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FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

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**THE SOTERIOLOGY OF
SAINT ATHANASIUS OF
ALEXANDRIA
THE CONFORMATION OF
THE CHRISTIAN TO CHRIST**

Extract of the Doctoral Dissertation presented in the School of Theology
of the University of Navarre

PAMPLONA

1992



Ad normam Statutorum Facultatis Theologiae Universitatis
Navarrensis, perlegimus et adprobavimus

Pampilonae, die 1 mensis septembris anni 1992

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Coram Tribunali, die 21 mensis junii anni 1992, hanc
dissertationem ad Lauream Candidatus palam defendit

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Excerpta e Dissertationibus in Sacra Theologia
Vol. XXII n. 3



PREFACE

Athanasius of Alexandria is an important transition figure in the Patristic period especially with respect to Christology. His seminal work in defense of Christ's divinity came to form the nucleus for an organized body of doctrine on the mystery of Jesus Christ¹. The purpose of our investigation is to analyze the concepts of divinization and spiritualization in the nascent theology of Athanasius. Even a cursory scan of the literature reveals that we certainly are not the first ones to delve into the topic. What is of special interest to us is his soteriologic perspective of man's redemption, namely, that Our Lord must be divine because he can divinize us². The *status quaestionis* on divinization in Athanasius is difficult to summarize because studies on the topic are so varied. Most authors have addressed a broad spectrum of themes in an attempt to analyze important factors in the process. The principal purpose of this work was not to study divinization *per se*, but rather to create a body of Christological concepts including the essential elements of his theological defense of Christ's divinity.

Athanasius has been studied from the point of view of his anthropology³, his perception of creation⁴, and the Christian asceticism in the famous *Vita Antonii*⁵. There is an abundant literature on his symbolic and metaphoric expressions⁶, his pneumatology⁷, Christology⁸ and ecclesiology⁹. Although this is only a representative sample of a few noteworthy scientific articles, it does give us an idea of the diversity of subjects Athanasius dealt with and the profound influence he had on theological thought. All of these areas provide interesting and valuable contributions to our understanding of Athanasian theology. However, I believe that a more synthetic vision of his doctrine on divinization and the spiritualization of man by the Holy Spirit is of particular interest. Therefore, I have attempted to analyze several of Athanasius' treatises with the intention of articulating these disparate subjects in a partial synthesis of his

theological system. This has been an effort to penetrate his own mind and interpret what underlying concept he entertained concerning Christ and soteriology.

The principal sources used to elaborate this project were volumes 25-27 of J.P. Migne's *Patrologiae Graecae*. I also consulted other patristic sources such as the *Patres Apostolicae* of X. Funk and G.-H. Opitz's *Athanasius Werke*. In addition, a very valuable series of secondary sources, English and French translations of Athanasius' works, enabled me to search for interesting passages. This directed our attention to the critical editions where we have directly analyzed the Greek text on several occasions. One of the most valuable of the translated works was A. Robertson's edition of Athanasius' principal works. The English translation of that was in large part the fruit of J.H. Newman's reading of Athanasius' works. R.W. Thomson's *Contra gentes-De incarnatione Verbi* has also been helpful to us during the course of this project.

Our method was designed to center upon several central ideas or themes that could serve as points of contact with Athanasius' theology. For example, we identify some important fundamental notions of Christology which demonstrate the importance of Athanasius as an initiator of the systematization of that discipline. Another approach that has proved useful was to study key events in the history of salvation such as the original state of Adam, original sin, the fall, and so forth. More concretely, I have selected a large number of verses from Athanasius' most important works: *Contra gentes-De incarnatione Verbi*, *Contra arianos* and the *Epistolae ad Serapionem* in order to analyze his soteriologic system. We occasionally present a more literal translation of verses when it provides an interesting insight into his original thought.

The original dissertation was divided into five chapters and an epilogue. Chapter One discusses the original condition of Adam prior to the Fall as a contemplative soul gifted with a special grace and power by God. His contemplation was directed toward the Word as the point of union with the Godhead. However, this activity was also directed toward self-knowledge, or knowledge of God in the soul. Since man was created in the image and likeness of the *Logos*, he could discover God's presence in

himself as if looking in a mirror. Chapter Two describes original sin from several different perspectives. *First*, we see that the Fall blinded the *noûs*, the intellectual point of contact with divine things; and *second*, this separation from God was possible because man had been made to act with freedom. The most important effect of original sin was the dominion of matter over the spirit, which led to the loss of his inherited immortality.

Chapter Three explains the reason for the Incarnation of the Word and some aspects of his Christology. The Word became man so that, possessing a human body, he could die for our sins. Redemption was the liberation from the corruption of sin and the dominion of Satan. Athanasius places very strong emphasis upon the opportuneness of the Incarnation. God could have saved us by merely remitting the debt, but we would not have been fully aware of the change nor capable of collaborating with salvation because the *noûs* would have remained shrouded in ignorance. The renovation of the soul, re-born or re-created by the Holy Spirit, elevates our nature once again to dialogue with the Word. Chapters Four and Five are detailed presentations of the soteriology of Athanasius. There we describe his ideas on mediation, the re-creation of man in Christ, merit, expiation, Christ's priesthood and his personal sacrifice. We are justified and sanctified in Christ, and renewed to a better state by being incorporated into his «mystical body». Man becomes a temple of Christ's Spirit by participation in the Son's natural and eternal divine filiation.

Chapter Six deals with the Holy Spirit, which is the topic we have reproduced in this extract. Our investigation demonstrates some key elements on the activity of the Holy Spirit in the divinization of the soul and the spiritualization of the body. Athanasius offers us some valuable insights, albeit in a primitive form as yet. Probably the most intriguing idea here concerns the notion of the Holy Spirit as the seal by which Christ himself imprints his image in the soul. The Spirit of the Son is Jesus Christ's instrument of divinization, and we participate in the Spirit as the very principle of our life. The Christian is inserted into a «spiritual crucible» or «mold» so as to be conformed to the image of the Lord. Just as the Holy Spirit intervened in the Incarnation of Christ, he also acts in man's incorporation into the

«mystical body» of the Church. The Spirit is the vehicle of communication between God and man. It is he who is the «spirit of filiation», who inserts us into the body of Christ and makes us temples of God.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. D. Lucas Francisco Mateo-Seco, the director of this dissertation. His valuable comments during the development of this work and constant encouragement has made this task enjoyable. I also express my gratitude to the members of the examining tribunal who offered many helpful suggestions during the defense of the thesis. The assistance of Rev. Paul O'Callaghan, who originally suggested the topic of study but was not able to actively collaborate in its finalization, has been of great help and inspiration. His observations and suggestions over the past couple of years have been most useful. Finally, I dedicate this work to the memory of St. Athanasius, a man who has inspired great things in the lives of many Christians, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of all Christians.



NOTES

1. KANNENGISSER, Ch., *Athanasius of Alexandria and the foundation of traditional Christology*, in *TS* (1973) 103-113.
2. Cf. *De incarnatione Verbi (De inc.)* 54; *C. arianos (Oratio contra Arianos)II*, 70.
3. DEPAULEY, W. C., *The idea of man in Athanasius*, in *Th* 12 (1926) 331-338; GALTIER, P., *Saint Athanase et l'âme humaine du Christ*, in *Greg* (1955) 553-589; LOUTH, A., *The concept of soul in Athanasius' «Contra gentes-De incarnatione Verbi»*, in *StPat* 13/2 (1970) 227-231.
4. FLOROVSKY, G., *The concept of creation in Saint Athanasius*, in *StPat* 6 (1962) 36-57; BERCHEM, J. B., *Le rôle du Verbe dans l'oeuvre de la création et de la sanctification d'après Saint Athanase*, in *Ang* 15 (1938) 201-232.
5. GIARDINI, F., *Doctrina espiritual en la «Vita Antonii» de San Atanasio*, in *TE* 4 (1960) 377-412.
6. HAMILTON, A., *Athanasius and the simile of the mirror*, in *VigChr* 34 (1980) 14-18.
7. CAMPBELL, T. C., *The doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the theology of Athanasius*, in *SJT* 27/4 (1974) 407-440.
8. VOISIN, G., *La doctrine christologique de saint Athanase*, in *RHE* 1 (1900) 226-248
9. BOUYER, L., *L'Incarnation et L'Eglise - Corps du Christ dans la théologie de Saint Athanase*, Paris 1943.





TABLE OF CONTENTS*

	<u>Πάγ</u>
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION	xix
CHAPTER I: THE ORIGINAL CONDITION OF ADAM	1
I. INTRODUCTION DIVINE CONDITION OF ADAM	3
1. Adam was a contemplative soul	4
2. Made in the image and likeness of God	6
3. Man's soul is the road to God	10
4. Indirect contemplation: The metaphor of the mirror	15
II. ADAM IN PARADISE THE «STATUS VITAE» OF ADAM	18
1. Paradise	18
2. Man's pursuit of good	21
3. Man's human nature	25
III. THE ORIGINAL «OECONOMIA SALUTIS»: PARTICIPATION IN THE «Είσιών Θεοῦ»	27
1. The adoption of Adam	28
2. The <i>noûs</i>	31
CHAPTER II: THE ENSLAVEMENT OF SIN	37
I. ORIGINAL SIN INTRODUCTION	39
1. The Fall of Adam and the Essence of Sin	39
2. Man's freedom allows for sin	41
3. Athanasius' concept of freedom	44
4. The personal and spiritual character of the fall	47
II. THE EFFECTS OF ADAM'S FALL FROM GRACE	51
1. Dominion of matter over spirit «revertare ad nihilum»	51
2. Imposition of the law of death	56
III. IDOLATRY: THE INVENTION OF EVIL	59
1. Evil is the invention of man's fantasy	60
a) The <i>noûs</i> is obscured	62
b) Progressive spiritual blindness	64
2. Man presumes to «divinize»	65
3. Idolatry, human work and divine mediation	67

* Pages are numbered according to the original dissertation that is present in the archives of the School of Theology.

CHAPTER III: THE INCARNATION OF THE WORD	73
I. THE REASON FOR THE INCARNATION	75
1. Methodological Considerations	75
2. Liberation from sin	77
a) Redemption	79
b) Athanasius' doctrine of redemption	80
3. Man cannot save himself	81
a) Salvation is God's work	84
b) God wishes to save man	87
4. Salvation is a re-creation or re-birth of man	90
5. The debt of death	92
II. THE HYPOSTATIC UNION	96
1. Christ's Dual Nature	96
a) Christ was a true and perfect man: «verus et perfectus homo»	97
b) Jesus Christ's divine nature: the «kénosis» of the Word	100
c) Christ's merit	103
d) The pre-existence of the Word in God	106
2. The Word acts in Christ: The theandric operations of Christ	108
a) A servant's form	109
b) To re-create man is to restore knowledge of God	110
3. The Incarnation is a gratuitous gift of God	112
III. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE HYPOSTATIC UNION	117
1. Important Christological effects	117
2. The New Economy of Salvation	119
IV. WHO IS CHRIST. A HERMENEUTIC PERSPECTIVE	122
1. Christ is God	123
2. The humanity of Christ subsists in the Word	125
CHAPTER IV: REDEMPTION I. THE SALVIFIC WORK OF CHRIST	127
I. THE MEDIATION OF JESUS CHRIST	129
1. The assumption of human nature by the Word	132
2. Christ's mission among men	137
3. Christ's solidarity with men	142
a) The example Christ	143
b) The instrumental efficacy of Christ's humanity	145
4. Christ's mediation before the Father	148
II. REDEMPTION THE WORD RENEWS MAN'S NATURE	154
1. Man must be re-created	154
2. The ontological renewal of man's image	156
a) Humanity is re-born in Christ	158
b) Mankind becomes a new creature in Christ	160
III. THE WORK OF CHRIST ON THE CROSS	165
1. Christ's merit	165
a) Christ's human merit	167
b) Christ merits for himself and for us	168
2. Expiation	170



3. Christ's priesthood and sacrifice	173
a) Christ is constituted as High Priest	174
b) His public sacrifice	177
c) Christ destroys death in his body	181
4. Man is re-born to the promise of eternal life	183
CHAPTER V: REDEMPTION II. DIVINIZATION OF HUMAN NATURE. INCORPORATION INTO THE «CORPUS MYSTICUM CHRISTI»	189
I. CHRIST IS THE «OECONOMIA SALUTIS»	191
1. Justification in Christ	193
2. Renewal to a better state	197
3. Incorporation into the Resurrected Christ	202
a) The restored solidarity of mankind	204
b) Christ is active in his Body	209
4. Communication of Christ to man	212
a) Identification with Christ	214
b) Charity is the vehicle of communication	217
II. THE WORK OF CHRIST	220
1. Christ as first fruit of the redemption	221
2. Christ came to heal mankind	224
a) Christ purifies our nature	226
b) Divine filiation	228
3. Faith in Christ and Unity of Spirit	230
a) Spiritual union with God and other men	232
b) Reception of the Spirit of unity	234
III. THE WORK OF MAN - «OPUS MEMBRORUM CORPORIS CHRISTI»	237
1. Made temples of God	237
a) Faith in Christ as the Messiah	239
b) The Faith «of» Christ put to work	241
2. Our assumption to Christ's Body	243
a) Christ's renewed flesh	245
b) The term «εὐχαριστία» in Athanasius	246
CHAPTER VI: THE HOLY SPIRIT IN MAN'S DIVINIZATION	251
I. INTRODUCTION: ATHANASIOS' WORKS ON THE HOLY SPIRIT	253
II. THE HOLY SPIRIT AND HIS ACTIVITY	255
1. The Holy Spirit is Divine	255
a) Rationalism destroys true theology	257
b) The consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit	259
2. The Activity of the Spirit	260
a) The Spirit of the Son	261
b) The Spirit as instrument of the Word	262
3. The Spirit as gift	265
a) The gift of sonship	268
b) The Holy Spirit and the Incarnation	269
c) Man's participation by way of the Spirit	270
4. The intervention of the Spirit	273
a) A new intervention of the Spirit: «πνοή» and «πνεῦμα»	273

b) The Spirit renews man's soul	276
c) The Holy Spirit as «θῶς»	279
5. The Spirit works in us	282
a) The Christian lives in the Spirit	282
b) The Spirit enters the soul	284
6. The pouring forth of the Spirit	286
a) The Spirit in the prophets	286
b) The permanent presence of the Spirit in Christ's Body	288
III. THE UNCTION AND SEAL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT	290
1. Baptism	290
a) Internal justification	291
b) Jesus Christ becomes the «caput hominum»	294
2. Man is anointed and sealed with the Spirit	295
a) The Judeo-Christian notion of «χρίσμα»	297
b) Impression of the «μορφή Χριστοῦ»	298
3. The «bonus odor Christi»	301
IV. THE SPIRIT MAKES MAN A TEMPLE OF GOD	304
1. Human nature is anointed and sealed	305
a) The Spirit gives participation in divine nature	305
b) The Spirit reveals the Word in us	308
2. Divine filiation	309
a) Man made «τέκνα Θεοῦ»	310
b) The resurrection of Christ and men	314
3. Spiritual progress	315
a) «Imitatio Christi Capitis»	317
b) «Vivificatio Corporis Christi per Spiritum sicut animae»	320
EPILOGUE	323
BIBLIOGRAPHY	337



