenstein and Byzantine Iconography', *Encounter 2005, 66/3*, pp. 263–275.

cially in the Avar-Persian siege of 626. The first ecclesiastical canon to concern itself with icons was issued by the so-called Quinisext -the Synod in *Trullo* of 691–692– which supplemented the doctrinal decrees of the fifth and sixth Ecumenical Synods with an extensive recapitulation and consolidation of the canons by which the Church was governed. Canon 82 concerned itself with the depiction of Christ in icons, and decreed that, instead of being depicted as a lamb ('the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world', as pointed out by John the Baptist in John1, 29), he was henceforth to be depicted in human form:

> 'Embracing the ancient figures and shadows that have been received by the Church as symbols and prefigurations of the truth, we prefer to honour grace and truth, receiving this as the fulfilment of the law. Since therefore it is the perfect that should be set down in coloured depictions before the eyes of all, we decree that the lamb that takes away the sin of the world, Christ our God, is henceforth to be set forth in icons in accordance with his human form, in place of the old lamb, through which, grasping the depth of the humility of God the Word, we may be led to the memory of his life in the flesh, of his passion and saving death, and the redemption that was thus brought about for the word.'

The outbreak of iconoclasm at the beginning of the eight century was, therefore, an attack on a religious practice long established among Christians, one that had become part of the fabric of religious devotion, both public and private. John of Damascus from a safe vantage point of Arab Palestine witnessed only the first few years of this controversy. The Controversy in Byzantium, in the view of Wilson-Kastner (1980: 139), 'is extremely complex, involving political, economic, and social factors, as well as the interplay of theology and popular piety. It occurred under Leo III when he ordered in 726 that icons should not be venerated'.

After this brief prehistory on the Iconoclast controversy, we intend in the following paragraphs to deal with the three treatises[378] that the Damascene wrote to face this controversy.

4.4.7.2 The Three Treatises against those who attack the Holy Icons

John of Damascus' three *Orationes* or treatises On *the Divine Images,* notes Louth (2002: 198), as they are usually known in English, are perhaps today the best known of his works.[379] In fact, through them John of Damascus states Chase (1958: 160), named[380] as follows the 'Attackers of Holy images': 'the *Christianocategori* or Accusers of Christians', 'Iconoclasts', and *'Thymoleontes'* or 'Lion-hearted'.

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[378] These treatises, states Congourdeau (1994: 20), are the pick of the works against iconoclasts that John of Damascus rewrote during his last lifetime for the third time. These writings against iconoclasts are actually known through thirty manuscripts of these three treatises that are rarely found together. One sole manuscript contains all three manuscripts: the *Neapolis 54* (II B 16), of the XIIIth Century. It is that manuscript which served as the basic material for Kotter's edition of John of Damascus' *oeuvre.*

[379] Though both the translations into English, an older one by Mary Allies (1899), and a revision of that by David Anderson (1980), are little more than a selective paraphrase, and omit much of the third treatise.

[380] These persons are so called because, explains Chase (1958: 160), those Christians who worship one living and true God praised in the Trinity were accused of worshipping as gods, after the manner of the Greeks, the venerable images of our Lord Jesus Christ, of our immaculate lady, the holy Mother of God, of the holy angels, and His saints. They are furthermore also called Iconoclasts, because they have shown deliberate dishonour to all these same holy and venerable images and have consigned them to be broken up and burnt. Likewise, some of those painted on walls they have scraped off, while others they obliterated with whitewash and black paint. They are again called *Thymoleontes*, or *Lion-hearted*, because, taking advantage of their authority, they have with great heart given strength to their heresy and with torment and torture visited vengeance upon those who approve of images.

i. First Treatise

This treatise begins with a profession of unworthiness, in which John of Damascus insists that it is only the extreme seriousness of the challenge to Christian truth that has led him to write this treatise. He stresses it as follows:

> '… I see the tunic of Christ, now teared up by the sons of impious, I see his body torn between the opposed doctrines, this body that is at the same time the people of God and the ancient and sound tradition of the Church. I thought that was insane to me to say nothing and imposing a brek to my tongue, because I fear these warnings: if you evasive, my soul in you is not satisfied, and if you see coming the war and that you do not warn your friend, that is you that I will request reparation for the shed blood (Ez 33, 6–8), I make up one's mind to talking without prefering majesty of Emperors instead of the truth.'

Then, John of Damascus[381] begins the substance of his defence of icons by recalling the Old Testament prohibitions of idolatry, as well as two verses from the New Testament, one of which contrasts God' revelation in the prophets with that in Christ explicitly (Heb. 1, 1), the other implicitly, by adding Christ to the one true God, knowledge of whom is eternal life (John 17, 3). He gives a quasi-credal confession of faith, into which he inserts his protest that in worshipping the Son of God incarnate, he is both worshipping God and acknowledging his loving dispensation in the Incarnation. There follows an assertion of the Orthodox position that it is impossible to depict God in himself, but that it is not only possible, but necessary, to depict him as incarnate.

John of Damascus then turns to the arguments of the iconoclasts, which were evidently based on the Old Testament prohibition of idolatry (Leo's edict does not survive, but the reactions of both Patriarch Ger-

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[381] Concerning the analysis of these treatises we will use here Louth's analysis.

manos and John himself make it clear that the reason for iconoclasm at this stage was that icons were regarded as idols). John's first response is to insist that that is precisely what the Old Testament commandment means: a prohibition of idolatry, which is worshipping the creature instead of the Creator. He then introduces a theme that he is later to make much of: namely, that the Old Testament makes so much of the danger of idolatry because the Jews were prone to it. Now the Damascene comes to the heart of this, the first, treatise. The issue is images and their veneration. We must therefore be clear about these two notions. John distinguishes five kinds of images. the way in which the Son is an image of the Father; images as God's (future) intentions for his created world (something very like Plato's Ideas); images as visible pictures of invisible things as a kind of pedagogy; images as types of future fulfillment; and images, whether written or pictures, that remind us of things and peoples past. As regards veneration, John distinguishes between the veneration that is worship of God, and another kind of veneration that is the sign of respect or honour, for people or places. The word translated 'veneration' (following the normal convention among the Orthodox who use English) really has a quite concrete meaning: bowing down, either a kind of deep bow or the actual act of prostration.[382] The word for worship, *latreia*, originally meant hired service, and in classical use was also applied to service of the gods. In the Septuagint, it exclusively means worship due to God[383]- and that is the sense it had for John of Damascus. What John means, then, is that bowing down may either express the kind of total devotion that we call worship, due to God alone, or it may be a sign of respect (for which he offers Old Testament examples, such

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[382] The Greek word is *proskynêsis,* the etymology of which possibly suggests touching with the mouthor lips, in which case it is etymologically close to the Latin*adoratio,* but which to a Byzantine would suggest prostration, either in a religious context, or to the Emperor.

[383] This word is most commonly used to describe the *forbidden* worship given to idols.

as veneration of the tabernacle, or Jacob's bowing down before his brother Esau). It is this latter veneration of honour that we offer to images, whether of God or of the saints. It is a way of expressing our worship of God, for veneration is addressed to people and places that are dear to God, and images of such people provide a stimulus and occasion for such veneration. John of Damascus then, goes back to the question of two Testaments, arguing that it is the same God in both, and that under the Old Covenant there were material images- the tabernacle and all its accoutrements, including the gilded images of the cherubim- made by hand, that were venerated. To reject such veneration of material things really implies, John suggests, that matter is evil, a view John associates with Manichaeism. But the mention of two Testaments leads John in another direction, which stresses their difference. For whereas God could not be depicted under the Old Covenant, because he is invisible and incomprehensible, under the New Covenant he has become human and lived among human kind[384]. God has, in fact, united himself with matter. This leads to one of John's most striking confessions: 'I do not venerate matter, I venerate the fashioner of matter, who became matter for my sake and accepted to dwell in matter and through matter worked my salvation, and I will not cease from reverencing matter, through which my salvation was worked' (*Imag*. I. 16.4–9).

Matter, as created by God and united to God in humanity he assumed, is therefore not something to be despised, but something holy: 'therefore I reverence the rest of matter and hold in respect that through which my salvation came, because of it I am filled with divine energy and grace' (*Imag*. I. 16.17). John of Damascus goes on to show how this is wholly consistent with the worship decreed in the Old Testament. Material images are perceived through the senses, and the chief of these

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[384] Here must be mentioned John of Damascus's proposition: 'the visible is an image of the invisible, and that the veneration of images is transferred to that of which they are images' (see Sörries 2001: 659).

is sight – John here states a philosophical commonplace, affirmed by both Plato and Aristotle-. John immediately claims that images are books for the illiterate, but the context suggests not that the images are a concession to the illiterate, but rather that images appeal to the highest of the human sense, that of sight.

In addition, John now takes up a claim that images of Christ and the Mother of God are acceptable, but not those of the saints. He replies that Christ is not to be deprived of his army, the saints, and goes on to introduce a further contrast with the Old Testament, in which death was not yet seen in the light of the Resurrection, so that the dead were not honoured, and corpses were regarded as unclean. But all this has changed. Whereas Jews decorate their Temple with animals and birds and plants, Christians decorate their churches with images of Christ and the saints, who are not dead, but alive. The first treatise closes with two further points. First, the veneration of images is based on unwritten, not written, tradition, and he cites the classic passage from Basil the Great on the necessity of following both written and unwritten traditions (Bazil, *Spir.* 27.66.1–9). Secondly, he addresses the iconoclast appeals to Epiphanios, which he rejects by arguing that the text cited might well be forged, that Epiphanies' own church in Cyprus is decorated with images 'to the present day', and that even if Epiphanios did say what is claimed, 'one swallow does not make a spring' (as the Greek proverb has it, in contrast with the English proverb by reflecting a warmer climate). What is impressive about the first treatise is the coherence, and theological depth, of John's defence of icons. John knows straightaway what there is to say in defence of icons, and where they fit in in the Christian scheme of things. The first treatise is an immediate response to the iconoclast controversy, written shortly after 726. But it is all here: his clarity that the veneration of icons is not idolatry, which is what the Old Testament prohibition was about; the crucial difference made by the Incarnation – which, alas, John develops in the second treatise into a shrilly superses-

sionist account of the superiority of Christians over idolatrous Jews-; the necessity to be clear about the meaning of terms such as 'image' and 'veneration', the dignity of matter; the importance of unwritten tradition. Where he drew these arguments from, we shall discuss in the next treatise.

ii. Second Treatise

This treatise is very different from the first, even though, towards the end, there is a long passage where John borrows from the first with only minor modification. John again begins by begging his audience to believe that this, his second treatise, has been composed not for his own glory, but because of the seriousness of the threat of iconoclasm –though John admits that he has a 'talent of eloquence', which he must not bury. He also says that some have asked him to make his argument clearer this time. The argument is certainly simplified.

After the introductory chapter, the next ten chapters develop a single argument: that idolatry is the work of the devil, and that the devil was especially successful with the Jews, for which reason Moses forbade the making of images, but that with Christians it is different, for they are grown up, unlike the childish Jews, and may make images without the danger of falling into idolatry; iconoclasm is a further ruse by the devil to undermine the Christian faith in the Incarnation. Even the key to this argument in the first treatise, that in the Incarnation God made him visible, is mentioned only in passing. Passages from the New Testament, especially from Hebrews, the primary meaning of which is the fulfilment of the Old in the New, which is the way the argument is put in canon 82 of the Quinisext Synod, are quoted in such a way as to degrade what the Old Testament revealed, and present the religion of the New Covenant in a starkly supersessionist way. This anti-Judaic aspect of iconophile theology proved to be enduring; Corrigan's study aoted by Louth, of ninth-century marginal Psalters has demonstrated the im-

portance of anti-Judaism as a theme in the definition of Orthodox belief among the monks whose illustrations in those Psalters celebrated iconophile feeling in the wake of the triumph of Orthodoxy. Chapter 12 introduces the other principal theme of this second treatise: an uncompromising attack on the Emperor for meddling in the affairs of the Church by promoting iconoclasm, interference that John bluntly calls 'piracy'.

Briefly, John develops the traditional Byzantine understanding[385] of the division of powers in the Empire between *basileia* and *hierateuma* (or *hierosynêo*), imperial rule and priesthood, that had been affirmed by earlier Greek Fathers such as Athanasios (against Constantius), Basil (against Valens), and Maximos (against Constans II), and was later be affirmed again by Theodore of Studios (against Leo V)[386]. Leo III's own view of this matter may perhaps be gleaned from the preface to the brief law code, the *Ecloga,* he issued in about 726, in which he applied the Lord's words to Peter, 'Feed my sheep', to himself, as Emperor, which suggests some blurring of the distinction between imperial authority and

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[385] However, notes Louth (2002: 205), John of Damascus followed this profession of loyalty with a protest against any 'altering the ancient boundaries, set in place by the fathers', alluding to one of his favourite biblical verses (Prov. 22, 28). He would have appreciated the chancel screen in the church of Law Ham, Somerset, built by royalists in the seventeenth century, and completed in thanksgiving for the restoration of the monarchy, which bears the verse: 'Fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change' (Prov. 24,21).

[386] John of Damascus reveals Darras-Worms (1994: 66), enumerates the following other Emperors who imposed upon the people their views in opposition to the Orthodox Christian faith: 1. Zenon (474–475,476–491) who sought to compromise between the followers of Chalcedon dogma and the Monophysites. He did not succeed, but he is considered the forerunner of the political schism between Rome and Constantinople. 2. Anastasios I (491–518), for a time, adhered to the Monophysite view. 3. Heraclius (610–641) attempted in vain to impose the Monothelite view. 4. Philippicus-Bardanès (711–713) imposed Monothelitism as the sole Christian authorized doctrine.

priesthood, though he goes on to characterize his role in terms that are conventional enough.

This is perhaps, remarks McGuckin (1993: 44–45), too slender a basis for attributing to Leo a theocratic view of the Emperor's power. Despite the widely held view that the Byzantine Empire was 'caesaropapist'[387], emperors generally governed the Church through canons issued by synods of bishops, even if they were not disinclined to deal roughly with clerics who opposed them.[388] In this case, it was not until 754 that Leo's son, Constantine, secured formal synodical approval for iconoclasm; but Leo would not have had far to look for precedents for an emperor acting directly with the support of compliant clergy, or securing such e. g., Justinian's deposition of patriarch Eutychios in 565, when he turned to aphthartodocetism, or Heraclius's promotion of Monotheletism in the *Ekthesis* of 638 with the compliance of the patriarch Sergios and Pope Honorius; Philippikos, however, had convened a synod to reintroduce Monothelitism in 712. But, however Leo himself saw his imperial office, John's response is in the tradition of Byzantine church-men. Despite this attack on the Emperor's 'piratical' attack on the customs of the Church, John is at pains to protest the loyalty that Christians owe to the Emperor in all proper matters (such as taxes: *Imag*. II. 12.38–40). This is conventional: from the beginning, Christians

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[387] As states Louth (2002: 205), the whole question of Byzantine 'caesaropapism' is too large an issue to discuss here. Our concern is not even Leo III's understanding of his imperial office, but simply John's understandng of the duties of the priesthood and their relationship to the imperial office. The most recent discussion of the issue is Dagron (1996: 303–315) for his conclusion on the question of the relation of priesthood and sovereignty in Byzantium. He discusses Leo III in chapter 5, though he seems to me to make too such of the saying attributed to Leo III, 'I am emperor and priest.' Dagron (1996: 167). John's extreme opposition of the New to the Old Testament does not really give us any certain clues as to how the iconoclasts regarded the Old Testament.

[388] For imperial acceptance from the beginning of the government of the Church by synods of bishops, see TD Barnes (1993: 167–175).

overwhelmingly professed their loyalty to the Emperor (Rom. 13, 1–7: I Pet. 2, 13–17).

But from John's mouth it raises an interesting question, for his political overlord was not the Byzantine emperor, but the Umayyad Caliph. Who did John think he was a Byzantine subject in exile, or a subject of the Caliph? The whole trend here points to the Byzantine churchman, firm in his loyalty to the Byzantine emperor, but clear about the privileges of the Church and its clergy. After nearly a century of Arab rule, John still seems to have regarded it as a passing phase. The rest of the treatise follows another simple argument: namely, that iconoclasm, by despising matter, shows itself to be fundamentally Manichee.

But the attack on the Emperor continues with the passage from the first treatise—there following on from the idea that icons of Christ and his Mother are acceptable, but not icons of saints- that, in attacking icons, the Emperor is depriving Christ of his army (*Imag*. II. 15; cf. I. 21), But with greater force here, echoing the condemnation of the Emperor in chapter 12. The next chapter introduces the argument from unwritten tradition, but gives it a more populist twist: the long quotation from Brazil is omitted, and instead Leo is taunted by composing a 'Gospel of Leo', just as the Manichees composed a 'Gospel of Thomas' [389]. John follows this taunt by listing other emperors who 'called themselves Christians and persecuted the Orthodox faith' as previously seen above. In much of this, John of Damascus is following his first treatise, comes to his response to the appeal to Epiphanios, which is again much simplified. It is striking how all these themes from the first treatise are given an anti-imperial twist in the second. John ends this treatise with a lengthy series of quotations from Hebrews, which underlines the super-

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[389] In fact, an apocryphal gospel older than Manichaeism, but which had become part of the Manichee canon.

sessionist theme with which he began. The combination of these two broad concerns, John's supersessionist treatment of the relationship between the Old and New Covenants and his sharp criticism of imperial involvement in the matters of doctrine.

In summary, in this second treatise the argument is essentially reduced to three themes: one is an anti-Judaic, another is opposed to the Emperor, and the third is anti-Manichee. But it also has more specific historical references than we find in the first treatise.

iii. Third Treatise

The Third Treatise is different from both the preceding treatises, even though it incorporates a good deal from them. To begin with, the first ten chapters reproduce the first part of the second treatise (*Imag. II. 2–11)* with its strong supersessionist message. This is supplemented in a couple of places with passages from the Old Testament missing the first treatise. The rest of the treatise is freshly composed, though much of it is a development of the theological themes of the first treatise but omitted in the second. In between these two sections there are three transitional chapters, the central theme of which is what we find in the concluding chapters of the *Orthodox Faith*: namely, that Christianity is a religion with a twofold character, mediating between the material and the spiritual, answering the twofold nature of human beings. John of Damascus puts it very well

> 'For since we are twofold, fashioned of soul and body, and our soul is not naked, but, as it were, covered with a veil, it is impossible for us to go to the spiritual (*ta noêta*) apart from the bodily. So just as we hear with our bodily ears audible words and understanding something spiritual, so through bodily sight we come to spiritual contemplation. For this reason Christ assumed body and soul, since human beings have body and soul; therefore also baptism is twofold, of water and the Spirit; as well as communion

> and prayer and psalmody, all of them twofold, bodily and spiritual, and offerings of light and incense (see *Imag.* III. 12.23–35).'

This is followed by a story form from the Spiritual *Meadow,* ascribed to Sophronios, as is usual with Byzantine writers, rather than John Moschos, about a demon who promises to stop tormenting a monk with the thought of fornication if he will stop venerating an icon of the Mother of God: the point being that demon regarded fornication as a lighter matter than venerating an icon. Thereafter follows a systematic discussion of an image and the nature of veneration, a much more elaborate version of what we found in the first treatise. We shall discuss this at some length, through the following section which analyses John's doctrine of the image.

iv. John of Damascus' Doctrine of the Icon

His doctrine on the Icon and its veneration is expressed through his treatises against the Iconoclasts. Indeed, states Louth (2002: 213), the making of icons and their veneration rests for John on two principles: first, what one might call the architectonic significance of the image in the created order, and secondly, on the incarnation, in which the source of everything, including images, himself beyond image, takes on a form, the human form, of which there can be images: in the Incarnation, as Maximos puts it, the Lord' became a type and symbol of Himself' (PG 91.1165). Corresponding to the far-reaching concept of the image, there is the notion of veneration, as the image embodies and conveys a higher reality, so it calls forth a response of veneration: acknowledgement, acceptance, and devotion.

From wthat is said above, emerge two preoccupations concerning what means for John of Damascus the significance of 'image' and 'veneration'. Concerning 'veneration', Louth (2002: 215) finds two kinds of

veneration in John' writings: of God alone, and of kings and rulers. He explains it as follows

> 'There is the veneration due to God alone, which he called (fol-
> lowing Stephen of Bostra) worship, *latreia*; but there is another
> form of veneration that does not imply the absolute devotion of
> worship, but is simply a sign of honour and respect. For all hon-
> our derives from the one we worship ('the One naturally worthy
> of veneration'): both authentic honour or worth of those who are
> his friends, the saints, and the honours we owe to kings and rul-
> ers who are set over us, which does not depend on their intrinsic
> worth, but their place in God's providential ordering of the world
> (see *Imag*. III. 41). Veneration is our response to God's *philan-
> thrôpia*, expressed both in providence and in the divine love
> manifest in the Incarnation and the Redemption: it is an expres-
> sion of wonder, of thanksgivings, of hope based on need, of re-
> pentance and confession'.

(*Imag*. III. 28)

More far-reaching, however, is John's analysis of the significance of the image. He defines such 'a likeness and paradigm and expression of something, showing in itself what is depicted in the image', it is never completely like its model, and otherwise there would be identical (*Imag*. III. 16). But the heart of John's exposition turns on different meanings of the word 'image'. He distinguishes states Louth (2002: 215–216), six meanings, adding to the five listed in the first treatise the way in which the human is an image of the divine. These six meanings are: first, the natural image, as a son is an image of the father (and, more particularly, as the Son of God is the image of God the Father); secondly, the images or paradigms (or predeterminations, as Dionysios calls them) within God of what is to be; thirdly, human kind as created in the image of God, manifested both in the Trinitarian structure of the human soul as

intellect, reason, and in spirit, and in the human free will and human rule over the rest of creation; fourthly, there are images that use bodily forms to represent the spiritual world, which is necessary for human beings, composed of body and soul, if they are to offer some conception of the spiritual; fifthly, there are images in the Old Testament that prefigure the realities of the New-the Burning Bush as an figure of the virginity of the Mother of God, or water as a figure of baptism; finally, there are images recalling the past, either in written form or in pictures (*Imag*. III. 18–23).

Ultimately, for John of Damascus notes Louth (2002: 219), 'the defence of the icon, of the image, is not a matter of mere aestheticism; it is concerned with preserving and making possible a world in which meaning is mediated by reconciling love'.

v. Consequences of Iconoclasm

We have already seen that Iconoclast controversy was an initiative of Leo III, the ruler of the Byzantine Empire from 717 to 741. It was the first of several edicts forbidding the worship of icons of Jesus and the saints[390] even if this practice was traditional and was permitted by most of the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy. Leo III's action opposed him against Germanus I, patriarch of Constantinople, and against many Greek monks and civil servants. From Rome, Pope Gregory II joined the patriarch in denouncing Leo, who responded by forcing Germanus to resign. Germanus was replaced by a patriarch who agreed with the Emperor's position, but Leo's edicts did not carry equal weight in all parts of the empire. During the 730s, enforcement of Leo's iconoclastic edicts led to the destruction of monasteries and the killing or forced secularization of their inhabitants, actions that continued to widen the divide between the Western and Eastern Churches.

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[390] According to Fliche & Martin (1938: 446), before Leo's Edicts in 723, the Muslim Caliph Yezid, promulgated the first edict which demanded the destruction of all images in churches and homes. He hired workers to do this job.

In addition, we shall note that in his strategy of condemning what John professed concerning the icons, an iconoclast synod was convened in 754, states Sahas (1972: 3–12) at Hiereia in Chalcedon by Emperor Constantine V 'Copronymus' (741–775). It was presdied over by Theodosius, bishop of Ephesus, in the place of the patriarch of Constantinople, who had died in the same year. This Synod was convened in order to condemn officially the veneration of the icons, a wide-spread practice in the devotional life of the Christians. This Iconoclastic Synod exemplified further this condemnation by anathematizing three major defenders of the icons, 'saintly men and respectable doctors': Germanus, the dethroned patriarch of Constantinople, George, patriarch of Constantia, the capital of Cyprus, and John of Damascus, a presbyter and monk of Saint Sabas, a few miles outside of Jerusalem. This Synod constitutes a violent assault, primarily against John of Damascus. Out of six anathemas that the Synod reserved for the three persons, one of whom was the patriarch of Constantinople and the other the patriarch of Cyprus, John of Damascus, a simple monk, received four. According to these anathemas, John, named 'Mansur' has 'bad' and 'Saracene opinions', he is an 'iconolater', or 'worshipper of icons', a 'falsifier', an 'insulter of Christ', a 'conspirator against the Empire', a 'teacher of impiety' and a 'perverter of the Scriptures'. Of great interest for this study are the references, implicit or explicit, to John of Damascus' relationship with, and his attitude toward, Islam and the Muslims. One is under the impression that this document reflects a triple fact. First of all, the uneasiness that the theology of Damascus created in the Church and the State of Byzantium in the context of the iconoclastic controversy.

According to the author of an anonymous Vita of John of Damascus, John qualifies 'Iconoclasm' as 'the refuted heresy'. Secondly, the tension that this controversy created in the relationship of John of Damascus with the established Byzantine authorities. Indeed, at the beginning, John of Damascus saw in the Leo's edict the danger that the State would

interfere in questions of belief, which is the responsibility of the Church alone. It is the reason why in the Three Treatises, John protests against the interference of the Emperor in the Church's affairs, and he condemns this transgression. Thirdly, the earliest feelings of the Byzantine State toward the political-religious situation in its former provinces.

In addition, the first question that must come under our consideration is what the Synod meant with the accusation: 'Mansur, who has a bad or dissonant name'. It is, interesting to note that the Iconoclast Synod of Chalcedon did not use John of Damascus' Christian name, as one would expect, since John, being already a monk and presbyter, had abandoned his family name Mansur as it is the custom in the Orthodox tradition. His writings bear mostly the name 'John of Damascus' and sometimes simply 'John presbyter and monakus.' Unlike the Iconoclast Synod, the Seventh Ecumenical Council speaks of him as John and sometimes as Mansur with the remark that the bishops of the Iconoclastic Synod 'insultingly' used this last name. This implies that each Synod used the same name Mansur for different purposes. In reality, Mansur was the family name of John of Damascus. Theophanes says that John inherited it from his grandfather, Mansur b. Sargun. The name is foreign to the Greek onomastology, although it is common among the Syrian Christians and Arab descent. However, the name 'Mansur' does not, necessarily, indicate an Arab background since it could be given to a non-Arab family as well. The name Mansur what means 'Victorious' was passed from Mansur b. Sargun, the grandfather of John of Damascus, to Sargun b. Mansur, his father, and then to John himself. As we have seen already John had two names, one Christian and one Arabic. The anonymous Greek Vita gives indications to this fact and makes a distinction between the name that John received 'from the holy baptistry' and the national or gentile one, about which the author rather prefers to be si-

lent[391]. Returning to the use of the name Mansur by the Iconoclastic Synod of 754, we have already mentioned the information from Theophanes that the Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741–775), in revenge for the attacks of John of Damascus against his father's iconoclastic edict, condemned John of Damascus with an anathema which was to be renewed every year. Theophanes adds a second measure that Constantine took against John of Damascus in order to degrade him: he perverted[392] his name Mansur to *Manzer*, with the Hebrew connotation of that word –'bastard', It is obvious, therefore, that the Iconoclastic Synod with the expression *'Μανσούρ τώ κακωνύμώ'* reflects the feelings that Constantine Copronymus himself wanted to convey through the transliteration of John's family name, and that the treatment that John of Damascus received by this Synod was not free of imperial political influence and bias. This becomes even more explicit by the next expression of the Synod. Iconoclastic Synod of 754 also called John of Damascus 'Saracen minded', an epithet frequently ascribed to different persons during the iconoclast controversy. It is necessary, therefore, to discuss the reasons and the implications of this name when attached to John of Damascus. In fact, the Seventh Ecumenical Synod called 'Saracenminded' Beser[393], a Christian apostate to Islam who, allegedly, with Constantine bishop of Nacoleia, influenced Leo III to take measures

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[391] Barhebraeus calls John 'Qurin b. Mansur and the Coptic writers 'Yanah b. Mansur and Abu'l Farag al-Asfahani, Ibn Sargun, while Agapius states John's full name as 'Iyanis b. Mansur al-Dimashqi.

[392] In my opinion, we can hypothesise that the intention of Constantine Copronymus in perverting John's name with the word 'bastard' was of a political and moral nature. Political, for by degrading the respect and esteem that the Umayyad Caliphs had toward the Mansur descendants, and, moral, in that as a Christian, John would have remorse for the fact that it was his grandfather who facilitated the triumphal entry of the Islamic Army into Damascus without resistance. This would influence Islamic Power in Damascus to destroy Icons in the area under their control, along withJerusalem and the monasteries that surround it.

[393] Beser, states Sahas (1972: 10), was a Christian who converted to Islam.

against the icons and their defenders. Theophanes called Leo, also, 'Saracen-minded' [394] for his ideas and his edict against the icons. In light of all this that, concerns John of Damascus's writings against what in his view connotes 'Christian perversion of Orthodox faith', he had an intelligent reaction: he faced it by denouncing its perversity. How did he done? Before to respond to this question, it must be wise to see how John of Damascus comprehends a heretic.

4.5. John of Damascus' Portrait of Heretic

According to Louth (2002: 56–57), the conception of the learned Epiphanios (ca. 315–403)[395] through his *Panarion* where he listed heresies of his time (4th century), would be considerate as the one among the work which affects John of Damascus in his definition of heretic which appeared though *Dial. 65.60–1*. In fact, Epiphanios in providing an elaborate prehistory of heresy, trace also the manifold of heresies form the historic Gospel proclaimed by Jesus in the first century. He saw heresy 'as the declension from an aboriginal faith, as old as creation' (Louth 2002: 57). It is to say that John of Damascus knew the Greek word of hairesis which originally was quite neutral in its connotation: it indicated a choice, a way of thought. In the Christian usage it came quickly to mean 'willful choice, a chosen departure form one orthodox

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[394] Ostrogorsky, cited by Sahas (1972: 13), believes that the name σαρακηνόφρων (Saracen-minded) was a nick-name given to Leo by his contemporaries, and that this name is indicative of Leo's friendly attitude toward the Muslims.

[395] During his youth he became an ascetic, and after a tour of the Egyptian desert founded a monastery near Gaza, which he ruled for thirty years before becoming bishop of Constantia in 365. In addition, he had an ill-tempered intolerance of error (see Louth 2002: 57).

tradition'[396] (Louth 2002: 57). By deduction, it can be said that for John of Damascus a heretic would be 'any Christian who by his will adopt a personal opinion on the common faith which he intends to institute as sole truth. That intention, sometimes lead him to leave his former faith. We intend now to see how John of Damascus has to preserve the Christian orthodox faith against the corruption of heretic.

4.6 John of Damascus' Apologetic

The works of The John of Damascus states Ducellier (1996: 103), as Byzantine philosopher as well as theologian, dominate the whole eighth century. His stratagem facing heresy was incontestably 'Apologetics' which was a secular method applied here to religious matter by fighting divergence in Christian doctrine[397].

4.6.1 His Explanation

We do not pretend here to elaborate on the wide extent of his 'Apologetics'. This task has already attracted the attention of many researchers.[398] We will, firstly simply define his words, secondly, summarize

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[396] According to Florovsky (1987: 257), by the word 'tradition', John of Damascus 'expressed not the personal opinions of the fathers but precisely patristic tradition. An individual opinion is not a law for the Church' wrote John of Damascus. Here, he repeated St. Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389) who said: 'one swallow does not a summer make. And one opinion cannot overthrow Church tradition from one end of the earth to the other'.

[397] The *ad hominem* argument, for example, can be used also for purposes of facing heresy. According to Khoury (1966: 118–119), this method consisted of getting from the very assertions of the doctrine we wish to challenge, the arguments to confound its disciples.

[398] See for more detail: A. Dulles (1963) *Apologetics and the Biblical Christ*, Mahwah, N. J., *passim*; *idem.* (1971) *A History of Apologetics,* London; H Küng (1980) *Does God exist? An Answer for Today*, New York; K. Rahner (1978)

their theological significance, and thirdly, recapitulate the elements of John of Damascus' apologetics. Indeed, it is very difficult to differentiate between the words 'apologetics' and 'apology', because they are derived notes Le Bachelet (1911: 190), from the same Greek word ᾽ἀπολογίσθαι (to set out his just cause for). Furthermore, apologetics according to Pöhlmann (1999: 102), the teaching of defence –apology- or defensive scholarship, is the thoughtful interaction of Christian faith with contemporary teachings and ideologies that are opposed to the gospel. Since misuse has led to the discrediting of the term in Roman Catholic (neoscholasticism and neoprotestantism), other terms have replaced it, such as 'missionary theology', 'eristics', and 'fundamental theology'. The last term is current especially in Roman Catholic theology, but also in Protestant theology sometimes in the broader sense of theological prolegomena. Apologetics in the strict sense dates only from the Enlightenment, although there are earlier forms in Protestant Orthodoxy, the Middle Ages, and especially the early church (apologists[399]).

Foundations of Christian Faith, New York; H. G. Pöhlmann (1999) 'Apologetics' in Fahlbusch, J Mbiti et al. (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Christianity.* Vol. 1. Grand Rapids/Leiden, William B. Eerdmans Pulishing Company/Brill, pp. 102–104; L. Maisonneuve (1903) 'Apologétique' in A. Vacant, E. Mangenot (dir.), *Dicitionnaire de théologie catholique*, t1, Paris, Leouzey & Ané, Editeurs, col. 1511–1579; XM Le Bachelet (1911) 'Apologétique-apologie' in A. D'Alès (dir.) *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la foi catholique t. 1,* Paris, Beauchesne, col. 190–251; F. Lechtenberger (1877) 'Apologétique-apologie' in Lechtenberger (dir.) *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses, t.* 1, Paris, Librairie Sandoz & Fischbacher, pp. 426–445; F. Laplanche (2000) 'Apologétique' in *Histoire de christianisme,* t. xiv, Paris, Desclée, p. 565; T. W. Crafer (1994) 'Apologetics' in J Hastings (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, Edinburgh, T& T Clark, pp. 611–623; P. Bernabeo (2005) 'Apologetics' in l Jones (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Religion,* Second Edition, New York/London/Munich: Thomson Gles, p. 426–430.

[399] This name designated the early Christian writers who defended the Christian faith. The first apologists, notes Mühlenberg (1999: 105), were legal defenses directed to the Roman emperors in the second century. Many of the names of the

For Laplanche (2000: 565), apologetics is the 'defence of Christian doctrines against the heretics or against the Jews, the Muslims, the Pagans, and in Modern times, against the unbelievers. Concerning the 'theological significance of Apologetics, remarks Pöhlmann (1999:104)

> 'As principal and immanent, it is in all its three fields an answer. It is thus properly not a defense or an attack but an intellectual diakonia that love demands, in contrast to a disputatious project of overbearing power. Love does not seek itself but others (1Cor. 13, 5) and identifies itself with them (1 Cor. 9, 20–22). It does so in order to win them to Christ (1 Cor. 9, 20–23). It must really answer the questions of the those who think differently, not simply toy with the issues after the manner of an apologetics of accommodation. Given the relativistic view of truth common to our age, unrestricted witness must be born to the true claim of the gospel even in the third, interconfessional sphere. The common challenge of mass atheism, which is perhaps the most important dialogue partner of apologetics in modern debate, does tend to unite the confessions with a new urgency. In the work of the Church, the place of a public apologetics that is understood as an intellectual diakonia lies in continuing education and especially in pastoral visitation.'

Through this quotation it appears that apologetics as a scientific method of demonstration and defense, must be used in the spirit of 'Christian diakonia', love, and tolerance. Let us now see, how during John of Damascus' time Apologetics was used.

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authors are known, and we have full copies of the apology addressed by Aristide to Hadrian (117–138) and that of Justin Martyr to Antoninus Piu (133–161).

4.6.2 His Implementation

To summarize, we can say that John's methodology or strategy, when facing alleged or serious Christian deviations consisted in his trilogical approach. Firstly, he gets the meaning of the words by the explanatory of their semantic. Secondly, he uses Scriptures, written and unwritten tradition. Thirdly, the emphasis he puts on the independence of the Church in doctrinal matters.

4.7 Conclusion

After the careful consideration of the works of John of Damascus as detailed above, following reflections and findings. Firstly, we must admit that there is no unanimity among the scholars nor common general appreciation on John of Damascus' writing endeavours. In fact, some scholars consider this Father as 'unoriginal if highly intelligent', 'compiler'.

In opposition to this comment, other learned persons see in this religious personality, a prolific thinker and theologian who summarizes the theological thought of the preceding six centuries. In this line, Cayré (1947: 330) for instance, considers it wrong to qualify John of Damascus a 'compiler'. For him, the Damascene, his 'Fount of Knowledge' remains his own personal work of penetrating brevity and concision, through which he summarized in clear style, following a logical methodology, the Exact Christian Faith. Faced with several new challenges, Islam and the imperial iconoclasm, he also opposed, states Louth (2001: 48), his wide contribution to the development of Byzantine theology that opened up during the ninth century the possibility of a revival in learning that which Lemerle (1971) called 'the First Byzantine Christian Humanism (*Le premier humanisme byzantin*) '. As a 'Doctor of Incarnation and Mariology', and with his talent as fluent preacher, he used notes Carey and Lienhard (2000: 284), his creative efforts to face Christologi-

cal controversies. Secondly, politically speaking, John of Damascus, during the time of the Iconoclast quarrel, continued steadily his work as an Orthodox theologian thinker, protected by Islamic regime. This appears for us like a miracle, consisting of the preservation of the Christian Faith by God Himself, surrounding and among Islamic Power. Khawan (1987: 70) confirmed this hypothesis in these words:

> 'The Trinity has to glorify all three. The Arab invansion which habitually is considered as a hard trial for the Christianity took the occasion to defend the Christian orthodoxy, thanks to the theologians who stayed in Muslim erea, and who lived outside the terrible persecution of iconoclast Byzantine Emperors.'

This is to say, that is through Islam that Orthodoxy was protected. For Roger Bacon (1214–1294), cited by Khawan (1987: 106) John of Damascus appears to him as the most useful author defending the Church against the attacks of his opponents. According to Reese (1980: 416–417), that John of Damascus' writings 'are a bridge to Scholasticism'. As the greatest systematizer of Christian dogma, John of Damascus is remembered by many as one who has done the most systematic a thorough work on Christian dogma. He ought to be seen as one who exposed the Orthodox creed concerning God, the Creation, the Incarnation and Christology. Relating also topics such as Mariology, the sacraments and eschatology.

Finally, he is widely recognised as a talented moralist, exegete, hagiographer, preacher (orator), and hymnographer (poet). In addition to his many gifts, John dedicated his remaining time in the monastery, on formulating the doctrine of the true independence between the Religious and Civil Power. He claimed and affirmed the independence of the Church in the religious affairs. John used a clear methodological, approach in the strategy against any religious heresy. He began by offering more explanatory comments with the hope of clarifying the meaning of the terms that were used either by him or by his opponents. Then only,

in a second step, he used efficiently the Scripture as well as the written and unwritten tradition. It is our opinion, that this approach could be usefully applied in today's religious life where we can notice that Christian deviations still persist. We propose to give them a closer look.

PART TWO

Case Studies of Modern Christian Heretical Movements

This second part of our study will take an in-depth look at how political and cultural factors can lead to Christian heresy, as was the case of Iconoclasm during the epoch of John of Damascus. It consists of three chapters. Chapter Five will demonstrate how, in the search for new insights in the political environment, religion has been used and wrongly applied in order to legitimate a certain kind of governmental and developmental theory. In this case, a political authority inspires a heresy, as was the case during the time of the Isaurian Byzantine, who inspired the iconoclast heresy during the Damascene's epoch. Chapter Six will show how cultural background can be used to stimulate a religious reaction against a foreign political invasion. Here the question of Kimbanguismwill be discussed as an unwilling Christian heresy. In addition, Chapter Seven will sketch an attempt to apply or implement in modern times what we learn from John of Damascus' approach to heresy.

5

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH
AND THE APARTHEID HERESY

5.1 Introduction

In the light of the second chapter, which took a historical overview of the understanding of heresy, we will recall the following characteristic elements of heresy.

Firstly, that throughout Church History, there is no heretical vacuum (see C. Thouzellier 1967: 12). Secondly, any religious family or system of thought has its own heretics. Thirdly, heresy remains a Christian deviation, a 'spiritual aberration' or 'bad theology', which expresses a struggle between Christian believers. Fourthly, heresies, as Allison points out (1994: 187), are not 'errors of understanding but errors of the will.' Fifthly, for all Christians, "deviation from Scripture is heresy, although such deviation depends upon the type of exegesis involved" (Kelly 1994: 375). Consequently, "a heretic is one who deviates from the teaching of the Church and so is in danger of being cut off from the Church" (Kelly 1994: 375). Finally, because heresy is a denial of an accepted Christian doctrine, it has the potential to affect the individual and all of society.

It is important to learn from these earlier heretical threats to our ancient religion and from the history of the heretical mind because, argues Belloc (1968: 15), because "we are living today under a regime of heresy with only this to distinguish it from the older periods of heresy—that

the heretical spirit has become generalized and appears in various forms.
” Our present chapter attempts to identify how, on the basis of misinter-
pretation of Holy Scripture,[400] the Christian 'NGK, '[401] a branch of the
'DRC, '[402] adopted and taught as official church doctrine, a heresy

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[400] According to Zorn (2003: 78), during the meeting of NGK, held in 1997, this
Church had to accept its doctrinal errors and beg forgiveness by confessing the
sin of misinterpretation of the Word of God. This Church did so because, in
1989, it recognized the incompatibility between apartheid and the Biblical prin-
ciples of love and justice (Zorn 2003: 77).

[401] According to Zolide Mbali (1987: 40), the missionary efforts of the
DRC/NDK produced the 'Sendingkerk, for Coloured members, the NGK in
Africa for Blacks and the Reformed Church in Africa for Asians. The name of
'DRC' usually refers to the whole group. However, states Villa-Vicencio (1988:
22), the Afrikaans Reformed Church also known as the RDC, consists of the
powerful Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, to which the majority of the white
political leaders of South Africa belonged (see also p. 145), and two smaller
churches, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) and the Gereformeerde
Kerk. The NGK was established in the Cape by the Dutch East India Company
in 1652 and provided the religious Center of the Dutch settler community. When
the Dutch settlers trekked north to escape the consequences of British rule in
1836, however, they went without the blessing of their church. An inevitable
schism followed, and the NHK was born as the Volkskerkof the BoerRepublic in
the Transvaal, and for theological rather than political reasons, the ultra-calvinist
Gereformeerde Kerk was established several years later. In 1982, the WARC
condemned the legitimation of apartheid by the NGK and NHK as heretical
churches and they were excluded from the Christian organization.

[402] For ideological reasons, argues Villa-Vicencio (1988: 137–138), the Christian
Council of South Africa, which was established in 1937 and which included the
Transvaal synods of the NGK and NG Sendingkerk, saw its unity broken. In
fact, by 1942, the NGK and the NG Sendingkerk had to withdraw and the Fed-
eral Missionary Council of the NGK was founded. In 1948 the National Party
was elected to power, and the rift between the Afrikaner churches and the Eng-
lish-speaking churches became entrenched. This ecclesial division existed not
only between the white Dutch Reformed Churches, largely supportive of gov-
ernment, and the English-speaking and black churches, but particularly between

which instrumentally supported and directed South Africa's political policy from 1948 to 1994. We will sketch the historical panorama of South Africa, the meaning, the rise and growth of Apartheid, and the Struggle against Apartheid.

5.2. Historical Panorama of South Africa

Clark & Worger (2004: 10) note that the history of modern South Africa can be traced back to the settlement of the region by numerous African, European and Asian peoples over the centuries. This region was the site of some of the largest and most complex organized African kingdoms on the continent. It was also the earliest site of continuous European[403] settlement in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, South Africa became the richest region on the continent with the discovery of diamonds and the world's largest known deposit of gold. This combination of factors – diversity, longevity, power and wealth – created the framework for the events that lead to the introduction of apartheid in 1948. Before discussing it in depth, let us see how South Africa came to be populated by successive waves of different peoples. Indeed, according to Hurley (1983: 17), white occupation of

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the English-speaking churches whose identity was founded on a somewhat fragile union between different ideological and social groups.

[403] In the case of South Africa, it is sometimes taken for granted, argue Sunkler and Steed (2000: 64), that it was Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape in 1652 that signified the beginning of Khoikhoi-European contact. This was not so, as the first contact was much older. Bartholemew Diaz and Vasco da Gama had pioneered the route that touched at the Cape on the way to the East and on the return voyage, for occasional and intermittent visits. An increasing number of Portuguese, Dutch, French and British ships followed. With Van Riebeeck's arrival the Dutch—a group of 126 persons—came as settlers to the Cape where they built a fort. It is said, states Loubser (1987: 3), that Van Riebeeck arrived with a reformed 'monoculture;' that is to say, that Van Riebeeck and the other European settlers belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.

South Africa and racial discrimination are practically synonymous. In fact, it is known that, except for the Bushmen and Hottentots, states Zorn (2003: 64), the other beneficiaries of South African citizenship came from successive waves of immigration – the Portuguese explorers first, followed by the Dutch colonists who reached the Cape in 1652. These two groups were enriched by the second wave, in 1660, of German Lutherans and 200 French Calvinist-Huguenots who moved from France to South Africa between 1688 and 1700 after the revocation of the Treaty of Nantes.[404] In addition, the historical origin of the church in South Africa is linked to the waves of European settlers. In fact, states De Gruchy (1979: 1), it is true that the history of the church begins with the coming of the Dutch (1652), the French Huguenots (1668), and the early German settlers. With a few exceptions, these settlers were Protestant, and the Dutch and French were Calvinist. Although Portuguese Catholicism had predated the Dutch landing at the Cape – a small Catholic Chapel was built at Mossel Bay in 1501 – but by 1652 this temporary presence had long since disappeared. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), controlled by the classis in Amsterdam, was the established church into which the Huguenots were soon assimilated. The German Lutherans were more successful in their struggle to retain their own identity, but it was only in 1779 that they finally obtained permission to erect their own church building. Stemming largely from seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch, Belgian and French immigrants, states Penny (1988: 347), and from their contact with indigenous tribes, their history is a history of conflicts, of the subjection and dispossession

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[404] Historically speaking, it is known that the Edict of Nantes signed by Henri IV (1553–1610), the French King in 1598, for the purpose of ending the religious conflict between Catholics and Huguenots (French Calvinists) by fixing the official status of the French Protestants. This edict, on the other hand, was a kind of expression of the religious liberty in the FrenchKingdom, but, unfortunately, it was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV [1638–1715] (see Le Petit Robert des noms propres, 1997: 1459).

of the sub-continent's black tribes, of opposition to, and defeat by, British Imperialism, [405] and ultimately of 'victory' over that imperialism when in 1961 the country became a republic under the apartheid regime, established officially in 1948 by Daniel-François Malan, [406] and which ended in 1994 when the first non-racial general election took place.

Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the President of South Africa's first democratically elected government. We have previously noted that all these European immigrants from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century were predominantly Protestants (Calvinists in particular) who travelled in the search of a holy land where they could live their faith safely and freely. Their spiritual revival reveals Zorn (2003: 65) was characterized by a momentum of doctrinal purity (*un élan de pureté doctrinale*), which unfortunately led them to a deviant doctrine – apartheid [407] — based on segregation as the basis of the racial policy [408] that governed their country. We wonder if this policy would be an 'enduring problem' (De Gruchy 1987: 209) which expressed the relation between Christianity and culture in South Africa? Neibuhr, quoted by De Gruchy (1987: 195), says that the Kingdom of God, as understood by the Afrikaner people, was appropriate to the needs of their time. Could we see apart-

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[405] According to Clark & Worger (2004: 12), the date of 1795 must be considered as the entry of the British into Southern Africa. They were motivated by their determination to cut Napoleon off from his Dutch overseas empire.

[406] He was a Doctor in theology and former pastor of the NGK.

[407] Desmond Tutu (1983: 4) pointed out that from 1948, the Afrikaans churches entirely supported the National Party regime through the "apartheid dogma" which he described as "the blasphemy".

[408] For Albert Luthuli, quoted by Zolile Mbali (1987: 16), racism is an ethnocentric pride in the superiority of one's own racial group and preference for the distinctive characteristics of that group; a belief that these characteristics are fundamentally biological in nature, and thus are transmitted to succeeding generations; strong negative feelings towards other groups who do not share these characteristics, coupled with the thrust to discriminate against and exclude such groups from full participation in the life of the community.

heid as another form of the understanding of Constantine's conception[409] of the relation between State and Church? Without seeking to respond to these questions, we should first examine what it means, how it was born and bred, and how it fell.

5.3 Meaning of Apartheid

Concerning the meaning of the word 'apartheid', states Guelke (2005: 2), any book on South Africa's modern history must necessarily start by considering what the system of apartheid meant to South Africa and to the world. The term was in wide usage by the end of the Twentieth Century and has a substantial entry in the *New Oxford English Dictionary* (NOED) published in 1998. Literally speaking, the word 'apartheid', according to *The Encyclopedia Americana International Edition* (1990: 88), derives from an Afrikaans word which means 'apartness.' For Clarck & Worger (2004: 3), this word derives from both Afrikaans and Dutch and means 'separateness.' It determines historically a policy of separating people by race, with regard to where they lived, where they went to school, where they worked, and where they died. Guelke notes (2005: 2) that the Afrikaans word for 'separateness' is derived from two Dutch words: '*apart*' (separate), and '*heid*', (hood). This word was used as early as the 1930s[410] as a political slogan of the primarily

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[409] In the words of De Gruchy (1991: 273f), the idea of differentiating Church and State in opposition to Constantine who did not differentiate them, originates from the Anabaptists of the Reformation era.

[410] Many others dates are given concerning the entry into use of the word 'apartheid.' Indeed, the political columnist, Louis Louw, claimed the word was first used with reference to racial policy in a leading article in the Afrikaans daily, *Die Burger*, on 26 March 1943. The paper used the term again in this sense in an editorial on 9 September 1943. According to Louw, it was first used in the South African parliament in a speech on January 1944 by the leader of the National Party, D. F. Malan. Malan declared that one of the aims of the Republic that the Nationalists sought to ensure was 'the safety of the white race and of Christian

Afrikaner National Party[411]. Moreover, the policy itself had roots that went back to the earliest white settlement in South Africa in 1652. After

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civilization by the honest maintenance of the principles of apartheid and guardianship.' However, Louw's research has not proved to be the last word on the issue of the origins of the term. Dan O' Meara accepts that the National Party only started using the term in 1943, but argues that it had been used in its modern meaning years before this: 'The word seems to have been invented in 1935 by the Afrikaner historian L. van Biljon to indicate 'an all-embracing racial policy essential to replace the old notion of segregation.' While P. van Biljon's notion coincides with the meaning the term was to acquire, the hold of segregation on South Africa in the 1930s gave such an idea little resonance at the time. Others have gone back even earlier. Hermann Giliomee argues that 'the first printed record of the term 'apartheid', used in its modern sense, dates back to 1929'. His example comes from a conference given by the Rev. Jan Christoffel Du Plessis to a conference of the Dutch Reformed Church, in which Du Plessis referred to the 'spirit of apartheid' that had always underpinned the church's missionary work. While Du Plessis had in mind the separation of white and black congregations when he spoke of the 'spirit of apartheid' in relation to missionary work, it is open to argument as to how far this really constitutes use of the term 'in its modern sense', to quote Giliomee. The last one argues that it does in the context of the argument he develops that thinking about apartheid originated in debates about racial policy in the Afrikaans churches. Nevertheless, there remains a considerable difference between the advocacy of separation in one sphere and 'an all-embracing policy.' Further, Du Plessis's words hardly ran counter to the public policy of the period. Giliomee's purpose is to suggest that apartheid was not simply based on racism, but like segregation, which was acknowledged to have well-meaning as well as bigoted supporters, was at least partly motivated by respect for cultural differences among South Africa's communities. Thus, according to Giliomee, 'The church leaders were enthralled by their utopian vision of separate peoples, each with their own mission and would continue to justify the unjustifiable, thus paving the way for the politicians.' However, he acknowledges that they were 'fooling themselves', but the implication of their good intentions remains (see Guelke 2005: 3–4).

[411] This Political Party observes Regehr (1979: 11), was most perverted and unjust political and social system which created a regime that, perhaps more

the Nationalists came to power in 1948, apartheid, which previously had existed as a matter of custom and social practice, became intensified and systematized under the law until its fall in 1994.[412] In fact, states Blaser (2006:34–35), Apartheid is a doctrine that expressed a white and collective, structural and institutional racism[413] that existed in the RSA for fifty years. This theory is the fruit of an interpretation of the principles of autonomy and diversity put forward by Abraham Kuyper, and of the missionaries' theory that affirmed that the Gospel must be well developed while cultural differences are preserved. Apartheid was an application of Kuyper's reflexion. In fact, note Blaser and Geense (2006: 734), Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) was a Dutch theologian, journalist, and

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than any other modern state, viewed itself as a Christian theocracy, thriving on appeals to Christian dogma and maintain its novel approach to race relations.

[412] According to Guelke (2005: 17), this date is the year when Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as the President of a democratic South Africa. His inauguration on 10 May and the elections in April that preceded it are commonly treated as the terminal point of apartheid in South Africa. The logic of this position is that it was only with the full extension of political rights to all South Africa's peoples that the transition from apartheid to democracy could be considered definitive.

[413] Groenewald, quoted by Loubser (1987: 61–69), formulated seven principles that legitimated the apartheid viewpoint via Biblical scripture: 1. Scripture teaches the unity of the human species (Genesis 1, 26–29, Acts 17, 26; 2. the division of the human species into races, peoples and tongues was a conscious act of God (Deut. 32, 8, Genesis 15, 18, Amos 9,7); 3. The Lord's will is that people living apart should maintain their apartheid; 4. Apartheid applies to all spheres of national life: total apartheid, at national, social and religious levels comes from the following Scriptures: 4.1 National apartheid (Ps 80, 13, Is 5, 1–5, Phil 3, 14, 1Cor 7, 18, 1Cor 9, 20–22); 4.2. Social Apartheid (Deut 7,2–4, Neh 13, 23, John 18,28, Matth 18, 17, Acts 10, 28, Deut 22, 10, 2Cor 6, 14); 4.3 Religious Apartheid (Deut 7, John 17, 14, Matth 15, 26, Ex 9,1); 5. God rewards peoples who respect apartheid (Deut 7, 11); 6. In Christ a spiritual unity is created (Eph 4, 4–6, Gal 3, 28); 7. Stronger nations have a responsibility towards weaker nations.

politician. He abandoned Liberal theology and focused his works on Jean Calvin and the fathers of Calvinist Orthodoxy. Against the dominant spirit of his time, Kuyper[414]restored the honour and the sovereignty of God in every domain of human life: cultural, social, political, and scientific, and for him, two objectives had to be reached. On the one hand the development of Calvinism as *Weltanschauung* was to be adapted to the modern world, and on the other hand, to education the young elite whowould apply this programme of restoration. Consequently, Kuyper became the founder of an anti-revolutionary political party in 1878 and of the Free University of Amsterdam in 1880. He was also the principal founder of the Dutch New Calvinist Reformed Church. His

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[414] Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), argues Loubser (1987: 38–47), was a remarkable, brilliant and astonishingly productive theologian of principles. He was a former prime minister of the Netherlands. A number of his major concepts (1898) are found in the apartheid literature: 1. a system of principles by which Kuyper sustains the idea that not a single atom of reality exists outside the lordship of Christ. Kuyper supposed that Calvinism, to a great extent, is 'an independent system of principles' which gives rise to a 'quite unique, all-encompassing world view'; 2. Spheres of sovereignty. Kuyper identified different levels of existence (e. g., state, society, church). These spheres are related to one another because each falls directly under God's sovereign authority. Each sphere has a certain authority of its own, which is called 'sovereignty in its own sphere.' He regarded these spheres of authority, being of 'creation ordinances' of God, as so important that even sin did not violate them. For Kuyper, society as a whole may not be seen as an aggregation of individuals but as an organic whole made up of spheres; 3. Creation ordinances; God rules, manages and determines the creation in its diversity of sovereign spheres of authority by means of the creation ordinances, which give to each different sphere a certain authority and character; 4. Theory of diversity. Kuyper saw no uniformity among people, but rather pluriformity. This principle of diversity determines the structure of the church. The unity of the church is thus a matter for the Second Coming. It was this last principle that could be seen as the basis of the 'apartheid bible.' For criticism of Kuyper's theories see the seven remarks formulated by Loubser (47–47).

theocratic theology which consists of the restoration of the 'free church in the free state' inspired Daniel François Malan (1874–1959) in the formulation of his theology for the legitimacy of apartheid in RSA. After the electoral victory of his political party in 1948, this former Reformed theologian became a politician leader who applied the politics of 'separate development' or apartheid. What were the historical roots of this 'anthropological heresy' as Simon Maimela (1983: 48–58) calls it? The following section will dissect the anatomy of the theology behind the apartheid ideology.

5.4 The Historical Roots that Gave Rise to Apartheid Policy

This section will examine the advent, growth, and biblical justification of apartheid.

5.4.1 The Advent and Growth of Apartheid

Historically speaking, states Penny (1988: 353), apartheid ideology[415] emerged from the attempt of Afrikaners[416] to host the sharing of

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[415] Political apartheid, notes Loubser (1987: xiii), evolved through a number of different phases. It is seen now in terms of its final ideological phase, as it has emerged since the 1960s. In this phase it is no longer a 'pragmatic' political concept, but rather represents the ideal of complete racial segregation on all levels of society, functioning as an ideology. The custom of many South Africans of using 'apartheid' and 'differentiation' as synonymous is thus discarded. The concept of apartheid is defined more widely as 'an ideology, a closed , totalitarian system of ideas, which has in mind the total separation of the Black and White races in South Africa and which endeavours to make its influence felt over the whole spectrum of human activities' (p. xviii). However, Cochrane adds an economic dimension to this political comprehension of apartheid with these words: 'By apartheid I mean a set of political economic realities characterized by the exercise of power on behalf of privileged groups, using ethnic categories to legitimize policies and actions' (see Cochrane 1990: 84).

their political values, historical memories and myths about themselves, and to entertain their national consciousness. It derives from the Netherlands during Kuyper's premiership (1900–1905), and was included in Malan's premiership from 1948–1954 as ideological pronouncements, and in particular, that God had ordained separate nations with separate political institutions, each with a unique destiny. At this stage, it is important to keep in mind that policy, originally designated for the preservation of the *Afrikaner volk*, was imposed on all other South Africans without negotiation, as they were confronted with Afrikaner Nationalist [417] notions of ethnic and racial exclusivity. In fact, argues Penny (1988: 347), the first is that his religion and, in particular, the three Dutch Reformed Churches have exercised an important influence and control over the political and educational history. Calvinist in origin, this

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[416] Afrikaner is here used to designate the 'blending of Hollander, German and Huguenot for the most part, knit together by two centuries of common history into a natural group fully identified with the South African soil and speaking a common language, Afrikaans' (see Penny 1988: 349). The spirit of Afrikaner nationalism was also preserved through the educational system. Penny (1988: 345–6) puts it very well: 'we believe that the teaching and education of the children of white parents should occur on the basis of the life and world view of the parents. For Afrikaans speaking children this means that they must be educated on the basis of the Christian/National life and world view, the Christian and National principles are the basic significance and they aim at the propagation, protestation and development of the Christian and National being and nature of our Nation. The Christian basis of this life and world view is grounded on the Holy Scripture and expressed in Afrikaner South Africa.' Moreover, for De Gruchy (1979: 6), Rev. S. J. du Toit must be the 'father of Afrikaner nationalism in the sense that he offered to this movement an articulation alternative to the evangelical pietism which laid the foundation for Christian National education, a cornerstone of later Afrikaner nationalist policy.

[417] According to Bruce & Wallis (1985: 147), the Calvinism of Dutch setlers provided the core for the development Afrikaners who built a society informed by their elitist and segratstionist policies.

religion, a gospel of predestination of an elite[418] and the divine authority of the state over the individual, is preached in its more extreme forms, providing a theological justification for apartheid. [419] Frequently the

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[418] As states Penny (1988: 350), crucial to the ideas of group were those of a theologian, one S. J. du Toit, an admirer of the Dutch Calvinist theologian and politician, Dr Abraham Kuypers. In fact, Du Toit developed a coherent philosophy which sought to combine the cultural and political ambitions of Afrikanerdom and to fix them in a theocratic mould. The efforts to propagate the Afrikaans language were central in this, providing for the cultivation of a cultural consciousness. S. J. du Toit is an important figure, since he was responsible for some of the earliest statements that the Afrikaners were a 'chosen people', the providential thesis. In addition, states Regehr (1979: 142), Stephanus Jacobus du Toit, founded Die *Genootskap vaan Regte Afrikaners* (The Fellowship of True Afrikaners) in 1875 with an object defending the language, the nation and the country of Afrikaners. In 1876, he established *Die Afrikaans*, a newpaper in Afrikaans language. Moreover, notes De Gruchy (1987: 20), with the abolition of slavery in 1833 by Dr John Philip, Boers who were devout men and women, avid readers of the family Bible, and able marksmen as well, left without the blessing of their church to trek beyond the reach of British rule to search for a new land where they could build a republic of their own. In my opinion, the fear of the new political power of the British would have further influenced the cultivation of Afrikaner cultural consciousness and nationalism, which found its later expression in the apartheid policy.

[419] Throughout his survey on the 'implication of apartheid for Christianity in South Africa', specifically on 'what apartheid reveals about Christianity', Prozesky (1990: 127–138) wondered why such an exceptionally devout and sincere Protestant people could initiate such an oppressive policy. He identified six problems with Christianity that go a long way towards explaining how Christians could devise such an un-Christlike system as apartheid as a way to rule their country. He enumerates them as follows: 1. an inadequate social impact. In fact, the first problem with Christianity is that its potential for good in society is extremely underdeveloped. Apartheid shows just how easily even devout believers in a heavily Christian culture can unwittingly make their faith into an effective component of group self-interest in the forms of nationalist domination and economic exploitation; 2. Contradictions and defects within orthodox doctrine;

Afrikaner is linked to the Israelites of old. Moreover, the advent of Apartheid could be seen as an application of the 'Christian reconstruction' (De Gruchy 1979: 53) as was the purpose of a South African Christian Council held in 1942 at the University of Fort Hare. In fact, the purpose of that Council was to discuss the task of the Churches in the process of national reconstruction before the world could be at peace after the war. Its theme was 'The Christian Citizen in the Multi-Racial Society.' By this time argues De Gruchy (1979: 53), the mood was one of apprehension. Apartheid had arrived. Segregation as a principle, notes Chris Loff (1983: 11), finds its background at the Synod of 1829 during which a certain Ds J. Spijker put forward a proposal to the meeting in connection with segregation. However, it is known that Apartheid was, according to Jubber (1985: 273–4), the official policy of the government of South Africa and has been such since 1948. Indeed, the legislative expression[420] of this policy seeks to separate White and Blacks as far as practically possible and to preserve the power and privileges of White people. To this end, all South Africans were racially classified. Furthermore, Kinghorn (1990: 57– 80) describes how the growth of Apartheid policy took the following steps: the era of no doctrinal segregation (1652–1927); the conception of an ideological theology (1927–1948); the period of rationalisation and doctrinalisation (1948–1982), and the time for revision (1982 onwards).[421] Similarly, Loubser (1987: 3–104),

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3.Erosion of Christian credibility; 4.Insufficient critical realism; 5.An unrealistic concept of religion; 6.Disunity.

[420] The legislative pillars of apartheid were: the NativesLand Act of 1913, the Population Registration Act, and the Group Areas Act of 1950.

[421] We think that the Rustenburg Declaration of November 1990 enacted at the National Conference of Churches in South Africa must constitute the official end of Apartheid policy. For more detailed information on this religious and historical Declaration, see 'Documentation: Rustenburg Declaration' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1991/74, 64–71; De Gruchy, 'From Cottesloe

when he studies the evolution of the Apartheid Bible distinguishes six stages: 1. the Dutch period; scriptural arguments for slavery with the legitimation of racial attitudes in the slavery period through the theory of Ham (Gn 9, 18–27), the theory of the 'Weakness of some' (Luke 17, 7–9; 1 Cor 10, 16; 1 Cor 8, 13; Acts16,21; Deut 23, 2; I Kings 18,17, Jer 26, 8–9; Luke 4, 22,28, John 6, 60, Matth 11, 6, Luke 15, 2, John 8, 48; Acts 16, 21); 2.The British period with the emergence of people's theology (Afrikaner reaction against the abolition of slavery on the basis of the scriptural[422] justification of no equality between races); 3.The Afrikaner period [1924–1938] with the formation of the ideology of the policy of segregation through a neo-Calvinist basis; 4. The finishing stage of Afrikaner power: Apartheid as a political ideology (1938–1948); 5. The establishment of Apartheid is accepted by the Church; 6. Apartheid becomes ideological on the basis of the '*doctrine of continuous creation*', the '*theory of harmonious balance of reality*', and the '*theory of a biologically determined collectivism.*' How was this policy justified?

5.4.2 Theological Justification of Apartheid

In general, remarks Giliomee (2003: 226), apartheid's architects were politicians, journalists, businessmen and academics in Cape Town and Stellenbosch who, with the exception of Malan, were resolutely secular people.' Indeed, states Giliomee (p. 230), JD du Toit in 1944

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to Rustenburg and Beyond' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1991/74, 21–34.