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ABBREVIATIONS

1. THE WORKS OF ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

<i>Ap. c. arianos</i>	<i>Apologia contra arianos</i>
<i>De Sent.</i>	<i>De sententia Dionysii</i>
<i>Ad Adolph.</i>	<i>Epistola ad Adelphium</i>
<i>Epis. afros</i>	<i>Epistola ad afros episcopos</i>
<i>Epis. Epic.</i>	<i>Epistola ad Epictetum</i>
<i>Epis. Max.</i>	<i>Epistola ad Maximum Philosophum</i>
<i>De decr.</i>	<i>Epistola de decretis Nicaenae synodi</i>
<i>Epis. Ar.</i>	<i>Epistola de synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria celebratis</i>
<i>Epis. Aeg.</i>	<i>Epistola encyclica ad episcopos Aegypti et Libiae</i>
<i>Epis. Heor.</i>	<i>Epistolae heortasticae</i>
<i>Ad Ser.</i>	<i>Epistolae IV ad Serapionem episcopum Thmuitanum</i>
<i>Exp. Fidei</i>	<i>Expositio Fidei</i>
<i>Hist. Ar.</i>	<i>Historia Arianorum</i>
<i>In illud omnia</i>	<i>In illud omnia, tradita...</i>
<i>C. gentes</i>	<i>Oratio contra Gentes</i>
<i>De inc.</i>	<i>Oratio de incarnatione Verbi</i>
<i>C. arianos</i>	<i>Oratio contra arianos</i>
<i>Ad Antioch.</i>	<i>Tomus ad Antiochenos</i>
<i>Vita Ant.</i>	<i>Vita Antonii</i>

2. THE WORKS OF OTHER AUTHORS

<i>Comm. in Ioh.</i>	Cyril of Alexandria. <i>Commentarium in Evangelium Ioannis</i>
<i>Adv. Haer.</i>	Irenaeus of Lyon. <i>Adversus Haeresis</i>
<i>Ambiguorum</i>	Maximus the Confessor. <i>Ambiguorum Librum</i>
<i>Epis. ad Rom.</i>	Origen. <i>Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos</i>
<i>Comm. in Ioh.</i>	Idem. <i>Commentaria in Ioannis</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	Idem. <i>Commentaria in Genesim</i>

<i>Mart. Polycarpi</i>	Polycarp. <i>Ecclesiae Smyrnensis de martyris S. Polycarpi epistola circularis</i>
<i>Adv. Iud.</i>	Tertullian. <i>Adversus Iudaeorum</i>

3. SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

<i>Ang.</i>	<i>Angelicum</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antonianum</i>
<i>Asp.</i>	<i>Asprenas</i>
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustinianum</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblia</i>
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i>
<i>ET</i>	<i>Etudes théologie</i>
<i>EThR</i>	<i>Etudes Theologique et religieuses</i>
<i>FS</i>	<i>Franciscan Studies</i>
<i>Greg</i>	<i>Gregorianum</i>
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>NRT</i>	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologie</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae Graecae</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae Latinae</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Apologétique</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>ReSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RSPT</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophie et théologie</i>
<i>RThPh</i>	<i>Revue des théologie et philosophie</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
<i>ScC</i>	<i>Scuola Cattolica</i>
<i>Sch</i>	<i>Scholastik</i>
<i>ScrTh</i>	<i>Scripta Theologica</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>StPat</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>Th</i>	<i>Theology</i>
<i>TE</i>	<i>Teología Espiritual</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>VigChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>



4. SACRED SCRIPTURE

<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amos</i>
<i>Apoc.</i>	<i>Apocalypse</i>
<i>Col.</i>	<i>Colossians</i>
<i>Deut.</i>	<i>Deuteronomy</i>
<i>Eph.</i>	<i>Letter to the Ephesians</i>
<i>Ex.</i>	<i>Exodus</i>
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>Genesis</i>
<i>Heb.</i>	<i>Letter to the Hebrews</i>
<i>Iob</i>	<i>Job</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Isaiah</i>
<i>Mal.</i>	<i>Malachias</i>
<i>1 Pet.</i>	<i>First epistle of S. Peter</i>
<i>2 Pet.</i>	<i>Second epistle of S. Peter</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Epistle to the Philippenses</i>
<i>Prov.</i>	<i>Proverbs</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Psalms</i>
<i>1 Thes.</i>	<i>First Epistle to the Thessalonians</i>
<i>2 Thes.</i>	<i>Second Epistle to the Thessalonians</i>
<i>Wis.</i>	<i>Wisdom</i>
<i>Zach.</i>	<i>Zechariah</i>





THE SOTERIOLOGY OF SAINT ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA. THE CONFORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN TO CHRIST IN THE HOLY SPIRIT

I. INTRODUCTION

St. Athanasius of Alexandria has been studied from many points of view. He set the foundations for a systematic approach to Christology, advanced the Pauline ecclesiology of Christ's «mystical body», and probed the significance of the Word as the Lord of creation. An essential element of his theology was a correct Christian anthropology concerning the original and the fallen Adam. Adam was the *type* for the human race, the representative man, who forfeited his friendship with God and that of all humanity. Athanasian pneumatology is dependent upon all of these core disciplines. Although Athanasius was not a systematic theologian, he was an intuitive and incisive defender of orthodoxy. His writings present many intriguing and suggestive ideas that are still valuable today. This study was designed to investigate his pneumatology, and in particular, the role of the Holy Spirit in man's sanctification. Our task required imposing an order or systematization not explicitly formulated by Athanasius. We hope this has been done without introducing ideas that are foreign to his own original thought.

Athanasius acquired an almost mythical reputation following the Nicene Council of 325. The non-biblical expression *homoousios* (consubstantial) provided a technical formulation to express the Son's equality, co-eternity and immortality with the Father. Although he was accused by some of introducing an unacceptable word to Trinitarian theology, the term *homoousios* is not found in Sacred Scripture, this doctrine is clearly present in the Prologue of St. John's Gospel. As we proceed we will see that Athanasius relied heavily upon Johannine and Pauline scriptural references to

develop his theology. Besides his excellent exegetical skills, he elucidated some of the first important principles and truths of our Faith. Two important dogmas developed by Athanasius were the divinity of the Son of God and that of the Holy Spirit. These two truths are based upon the consubstantial relation of both the Son and the Spirit to the Father. This sets the stage for Athanasius' description of man's union with God through the Holy Spirit, the topic that interests us in this investigation.

Some scholars believe that Athanasius advocated a «passive» type of sanctification, the redemption of a «collective humanity». According to this interpretation, the central event of redemption is the Incarnation. The danger with this approach is that the application of Christ's merits would require little human collaboration. Shapland opines that Athanasius presents sanctification as being primarily metaphysical and not ethical¹. Human sanctification is conjoined with divinization and comes to signify the elevation of human nature toward divine incorruptibility. We disagree with that opinion. Athanasius does propose a well-balanced scheme of sanctification which includes both ontological and ethical dimensions. Ethical moral conduct contributes to man's perfection. It would seem that the ontological re-creation of the soul, which Athanasius says takes place «in the Spirit», enables us to cooperate with God's grace. A Christian receives a participated communion with the divine life of God, who is love — the Holy Spirit (C. *arianos* III, 23). The ontological renewal of the soul makes it possible for men to become like God, not in essence, but in action: «we cannot become like God in essence, but by progress in virtue [we] imitate God.» (*Ad Afros*, 7).

The orthodox doctrine of the Church concerning the divinity of the Holy Spirit would not be solemnly declared until the Council of Constantinople in the year 381, eight years after the death of Athanasius. Even then the Holy Spirit was not referred to as being God but as «Lord and life-giver, proceeding from the Father, object of the same worship and glory with the Father and the Son.»² Prior to that time, God's Spirit was understood by most Christian writers as the «force» or «energy» of the ordering *Logos* who permeates the entire universe. Recognition of the *personality* of the Holy Spirit was slow to develop. The first dogmas of the Church's teaching magisterium were centered upon the uni-

ty of the Blessed Trinity. Time and reflection were required to create an adequate theological terminology capable of distinguishing the Father from the Son and the Holy Spirit. This important breakthrough would come with the Cappadocean Fathers, who were contemporaries of Athanasius in his later years. Before we begin our study, let us take a brief look at the theological speculation that preceded him.

Earlier Christian writers prepared the way for Athanasius with some important considerations on the Holy Spirit. Justin Martyr affirmed that Christ did not become the Son when he was baptized, but rather that he possessed the power of the Spirit from birth. So, Our Lord's baptism by John was a sign of his messianic quality (*Dial.* 87-88). Unfortunately, Justin made no attempt to clearly distinguish the three divine persons of the Trinity. Irenaeus of Lyons refuted the Gnostics who claimed that the Holy Spirit had descended upon Jesus so that he would not be defiled for having taken on human flesh. The Holy Spirit intervenes in salvation history to sanctify man by forming the human person in the image of Christ and then leading him to the Father. Thus the Son and the Spirit serve as «agents» of the Father in the acts of creation, revelation, and glorification (*Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 1). Irenaeus also refers to the activity of the Spirit as a divine intervention through the gift of prophecy. This ensured the conservation of a true knowledge of God to several generations of Old Testament peoples (*Ibid.* IV, 33 and III, 21). The divine truth concerning God was stored in the Spirit as a «deposit» which was later entrusted to Christ so that he could communicate it to all men (*Ibid.* III, 9, 3). Methodius of Olympus believed that the spiritual benefits of the Holy Spirit were only manifest in those souls that are more closely associated with the evangelizing mission of Christ, that is, those who assist in the preaching of the Gospel and publicly cooperate in the salvation of souls (*Disc.* 3, VIII, 74). However, this would seem to depreciate the priestly function of the common faithful. Finally, Origen distinguished the three divine persons according to their specific mission or the realms of creation they dominate: the Father gives being, the Son supplies reason and knowledge, and the Holy Spirit sanctifies man. All three divine persons prepare us for the reception of Christ (*De Prin.* I, 3, 5), but it is the Spirit who provides these divine benefits in the form of gifts (*Ibid.* II, 10).

An important development in pneumatological speculation takes place in the fourth century when the initial steps were taken toward a conceptualization of the Holy Spirit as a divine *person*. Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus were forced to react against the teachings of the *Pneumatomachi* and especially Macedonius, who believed that the Holy Spirit was merely a divine power or an instrument of God's activity. For them, God's Spirit was created in order to act in us and in the world. Athanasius defends the orthodox Christian doctrine by applying the notion of consubstantiality (*homoousios*) to the Holy Spirit as he already did for Christ (*Ad Ser.* I, 28). All of mankind was anointed by the incarnation of the *Logos* (*C. arianos* I, 50; *Ibid.* II, 61 and 70; III, 34), a doctrine that places special emphasis on the personal union of the Word with the humanity of Jesus Christ. Similar views are held by such outstanding scholars such as Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria and Maximus the Confessor³. The anointing of Christ is predicated of the Word in virtue of the Son's hypostatic union with humanity. The Holy Spirit is similar to the Son in that he is *homoousios* with the Father. Therefore, the Spirit must be divine like the Son, in fact, he divinizes man through «personal» union of the soul to the Word.

The purpose of this investigation is to study the sanctifying activity of the Holy Spirit in the conformation of the Christian to the model and executor of human divinization, Jesus Christ. We believe that Athanasius actually followed a long standing Old Testament tradition in which the Holy Spirit is not only presented as the power of God but as a divine *presence* in the soul. God joins man's soul to himself through the Word and divinizes it in the «mystical body» of Christ. Starting with the notion of consubstantiality we will review Athanasius' thought on divinization. This presupposes the Incarnation of the *Logos*, a work that was accomplished by the Spirit. He joined the Word to our humanity. The Spirit of Christ continues to join us to the Word and restores intellectual enlightenment to the soul's mind (*noûs*). This re-creative act prepares us to receive an habitual presence of the Spirit of God through filial adoption by God the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit.

Each of us is conformed to God's Image, Jesus Christ, by what Athanasius refers to as the «Spirit of Christ», which is depicted as an unction or seal applied to the soul. We will also analyze the meaning of the term *χρίσμα*, a word commonly used by the Fathers to express the communication of divine grace to man. The hidden word of God is revealed when this divine seal is impressed on the soul. Then, we can act in imitation of Jesus Christ. Once the Spirit has come to dwell in us, he provides the vivifying energy required to carry out meritorious human acts. He draws man further into the «mystical body» of Christ, perfecting our adoptive filiation through the practice of virtue.

II. THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ATHANASIUS

1. *The Life of Athanasius*

Athanasius of Alexandria was born into a wealthy family of good social standing around 297-298. He received a well-rounded liberal education which is particularly evident in his early dogmatic and apologetic writings. In *Oratio contra gentes*, which is generally agreed to be his first apologetic work (ca. 318), one finds frequent reference to Plato and Neo-platonic philosophies. However, his exposition of creation and salvation relies more upon Scriptural knowledge than philosophy. Following his important dogmatic contribution as secretary to Bishop Alexander at the Council of Nicaea in 325, Athanasius became less platonic in his expressions. His thought was now centered almost exclusively upon Sacred Scripture and its correct exegesis. This change was dictated by the principal point of contention with the Arians: their biblical exegesis concerning Christ was incorrect. Athanasius claimed that they used poor hermeneutical methods to support their erroneous doctrinal positions. These accusations disqualified Arian Scriptural exegesis and their theological conclusions, especially the denial of Christ's divinity.

Many authors have characterized Athanasius as an ascetic who accepted the truths of revelation without question. His desire was to penetrate the meaning of the revealed faith so he could defend it against the Arian heresy. This theological approach was not so much science as an inquiry of a believing soul. The most

important truth of faith for him was that Jesus Christ is divine, and because of his divinized human nature, he can divinize us. This nuclear idea is of paramount importance if we hope to understand his pneumatology.

Athanasius suffered many trials and exiles at the hands of politically motivated emperors. Constantine demanded that he readmit Arius to the Alexandrian Church, and later deposed him from the same Episcopal See at the Synod of Tyre in 335. The emperor exiled him once again to Treves, and then a third time following a synod at Antioch (ca. 339). He was unable to return to Alexandria until the month of October, 346, and shortly thereafter he was removed once more. On this occasion he fled to the Egyptian desert to live with the monks, and over the ensuing six years he wrote several treatises including the *Apology to Constantius*, the *Apology for his flight*, the *Letter to the monks*, and the *History of the Arians*. Re-instated as bishop in 362, he organized a synod to reconcile the Semi-Arians and the Orthodox parties, but Julian expelled him in order to keep the Catholics at odds. When the emperor died the following year, Athanasius returned to Alexandria just long enough for Valius to exile him in 365. Fortunately, the faithful of Alexandria demanded his return, and the new emperor granted their request (ca. 366). He spent the remainder of his life in that Egyptian city until his death on May 2, 373.

2. *His Writings*

The agitated *curriculum vitae* just presented would not have provided a great deal of leisure time for scholarly endeavours. Despite those difficulties, however, Athanasius was a prolific writer. In fact, his scriptural $\kappa\rho\sigma\lambda\epsilon\delta\gamma\epsilon$ and debating skills served him well in the battles with the Arians. He has been universally admired in the Christian world for that work. The most noteworthy of his apologetical and dogmatic writings is the two-part *Oratio contra gentes-Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* and the three *Orationes contra Arianos*⁴. The former was written around the year 318 and the anti-Arian tracts over the course of several years, running from 356-363. A short treatise entitled *De incarnatione et contra Arianos* is of questionable authenticity because it refers to

the Blessed Trinity as 'one God in three hypostases' (εἰς θεὸς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν), a formulation of dubious Athanasian origin⁵.

Athanasius was well known during his life, and many contemporaries and subsequent spiritual writers copied his literary style and theological tradition. This explains the existence of numerous apocryphal works, a common occurrence during the first centuries of Christianity. The *De incarnatione contra Apollinarem* is actually two independent books written around 380, a number of years after his death⁶. Another spurious document is the *Sermo maior de fide*, a compilation of portions of *De incarnatione Verbi* and other writings. F. Scheidweiler believes its true author was Marcellus of Ancyra⁷. One of the sources of the *Sermo* is a document entitled *Expositio fidei*, composed either by Eustathius of Antioch or Marcellus. Although the author remains in dispute, the *Interpretatio in symbolum* is also dubious. According to A. Günthör, Didymus the blind wrote the *Dialogi de sancta Trinitate quinque* and the *Dialogi contra Macedonianos duo*. Of course, the *Symbolum Athanasianum*, also known as the *Quicumque*, is of later vintage, it probably dating from the latter part of the fifth century.

In addition to important dogmatic writings, Athanasius composed several polemical tracts against the Arians and other heretical groups. The *Apologia contra Arianos* was written when he returned from a second exile in 357 as a personal defense against the vigorous calumnies propagated by the Eusebians. It serves as an excellent historical source for the history of the Arians⁸. Soon after that he defended himself against the accusation of conspiring against the emperor in the *Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem*, and argued in favor of his flight in the *Apologia pro fuga sua* (ca. 357). Later, the initiative was his when he attacked the emperor Constantius as an enemy of Christ in the *Historia Arianorum ad monachos* (ca. 358). Unfortunately, there are only a few extant fragments of his exegetical writings: the *Epistola ad Marcellinum de interpretatione psalmorum*, *Expositiones psalmorum* (some of which are not genuine)⁹, a commentary on Ecclesiastes and the Canticle of Canticles¹⁰, and portions of his commentaries on Genesis and Exodus¹¹.

The most famous and influential of Athanasius' ascetical writings was the *Vita Antonii*. This biography was written the

year following the monk's death in 356¹², and presents the model life of a man consecrated to the service of God. Migne's translation is a reprint from the Benedictine collection based on six manuscripts from Metaphrastes' collection of lives of the saints compiled in the tenth century¹³. The *Vita* narrates the ascetical life of Antony (chs. 1-15), his addresses to the monks (16-43), and his discussion on idolatry, reason and faith (72-80). There are several spectacular encounters with devils which are generally attributed to his view of monastic life as a spiritual combat against temptation. This would be a common feature of Athanasius' Christian anthropology: human perfection is achieved by returning to an original state of purity, a condition free of sin. This quest can only be realized by gaining control of the passions, defeating Satan's temptations and avoiding sin.

Another interesting ascetical work is *On Virginity*. St. Jerome testifies that Athanasius dealt with the subject on many occasions (*De vir. ill.* 87), but most scholars question its authenticity. *On Virginity* is listed as dubious by Migne because several passages appear to be incompatible with Athanasius' writing style and his customary vocabulary^{14, 15}. St. Ambrose made use of «A Coptic Epistle to the Virgins» in his *De virginibus* but without mentioning an Athanasian source¹⁶. Another treatise, also entitled *On Virginity* (Λόγος περὶ παρθενίας), is generally accepted as being genuine. This work does not treat virginity in a monastic context, but rather describes Christians who lived in a celibate state at home with their families. They were brides of Christ and so spiritually united to Our Lord that their lives were *angelic* — an image repeated later by Ambrose. There is only one extant Sirian version of this work, but the original text was probably written in Greek¹⁷. Lefort has published several other Coptic manuscripts which are more important than the Syriac versions because they date back to the fourth or fifth century¹⁸.

Most of the sermons attributed to Athanasius are presumed to be dubious or spurious by the Benedictines, but modern investigative work may provide sufficient evidence to modify that opinion. The homilies *De sabbatis et circumcissione ex libro Exodi* and *De passione et cruce Domini* are two examples of tracts that appear to be authentic¹⁹. Only a portion of Athanasius' correspondence survives to this day. The most interesting ones, from

an historical point of view, are the Easter Festal letters²⁰, the first one written in the year 329. Festal letter 39 (ca. 367) has attracted the most attention because Athanasius condemns an attempt to introduce apocryphal texts as divinely inspired Scripture²¹. He enumerates the names of those books from the Old and New Testament that are included in the Canon and entrusted to the Church as inspired by the Holy Spirit²².

III. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON ATHANASIUS' THEOLOGY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

1. *The Pneumatology of Athanasius*

The study of the Holy Spirit for Athanasius is centered upon the unity of the Blessed Trinity and the divinity of the three divine persons. Most investigative work in this area has been focused on his use of the *homoousios* formulation to prove the co-essential nature of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son²³. Although his theory on the temporal mission of the Holy Spirit is not very sophisticated, he does ascribe a very important role to him in the process of sanctification or divinization of man. Admittedly, this doctrine is still in a rather primitive form, it offers few technical explanations and the doctrinal consequences are not completely elaborated. The basic working premise is that man is called to become «God-like» through divine filiation: «the fact that certain men are called gods is not in virtue of their own nature, better said it is in virtue of their participation in the Son»²⁴. Although most commentators are quick to characterize him as eminently soteriological, there is great emphasis placed on ontology. If it were not for his strong metaphysical beliefs, including the notion of participation, his doctrine on redemption would lose its foundation.

In his first dogmatic work, Athanasius writes that the Word of God became a man in order to die for all men. He had to become mortal to save us according to the eternal plan of the Father:

«οὐχ οἷόν τε δὲ ἦν τὸν Λόγον ἀποθάνειν ἀθανάτου ὄντα καὶ Πατρὸς Υἱόν' τοῦτου ἕνεκεν τὸ θανάμενον ἀποθάνειν ἑαυτῷ

λαμβάνει σῶμα, ἵνα τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Λόγου μεταλάβῃ, ἀντὶ πάντων ἱκανὸν γένηται τῷ θανάτῳ...» — while it was impossible for the Word to suffer death being immortal and Son of the Father; for that reason he assumes a mortal body to himself so that by partaking of the Word that is above all it be worthy to die in the place of all...²⁵.

A vicarious sacrifice is carried by the Lord for the sake of all men. But, his death is not merely a substitution, taking our place for the punishment due us. Our Lord's body participates in the Word so that it could be a fitting sacrifice to offer the Father. We shall see in the course of our study that the spiritual transformation of man, θεοποιήσις (divinization), is really a kind of spiritual ascent in the Son's eternal filiation. The sacrifice of Christ makes it possible for all men to be united to the Word through Christ, «in the Spirit».

Athanasius' most important works on pneumatology are the four *Epistolae ad Serapionem*²⁶. These letters were written in the year 359-360 as a response to Bishop Serapion of Thmuis, who requested clarification of a doctrinal error being propagated by the *Tropici*²⁷. This new type of Arian heresy claimed that the Holy Spirit was just an angel or a ministering spirit of God²⁸. This type of Spirit would have differed from other angels only in rank or degree²⁹, and was similar to the Arian heresy advocating the creatural nature of Christ. The Arians questioned the very possibility that Our Lord could be divine because it defies human understanding. They reasoned that Christ must be a 'divine creature' of some sort but a creature nonetheless. All creation was subjected to Christ by the Father, so he is inferior to the Father and is not strictly speaking divine. According to them, Christ was the creating Demiurge of the Father who occupied an intermediary position between God and the created world. His divine title would have derived from a special grace awarded him for his upright conduct, constituting him as the mediator between God and man³⁰.

Athanasius defends the divinity of the Holy Spirit in the same manner as he did for Jesus Christ in the *Oratio Contra Arianos*³¹. The Spirit of God must be divine because men could not be divinized if he were merely a creature. The Spirit «bears the same rank and nature in relation to the Son as the Son does

to the Father»³². At this point, both the Son and the Holy Spirit play essential roles in the divinization of the Christian. This was a truth of faith, a revealed truth of God to man, something absolutely irrefutable for Athanasius. Anyone who would dare to deny it was heretical; to fail to comprehend it human.

2. *The Biblical Foundations for a Theology of the Holy Spirit*

The «spirit» of Yahweh is an expression that connotes the «power of God» in the Old Testament. The «spirit» belongs to God and it is projected outside of himself in the work of creation. The divine *ruah* of Yahweh was identical to the creative «word» of God for the Hebrews. What interests us here is that the book of Wisdom tends to personify the Wisdom of God by describing his «spirit» as possessing omniscience, holiness, and guiding men in their moral conduct³³. On the day of Pentecost, Peter saw the prophecy of Joel fulfilled with the outpouring of the Spirit of Wisdom on all humanity³⁴. Henceforth, the first Vicar of Christ was convinced that the Spirit who had spoken through the prophets was the third person of the Blessed Trinity³⁵.

The Arians viewed the invisible missions of the Son and the Holy Spirit as the outpouring of created graces or favors upon men. There was, strictly speaking, no direct divine contact of God with man. This would seem to be impossible because God cannot defile himself by touching created things. Such works must occur in some type of a created medium. Therefore, the Arians denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and a short time later the *Tropici* question the divine nature of the Holy Spirit as well. However, their position seems untenable in light of St. Paul's doctrine on the Holy Spirit. Interestingly enough, he speaks of a 'personal presence' of the Holy Spirit in the soul of the just: «know you not that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?» (*1 Cor.* 3, 16); «know you not that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have from God, and that you are not your own?» (*1 Cor.* 6, 19); «and if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you: He that raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, shall quicken

also your mortal bodies, because of his Spirit that dwells in you.» (Rom. 8, 10-11).

Christianity would gradually apply this «personal» exegetical approach with graphic expressions of the Spirit's presence in men. The early Church Fathers referred to the Holy Spirit as the oil or ointment flowing from the other two divine persons of the Trinity. So too we find that Athanasius writes: «this unguent is the breath of the Son; he who has the Spirit may say: 'we are the good odor of Christ'»³⁶. The communication of the «Spirit of the Son» confers a divine fragrance to the Christian. Subsequent spiritual writers would repeat the same idea by describing the Holy Spirit as the apex or the pinnacle of divine spirituality, the outpouring or effluence of God's love³⁷. Although the Father and the Son are holy, the Spirit produced by those two is holy in a unique sense. He is the flower or perfume of the sanctity of the Father and the Son³⁸. We will evaluate how Athanasius uses his experience in refuting the Arians to defend the divinity of the Son's Spirit. This doctrinal exposition provides us with interesting insights into his thought on the Holy Spirit in the sanctification of man.

IV. THE HOLY SPIRIT AND HIS ACTIVITY

Let us now begin our investigation of Athanasius' thought on the role of the Holy Spirit in uniting the Christian soul to Christ through filiation in the Son. As was mentioned earlier, Athanasius' pneumatology is centered upon the consubstantial nature of the Holy Spirit. This is in fact the most important prerequisite for his scheme of divinization in our estimation. We men are made divine by Jesus Christ in his own flesh, and the Holy Spirit is the divine gift of God's presence given to us by Christ and in Christ. God's Spirit becomes a divine communication to man and the spiritual vehicle of our renewal and salvation.