[422] Through his survey 'The Bible and Apartheid 1' Voster (1983: 94–111), demonstrates how selective use of the Bible as a kind of proof text was held up by the thinkers of Apartheid to justify the system. This type of hermeneutic is, argues Bax (1983: 114), '*eisegesis',* and not exegesis, because it reads into the text what is just not there. That is the reason why in 1982, the WARC accused the white Afrikaans Reformed churches of 'theological heresy' (Bax 1983: 112).

presented one of the first biblical justifications of apartheid. Concerning the 'anatomy of the theology of apartheid' (Kinghorn 1990: 73), Kinghorn retains two main elements on which this theology is articulated: the appeal to scripture, and the systematic comprehensiveness. Indeed, this appeal to scripture, argues Zolide Mbali (1987: 191), rested on the Bible if the reformed church, the NGK,[423] with the 'Eccentric biblical exege-

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[423] For more information on the role played by the DRC in the formulation of the biblical and theological justification of the ideology of Apartheid, on Apartheid as heresy, and on the future of the DRC after the collapse of Apartheid, see the following studies: J. A. Loubser (1987) *A Critical Review of Racial Theology in South Africa: The Apartheid Bible,* Lampeter/New York/Ontario, The Edwin Mellens Press Ltd.; J. W. De Gruchy (1979) *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, Cape Town, Citadel Press; J. W. De Gruchy & C. Villa-Vicencio (1983) (eds.) *Apartheid is a heresy.* Cape Town/Johannesburg: Lutterworth Press/Guildford; J. W. De Gruchy (1991) *Liberating Reformed Theology: A South African Contribution to an Ecumenical Debate,* Grand Rapids/Claremont, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co; J. Cochrane (1990) 'Christian Resistance to Apartheid: Periodisation, Prognosis' in M. Prozesky (ed.) *Christianity in South Africa.* Bergvlei, Southern Book Publishing, p. 81–100; J. Kinghorn (1991) 'The Theology of Separate Equality: A Critical Outline of the DRC's Position on Apartheid' in M. Prozesky (ed.) *Christianity in South Africa.* Bergvlei: Southern Book Publishing, p. 57–80; G. C. Oosthuizen (1991) 'Christianity's Impact on Race Relations in South Africa' in M. Prozesky (ed.) *Christianity in South Africa.* Bergvlei: Southern Book Publishing, p. 101–121; M. Prozesky (1991) 'Implications of Apartheid for Christianity in South Africa' in M. Prozesky (ed.) *Christianity in South Africa.* Bergvlei: Southern Book Publishing, p. 122–148; J. P. Hartin, 'Apartheid and the Scriptures; 'The Contribution of Albert Geyser in the Polemic' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1988/64, p. 20–33; SS Maimela, 'Man in White Theology' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1981/36, pp. 27–42; JM Voster 'Kuyper and Apartheid theology in South Africa; Another perspective' in *Studia Historiae* 2001/xxvii-2, 57–73; I Hexham, 'Christianity and Apartheid: An Introductory Bibliography' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1980/32, p. 39–59; C. Villa-Vicencio, ' Southern Africa Today: A Consensus Against Apartheid' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1982/41, p. 83–85; C. Landman, 'The Anthropology of Apartheid Ac-

cording to Official Sources' in 1991/76, pp. 32–45; DS Walker, 'Evangelical and Apartheid Revisited' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1994/89, p. 42–49; M Prozesky 'Can Christians Overcome Apartheid? An Evaluation of the 'Statement for Reconciliation' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1986, p. 51–55; J Kinghorn, 'DRC Theology: A Theology of Exploitation' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1984/49, p. 4–13; B. Tlhagale 'Culture in an Apartheid Society' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1985/51, p. 27–36; D. Tutu 'Barmen and Apartheid: A Sermon Preached at the Barmen Symposium, Seattle, April 1984' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1984/47, p. 73–77; JJ Kritzinger 'The Dutch Reformed Church (NGKerk) and Development: Three Models' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1994/87, p. 49–61; E De Villiers 'The Influence of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) on Public Policy during the late 80's and 90's' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 51–61; JW De Gruchy 'The Future of Reformed Churches in South Africa: Some Random Notes and Reflections' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 43–49; BC Lattegan 'Preparing and Keeping The Mind-Set Intact; Reasons and Forms of a Theology of the Status Quo' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 63–75; A Rosenfeld 'Reporting on the State of Emergency (1985–1990)' in *Die Kerkboode* in *Scriptura* 2001/75, p. 107–117; D. Smit ' Has there been any Change? On the Role of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974–1990' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 119–126; F. Gaum 'The Reformed Church: Present Challenges in the Light of the Past. Response to a socio-linguistic and theological analysis of *Die Kerkbode*' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 129–132; W. Nicol 'Accompanying the Flock: The Development of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974–1990' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 133–138; N. Smith '*Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk:* Present Challenges in the Light of the Past, Experiences of a dissenter: An evaluation of one's own role in development within the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC)' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 139–151; E. Mouton 'Remembering Forward and Hoping Backward: Some thoughts on Women and the Dutch Reformed Church' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 77–86; P. Naudé 'The DRC's Role in the Context of Transition in South Africa: Main Streams of Academic Research' in *Scriptura* 2001/76, p. 87–106; JW De Gruchy 'Towards a Confessing Church; The Implication of a heresy' in JW De Gruchy & Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.) (1983) *Apartheid is a heresy,* Cape Town/Johannesburg, Lutterworth Press/Guildford, p. 75–93; W. Voster, 'The Bible and Apartheid 1' in JW De Gruchy& Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.) (1983) *Apartheid is a heresy*, Cape Town/Johannesburg, Lutterworth Press/Guildford, p. 94–111; Bax, D. (1983) 'The Bible and Apartheid 2' in JW

sis' with reference to the following texts: Genesis 1, 28 9; Acts 17, 26, and Deuteronomy 32, 8. All these verses are used to justify separate development and the homelands, as were the links found between 'Biblical themes and historical experience.' This eccentric exegesis was coupled with a marked religious sense [424] of their more recent history such as: the victory of around 500 Afrikaner soldiers against around 20 000 black Zulus at the battle of Blood River in Natal on December 16, 1838 was celebrated as a fruit of Providence, and the Great Trek as the Exodus. In fact, Apartheid implicates Calvinism and Reformed Christianity very deeply because, states Jubber (1985: 274–5), it was from these sources that a particular Reformed church evolved which, in the

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De Gruchy & Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.) (1983) *Apartheid is a heresy*, Cape Town/Johannesburg, Lutterworth Press/Guildford, p. 112–143; S. Maimela. (1984) An Anthropological heresy: A critique of white theology' in JW De Gruchy& Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.) (1983) *Apartheid is a heresy*, Cape Town/Johannesburg, Lutterworth Press/Guildford, p. 48–58.

[424] Through his survey on 'Trapped in Apartheid', especially the part on 'PrescribedState religion', Villa-Vicencio (1988: 139), demonstrates how this application lead Afrikaners to their self-perception as a people by using biblical material. He tells us in these words: 'In fact, as Christian tradition has become increasingly appealed to by marginalized groups within the churches as a basis from which to challenge the government's legitimacy, the state's perceived role for religion in the wider ideological framework of national existence has shifted quite dramatically. The traditional self-perception of Afrikaner people, schooled by *dominees* (Afrikaner church ministers) and *volksleir* (popular leaders), is deeply religious, God-fearing, Christian and Calvinist. Obsessed with a Puritan sense of being an instrument in the hands of the divine Architect, Afrikaners applied themmselves with a sense of urgency to build a nation with a divine purpose and mission. Whites came to regard themselves as 'Christian', 'moral', 'civilized' and 'of God', while such terms as 'heathen, and ''immoral, ''uncivilized' and 'pagan' came to be synonymous with black people. Biblical material was employed to substantiate the myth of white superiority, while national seers, prophets and priests identified the 'hard evidence' of God's ratification of the Afrikaners' exploits.'

context of South Africa, gave the world a new crime against humanity[425] as Apartheid was to be called. In fact, the roots of the Dutch Reformed Churches' advocacy of Apartheid can be traced historically to the first meetings between Dutch explorers and settlers and the indigenous people of South Africa. The Dutch of the time viewed the world through Reformed Christian eyes made haughty and superior by Holland's considerable status as a colonial power, and because Calvin gave his followers the knowledge that they were members of God's one true church, the Dutch enjoyed a strong sense of moral and religious self-righteousness. The dogmas of election and predestination encouraged in them the feeling that they were elected by God and predestined to act as they did. The achievements of the Dutch during the Seventeenth Century were so many 'good works' and, as Tawney (cited by Jubber 1985: 275) suggests, good works, while not a means of attaining salvation, were nevertheless indispensable as proof that salvation had been attained. According to Weber, Calvinism fostered an attitude of exclusiveness, '…accompanied by an attitude toward the sin of one's neighbour, not of sympathetic understanding … but of hatred and contempt for him as an enemy of God bearing the sin of eternal damnation.' It is hardly surprising therefore that the inhabitants of the Cape appeared to the Dutch as doomed souls and that race relations in South Africa got off to the bad start that they did. Even before the first Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape, the imaginations of Europeans had been filled with prejudice against the indigenous people by the reports of various explorers. The typical image which Europeans of that time had of Africa's inhabitants, says MacCrone, was that they 'were regarded as wholly savage, without religion, law, or morals, and hence more like wild beasts than human

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[425] Even if, as Andrew Kenny, a freelance journalist from Cape Town, claimed in his article, published in 1999, that apartheid had saved South Africa from Communism, Apartheid, argues Guelke (2005: 1), was labelled 'a crime against humanity' by the United Nations General Assembly as early as 1966.

beings.' In addition, Jan van Riebeeck, states Jubber (1985: 276), who was to inaugurate the European colonization of South Africa, and was a member of the Reformed church, first made contact with the inhabitants of the Cape in 1648 when on a sea voyage back to Holland. He described the local people with such negative terms as 'dull, stupid, lazy, stinking, brutal, crude, savage, thievish and without conscience.' (see MacCrane quoted by Jubber 1985: 276) On his landing he is reported to have uttered a prayer of thanks in which he made reference to the wild and brutal inhabitants of the land. Jan van Riebeeck's landing and early settlement of the Cape were indeed momentous in the history of South Africa. It is not coincidental that the histories of White domination, of Apartheid, and of the Dutch Reformed Church are all traced back to this point. The Dutch initiated all three. In the early years of the Cape settlement the Dutch Reformed Church became tied in a Gordian knot with the White settlers, their material interests and their racial prejudices. While there is evidence of assimilationist tendencies in the early period, it was the segregationist tendencies which were favoured by historical forces. The Dutch, already biased psychologically and sociologically in a segregationist direction by their religion and sense of cultural superiority, had this tendency reinforced continually by historical events. The arrival of the French Huguenots in 1688 added to the segregationist tendencies. They had been persecuted in their own country for their stubborn exclusivity and they were highly endogamous and remained separate from all inhabitants of the Cape, with the exception of the Dutch settlers with whom they shared the Calvinist creed and farming interests. MacCrone quoted by Jubber (1985: 276) notes that the Huguenots injected into the Dutch a greater degree of religiosity with an exclusive bias and confirmed their sense of superiority. The Dutch and French, as they began to coalesce, formed their sense of basic stock of what in time became the Afrikaner *volk*. Other major historical events such as the occupation of the Cape and other parts of South Africa by

the British, the Great Trek, the many wars between the Boers[426] and the African tribes of South Africa and the wars against the British,[427] all served to further the Afrikaners' realization that their survival and material wellbeing depended on the preservation of the unity of religion, language, culture and race which gave them their identity. The role of the Dutch Reformed religion in the preservation of the unity and thus in the preservation and the promotion of Afrikaner[428] interests has been crucial. The reason for this is that the Church has provided the rationale and legitimacy for this unity and its objectives. It has provided the good conscience which the Afrikaners needed for pursuing their self interests and for welding themselves into a potent political force. Because of its commitment to the presbyterial-synodal structure, the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa sought independence from Holland early in its history. This was achieved step-by-step until 1824 when the first synod of the fully independent Dutch Reformed Church met. This synod initiated attempts to establish a theological seminary in South Africa to complete the independence of the South African Church which opened its first theological seminary in 1859 at Stellenbosch. Consistent with the Reformed tradition, the Dutch Reformed Church accepted that Jesus Christ was the only head of the Church. The lack of centralized control

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[426] This word designates the Dutch word for 'farmer.'

[427] These wars that opposed Afrikaans and British between 1899 and 1902 had an economical and political purpose. In fact, they were due, state Clark and Worger (2004: 14), to the desire to control the mineral industries of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886). These wars took place, states Hendriks (1999: 331), with the colonization of AfrikanerRepublics by the British Empire. Moreover, with the independence of South Africa in 1961, we witness the triumph of the Afrikaner, his church and his state over white British rule and rivalry and black resistance.

[428] Afrikaans, according to Clark and Worger (2004: 12), is the new Creole language which combined Dutch with elements of Malay and colonial Portuguese.

and a single exegetical voice was an important factor in the schisms[429] that led to the founding of the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk in 1853 and the Gereformeerde Kerk [430] in 1859. As regards the exegetical

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[429] As, states Jubber (1985: 280–82), the first half of the Nineteenth Century was a crucial period for the DRC as far as the struggle between religious and secular determinants was concerned. In fact, this Church had, since the 1790s, made many Blacks converts that lead to segregationist tendencies among Whites. Clashes between missionaries and members of the established Church occurred. The opposition was not so much to the mission work, but to the incorporation of converted slaves and heathen into existing, predominantly White, congregations. History reveals that as the century progressed, the secular determinants became increasingly dominant. In 1834, the CapeSynod discussed the creation of separate congregations for Black people and in 1837, this body called for the provision of special seating for Coloureds. Separate congregations began to be formed, but this was not at first accepted. But the Synod of 1857 marked the point at which the race prejudices, material interests and petty rationalizations of the majority of White church members finally triumphed over the universalistic and other-worldly tendencies of the Church. Thus, though not so intended, this Synod decision had the eventual effect of making the DRC the Church of the Afrikaner volk and subordinating the Church's Christian mission to the secular ambitions of the *volk*. To take care of its Coloureds members, separate congregations were formed and in 1881 a separate 'daughter' church was established. Mission work among the Africans and Indians led in time to the establishment of separate Reformed churches for these groups as well as: NG Sending Kerk (Coloured), NGKerk in Africa (Africa), The Indian Reformed Church (Indian). Nevertheless, the solutions to the Church's internal problems came to serve as the blueprint for the Afrikaners' socio-political race policy. The BoerRepublics dealt with the race issue as the DRC had, through rigid segregation. These short-lived experiments provided the testing ground for the application of segregationist ideas and provided the experience and rhetoric which gradually blossomed into the full-blown Apartheid policy of the National government.

[430] According to Desmond Tutu (1983: 4), the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), a branch of the DRC, was the staunchest supporter of the Apartheid regime. In fact, argues Jubber (1985: 279), the race prejudices of the White settlers influenced the Church in other ways. Rhoodie and Venter report that towards the end of the Eighteenth Century provisions were made by Dutch

weakness of the DRC, its history is full of substantiating cases. Left virtually alone with their Bibles, the early Afrikaners became their own theologians and interpreted God's word in the light of their own wisdom and experience. This, not surprisingly, opened the door to numerous heresies. What could be the basis of the theology of apartheid policy? According to Desmond Tutu (1983: 5), the NGK (Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk, the white Dutch Reformed Church), gave scriptural justification for the apartheid system by using biblical stories such as the Tower of Babel story about the confusion of tongues to justify apartheid, neglecting to point out that the Bible sees that confusion and dispersal of peoples as divine punishment for the human sin of pride, a story that is believed to have been reversed at the first Christian Pentecost. They have also used the story of the so-called curse of Ham to justify the idea of blacks being hewers of wood and drawers of water forever. Furthermore, the growth of Apartheid was implemented in South Africa through, state Clark and Worger (2004: 62), an intricate series of laws and regulations carefully constructed to separate the races into a hierarchy of power[431] with all groups subservient to the Whites. In fact, in 1948, note Clark & Worger (2004: 35), white South African voters elected a government dedicated to the ideology of apartheid or, in Afrikaans, 'apartness' or 'apart-hood.' In addition, throughout the 1950s, the South African government enacted a growing body of legislation that

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Reformed churches in the Cape colony for racially segregated worship. There is evidence that numerous discussions about segregated worship took place in the 1820s. During these years the Church Council of the Dutch Reformed Church at Somerset West repeatedly objected to having converted Black men worship and receive communion with them. In some congregations at Stellenbosch and Caledon, the White males were served communion first, followed by their women and then the Black parishioners.

[431] This hierarchy of power lead the White church—DRC—to give birth to three daughter churches which, according to Desmond Tutu (1983: 4–5), have been divided not according to dogma and practice, but according to ethnicity.

controlled every aspect of its citizens' lives according to their race. Members of each racial group were classified, told where to live, what schools to attend, to many there was never an attempt to designate who should marry who, and how much money they could earn at work. With this legislation, Apartheid gained power in a way that scholars and politicians debated. Clark and Worger show the "why" of this ideology which, for some, is linked particularly to colonial policies and, for others, to segregation, and which made such a fundamental and qualitative difference in the lives of South Africans. He puts it as follows:

> 'For some, apartheid was the logical extension of South Africa's own history, a continuation of an intensified form of segregation. Indeed, apartheid rested on a long legacy of racial discrimination. Many apartheid laws merely elaborated on previous colonial policies and segregation legislation. Most South Africans, however, would argue that apartheid made a fundamental and qualitative difference in their lives. The sheer brutality of its implementation and its ultimately overarching impact on the country signalled a dramatic shift. Politicians in opposition to apartheid blamed this shift in race relations on the new Afrikaner Nationalist Party government that came to power in1948. Opposition politicians, who were primarily English-speaking, accused the Nationalist Party of a regressive 'frontier mentality' derived from years of brutal discrimination towards Africans and economic deprivation experienced by Afrikaners since the nineteenth century. In other words, they argued that apartheid was a sort of ethnic throw-back to the Great Trek, associated exclusively with Afrikaans society and culture.'

Moreover, it was by the 1970s, that the apartheid system, according to Clark and Worger (2004: 71), began to break down under the pressure of worker discontent compounded by the effects of the economic recession of the early part of that decade, followed by inflation and a contrac-

tion in the job market, which resulted in a dramatic upsurge in labour unrest. With 165,000 African industrial workers, Durban became the focus of this unrest. This unrest was supported by the theological fight against apartheid as blasphemy and heresy, through which, in the view of Desmond Tutu, only White people could vote and this privilege was denied to the Black majority. This situation was vehemently denounced by him as follows:

> 'Apartheid is equally vicious and equally blasphemous. Apartheid restricts the vote to those with the right skin colour. I am a bishop in the church of God. I am 51 years old, and a few people might be led to believe that I am reasonably responsible. Yet in my country, where I was born and bred, I lack the vote. A White child of 18 years can vote just because he or she is white (see Desmond Tutu 1983: 6).'

In the light of this quotation we can move now to analyse the fight which put an end to the apartheid system, which was first and foremost a policy of racial separation that rested on sociological and theological assumptions that races are the fundamental divisions of humanity.

5.5 The Struggle against Apartheid

It must be said that the struggle against apartheid was initiated by the South African Church herself,[432] and by denouncing it as 'a church

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[432] According to De Gruchy (1979: 54–55), the struggle over Apartheid would be initiated by the South African English-speaking Churches which normally include the Church of the Province (Anglican), the United Congregational Church, the Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa. In fact, in September, 1948 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa criticised proposed legislation aimed at depriving Africans of the Parliamentary representation as a retrogade step contrary to the claims of Christian responsibility. 'Our earnest prayer', the General Assembly said, 'is that white South Africa may be saved from the contempt in the eyes of the world

sickened by an ideology that had a devastating effect on the country as a whole' (Cilliers 2006),[433] or states De Gruchy (1991: 209–214), an 'ethical heresy. '[434] This Christian struggle against apartheid began by de-

which such action is bound to produce.' The Methodist Conference that same month stated that 'no person of any race should be regarded on the high level of a pledged word. Political and social rights especially of the underprivileged groups should not be reduced but rather developed and expanded into greater usefulness.' Similar sentiments were expressed by the Congregational Assembly, which stated: 'It is our sincere conviction that the Government's policy of apartheid has no sanction in the New Testament Scriptures …' The Assembly of the Baptist Union condemned' any tampering with the accepted constitutional understanding that the franchise rights of non-Europeans will continue to be entrenched as provided in the South Africa Act.' Finally, in November, 1948, the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province, the bishops identified themselves fully with the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference earlier that year, which declared 'that discrimination between men on the ground of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion.' In the same vein, Huddleston, an Anglican Priest, in 1957, in his book '*Naught for Your Comfort',* blamed Calvinism for the ideology of apartheid as follows: 'The truth is that the Calvinistic doctrines upon which the faith of the Afrikaner is nourished contain within themselves—like all heresies and deviations from catholic truth— exaggerations so distorting and powerful that it is very hard indeed to recognise the Christian faith they are supposed to enshrine. Here, in this fantastic notion of the immutability of race, is present in a different form the predestination idea: the concept of an elect people of God, characteristic above all of John Calvin.'

[433] In his very sensitive survey, Celliers deals with the sermons preached by the DRC during the period from 1960 to 1980. He analyses these sermons in depth by using the method of 'close reading' which takes the linguistic details of each sermon seriously and their theological perspectives. These analyses bring to light the way preachers made use of biblical texts to sanction national ideals, to create and perpetuate selective God-images, and to stabilize a certain identity during the crisis of apartheid.

[434] We owe this expression to Vissert't Hoof (1900–1985) who was a prominent Dutch Protestant theologian and the first General Secretary of the WCC. He first used this expression during the WCC's Assembly of Uppsala in 1968. He was speaking about Reformed dogma which Karl Barth had to qualify during the

nouncing it as heresy on the basis of, explains De Gruchy (1991: 213), its theological justification within the life of the Church and its embodiment in the structure of the Church. Apartheid as a political ideology[435] is, from a Christian point of view, evil and sinful. However its theological justification and ecclesiastical embodiment is heresy.[436] Heresy is a

Assembly of the WARC in Cardiff in 1925: the 'Old Reformed Creed was wholly ethical, and was always addressed to the public sphere.' Consequently, any Christian statement or declaration which impinged directly upon the life and testimony of the Church must be seen as heresy or false Christian teaching which must be eradicated.

[435] For Loubser (1987: 122–124), an ideology is such a complex phenomenon it can be seen from different angles through the following characteristics: 1. An ideology simplifies reality by expressing a distorted and impoverished view of reality; 2. An ideology legitimises a certain status quo by explaining for a community the various structures of its being: social, cultural, religious and political, etc., and propagating certain non-negotiable fundamentals and attempts to guarantee the wholeness of the community or nation; 3. An ideology develops as a result of moral pressure from outside; 4. An ideology utilises an uncritical world view; 5. An ideology operates with myths; 6. Ideologies are self-explanatory, because an ideology operates as a closed hermeneutical circuit and is a result of a group's self-consciousness and itself, in turn, determines which religious texts and historical traditions are to be interpreted; 7. Ideologies maintain their function subconsciously; 8. Ideologies are embedded in institutions; 9. An ideology is also absolute, because of its closed world view; it cannot tolerate competition and has a tendency to concentrate all other ideas in the environment on itself. Therefore ideologies never operate apart from religion.

[436] According to De Gruchy & Villa-Vicencio (1983: 145), the following documents are related directly to the debate on apartheid as a heresy. The Declaration of the South African Catholic Bishops'Conference of 1957, The Cottesloe Consultation Statement of 1961, The SACC Message to the People of South Africa (1968); The decision of the World Lutheran Federation in 1977 which declared that a *statis confessionis* exists in Southern Africa; the decision made by the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in South Africa (1981) which declared apartheid a heresy; the declaration by the WARC meeting in Ottawa (1982) to support and affirm that decision, and to suspend the membership of the NGK and NHK, The SACC (1982) declared apartheid as a heresy. To them we can

category that only makes sense within the life of the Church, for it has do with the struggle between the true and the false church.[437] Consequently some prominent Christian personalities such as Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak[438], and ecclesiatical organizations such the World Council of Churches (WCC) [439] , World Alliance Reformed Churches

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add: 1. Kairos Document of 1985; 2. The Belhar Confession of 1986 of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church by which it rejected categorically the synodical decision of 1857 to allow segregation in the church. It equally rejects apartheid as a heresy (art. 4) and affirms the true nature of the church's unity and mission; 3. Rustenburg Declaration (1990) [see art. 2.2 Apartheid as an act of disobedience to God, a denial of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and a sin against our unity in the Holy Spirit, art. 2.5.1. 'Apartheid as a sin'].

[437] Here we take into account Ignatius of Antioch's comprehension of heresy through his 'Letter to the Ephesians' during the second century, as cited by De Gruchy (1983: 81). Thus, Ignatius heresy for Christians becomes a 'distortion of the truth revealed in Jesus Christ, and something that not only leads to division within the Church but also to a false witness in the world. In the case of apartheid it served as a 'false witness' of God's love and justice in modern Christianity.

[438] According to Tutu (1989: 13), it was Allan Boesak who initiated and make accepted through the SACC, the principle of civil disobedience, as a weapon to fight apartheid policy.

[439] During the 4th Assembly of WCC held at Uppsala in 1968, states De Gruchy (1979: 128), it was planned to establish a programme for the elimination of racism throughout the world. During the consultation on Racism held at Notting Hill near London in 1969 it proposed the formation of a Programme to Combat Racism (PCR). This proposal was endorsed by the Central Committee of the WCC meeting at Canterbury that same year. With PCR, WCC engaged churches from 1970 at the political, economical and social levels to struggle against apartheid and racism. For detailed information on the WCC and Apartheid see 'WCC Statement on Southern Africa: Documentation' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1983, 62–5; 'From Cottesloe to Cape Town: The WCC Visit to South Africa' in *PCR Information,* 1991/30, p. 5–132; *Critique of the WCC Programme to Combat Racism*, Cape Town: Methodist Publishing House.

(WARC)[440], South Africa Council of Churches (SACC), Alliance of
Black Reformed Christians in South Africa (ABRECSA), and the South
African Catholic Conference have embarked on the struggle against
Apartheid as a Christian heresy. In fact, the struggle over apartheid
policy was the work of a long time and many paths: theologically and
ecclesiastically, economically[441] with the foreign investors' withdraw-

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[440] The role of the WARC in the struggle against apartheid was important. Rev.
Dr Boesak as its President at this moment played an impressive task. In fact,
during its General Council held in Ottawa in 1982, the WARC dealt with the
problem of racism and apartheid and formulated the following resolution: 'The
General Council of WARC affirms earlier statements on the issue of racism and
apartheid ('separate development') in 1964 and 1970, and reiterates its firm
conviction that apartheid ('separate development') is sinful and incompatible
with the Gospel on the grounds that: a. it is based on a fundamental irreconcila-
bility of human beings, thus rending ineffective the reconciling and uniting
power of our Lord Jesus Christ; b. in its application through racist structures it
had led to exclusive privileges for the white section of population at the expen-
sive of the blacks; and c. it has created a situation of injustice and oppression,
large-scale deportation causing havoc to family life, and suffering to millions
(see Resolution on Racism and South Africa. Point. II. 1 in *Reformed World*,
1982/37, p. 78). Boesak, in my opinion, struggled against apartheid by awaken-
ing black people to their own power through 'Black theology', read: A Boesak.
(1983) 'He made us all, but' in JW De Gruchy & C Villa-Vicencio (eds.) *Apart-
heid is a heresy*. Cape Town/Johannesburg: Lutterworth Press/Guildford, p. 1–9;
A. Boesak (1979) *The Finger of God: Sermons on Faith and Socio-Political
Responsibility*. Translated from the Afrikaans by Peter Randall, Johannesburg,
Ravan Press; A. Boesak (1976) *Farewell to Innocence: A Socio-ethical study of
black theology and black power,* Johannesburg, Ravan Press.

[441] Beside the theological fight over apartheid, we can also mention the econom-
ical fight initiated by White government. In fact, argue Clark and Worger (2004:
72–3), in order to forestall the politicization of the workforce and the union
movement, the government appointed in 1977 a Commission of Inquiry into
Labour Legislation known as the Wiehahn Commission. The Commission Re-
port was published in 1979 and opened with the admission that 'there were
simply not enough white skilled workers available to fill all vacancies in manu-

ing; and political by the UN, [442] which considered racism as a crime against humanity. We intend now to explore how the theological way was applied. In fact, for James Cone (1938–), one of the members of the *Association oecuménique des théologiens du Tiers*-Monde (Ecumenical Association of Theologians of Third World), through his erudite book

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facturing … with the result that increasing numbers of unskilled and skilled workers, particularly Blacks, had to be trained and utilized to perform higher-level skilled jobs. Under such circumstances, employers needed legally recognized workers' representatives with whom to bargain, and the Commission recommended that blacks should be allowed to register trade unions and to have them recognized as part of the official conciliation process. The Commission also recommended the elimination of statutory job reservation by race that had restricted Africans from high-paid and more skilled jobs, although it left it up to individual firms as to whether they wanted to practice this in the workplace. Legislation incorporating the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission was passed in 1979 (Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, 1979, permitting Africans to form trade unions, Labour Relations Amendment Act, 1981, permitting the formation of trade unions with a mixed membership, that is Africans, Coloureds, Indians and whites could be in the same union).

[442] Concerning the UN Statements, we shall refer to the ecumenical social thinking through the definition of the UNESCO committee of experts which met in 1967 and 1978. Essentially, this definition is to the effect that racism is the prejudiced conviction that physical qualities in themselves confer power and worth. An economic explanation of racism relates it to the greed that led to slavery and to the violent subjugation and exploitation of whole peoples in the interests of the colonial powers. Furthermore, Resolution no. 3379 of the UN General Assembly on November 10, 1975, called Zionism a form of racism which triggered much discussion. It found in Zionism a movement that had overstepped the boundary between legitimate nationalism and racism. Especially when the nationalism includes violence, seizure of territory, discrimination, and all other forms of hegemony-in this case, to the hurt of Palestinians. This statement was quietly ignored in what the United Nations said about Israel and the OccupiedTerritories. It was withdrawn in 1992 so as not to impede the Middle East peace talks then in progress. Moreover, the UN, states Zorn (2003: 73), declared 1978 the year of the fight against apartheid.

*Black Theology and Black Power (*1969), the question of racism is more important to the contemporary Christian Church. It must be faced as Arianism during Athanasius' time. He states that in these words:

> 'The racial question is to our time what the Arian controversy was for the 4th Century. Athanasius himself would perfectly give up that if he could tolerate the Arius point of view, Christianity would disappear. Few White churchmen yet wonder if racism would not deny the same Christ that Arius denied.'

In the light of Cone's observation, it must be noticed that the racism embodied in apartheid and which had issued from the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa (Perret 1992: 21), would be considered as heresy in the sense that it was legitimated on the basis of the Bible and was initiated by a Church—the DRC. Jubber (1985: 282), cited by Lombard, acknowledges the vital role played by this Church in South African politics and formulates its contribution to the apartheid ideology in these words:

> 'The most important contribution which the N. G. Church made in the shaping of South Africa's policies was certainly that they helped to create the climate for its practical implementation. In this regard the contribution of the church conferences and synods since 1923 can certainly not easily be overestimated. The Church played a vital role in placing on the statute books laws dealing with the prohibition of mixed marriages and immorality, residential segregation, separate amenities, influx control, job reservation, and separate universities. Serfontein notes that until 1950 the leadership of the Dutch Reformed Church and its synodal decisions and study reports stated that Apartheid was directly derived from the Bible. It was a God given policy. He goes on to summarize the relationship that has existed over the years between the Church and the Government: Virtually blind support

of the government in all its policies and actions; Blind support
for Apartheid political principles, apart from minor criticisms of
details of application; Conscious avoidance of embarrassing or
confronting the government through formal and informal chan-
nels in order to deal with delicate matters without fuss or publici-
ty. Another way in which the Church has been interwoven in the
political life of the Afrikaner has been through the Broederbond.
The Church has been closely associated with this secret organi-
zation since it was founded in 1918 by a group of Afrikaners
concerned about the future of the volk. This organization has
played a decisive role in National Party politics and the Dutch
Reformed Church has always been deeply implicated in its ac-
tions. Serfontein notes that the Broederbond and Dutch Re-
formed establishment have identical ideals and visions and that
over half of the ministers of the Church are Broederbond mem-
bers. Broeders also occupy almost all the key positions in the
Church organization. On the evidence available, Serfontein con-
cludes that the Church is totally and absolutely controlled by the
Broederbond thus substantiating the claim made above that the
Church has become the lackey of secular concerns of Afrikaner-
dom.'

In reality, Apartheid[443] was a kind of racism which we know histori-
cally in the USA and Republic of South Africa. Indeed, according to
Michaela von Freyhold (2005: 477), 'Racism is linked to modernity and
two specifically European and North American achievements: the idea
of the universality of the human race, and the idea of the nation-state.
An extended definition of racism that takes into account both its history
and its present status might run as follows: 'racism is the refusal of equal

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[443] See S. de Gruchy (2006: 385), E. Perret (1992: 21–24) deals with the story of
this heresy in the view of World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Concerning
the WARC's struggle over apartheid, see supra at fn 432.

human rights and human dignity to a certain group because it is considered to be biologically or culturally foreign' (see Michaela von Freyhold 2005: 477). Racism may take various forms: an ideology or a doctrine, personal notions and prejudices, or the direct practice of discrimination and hostility against the group in question. One may distinguish different types of racism according to the social institutions that exercise it: state racism, economic racism, the political-ideological racism, scientific racism, the racism of public opinion, everyday racism, and violent racism. After this brief presentation of sociological aspects of the terms 'racism' and 'apartheid', we purport to discuss it theologically and ecumenically. In fact, in the first place we will see the theological reflection concern with it. Secondly, we will explore the engagement of the WCC. Theologically[444] speaking, say Pityana and Udodesku (2005: 478), racism has no rational basis or conceptual cogency. Its targets and victims find it incomprehensible. It consists simply of prejudice. Though not rational, it can be understood in terms of underlying psychological factors, and its social effects can be seen and described. Consequently, a full understanding of racism must include psychosocial analysis. Although no cogent arguments can be made on behalf of racism, strenuous efforts have been made to justify it theologically. The aim is naturally to

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[444] Afrikaner biblical exegesis which legitimises Apartheid was based, states Loubser (1978: 69), on: 1. A 'people's hermeneutic.' As result of this, a national component of meaning was read into the Bible where a normal reader would not expect to find it; 2. From that which the Bible treats as pure facts, moral norms are derived; 3. That which the Bible teaches about individuals is directly applied to nations. This hermeneutical principle fits neatly into the idea of the 'collective' individual of romantic nationalism; 4. The communion of believers is made relative to the nation; 5. The unity of believers from different nations is therefore demoted to an 'invisible' unity. The biblical tension between being 'in the world' and being 'not of the world' is thus weakened by too much emphasis on the 'being in the world'. In front of this false exegesis, orthodox exegesis of biblical texts on the love, justice of God, on liberation (Christology) has to be elaborated.

defend the status quo rather than to explain it. The defence seeks to find a moral foundation for what is already a social practice. When Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) discovered the New World, conversion and Christianization were arguments used to justify the conquest, even though mission in this setting involved violent oppression. Ideas of racial superiority were also present. Some types of Old Testament exegesis and themes such as the chosen people and the exodus nourished and supported the racism of early missionaries. Nevertheless, some of them already had doubts about the theological justification of racism.[445]

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[445] As notes Michaela von Freyhold (2005: 476–477), the term 'racism' was coined around 1930 to define and criticize a doctrine of holding that there are hereditary cultural and psychological differences between peoples that makes those of Europe, especially northwest Europe, biologically superior to all others. The inner distinctions of talent and character were believed to express themselves in external attributes such as skin color or the shape of the skull. This doctrine also included a belief that the superior peoples must keep their bloodlines 'pure' and should not intermingle with other peoples, lest they lose their power and identity. Moreover, the neoracism in northern Europe and the United States is directed against immigrants from southern Europe, Latin America, Asia, or Africa, whose cultures are allegedly incompatible with European civilization. It therefore makes sense to extend the term 'racism' to cover all ideologies that view people, on the basis of their appearance or descent, as belonging to collectives with unchanging qualities, being positive in the case of one's own group, and negative in the case of other groups. Similarly, racism is always directed against groups and peoples who are politically and often also economically not strong. It is thus linked to preexisting and deeply ingrained forms of social inequality. For further information on racism, see J. N. Bitter (2006); P. Gisel & L. Kaennel (dir.) *Encyclopédie du protestantisme 2ème édition revue, corrigée et augmentée*, Paris/Genève, PUF/Labor et Fides, p. 1243; K. Blaser, A. Geense (2006), P. Gisel et L Kaennel (dir.) *Encyclopédie du protestantisme 2e edition revue, corrigée et augmentée*, Paris/Genève, PUF/Labor et Fides, p. 734; K. Blaser, 'Apartheid' in P. Gisel & L. Kaennel (dir.) *Encyclopédie du protestantisme 2e edition revue, corrigée et augmentée*. Paris/Genève PUF/Labor et Fides, p. 34–35; A. Boesak (1984) *Black and Reformed: Apartheid, Liberation and the Calvinist Tradition,* Maryknoll, Orbis Books; (1984)

Many indeed became defenders of native peoples against exploitation and oppression. Indeed, the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 pointed the way forward by putting the rights of native people and their treatment by colonial powers on the agenda. J H. Odham (1874–1969), general secretary of the International Missionary Council, published his book *Christianity and the Race Problem (*1924) as a challenge to the churches. [446] In the International Missionary Conferences

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Concilium no 171; De Gruchy, W John, C Villa-Vicencio (eds.) (1982) *Apartheid Is a Heresy.* Cap-Guilford: David Philop-Lutterrworth; M. Denis-Constant (éd.) (1992) *Sortir de l'apartheid,* Bruxelles, Complexe; Z. Mbali (1987) *The Church and Racism: A Black South African Perspective.* Londres: SCM Press; *Sciences et racism* (1986) Cours général public 1985–1986, Lausanne, Payot; J. F. Zorn (2003) 'De l'apartheid à la réconciliation. La théologie protestante aux prises avec les droits de l'homme en Afrique du Sud' in *Perspectives Missionnaires* 45–46, p. 63–85; S. de Grouchy (2006) 'Relation and racism: struggles around segregation, 'Jim Crow' and apartheid' in Hugh McLeod (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity vol. 9: World Christianities c. 1914–2000.* Cambridge U. K/New York/Melbourne/Madrid/Cape Town/Singapore/Sao Paulo: Cambridge University Press, p. 385–400; C Prudhomme, J. F. Zorn (2000) 'Un christianisme négro-africain: l'Afrique du Sud, de l'apartheid à la liberté' in J. M. Mayeur, C&L Piétri, A. Vauchez, M. Venard. (dir.) *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours, t. 13: crises et renouveau, de 1958 à nos jours.* Paris: Desclée, p. 619–623.

[446] Through his impressive article on 'Christian Resistance to Apartheid: Periodisation, Prognosis' Cochrane (1990: 81–100), proposes a Periodic typology of resistance with nine phases, periods, dates and years, and the characteristic form of Resistance: Phase 1. Post-Anglo-Boer War—Union, 1903–1912 (9 years), separation of Ethiopian Movement, later 'Zionist Movement'. Phase 2. Land Act—Hertzog Bills, 1913–1926 (13 years), Supportive Pleading —'Christian Trusteeship'; Phase 3. Pact Government-National Party Victory, 1926–1948 (22 years), specialised institutions/Formal Representations/Christian Council of SA; Phase 4. National Government-Sharpeville, 1948–1960) (12 years), Formal Protest/Passive resistance; Phase 5. Cottesloe-Message, 1960–1968 (8 years), Identification/Reconciliation/Multi-racialism/Crossing   the   colour   line'/ Confessing Church; Phase 6. SPRO-CAS (Special Programme for Christian

that followed, beginning at Jerusalem in 1928, the churches wrestled with the problem of world racism. The Life and Work Conferences at Stockholm (1924) and Oxford (1937) also took up the topic. All these conferences repudiated racism, though some underlying white paternalism in the repudiations still might be detected. Stockholm, for example, maintained that races are part of God's created order; for German delegates, differences were according to the will of God. It was argued that, although God's love is without respect of persons and all believers in Christ are one, we must accept the 'orders' and the related differences of gifts and tasks (see Tambaram/Madras 1938, Missionary Conferences). The German churches had already made the leap from this type of statement to the idea of a master race, with fateful consequences in the era of National Socialism (Fascism).

On the other hand, the engagement of the W. C. C in fighting racism was enormous. In fact, in 1969, note Pityana and Udodesku (2005: 479), the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches met at Canterbury, England, and labelled white racism the most comprehensive manifestation of racism. Racism, it argued, was an obvious product of colonialism, which brought with it the first encounters between peoples of different skin colours and cultures, as well as the seizure of property and resources so as to bring increased profits at home. The WCC 1954 Evanston Assembly declared that 'any form of segregation based on race, colour or ethnic origin is contrary to the gospel and thus incompatible with the nature of Christ's church.' It dealt in this way with the theme of

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Action in Society.) The first phase was called 'Study Project of Christianity in Apartheid Society.' Both names use this acronym SPRO-CAS—Banning, 1968–1977 (9 years), Black Consciousness/Conscientisation/Black Theology/Human rights issues; Phase 7. Soweto '76'- Tricameral Parliament, 1977–1983 (6 years), Challenge to Legality/Solidarity with the struggle' Apartheid as a heresy; Phase 8. UDF/NF etc.—Emergency, 1983–1986 (3 years), no characteristic form of resistance; Phase 9. Kairos Doc, 1986– ? Delegitimisation/Civil Disobedience/Church as a site of struggle' (p. 92).

theology and racism. The WCC general secretariat at Geneva then tack-
led the matter of racial and ethnic relations with a view to establishing
good relations among races. Its first test would be the question of the
attitude of the churches to apartheid in South Africa, a matter that divid-
ed South Africa member churches.

After Evanston, apartheid and its ideology became the great moral
and theological issue for the ecumenical movement. W. W. Visser't
Hooft (1900–1985), then general secretary of the WCC, reported on the
dilemma posed by the support of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South
Africa for apartheid. He claimed that the important thing was to make
clear to a world in which there is tension that the tension has been over-
come in Christ. The Evanston assembly urgently demanded that the
churches reject all forms of racism and discrimination and work to end
them in both church and society. To meet the objections of Dutch
churches, Visser't Hooft tells us in his *Memoirs* that he agreed to add to
the final statement a recognition that achieving the goal would be very
difficult for some member churches and that the ecumenical movement
would offer these churches fraternal help and encouragement in over-
coming the difficulties.

The fourth Assembly of the WCC, at Uppsala in 1968, took an im-
portant step forward in its opposition to racism by emphasizing the need
'to embark on a vigorous campaign against racism' and to undertake a
crash programme 'to guide the Council and the member churches.' In
this urgent matter, a consultation at Notting Hill (London) in 1969
brought together both racially oppressed persons and church leaders
with the view to forming a coalition of the Church with movements
struggling for racial justice. Its report formed the basis for the mandate
of the Central Committee at Canterbury, which in 1970 created the Pro-
gramme to Combat Racism.

The Seventh Assembly of the WCC, at Canberra in 1991, maintained
that 'racism, one of the most dreadful of human sins, is incompatible

with the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is not only manifests itself in individual prejudices but is anchored in social structures and institutions. If members of one group seek domination over those of another, they are not really free but are the slaves of their own fears and search for power. On both sides oppression puts under tutelage' (Report Committee, §44). We see here the progress that had been made since 1948. Stress is put on racism as a structural phenomenon, as well as on the fact that it is sinful and evil and has no moral theological justification. It is important at this stage to mention three confessional reactions to this widespread condemnation of racism.[447] In fact, the Papal Commission for Justice and Peace published an important statement on racism in 1989 under the title 'Church and Racism: Towards a More Fraternal Society.' As the title shows, this work had not yet attained the insight that racism must be seen in social structures. It rightly calls racism an individual sin but fails to consider its collective and violent nature. In 1992, the 500th anniversary of Columbus's conquest, new theological interest arose in racism. Once the churches had condemned racism as a sin, action was initiated against those who were held to be guilty of it.

In 1977 notes Pityana and Udodesku (2005: 480), the Lutheran World Federation saw racism in terms of *status confessionis,* a denial of the gospel, with implications for communion between churches. In consequence, the membership of four white German-speaking Lutheran churches in Namibia and South Africa was suspended in 1984 until they could publicly and unequivocally reject apartheid and thus end the split that racial issues were causing. After a period of intense pastoral consideration, this suspension was lifted in 1991. In the same way the World Alliance of Reformed Churches at its assembly in Ottawa in 1982 pronounced apartheid to be a heresy and its theological justification a sin. For this reason, it suspended the membership of the white Dutch Reformed Churches-NGK in South Africa since 1981 (Zorn 2003: 73).

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[447] According to Bitter (2006: 1144), racism was defined by the WCC as 'a sin. '

Moreover, Jubber (1985: 282–283) locates the fall of Apartheid within the internal opposition of its creator, the DRC. This opposition lead to heated exchanges within this Church, to unfrocking, expulsions and resignations. To this painful and conscience rending opposition has been added the angry and uncompromising opposition of the Black Reformed churches. The African, Coloured and Indian churches have each taken Synod decisions opposing many decisions taken by the DRC. These decisions, *inter alia*, brand Apartheid a heresy and call for a single, united, non-racial church, the dismantling of Apartheid and the removal of discrimination, and the end of clerical involvement in the Broederbond. These churches have shown the way by opening their doors to all believers and working towards unity. They helped form the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa in 1981 which states in its Charter that, 'We, as members of ABRECSA,[448] unequivocally declare that apartheid is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the Gospel, a betrayal of the Reformed tradition and a heresy.' In October 1983, the Western Cape Synod accepted in principle the contents of a report stating that the Church (DRC) should

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[448] Among the influential members of this organization, the role played by Achbishop Desmond Tutu must be noted. In fact, he intends to fight against apartheid through a 'revolution' by biblical liberation, hope, forgiveness, and love. To know more about his theology, see: D. Tutu (1983) *Hope and Suffering; Sermons and Speeches,* Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans*;* D. Tutu (1994) *Rainbow People of God,* New York, Double Day Publishing Group, Inc; D. Tutu (1999) *No Future without forgiveness,* London, Rider Books; Tlhagale, I. Mosala (eds.) (1986) *Hammering Swords into Ploughshares: Essays in Honour of Archbishop Mpilo Desmond Tutu*. Johannesburg: Stotaville Publishers; S. Du Boulay (1989) *Tutu: La voix de ceux qui n'ont pas la parole*. Paris: Centurion; S. Du Boulay (1988) *Tutu: Voice of the Voiceless*. London/Sydney/Auckland/Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton; SD Gish (2004) *Desmond Tutu: A Biography*, London, Greenwood Press; M. E. Worsnip (1991) *Between the two fires: The Anglican Church and Apatheid 1948–1957*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

dissociate itself from the theological justification of Apartheid, that religious services should be opened to all people, and that membership of any congregation should be determined by religious confession alone, regardless of race. The Synod declared, 'Apartheid cannot be justified by Scripture, and the Dutch Reformed Church dissociates itself from any attempt to present separate development as if it were laid down in the Bible.' In this way the Western Cape Synod became the first authoritative body of the Church to end its long standing justification of Apartheid. Moreover, it is important to note another church instance which enlarged the theological mechanism[449] for struggling against apartheid: the role of the SACC.[450] Indeed, in 1985, argues Zorn (2003: 75), 151

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[449] According to Zolide Mbali (1987: 14–39), the PCR-Programme to Combat Racism was the most publicized response to racism made by the Churches in South Africa. It was elaborated from elements brought successively from the General Assembly of the WCC held at Uppsala in 1968, Section IV; from the Central Committee of the WCC meeting at Addis Ababa in 1971, and from the WCC's General Assembly held at Nairobi in 1975.

[450] The struggle initiated by the SACC is in general expressed through the 'Kairos Document' of 1985. Indeed, initially 'Kairos' refers to the 'monthly periodical of SACC'. The Kairos Document is a Christian, biblical and theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa during the apartheid era. It is an attempt by concerned Christians in South Africa to reflect on the situation in depth. It is the critique of the apartheid theology by drawing the biblical and theological model that makes a real difference to the future of South Africa. Along the same lines, Suggit (1987: 70), considers it as a challenge to the church that all Christians reconsider its role in the light of the existing social and political system in South Africa at this time. The conclusions of this document are in the line with the utterances of the Old Testament prophets and the demands of Christ. The Church cannot condone examples of injustice and oppression, and because these are built into the political structure of apartheid, the church is morally obliged to voice its protest and to work for nothing less than the abolition of all that for which apartheid stands. It is because the challenge is so urgent that it is important for the biblical evidence to be honestly and truly presented and evaluated. It is the reason why the Kairos Document is based on insecure biblical foundations, and it then goes on to suggests a surer route to the same

pastors and priests of 23 different Christian confessions – Catholic, Protestants – released the 'Kairos' document, a Christian theological and biblical commentary on the political crisis in South Africa. This document consists of three sections. The first criticizes the theology of the State (*la théologie de l'Etat*), which misinterprets the theological concepts and the Biblical texts for political purposes as previous totalitarian regimes have done (Nazi). In fact, this 'State theology', according to the Kairos Document (Art. 2.), was simply the theological justification of the status quo with white racism against black people, its capitalism and totalitarianism. It blesses injustice, canonises the will of the powerful and reduces the poor to passivity, obedience and apathy. How did white South Africans do that? They did it by misusing theological concepts

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goal. These two examples are: Luke 19, 44, and that the Kairos Document stresses the fact that God is always on the side of the oppressed. For detailed data on this document see: Bonganjalo Goba 'The use of Scripture in the Kairos Document: A Biblical Ethical Perspective' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1986/56, p. 61–65; Brümmer , V. 'Kairos, Reconciliation and the Doctrine of Atonement' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 1994/88, p. 42–60; C Villa-Vicencio 'The Use of Scripture in Theology: Towards a Contextual Hermeneutic' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1981/37, p. 3–22; W Huber 'The Barmen Declaration and the Kairos Document; On the Relationship between Confession and Politics' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* , 1991/75, p. 48–60; 'The Kairos Debate: A Dutch Reformed (NGK) Congregation Response' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1986/57, p. 65–68; 'Documentation: The Kairos Document Challenge to the Church: A Theological Comment on the Political Crisis in South Africa' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 1985/53, p. 61–81; M Speckman 'The Kairos behind the Kairos Document: A Contextual Exegesis of Luke 19, 41–44' in *Religion Theology: A Journal of Contemporary Religious Discourse*. 1998/5, p. 195–221; D McLellan (ed.) 1997.*Political Christianity: A Reaader: Christianity in the Contemporary World South America and South Africa- Kairos Document.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 120–125; A Nolan 'The Eschatology of the Kairos Document' in *Missionalia,* 1987/15, 61–69; JNJ Kritzinger 'The Kairos Document—A Call to Conversion' in *Missionalia,* 1988/16, p. 126–145.

and biblical texts for their own political purposes through four elements: the text of Romans 13, 1–7, the concept of Law and Order, the Threat of Communism, and the God of State. Firstly, Romans 13, 1–7 was used to give an absolute and 'divine'authority to the State. The second ploy is to determine and control what the people may be permitted to regard as just and unjust. The third strategy is to brand and outlaw anyone who rejects 'State theology.' Finally, it is God who controls the destinies of all nations and the history of peoples. The second part deals with the theology of the Church (DRC-NGK). The last part paints a model of a theology of liberation with a prophetic stance which speaks to the particular circumstances of the crisis. This prophetic theology was a social analysis of racial crisis in the reference to what Jesus called 'reading the signs of the times' (Mt 16, 3) or 'Interpreting this Kairos' (Lk 12, 56). This prophetic theology deals also with 'Oppression' in the Bible. In fact, the oppression which is a basic structural category of biblical theology is described in the Bible as the experiences of being crushed, degraded, humiliated, exploited, impoverished, defrauded, deceived and enslaved. Similarly, the oppressors are described as cruel, ruthless, arrogant, greedy, violent and tyrannical and as the enemy. Before oppression, the God of the Bible reveals himself as Yahweh, the one who has compassion for those who suffer and who liberates them from their oppressors (Ex. 3, 7–9). He appears at the same time as the liberator of the oppressed (Lk, 4, 18–19). When confronted with any form of tyranny,[451] which has no moral legitimacy, Christians have a duty to refuse to co-operate with it and to do whatever they can to remove it. Consequently, Apartheid was a system whereby a minority regime elected by one

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[451] The traditional Latin definition of a tyran is *hostis boni communis*—an enemy of the common good. In fact, the purpose of all government is the promotion of what is called the common good of the people governed. To promote the common good is to govern in the interest of, and for the benefit of, all the people. Many governments fail to do this at times.

small section of the population and which governed in the interests of, and for the benefit of, the white community, was thus an enemy of common South African people. David Bosch (quoted by Zorn 2003: 76), an Afrikaner theologian, proposed for this liberation a model based on the hope and reconciliation offered by Zachariah 9, 12: reconciliation as a gift of God. South Africans in hope must use love and justice to construct their common future in contrast to the dark past of Apartheid. The Kairos Document, by showing how God sides with the Oppressed, asked the local South African churches to participate intensively in the struggle for liberation and for a just society by transforming Church activities, and holding special campaigns, encouraging civil disobedience and offering moral guidance. Before the conclusion to this brief treatment of a complex issue like Apartheid, let us say with Jubber (1985: 285), that the history of the DRC provides compelling validation of the basic thesis of the sociology of religion which holds that religion is socially determined. Evidence has been provided which indicates the strong determinative effect which real factors have had on the evolution of the Church. Finally, it was by the declaration of Rustenburg,[452] which was signed in

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[452] This National Conference of Churches in South Africa gathered 230 guests from bodies in various countries and representatives of 97 denominations and 40 organisations. In fact, the Rustenburg Declaration refers to the National Conference of Church Leaders which was held near Rustenburg in the Transvaal from 5–9 November 1990. The Conference was convened by church leaders from a very broad ecclesiastical and theological spectrum to consider the role of the church in the transitionary phase in the history of South Africa. During this Conference confession and affirmation were formulated. As confession it was said that: 'the practice and defence of apartheid as though it were biblically and theologically legitimated is an act of disobedience to God, a denial of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and a sin against our unity in the Holy Spirit.' ' … Our slowness to denounce apartheid as sin encouraged the Government to retain it.' As an affirmation on 'Church and State', it was said: 'In the past we have often forfeited our right to address the State by our own complicity in racism, economic and other injustice and denial of human rights. . We also recognise that in our coun-

November 1990 by 80 Churches of the SACC, a delegation of the NGK and a representative of De Klerk, that the theological justification of Apartheid had to be brought to an end by recognising it as a heresy, a sin, and, states Kinghorn (2006: 4), 'a theology of exploitation. '

5.6 Conclusion

To sum up, we can say that apartheid policy originated in the Christian arena in general and in Calvinist doctrine in particular. It must be due to the exegetical weakness of the DRC which was characterized and based on 'popular hermeneutics.' Its history was full of substantiating cases. In fact, left virtually alone with their Bibles, the early Afrikaners became their own theologians and interpreted God's word in the light of their own wisdom and experience, because, argues Baumert (1996: 174), 'each age reads the Bible with its own eyes.' This, not surprisingly, opened the door to apartheid as heresy. That heresy led some to say that apartheid theory as an ideology was like a theocratic regime which does not separate religious and political matters, as was the case of Islam during the time of Muhammad and the four first caliphs. Moreover, Apartheid could be seen as 'ethical heresy.' It was based on the selective use of the Bible, as its theological justification, and by reading into the biblical text what is just not there. Indeed, their originators—Afrikaners with their 'popular hermeneutic' were 'libertine exegetes' who by obsessional disposition elaborated a kind of cultural, political and econom-

try the State has often co-opted the Church. The church has often attempted to seek protection for it own vested interests from the State. Our history compromises our credibility in addressing ChurchState issues.' (Documentation: Rustenburg Declaration, November 1990. 2.2, 2.5.1; Affirmation. 4.2 .Church and State). For other useful information concerning this declaration which officially ended apartheid ideology, read: JW De Gruchy 'From Cottesloe to Rustenburg and Beyond: The Rustenberg Conference in Historical Perspective' in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 1991/74, p. 21–56.

ical reform. That is the reason why the assertion that the government of
South Africa prior to 1994 was totalitarian must be retained. [453] The
policy, on the other hand, openly shows the divisions within the white
community between Afrikaners and English-speakers, an important
legacy of the Anglo-Boer War, which had the effect of obscuring the
political importance of the mineral revolution: Afrikaners occupied the
top political positions and English speakers dominated commerce in
South Africa from 1910 to 1994. The Church became a site of struggle
by certain brilliant Christian leaders (Rev. Dr Boesak, Archbishop Des-
mond Tutu) and Christian Organisations such the WCC, WARC, SACC,
ACBCC, which denounced apartheid as a Christian heresy defended by
obsessed Afrikaners. We can easily deduce from the policy of apartheid,
how on the basis of religion a people had to elaborate a kind of colonial
regime which could be classified among 'ethical heresies' or among the
'colonial heresies' as Chomé (1960: 130) classified Kimbanguism. This
Christian movement is, in our opinion, another notable event that is a
characteristic religious phenomenon of the end of the last century and
during the eve of the Twenty-First Century. In fact, Kimbanguism,
which from 1969, was the first AIC[454] to be accepted as a member of the

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[453] Some scholars, states Cochrane (1990: 99), refer to apartheid by the phrase
'racial capitalism', while others—usually representing the liberal tradition in
South Africa—are chary of the idea that capitalism itself is a key factor in repro-
ducing the history of apartheid. It is possible to accept the arguments for a ra-
tional connection between the strength of apartheid over many decades and the
development of a capitalist political economy in South Africa.

[454] AICs, means 'African Independent Churches'. They tend to read the Bible
literally and emphasize themes ignored by most Western Christians, such as
revelation through dreams, divine healing, the struggle against witchcraft, and
the need to destroy non-Christian religious objects. Whether it is directly or
indirectly, the AICs offer a critique of European missionary practice. However,
argues Hoskins (2004: 44, 48–49), there are over 8000 new religious movements
in Africa. Many of them may be called 'Africa Independent Churches or AICs.
The term 'AICs' has been the source of some debate. It is the reason why the

WCC had to become since 2001, a 'not openly declared heresy' or a potential heresy. The next chapter purports to give more details concerning it.

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term 'Independent' has been adopted. Some scholars prefer to use the term 'African Indigenous Churches.' Indeed, those scholars point out that the term 'independent' refers to a church that has separated from another, and that this does not therefore apply to all churches being studied. They use also the words 'initiated' or 'instituted' to reflect the African origins of these churches. BW Jules-Rosette has already made an attempt to categorize these 8000 new religious movements in Africa as follows: 1. Indigenous or independent churches. These began with the initiative of African leaders and now represent 15 per cent of all Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa. They are characterized by their own doctrines and organizations. 2. Separatist churches that broke away from the original mission churches. 3. Neo-traditional movements, such as the Nazareth Baptist Church of South Africa. Concerning their history, they constitute 'the reaction of the missionaries' patterns'. In fact, usually the missionaries from the 19th Century tried to repeat European patterns in the churches they founded in Africa against which African Christians had begun to form their own 'independent' congregations by drawing their inspiration from the Zionist movement of Illinois in the United States and later Pentecostal movements in North America and Europe. The AICs, put emphasis on the following elements: the place of the traditional home or village of the founder, their persecution, holy ground and other customs (removal of footwear when on holy ground, usage of local produce).

6

A HERESY AGAINST ITS WILL: KIMBANGUISM

6.1 Introduction

In the course of this chapter, an attempt will be made to trace the birth and emergence of Kimbanguism as a 'colonial heresy' that appeared during the colonial era in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In fact, since much has been written on the origins of Kimbanguism[455],

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[455] As a rough bibliographical guide on Kimbanguism see, R. Hoskins (2004) 'Kimbanguism' in C. Partridge (ed.) *Encyclopedia of New Religions: New Religious Movements, Sects and Alternative Spiritualities,* Oxford, Lion Publishing, p. 57–59; J. Pemberton 'The History of Simon Kimbangu, Prophet, By the Writers Nfinangani and Nzungu, 1921: An Introduction and Annotated Translation' in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. xxiii, 1993/3, 194–231; D. Mackay & D. Ntoni-Nzinga. 'Kimbangu's Interlocutor: Nyuvudi's Nsamu Miangunza (The Story of the Prophets)' in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. xxiii, 1993/3, 232–237; Owanga Welo 'The Impact of the Kimbanguist Church in Central Africa' in *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center*, vol. xvi, 1988/1&2, 115–136; W. J. Jr. Rideout (19889 'A School System for an Indigenous Religious Minority: The Kimbanguist of Zaïre' in W. Tulasiewicz & C. Brock (eds.), *Christianity and Educational Provision in International Perspective,* London/New York, Routledge, p. 316–344; M. A. Perry 'Acts in Progress: A Diachronic Overview of Kimbanguism' in *Missiology: An International Review* vol. xii, 1984/2: 194–211; L. Nguapitshi Kayongo. 'Kimbanguism: Its Present Christian Doctrine and the Problems Raised by It' in *Exchange*, vol. 34, 2005/3: 135–155; DJ Mackay 'Simon Kimbangu and the B. MS. Tradition' in

the aim of this chapter is not to contribute to the original research on this wide ranging topic, but to provide a sense of perspective. Thus, this chapter will focus on the following points:a panoramic view of the

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Journal of Religion in Africa, vol. xvii, 1987/2: 113–171; W. H. Crane 'The Kimbanguist Church and the Search for Authentic Catholicity' in *The Christian Century*, vol. 87.1970/22: 691–695; 'The Kimbanguist Church in the Congo' in *Ecumenical Review* vol. 19. 2006/1: 29–36; PE Joset 'Quelques Mouvements Religieux au Bas-Congo et dans l'Ex-Afriqe Equatoriale Française' in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 1, 1968/2: 101–128; W. MacGaffey 'The Beloved City: Commentary on a Kimbanguist Text' in *Journal of Religion in Africa* vol. 2. 1969/1: 129–147; W. MacGaffey (1994) 'Kimbanguism & the Question of Syncretism in Zaïre' in TD Blakely et *al.* (eds.) *Religion in Africa*, London, James Currey, p. 241–256; H. Under (1979): *Out of Africa: Kimbanguism with the Introductory Chapter by P. Manicom,* London, CEM Student Theology Series; M. L. Martin. (1968) *Prophetic Christianity in the Congo: The Church of Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu,* Johannesburg, Christian Institute for Southern Africa; W. Ustorf (1975) *Afrikanische Initiative: Das active Leiden des Propheten Simon Kimbangu. Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity*/5, Frankfurt, Herbert Lang/Peter Lang, *passim;* C. Irvine (1970) *The Kimbanguist Church (EJCSK) and the Kimbanguist Movement,* Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen/Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies; C. Irvine 'The Birth of the Kimbanguist Movement in the Bas-Zaïre (1921)' in Journal *of Religion in Africa. Religion en Afrique*, vol. vi. 1974/1: 23–76; Ngindu, 'Simon Kimbangu et le Kimbanguisme, une lecture d'un colloque récent, in *CERA,* vol. 5. 1972/11: 91–103; W. H. Crane & Masamba ma Mpolo (1980) 'The Kimbanguist Church' in JP Ramalho (ed.) *Signs of Hope and Justice. Geneva: WCC, 89–96;* B Akiele, 'Attributes of Simon Kimbangu: Founder of the Kimbanguist Church'in *The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center*, vol. xxvi. 1999/2; 190–206. A. Geuns, 'Chronologie des Mouvements religieux Indépendants au Bas-Zaïre, Particulièrement du Mouvement fondé par le Prophète Simon Kimbangu 1921–1971' in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. vi. 1974/1: 187–222; M. L. Martin (1971) *Kirche ohne Weisse: Simon Kimbangu und seine Millionenkirch im Kongo*, Basel, Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag; JE Bertsche. 'Kimbanguism: A Challenge to Missionary Statesmen' in *Practical Anthropology*. 1966/13: 13–33; HW Fehderau 'Kimbanguism: Prophetic Christianity in Congo' in *Practical Anthropology*. 1962/9: 157–178.

background of the DRC and the historical period prior to, and after, the rise of Kimbanguism. It will show the historical and religious panorama of the DRC. The advent of Simon Kimbangu and Kimbanguism (1921–1957), in particular the birth, call, teaching, Kimbangu's arrest and death, and the growth of Kimbanguism will be discussed. Finally, the chapter will deal with the theological tenets or doctrine of Kimbanguism from 1957 up to 2001, Kimbanguism and the WCC, the AACC, and the causes of the 2001 doctrinal crisis of Kimbanguism.

6.2 Panoramic Background of the Democratic Republic of Congo

6.2.1 Historical View prior the rise of Kimbanguism

6.2.1.1 Historical Overall of Democratic Republic of Congo

According to Yogolelo Tambwe ya Kasimba (2004: 47), the creation of Congo as a modern state took place in 1885,[456] because, from this

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[456] It is known also that this date coincides with the end of the Berlin Conference which held from November 15, 1884 to February 26, 1885. For more information on it, see L. Cuypers, 'Le Congrès de Berlin et l'évangélisation de l'Afrique Equatoriale' in *Annales Aequatoria*, tome 1 (1980/1: 117–136), R. Cornevin 1966: 540–543. In addition, from 1885, the former 'AIC' (*Association Internationale du Congo*) was recognized as 'EIC' (*Etat Indépendant du Congo-Free State of Congo*), as a private domain of Leopold II, the Belgian King until November 15, 1908, when the Belgian government took this private domain as its colony to June 30, 1960 when the Congo gained its freedom (see Cornevin 1956: 322). In fact, according to Castelein (1969: 15), Leopold II asserted his sovereignty by claiming, the first, on behalf of charity in regard to a population powerless to deliver itself from secular barbarism and anarchy, a mission of public weal for the success of which such sovereignty was requisite, and which found in him sufficient capacity. Such a mission has been validly recognized by the persons interested. Moreover, September 12, 1876 could be mentioned as the starting date of Belgian action in Africa, because at this day, the '*Conférence Géographique de Bruxelles*' (Geographical Conference of Brussel) was opened,

date, its actual area was progressively constituted from the ancient Congo Kingdom. Indeed, the date of the rise of the ancient Congo, argues Stonelake (1937: 17) is unknown. In fact, when Diogo Cao, the Portuguese explorer, discovered the mouth of the Congo about the end of 1484,[457] this kingdom extended over a wide area and its king lived in great pomp. Diogo Cao returned again in 1486 and went to Mbanza Kongo, the capital city, where he erected a stone pillar to commemorate his discovery of the river, which then became known as the Rio do Congo, or Zaïre, a corruption of *Nzadi*, the native name for the great river. There is much information concerning those parts of the original Kingdom now under Angola's and Congo-Brazzaville's control, but there is only scanty record of that part which lies in the DRC-Kinshasa area. Moreover, it was in 1816, states Stonelake (1937: 17–19), that Lieut. JK Tuckey was sent by the British Admiralty to explore the Congo, and accompanied with a botanist, zoologist and geologist, he led a very well-equipped expedition into the Congo area that spread knowledge of this territory to other European countries. Tuckey's team reached the river Congo on 6th July, and ascended it to its pinnacle, Vivi, a hundred miles from the mouth. After much trouble, and the giving of many presents, they penetrated inland to Isangila, fifty miles farther on. Quite discouraged, Tuckey struggled back to his ship, only to succumb to death as his

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during which Leopold II expressed openly his colonial project on the basin of Congo in Central Africa (see *Infor Congo* [S. a]: 5). For Undy (1979: 11), Leopold II was obliged by international opinion to hand over his enormous domain to Belgium in 1908 because his personal rule led to appalling abuses. Savage punishments were meted out to autochthons who failed to produce what was required of them.

[457] There is no unanimity between historians on the date of the arrival of Diego Cao at the mouth of Congo River. Indeed, Bontick, quoted by Owanga-Welo (1989: 135), suggests that Diego Cao reached this mouth in early August 1483. For Bal (1963: 11), Diego Cao could have reached it in 1482. Axelson (1970: 15) chooses the year 1482 which marks the first contact between the Congo and Europe, as the first Portuguese conquistadore anchored in the Congo mouth.

scientific companions had already done. Fortunately, the scientists had kept journals of their experiences and these reached England safely. Portuguese travellers had, indeed, discovered the upper Kasaï River at the close of Eighteenth Century, and this, together with their explorations on the Kwango and in Angola, was the only contribution made by them to the geography of this region before the days of David Livingstone. [458] After crossing and re-crossing Tanganyika, Livingstone reached Nyangwe in actual Maniema Province, on the Lualaba, in 1871. Livingstone believed the Lualaba to be the Albertine Nile. He died at the village of Chitambo, [459] at the southern end of LakeBanguelo, within the basin of the Congo. Later, the *Daily Telegraph* and *New York Herald* combined to offer Stanley the means of carrying on Livingstone's work of tracing the great river which he had seen 250 miles beyond the shores of Lake Tanganyika. This led to the discovery of the course of the Congo, the tidings of which the *Daily Telegraph* first published to the world on 17th September, 1877. However, Cameron, an Italian explorer, also made a journey from Zanzibar in search of Livingstone. This journey produced remarkable political results. It placed the opinion of forming a protectorate definitely before the British Government. It stirred the Portuguese in their effort to unite Angola and Mozambique. It also suggested to the King of Belgium an international movement with its headquarters in Brussels. In September of 1876, [460] while Henry Morton Stan-

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[458] David Livingstone was a British physician. He opposed the Arab slave traders in East Africa, first saw the river Congo at Nyangwe in 1871.

[459] According to Undy (1979: 10), Livingstone died at Chitambo in 1873.