1. *The Holy Spirit is Divine*³⁹

Athanasius was cautious in the use of philosophy for theological speculation and skeptical of anyone who did not manifest pious reverence for the mysteries of God⁴⁰. He pro-

bably would have referred to Arius as a «rationalist» or «modernist». In fact, Cardinal John Henry Newman may have studied Athanasius to find intellectual and Patristic support for his defense of orthodoxy against the predominant rationalism of his nineteenth century contemporaries⁴¹. Athanasius sets the stage for his exposition on the divine nature of the Holy Spirit in his first letter to Bishop Serapion:

«You wrote me, afflicted by those who separated themselves from the Arians due to their blasphemy against the Son of God, but are nourished by thoughts which are hostile toward the Holy Spirit. They wish to believe that He is not just a creature, but a serving spirit [cf. *Heb.* 1, 14] that differs from angels only in degree. This is clearly only a simulated opposition to the Arians, but a real contradiction of the Holy Faith. In the same way that the Arians, in denouncing the Son also deny [the divinity of] the Father, these men [*Tropici*] calumniate the Holy Spirit, defaming the Son as well. These two clans share in an insurrection against the truth, one concerning the Son and the other the Spirit. Their purpose is to blaspheme the Blessed Trinity»⁴².

The crux of the difficulty for both the Arians and the *Tropici* was their failure to correctly resolve the intellectual dilemma concerning God's transcendence and his ontological immanence in the world. The only way to deal with this problem is by resorting to the *analogia entis*, the analogy of being. The notion of being includes a kind of polarity in that it distinguishes between essence and existence. Since God's essence and existence are identical, any properties that man shares with him are imperfect replicas of a transcendent character in God. If this ontological distinction is not respected, we fall into deism on the one hand or pantheism on the other. The Arians applied the concept of *generation* to both man and God in an identical fashion.

According to the Arians, Christ must be a creature because he is the 'first-born' of God. Athanasius' penetrating ontological perspective is key on the point⁴³. *Contra arianos* is a masterful explanation of the uniqueness of the Son's divine generation to which men can come to be participants⁴⁴. The Son is generation

par excellence, and man's generative capacity, whether mental or physical, is a participation in the Father's eternal generation of the Son. In a similar manner, the *Tropici* considered the Holy Spirit as a second son, a brother of the Word and grand-son of the Father⁴⁵.

Athanasius did not elaborate a sophisticated theory on the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Trinitarian relations are viewed in a lineal fashion, the Father gives rise to the Son who in turn is the origin of the Spirit. Perhaps he believed that the process of *spiration* —as we know it now— could not be adequately described with human categories. On the other hand, *generation* is a good concept for representing the procession of the Son from the Father since human offspring are of the same nature as their parents. Just as the Son of God has the same nature as his Father, Athanasius may have thought that the same generative process could be used to describe the derivation of the Spirit from the Father and the Son.

Another technical barrier for Athanasius was the use of the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis*. He believed these expressions were inadequate to distinguish the three divine persons because they are taken from the realm of human experience. The terminological distinction of *ousia*, *hypostasis*, *prosopon*, and *physis* would be an essential breakthrough to complete later Trinitarian dogmatic formulations. Athanasius staunchly defends the consubstantiality of the three divine persons, but he did not understand the relation present between the Holy Spirit and the other two persons. The best he could do was to say that each person was distinct despite the fact we find difficulty in explaining the mystery. These important terminological and conceptual limitations prevented him from making further progress in Trinitarian theology. We must bear them in mind as we proceed in our study, being careful not to propose conclusions he was unable to reach.

The *Logos* is the eternally generated, noetic resolution of God, he is the ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν Θεοῦ — the express image of God⁴⁶. In contrast, man is created according to that image (cf. *Gen.* 1, 26) so that he can reflect God in his soul by discovering the Word in himself⁴⁷. Unfortunately, Athanasius offers little additional insights concerning the contemplation of God. He limits himself to broad, general statements such as man's ability to «see»

God in himself when his soul is pure; an idea developed with the mirror metaphor⁴⁸. The Holy Spirit also plays an instrumental role in the creation of the world and is a 'vehicle' of divine wisdom: «the Father created everything by the Word in the Spirit, because where the Word is, so too is the Spirit»⁴⁹. And what the Spirit knows is derived from the Word: «if the Spirit knew, much more must the Word know when one considers that the Word is he from whom the Spirit receives»⁵⁰.

All that the Word is and has comes from the Father, and all that the Spirit receives is from the Word. The Father is the origin of the Son, and the Son gives rise to the Spirit. We are reminded of the above mentioned 'lineal Trinitology' of the early Eastern Fathers, but perhaps there is more to it. It seems that Christ must communicate his glorified human nature to man by way of a certain *presence* of the Holy Spirit in the soul⁵¹. He is a sort of divine co-agent with the Son for the Father's divine intervention in the world.

2. *The Activity of the Holy Spirit*

Athanasius was well aware that God's *ad extra* operations are a common enterprise shared by all three of the divine persons. The perennial axiom *omnia opera ad extra sunt communia tribus Personis* is evident in all of his work. The Nicene *homoousios* doctrine demands a triune intervention of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit even though the *ad extra* operations cannot be clearly differentiated by us. From our perspective God's action in the world appears to be that of just one person. This is reflected in the grace we receive from all three of the divine persons:

«One is the sanctification that is realized by the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit⁵²; there is only one grace that comes from the Father through the Son and fulfilled in the Holy Spirit»⁵³.

One author summarizes Athanasius' view of the Trinity in the following way: «to Athanasius a single divine operation is manifested in the particular acts of the several persons, an operation as truly and definitely single as the *ousia* which is manifested

in the several objective presentations»⁵⁴. No one would accuse Athanasius of modalism of course, there is something unique in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

a) *The Spirit of the Son*

The metaphor of light was used by Athanasius and others as a graphic representation of the mystery of divine consubstantiality. This image conserves the intrinsic co-inherence of divine being in God's activity *ad extra*: «for where the light is, there also is its activity and resplendent grace»⁵⁵. We will see that this resplendent grace refers to the Son and the divine activity to the Holy Spirit. God's community of being demands that the Holy Spirit be consubstantial with both the Father and the Son⁵⁶.

Athanasius hints at a certain «dual presence» of the Son and the Holy Spirit in the application of Christ's redemption to us. When we drink of the Spirit we also receive the Son, and in possessing the Spirit of Wisdom we receive the Son who makes us wise. The Spirit *quicken*s life in us so that Christ can live in the soul⁵⁷. He is the very εἰκὼν of the Son⁵⁸, the Πνεῦμα Υἱοῦ (Spirit of the Son)⁵⁹ or Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ (Spirit of Christ)⁶⁰, he is the divine life of God animating the human flesh of Christ. We find a striking parallel between the mission of the Son and that of the Holy Spirit: the Son is sent from the Father, while the Son sends the Spirit; the Son takes from the Father, and the Spirit of the Son; the Son came in the name of the Father, and the Spirit in name of the Son⁶¹. As the εἰκὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, but the pneu'ma Cristou' is Christ's divinized human nature.

b) *The Holy Spirit is the instrument of the Word*

God's triune activity makes us sons of God the Father, in the Son, by the Holy Spirit. In the first *Oratio contra Arianos* he writes that prior to the coming of Christ the saints already enjoyed a certain grace of divinization: «μετοχῇ τοῦ Λόγου διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν χάριν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς»⁶², they had grace from the Father by participation of the Word through the

Spirit. Man receives grace from the Father as origin, in the Word as the end of participation, and through the Spirit as the divine instrument of participation: «[divine grace derives] *from* the Father *through* the Son *in* the Holy Spirit»⁶³. This Trinitarian formula was probably taken from the Church liturgy, especially the closing prayers of Holy Mass and the baptismal rite⁶⁴. It places special emphasis on the Spirit's instrumental activity as the divine person who takes possession of us:

«Ἐν γὰρ ἕιδος Θεότητος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ὢν κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι' καὶ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ δὲ φαινόμενος κατὰ τὸ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἅπασιν διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐξ αὐτῷ ἐνεργεῖν.» — For there is but one form of the Godhead, which is also in the Word; and one God the Father, existing by himself according to as he is above all, and appearing in the Son inasmuch as he *pervades* all things, and in the Spirit inasmuch as in him he *acts* [in his energy] in all things through the Word⁶⁵.

God comes to dwell in man's soul as the pervasive order of creation and divine energy. We could summarize Athanasius' expression of God's effect on man in the following way: the Father symbolizes God's transcendence over the universe, the Word represents his immanent presence in all things, and the Holy Spirit is the action of God in created beings, and in particular, in the divinization of man.

St. Basil comments on the use of the preposition «in» when referring to the Trinitarian doxology in his famous dogmatic tract, *De Spiritu Sancto*⁶⁶. When one wishes to describe the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the other divine persons —he says— the preposition «with» most properly indicates the Spirit's divine dignity and his co-essential nature with the Father and the Son. However, when speaking of spiritual creatures such as angels and men, the word «in» underlines the inherent weakness of created beings.

God can only be praised or glorified by man with the assistance of the divine spiritual power characteristic of the Holy Spirit. It is *in* the Spirit that we can glorify God, and we do so by participating in grace:

«When one refers to the proper dignity of the Spirit, he is with the Father and the Son who are known in contemplation. However, when one thinks of the grace produced in participants, one says that the Spirit is in us. The doxology of in the Spirit does not point to a confession of his dignity, but is in view of our weakness: it shows that we ourselves are not apt to render glory, rather we have the aptitude in the Spirit»⁶⁷.

This language suggests that the Holy Spirit has not yet been adequately conceptualized as a person, an idea that would be more patent in Gregory Nazianzen⁶⁸. The Spirit still appears as the power of God working in man, enabling him to exercise supernatural acts. Man can contemplate divine things and appreciate the dignity of the three members of the Trinity because of the Spirit. In addition, in order to give glory to God we need the presence of the Holy Spirit. We are rendered active in an almost physical sense by the indwelling Spirit. As Sts. Augustine and Prosper would come to appreciate, all good comes from God either as the author of nature or of grace⁶⁹.

Besides this allusion to the Holy Spirit as God's grace in us, the formulation 'in the Spirit' also designates our insertion into the «mystical body» of Christ. However, it would be incorrect and incomplete to say that this is the only thing that the Spirit does for the members of that body:

«All of the members are assembled in the body of Christ, in the unity of the Spirit, and they render a mutual service to one another according to the grace they have received. God disposed all of the members in the body, each one as he wished. The members have the same identity one with another in accord with the mutual sympathy of their spiritual communion. So that «when just one member suffers, all suffer with him; so that there is only one honor, all of the members taking part in his joy» (1 Cor. 12, 26). And as the part being in all, each one of us in the Spirit, because all of us form a single body, we have been baptized in a single Spirit»⁷⁰.

The members of Christ's body are identical inasmuch as they have been drawn into his life by the Holy Spirit, but they

differ according to the kind of graces received and the functions they carry out. The Spirit not only joins Christians together in one «mystical body», but he also confers special graces to each one.

3. *The Spirit as Gift*

The early Church Fathers understood that God works in man by giving spiritual benefits or favors. We have already seen that Athanasius associates divine grace with the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the soul. However, it is of interest to point out that God's grace appears in us through the Spirit understood as Gift. We can only receive him from the one who has the authority to give him to us, the Son⁷¹. Jesus Christ both gives and receives the Spirit, he is the center of God's redemptive work. The Son gives the Spirit to Christ who receives and then gives him to men. We see in Christ the mutual acts of giving and receiving, an important ordering sequence in Christian charity: «receiving presupposes giving as a condition for its possibility»⁷². The authority pertains to the Son because he fully participates in the Father:

«What is from the essence of the Father, and proper to him, is entirely the Son; for it is the same to say that God is wholly participated and that He begets. And what does beget signify if not Son»⁷³.

«Εἰ γὰρ ἐφρόνουν ὀρθῶς περὶ τοῦ Λόγου, ἐφρόνουν ὑγιῶς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκτορεύεται, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἴδιον ὄν, παρ' αὐτοῦ δίδεται τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν.» — the Spirit, *proceeds* [is sent forth] from the Father, and belonging to the Son is given to the disciples and all who believe in him⁷⁴.

The Son is eternally generated by the unbegotten Father and completely participates in his life. He is the divine life of God as fully possessed and the Spirit is that life as donated or as complete self-giving. Outside of God this self-donation appears as God communicable to man. We suggest that, for Athanasius, the Christian is begotten as a child of God in the Holy Spirit, and is drawn

into the Trinity participating in the eternal divine generation of the Son.

As we emphasized earlier, Christ is the centerpiece of Athanasius' theology and soteriology. When we read that only Christ can give us the Gift of the Spirit because he is the Son of God, we are compelled to think that man shares in God's divine nature because the Son donates his own life in the Spirit⁷⁵. Athanasius relates the notion of participation to generation: to fully participate in God *is* generation. For that reason the Son is said to be the only begotten Son of God who fully shares in the unbegotten Father. Interestingly, this terminology is conserved in the *Symbolum Athanasianum*⁷⁶, however, Athanasius believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and belongs to the Son. And since the Spirit is possessed by the Son in Christ, he can be given to us.

Man can possess material and divine goods in a spiritual way. His corporeal nature affords him the possibility of «owning» material goods of all sorts, but his spirit allows him to act with dominion over himself and other things. The spiritual soul also allows him to perform immanent actions with the intellect and will which contribute to the highest form of possession, the stable disposition of virtue. For Athanasius, Jesus Christ was the human embodiment of God's transcendental characteristics. Our Lord possessed all of the Father's life to the maximum degree. And since divine life was naturally his, he could really give it to others, that is the mission of the Holy Spirit: to give the gift of divine grace to men by entering into their souls.