[460] September 12, 1876 could be mentioned as the starting date of Belgian action in Africa, because at this day was opened the '*Conférence géographique de Bruxelles*'during which Leopold II exposed openly his colonial project on the basin of Congo in central Africa (see *Infor Congo* [*s. a*.]. *Le Congo belge: son passé, son avenir.* Bruxelles: Imprimerie- Héliogravure C. Van Cortenbergh, p. 5).

ley[461] was on the march from Lake Tanganyika to Nyangwe and had not yet seen the Congo, Leopold II, King of the Belgians, summoned a Conference to discuss the exploration and civilization of Africa, and the measures to be adopted to end the scourge of the slave trade. Geographers and philanthropists of seven European countries attended the Conference at Brussels from the 12th-14th September, 1876. It was there decided to create an international association to direct the scientific exploration of Africa, the work being carried on by national committees under its direction. At the request of King Leopold II, Stanley returned to the Congo in 1879 to develop the regions which he had explored. With the Congress of Berlin (1884–1885), attended by 14 Western nations[462], King Leopold II was recognised as the ruler of the Free State, which became a Belgian colony[463] until 1960. Up until 2006, the post-

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[461] This journalist and explorer was chosen to continue the African exploration of David Livingstone. In an epic journey which lasted 999 days, Stanley crossed the African continent from east to west (Zanzibar- Indian Ocean to the mouth of the Congo River-Atlantic Ocean). Some of the contacts which he made, asserts Undy (1979: 100), with chiefs in the Congo basin, convinced him that the region was ripe for European colonization. Kaplan, through his book '*Zaïre: A Country Study*', Washington: American University, 1979: 29) quoted by Perry (1984: 197), states that in 1878, Stanley effected over four hundred and fifty treaties between the local chieftans and *Le Comité d'Etudes pour le Haut-Congo*. Under the guise of so noble an organization, the obsessed Belgian King slowly began to build his own personal kingdom which would bring wealth, prestige, and at a later date, international corn.

[462] They are Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, USA, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Russia, and Turkey (see Cornevin 1966: 541). During this meeting, Leopold II secured effective control over much of the CongoBasin and persuaded the delegates then assembled at the Berlin Conference to allow him to direct his personal empire under the title of Congo Free State.

[463] According to Perry (1984: 197), Leopold II's personal empire became the Belgian colony, and set upon a new economic route with three aims: profit, Christianity and civilization, with the guarantee of human rights to African

independence history of the DRC has been characterized, states Lodge (2002: 63), by the use of unconstitutional means to acquire and maintain power. As a result, the DRC[464] experienced a deep crisis of legitimacy over its political institutions and rulers.[465] That is why from 1996 to today, there are wars[466] in the RDC that contribute to the lack of general peace within Congo, despite the general elections which were sponsored by the European Union and the UN and which led to the establishment of the 'Third Republic' with legally elected rulers.

6.2.1.2 Religious Overview of the Democratic Republic of Congo

Before moving on to the discussion of the Kimbanguism, it necessary first to examine how Christianity mades its entrance into the DRC.

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subjects. However, the issue of human rights formed only one third of colonial priorities. Furthermore, argues Rideout (1988: 316), the structure of the Belgian Congo colony has often been characterized in terms of a trinity consisting of the administration, the Catholic Church, and large enterprises.

[464] The Democratic Republic of Congo is located in the centre of the African continent, and lies between latitude 5˚ 20 N. and 13˚ 27 S., and longitude12˚ 15E. and 31˚ 15 E. The total area is estimated, states Williams (1993: 190), at 2,345,409km^2 or 910.000 square miles, about one-thirteenth of the African continent. The DRC, actually consists of eleven provinces: Kinshasa, the Capital, Katanga (Lubumbashi), Oriental Province (Kisangani), Equator (Mbandaka), Low-Congo (Matadi), Bandundu (Bandundu), Oriental Kasaï (Mbuji mayi), Occidental Kasaï (Kananga), Maniema (Kindu), North Kivu (Goma), and South Kivu (Bukavu). More than 200 local languages are spoken, but Swahili, Lingala, Tschiluba, and Kikongo are used as common languages, while French is the official language.

[465] For the wide view on the failure of democracy in the DRC, we find useful explanations through the recent and documented survey of Afoaku (2005); Cabanes (1963), *passim*; Verhaegen, Vanderlinden [s. a]: 109–175, *La rebellion au Congo, passim.*

[466] Through his recent book, Turner makes a synthetic analysis of the Congo's tragic conflicts, which are multifaceted, by showing their origins and dynamics (see T. Turner (2007) *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth and Reality,* London/New York, Zed Books, *passim*).

i. First Missionary Activity in the DRC

Martin (1975: 3–5) states that this country had one of the most stir-ring histories of missionary activity, and one which still continues today. Indeed what we now have before us is the result of the interplay of nu-merous forces; evangelization, resistance and attacks on the part of the ancient African religion, slave-trading, the struggle of European powers for possession of the country, the partition of the former territory of the Kingdom of the Kongo among three powers namely Portugal, Belgium, and France, and the rise of prophetic and nationalist forces within the greatest of these – namely, Kimbanguism. This movement is actually known as '*Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par le Prophète Simon Kimbangu*' – 'The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu. '[467] We can properly comprehend the phenomenon of Kimbanguism if we see it in the wider context of the early missionary activities of the Portuguese, as it was in reaction to colonization, to slave-trading[468] and to later Protestant and Catholic missionary work that it first began.

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[467] This original denomination, argues Martin (1975: vii), had already been changed to *Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par Son Envoyé Spécial Simon Kimbangu*-The Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through His Special Envoy Simon Kimbangu.'

[468] Historically speaking, the modern slave trade took on greater proportions in 1400, states Axelson (1970: 38), when some hundred slaves were transported from the Canary Islands to the Iberian Peninsula and under Henry the Navigator. Moreover, in 1441, Antoine Gonçalez captured two or three Africans from the coastal region, for Prince Henry, to prove to the world that the assumption that Africa was inhabited south of CapeBojador was correct. On the 8th August 1444, a slave-trade company was established in Lagos (Portugal) and Captain Lanzar-rote arrived with a cargo of more than two hundred-and-thirty slaves. This date can be regarded as the beginning of the European slave trade in Africa.

Concerning its beginning, we can take note of the following fact. The first appearance of Christianity in the DRC was directed by King John II of Portugal, who reigned from 1481 to 1495, and sent out a number of ships in search of a route to India. Among them was Diego Cao, who reached the estuary of the Congo River in 1482. It was with his expedition of 1491[469] that the first Catholic missionaries arrived. With the conversion of King Afonso,[470] this first missionary outreach began with great success but after his reign, the empire returned to the ancestral faith and the Kongo Kingdom declined. The first effort to evangelize the Kongo ended in failure after a hundred years of existence during the Eighteenth Century. In the opinion of specialists in African history and Church history, observes Owanga Wello (1994: 119), the first evangelization of the Kongo ended in failure.[471] The Christian faith was superficially received and as soon as the missionaries left the country, people returned to their old ways of life. The causes of that failure

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[469] This date, argues Owanga Welo (1989: 118–119), is the starting date of the evangelization of the Kongo, and as it is shown by Father Bontinck, remains convincingly the beginning of Christianity in Black Africa. In fact, the first penetration into Black Africa is traditionally divided into two major periods: 1. from 1483, but preferably 1491, until 1622, when the work of the missionaries was carried out under the Padroado of the King of Portugal; and 2. from 1622, after the Holy See created the Congregation for the Spread of the Gospel until 1835.

[470] According to Bal (1963: 121), and Axelson (1970: 337), Mvemba Nzinga Afonso (1455/1460–1543) reigned from 1506 to 1543. He was baptized, states Axelson (p. 47), in June 1491, one month after the baptism of his father Nzinga Nkuvu, on May 3, 1491).

[471] Politically, this failure must be due to the succession conflicts after the reign of Afonso I. The Congolese were defeated by the Portuguese at the battle of Ambuila on October 29, 1665 and this blow was followed by the Yaga invasions (see Axelson 1970: 16, 88, 120–122). Economically, the trade in slaves and the cultural confrontation with the Banganga's return to power with the missionaries from the reign of Pedro I (1543–1545) to Antonio I. Afonso (1662–1665).

are many, but Father François Bontinck[472] mentions the following: the high death rate among the missionaries; the insufficient number of missionaries for such a large country where the means of communication were slow and difficult; the slave trade, which caused the disintegration of the Kingdom; the conflict between Padroado and Propagande (i. e. the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith); the near impossibility of educating a local clergy; the total lack of female religious orders; and the superficiality of the faith of those were baptized at that time. It is nevertheless true that the missionaries themselves must bear a share of responsibility for that failure. Many of them did not comprehend the African culture and confused European culture with the truth of the gospel. Some are known to have actively participated in the slave trade, thus forsaking a genuine proclamation of the gospel.

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[472] He is habitually known as Frans Renaat Bontinck. He was born August 16, 1920 at Schellebelle in Belgium. He belongs to the *Congrégation du Coeur immaculée de Marie-C. I. C. M*. He was ordained a priest on January 27, 1946. He obtained his doctorate in Ecclesiastical History at the Faculty of Ecclesiastical History of Gregorian Pontifical University of Rome in December 1949. He reached the Congo on March 7, 1950. From 1957 he taught Church History in many academic institutions at Kinshasa. For a widely accepted account concerning him, see: A. Vanneste (2004) '*Frans Bontinck: L'homme et son œuvre. Biographie de Frans Renaat Bontinck*' in P Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma (dir.) *La nouvelle histoire du Congo: Mélanges eurafricainsofferts à Frans Bontinck, C. I. C. M,* Paris, L'Harmattan, p. 431–437; P. Serufuri Hakiza (2004) 'Frans Bontinck: L'homme et son œuvre.' La bibliothèque africaniste (1957–2001) de l'historien Frans Bontinck'in P Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma (dir.) *La nouvelle histoire du Congo: Mélanges eurafricains offerts à Frans Bontinck, C. I. C. M,* Paris, L'Harmattan, p. 439–453; P. Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma (2004) 'Frans Bontinck: L'homme et son œuvre. Publications, 1950–2001' in P Mabiala Mantuba-Ngoma (dir.). *La nouvelle histoire du Congo: Mélanges eurafricains offerts à Frans Bontinck, C. I. C. M*. Paris: L'Harmattan, p. 455–472.

i. First Prophetic Movements

Martin (1975: 13–17) notes that during the course of history, mis-
sionary activity and colonization have repeatedly called forth resistance
and reaction. Ancient customs and ancient religious thought patterns are
naturally deeply rooted and are not easily replaced by new values. Dur-
ing the reign of Afonso, for example, his brother Mpanzu tried to usurp
the throne in order to restore the ancient religion of Bakongo, but with-
out success. Apart from this reaction against Christianity in the political
realm, a second notable reaction took place in the Kingdom of Kongo at
the beginning of the Eighteenth Century with the second wave of evan-
gelization. Indeed, after a short heyday under the rule of King Afonso, a
steady decline began which could not be halted despite all the efforts of
the Jesuits and Capuchins. The negative reaction was crystallized in the
figures of two prophetesses and one prophet[473]. The first of these, of
whom we know very little, was Fumaria, who was described as mentally
ill. She claimed to have received revelations from the Virgin Mary that
God would punish the people for their sins, and essentially her message
was a call to conversion. The other prophetess was a young Kongolese
girl of aristocratic stock called Kimpa Vita[474], although she is better
known by her baptismal name, Béatrice. In her early twenties Béatrice
experienced death and resurrection in dreams and visions, like so many

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[473] For Sinda (1972: 21–41), Francisco Kassola (1632) must also be mentioned
among the founders of the first Congolese messianic movements. In fact Kassola
in the Bakongo popular and collective mind represents the premier Mukongo
prophet. He was baptized by the Priest Tavares and he attempted in 1632 to
found the African Christian Independent Church. He proclaimed himself a
prophet for the Black people. He said openly during his preaching on the banks
the Dunde and Lufine rivers that he was 'the son of God.'

[474] For Asch (1983: 5–6), Dona Béatrice (Kimpa Vita) is generally considered as
the forerunner of the Kongo prophetic movements of the Twentieth Century. It
is known that, in 1704, this Kongo prophetess, was accused by the Catholic
authorities (the Capuchins and Pedro IV) as a heretic and was burned.

African prophets after her. A contemporary source, Father Bernardo de
Gallo, tells us that Donna Béatrice was dangerously ill when a Capuchin
monk appeared to her and revealed himself as St Anthony, [475] a saint
particularly venerated in Sao Salvador. Béatrice 'died' and in place of
her soul St Anthony came to dwell in her. If this report of Bernardo de
Gallo is reliable, we witness here an ancient African form of expression
and of belief. Just as the ancestral spirit takes possession of the non-
Christian prophetess and healer, so the spirit of the Christian saint took
possession of Donna Béatrice and was revealed through her. Through St
Anthony, Béatrice was given a new life and she was 'resurrected', and
was commissioned to preach and teach. Her spiritual experience may be
a genuine instance of syncretism [476] . Béatrice began to proclaim the

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[475] Why did Kimpa Vita, a woman, choose a male Saint instead of a female
saint? Sinda (1972: 45) responds to this question by saying that she preferred
Saint Anthony who was popular either in Portugal or in the Congo during that
time by imitation and not by conviction. This Saint was the Patron of prisoners,
of shipwrecked persons or lost things. He was invoked by the Portuguese sailors
for protection against the waves and shipwreck.

[476] According to Undy (1979: 25), syncretism is the attempt to express the truth
and insight of one set of beliefs through the actions and symbols of another set
of beliefs or culture. However, in his detailed account on 'Kimbanguism & the
Question of Syncretism in Zaïre', MacGaffey (1994: 241), quoted Pye (1971:
83–93), deals with the word 'syncretic'. It is commonly applied to religion, little
though has been given to the origins and specific features of syncretism. The
term is in fact ambiguous, since it is taken to indicate a particular kind of reli-
gion or religious situation, characterized by the combination of heterogeneous
elements; yet on the other hand, all culture, and a fortiori all religion, continually
draws upon foreign elements. Citing a study of syncretism by J.H. Kamstra,
Michel Pye observes that' to be human is to be a syncretist'. But that' most
practitioners of the study of religion are strongly influenced by Christianity and
tend to see syncretism as an illicit contamination, as a threat or a danger, as
taboo, or as a sign of religious decadence'. Ambiguity in scholarly usage thus
conceals an implicitly adverse judgment: 'syncretism' has become a pejorative
term, applicable only to situations of which one disapproves. However, we are

coming judgement of God, and her preaching was a massive protest against the Catholic Church, whereby her followers were forbidden to observe the prescribed fasts, church ceremonies, or to sing the 'Ave Maria' or the 'Salve Regina.' Anderson, quoted by Martin (1975: 14), comments that Béatrice protested against the thoughtless, mechanical repetition of empty words. She wanted to see crosses, crucifixes and images of the crucified Christ destroyed because, for many, the cross had become a new, more powerful fetish. She taught that Christ was born as an African in Sao Salvador and that His apostles were blacks. The aim of her preaching was to restore the ancient Kingdom of the Kongo, which would bring the Kongolese great prosperity and splendour—a sort of Paradise on earth. Béatrice tried to found a church with a hierarchy of its own. In so doing she came into conflict with the foreign priests. This African Christianity spread rapidly owing to the weaknesses of the first missions to the Kongo and as a protest against the national decline which had followed Portuguese colonization. Her efforts turned despair and resignation into hope. Nevertheless, there are three important aspects of Donna Béatrice's preaching. The first is her reaction against the cross. Was this simply a healthy reaction against a magical interpretation and use of the cross and the crucifix, or did the reaction go deeper than that? Was it, in fact, also a repudiation of the biblical

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wondering if Febderau (1962: 157), through his article on 'Kimbanguism: Prophetic Christianity in Congo' does not seem to see Kimbanguism such as syncretic movement He recapitulates it as follows: 'This is the absorbing study of the rooting of the gospel in a culture, some of the by-products of that process. It is revealing of the background of the situation in Congo today. It is also revealing of how shallow our talk of 'indigenous churches' is, for few Christians can find it in their heart to look tolerantly on a movement which is not made in their own image. This is not to say that everything in Kimbanguism is Christian. Neither is everything in Presbyterianism, Methodism, or Independent Missionism. But are there not signs that Christ has been, and has been, and remains, in some of the forms of prophetic Christianity in Congo?

preaching of the cross, which promises liberation from sin and new life through the very death of the one Messiah, Jesus Christ? This question cannot be answered conclusively because we do not know how the Gospel was preached in the Kongo in this period of decline. Béatrice, states Martin (1975: 15), replaced absolution, the forgiveness of sin through the cross, with the ancient ceremony of exposing oneself to rain. In the second place, we encounter here the first time the idea of the black Christ. Behind this lies a tremendously deep and important desire to have a Christ who identifies himself with the African. We shall find this desire taking a very special form among the Kimbanguists. Behind all this, there is the manifold problem of the important role of deceased ancestors in African religion. Whether it was consciously or subconsciously, Donna Béatrice strove to 'Africanize' the Christian message. In a prophetic way she sensed the problems that formal missiology only began to confront in the middle of the Twentieth Century. In the third place, the prophecy of Béatrice was keyed into the prosperity which was coming, to a kind of paradise on earth and to the restoration of the ancient Kingdom of the Kongo. This Kingdom was, explains MacGaffey (1983: 1), divided in 1895 into Angola/Cabinda, Congo Brazzaville and Congo Kinshasa. Finally, Béatrice was burned,[477] but she was consid-

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[477] According to Akiele (1999: 191), Kimpa Vita was burned at the stake with her son by European missionaries on July 2, 1706 in Mbanza-Kongo, because she publicly exposed and criticized their negative actions. That is why they fabricated stories to justify their decision to burn her at the stake. Kimpa Vita, even while burning did not cease repeating: 'the divine word can never be burned. No matter what happens, Kimbangu will be born in the future, will stop slavery and will save the Black race.' However, argues Axelson (1970: 136), the eve of Kimpa, named also 'Nganga Marinda, Dona Béatrice, 'Saint Anthony', expressed the deeply felt impact of the confrontation of cultures in the Lower Congo which is manifested through the messianic popular movement in early Eighteenth Century. Kimpa Vita, a woman only in her twenties, intiated a rebellion against foreign dominance with her visions. Her aim was a new Congo, as a symbol of which she wanted to rebuild San Salvador from its ruins.

ered to be a heroine and martyr by the Kongolese. To sum up, we learn that the first missionary activity in the Kongo Kingdom was exclusively Roman Catholic. In fact, from 1835 to 1865, remarks Owana Welo (1989: 119), Catholic missionaries in Kongo had to resume work in the Kongo, while the Protestant missionaries inaugurated their missions in the FreeCongoState, for the first time in 1878.[478] In the history of the DRC, this is traditionally called the second evangelization which has both Protestant and Catholic obedience. It is to this phase of evangelization that we should now turn.

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[478] The Protestant European missionary enterprise for the evangelization of the DRC should be located in the British area. In fact, notes Martin (1975: 23), Robert Arthington, the Leeds industrialist, was the first to see the significance of the newly discovered Congo route in to the African interior. His aim in life was to hasten the second Coming of Christ by foreign missions in accordance with the words of Jesus in Matthew 24, 14. He offered the London Missionary Society £5,000 (a considerable sum at that time) on condition that it advance from East Africa, where the mission was already working, to the region of the eastern Zaire, actually the DRC. In 1877, the London Missionary Society sent its first expedition to Ujiji, the place where Livingstone and Stanley had met. In the same year, Arthington offered the British Baptist Missionary Society £1,000 on condition that it begin missionary work in the Congo, operating from the west coast. Its missionaries were to advance as fast as possible along the River Congo and then to meet the missionaries of the LMS coming from the east. These plans were warmly supported by the Baptist missionary and explorer, George Grenfell. The idea of a chain of missionary stations stretching from west to east across Africa found enthusiastic approval. Moreover, states Martin (1975: 24), in 1874, H. and F. Grattan Guinness had been responsible for the formation of the Livingstone Inland Mission with to evangelize Central Africa by way of the Congo. This mission reached Boma in the Low-Congo estuary in 1878 and built a mission station at the port of Matadi. In 1885, the American Baptists and the Swedish Missionary Society each took over part of the work of the Livingstone Inland Mission, which, however, disapproved of this decision and in 1888 founded the Congo Balolo Mission.

iii. The Second Wave of Evangelization in DRC

The second wave of evangelization in the Congo was inaugurated by British Protestants, because the first Catholic missions to the Congo had ended ultimately in failure. That failure, observes Martin (1975: 22–23), was due to the fact that the Portuguese pretended to recognize the Africans as equals and had given a Congolese élite a good education in Portugal. They had ordained African priests and even a Congolese bishop but, for all that, Christianity remained a foreign import. It wore Portuguese dress, and so it remained. Added to this was the Portuguese participation in slave trading, and the secular Portuguese priests set a bad example. It is pertinent at this point to wonder if the second phase of missionary activity in the country would be equally unsuccessful, or would it manage to avoid the mistakes of the first missionaries and learn from the prophecies of Donna Béatrice.

The second missionary movement of the Nineteenth Century[479] began with the advantage[480] of being partly prompted by the humanitarian

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[479] During this century, there were some noteworthy political developments. Owanga Welo (1989: 120) sees the Nineteenth Century as the century of the exploration of Central Africa. It was also the century that witnessed the scramble for Africa, which was torn into artificial territorial pieces, divided, and finally conquered. The exploration of David Livingstone (1813–1873), a Scottish missionary, explorer, and physician, contributed much to Europe's knowledge of Central and South Central Africa. According to Braekman (1961: 53), Livingstone first set foot on African soil on March 11, 1841. He travelled widely in the territory east of the Congobetween 1867–1871, and discovered the following lakes: Tanganyika in April 1867, Moero in November 1867 and Bangwelo in July 1868. In the same period, King Leopold II instituted the Congo Free State in 1885, which, in 1908, became the Congo Belgian colony. It became independent in 1960.

[480] However, observes Slade (1959: 12–13), Protestant missionaries who arrived in Congo during the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century naturally assumed that they need not look far to find the cause of this failure; they had grown up with the idea that Roman Catholicism involved corruption, superstition and

protests against the slave trade. The evangelical revival in England caused a tremendous awakening of social conscience, on the one hand, and missionary interest, on the other. The mission to the Congo was actively supported by evangelistic circles in Britain and America, but once more the Gospel appeared in Western dress and together with Western technological culture, there was an assumption that superior knowledge was being brought to poor backward natives. The Congolese were looked upon as children, as a number of the early letters sent home to England by the missionaries demonstrate. True, the missionaries knew the 'children' would eventually mature responsible adults, but this day seemed far off and no thought was given to handing over to the Congolese a full share in the responsibility for the mission and its leadership and strategy. Matters were further complicated by the evangelic rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant missions. At this point, it will be useful to briefly formulate important aspects of this second wave of evangelization in the DRC. In fact, when we take into account the arrival of the first Protestant missionary on the Congolese soil in 1878, we must retain this date in any delimitation of the stages of the second evangelization of the DRC even if, according to Owanga Welo (1989: 122–128), Bontinck,[481] who is, in our opinion, a brilliant scholar of Church History in the DRC, has already dated the second evangelization to 1885. This delimitation, however, only takes into account political considerations and overlooks the fact that during this second wave, the

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idolatry, and they were prepared to attribute the disappearance of Christianity solely to the fact that it had been introduced into the Congo in a Catholic form. It is hardly surprising that they sought no other reason, for they regarded '… Popery as a corrupt and corrupting religion… only a baptized paganism', and they were firmly convinced that the 'light', even in good and devoted Catholic missionaries, '…was dimmed by false doctrine and superstition.'

[481] For Bontinck, the second evangelization of the DRC fell into three main periods. The first ran from 1885 to 1906; the second, from 1908 to 1960, and the third period followed political independence in 1960 until now.

first contemporary Catholic mission station was founded, states Owanga
Welo (p. 123), on March 17, 1886. Without examining them fully here,
we can note the following three stages of the second evangelization of
the DRC: from 1878 to 1908,[482] 1908 until 1960, and 1960 until today.
The first stage was characterized by the emergence of the three first
European missionary societies in Congo (L. I. M, B. M. S, Garanganze
Evangelical Mission), and the arrival of the American, Swedish mis-
sionaries during the Leopold II's ownership of the Congo Free State.[483]
During the second phase, the growth and cohesion of the Protestant
missionary societies progressed. Indeed, as far as 1902, notes Martin
(1975: 33), a certain Protestant ecumenical trend became apparent. Joint
missionary conferences were held, which led in 1924 to the foundation
of the '*Conseil Protestant du Congo',* which, argues Slade (1959: 62),
aimed to build one unified 'Church of Christ in Congo.' Finally, from

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[482] Slade (1959) concentrates her thesis on the question of 'missions in the Con-
go Independent State.' In fact, her study attempts to estimate the contribution
which Protestant missionaries made to the history of the Congo, during the
period of the CongoIndependentState and the early years of Belgian colonial
rule. These Protestant missionaries were, in the main, English-speaking mission-
aries, both Englishmen and Americans. Belgian Protestants were beginning to
show an interest in missionary work in the Congo by the end of the period, but
they had not yet begun work of their own there. Moreover, she demonstrated
through her research how the history of Leopold II's Congo enterprise has long
been obscured by polemic, the King has been presented either as a philanthropic
monarch responsible for putting an end to the Arab slave trade in the Congo and
for bringing the benefits of civilization to a vast region of Central Africa, or else
as a self seeking despot who oppressed the Congolese for the sake of the rubber
which he was able to obtain from the country and thus made their condition far
worse than it had been before the coming of the Europeans.

[483] In addition, at this stage of our work, it important to note that the European
Protestant Missionary Societies were the first, in 1878, to reach the territories of
the future personal property of Leopold II, *L'Etat Independant du Congo EIC*,
from the Conference of Berlin (1885). The *'E. I. C'* became the Belgian Congo
Colony in 1908.

1970, the *Conseil Protestant du Congo* became the Church of Christ of the Congo – *L'Église du Christ au Congo (ECC)*. It was during this phase of the second wave of evangelization of the Congo that Kimbangu emerged.

Let us now turn to examine his advent and the impact of his teaching on the movement[484] which owes its existence after his death to the work of Simon Kimbangu and its witness.

6.3 The Advent of Simon Kimbangu and Kimbanguism (1921–1959)

Undy (1979: 13), a journalist writing about the Congo in colonialist days, remarked that the country was in effect ruled by three powers: the State, the Roman Catholic Church, and big business. The close alliance between the first two can be seen in the way that Simon Kimbangu was handled. Indeed, upon the eve of Kimbangu's career, the Protestant mission in Belgium encountered many difficulties due to the close association between the Vatican and the Belgian government from 1908 to 1955. Cecelia Irvine (1974: 26), puts it very well:

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[484] In his massive and well documented survey on 'Simon Kimbangu and the B. M. S. Tradition', Mackay (1987: 113–171) demonstrates that from 1921 the Kimbanguist movement saw itself as the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations which Christians had invested in the church. He shows the strong links that existed between the Kimbanguist movement and the Baptist Missionary Society mission at Ngombe Lutete, by examining that this movement arose not in reaction against this mission, but rather in conscious continuity with the Christianity of the Church. Mackay founds this thesis of continuity on two elements: structural and conceptual. The structural element, that is, the offices and officers of the missionary church were carried over into the earliest phases of the Kimbanguism movement. The conceptual element, that is, the theology of the movement, flowed out of the theology of the church which preceded it.

'By 1921, the Protestant missions were both politically and ec-
clesiastically suspect in the Belgian Congo. Their missionaries
had been associated with raising questions which developed into
the embarrassing international furore over the administration of
the Congo Independent State; and the increasing number of
Protestant missions at work in the Colony, representing churches
with headquarters in Britain, Scandinavia and the United States,
seemed to threaten the Vatican and Belgium Government plans
for rapid expansion of the Roman Catholic missions fields. The
Protestant missionaries began to be regarded as 'foreigners' with
presumably questionable loyalty to the Colonial Administration.
Then, to the Roman Catholic theoretical objections to Protestant
methods of evangelism was added the practical proof of theolog-
ical error, for Simon Kimbangu had been instructed and baptized
by a Protestant pastor and was a member of the Baptist Church at
Ngombe Lutete. It is surprising that Simon Kimbangu's brief
preaching ministry aroused both the Belgian Administration's
fear of African unrest and possible revolt in the Colony and the
Roman Catholic conviction that the Protestants were to blame for
socio-religious disturbances. In fact, the Protestants were caught
in a cross-fire between the administration, the Roman Catho-
lics…'

However, it is certain that 'secret societies' existed just before
Kimbangu appeared. As Martin states (1975: 37–38), these secret socie-
ties of *féticheurs*, or sorcerers, were linked with the prophetic movement
of Donna Béatrice and the founding of the 'Antonian Church.' They
discovered new 'medicine' in order to neutralize the irresistible power
of the whites. Such secret societies were able to summon up active re-
sistance. People refused to buy imported goods and to do compulsory
labour, all agricultural activity was abandoned at times in the expecta-

tion of a fantastic event which would restore the old balance of forces or bring a paradise on earth, comparable to the 'primordial state.'

In South Africa, it was the prophets Nhlakaza and his niece Nong-qause who appealed to the people to kill all their livestock and to burn all their provisions in the expectation of a glorious resurrection of their ancestors who would drive the whites into the sea. In the Belgian Congo, the witch-doctor Epikilipikili, of the region of Sankuru in Kasai Province, discovered a means whereby he promised to reduce the power of the Belgians and an uprising resulted. A similar uprising occurred in 1920, for which the witch-doctors were reputed to have made their followers immune to the bullets of the whites, a motif which has recurred at various times in African history.[485] The bullets would "dissolve into water", the people were assured, usually with terrible consequences. This same promise was made a few years ago when, in Zambia, an armed conflict occurred between the Lumpa Church of the prophetess Alice Lenshina and the government of Dr Kenneth Kaunda. We could cite further examples of this reaction in the DRC: for instance, the doctrine of Kitawala (the African version of the Jehovah's Witnesses, which originated in South Africa and Malawi), which claims that, in the battle of Armageddon, the whites will be vanquished. All the examples have in common a form of reaction essentially distinct from the Christian prophetic reaction, but the latter was likewise a reaction against a force which destroys traditional values, disturbs the balance of power and, by intellectual, spiritual, and above all economic means, forces people into an alien way of life. It was into this socio-political and religious-cultural environment that Kimbangu born.

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[485] When confronted with foreign aggressors, for example, the Ugandan and Rwandan armies, the people of the DRC organizes their local defense with the aid of tribal soldiers who believed that during the fire exchanges, they could not be killed by the enemy's bullets if they said 'mayi' (water). That is why they are called 'Mayi mayi.'

6.3.1 Kimbangu's Birth

Let us begin our story about Kimbangu by saying something concerning his name. We learn from Martin (1975: 42–43) that the family of 'Kimbangu'[486] translated this name as '*celui qui révèle ce qui est caché*' (the one who reveals what is hidden). It said that Kimbangu was so named because he was one of those still-born babies called to life by shouting this name. The expectation of great things was attached to this miracle. H. J Casebow of England, spent more than thirty years as a missionary in the Congo and was conversant with the Kikongo language, believed that we have here a case of later interpretation, since 'kimbangu' means, from what he knows of the language, 'skill.' This theory of Casebow's is, however, contested. Simon is his Christian name. Simon Kimbangu belonged to the Bakongo people. He was born, states Sabakinu Kivilu (2006: 287–288), in Nkamba[487] in1889, situated

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[486] This name, according to Martin (1975: 42), has, as is true of most African names, deep significance. This name was shouted out at the birth of a child when the newborn infant would not breathe. Moreover, Kimbangu's followers called him, states Joset (1968: 102), 'Sauveur' (Saviour), 'le Prophète' (The Prophet), 'le Grand Simon le Roi' (King Simon the Great).

[487] There is some uncertainty about the date of Kimbangu's birth. For Bennetta Jules-Rosette (2005: 5143), Kimbangu was born on September 1889. According to Zana Aziza Etambala (2004: 365, 388), Kimbangu was born ca. 1889 and died on 12 October 1951. For Ustorf (1975: 105), Kimbangu was born on September 24, 1889, but, argues Sinda (1972: 61), the date of 1881 is sometimes cited as his date of birth. Nevertheless, many historians retain the date of 1889. For Anderson (1958: 48), quoted by Perry (1984: 199), Kimbangu was born in the village of Nkamba in Lower Congo, probably on or around August 24, 1889. For further reading on Kimbangu and Kimbanguism, see S. Asch (2003) 'Kimbanguist Church' in E. Fahlbusch et al. *The Encyclopedia of Christianity,* Vol. 3. Grand Rapids/Cambridge, U. K/Leiden/Boston, William B. Eerdmans Publishing/Brill p. 118–120; J. N. Bitter, W. J. Hollenweger (2006) 'Kimbangu Simon' in P Gisel and L Kaennel (dir.) *Encyclopédie du protestantisme.* 2e édition revue, corrigée et augmentée, Paris/Genève, Puf/Labor & Fides p. 724–

in the district of Thysville, today known as Mbanza-Ngungu in a territory that had been allocated by the Belgian colonial administration to the English Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in Lower Congo in 1889. According to Martin (1975: 42–43), Kimbangu's secretaries, who are not named, tell how one day a white man, Mr Comber, a missionary, appeared in Nkamba. Everyone fled, except Kinzembo, to whom this missionary is supposed to have said, 'Peace be with you. Those who fled will not have peace.' Comber's successor, the missionary Cameron Nzagamane,[488] also came one day to Nkamba. The inhabitants of the place did not want to give him any water. He went to Kinzembo and asked to see her child, but because the father was not there she could not show him the boy. Cameron came a second time to her. His third visit almost cost him his life. He was followed and shot at. He fled to

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725; Kilola Gayombo Mvaka (1990) Le langage symbolique dans les pratiques religieuses des Églises indépendantes africaines. Essai sur la symbolique religieuse kimbanguiste. Thèse de Doctorat présentée à la Faculté Autonome de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Genève; M. L. Martin (1975) *Kimbangu: A. African Prophet and His Church,* Oxford, Blackwell; R. Hoskins. (2002) *Kimbanguism,* London, Hurst & Co Ltd.; R. Hoskins (2006) 'KimbanguSimon, Kimbanguism' in P. B. Clarke (ed.) *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements,* London/New York: Routledge/Taylor Francis Group, p. 297–299; H. F. Littell (2001) *Historical Atlas of Christianity.* Second revised and expanded edition, New York/London, Continuum, p. 396–396, which deal with 'Independent African Christian Movements; N. Smart (2000) *Atlas des religions dans le monde,* Cologne, Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 212–213, which also deals with Independent Christianity in Africa; C. Prudhomme and J. F. Zorn (2000) 'Un christianisme négro-africain: le foisonnement des églises indépendantes et ses interprétations inculturation ou régression' in J. M. Mayeur et al. (dirs.) *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours. t. 13: Crises et renouveau, de 1958à nos jours,* Paris, Desclée, p. 648–652; N. Diakanua (1978) 'The role of prayer in the Kimbanguist Church' in E. Fasholé-Luke et al. (ed.) *Christianity in Independent Africa,* London, Rex Collings, p. 577–596.