The Holy Spirit is the fullness of Trinitarian life. He is like a divine current or stream that departs from the Father as source, flows in the Son as a river, and appears as the surging water of life in the Holy Spirit in whom we are washed and from whom we drink. He is the quintessence of divine life, the summit of being, and the limit beyond which all creation is found. The ineffable divine processions of the three persons are manifest in the visible missions of Redemption, missions which can be understood as successive stages of God's work in the world: creation-redemption-divinization: «we know then that the three hypostases: God [Father], the Son and the Holy Spirit forms the coronation; none of them is separated one from another given that there is only one God,

one Holy Spirit, one sole faith, one baptism, one resurrection and death»⁷⁷. Basil echoes the same idea when he writes that there is one unique divine principle but three modes of attribution — the Holy Spirit is the divine person who perfects all that the Father wishes to do by way of the Son⁷⁸.

a) *The gift of sonship*

Athanasius believes that this divine gift of the Spirit is the grace of adoptive sonship. Our filiation reflects the natural Sonship of Christ. In Our Lord the Father completely gives of himself, and the personification of this perfect self-donation is the Holy Spirit: «Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὡσπερ εἴρηται, τῷ Πνεύματι δίδωσι, καὶ ὅσα ἔχει τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἔχει.» — for he, as has been said, gives to the Spirit, and whatever the Spirit has, he has from the Word⁷⁹. When we receive the gift of the Spirit we are inserted into the interior life of God: «we come to be in God and he in us by the grace of the Spirit given to us (...). Apart from the Spirit we are strange and distant from God, but by the μετοχῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος (participation of the Spirit) we are knit (συναπτόμεθα) into God. Our being in the Father is not ours, but the Spirit's which is in us and abides in us»⁸⁰. The Holy Spirit places us in God and binds us to the Trinity by dwelling in the soul of the just. This «insertion» into God confers an elevated state of existence, a participation in God's divine nature:

«For since the Word is in the Father and the Spirit is given by the Word, he wills that we should receive the Spirit (...) [so that] we too may become one in the Word, and through him in the Father»⁸¹.

We could say that the Holy Spirit is the 'spirit of divine filiation', the mutual relation of divine paternity and filiation. Although all created things participate in the teleological ordering of the Son by way of the Spirit⁸², only man receives what Athanasius terms the self possession of the Son («τοῦ Υἱοῦ λαμβάνει») ⁸³. The Holy Spirit makes us participants of the Sonship of Christ so that we come to possess divine life as adopted sons of God. Original sin deprived man of the capacity to know and love God, and the soul had to be re-created by the Spirit in

order to re-establish our original friendship with Him. The Holy Spirit entered Jesus Christ when our human nature was hypostatically united to the divine Word: «the spirit that man had once he had fallen is created anew (ἀνανεῦσαι), it [the Holy Spirit] came to the creature when the Word became flesh»⁸⁴.

God fulfilled the divine design of salvation in Jesus Christ, making a new man from the two Adams, our original human nature and that wounded by original sin. In the beginning, Adam's nature was adorned with God's grace and several preternatural gifts, but after the Fall it was deprived of divine life. In Christ, the two states or conditions of human nature were fused by being joined to the Word of God. Thus, all of mankind received a re-founding and a perfecting of the original order of grace. Our human nature was re-united with the Word in Christ, and each individual's «re-creation» consists in re-union with the Word. The Spirit of God transformed Jesus into the Anointed One, the Christ: «and yet he who gives the Spirit, the same is said also to be made, that is, to be made among us Lord because of his manhood, while giving the Spirit because he is God's Word»⁸⁵. The Holy Spirit brings about a new creation in Christ's human nature, re-creating the *noûs* of the soul, the organ of union with God⁸⁶.

b) *Man's participation in the Spirit*

Athanasius affirms that the measure of a man's sanctity is in direct relation to the intensity of his active participation in the divine Spirit of God. The more fully one partakes of the Spirit, the more holy he becomes:

«Creatures arise from nothing, they have come to exist because, «in the beginning, God created heaven and earth» (*Gen.* 1, 1) and all that is found to be contained in it. However, the Holy Spirit is [comes] from God, and given that no one knows the intimacy of a man except his own spirit; the same is true of God. We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit of God (cf. *1 Cor.* 2, 11-12)»⁸⁷.

Man must receive the Spirit in order to know God, and in turn to know himself. The Greek Socratic tradition placed the key to happiness in self-knowledge. Christianity teaches that knowledge of God is necessary if one hopes to really know oneself. The spirit (*noûs*) is the faculty that provides this self-knowledge, but the Holy Spirit is the noetic object of our intellectual participation in God.

We are progressively divinized and assimilated to the express image of God, the Word, in the Spirit: «Τὰ δὲ κτίσματα, ὡς εἴρηται, ζωοποιούμανά ἐστι δι' αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δὲ μὴ μετέχον ζωῆ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μετεχόμενον καὶ ζωοποιούῃν τὰ κτίσματα,...» — As it was said, creatures are vivified by him [the Spirit], but he is not Life by participation, rather he himself is the object of participation and he vivifies creatures⁸⁸. In the Spirit man can possess God intellectually, who enlightens the *noûs* so that it is informed by the divine *Logos*.

Although the virtues of faith, hope and charity are immediately infused into a person's soul at Baptism, Athanasius presents sanctification as a gradual process. The Incarnation created the possibility of a new communication of the Spirit of God to man in Jesus Christ. The Son of God possessed the Spirit, and following the Resurrection, his Spirit remains in Christ's «mystical body» as a type of spiritual deposit⁸⁹. This presence is not merely an intellectual type of knowledge but he joins us to God the Father:

«It seems that the anointing and the seal that are in us are not of a created nature, but of the nature of the Son who, by the Spirit that is in him, unites us to the Father. This is why John said: «we know that we dwell in God, and he is us, in that he has given us his Spirit» (1 *Joh.* 4, 13). If then, by participation in the Spirit we come to be participants of divine nature, it would be unreasonable for anyone to assert that the Spirit seems to be of a created nature and not that of God. This is truly why all who are in him [the Spirit] are divinized. If one divinizes there can be no doubt that his nature is that of God»⁹⁰.

The Holy Spirit, present in the Lord's human nature, unites us to the Son and through him to the Father. Only after the In-

carnation does the gift of grace become permanently united with Christ's human nature. We can now receive the «self-possession of the Son» from his own Spirit⁹¹. Adam could not pass on grace as a *personal* possession because it was an inheritance entrusted to him which he could lose.

Basil emphasizes that the dignity of the Christian derives from this participation in the divine nature of the Spirit: «It is not by nature that heavenly powers sanctify, if not, they would not differ from the Holy Spirit; it is in proportion to the relative excellence of those who have the Spirit that is the measure of their sanctity»⁹². As the common adage goes, God's grace does not suppress our human nature, but perfects it. We must dispose the soul to accept this grace and cooperate with it by the practice of virtue. Cyril of Alexandria writes that the soul acquires a new stability and strength when the Holy Spirit inserts it into Christ: «the human soul, after he had made it his own, and had imbued it with the firmness and changelessness of his nature, as one dyes wool with solid color, was declared by him to be superior to sin (...). Thus the soul, once it had been made his who knows no sin, straightaway acquired a condition of firmness and stability in all goods, and a great power over sin. Christ (...) therefore was made, so to speak, the root and origin of all those who in the Spirit are reborn to newness of life and bodily immortality. For that unshakable constancy, which comes from divinity, he transferred to the whole human race by communicating grace to men»⁹³.

4. *The Intervention of the Holy Spirit*

Let us take a look at some interesting points concerning the action of the Holy Spirit in salvation history. To begin with, the just of the Old Testament enjoyed a holiness that was of the same nature as our own, but it was purely external and bodily. The grace they received was «a cleansing of the flesh» (cf. *Heb.* 9, 13) with no capacity for internal renovation of the soul. This situation changed with the advent of the Son of God in Christ. Man can now be purified of sin so that he can receive the adoption as son in a more perfect manner. Besides the elevating character of God's grace, a new healing grace was given to mankind.

a) *A new intervention of the Holy Spirit*

Athanasius cites St. Paul in Chapter Thirty of the first Epistle to Serapion: «may the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the charity of God, and the communion [communication] of the Holy Spirit be with you all» (*II Cor.* 13, 13)⁹⁴. It becomes apparent that man would not be able to receive grace if it were not for the Holy Spirit who first enters the soul to prepare it:

«The grace and the gift is given in the Trinity, from the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. In the same manner that we are given grace from the Father through the Son, so too communion in the gift would not be possible if not in the Holy Spirit. Being participants we possess the charity of the Father, the grace of the Son and the *κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, communion of his Holy Spirit»⁹⁵.

The Holy Spirit disposes our human nature to receive divine grace. The Father represents divine charity, the eminent self-donation of life itself; the Son is the spiritual incarnation of the gift of grace, the gratuitous entrance of God into man's realm; and the Spirit is the *communion* or *community* of Trinitarian divine life.

God is an assembled congregation or body of persons who admits the entry of other spiritual beings into his common life. And the principal purpose of the Holy Spirit's mission is to draw men into the communal life of the Trinity. Then, as members of Christ's body, the Spirit vivifies them, and unites the world to himself in Christ⁹⁶. Our regenerated humanity is *in* the Spirit inasmuch as we are related to Christ. The Spirit is not united to human souls as the Word is joined with Christ's human nature, but rather the Holy Spirit is the union or communion of divine Trinitarian life by which Christians are made one with him.

In the first ten chapters of the *Epistola Prima ad Serapionem*, Athanasius explains the correct interpretation of the word «spirit» as it appears in *Amos* 4, 13: «for he who forms the mountains, and creates the wind (spirit), and declares to man his thought, who makes the morning darkness, and treads on the heights of

the earth — the Lord, the God of host is his name»⁹⁷. There exists a vital relationship between the divine Πνεῦμα and the created πνοή — God always intervenes in the created world by way of the Spirit. In fact, he played an essential role at the moment of the world's creation. The Father is the origin or source of life, the Son is the mediator, and the Spirit communicates the power to exist. Origen referred to the Spirit as the «breath of the mouth of God»⁹⁸, and Irenaeus wrote that the divine ἄγιον Πνεῦμα is eternal while the πνοή is only temporal⁹⁹.

Athanasius reminds us that the Holy Spirit intervened in the act of creation: the Father «κτιζόμενα ἔχει ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου»¹⁰⁰ — created all things through the Word in the Spirit. All created things have the power to exist by the Word from the Spirit. The πνοή is the temporal presence of the Pneu'ma who enables created beings to receive the influence of the mediating Word who sustains everything in his power. Irrational beings receive their natural and temporal life from God's Spirit, but man receives spiritual gifts that transcend his natural state — above all, he can receive eternal life.

Following original sin, there was need for a new type of creation to carry out man's salvation, a new intervention of God's Spirit. When Our Lord announces to the Apostles that he and the Father will send a new Paraclete (cf. *Joh.* 20, 22), Christ breathes upon them and they receive his Spirit¹⁰¹, the breath of life expired by the Son, who is a mystical communication of Divine Life to man¹⁰². The Johannine text refers to a new creation taking place, a re-creation as described by Athanasius¹⁰³. The Apostles received the Spirit of Christ in order to continue his mission and to extend his work throughout time. We suggest that the *noûs* was filled with the divine πνεῦμα of the Holy Spirit, making us instruments of the Word. Although Athanasius does not explicitly speak of the Holy Spirit as person, he is not presented as an impersonal divine power. There would have been no need to defend the divinity of the Holy Spirit against the *Tropici* if the Spirit was just the personification of a divine force¹⁰⁴. On the contrary, the Holy Spirit Himself enters the soul and imparts that which is characteristic of his Personality, the communion of life in the Trinity.

b) *The Spirit enters the soul*

Athanasius emphasized that man was given a greater grace than that of Adam¹⁰⁵. The sacrament of baptism imparts the Holy Spirit and the Word: «things which are created through the Word have the vital strength of being of the Spirit by way of the Word»¹⁰⁶. Adam possessed supernatural life, but the origin of that sanctity lay outside him, its source was in God. The hypostatic union joined the Word with our human nature in Jesus Christ. The transcendent God and Creator entered Our Lord, and following Christ's resurrection from the dead, the Spirit continues to form a «mystical body» of souls in Our Lord's glorified human flesh. Gregory of Nyssa described the Incarnation as the pure divinity of God joined with humanity, filling it with his vital energy¹⁰⁷.

The divine power of the Spirit becomes our internal life source: 'the Son is life, as is said: 'I am Life' (*Joh.* 14, 6), we are said to be vivified in the Spirit»¹⁰⁸. He transforms our being, making it a suitable abode for God. And as our vivifying principle (αὐτοζωή) he fortifies the soul so that Christ can live there. Unlike Adam, man can now be sanctified from within: «Adam received grace from without (ἐξωθεν), and not adapted to the body (συννημασμένην)»¹⁰⁹. The greater grace of the new economy of salvation suggests that the act of faith in God, which takes its origin from outside of man, is complemented by the entrance of the Holy Spirit into the soul. The third person of the Blessed Trinity is the principle of adaptation and concord, conforming all men to Christ in his resurrected and «mystical body»¹¹⁰.

Athanasius may have also had in mind the Pauline tradition concerning the two orders of intellectual activity in the soul: the πνεῦμα and the νοῦς. The rational mind can exercise intellectual operations and arrive at clear, precise, and logical conclusions, but the spirit (νοῦς) is capable of more profound insights. The human νοῦς can receive strong spiritual lights from the Divine Spirit of God¹¹¹. When the grace of the Spirit is adapted to the body we are made *pneumatikós*: we are no longer just *logikós*. We can now receive deeper spiritual insights because the source of grace emanates from within the soul. Basil wrote that, as a rational animal, man is capable of receiving divine communication given in

the living Spirit of God¹¹². The Holy Spirit is internally present to the soul, he is the living law of God that gives us true freedom¹¹³. Our freedom is an important aspect of human salvation because it is required for merit. One can expect a reward from another only if he can do something that is within his own power. And creatures can merit before God only if they receive this divine life from God and put it to good use. In a certain sense, man truly possesses his freedom, and that is the only thing he can offer to God and to others.

5. *The pouring forth of the Spirit*

In addition to intervening in the Incarnation of Christ and when Our Lord ordained his Apostles, God's Spirit came to a few select souls in order to prepare humanity for the coming of the Messiah. Following original sin, the Holy Spirit remained among the chosen people of God in the prophets. The advent of Christ was the moment designated for the Holy Spirit to be poured forth upon the souls of all just men¹¹⁴. We find that Athanasius places particular importance on the gift of prophecy, a manifestation of the Spirits' inspiration in the soul. It is a grace that prepares us to recognize the Word Incarnate:

«When Our Lord was among us we were promoted, as being rescued from sin (...). Before his becoming man he dispensed the Spirit to the saints, so also when made man, he sanctifies all by the Spirit»¹¹⁵.

«Long ago he came to the saints individually, and guided them who legitimately received him, but neither when they were begotten was it said that he had become man, nor when they suffered that he himself suffered»¹¹⁶.

The Holy Spirit led the saints 'by the Son in the Spirit'¹¹⁷. He was a spiritual guide like that bestowed to Moses, who requested to be led into the Promised Land, not by an angel, but by the very Spirit of God¹¹⁸.

All of this changed when the Son of God became Incarnate. Now the Holy Spirit permanently dwells in the Body of Christ, and the Spirit becomes *irrevocable*: «for while mere man receives

[grace], he is liable to lose it again, as was seen in Adam. He received God's grace and then lost it. So that the grace be irrevocable and kept sure for men, he himself appropriates the gift»¹¹⁹. The Word gave the Spirit to Jesus Christ when he took our flesh, and following his Resurrection and Ascension into heaven, he supplies the Holy Spirit to men who believe in him and are incorporated into his Body.

The effusion of grace in the Spirit is not given «directly» to the soul but is reserved as a deposit in the body of Christ. Athanasius describes the anointing of Our Lord by John the Baptist as a sign of his being formed by the Spirit. This represents the unction that all baptized Christians receive:

«[The Saviour], being God, and always ruling in the Father's Kingdom, and being he who *supplies* [χορηγός] the Holy Spirit, nevertheless is here said to be anointed so that in being anointed as a man by the Spirit, he might provide us men not only exaltation and resurrection, but τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνοίκησιν καὶ εἰκειότητα κατασκευάσῃ — to prepare the inhabitation and administration of the Spirit»¹²⁰.

The Word became man in order to personally give us the Spirit of God who would administer the gifts of grace. His human body was anointed by the Holy Spirit so that the Word could dwell in it, and became a «deposit» of created grace to be given to other men. However, we should not view Christ as a mere *central dispensary* of grace. For someone to gain access to God's grace he must be inserted into the «mystical body» so that the Holy Spirit can administer it to him. When a man receives grace, both the Son and the Holy Spirit become present in him because they are consubstantial¹²¹.

V. THE UNCTION AND SEAL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The Holy Spirit anoints men and removes original sin from the soul in the sacrament of Baptism. This divine action removes the obstacle separating man from God. We now take a more detailed look at the transformation of the soul by the Holy Spirit

viewed as unction and seal. We believe that Athanasius' doctrine on this topic has not been fully appreciated nor studied to date. It could offer interesting considerations and perspectives on his theology of the Holy Spirit.

1. *Divinization*

As we mentioned earlier, Athanasius relies upon two fundamental arguments to defend the divinity of the Holy Spirit: *i)* that He is consubstantial with the other two members of the Trinity — the Father and the Son; and *ii)* the Holy Spirit must be divine because he confers divinization to man. I cite at length a text that merits close scrutiny:

Καὶ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος λεγόμεθα πάντες μέτοχοι τοῦ Θεοῦ. «Οὐκ οἶδατε, γάρ φησιν, ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ; Εἴ τις τὸ ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ Θεός. Ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, οἷτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς.» Εἰ κτίσμα δὲ ἦν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἂν τις ἐν αὐτῷ μετουσία τοῦ Θεοῦ γένοιτο ἡμῖν. ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρα κτίσματι μὲν συνηπτόμεθα, ἀλλότριον δὲ τῆς Θείας φύσεως ἐγινόμεθα, ὡς κατὰ μηδὲν αὐτῆς μετέχοντες. Νῦν δὲ, ὅτε λεγόμεθα μέτοχοι Χριστοῦ καὶ μέτοχοι Θεοῦ, δείκνυται τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν Χρίσμα καὶ ἡ σφραγὶς μὴ οὔσα τῆς τῶν γένητων φύσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ, διὰ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Πνεύματος συνάπτοντος ἡμᾶς τῷ Πατρὶ.¹²²

This passage demonstrates how much Athanasius differs from the Arians. *First*, the Holy Spirit is *homoousios* with the Father and the Son; and *second*, the Holy Spirit is joined to the soul so that his uncreated unction and seal will *produce* a created effect in man. What is produced or created in the soul is a spiritual effect: participation in God. For us this is a *created* share in His life. The Holy Spirit gives man the life of Christ, «but when we are vivified in the Spirit, it is Christ himself who is said to live in us (cf. *Gal.* 2, 20)»¹²³. The Holy Spirit «created» the fullness of grace in Christ, and he continues to «create» grace in the Christian.

When the Word became man, God created a new situation for all of mankind. A specific human nature was assumed by the

Word and a new relationship was forged between God and man. The hypostatic union is of course a substantial union of the Word with Christ's human nature while our union with God is accidental. Nonetheless, we do experience a type of personal union to all three of the divine persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Man can now live in God's heavenly presence because he is divinized in Christ's flesh:

«Never could man have stood in the presence of God unless He that had taken on a body were the natural and true Word of God. And, just as we would never have been freed from sin and malediction unless the flesh taken by the Word were truly human (...) so man would never have been *divinized* unless he that became flesh were by nature the true and proper Word of the Father. For this was the union effected, that he who was man by nature might be united with Him who is by nature God, and that thus our salvation and *divinization* might be lastingly assured»¹²⁴.

There is a kind of «extension» of the Trinitarian consubstantiality to men through Christ's flesh. Since Christ is now *homoousios* with humanity we can come to share in the Word's divinity. The Incarnation made the remission of sin possible and it disposes mankind to live in God's presence. The new plan of salvation is not a mere *verbal* presence of God through faith. Now, God Himself enters the soul to make it like Himself by divinizing it. The ineffable Word became *consubstantial* with man while remaining *homoousios* with the Father. He became like us to such an extent that he can even communicate his divinity to us by transforming our soul through union to the Word. Christ is the cause and vital principle of divinization. But it is the Holy Spirit who joins us to Christ and then to the Word.

Athanasius believed that the Incarnation of the Word was the only viable means for redeeming mankind. Christ was not sent simply to be the full realization of man *qua* man but so that our salvation might be realized as a redemption. Mankind is not just liberated from sin, the Word communicates his divinity to the soul. We could say that sanctification or divinization is a process of immersion in Christ and assimilation to the Word. This

begins with an act of faith and sacramental baptism¹²⁵, and our progressive conformation to Christ is advanced by the *presence* of the Holy Spirit¹²⁶.

Just what does Athanasius understand by divinization? We have already said that it consists of a mystical incorporation into Christ. It appears feasible also to consider divinization as the *promise* of eternal life in heaven. Our divine vocation is to live in God's *presence*, that is, to be introduced into the Kingdom of Heaven:

«Ὅθεν ἡ ἀλήθεια δείκνυσι μὴ εἶναι τῶν γενητῶν τὸν Λόγον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῦτων αὐτὸν δημιουργόν οὕτω γὰρ καὶ προσελάβετο τὸ γενητὸν καὶ ἀνβρωώπινον σῶμα, ἵνα, τοῦτο ὡς δημιουργὸς ἀνακαινίσας, ἐν ἑαυτῷ βεοποιήσῃ καὶ οὕτως εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν εἰσαγάγῃ πάντας ἡμᾶς καθ' ὁμοίτητα ἐκείνου.» — Thus the truth demonstrates to us that the Word is not made, but rather he himself is their creator. For therefore did He assume the created and human body, that having renewed it as its Framer, He divinizes it in Himself and introduces us all into the kingdom of heaven after His likeness»¹²⁷.

The human flesh of Christ was divinized by the *Logos* through the hypostatic union of his assumed body to the Son. This union divinizes human nature so that those creatures who exist in humanity can also come to enter into heaven. The Son assumed his human body so that he could divinize and exalt it. This most certainly occurs in the reception of the sacraments, the visible signs of Christ's grace.

Athanasius makes little distinction between the first creation of Adam and the re-creation of man in Jesus Christ. In fact, the soteriological reconstitution of man takes precedence over the work of creation inasmuch as it is the completion of the original creative act of God¹²⁸. We recall that God's presence in Adam's soul was an intellectual enlightenment that helped him discover his eternal destiny:

«For God, the creator of the universe and king of all, who is beyond all being and human thought, since he is good and bountiful, has made mankind in his own image through his own Word, our Saviour Jesus Christ; and he

also made man perceptive and understanding of reality through his similarity to him, giving him also a conception and knowledge of his own eternity, so that as long as he kept this likeness he might never abandon his concept of God or leave the company of the saints, but retaining the grace of him who bestowed it on him, and also the special power given him by the Father's Word, he might rejoice and *converse with God* [συνομιλῆ τῷ Θεῷ], living an idyllic and truly blessed and immortal life»¹²⁹.

When God «decided» to create man, the idea or image of the perfect man was conceived in His mind and posited as His own natural Son made man — Jesus Christ. Man was designed to be a «god on earth», a physical and spiritual representative of the unbegotten Son. Thus, the ontological presence of God was elevated to a new level of conscious awareness in Adam. Athanasius breaks with the Origenist idea of man's soul being trapped in his body; our body is not a punishment for original sin because it comes from God. The original Adam lived in God's company and enjoyed a foretaste of heaven in being able to contemplate the Lord. Adam was destined to live eternally, and to grow in his intellectual union with God.

For Athanasius, heaven is an eternal dialogue with God, an intercourse or mutual conversation with Him. Man's destiny is to eternally communicate with the three divine persons of the Trinity. We suggest that our salvation was raised to a higher level by the Incarnation. Our communication with God does not end here on earth, but we are exalted to such an extent that we «enter» God's personal communal life. All three persons form special relationships with men because the latter are made in God's image — they are also persons¹³⁰. Athanasius laid the conceptual groundwork for the notion of a verbal communication of God to man. Man's ontological dignity as an *imago Dei* was elevated so that he could «converse with God».

Since God is eternal and immutable —no change can take place in his nature— he must have modified our human nature so it could receive the Holy Spirit. Our spiritual soul surpasses the purely animal one present in irrational creatures that bear *vestigia Dei* (traces of God). We see an important effect is this regard:

human beings can receive messages from God¹³¹. In the Old Testament, especially in the book of Wisdom, the ability to recognize our end and discover the means to attain it were of paramount importance. Divine wisdom was viewed as an «issuance from God» (cf. *Wis.* 9, 6) with a self-existent character. We could say that more than any other divine attribute wisdom was singled out as being like a person.

Interestingly enough, the author of the Wisdom literature lived in Alexandria as did Athanasius. He described wisdom in terms similar to those of Anaxagoras' original notion of the *noûs*. The *noûs* was the divine *logos* or *ratio* of God that reveals a rational order in the world. God reveals his presence in the world in a *logical* and a *verbal* way which human beings can discover. The mark or sign of his authorship and designs are imprinted in the nature of created things, and man's *noûs* can discover this divine presence. The original conception of the *noûs* received further transformation with Plato's introduction of goodness in association with the ordering *Logos*. We now have both an ontological and an ethical component to God's presence and in the perception of it. The Greek «world-view», which presented the *Logos* as a world-soul, is incorporated and modified by Jewish and Christian thinkers. But, the Wisdom literature adds a personal touch to the Word's *presence* in creation¹³² by connecting it with their monotheistic God.

Origen understood the *noûs* as a third element in man, the most elevated and spiritual part of the soul. According to him, man is composed of a body, a soul, and the *noûs*. Athanasius shared this view, presenting the *noûs* as a specially endowed faculty, terming it the «mind of the soul». He even quotes the book of Wisdom to illustrate why our soul can be informed by the Spirit of God: the Holy Spirit is the «breath of the might of God» (cf. *Wis.* 7, 25), filling man with knowledge and love for God. The *noûs* is capable of being activated by the Spirit, becoming the expression of God's divine wisdom. Man not only can hear God speak to him, but he can also speak for God. The Holy Spirit works in the *noûs* and provides it with the enlightenment required for sanctification through participation in God's *Logos*.

Prior to original sin, Adam and Eve could contemplate divine things: «for having no obstacle to the knowledge of the

divine he continuously contemplates by his purity the image of the Father, God the Word, in whose image he was made»¹³³. Man's soul «was created in order to see God and be enlightened by him»¹³⁴. Our soul reflects the dignity of the Word as God's representative in creation through spiritual enlightenment. It is as if God's light shines in the soul to reveal the hidden Word. The soul is illuminated *in* the Holy Spirit as St. Paul wrote: it is in the Spirit that the eyes of your hearts are illuminated¹³⁵.

Following the Incarnation, divine contemplation takes place in the Spirit of God who reveals Christ to us. Justin Martyr's «logos theology» depicted the image or Word as a transformation of the knowledge of Faith into God-like virtues by means of spiritual enlightenment: «this washing is called illumination, since they who learn these things become illuminated intellectually»¹³⁶. Clement of Alexandria described this enlightenment as taking place *through* Christ¹³⁷. We can summarize by saying that the Holy Spirit helps man discover, not himself, but the Word of God in his soul, who wishes to direct us toward an unknown country, the Kingdom of God¹³⁸. The *Logos* is no longer far away, contemplated as «divine things in heaven» but he is the Incarnate Christ dwelling in us.

We have discussed at some length the notion of divinization as being God's presence in the soul and that man can come to be like God in communication with the three divine persons. Now we direct our attention to the application of the merits of Christ's death and resurrection to us. As we commented earlier, this requires some form of union with the Word in Christ. Although Adam could contemplate God and be enlightened by him, Athanasius makes no mention of divinization *per se*. In fact, he does not even address the subject in the *Oratio contra gentes*. Although the term divinizing (Θεοποιήσις-forming God) and other derivatives of Θεοποιέω are numerous in this work, they are most often used with reference to idolatry¹³⁹. This false «divinization» actually reflects and bears witness to the spiritual darkening of man's mind and soul:

«For to such a depth have some fallen in their understanding, to such darkness of mind, that they have even devised for themselves, and made gods of things that have no existence at all, nor any place among things created»¹⁴⁰.