[488] This second name, states Martin (1975: 43), was given to him by people of Nkamba and means 'the tall one' or 'the giant'.

Kinzembo, who gave him something to eat and drink. Then he prayed with her, and finally he said, 'God's blessing be with you and your children. Your faith had helped you.' For Hebrew and African thought, words of blessing and cursing are indeed words of power. Cameron's blessings to Kinzembo, asserts Martin (1986: 3), became palpable in the person of Kimbangu. Kimbangu's mother, Lwezi, died shortly after his birth, and his father Kuyela also died when Kimbangu was still a child. He was brought up by his aunt, Kinzembo, the youngest sister of Lwezi. Kinzembo, states Martin (1968: 3), was a woman of great courage, and she was deported in 1927 to Boma where she died. Simon Kimbangu attended a Protestant primary school for four years and was later baptized,[489] and married Mwilu Marie in the Baptist Church. They had three children: Charles Kisolekele (born on February12, 1917), Salomon Dialungana (born on May 25, 1916) and Joseph Diangenda (born on March 22, 1918). Concerning his personality, it said that he was a 'faithful Christian, a humble and modest man (see Martin 1968: 40). Bertsche (1966: 13–21), describes Simon Kimbangu in such terms as 'a reluctant Messenger, a Zealous Preacher, an Acclaimed Prophet, a Social Catalyst, a Pursued Fugitive, a Condemned Prisoner, and a Draft Messiah.' Kimbangu, who became a Christian as a young man, worked[490] a short time as a teacher at the mission school in Ngombe-Lutete, and as houseboy to the Rev Philipps of BMS (Chomé 1959: 5), an evangelist in the village of Nkamba. This missionary, asserts Martin (1975: 44), depicted

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[489] According to Akiele (1999: 192), Papa Simon Kimbangu was baptized on July 4, 1915 in the river Tombe, not far from the Baptist Mission of Ngombe-Lutete. Also that day, he married Maman Mwilu Mary Kiawanga in a religious ceremony, one year after his traditional wedding.

[490] There is no certitude on the profession of Kimbangu before his call as a prophet, even if it is usually said that he was a Catechist. It is known nevertheless that Kimbangu worked as a cultivator, and a checker in an oil firm of the capital city. For wide discussion on this question, see Kitikila (1984: 275–280), and Munayi Montu-Monji (1974: 19).

him 'as of above average intelligence, a strong personality and a man with a good knowledge of the Bible'[491], a good, thoughtful man who read his Bible and performed his tasks conscientiously.

6.3.2 Kimbangu's Conversion, Call, and Teaching

The story on Kimbangu's call emerged during the period of two concomitant social crises, namely, the 'flu epidemic and the construction of a railroad from Kinshasa to the Congo coast, both of which caused the deaths of thousands of Africans (see Hoskins 2004: 48). The 'flu epidemic at Ngombe Lutete, where Kimbangu lived and worked, took a particularly heavy toll. Many died without medical assistance because, explains Martin (1975: 44), the doctor promised to the mission had not arrived.

Kimbangu's call, observes Mackay (1987: 126–131), came through a series of supernatural encounters. The earliest of these occurred while Kimbangu was still very young. One night in 1918, Kimbangu experienced the first of a series of visions that pursued him until he began his work of healing. Indeed, according to Martin (1975: 44), Kimbangu heard a voice say to him: 'I am Christ, and my servants are unfaithful. I have chosen you to bear witness before your brethren and to convert them. Tend My flock.' Simon replied, 'I am not trained and there are ministers and deacons, who are able to serve in this way', but after a further night, Simon the same voice calling him, and his wife heard him answer. Again and again he declined to follow this call. At length he

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[491] The first manual of religious instruction or catechism in Kikongo, states Sinda (1972: 21), was done by Father De Couto, and published in 1624. As a Jesuit he produced it in Lisbon (see Slade 1959: 19), but the first translation of the Bible into Kikongo was done, according to Asch (1983: 17), by Bently, a missionary of the BMS in 1897. It said that it was by this biblical version that Simon Kimbangu learned to read and write in Kikongo during his sole four years of primary school at the missionary station of Ngombe-Lutete.

tried to run away from the call of Christ by going to the city of Kinsha-
sa, the former Leopoldville, which was 225 kms away, where he became
a labourer. He worked in various places,[492] including an oil-refinery.
However, even in Kinshasa, the voice of Christ continued to invite him.
Despite his faithfulness and honest work, he had no success and was
ultimately compelled to return to Nkamba and cultivate his fields as he
had before. Was the failure in Kinshasa a sign that God would no longer
let him go? On the morning of 6th April, 1921,[493] states Martin (1968: 4–
5), when going to the market, Kimbangu felt constrained, against his
own will, to enter the house of a woman called Kiantondo. She was in
agony, and Simon laid his hands upon her in the name of Jesus Christ.
The woman got up and was healed, but accused Simon Kimbangu, say-
ing that he had previously bewitched her and had now come to remove
the curse from her. Against his will, he performed other miracles. The
miracles initially left people afraid of Kimbangu, and some of them
thought that he had become a magician, but, with the Bible in his hand,
he invariably replied that it was Christ who accomplished these miracles
through him.[494] He denied having any power of his own. Suddenly the
tide turned and people began to flock to Nkamba, Kimbangu's home.
They left their forced labour, their fields, their white masters, and their
kitchens and went to Nkamba to hear the African prophet whom God
had raised up and through whom the story of the gospels suddenly be-
came a reality for them. Until then, it had been for many African Chris-

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[492] All these different jobs and places, according to Chomé (1959: 6), would
make the Kimbangu's mind up, because of his contact with persons of other
cultures. The extra-cultural dimensions of the later Kimbanguism perhaps origi-
nated from this background.

[493] This date, argues Hoskins (2006: 297), is regarded by his followers as the
founding of the Kimbaguism movement.

[494] Hoskins (2006: 297) notes that Kimbangu believed he had received his call
from God in 1918 to go and look after his people because the Europeans had
been unfaithful to the call of Christ.

tians simply a tale that they had heard from the white man, but now, through the activity of Simon, Christ had existence. He had become real to them. They re-lived salvation history. Kimbangu healed and preached the gospel of repentance and forgiveness to his brethren without accepting any remuneration. It was the true gospel, in simple form, centred upon Christ the Saviour who was crucified for men and victoriously rose from the dead. Thus, Nkamba became the site of a genuine evangelical revival with wide repercussions. The Kimbanguists speak of this period as the 'Nkamba-Pentecost.' The Holy Spirit had been poured out on Simon in abundance, and this is why at the end of the Trinitarian formula many Kimbanguists add: '…the Holy Spirit who spoke to us through the prophet Simon Kimbangu', or, 'who acted through the prophet Simon Kimbangu'[495]. Even though Kimbangu fled from Christ's persistent call, he became an excellent preacher. His preaching addressed the issues of fetishism and polygamy, and Kimbangu declared the imminent return of Christ who would overthrow white colonial power. He was as full of visions as the ancient Hebrew prophets.[496] Thus, his preaching and healing talents in the Lower Congo started a mass movement by 1921. However, as any Protestant and, in particular, any Baptist Church, states Chomé (1959: 6), usually rejects any exterior authorship in religious affairs, Kimbangu's preaching freely interpreted the Old and New

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[495] In my opinion, the actual Trinitarian and doctrinal crisis which occurs in EJCSPK since 2001, must originate from this epoch.

[496] Through his doctoral research on Kimbanguism, Kitikila Dimonika (1984: 273–371) demonstrates the prophetic dimensionof Kimbangu's teachings. The veracity of his prophetic message consisted of the following elements: the influence of Protestantism on Kimbangu; his message came from the Bible and spoke out against fetishism, licentious dances, and polygamy; trust in Jesus as a Saviour, and in Trinity without the hierarchy in functions; the love and the non-violence; the liberation; the millenary waiting, and his preferred biblical texts: 1 Samuel 17, Leviticus 25, 9–11.14.17, and the authenticity of miracles which accompanied his preaching.

Testaments and applied their advice and teachings to all circumstances of life. Moreover, notes Mackay (1987: 139), the chain of Spirit/Scripture/Prophet forms a bridge between the world of the Spirit and this world. Thus, in Kimbangu's case, through the actions of the Spirit, Scripture became concrete and manifest in Kimbangu's healings. These healings were not only described in terms of a manifestation of the Spirit, but in terms of a manifestation of Scripture through the Spirit. Mackay had this to say:

> 'Manifestation of scripture through Kimbangu's healings was in some way linked in the minds of Christians to a return to a Golden Age, which in its turn was closely linked to that of the prophetic retrieval of power. That Age was believed to come about when events matched those of the mythological Kongo past which stood as a paradigm for what Kongo society should be: a cyclical return to the point at which history began in Mbanza Kongo. When events resemble that perfect past they are believed in some way to have recreated. Christians, having abandoned tradition, seen to have replaced Mbanza Kongo with scripture, as the model for what a perfect society should look like. When events matched that model, the Golden Age would have come.'

Thus, Kimbangu became a 'catalyst of a new social order' against the present which was 'an expression of social unrest and cosmic rupture and prepared the soil for the rise of a millenarian-type movement and a prophetic-type figure' (Perry: 199), in whom, observes Chomé (1959: 19), the Bakongo people found it possible to reconstitute their unity and liberty through a black church. Healing, argues Perry (202), was to become a fight against witchcraft and a hallmark of Kimbangu. In fact, the power of his preaching was plain. Walder quoted by Perry confirms that when he says:

> 'The words of Kimbangu have a powerful and wonderful effect.
> They spread all over the countryside, like a flood in spring-time,
> and swept away the minkisi[497] of the heathens. In some places
> the young men went from house to house, collecting images in
> order to destroy them. All along the highways and by ways were
> strewn the cast off idols and the bags used in witchcraft, mute
> evidence of the clean sweep which had taken place. Aged priests,
> who had hitherto been confirmed believers in the validity of their
> doctrines, collected and destroyed the minkisi to which they had
> prayed.'

It emerges from this quotation that the discipleship of Kimbangu was
based on preaching in which he spoke of the need for absolute depend-
ence upon God and encouraging the people to discard their idolatrous
fetishes. By calling for their conversion, Kimbangu appealed for a new
moral regeneration and for the practice of monogamy (Perry: 201–202).
However, this dependence of Kimbangu on God appeared clearly
through this extract of his letter to his wife in 1924 during his impris-
onment in Elizabethville now Lubumbashi:

> 'Je voudrais que tous les chants en mon nom finissent, tu dois les
> defendre de chanter cela, moi je ne veux plus rien entendre de
> tout cela' ['I would like that all the songs which had been sung in
> my name be eradicated, you must dissuade them from singing
> them, me, I do not like to hear anything concerning it.'] (Ustorf
> 1975: 396).

Finally, the miracles performedby Kimbangu made him popular. His
popularity was increased by his talent as a healer in the March to June
period, which coincided with his public discipleship. Kimbangu, from
April 1921, became a 'nominal leader of the great messianic movement'
(MacGaffey 1969: 129). Multitudes deserted their habitual jobs [as

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[497] It designates 'fetish' in Kikongo language.

kitchen and garden boys for whites, or forced labour on the plantations
(Martin 1975: 52)] and affairs and came to seek his aid, as others came
to associate themselves with him in one way or another. Nkamba re-
ceived an increasing number of people.[498] In the meantime, asserts Perry
(203), specifically from 11 May until 1 June, 1921, there appeared nu-
merous pseudo-Kimbanguist prophets who advocated such things as the
cessation of all work and an end to the payment of all taxes. They also
advocated xenophobic rejection of all Europeans, a return to the use of
fetishes and a reappropriation of the former ways of traditional African
religion and life. Faced with the emergence of these new political over-
tones, the Belgian colonial administration prompted by the Catholic
Church[499] and later by White employers, reacted by deciding to find a
way to arrest Simon Kimbangu.

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[498] This was due, argues Martin (1975: 52), to how far the news of the healer-
prophet spread, with the result that the people from the surrounding area set out
to see Simon Kimbangu and to receive his aid. All this aroused the suspicion of
the whites.

[499] According to Chomé (1959: 24–27), they did this so that the intervention of
the Belgian Colonial administration would restore the numbers of Christians in
their churches and businesses. Moreover, the Catholic initiative must be due to
the desire to destabilize the powerful Protestant missions of which Simon
Kimbangu was an adherent. In fact, states Irvine (1974: 26), by 1921, the
Protestant missions were both politically and ecclesiastically suspect in the
Belgian Congo. Their missionaries were seen as 'foreigners with presumably
questionable loyalty to the Colonial Administration. Then, to the Roman Catho-
lic theoretical objections to Protestant methods of evangelism was added the
practical proof of theological error, for Simon Kimbangu had been instructed
and baptized by a Protestant pastor and was a member of a Baptist Church at
Ngombe Lutete. It is not surprising that Kimbangu's brief preaching ministry
raised the Belgian Administration's fear of African unrest and possible revolt in
the Colony and the Roman Catholic conviction that Protestants were to blame
for the socio-religious disburbances. In fact, the Protestants were caught in the
cross-fire between the administration, the Roman Catholics and many African
Protestant Christians, who felt that missionaries had abandoned Simon

6.3.3 His Arrest, Condemnation, and Death

According to Joset (1968: 102), the arrest of Kimbangu was planned from May 31, 1921, during the meeting initiated by the head of the District of Thysville and where the Roman Catholic Father, Cloomput, Reverend Jenning of the BMS, and Morel, the Administrator of the territory, were also present. In fact, during this meeting, the Protestant missionary proposed to stop the Kimbanguist movement by peaceful means, but the Roman Catholics proposed a coercive strategy. Indeed, states Perry (203–204), on June 1, 1921 an order was given by the Colonial Belgian administration that Kimbangu and his four immediate associates were to be arrested. On the same day, both the B. M. S. and the Catholic Church distanced themselves from the movement and condemned its founder. From this point onwards, the people viewed all missionaries as suspects for the betrayal of their great prophet, one who had arisen from among them, one who was black. Moreover, people began leaving the mission churches. The call for the arrest of Simon Kimbangu by the government signalled a dramatic new rejection and oppression in the mind of the Congolese of their basic human rights, dignity and values. Although Simon Kimbangu's arrest was ordered on June 1, 1921, due to a rash of 'miraculous' circumstances he remained at large until the date of his voluntary surrender at Nkamba on September

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Kimbangu and hundreds of their church members. Finally, Simon became a scapegoat for the African faithful who followed his teaching, as well as for countless others who were confused by lesser prophets who claimed to follow him. Further, Kimbangu was inescapably the victim of the religious and political intolerance of his time. Certainly, concludes Irvine (p. 33), Kimbangu was a powerful religious leader with charismatic gifts, and became an embarrassment both to Church and State, so it was expedient at that time for the authorities to take action against him. Who can say whether the religious enthusiasm could have been contained as a revival (with no political overspill) within the churches if there had been less pressure on the Protestant missions from Roman Catholics and the Colonial administration?

12, 1921. He was subsequently transferred to Thysville, actually Mban-
za Ngungu, and the centre of administrative affairs for the region. There
he was arraigned, convicted and sentenced to death[500].

In fact, from his return to Nkamba on September 12, 1921,
Kimbangu gave himself up voluntarily to the military after exhorting his
followers to face suffering courageously, not to use violence and not to
repay evil with evil. Those who were unable to do this should go away.
Kimbangu, states Martin (1975: 60, 61), with his four assistants have
been arrested and chained by Snoek, the territorial agent. On 3 October
1921, Simon Kimbangu was sentenced by a court martial to 120 strokes
of the whip and to be put to death. There was, argues Martin (1968: 6),
no legal counsel and no witnesses. The whole trial was, in the words of
Chomé (1959), a 'parody of justice'[501], because Simon was falsely ac-

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[500] For a whole and impartial survey on the condemnation of Simon Kimbangu,
read Chomé (1959: 46–130). This Belgian jurist depicted the whole episode of
the persecution, arrest and sentence of Kimbangu as a parallel to the passion of
Jesus, with the inclusion of a traitor Judas, namely Romain Nkaya, who is sup-
posed to have betrayed the prophet in Kinkole to Scheut Father Pollé, though
this episode is not supported by the facts.

[501] Chomé, notes Fehderau (1962: 166), is a Belgian lawyer who came to Leo-
poldville (Kinshasa) to assure the defense of the Congolese leaders arrested after
the political riots of January 4, 1959. His desire to fight for human liberty and
dignity as evidenced in that action finds its expression in his book (1959) on the
'The Passion of Kimbangu.' Indeed, after his careful study of the volumes of
available documents on the subject, most of them hostile to the movement of
Kimbangu, Chomé was convinced that Simon Kimbangu had been dealt a grave
injustice. Thus, he attempts through his survey to rehabilite him by bringing to
light some convincing evidence. Chomé as lawyer took over, and analyzed the
trial for its legality. His conclusions: 'This trial violated all the most rudimentary
notions of the Rights of Man.' The 'evidence 'on which the court based its
decision to impose the death sentence is given verbatim from the court records'
(Chomé 1959: 66–71). He called the whole trial a 'legal monstrosity.' Why has
Chomé told this 'embarassing' story? Three must be mentionned. First, Simon
Kimbangu is at the origin of the first self-realization (*prise de conscience*) of the

cused, states Irvine (1974: 55), of '*grave desorder*'. The judge was the military commander Rossi. The procedure of that court, remarks Fehderau (1962: 168), was also illegal, for the military tribunal had no jurisdiction over the case of Kimbangu, since martial law had been installed after the incidents in question had taken place. The trial set something of a record for speed – it was completed within eighteen days. Kimbangu was accused of sedition and hostility towards the whites. The sentence was based on a false charge. Arbitrary procedure on the part of military court led to this false verdict. Neither witnesses nor counsel for the defense were admitted. Chomé (1959: 4) calls the whole procedure, on the basis of the documents which he has studied as a lawyer, a monstrous legal travesty. The Redemptorist priest, Braekman, who was present at the trial, says of the prophet during the hearing: 'Kimbangu is an intelligent man and spoke and answered in a dignified manner' (Martin 1975: 62). The missionaries, Ross Philips of the B. M. S and Joseph Clark of the A. B. M. S., approached the Governor-General at Boma with a petition for the pardon of Simon Kimbangu. The B. M. S sent a similar petition to the Belgian king. In November, the death sentence was commuted by King Albert to life imprisonment. Before Kimbangu had been transferred to Elizabethville, present-day Lubumbashi thousands of kilometers away from Nkamba in November 1921, he managed after many difficulties, to bid his wife and his three sons farewell. He blessed all four. He never saw them again. Kimbangu spent the next

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Congolese people' (Chomé p. 98). Second, Chomé wants his readers to get to know Kimbangu, who, he feels, will some day have a statue raised to his honour in Leopoldville. Third, Belgians must leave their superiority complex and realize the wrongs they have committed against Simon Kimbangu and his followers (p. 98). In my opinion, in taking into account the general political background of the Congo at this time, the condemnation of Simon Kimbangu could be seen as an expression of a sort of political 'settling of scores' between the 'National' Roman Catholic Church and the 'Foreign' Protestant missions in Colonial Congo, now the DRC.

thirty years, for the most part, in solitary confinement. It seems, notes Martin (63) that both the Colonial authorities in the Lower Congo, because of the Ngunzist Movement[502] which had arisen in Luozi, and also the Catholic archbishop protested very strongly against the commuting of Kimbangu's death sentence. Thus, he remained in prison and ended his life on 12 October 1951[503] as a martyr. However after the condemna-

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[502] According to Hoskins (2004: 55), the word 'ngunzism' refers to a varied group of healers and spiritual leaders in DRC, who have no formal religious affiliation, but who exert great influence on people's lives. Ngunzist activity usually involves entrance into a heightened spiritual state, which may be trance-like, and the ability to heal and perform miracles in God's name. This movement derives from the Kikongo word 'ngunza' which means 'prophet'. The Ngunzist movement has been linked with Kimbanguism but, argues Martin (1975: 73), these two movements are separate. Nevertheless, Ngunzists believe that Kimbangu would return as the *ntotila* — in Kikongo, a 'mythological figure'— to re-establish the ancient Kingdom of Kongo by driving the Whites into the sea. Some ngunzists offered their healing for payment contrary to Kimbangu's reaching. When the DRC gained its independence, the Ngunzists played a part in hunting out white missionaries. Prophetic offshoots from Kimbangu's ministry quickly emerged, many of who have become known under the umbrella term 'ngunzists', and some of these appear to have urged refusal to pay colonial taxes. Today, they are often called '*trembleurs*' because of their ecstatic shaking, rather like the origin of the term 'Quakers.' Finally, it is important to point out that so-called Ngunzist behaviours, including trembling and ecstatic states induced through repetitive rhythmical drumming, can be seen in many African churches, including Roman Catholic and Protestant ones.

[503] Some stories recounted that Kimbangu received Roman Catholic baptism before his death, but a Congolese prison warder, who was with Simon Kimbangu till he died, categorically denied that any Catholic baptism had been administered to him. Moreover, as we can easily deduce, the freeKimbangu's ministry occurred over only six months, from 6 April to 12 September 1921. But for his short public ministry of only three months of public preaching (March to June 1921), Kimbangu had to endure around thirty years of martyrdom in the prison where he died (see R Beeckmans 1969: 445–446). However, to Geuns

tion of Kimbangu, his family and followers were persecuted for their loyalty to Kimbangu until 1959, when under Joseph Diangenda the third son of Kimbangu, full recognition was given to the unified ecclesia, the EJCPS. Kimbanguism was vigorously suppressed under Belgian rule from 1951 to 1957. In consequence, 37,000 adherents of Kimbangu were deported to regions outside Nkamba, [504] which unintentionally contributed to the spread of the religious movement to the rest of the Belgian Congo. Thus, these persecutions against of the followers of Kimbangu contributed to its expansion and growth. Balandier puts it very well:

> 'One must insist on the fact that the repression organized by the Belgian authorities truly established the new Church: by giving to it a martyr and persecuted, by permitting the processes of ide-alization and of a utopic construction to function openly by way of [its] leader, who was freed from all obligation of the actual situation' (Quoted by Perry, 1984: 204).

6.4 Growth and Outreach of the Kimbanguism (1959–2001)

The growth of Kimbanguism could be considered as the fulfillment of that prophecy which called and maintained together the followers of Kimbangu to a life of rigorous self discipline and prayer. This prophecy must be found in the response of its adherents who were in the meantime

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(19: 187), the the public activity of Kimbangu may have been very short but it was charged with intensity.

[504] For a clear, concise, objective, learned, and historical presentation of these exiled adherents of Kimbangu's proselytism, and their socio-cultural activities, see Munayi Muntu-Monji (1974) *Le mouvement kimbanguiste dans le Haut-Kasaï. 1921–1960.* Thèse de Doctorat de 3ème Cycle présentée à la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Provence (Aix-Marseille I), *passim*.

members of the Presbyterian Church in Kasai. Crane recapitulates it as follows: 'Before he died the prophet Simon Kimbangu enjoined us to observe these vows as well as the teachings of the Book of God until such time as the black man in Congo will be free to worship God in his own way' (Crane 1980: 89). In fact, this Church owes its existence to the work and the witness of Simon Kimbangu. It had existed underground from the three months (March-June, 1921) of public apostlehood of Kimbangu until its official recognition in December 24th, 1959 by the Belgian Congo. For his adherents, Kimbangu had died, but in death he still exercises a strong hold over them. In addition, Kimbanguism is one among many of the early African Initiated Churches (AICs). In fact, according to McClymond (2006: 136), these Churches are also called 'African Independent, or Indigenous Churches'. These denominations or congregations were founded and governed by Africans. Some of them are much like missionary churches while others are strikingly different.

According to Bowker (1997: 548), Kimbanguism, is the largest Independent Christian movement in Black Africa. Simon Kimbangu (1889–1951) inspired this Church. However, he did not leave any confessional writing, or any well-defined doctrinal teaching. According to all his witnesses, his preaching was simply 'orthodox', in accordance with the preaching of the Baptist pastors and catechists whom he had known (*Ecumenical Review* 2006: 32). Conducted secretly in its beginning,[505] after the independence of Congo in 1960, Kimbanguism came to be more tolerated. It is the reason why, on 25 March 1960 Simon Kimbangu's remains were brought back to his native village, Nkamba, renamed the New Jerusalem, and placed in a mausoleum built, states

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[505] For Martin (1968: 7), until December 24, 1959, adherents of Kimbangu attended formal worship in Catholic and Protestant churches, especially the Salvation Army, which the Kimbanguist greeted in 1943 with enthusiasm. They believed that the 'S' on their uniforms indicated that they were sent by Simon Kimbangu. At the beginning, the Salvation Army became a real friend to the Kimbanguists, but with a change of leadership this relationship also changed.

MacGraffey (1983: 42), on the top of the hill, near the remains of the platform where he used to preach and above the pool (Bethesda) to which he sent the sick to bathe.[506] On 6 April 1960, the religious movement renamed the 'Church of Christ on the Earth by the Prophet Kimbangu.' It obtained legal status. Nkamba became its sacred place, 'the New Jerusalem.' However, states Undy (1979:16), the years which followed the granting of independence to the Congo were years of consolidation for Kimbanguism. Indeed, argues Martin (1968: 9), since Joseph Diangenda and other Kimbanguist leaders have been trying to unify the various Kimbanguist groups and give them a hierarchical organization in keeping with African ideas of what is right and proper. According to Undy (1979: 16–17), he proceeded by three steps. The first step consisting of drawing up a constitution, introduced in March 1960, which was says among other things that 'Kimbanguism' is founded on the Christian faith. Its evangelic methods and its teachings are in harmony with the Gospel. Its message is what is revealed in the Bible'. The second step towards unification was the founding in 1962 of a preacher training college whose staff were trained either by the Salvation Army or at a Protestant Bible college. In 1970, the Kimbanguist School of Theology was founded at Kinshasa. Thirdly, Joseph Diangenda had travelled widely throughout Zaïre, visiting congregations, talking with leaders, giving advice, working for reconciliation where divisions had occurred and healing. [507] How did Kimbanguists elaborate the main principles of their doctrine?

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[506] The former first President of DRC, Joseph Kasavubu attended personally this ceremony without shoes, like any Kimbanguist.

[507] Marie-Louise Martin, who became a kind of theological counselor to Diangenda and the Kimbanguists, wrote that she never went to Diangenda's home in Kinshasa without there being anything from twenty to fifty people waiting to receive help from him. She describes him, not as a theologian, but as a 'counselor, comforter, interpreter or dreams, admonisher and healer' (see Martin 1975: 133). We are wondering if her status as a theological counsellor of Joseph Dian-

6.4.1 Theological Tenets of Kimbanguists

6.4.1.1 Preliminary

Let us begin this section by recalling that Simon Kimbangu did not leave written theological tenets. His theology, argues Martin (1975: 140), is not easy to describe because it is lived and sung and not formulated. It is expressed in pictures, sermons, wood-carvings and music. It is intuitive. From 1957, the beginning of Kimbanguist theology is expressed through the catechisms written in Kikongo by Solomon Dialungana (Martin 1975:140). In our opinion, the existing Kimbanguist theology must be seen as a product of believers or beneficiaries and not 'of the founder', In fact, during its early years up until 1958 when a group of Kimbangu's disciples lead by Joseph Diangenda submitted their request to be recognized as an 'official church'[508], Undy (1979:16) notes that Kimbanguism remained a 'joyous religious faith' which was expressed mainly in hymns, prayers and sermons. At this moment not much was written about their beliefs. Many of their hymns were those used by other Christians bodies, although the 'foreignness' of much Christian life in Africa is evident in some hymns, translated from Euro-

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genda would not alter by transforming her writings on Kimbanguism into a hagiographical commitment to Simon Kimbangu's cause. But when we see her historical approach, which consists of interpreting the oral creed, which was in large not yet formulated, and of comparing this creed with similar movements in Africa (Martin 1975: ix), we can be certain of her objective historical account of Kimbanguism.

[508] See Ustorf (1975: 408–414) for a detailed description of this request with the Constitution of Kimbanguism contained within their Declaration signed on December 4, 1958. This request was sent to Mr. Cornalis, H, General Governor of Congo & Ruanda-Urundi; see also Sinda (1972: 141–147), and Martin (1968: 24–31). However, it is important to mention here the fact that the period between 1921 and 1959 is the epoch of persecution of the adherents of Kimbangu. For M Zana Aziza Etamba (2004: 365–390), the persecution of the Kimbanguists extended from 1945 through the strike at Matadi on November 26–27, 1945 to 1957.

pean languages and often sung to European tunes, published by the missions. In sermons, it was common for Simon Kimbangu to be set forth as the one who made Jesus Christ real in the Bakongo area, and who in his life had experiences to some extent similar to those of Jesus. Simon Kimbangu, by his preaching and healing, his arrest by an occupying power, his unjust trial and condemnation, and his continuing presence[509] with his people after death, show that God really cared for the despised black people who had suffered for so long. But few Kimbanguists had done formal theological study to any depth, and little had been written by the Kimbanguists about theology up to 1960. It was when the Kimbanguist leader made contact with the WCC and AACC that the Kimbanguist doctrine was performed, without entirely eradicating the two opposite conceptions inside Kimbanguism from its origins concerning the place of Simon Kimbangu in their dogmatic conception.

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[509] According to Perry (1984: 205), Simon Kimbangu initiated millenarian activities and by the wave of religious enthusiasm that he sparked, the movement became even more diversified and politicized in the absence of the original founder. Verging at the time on political eruption, these ngunzist movements provided a means of airing the tensions experienced from internal oppression. These movements, in the words of Burridge, were a 'new culture–in-the-making, or attempts to make a new kind of society or moral community'. Perhaps Simon Kimbangu himself is the only 'true' or 'authentic representation of his original and exclusively religious vision, but his followers saw that vision differently. For some it was clearly a message of internal liberation from witchcraft and all its ill effects. For others, he sent a message of hope amidst the anguish of physical illness, and yet others felt Simon's message was a messianic signal that a new order was about to erupt, an order that would bring them full political liberation. Thus, to speak of Kimbanguism as an exclusively religious phenomenon is to fail to understand its full redemptive value. It was a liberation that was necessarily at once cosmic-human, religious-political, personal-corporate, psychological-social. These were the components of the hero-imaging which thrust the personage of Simon Kimbangu to the fore and which awoke the soul of the Congolese, setting them on religious and political trajectories towards independence.

Indeed, according to Asch (1983: 93–179), there are two internal op-
posed faces or tendencies in Kimbanguism: the Official Kimbanguism
and the Kimbanguism of Kimbanguists. This opposition originates from
the spiritual role assumed by Kimbangu during his lifetime as a prophet.
In fact, is he a support of Africans next to Jesus[510] or an incarnation of
Holy Spirit? Apparently simple, but this main concept is fundamental,
because it reveals the veritable gap between Kimbanguists concerning,
on the one hand, the Christological-centrist orientations adopted by the
official reformist leader and on the other hand the majority of traditional
Kimbanguist adherents. Official Kimbanguism, which constitutes a
minority, but qualified as reformists who maintain that Kimbangu is a
support of Africans next to Jesus (see also Kilola Gayombo Mvaka
1990: 219). The Kimbanguism of Kimbanguists, which is the majority,
considers Kimbangu as the incarnation of Holy Spirit. The coexistence
of this contradictory conception of the spiritual role of Kimbangu still
leaves an unsolved question in the Kimbaguism of today. In my opinion
this question would be the pivotal source of the dogmatic conflict, and
the source of incomprehension between the actual Kimbanguist leader-
ship and the Ecumenical Community from the year 2001.

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[510] In the initial oral Kimbanguist theology lay the heart of its theology, the
problem of the absolute role of Jesus as Lord. In fact, remarks Martin (1975:
141), is Jesus Christ the absolute Lord in the teaching of the Kimbanguist
Church or does He have rivals in the person of Somon Kimbangu, regarded as a
messianic figure, or in the prophet's sons. It was said in Ngunzist circles that
'we prayed to God and He sent us in Simon Kimbangu a Saviour who belonged
to the black race. He is the Chief and Saviour of all the blacks and has in fact the
same authority as the saviours of other races, such as Moses, Jesus Christ, Mo-
hammed, and Buddha. God gave us Simon Kimbangu, who is to us as Moses is
to the Jews, Christ to the other races, and Mohammed to the Arabs. With this
comprehension the person of Simon Kimbangu is confused. He is considered
either a prophet, a messiah, a father (Tata), the ambassador of Christ, a great
example, the 'imitation of Christ', or an instrument of Christ (Martin 1975: 143–
145).