Idolatry is a crucial point for Athanasius, and he dedicates an almost inordinate amount of space to it in *Oratio contra gentes*, teaching that the true purpose of its practice is to justify a search for pleasure¹⁴¹. The search for the sensual in place of the spiritual is attributed to the spiritual blindness of the darkened *noûs*, and this makes it difficult for the soul to discern reality¹⁴².

When Adam rejected God, the human mind was closed off from higher thought and it became the victim of a variety of imaginary phantasms. Men attempt to «divinize» things which prove to be mortal. For example, even the Greek gods of mythology «divinize» their illegitimate offspring, condoning these sins to hide their own guilt¹⁴³. And, this so-called ‘power of divinization’ is not attributed to the artist but to his technique — the *ἐπιστήμαι Θεοποιούσι* (the god-making arts)¹⁴⁴. Therefore, the first divine precept for the Chosen People of Israel forbid idol worship because it defiles man¹⁴⁵. It is good to admire the works of God in creation says Athanasius, but it is gravely sinful to make them out to be gods¹⁴⁶.

The truth of the matter is that the Word became man in order to divinize us: «αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐννσρωπηοιεν, ζινα ihme;iw beopoihb;vmen» (for he became man that we might become divine)¹⁴⁷. No creature can divinize anything. The Incarnation transfers the work of salvation from a spiritual enlightenment *by* the Spirit toward the filial adoption of man *in* the Spirit. An important aspect of the *image* symbolism —man was created in the image of God (cf. *Gen.* 1, 26)— is man’s incorporation into God through divine filiation. Man is placed into God as a son, but he is adopted by the Father in the eternal Son. The first letter of the *Orationes contra Arianos* speaks of how this takes place:

«For there can be no *adoption* apart from the true Son, since he himself tells us: «no one knows who the Father is except the Son and he to whom the Son may choose to reveal him» [*Luke* 10, 22] (...). Since then all they are called sons and gods [by grace], whether on earth or in heaven, have received adoption and *divinization* through the Word, and since the Word is the Son, it is evident that all receive from him, that he is Son before all others, he alone is true Son, he alone true God of true God»¹⁴⁸.

God offers us the possibility of becoming children of God in the Son so that we can participate in his own divine life. This new *modus salutis* continues to be essentially intellectual, that is, our divine call is to contemplate the Godhead. However, the way that it is done has been radically altered. Man has been raised above the angelic type of knowledge available to him in Adam so that he can know the Father as the Son knows him. We now have a filial knowledge of God the Father.

The price for this type of redemption is incalculable, the Word Incarnate assumes our flesh in order to die as a man and give us the Spirit that formed it:

«The Word was made flesh in order to offer up his body for all, and that we, partaking of his Spirit, might be divinized [θεοποιηθῆναι], a gift which we could not otherwise have gained than by his clothing himself in our created body»¹⁴⁹.

Union with Christ requires a grace and a divinizing principle that cleanse us of sin. Before the process of divinization can begin, the soul is cleansed by receiving the Holy Spirit, and then the Word obliterates original and personal sin from the soul. Athanasius speaks of Christ's «advance in wisdom» as the more patent manifestation of the *Logos* in Our Lord's humanity: «what moreover is this advance that is spoken of, but, as I said before, the divinizing (θεοποιηθεῖσα) and grace (χάρις) imparted from Wisdom to man, sin being obliterated in them and their inward corruption, according to their likeness and relationship to the Word?»¹⁵⁰. Sin is destroyed in man upon receiving the Spirit and becoming related to the Son of God in Christ. The union of our flesh to the Word allows the *Logos* to re-create us in himself, he purges sin from the soul¹⁵¹.

We have described how Athanasius understood divinization as an essential part of redemption, and that it was impossible before the Incarnation. But, he does not speculate on how Adam and Eve —along with all their descendents— would have reached heaven if they had not sinned. This is in keeping with Athanasius' very practical and Scriptural mentality. The fact of the matter is that Adam did sin, and the Incarnation of the Word made it possible for all men to become like God, not only

through contemplation, but also in human action. It seems curious, but he provides no conclusions concerning the importance of the sacraments for that activity. It may have been too obvious for comment or simply beyond the scope of the important matters of the moment.

2. *Baptism: internal justification and spousal union with Christ*

Although Athanasius does not discuss justification *per se*, we have seen the importance he places on the sacrament of Baptism as the first step in man's personal redemption. He emphasizes this sacrament to the exclusion of all the others, but one is hard pressed to find any reference to the other six sacraments. There are a few allusions to the Holy Eucharist, but even those are not central to his argument. Let us take a look at the effects of Baptism in the soul of the justified Christian. Earlier we described his view of Christ's baptism as a sign of the divine life a Christian receives when cleansed by the sacrament. The specific characteristic of baptism is the cleansing of the soul, but it also entails a *regenerating* grace. God «logifies» our nature in Christ's body:

«As we were all from earth and die in Adam, being regenerated from above with water and the Spirit, in Christ we are all quickened [ζωοποιούμεθα - vivified]; the flesh is no longer earthly, but henceforth *logified* [λογωθείσης]»¹⁵².

The first thing that strikes us about this is that our spiritual regeneration affects the flesh or *sárx*. Athanasius apparently did understand that original sin wounded our human nature and its cure is a result of Christ assuming a human body to the Word. The flesh of Our Lord is divinized or «logified» because it is united to the *Logos*. Therefore, we can understand baptism as the necessary means to become living members of Christ's «mystical body».

Perhaps, regeneration is the re-creation of our nature, where the origin of our being is transferred to the *Logos* by the Holy Spirit. Then, the Word *injects* his divine life into the soul. The sacrament initiates the historical process of redemption in which

Christ's merits are applied to the soul. And this individual redemption is perfected by the Holy Eucharist: «we are divinized not by partaking in the body of some man, but by receiving the Body of the Word himself»¹⁵³. We receive the Sacred Humanity of our Lord in Holy Communion which continues to *logify* our human nature so that it participate more fully in God's divine life. Our purification is brought about through the hypostatic union of the divine *Logos* to a specific human nature, that of our Lord Jesus Christ. We might say that the Christian takes part in that grace of union when he/she enters into communion with God in the Church.

What does Athanasius mean by logifying our human nature? He says that «we are filled with the justice of the Word»¹⁵⁴. The divine therapy that cures us of the *illness* caused by original sin is not some sort of external treatment—a merely palliative measure—, but rather it is an authentic renovation of our nature:

«In the beginning, when nothing existed at all, only a nod and an act of the will were necessary for the creation of the universe. But when man had been made and the necessity arose to heal, not the non-existent, but what had come into being, it followed that the healer and Saviour had to come to cure what existed»¹⁵⁵.

Our Lord applies a spiritual therapy (θεραπεύω) by means of sanctifying grace. Baptism confers a type of sacramental medicament that heals the soul by removing the internal corruption of sin. When a Christian makes an act of faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour he receives «life itself as a covering or garment, and corruption is destroyed by it»¹⁵⁶. A man sets aside the garment of sin, the corrupted human nature of our fallen condition, and puts on the eternal life of the Christ. This reflects the importance Athanasius placed on the Christian doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*. God as Creator is ontologically present in the most intimate recesses of our very being but he cannot be known or manifest to us because of original sin. When our soul is stained by sin it must be re-made *ab intra* by Christ. The power of the Holy Spirit enters to capacitate the soul to receive the «express image» of God.

We suggest that the Incarnation caused an ontological transformation of human nature by imparting a *virtual* axiological

improvement to the entire human race¹⁵⁷. The act of faith and the sacrament of baptism relate us to Christ's «mystical body»; only then do we begin to share in his glory: «because of our relationship to his Body we too have become God's temple, and consequently are made God's sons so that even in us the Lord is now worshipped»¹⁵⁸. The Word established a divine relationship with man when he assumed our nature, and the *Logos* became personally related to us. God does not begin to participate in humanity, but we receive his divinity in Christ. Our Lord became the gateway to heaven, the new type of humanity. He is the perfect divinized man that all men and women are called to be.

Our incorporation into Christ initiates a new life which is similar to the new state created by the marriage of a man and a woman. In fact, Athanasius describes our union with Christ as a spiritual marriage in *De Virginitate*. The greatest of God's graces was to give us a sanctity like that of the angels, the supernatural virtue of virginity. The Church in fact refers to Christians that live in a celibate state as being brides of Christ (νόμφας τοῦ Χριστοῦ)¹⁵⁹. Our Lord's body is both the paradigm and the very sacrament of virginity:

«Τό μυστήριον γὰρ τοῦτο, φησι', μετα »estí, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ μακάρις παῦλος, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ κολλόμενος τῇ γυναίκί, ἐν σῶμά εἰσιν ἀμφοτέροι. Οὕτω πάλιν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνὴ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνεῦμα ἐστι». — «'this mystery', said Blessed Paul, 'is great' [*Eph.* 5, 32], as all those who are joined to a spouse, both of them become one body. In the same way all men or women who are joined to the Lord, are one spirit»¹⁶⁰.

St. Ambrose, who may have used this work to write his treatise on virginity, explained that man's union with God is indissoluble and eternal in virtue of a spousal bond formed between the believer and Christ¹⁶¹. The «grace of virginity» impresses a *power of adherence* to the Lord, a bond so strong that he who receives it is said to have the same spirit as Christ. A Christian can become *ipse Christus*, the same Christ, in virtue of the power of the Holy Spirit. The Son is the acting subject or person in which Christ lives. For us, our person lives in Christ in virtue of the power of the Holy Spirit, that unites us to the *Logos*. The

Christian lives an «angelic life» because the virtue of chastity comes from heaven and has an eschatological projection, elevating the soul toward the complete and consummate bliss of heaven where it is completely divinized¹⁶². Ambrose writes that Christ is the author and the archetype of virginity because his human body was not contaminated by human generation. It was an instrument of God's presence for man¹⁶³.

We believe that Athanasius understood our existence as being an outflowing of God's divine life. We receive our being from God, and the *Logos* is the architect of that being. Man was made like God with the gift of reason which can lead him to an intellectual awareness of God's existence. He can discover the ontological presence of God in all creation, including his own soul. The Incarnation made this presence more divine because we can come to manifest the very Image of God, Jesus Christ, in our souls. No longer does man merely reflect the *presence* of the Creator in his thought and action, now the Spirit of Christ enters the soul to transform it into another Christ. For Athanasius the Johannine expression, 'being re-born in Christ', refers to baptism. The Holy Spirit engenders the divine life of Christ in us, he places us *inside* the eternal generation of the Son.

The Holy Spirit confers a power of adherence to Our Lord, a spousal union that leads to a unity of desires with Christ. The personal desires of the Christian become identified with those of Christ, the glorification of the Father. This attitude allows us to understand the ways of God:

«'Απ' αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν κοσμικῶν, ἐὰν θέλωμεν, καὶ τὰ ἄνω νοοῦμεν. Ἡ δὲ συναπτομένη τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ νυμφίῳ, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ νυμφίου αὐτῆς κατεργάζεται.» — «For example worldly things, if one desires them [for God], he will understand heavenly realities. That which is joined to the celestial spouse, does the will of the spouse»¹⁶⁴.

The Christian is joined to the Lord's body and becomes one with him in mind and body. Just as in matrimony, when two human beings become *una caro* —one body and one spirit—, we are wed to Christ. Ambrose sees Christ as being «virginal chastity», he is the epitomy of perfect union and fidelity to God¹⁶⁵.

The Christian desires are, above all else, to be united with Christ and transfixed to the cross with him:

«This is the will of Christ, that those who are united with him, carry nothing of this world, nor care for earthly things; but rather they should only wish to hang from the cross, [the cross] from which he was crucified for us; he should be concerned to attend and be solicitous, day and night, to celebrate perpetual hymns and glorify him, and they will have the eyes of their minds enlightened, knowing his will and complying with it, possessing a simple heart and a clean mind»¹⁶⁶.

The Christian strives to praise God in all things, doing everything for the glory of the Creator¹⁶⁷. This is the true end of man, to give glory to God. And one can give glory to God only by dying to oneself as if on a cross.

Christians imitate the self-abandonment of Jesus Christ to the will of the Father, who took all of our sins upon himself and supports our passions and defects, becoming sin for us:

«I am from earth being mortal by nature, but I have subsequently become the Word's flesh, and he has borne my passions even though he is free of them. In this way I become free of them (...) as the Lord became man in putting on the body, we men are divinized by the Word in being taken to him διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ [through his flesh], and henceforth inherit everlasting life»¹⁶⁸.

This ascetical abandonment is a continuation of Christ's initial *kénosis* at the Incarnation. According to the rite for atoning sacrifices in the Old Testament (cf. *Lev.* 4, 24; *Num.* 19, 9; *Mic.* 6, 7; *Ps.* 40, 7), the word «sin» is the act of sacrifice or the victim offered. Christ was both the priest and the victim of the sacrifice on Calvary. In an analogous way, the Christian must live with this *kénotic* self-abasement, allowing the divine person of the Word to be the support and subject that acts in his life¹⁶⁹.

Jesus Christ suffered our just punishment and he bears our passions so that we can be divinized and manifest God's glory:

«The Lord himself said that the Spirit is the Spirit of truth and the Consoler [cf. *Job.* 14, 16], this indicates that in him the Trinity is perfected. It is in him that the Word glorifies creation, and confers divinization and filiation by adoption, bringing men to the Father»¹⁷⁰.

We have seen here that the sacrament of Baptism has three principal effects. *First*, it remits the guilt and punishment of original and personal sin and heals the wounds of corruption in our nature; *second*, the grace of the Holy Spirit inserts a person into the «mystical body» of Christ which makes the Word the acting subject in him; and *third*, these two steps enable us to give glory to God the Father through the Son, in the glorified body of Christ.