Nevertheless, Kimbanguist theology[511] maintained until 2001, that God is the sole creator of life and of the universe, the Trinitarian God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Concerning the Repentance and Confession, we can accept, asserts Undy (1979: 37–38), that the understanding of these two words is in total contradiction with the Kimbanguist conception of excommunication. The Kimbanguist Church cannot excommunicate anyone. It places those guilty of grave faults 'under discipline'. It believes too in the communion of Saints and the Kingdom of Heaven. Concerning the last, Kimbanguists do not agree that humanity is already living in the kingdom of God. The Kimbanguist baptismal practice is by prayer and imposition of the hand, and children are not baptized before reach the age of reason at around twelve years of age. Another element of Kimbanguist theology is the sense of generosity through 'joyful giving'. It consists of monthly contributions and big collections which assume the character of a festivity. The brass band or flute orchestra plays, the choirs sing, while groups are forming: groups of men, women, girls, boys, ministers, deacons, orderlies march forward in rhythmic steps to the sound of the music and the drums to bring offerings. Let us see now the Kimbanguist Church performed its theology through its contact with outsiders.

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[511] It is wise, observes Undy (1979: 24), that writers, whether theologians, sociologists or historians, have generally drawn no distinction between two connected but quite separate periods, the first extending from the birth of the Kimbanguist movement in 1921 to 1959, the second which began in 1959 and in which the movement was transformed into a church. However, argues MacCaffey (1969: 130), the EJCSK would like to publish some formal theological statements, not for internal use, but to disabuse outsiders of their misconceptions.

6.4.1.2 Trinitarian Kimbanguist theology

i. On God

According to Undy (1979: 25–26), Kimbanguist theology maintains that God is the sole creator of life and the universe. God is triune: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The trinitarian God is hierarchical in structure. The three persons in God act in perfect harmony and solidarity, none acts separately. Kimbanguist theology accepts the biblical statements about the creation of the world. It accepts the anteriority and superiority of the spiritual over the material, the spiritual nature of God, and the fact that the eternal or God Father commands his Son Jesus Christ to come to redeem humanity from sin.

ii. On Son: Jesus

Jesus Christ in obedient submission joyfully accepts his mission without any illusions about the inherent difficulties of such an enterprise, for He has to accomplish it both as God and as man. Jesus Christ instructs his disciples to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

iii. On Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit in turn recognizes and submits to the authority of Christ. Of Him, Jesus Christ says: 'But the Counsellor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you' (John 14, 26); 'When the Spirit of the truth comes, He will guide you into all the truth; for He will not speak on his own authority, but whatever He hears He will speak, and He will declare to you the things that are to come. He will glorify me, for He will take what is mine and declare it to you' (John 16, 13–14). The Holy Spirit for Kimbanguist theology is an actual

person, thinking and acting in the trinitarian dimension of God (Undy 1979: 28)

6.4.1.3 Kimbanguist Ecclesiology

From 1921 to 1959, notes Undy (1979: 24), Kimbanguists lived clandestinely without a structured organization, but from 1959, Kimbanguism became a structured church. For them, Simon Kimbangu is the examplary Christian who led them to discover Christ. By his ministry and action he has given them the living and irrefutable proof that Christ was not the exclusive redeemer of any particular people, but of the entire human race. That is why for them Kimbangu became as a sort of Simon of Cyrene who bore the cross of Christ. Therefore, Simon Kimbangu invites each of them, men and women, to bear their own cross and walk unflinchingly in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. However, Kimbanguist theology does not accept the view that humanity is already living in the kingdom of God, as certain Christian theologies maintain. For Kimbanguism, the kingdom of heaven is essentially celestial. For baptism, the Kimbanguist church baptizes by prayer and the imposition of hands. However, this church is convinced, remarks Undy (1979: 37), that God in Jesus Christ created new conditions in regard to baptism. Jesus did not baptize with water because He baptized with the Holy Spirit. In other words, for Kimbanguist theology Jesus marks both the end of the former practice of baptism with water and the coming of the era of baptism with the Holy Spirit. Children under 12 years are not baptized. Concerning Holy Communion, it must be remembered, argues Undy (p. 40) that the Kimbanguist church from its start in 1960 until 1965 encountered difficulty about celebrating communion, divergent tendencies due to the heterogeneity of its first believers, appeared over the question of knowing how and with what elements the sacrament of communion should be celebrated. After discussions and prayers, the following proposals were formulated and accepted unanimously: for the blood of Christ, diluted honey is to be used. This was John the Baptist's

food; for the Body of Christ, a cake made of potato, eggs, maize flour and green bananas. After the prayer of benediction, the honey and cake become in reality the Blood and the Body of Christ. To receive communion, for Kimbanguists, is very much more than to remember Christ; it is really and truly to eat and drink the Blood and the Body of the Lord. In order to underline the sacrosanct character of communion, the sacrament is celebrated only three times a year at dates carefully chosen by the Church because of their significance: 25 December, the feast of the Nativity; 12 October, anniversary of the death of Simon Kimbangu, and the 6 April, anniversary of the beginning of Simon Kimbangu's Christian ministry, and the occasion of the feast of Easter. The Kimbanguist Church finally, states Undy (1979: 46–62), respects the culture and identity of each human group, fulfilled civic obligations are required from the members, a strict moral code based on the ten commandments of God is observed, and it insists on solidarity, rejects polygamy, alcohol and smoking.

6.4.2 Kimbanguism and the WCC and AACC

According to Crane (1980: 91–93), the discovery by 'outsiders' of the Kimbanguists finally helped to break the impasse between them and other Christians in the Congo and to define its doctrine. In fact, by the mid-60s, there were few missionaries in the Congo who recognised the Kimbanguists as Christians, but it took visits to the Kimbanguists by representatives of the International Movement of the Reconciliation, the Swiss Moravian Church and the WCC to bring the issue of relationship out in the open. This step, however, involved problems, for it meant that the Kimbanguists were being launched into an international ecumenical orbit before relations with Christians in their country had been improved. In June 1968 the Kimbanguists applied for membership in the WCC, and their application was seconded by the Swiss Moravia Church. It had been hoped that the two member churches of the WCC in Congo

would back the application, but this would have opened up a painful debate over past history which neither was ready to undertake. Individual Congolese church leaders — among them the Rev. Jean Bokeleale, general secretary of the Protestant Council — supported the application both inside and outside the Congo, but at great personal risk to their position vis-à-vis the member churches of that council. On the basis of the report on Kimbanguism by Crane on behalf of the WCC, after two weeks' visit to the Congo in March 1969, the report became the principal document set before members of the WCC's Central Committee on 16 August 1969. The official branch of the Kimbanguist Church became, states Lion (2000: 570), the first Black African Independent Church to be accepted as a member of the WCC after it had clarified its dogma and liturgy and brought it into conformity with WWC dogma. Does the Kimbanguist Church perpetuate this basic theology that it performs from the ecumenical community?

6.5 Kimbanguism and its Trintarian Doctrinal Crisis (2001–)

6.5.1 Preliminary

The Kimbanguist Church, now named from 1990[512] *Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par son Envoyé Spécial Simon Kimbangu* - Church of Jesus Christ on earth through his Special Envoy Simon Kimbangu, remains one of the most famous and best known African Independent or African Instituted Churches. Since 2001, argue Balz and Nguapitshi (2005: 135), this Church went some years through a deep crisis linked to the doctrine of the Trinity developed inside it. In this Church, the persons of the Trinity are narrowly connected with the founder of that

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[512] From 1959 to 1990, it was designated as *Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par son Prophète Simon Kimbangu*.

Church and his family. These connections, which are due to the problems of leadership[513] and succession but more so, to new teachings concerning its founder (Simon Kimbangu) and his three sons from 2001, are made even more intense. The Kimbanguist Church seems to lose doctrinal conformity with the other churches in the world through that new evolution. Similarly, remarks Hoskins (2006: 299), after much thought, the Kimbanguist Church eventually settled on the doctrine that Simon Kimbangu is the 'Holy Spirit made flesh' and, as such, the Special Envoy of Christ. However, controversy was sparked when the late leader of the Church, Dialungana Kiangani, the only surviving son of Kimbangu, not only announced that he was Christ returned, but also moved the date of Christmas to 25 May, which happened to be his own birthday. On his death in 2001 he was in turn succeeded on 2 April 2001 by the oldest surviving grandchild of Simon Kimbangu, Simon Kimbangu Kiangani,[514] about whom it said that he was born in the same period as the death of his grandfather Simon Kimbangu (J Masamba ma Mpolo 2005). Consequently, the WCC, which in 1969 admitted the Kimbanguist Church, as the first among the African Independent Churches, as a

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[513] Since its official recognition as a Church, it was lead by the following spiritual leaders. Indeed, during the thirty years of imprisonment of Simon Kimbangu, this movement which had continued clandestinely regarded the wife of Kimbangu, Marie Muilu, as its leader until 1959. From this date, leadership went to Joseph Diangenda Kuntima, the founder's younger son till 1992 when he died. He was succeeded by his older brother Salomon Dialungana Kiangani who died in 2001 and was succeeded by his own son Simon Kimbangu Kiangani, the present *Chef Spirituel* who would be born the same date of the death of his grandfather Simon Kimbangu.

[514] According to Asch (1983: 18–19), Simon Kimbangu had three children: Kisolekele Daniel-Charles born on16 February 1914, Dialunguna Kiangani Salomon, born on 25 May 1916, and Diangenda Kuntima Joseph, born on 22 March 1918.

member, its annual Central Committee meeting[515] in August 2005 found no resolution after several meetings as to whether, and in which form, this membership would be suspended. Other WCC member Churches in the DRC – the ECC as well as the Catholic Church had already publicly declared the end of all ecumenical cooperation with the Kimbanguist Church. Mission 21, formerly known as the Basel Mission, which up to now gave full financial support to the Kimbanguist Faculty of Theology in Lutendele near Kinshasa, was still in serious discussion with the Faculty over its theological stand concerning the new official teachings. In a recent long letter of December 2004, notes Nguapitschi (2005: 136), to Basel, the Faculty terms the new beliefs as only 'symbolic', not 'dogmatic'. But it is cautious not to criticize them on a dogmatic level. Another position within the Faculty's teaching staff holds that the new doctrine is incompatible with the common Christian faith and also with Simon Kimbangu's and the earlier Kimbanguist Church's confession, is represented by Dr. Léon Nguapitshi Kayongo.[516] We would like to see

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[515] Before this meeting, the Committee of the WCC, ECC by its Executive Committee held in Kinshasa from August, 20–26, 2001, considered the Kimbanguist Church as a 'No Christian Church'. In response to this decision through his letter No 058/EJCSK/CS//12/2002, Simon Kimbangu Kiangani affirms the 'Simon Kimbangu is the God Holy Spirit.' Also through his letter No 0334/EJCSK/CS/01/12/2003 of June, 2003 by which Simon Kimbangu Kiangani, the Spiritual Leader of EJCSK sent to the General Secretary of WCC responding to his letter in which he asked the official point of view of the Trinitatian crisis inside their Church, said that, the Kimbanguist Church maintains its belief the Trinitarian God. But concerning the second and third persons of the Trinity and in accordance with the experience of Congolese Kimbanguist Christians and non-Kimbanguists, it shows that Dialungana Kiangani is Jesus Christ and Simon Kimbangu the Holy Spirit in accordance with the significance of his name which means 'who reveal hidden things.' Chimpa Vita in 1706 prophesied his birth.

[516] Until mid-2003, he was the Dean of the Lutendele Faculty, but then was not allowed to continue teaching systematic theology, and in April 2004 was dismissed as Dean of the Faculty by the present spiritual chief of the Kimbanguist

how Nguapitshi presents this actual doctrinal crisis as a new Trinitarian doctrine.

6.5.2 New Doctrine of Trinity

From its beginning, the essence of Kimbanguist theology was based on the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which Simon Kimbangu preached in 1921 and throughout his stay of thirty years in jail, without any falsification. However, instead of keeping the main tenets of its Christian faith, the Kimbanguist Church began to move away from these towards a confused religiosity, a popular faith which stepped outside the bounds of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and of accepted Christian faith. A new doctrine, argues Nguapitshi (2005: 138), is emerging, and it is based on an oral tradition that designates Papa Simon Kimbangu as God, the Holy Spirit, Papa Kisolekele Kukelo as God, the Father, Papa Dialungana Kiangani as Jesus Christ who has returned incognito in our times, while Papa Diangenda Kuntima was regarded as a second incarnation of his father Simon Kimbangu, that is, of the Holy Spirit. This inevitably caused disturbances within worldwide and ecumenical Christianity, because it introduces new names and African concepts into the handed down structure of the Trinity. That is what we will outline next in more detail.

Church, Simon Kimbangu Kiangani. Nguapitshi, teaching in another University in Kinshasa, and being supported by Mission 21, which theologically sides with him rather than with the present Faculty's official stand. Nguapitschi continued to work on the controversial issues and maintains that 'unlike Faculty, he clings to the handed down Christian confession and doctrine of the Trinity which cannot coexist with another only 'symbolic' teaching on a new incarnate Kimbanguist trinity of Simon Kimbangu together with his three sons. (Nguapitshi 2005: 137). Our point, which deals with new doctrines in the Kimbanguist Church, is largely inspired by his article.

6.5.2.1 Concerning God

Contrary to the use of the name of God in the Biblical Christian revelation, this name is now officially attributed to Simon Kimbangu who is the 'Holy Spirit', and to his three sons, who form together the 'incarnated trinity' on earth. Actually, the greater part of the Kimbanguist tradition says of Simon Kimbangu that his is God: *Tata Simon Kimbangu*: *NZAMBI*, 'Papa Simon Kimbangu is God.' Several hymns of the Church say that he is God. This is understood to correspond with the etymology of *Kimbangu*, derived from the noun in the Kikongo language *mbangudi*, 'the revealer, interpreter', and from the verb *bangula,* 'to reveal, to discover', in the same way as in Greek *apokalypsis* means revelation, derived from the verb *apocalyptein, 'to reveal, uncover'.* Hence, Kimbangu is the revealer of things hidden and veiled, he is *mbangula ya fika ya suekama*, and since the one who reveals secrets and makes then known can only be God, therefore, Simon Kimbangu is God. This is why his name was invoked from time immemorial, before he was born into the earthly family of Kuyela and Mama Luezi; and his name was further believed to give the soul to stillborn children. With this assumption, the Kimbanguist philosopher, P. Nzakimuena, went through the Biblical texts and substituted the name of Simon Kimbangu wherever it was written that God reveals the meaning of hidden things. He substituted the signifying by the signified, or the *definiens* by the *definiendum*, in order to obtain the following expressions:

1. 'So, I have said to Pharaoh, Kimbangu has made known to Pharaoh what he will do' (Gen. 41,28);
2. 'And Pharaoh said to Joseph: Since Kimbangu has made known to you these things, nobody is as intelligent and wise as you' (Gen 41,39);
3. 'Kimbangu will announce great things to you, hidden things which you do not know' (Jer 33, 3);

4.   'For the Lord Kimbangu does nothing without having revealed his secret to his servants the prophets' (Am 3,7);

5.   ' Kimbangu reveals what is deep and hidden, Kimbangu knows what is in the darkness, and the light stays with him' (Dan 2, 22);

6.   'Kimbangu of my fathers, I glorify and praise you because you have given me the wisdom and power of that which you, Kimbangu, have made known to me' (Dan 2, 23).

In the light of Nzakimuena's changes, we find Simon Kimbangu described in the Kimbanguist Bible as God, the Lord, the Everlasting one, the God of gods, the One who was, who is and who will be. This has become the conviction not only of Nzakimuena, but also of the majority of Kimbanguists. Nzakimuena went further and turned to the New Testament in order to maintain, still by substitution, that Simon Kimbangu, the Holy Spirit, is the author of the conception of Jesus, as it is read in Matt 1, 18–20: 'Mary his mother was betrothed with Joseph, and before they came together, she was found with child through the action of Simon Kimbangu, who is the Holy Spirit (Matt 1, 20). And likewise: 'The angel of the Lord told Joseph that the child Jesus who is conceived in Mary comes from Simon Kimbangu' (Matt 1, 20).

Here, the belief maintains that the Holy Spirit – who, by substitution, is Simon Kimbangu—is the real father of Jesus. He clearly explains: 'The Holy Spirit is the Father of Jesus. Jesus is the Son of God almighty. Therefore, Jesus is born both by the Holy Spirit and God almighty.' Popular knowledge and sophisticated scientific knowledge do not see things in the same way. Jesus does not have two fathers, neither in the Gospel, nor in the tradition of the Christian Church, and such an interpretation can only bring confusion into the minds of the believers. In ordinary Christian teaching we have learned that the Son of God comes from the Father through the Holy Spirit, and not directly from the Holy Spirit in the sense of having been caused by him. Surely, the Holy Spirit as *donum commune*, as the common gift of the Father and the Son, can

be said to remind ourselves that it was the Holy Spirit who received the mission to put the child into Saint Mary's womb. Nowhere in the New Testament has Jesus ever called the Holy Spirit 'his Father.' Furthermore, the concept of God receives another interpretation in the Kimbanguist Church, a meaning different from the traditional Biblical and Christian meaning as we have learnt it: that God is first and foremost eternal, without beginning or end; that he is therefore, not begotten, and that he is immortal. In the popular thought and current Kimbanguist teaching, however, God is no longer "not begotten, " because he has been born in the person Charles Kisolekele Lukelo. This is how the whole teaching about the first person of the Trinity is deeply changed, and if this is so for the first person of the Trinity, what then about the second person?

6.5.2.2 Concerning Jesus

Here the change has come firstly with the modification of the date of Christmas. The festival is no longer celebrated on December 25th, which is said to be only a conventional and symbolic date. Instead, since 1999, the 25th May has been declared as the real date of the birth of Jesus Christ of Nazareth. This new date for Christmas coincides with the date of birth of Simon Kimbangu's second son, Salomon Dialungana Kiangani, born on May 25, 1916. He was the guardian of the holy city of Nkamba-Jerusalem from 1958 until 1992 and then he was followed, as explained previously, by Joseph Diangenda Kuntima as the head of the Kimbanguist Church from 1992 until 2001. Shortly before his death on August 16, 2001, Kuntima was applauded as Jesus Christ who has come back incognito into our time. This happened after he declared at Nkamba that he was Jesus Christ for the world is looking. Since 1999, therefore, the birth of Christ is celebrated with splendour on each 25th of May as being Christmas in both Bethlehem and Nkamba-Jerusalem. Theatre plays are Eminence Dialungana Kiangani. The Christmas celebration begins with a night of prayer in all parishes, followed by a main worship

service at midnight and then by a morning service, to which the faithful
come together in a great and joyful procession, embellished by hymns
and the playing of flutes and trumpets. If today one speaks of Jesus
Christ in the Kimbanguist Church, one sees first and foremost the Christ
whom Simon Kimbangu has preached and shown to the crowds in
Nkamba as Lord and Saviour, but, in addition, His Eminence Dialun-
gana is meant to be his 'incarnation.' In the belief of the majority of the
Kimbanguists these two are not 'two different persons', but one and the
same person, since it is the same Jesus who has incarnated himself in
Dialungana. This is how the Kimbanguists argue in order to show that
they do not have 'two Jesus Christs' in their Christian belief, but only
one. In 2001, in the midst of the euphoria surrounding the Kimbanguist
Church's acclamation, Papa Dialungana Kiangani was proclaimed as
Jesus Christ who has come back incognito in our times. We intend to
turn to how the Holy Spirit is comprehended by the Kimbanguist
Church nowadays.

6.5.2.3 Concerning the Holy Spirit

The current Kimbanguist Church believes that at Pentecost in Jerusa-
lem it was only the power of the Spirit which came on the apostles; the
Holy Spirit himself was later born, or begotten, in 1887 as Simon
Kimbangu, and this represents the new Kimbanguist position on the
Holy Spirit. Before looking at this issue in depth, it is important to recall
the titles given to Simon Kimbangu. In fact, the etymological meaning
of his name, Simon Kimbangu, has been presented as *mbangi a Yesu*,
'witness of Jesus', *ngunza Nzambi,* prophet of God', *mvuala Yesu*, 'rep-
resentative of Jesus' authority', *nlogi a Yesu,* 'teacher of Jesus', *ntumwa
Yesu*, 'envoy of Jesus', *nsadisi,* 'helper, assistant, the one who helps or
comforts somebody', *nsadisi wa muanda velela,* or *nsadisi wa muanda
ludi,* 'helper, assistant of the Holy Spirit or of the Spirit of truth', and,
finally, *muanda velela* or *mpeve ya nlongo,* 'Holy Spirit.' These titles
went through an evolution that took them from being human to divine

titles, as if Simon Kimbangu himself had decided to reveal and make himself known progressively to the people to whom he had come to announce the good news of Jesus Christ. Just as the titles of Jesus are sung, so also are the titles of Simon Kimbangu sung in beautiful African melodies: the prophet, the witness, the assistant of the Holy Spirit and the Spirit of truth, the representative and teacher of Jesus, the envoy, the comforter, the Holy Spirit or the Spirit of Truth himself, and so on. What has caused this evolution of the doctrine of Simon Kimbangu, who was first seen by his Church as a servant of God or Christ, and then afterwards as 'God himself'? Did Simon Kimbangu during his ministry as a special envoy of Jesus Christ perhaps declare himself to be the Holy Spirit? This is difficult to say: Documented history only tells us a few things which could lead in this direction. However, the evolution from human to divine titles seems to have been favoured by the following seven facts:

1. The following question was put by Simon Kimbangu to the Belgian administrator G. Morel, who came for an enquiry to Nkamba village in 1921: 'Will you persecute the Holy Spirit? Is it pride which has brought you here?' There is no doubt that the work undertaken by Simon Kimbangu was the work of the Holy Spirit. It was known that the role of the Holy Spirit was closely linked with Simon Kimbangu's testimony, and the promise of the comfort in John 14,16f was cited in the sermons, prayers and hymns. Along these lines, it is conceivable that the question which Kimbangu asked of the Belgian administrator was understood by the later Kimbanguist Church to mean that he wanted to unveil himself as the Holy Spirit.

2. There is, notes Nguapitshi (2005: 146), Kimbangu's prophecy of 1910 that he would be born in 1918, which proved to be the year his youngest son was born. Later, this son was considered by his contemporaries and the Kimbanguist Church as 'Simon

Kimbangu returned', as his double, which in turn gave to Simon Kimbangu himself a stature not only more mysterious, but divine. This tradition is well attested in the history of Kimbanguism and did not meet with any internal contestation or critique. Joseph Diangenda Kuntima, who was himself concerned with the prophecy, talked of it to the crowds of the Church several times.

3. Simon Kimbangu's declaration about his father, who was glad to have brought into the world a very obedient and polite son admired by all, said that: 'before his father was, himself was.' This statement lead later Kimbanguists to convince themselves that Simon Kimbangu must have pre-existed as a spirit before being born into the world. This spirit was in the past invoked among the Bakongo, as shown above, to give life to stillborn children (Nguapitshi, p. 146.)

4. The phenomenon of 'Kimbanguphany' or the apparition of Simon Kimbangu induces present Kimbanguists to maintain and strongly believe that he is really living and resurrected. Therefore, he is seen in numerous apparitions until today. Indeed, it is true that in Christ one does not die. God is free to do with his true servants, even if they are dead, whatever he wants. If the Holy Spirit takes hold of a servant, he is no longer himself, but the spirit of God who is in him. At that moment, the servant has all the possibilities of doing great things: to predict, to prophesy, to read their sins in the faces of people, and to comfort them. This is what the Spirit did to the Virgin Mary, to Saint Francis of Assisi, to Saint Theresa of Avila. In the Old Testament he did so to prophets like Elijah, Moses and Isaiah. In some instances, the angel of Yahweh was Yahweh himself. All this is to say that Kimbangu actually received the exceptional gift of ubiquity. This very exceptional situation leads present Kimbanguists to confess

Simon Kimbangu as God, or as the Holy Spirit (Nguapitshi 2005: 146)

5. Kimbangu is compared with the biblical patriarchs, and particularly with Moses, a liberator of his people. This also lifts up his image of glory and situates him outside and above ordinary mortal men (Nguapitshi 2005: 147.)

6. A number of religious hymns also remind the believers that Simon Kimbangu was not only a prophet or envoy of Jesus, but the Holy Spirit. This view has finally been confirmed by the present Kimbanguist Church as its official teaching (Nguapitshi, 2005:147.

7. In 1987, at the centenary of Simon Kimbangu's birth, observes Nguapitshi (2005:147), Joseph Diangenda Kuntima asked the commission charged with organizing the centenary feast in Paris, to proclaim that Simon Kimbangu is the Holy Spirit. This centenary caused many changes, as the figure of the Holy Spirit gained ground at the expense of Christocentrism, which the Church had proclaimed until that date. One will see in this shift the prevalence of the inspired spoken word over pre-planned and programmed discourses. Therefore, it is now the divine nature of Simon Kimbangu which is proclaimed in the Kimbanguist Church.

To sum up, these are, put together, the facts which have contributed towards the unfolding of a new dogma of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, this perplexing doctrinal situation of Kimbanguism is qualified as a 'crisis' by Jean Masamba ma Mpolo,[517] who sees the problem in the Kimban-

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[517] This first Protestant doctor in theology, who is among the very learned Bakongo, was the former Dean of the Protestant Faculty of Kinshasa. Deputy President of ECC, he worked as an expert for the WCC at Geneva. Before he retired, he initiated the '*Université Protestante de Kimpese*'. He died in Decem-

guist Church as related to the cultural and historical background from which it emerged. In fact, if it were considered to be a heresy, its origin can be traced back to Kongo culture, where some signs of the belief in reincarnation exist. Indeed, every mukongo believes that someone is born in the order to replace the life and characteristics of somebody already dead in his family. In the case of Simon Kimbangu, there is the story that Kimpa Vita Beatrice had predicted his birth on the mount of Bangu, the native region of Kimbangu. It is also said that the fact that because the present Spiritual Chief of the Kimbaguist Church, Simon Kimbangu Kiangani, was born on the same day that his grandfather Simon Kimbangudied at Elisabethville in 1951, he is the reincarnation of his grandfather. Consequently, the Trinitarian crisis in the Kimbanguist Church consists of an attempt at recreating the incarnation of Jesus Christ in Simon Kimbangu and *ipso facto* the justification of his incarnation in Simon Kimbangu Kiangani. The Kimbanguists would fanatically withdraw into themselves and use their cultural background as an automatic defence concerning their present dogmatic reform. In the light of Jean Masamba ma Mpolo's point of view on the actual dogmatic crisis, it is, in our opinion, cause to wonder if this crisis could not be the external and visual expression of the perennial historical internal conception of the popular Kimbanguist, as Asch has noted. That conception consists of considering Simon Kimbangu as the Christ and the Spirit of God. Similarly, if we take into the account the declaration of Nduku-Fessau Badze (2004) on this crisis, he says: 'in our opinion it certainly constitutes a response to the crisis he explicitly declares the duplicity of language of the Kimbanguists and their leadership with their intention to be accepted in the Ecumenical Community. That duplicity of language

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ber 2006. What I write here is our last conversation with him through the interview concerning the actual Kimbanguist controversy, held at his house located in the Quartier Pompage, Avenue Kiaku no 9, Ngaliema Kinshasa, on 18 November 2005.

consisted of two forms: one for internal and another for external use. In the internal use Kimbangu is still considered as Christ. The second for external use or consummation consists of considering Kimbangu as prophet only. Nduku-Fessau Badze (2004: 10) recapitulates it as follows:

We can see that Kimbanguists, from the beginning, from the Spiritual chiefs up to simple adherents, always adopt double discourse that makes for ambiguity in Kimbanguism. Kimbanguists know that the Official discourse is reserved to external and addressed to White people in the purpose that they comprehend that Kimbanguists are really Christians. Simultaneously, the same Kimbanguist leaders adopt another discourse in the limited circle. So there is a discourse addressed to only internal Kimbanguists ('the people of the house'), and the discourse addressed to the external auditors ('the exterior people')[518].

To sum up, we can see that the reform of the basic doctrine on the grounds of which the Kimbanguist Church was incorporated into the Ecumenical Community in 1969, created the basis the spiritualleaders of the Kimbanguist Churh to reveal their real identity, which would otherwise have remained hidden for many years. Their position, indirectly, in our opinion must be their desire to expose previously hidden treachery. As mentioned above, we have to show how Simon Kimbangu was born, grew up, received his call and applied it, and how he died in prison as a

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117 This is our translation of the following French paragraph: '*On peut voir que les kimbanguistes, en commençant par les chefs spirituels jusqu'aux simples fidèles, ont toujours tenu un double discours, ce qui fait l'ambigüité du kimbanguisme. Ils savent que le discours officiel, dont on a parlé tout à l'heure, est réservé au monde extérieur, à faire entendre aux Blancs afin qu'ils comprennent que l'on est des chrétiens. Et simultanément, ces mêmes chefs tiennent un autre discours dans les cadres restreints. Il y a donc un discours réservé à ceux de la maison ('Bana ya ndako') et un discours pour les gens de l'extérieur ('Batu ya libanda').*

Baptist catechist. Nevertheless, he was sure that he had received from God a message for his people. His teaching after his death was the basis of the religious movement, which became later a great religious institution. Unfortunately, with the passing of time and with the influence of his descendents, certain elements of his doctrine were distorted and follow the example of certain practices which were accepted in those days. On the other hand, why is there this New Trinitarian Doctrine in the present Kimbanguist Church?

6.5.3 Justification of this New Kimbanguist Trinitarian Doctrine

Two elements constitute the main justification of the new Trinitarian doctrine in the present Kimbanguist Church: the deeds of the great Simon Kimbangu and his three sons are two linked causes.

6.5.3.1 The Great Deeds of Simon Kimbangu and his Three Sons

It is to be recalled that, generally, Kimbanguists see Simon Kimbangu as the true envoy of God. He has accomplished deeds of spiritual power which left both the Western missionaries and the Belgian colonial authorities in Central Africa perplexed. Likewise his three sons, who later built up the Kimbanguist Church, are recognized by the believers to have had extraordinary gifts and charisma. Such superior spirituality can only be found in personalities who have a deep faith in Christ, a great love of God and who show love for their fellow men and women and who hope in God's future. Simon Kimbangu and his three sons, who are equal to him in this respect, were really *pneumatophores* inhabited by the Holy Spirit. This gives them their importance in the history of African Christianity. The Spirit made them messengers of the Word of God in Africa and famous men who overcame many obstacles on their way. Kimbanguists therefore regard them as 'mystical personalities', once described by Albert Schweitzer, quoted here by Nguapitschi (2004:149), as 'human beings who see the separation between terrestrial

and supraterrestrial, the temporal and the eternal as overcome and who, while still living on the earth, have already entered into the supraterrestrial eternal world.' Such men have a complicated psychology, difficult to understand for normal men. This is the reason why the majority of the Kimbanguists today consider the three sons of Kimbangu without much hesitation as *Banzambe,* gods, or beings of divine nature. Actually, remarks Nguapitshi (2005: 149), Kimbanguists have raised their voices to claim them as gods descended on earth and have given them divine titles: Yahweh, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit, Saviour, Liberator and so on.

6.5.3.2 Causes of this New Kimbanguist Trinitarian Doctrine

This new doctrine of God, Jesus Christ and Holy Spirit that has emerged in the Kimbanguist Church is mostly due to the continuous presence of several causes, major and minor.

i. Major Causes

There are basically two causes that appear rather fundamental to us.

a. The need for a true knowledge of faith and of a theological theory in the wider framework of a method in Kimbanguist theology;

b. The well-founded and justified will and intention of Kimbanguists not only to repeat the theological formulations of the past and, in consequence, a desire to ask oneself what to do with the theological and cultural heritage of the West, and with the doctrine of the Trinity which is built on structures and abstract concepts which the indigenous and independent African Churches have great difficulties to assimilate. That is, in my opinion, the 'quest for novelty'.

ii. Minor Causes

These causes, explains Nguapitshi (2005: 150–153), number four-teen and are linked to the major causes: 1. a rather ideological interpretation of the acts of power performed by Simon Kimbangu and his three sons; 2. the lack of establishing an initial dogmatic, even if only elementary theology, in order to keep the orthodox Christian line as was sketched in Simon Kimbangu's own preaching; 3. the coming together in the Kimbanguist Church of *membra disjecta,* heterogeneous elements. Some of them came from Ngunzist or prophetic groups, which, even though they claimed the heritage of Simon Kimbangu, did not have the Bible as the centre of their religious preoccupation; 4. the fact that the first collaborators of the three sons of Kimbangu who helped in the erection of the Kimbanguist Church from 1957 until 1970, were former deacons and catechists coming from the missionary Churches and who had received a very cursory Biblical and theological education there. Their knowledge of the Scriptures, of Church History and Christian dogma was insufficient. The programme of the NkambaBibleSchool was weak; 5. the absence of catechetic instruction both to the children and to the adults, and Christian masses concerning the Bible, the faith, the religious history of Kimbanguism and Christianity'; 6. the marked but unjustified absence of professionally trained theologians in the groups of planning and decision making within the leadership of movements and associations, in evangelization, youth education, and so on; 7. the absence of ordained pastors and the existence of too great a number of pastors appointed off-hand, that is, pastors improperly trained at the intellectual and religious level; 8. a so far unexplained confusion existing between the history of the call of Simon Kimbangu on the one hand, and the traditional history of his people of origin, the Bakongo, on the other. The whole Christian history of the spiritual revival caused by Simon Kimbangu's preaching is thus reduced to beliefs that agree with traditional Bakongo religion; 9. the co-existence of two doctrinal faces,

one of which is evangelic and in accordance with the Gospel, and the other which is not. The former one is transmitted by the official faith as contained in the 'essence of Kimbanguist Theology' 1977, the latter is handed down by the popular faith; 10. the practice of an African Biblical exegesis of the existential type, which now is called 'exegesis within the Church. ' [519] This exegesis forgets about all other forms and grids of reading or exposition of texts which can help to safeguard their universal meaning; 11. a very pronounced misuse of the gift of inspiration of hymns in the Kimbanguist Church. God has exceptionally blessed the Kimbanguists with the particular gift of singing in unknown and foreign tongues, *glossolalia* and *xenoglossia,* and by putting into the mouths of some Kimbanguists who received the spiritual capacity for it, the songs of the angels from heaven. But then seeing the honour it brings upon a recipient of hymns inspired by God, many Kimbanguists started declaring themselves to be recipients and to compose hymns, the wording and themes of which unfortunately no longer agree with the Biblical message; 12. the lack of a commission for censure of hymns to combat any distortion of the contents of the Christian faith; 13. too much consideration is given to extra-Biblical revelation to the extent that it openly enters into competition with Biblical revelation, if not even sometimes into contradiction with it; 14. There is an obvious confusion in the African Independent churches between the founder of the respective movement and God, or with one of the three persons of the Trinity. Likewise, mere

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[519] In my opinion, because Kimbanguism incorporated some movements which have a political coloration as a political movement of liberation 'such as the 'Ngunzist movement', I have assumed that by Biblical exegesis of the existential type, which the Kimbanguist Church calls now 'exegesis within the Church', could be the expression of the actual Kimbanguist leadership to put to end to what Gifford calls (1998: 8–12, 44–47) the 'principle of Externality' in doctrinal matters. This theory consists of a negative view of the increasing dependence of Africans on Western powers.

analogy and identity are not clearly separated in the thinking of these churches.

In conclusion, the new Trinitarian Kimbanguist doctrine which is influenced by popular faith must be formulated, maintains Nguapitshi (2005: 153–154), in six following beliefs:

- Firstly, that God the Father has become flesh in Charles Kisolekele Lukelo, the oldest son of Simon Kimbangu;
- Secondly, that God the Son has become flesh again, incognito, in the person of Salomon Dialungana Kiangani, the second son of Simon Kimbangu, who was the leader of the Kimbanguist Church from 1992–2001;
- Thirdly, that God the Holy Spirit has 'taken on flesh' first in Simon Kimbangu, and then duplicated himself in his last son, Joseph Diangienda Kuntima, who was the *chef spirituel* of the Kimbanguist Church from 1957 to 1992, and once more in Simon Kimbangu Kiangani, the present Spiritual Leader, and so on;
- Fourthly, that the three sons of Simon Kimbangu, Charles Kisolekele Lukelo, Salomon Dialungana Kiangani and Joseph Diangienda Kuntima are 'gods' or 'God' in three persons, as it is often said in popular preaching;
- Fifthly, that the perennial presence of the Holy Spirit dwells in the human offspring, that is, in the biological descendants, of Simon Kimbangu;
- Sixthly, that Simon Kimbangu and his three sons form together the incarnate Trinity on earth.

If all these popular beliefs, notes Nguapitshi (2004: 154), are really made official in the Kimbanguist Church's teaching, this will widely open the road to a 'new religion.' It would then become either a non-Christian religion or a Christian sect which would no longer have the Holy Scriptures as its basis, but only as one book among other sacred

books which Kimbanguists will then agree to put in the place of the Bible alone, which Simon Kimbangu has bequeathed to us.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have to provide the necessary background essential to an understanding of the situation where Simon Kimbangu grew up and the movement which later claimed his paternity. This situation provides an intelligible frame of reference for understanding Kimbanguism in its full socio-historical, religious and political context. In fact, Simon Kimbangu was not a theologian, but a simple Catechist of the BMS. The movement which claimed later to be initiated by him in the Congo Belgian colony, became one of the most well known African Independent Churches. At its beginning, this movement did not have a written theology, but through its contact with the WCC and AACC, the Kimbanguist Church found itself compelled to elaborate its own doctrine. Moreover, from 2001, with strong interference from popular beliefs concerning the persons of Simon Kimbangu and of his three sons, there emerged a confused, unclear and distorted doctrine of Trinity. Until now, this doctrinal crisis remains unresolved. Would this be due to unconsciously incorporating a cultural idea into the original Christian Kimbanguist doctrine? [520] However, as the modern era is still characterized by the

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[520] Albert (2003: 106) notes that sometimes heresy originates from unconsciously incorporating cultural ideas and practices in to Christian faith. He formulates it as follows: *L'hétérodoxie tient à la fois des croyances d'âge ou d'origine différente, orthodoxie devenue hétérodoxie parfois, pratiques coutumières réinterprétées ou adoptées sans volonté de se situer en marge de l'Église. N'oublions pas enfin le cas, peut-être moins marginal qu'on aurait pu le croire, des traductions religieuses plus ou moins déviantes de problèmes psychologiques, qui peuvent aller jusqu'à produire des 'hérétiques malgré eux'.* It means: 'The heterodoxy considers at the same time believes of age or of different origin, that become sometimes heterodoxy, the reinterpreted customary habits or adopted without will of putting oneself on the fringe of the Church. Do not forget

eruption of many misguided Christian movements, and considering that
history, states Albert (2003: 15), serves the present - ('*L'histoire au
service du présent'*) — and that it is possible to become a heretic with-
out knowing it (Albert, 2003:106) owing to psychological problems, we
move now to examining how we would portray the initiators of these
false Christian movements in this modern era.

indeed the case, which would be less marginal that could be trusted, religious
translations more or les deviated of psychological problems, that must produce
'heretics against their will'.

7

TOWARDS A PORTRAIT
OF THE MODERN HERETIC
IN THE LIGHT OF JOHN OF DAMASCUS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will once more call to mind how John of Damascus would define a heretic, and applies this definition to the identity of the heretic in our time. In fact, Burgess notes (2005: 2), a heretic is an ordinary person and his nature is manifested in diverse ways. Could a contemporary heretical disposition be a consequence of what Saroglou (2003: 309) called 'historical relativity'[521] or a new religious 'global phenomenon' as Clarke (2006: VI) suggests? By analogy, Merlo (1997: 725) thinks that from a historical perspective of heresy and heretics, it is important to go beyond the theological vision and portray the heretic in a three dimensional way. This approach would fit with Lyman's view of the heretic (2007: 307–308) as someone who combines immoral charges (deceptive, unfaithful, duplicitous and promiscuous) with social violations (superstitious, elitist, social climbing, plagiarist, rebellious). Before

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[521] We owe this expression to Saroglou's research on how Greek Orthodoxy has faced the pluralist world and globalization. For him, via the effect of 'historical relativity', dogmas, beliefs, laws, customs, and rites are incarnated in history and their evolution varies according to historical, cultural, psychological and social determinisms.

sketching a heretic as a 'global reality', through a three dimensional approach (that is theological, psychological and sociological), let us first recall how John of Damascus viewed the heretic.

7.2 John of Damascus' Portrait of a Heretic

We have previously argued that for John of Damascus a heretic was any Christian who, by his will, adopts a personal opinion on the common faith which he intends to institute as sole truth. That intention sometimes leads him to leave his former faith. By deduction, there appears the element of the 'will' of the person who initiates a new Christian doctrine, but this will is expressed by a choice that he makes by placing his own interpretation on Scripture in order to legitimate his new ecclesiastical discipline or doctrine, which he will publicly defend with obstinacy. Below we illustrate how the notions[522] of wilful choice, personal opinion, common faith or orthodox tradition, and obstinacy, operated partially or totally in the case of Apartheid and Kimbanguism.

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[522] The notions of Will and obstinacy belong to the psychological area and refer to the theory of personality or the human mind. In fact, for Lewis (1963: 391), the term personality refers to those behaviors, usually human, that occur with relatively high frequency and which differentiate one individual from another. To Nash, Stoch & Harper (1990: 332), the concept of 'personality' has been defined as 'the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems which determine his (or her) unique adjustment to his (or her) environment'. This definition, argue these authors, is one of many and includes many useful concepts. In fact, the word 'dynamic' suggests the potential for development and change; 'psychophysical' stresses the unity of mind and body, 'determine' suggests the active part that we, as individuals, play through our relationships with other people and facing the challenge of the world. Concerning the term 'mind', psychologically speaking, asserts Uttal (1978: 201), is the totality of conscious and unconscious mental processes and activities of the organism, or an intellectual power or ability'.

7.3 The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid

To begin, we recall that the term 'Apartheid', as Cummings asserts (2006: 118), was introduced as a political term following the Second World War and drew its ideological roots from the Christian religion in the sense that the Boers who initiated it belonged to the Calvinist tradition. This tradition provided them with the doctrine of predestination as a justification for their political activities. The Boers came to believe that God brought them to Africa, assigned them the Afrikaans language and the task to spread the Christian religion there. They stressed white supremacy because they were a 'chosen people' with a divine mission to lead and civilize the African peoples. Consequently, in order to preserve the Afrikaner identity as a chosen people, mixing with other people was forbidden because God had given them the Promised Land (Ac 7, 45; 17, 26; Rom 11, 1–12).

It emerges from what is said above that the notion of the wilful choice of the initiators of Apartheid was manifested in their exegesis of the Biblical texts. It constituted the basis and justification of their theory. Their Puritan background encouraged the notion by which the thinkers and ideologues brought Afrikaners to believe in the view that they were God's 'chosen people' (Zorn 2003: 65–66) by 'divine privilege and calling' (Boesak 1976: 90), and 'election' (Jubber 1985: 275) in the same way as Biblical Israel (Penny 1988: 347). Serfontein, quoted by Jubber (1985: 282), describes how Apartheid was believed to be a 'God given policy.' Which is why, at least until 1950, Jubber assesses (1985: 282), the leadership of the Dutch Reformed Church, its Synodal decisions and study reports stated that Apartheid was directly derived from the Bible. Afrikaans Apartheid thinkers arrived at a theology of racial purity which gave birth to the negative cultural reforms of Apartheid. These were based, according to Jubber (1985: 276), upon extreme psychological and sociological bias and led them in the direction of institutionalised segregation.

The thinkers of the Dutch Reformed Church took a stance which unconsciously maintained that 'the Bible simply becomes an 'oracle book' of proof texts.' This renders them, in my opinion, 'libertine exegetes' who, by personal hermeneutics and exegesis, chose at the 1857[523] Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church Synod to elaborate and fanatically defend their ideology. It became, for them, the sole truth, and broke with the common orthodox tradition of the Apostolic era expressed in the teachings of most Christian churches and organisations in South Africa, and around the world, including such bodies as the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Southern African Council of Churches. Finally, from the standpoint of the heretical characteristic of obstinacy, the Dutch Reformed Church adopted and erroneously applied the views of the Nineteenth Century German missiologist, Gustav Warneck (1834–1910), in order to sustain their political and economic reform. This missionary posited the need to evangelize all people through their cultures. Sociologically speaking, their notion of social reform was, in my view, negative, and based on the quest to maintain purity of race, customs, ethnicity, faith, and economic development by prohibiting racially mixed marriages and promoting the homelands policy (the Bantustans).

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[523] According to Jubber (1985: 280–281), this historical Synod marked the point at which the racial prejudices, material interests and petty rationalisations of the majority of white church members finally triumphed over the universalistic and other-worldly tendencies of the Church. The main decision is worth quoting in full: 'Synod considers it desirable and in accordance with Scripture that our heathen converts should be received and incorporated into existing congregations wherever possible; but where this practice, because of the weakness of some, constitutes an obstacle to the advancement of Christ's cause among the heathen, congregations formed or to be formed from heathen converts should be given the opportunity to enjoy their Christian privileges in a separate building or institution. '

7.4 Kimbanguism

In the case of Kimbanguism, the heretical characteristic of wilful choice is likewise reflected in the doctrines put forward by the leadership of Kimbanguism since 2001. This religious leadership, in our opinion, probably unwittingly, misused the notion of hierarchical power and the Bakongo cosmology to justify, on the basis of the Christian tradition and the Bible, the tenets of their Trinitarian doctrine. Indeed, this wilful choice is expressed through the free, culturally-based hermeneutics elaborated by Nzakimuena. In fact, we have already mentioned how on the basis of philosophical exegesis, Nzakimuena reinterpreted the biblical texts and substituted[524] the name of Kimbangu for the name of God in the Old Testament. In the Kikongo tradition, the name of Kimbangu means 'one who reveals hidden things.' Nzakimuena applied the same exegesis in the New Testament by substituting the title of Holy Spirit with the name of Simon Kimbangu, as the author of the conception of Jesus, as it written in Matthew 1, 18–20.

Apart from the substitutions mentioned above, the Kimbanguist leadership argues that the three sons of Simon Kimbangu are special creatures: '*Ba Nzambi baye na nse'* (the gods come on earth). This conception, based on Kongo folk theology, constitutes the basis of the quest for purity which is conferred on the sons of Simon Kimbangu who are now considered as the 'trinity on earth.' It is clear that this heresy is initiated by the church leadership which purports to introduce dogmatic and ecclesiastic reform by way of cultural reform.

What inspired the Kimbanguist leaders to make this interpretation? An obvious response to this question is provided by Blake (1978: 521), who argues that 'there are often delusions of grandeur, where individuals insist they are Jesus Christ, Napoleon, or some other powerful figure.'

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[524] Gen. 41,28; 41,39; Jer 33,3; Am 3,7; Da 2,22–23.

In summary, the notions of wilful choice, freedom of opinion on the basis of exegesis and hermeneutics, obstinacy, obsession and fanaticism, and cultural reform are present both in Apartheid and Kimbanguism. Let us now turn to what the heretic in modern times looks like.

7.5 Modern Portrait of a Heretic

In taking into account the elements of will by the libertine interpretation of the Biblical canon, of obstinacy or fanaticism, as a source of social disorder, which elements belonged successively to theology and to the psychological study of personality, we will, by deduction and analogy define a modern heretic in terms of three dimensions: that is to say theologically, psychologically and sociologically.

7.5.1 From the Theological Viewpoint: A Libertine Exegete

It is important to note that, in our opinion, to define a heretic theologically has primarily to do with free will. It is determined by his 'type of exegesis', which may take the form of illumination or private inspiration, or by personal perceptions caused by his aspirations, anxieties and frustrations.[525]

7.5.2 From the Psychological Viewpoint

We note, according to Le Boulluec (1985/2: 414–15), that the first attempt to portray the psychology of the heretic was by Clement of Al-

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[525] Both Apartheid and Kimbanguism are the outcome of frustration. Indeed, it known that when the Afrikaners were defeated and incorporated into the British Empire, they sought to preserve their national identity by elaborating the Biblical basis of their nationalism. For Kimbanguism, the initiative of its leadership could be viewed as the revalorization of the merits of Kimbanguism and a way to end the 'religious externality' of an imported religion.

exandria. He specifies that the heretic suffers from self-importance or arrogance, obstinacy,[526] and negligence. That is why a heretic is unable to hear what is useful and agreeable. He is accused of acting contrary to nature and of generating soul sickness. By analogy with a Fundamentalist person, as psychologically and psychiatrically defined by Müller-Fahrenholz (1992: 25–33) and Hole (1992: 35–49) respectively it is tempting to classify the heretic as a dogmatic and fanatical person.

7.5.2.1 A Narrow-Minded Dogmatic Person

In general, Hole (1992: 36) defines a dogmatic attitude as a systematic construction by which a person makes argumentative defence of a virtue or of a commitment to a doctrine. The following elements characterize a dogmatic attitude: clarity, creation of standards, authority, and defence. By deduction, a heretic becomes a dogmatic person who energetically and ingeniously defends an idea or a doctrine that he believes to be true.

7.5.2.2 A Blind Fanatic

Fanaticism,[527] remarks Hole (1992: 36–37), is the extraordinary intensity with which a person pursues and accomplishes a commitment or

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[526] According to Clement of Alexandria who struggled against the disciples of Valentines, Marcion, Basilid, and other Gnostics, another aspect of the obstinacy of the heretic is situated in the boundary between brainstorm (*paranoia)* and reason (see A Le Boulluec 1985/2: 419).

[527] According to Hole (1992: 41), this word belongs to the religious domain and is derived from the word *fas* or *fes* which means 'religious act.' Thus, the word '*fanaticus*' designates who moves to *fanum*, the holy place, to which was connected the ecstasy on the temple. Consequently, *fanaticus* designated a person who was lead by the divine *fluor* (divine light). In early Christianity, all the pagan priests and servants were called *fanatici* (fanatic), and then, by projection, this denomination was used for every stranger religious group. It was two hundred years before the word 'fanatic' came to designate 'the intensity of taking positions and adopting certain manners or behaviours.' Moreover, as a type of

an 'overvalued' idea, and at the same time, that person will be incapable of self-criticism, and will in a projective way reject all opposing opinions. A fanatical mind is characterized by wanting the recognition of oneself by others, the aggressive will to attain or to reach a certain goal, absolute validity, and logic. Moreover, notes Hole (1992: 42–43), the fanatic sustains with force a religious idea or a position and he does not allow any other alternative. For him, that idea or position must be imposed on and applied with harshness to everybody. Finally, Hole (1992: 44) distinguishes two sorts of fanatics: silent or passive, and active or expansive (of ideas). Of the first category, we find it in the behaviour, for instance, of vegetarians, researchers, persons who do not like injection or vaccination, and adherents of sects. In the second category, we find a person with the following characteristics: a strong impulse and an activity in which the whole person is involved, a great need to be valued and who sometimes has the weakness of feeling shame or self-pity without sensibility, which leads the person to be incapable of having a relationship with people who do not agree with his opinion. Thus, it appears important to describe what a heretic is sociologically.

7.5.3 From the Sociological Viewpoint: a Cultural Reformer

In his attempt to convert everybody to his point of view, a heretic may be considered as a cultural reformer. However, his attempt could sometimes be either incorporated into or rejected by the majority or the minority of concerned people, or if we adhere to the synthesis suggested by Trimingham (1990: 207) we have to conclude, as he does, that the encounter of Christianity with the Syrian and Mesopotamian cultures changed those societies *and* Christianity. He argues as follows:

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personality, the fanatic mind belongs to the psychiatric domain. It occupies the extreme ends of the register of 'normal-abnormal.' Similarly, the fanatic mind is more a problem of typical structures of personality and not a problem of sickness.

'…Society changed, it is true, when people adopted Christianity, but it changed in accordance with its own inner laws: these dictated what Christian elements were to be rejected, or assimilated, or transformed. People are especially resistant to change in psychological attitudes;thus, interpretation of Christian ritual may be influenced by inherited sacrificial ideas. Interpretation has many dimensions, but the one we tend to overlook persistently is the interpretation of the Gospel as expressed in the life of the community. Religious change must not be seen in terms of incorporation, rejection, or subtraction, but in dynamic terms of a living society writhing under the pressure of new inner forces, and moving towards a new synthesis.'

In the light of this argument we can see how the initiators of Apartheid and of the current Trinitarian crisis in Kimbanguism from 2001 could be drawn into heresy and possess the characteristics of the heretic.

Firstly, the Afrikaners were Christians. Unfortunately, by their obsessive and popular piety they became libertine exegetes of Biblical texts in order to justify a mistaken Christian model for the reform of Church and State. Secondly, as Godin comments (1994: 670), sometimes these misguided, even bad, leaders of the Church's behaviour can be seen heretics. The Kimbanguist leadership, in their search for cultural Christian reform, have applied the folk exegesis which is not in conformity with Biblical hermeneutics. This leadership, until now, adopts, in my opinion, a fanatic disposition which does not allow it to sustain the ecumenical and orthodox basis of the Trinity.

7.6. Conclusion

This brief chapter examines how John of Damascus' view operates in the portrayal of heresy and the heretic. It is applicable to modern attempts to identify the heretic. This attempt takes into account the in-

terdisciplinary approach. At this point, it would appear that the modern heretic is a fluid personality and is a hydra-like phenomenon with a 'global reality.' In fact, we have to define the heretic theologically, for example, he may be a fervent Christian layman or minister who as a libertine exegete, who, by his own hermeneutics or by special illumination, freely interprets Biblical texts without following the established hermeneutical canons. Psychologically, he assumes some of the behaviours of the fanatic. Sociologically, he could be seen by his followers as a cultural reformer. Furthermore, as the leader of a community, he becomes the principal thinker. With this status he could be what Pallade calls (1999:56) 'ὑλομανησάντων', a botanical term which means literally the development, and the anarchic growth, of a plant which is placed in abnormal conditions. By this name, Pallade wants to stigmatize any thinker who puts all his intellectual capacity into writing and elaborating his theory, not for edifying the reader, but for the satisfaction of his own vanity or self- pride. Finally, in our view, Apartheid and Kimbanguism strike at the foundations of the Christian orthodoxy. This Christian orthodox tradition or common faith, argues Eliade (1978: 378), may be summed up into four main elements: fidelity to the Old Testament and the Apostolic tradition as attested by the documents, resistance to the excesses of mythological imagination, reverence for systematic thought, and the importance placed upon social and political institutions.

8

FINAL CONCLUDING REMARKS

After focusing our attention successively on the relevance of our topic, defining the research process and certain keywords, we now undertake briefly to review the main findings of our study.

Indeed, as said above, Church History could not be written without the participation of certain zealous and fervent Christian writers who lived during the first centuries of the Christian Church, namely, 'the Church Fathers.' The expression 'Church Fathers' does not denote writers who enjoy a personal reputation, but bishops who enjoyed authority derived from their office and function. That is to say, they are the Church Fathers in that they were the witnesses of the common faith of the Church. Defined as 'the elaborators of the orthodox faith', the Church Fathers are indispensable to current Church historians who may make recourse to them to shed light on several challenges faced by the modern Church and to help resolve them. In addition, a major question which preoccupied the Church Fathers was the appearance and development of false Christian teachings or heresies. In fact, states Robinson (2005: 3929), the term *heresy* carries the weight of two millennia of Christian use. It is used less often now, as the Christian church has come to recognize the shifting boundaries of orthodoxy over the ages and the excesses that the regulation of belief has fostered. Increasingly, the tendency has been to expand the inside and to admit a wider pluralism within the boundaries of authentic Christianity.

The devastating religious wars of the 1600s, the relativizing influences of the Enlightenment of the 1700s, the ecumenical efforts of the 1800s and 1900s, and modern scholarly reconstruction of the earliest Christianity have led many Christian groups to emphasize their commonalities rather than the differences among Christian communities. The positions espoused by the World Council of Churches, founded in 1948, and by Vatican II (1962–1965), reflect these new attitudes. In the modern period, heresy is out of vogue, but that does not mean that it has disappeared. Without broad social consensus, the charge of heresy is neither effective nor feared; it brings no legal jeopardy and little, if any, social stigma. In this context, Christianity struggles to maintain a balance between absolute relativity, where concepts of truth and error have little substance, and dogmatic certitude, which has a tainted past.

In addition, the word heresy is the transliteration of the Greek word *hairesis* and etymologically speaking means 'choice.' Its use in the pejorative sense in the Christian area is, according to Le Boulluec (1985: 550–551), the combination of borrowing the Hellenic 'heresiography', Jewish and Christian 'false prophets', who were inspired by the demonic mind. In fact, for all Christians, deviation from Scripture is heresy, although such deviation depends on the type of exegesis involved (Kelly 1994: 375). Consequently, 'a heretic is one who deviates from the teaching of the Church and so is in danger of being cut off from the Church' (Kelly: 375). Secondly, because heresy is a denial of an accepted Christian doctrine, it has the potential to affect not only the individual, but all society, and that is why it is important to study it historically.

From the second chapter, which is focused on the historical overview of heresy, we raise the following main insights. Firstly, we notice that during the whole of Church history, there is no heretical vacuum. Any religious family or system of thought has its own heretics. Secondly, heresy is a Christian deviation and 'spiritual aberration' or 'bad theology' which is expressed through a struggle between Christian believers.

By definition, 'heresy' is a 'choice in religious matters, whereby some aspects of truth were stressed at the expense of others, or alien beliefs grafted upon the whole body of Christian truth' (Deanesly 1976: 215). Therefore heresy is a product of the Devil — 'a snare of the devil' (Wand 1955: 9), and a product of fallen human nature. Moreover, a heretic could be a layperson, a member of the clergy — priest/bishop — or a political leader. In the case of Apartheid, both laymen and ministers were involved in its growth. Similarly, the religious leaders who succeeded Simon Kimbangu initiated the distortion of their doctrine.

Thirdly, the birth, spread and growth of heresy are due in large part to the psychology of its originator. Fourthly, heresy is a wound in the Christian Church which must be cured from within the church. Here, the case of Apartheid is revealing. Moreover, the heresy would sometimes have the connotation of a case of Social Christian history, which always provokes reactions against it, both peaceful and coercive.

The struggle against Apartheid was initiated within the South African Christian leadership, which denounced it as blasphemy and contrary to the practice of divine love and justice. Lastly, heresies are thus, observes Brown (1984), the formal story of the Church's quest, of many wrong turnings, deceptions, and disappointments, and perhaps – as we hope – of discovery as well.

John of Damascus in his fight against Iconoclasm is cited as being 'the most eminent orthodox theologian since the Cappadocian Fathers' (Brown 1984: 213). He was declared a Saint and doctor of the Church by the edict of August 19th 1890 by Pope Leo XIII. In fact, John of Damascus was a prolific Christian writer against Christian deviations for the purpose of maintaining the Orthodox faith intact. He considered any Christian who, by his will, adopts a personal opinion on the common faith which he intends to institute as the sole truth as a heretic.

The second part of our research was focused on two case studies of heretical movements in modern times. We have dealt with the following

heresies: the Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid, and the Trinitarian controversy in the Kimbanguist Church. Lastly, an attempt was made to draw the portrait of a modern heretic. In the light of these seven chapters we obtained the following key insights.

- Firstly, modernism which legitimates the complete liberty and tolerance of all thought (with some exceptions) has, in our opinion, constituted the forerunner of what must be held as heresy in modern times.

- Secondly, from the Aubert's advice, it would be wise for any Christian thinker of any age to take time to quantify the relevant positive contribution of his thought [528] in order to safeguard Christian Orthodoxy and to verify if his thought may be a source of heresy, because, it is possible to become a professed heretic without knowing it.

- Thirdly, the current controversy in Kimbanguismin the Democratic Republic of Congo must be, in our opinion, a visible case of unconsciously incorporating cultural ideas and practices into the Christian faith in a way that perverts it.

- Fourthly, to prevent heresy in modern times, a revolution of the Christian mentality is needed. Empathy and love must be the basis of the Christian mentality that takes into account the Waldenfels's wise advice about the role of theological communication in a contemporary era. The following statement by Waldenfelds is applicable to theologians, or any Christian thinker: 'where there

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[528] For Pallade d'Hélénopolis (1999: 56), three types of reasons lead persons to write: 1. There are those who write because they received from God the charism of writing for the purpose of edifying the faith of their co-religious adherents; 2. Those who write from a defective intention, and look for vain glory; or, 3. others, who are in the power of the devil, and adopt crazed Christian opinions in opposition to the holy life in order to corrupt the faith of Christians who are immature. In our opinion, heretical thinkers may be designated as those who write or think in accordance with these last two purposes.

is contradiction, oppose it with apologetics, where there is in-comprehension, oppose it with hermeneutics, and where there is inattentiveness oppose it with the dialogic or dialogical' (Wal-denfels 1985: 96–98). On the other hand, those persons who un-wittingly had already 'deified their free liberty[529] of thinking' by assuming that all they say is true, would expect and accept any way by which the Holy Spirit wanted to re-educate them.

- Fifthly, considering that history serves the present - ('*L'histoire au service du présent'*) — argues Aubert (2003: 15), and consid-ering the possibility that one may unknowingly become a heretic, remarks Aubert (2003:106), for psychological reasons, it is im-portant for any Christian thinker to ensure his thoughts do not lead to heresy.

Finally, the seventh chapter shows that the heretic is a 'global reali-ty' who can be defined in three ways. Theologically, he is a libertine exegete that uses what Newman (1966:12), calls 'deluded spiritual exe-geses.' Psychologically, he presents certain characteristics of a dogmatic and fanatical person. Sociologically, he must play the role of a cultural reformer.

In the light of all we have said above, let us now turn to the formula-tion of the following considerations which now come to mind:

Heretics in general are the product of the Christian Church. They elaborate their doctrines on the basis of their own exegesis and herme-neutics. Also they are very pious and fervent Christians from all walks of life—laymen, laywomen, ministers, leaders and learned scholars.

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[529] In his impressive and documented article Resweber (1992: 178–179) deals with the ambivalence between revealed truth and human liberty. This scholar specifies, on the one hand, that even if liberty is the fundamental power of the human, the Word of God shows to the human the future of his liberty to light. And in the other hand, the Spirit of God tells to the human the way of his liberty.

By applying the notion of religious pluralism and relativism, and the notion of freedom of thought and opinion applied in contemporary thought, the modern thinker is free to openly state that a certain Christian opinion is 'deviant' or heretical. He can do that by following what Newman (1966: 12), called 'diluted spiritual exegeses. '

Through his study on 'Science and Wisdom', Moltmann (2003: 24–29), one of the world's foremost religious thinkers of the Twentieth Century, 'looks for wisdom to guide our scientific and religious future.' Nevertheless, without becoming like the ancient Roman God, *Janus*,[530] who was represented by a double–faced head, one must master the past and predict the future. Christian historians, by their knowledge, should take the opportunity to show to their contemporaries the origin of any pretended Christian deviation in order to restore the Orthodox Christian faith.

A heretic would be what Marty (1992:18) calls 'a person who detains concomitanlty a variety of points of views, which he expresses differently according to the circumstances', or what Walter Lippmann, an American *pandit*, called '*les acides de modernité*'- 'the acids of modernity'- (Marty 1992: 22), or what J. Lipton likens to an 'expression of numbness' which is due to stresses caused by unbearable conditions of life (Müler-Fahrenholz 1992:31).

As a methodology to curing heretical erosion it would be wise to use 'empathy, comprehension, and confidence' simply because it is not easy to fight against heretics (Müler-Fahrenholz (1992: 33) who, notes Hole (1992: 44), are fanatics and protect their ideas or doctrines, and beliefs with an unwavering conviction.

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[530] For more detailed information on this Roman divinity, see M. Meslin (1993) 'Janus' in P. Poupard (dir.) *Dictionnaire des religions vol. 1: édition revue et augmentée,* Paris, Puf, p. 1002–1003; JE Safra, CS Yannias, JE Goulka, (eds.) (1998) 'Janus' in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* vol. 6: Micropædia. Ready Reference, p. 496.

Furthermore, in the New Testament, the following words and expressions are used to qualify Christian deviations: 'false prophets—лσευδο πρφηται', 'savage wolves—γυκοι βαρεις'; 'spirit of error—ενεργιαυ πλαυησ', or 'πνεμα της πλανη'; 'factions—σχισματα or αιρεσεις'; 'nicolatians—υικολαιτωυ'; 'the false teachers—ψσευδοδισκαλοι' and 'liars –ψευδεις. '

However, the modern heretical mind could not be likened to what Fœssel calls different thinking on the relations of the Unique (Un) and the Multiple (*Multiple*) (see M Fœssel, 2007: 344–360)? In fact, we immediately wonder if heretics could not be the forerunner of what André Glucksmann predicted recently as '*La troisième mort de Dieu*'[531] (The Third Death of God), and in our opinion, the death of the Christian Orthodox faith or 'the growth of atheism and agnosticism' as Hugh Mc Leod[532] stresses it. Could modern heresy, in our view, be due to the cult of 'the new' ('the syndrome of novelty')[533]. That is why 'the healing of the minds of contemporary intellectuals' is a cure for heretical behaviour' (see *Christian News*, May 2006–06–02, p. 1).

Moreover, does the emergence of heretics, lead to what Sesboüé calls 'the innovation which became perversion' (l'innovation a été une

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[531] See A. Glucksmann (2000) *La troisième mort de Dieu,* Paris, Nil Edition, passim cited by E. Poulat (2005) *La question religieuse et ses turbulences au XXé siècle. Trois générations de catholiques en France,* Paris, Berg International, p. 24. Indeed, to Glucksmann, the two previously supposed deaths of God were pronounced successively at Golgotha and by Nietzsche.

[532] Hugh McLeod (2006) 'The Crisis of Christianity in the West: entering a post-Christian era?' in Hugh McLeod (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity* vol. 9*: World Christianities c. 1914–2000,* Cambridge, U. K, Cambridge University Press, p. 332. Moreover, remarks B Plongeron (1997: 299), 'modernity is the infant of revolutions' (la modernité, enfant des revolutions) in the sense that religion would simultaneously be the foundation and ultimately the proof of the social link.

[533] Heretics argues Wilken (1971: 65), are those'who through a passion for innovation have wandered as far possible from the truth. '

perversion) (Sesboüé 2000: 42), which in our times, presents certain danger for the survival of the Christian Orthodox faith?

Lastly, in our opinion, the best attempt at portraying the contemporary heretic could only be done by borrowing insights from interdisciplinary studies such as the New Testament, Psychology, Sociology, and Psychiatry.

Nevertheless, in our view, it may be presumed that the cult of 'the new' ('syndrome of novelty') whereby everything conforms to the pulse of advertising, would be considered as one of the main sources of modern heresy.

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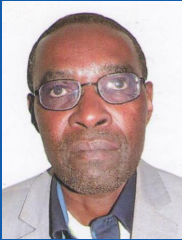*This is only selection of our latest publications, to view our full collection please visit:*

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John of Damascus and Heresy
A Basis for Understanding Modern Heresy

Timothee B. Mushagalusa

was born on May 12, 1961 at Nshonga, South Kivu in D. R. Congo. He completed his doctoral studies at University of South Africa-(UNISA) in 2008 in Church History after his sojourn of studies and research at Faculté autonome de Genève. He still teaching Church History at ULPGL and works as a pastor in Baptist Church (CBCA).

This study investigates the understanding of heresy and the heretic according to Saint John of Damascus. For him, a heretic was any Christian who, by wilful choice, departs from the one orthodox tradition by adopting a personal opinion on the common faith which he intends to institute as sole truth. Our research is divided into two parts and aims to apply John of Damascus' understanding of the recurring identity of the Christian heretic and his behaviour.

By using historical-theological, interdisciplinary and diachronical approaches, the author demonstrates through two case studies, namely, the Dutch Reformed Churches and Apartheid, and Kimbanguism, that this Church Father, who is the 'seal of the patristic era,' remains a relevant authority for our comprehension of heresy and the heretic.

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