3. *Man is Anointed and Sealed with the Spirit*

Jesus Christ became man in order to «make the leader of their salvation perfect through sufferings»¹⁷¹. The Word became man to suffer and die for the redemption of all men, and to replace Adam as the head of a regenerated body of men. Our salvation could have been accomplished without the Holy Spirit entering our soul, but this *modus operandi* modifies God's activity in us. Our human nature was cleansed of sin so that his Spirit could dwell there as in a temple:

The Incarnate Word «supplies the Holy Spirit, nevertheless here he is said to be anointed, so that being anointed as man with the Spirit, he might provide us men not only exaltation and resurrection, but the indwelling and intimacy of the Spirit»; Christ prepares the soul so that his Spirit might dwell in it- τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνοίχησιν καὶ οἰκειότητα κατασκευάσῃ¹⁷².

This appears to contradict what we stated earlier, that the Holy Spirit disposes our soul to be joined to the Word. God's *personal* actions in the soul are simultaneous, but we can describe it as a logical sequence of events. Christ took a body to himself to anoint it with the Holy Spirit, giving new life to his humanity. And since Christ is the way, the truth, and the life (cf. *Job.*

14, 6), we receive the Word in the *personal* presence of the Holy Spirit.

Christ received the Holy Spirit in the name of all mankind for our sanctification: «the Spirit's descent upon him in the Jordan was a descent upon us, because of his bearing the body»¹⁷³. The assumed human nature of our Lord was anointed with the Spirit at the moment of the Incarnation, marking all mankind with his unction¹⁷⁴. The genus of man was anointed with the Holy Spirit when the Word became man. But, how does the Spirit of Christ apply that unction to us? We now turn our attention to the notion of chrism and seal.

The first point to be made is that Athanasius designates the ointment as the Holy Spirit: «the Spirit is the unction (χρίσμα) and the seal (σφραγίς) in whom the Word anoints and marks all things»¹⁷⁵. The Son of God anoints us by imparting the perfume and seal of Christ's Spirit. Our Lord prepares the soul to be a suitable abode for the divine Spirit, he οἰκειότητα κατασκευάσῃ —prepares the house— so that it can become a temple of the Spirit. Then, the Spirit imparts the perfume of Christ which signals our conformation to the image of the Son¹⁷⁶. The Holy Spirit gives us the divine energy that makes divinization possible: «the Son is the power of God (cf. *1 Cor.* 1, 24) and Lord of glory, and the Spirit is called the Spirit of power and the Spirit of glory»¹⁷⁷.

Theologians that followed Athanasius refer to Christ's humanity as being imbued with the divinity of God by a continual *presence* of the Holy Spirit. Christians are initiated into a pneumatic «mystery of Christ» (cf. *Eph.* 3, 4), where the Son dwells with two natures, divine and human¹⁷⁸. The person of the Son both anoints and is anointed; the Son can allow other 'personal creatures' (i.e. spiritual beings) to participate in his filial relation to the Father. And Christ's humanity underwent a threefold sanctification: (*i*) it was divinized by the hypostatic union, coming to belong to God; (*ii*) it was transfigured and assimilated to God; and (*iii*) this new relation made his humanity an instrument of God's activity¹⁷⁹. Christ's human flesh became part of the personal union of the *Logos* with the divinizing Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the hypostatic union to the *Logos*. The Spirit is termed the *bonus odor Christi*, but the subject that confers this anointing



is Christ himself. It is as if our human nature ceased to really belong to us when it is incorporated into the Word. The divine person of Jesus Christ has become the acting subject.

Athanasius discusses at considerable length the correct *kénotic* interpretation of Philippeans 12, 6-7. The ultimate reason for the humble self-abasement of the Son was to exalt and glorify man. Obviously, God was not altered in any way by the Incarnation. Christ's humanity was exalted at the Resurrection and Ascension into heaven. Furthermore, his glorified body enters the Kingdom of Heaven to become the representative of all mankind before the Father. He bears witness to the promise of the radical transformation that all men are called to undergo. For the Word to assume the form of a servant signifies the assumption or personal possession of a concrete human nature by the Son. We could say that the Holy Spirit is the unction of Christ that confers the Word to us. He is the seal that the Incarnate Son impresses on the soul in order to communicate his own divine traits and properties¹⁸⁰.

The sweet fragrance of Christ's divine qualities is particularly evident in souls who completely commit themselves to God. They become like altars upon which the sacrifice of Calvary is renewed:

«Nor would I hesitate to admit you to the altars of God, whose souls I would call without hesitation altars, on which Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body. For if the virgin's body be a temple of God, what is her soul which, the ashes of the body being shaken off, is uncovered once more by the hand of the Eternal Priest, and exhales the vapour of divine fire. Blessed virgins, who emit a fragrance through divine grace as gardens do through flowers, temples through religion, [are] altars through the priest»¹⁸¹.

The seal, then, represents the grace of the Spirit that capacitates man with the ability to conform himself to the perfect model of man, Jesus Christ. When a Christian receives the Spirit of Christ he/she begins to experience the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. And his presence divinizes the soul and spiritualizes the body. The glorification of our bodies will be like that of Our

Lord in kind although not in degree; in his «mystical body» ours are consecrated and sanctified by the Son¹⁸².

a) *The Judeo-Christian notion of χρίσμα*

The Old Testament kings were anointed with oil to symbolize the penetration of the Spirit of God into their souls¹⁸³; they came to be «possessed» by the Spirit¹⁸⁴. A king was consecrated so that he could serve Yahweh, and the oil marked him with an external sign representing the divine power given him. The oil was a sign of richness and abundance, an expression of the sanctity communicated to the anointed one¹⁸⁵. For the Israelites, the fertility of the Promised Land was a special grace from God, and the shiny oil represented the land's productivity¹⁸⁶. It had a dynamic effect upon the anointed person, making him a participant of a sacred realm. The oil in and of itself was just a *vehicle of potentiality*¹⁸⁷, an instrument employed by God to insert spiritual graces. The king was consecrated for a mission that required the *communication* of divine powers to fulfill it. Since the Lord was actually present in him, he was referred to as God's ambassador. He pronounced the words of the Lord (*Es.* 61, 1) and God spoke in his mouth (*II Sam.* 23, 1-2). However, he always remained a man with all of the physical and moral weaknesses characteristic of men (*II Sam.* 3, 39; *Ps.* 51, 7-13).

The Arians viewed the anointing of Christ as the sanctification and exaltation of the Son, therefore, Christ was not really God. His anointing was some sort of royal unction that conferred the gift of divine filiation and was not a visible confirmation of it. This Arian doctrine is radically *antikénotic*. The self-abasement of the Son is eliminated if the *Logos* was not truly made present among men by the Incarnation. Athanasius replies that Christ is anointed δι' ἡμᾶς, for us, in order to die for us and introduce us into heaven. Both the grace of anointing and the exaltation refer to the temple of the Word's human body which received the power to sanctify himself and others in the Holy Spirit.

b) *Impression of the μορφήν Χριστοῦ*

Athanasius also describes this unction as «the breath (πνοή) of the Son»¹⁸⁸ in which the Word impresses a seal of the

Spirit¹⁸⁹. This seal cannot be a mere 'spiritual mold' into which Christ is cast. The seal probably signifies the *opus perfectionis* so characteristic of all the works of God. Man is a creature *in fieri*, he is being made day by day by his conscious activity and the help of the Holy Spirit who «coronates» man *qua* man. He elevates his nature by drawing him into God, and transforms it by raising it to possibilities beyond our natural condition. The Spirit is the «αὐτὸ μεταχόμενον καὶ ζωοποιοῦν τὰ κτίσματα» — the very *object of participation* and vivification of creatures¹⁹⁰. He is the ontological principle of divine life in Christ.

The Holy Spirit as seal imparts the impression of Christ's form, the human existence of the Word which bears the image of the Son¹⁹¹. In *Oratio contra Arianos* Athanasius gives an excellent explanation of the term *image* when used as a metaphor for participation. In this passage he demonstrates that the Son is distinct from the Father but, at the same time, he is consubstantial with him:

«We may perceive this easily from the illustration of the Emperor's image. In the image is the shape and form of the Emperor, and in the Emperor we see that shape which is in the image. The likeness of the Emperor in the image is exact, so that a person who looks at it sees the Emperor in it. And he who sees the Emperor recognizes that it is he who is in the image (...). He who worships the image, worships the Emperor in it, for the image is his form and appearance»¹⁹².

Basil repeats the idea: «an image is such by imitation, while the Son is by nature. In a similar way in art, the resemblance is taken from or imprinted with the form; and thus, it is in the *κοινωνία* of the deity where the principle of unity resides»¹⁹³. Redeemed man is called to incarnate the *μορφή Χριστοῦ* in his flesh and to imitate the words and deeds of Christ. Our likeness or resemblance derives from the form of Christ imprinted by way of the principle of communion, the Holy Spirit. According to Basil, we can see the Image (Christ) in the *φωτισμῶ τοῦ Πνεύματος*, clarity of the Spirit¹⁹⁴; the act of faith disposes one to receive a rational power from the Holy Spirit¹⁹⁵. Perhaps we can think of the Holy Spirit as an ontological *receptacle* or *crucible* into which the figure of Christ is cast, the spiritual *ambiance* or *milieu* that allows Christ to live in us.

He unites us to the Son and the Father by means of an intellectual generation. The life of Our Lord is engendered in the mind by the act of faith so that we can receive the form of Christ and be united to the Father¹⁹⁶.

4. *The «bonus odor Christi»: the practice of Christian virtue*

For the early Church Fathers the term «to dress» referred to the faculties of a specific nature. When Adam sinned our human nature was wounded, making it impossible to achieve salvation. Our nature was «redressed» with a tendency to offend God. We are now *pronus ad peccatum*. Christ came to re-dress us with a pure and clean human nature. Athanasius also used the term ἔνδυμα (garment) when writing about putting on the πίστις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, the «faith of Christ»¹⁹⁷. Even the cross is like a garment: he urges us to «wear the sign of the cross»¹⁹⁸. We can contemplate the Father in Jesus Christ through his words, his sacrifice and his human virtue. God's wisdom has become man, and we gain access to God through Christ, albeit still shrouded in mystery¹⁹⁹. In speaking about nonbelievers, Athanasius urges Christians to carry out their apostolate in such a way that others can encounter Christ in them: «let him accept the faith of Christ and come over to his teaching, and he will see the weakness of death and the victory won over it»²⁰⁰. A convert to Christianity *puts on the faith of Christ*²⁰¹, that is, he or she accepts the divine revelation of God as taught by Jesus Christ and struggles to live it.

The Word became Incarnate so that his assumed body might be united to Life, sanctified and raised to eternal life²⁰². Our body is like straw, naturally susceptible to fire, but covering it with a fire-proof material protects it from damage²⁰³. Everyone who puts on the «faith of Christ» is protected from eternal death. The soul receives an internal transformation by faith: «if death were kept away from it [the body] by only a command it would still be mortal and corruptible (...), to prevent this from happening it put on the incorporeal Word of God, and thus men no longer fear death or corruption having life itself as a covering, and by it corruption is destroyed»²⁰⁴. Men that are baptized in Christ are «redressed» with the sanctified human nature of Our Lord. In the final analysis, the reason for receiving Christian bap-

tism, and of being redressed with Christ, is to confer divine immortality to the body²⁰⁵.

Faith is the indispensable foundation of this new life in Christ, it eliminates fear of all evil and the sense of insecurity so common in the present life. He purifies us of sin and binds us to himself together with the other members of the Church²⁰⁶. In St. Antony, Athanasius discovers a man who really lives by the «faith of Christ». He struggled to make the faith operative through the practice of human virtue and the renouncement of earthly pleasures in favor of the eternal treasures of heaven:

«Ἄλλως τε ὀφειλομεν λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι, κἄν μὴ ἀφῶμεν δι' ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἀποθνήσκοντες καταλιμπάνομεν αὐτὰ πολλάκις καὶ οἱ οὐ ;έλομεν, ὡς ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής. Διὰ τί οὖν μὴ δι' ἀρετὴν ἡμεῖς καταλιμπάνομεν, ἵνα καὶ θασιλείαν κληρονομήσθμεν; (...) τί οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνα κτώμεθα, ἅ καὶ με' ἑαυτῶν ἄραι δυνάμεθα, ἅτινά ἐστι φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, σφροσῶγνη, ἀνδρεία, σῶγνησις, ἀγάπη, φιλοπτωχία, πίστις ἢ εἰς Χριστὸν, ἀοργησία, φιλοξενία ...»²⁰⁷.

The only human possessions that last are the moral values assimilated to the person by the practice of virtue. The ascetical work on the life of Antony, the *Vita Antonii*, adds a key element to Athanasius' theology. The Christian co-operates with the grace of God by living Christian virtue. Man comes to really reflect the nature of God when he gives of himself to God and to others, surrendering what is of greatest value, himself. This commitment to God in the practice of virtue is the point of articulation between grace and action. Christ embodies all good and true human values, and imitation of him «constructs» our spiritual edifice.

Antony learned how to live a virtuous life because he contemplated God and observed the behavior of other holy men worthy of emulation:

«He observed the graciousness of one; the unceasing prayer of another; he took knowledge of another's freedom from anger and another's loving kindness; he gave heed to one as he watched, to another as he studied; one he admired for his endurance, another for his fasting and sleeping on the ground; the meekness of one and the long suffering of another he watched with care, while he

took note of the piety towards Christ and the mutual love which animated all. Thus filled, he returned to his own place of discipline, and henceforth would strive to unite the qualities of each, and was eager to show in himself the virtues of all»²⁰⁸.

Antony also shows that there is no real conflict between what the philosophers term faith—an irrational belief in a divine God—and the divine knowledge of Christian Faith. The latter is a rational or logical understanding of reality. The apparent conflict between faith and reason regarding Christ and our salvation lies in *how* to acquire that knowledge. For Antony, this took place by forming *ὁ νοῦς θγαίνει*, a sound mind²⁰⁹. True knowledge is attained by the spiritual part of the soul, through the mind (*noûs*)²¹⁰, and Faith comes from God himself through Jesus Christ:

«Ἡμεῖς ποίνυν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔχομεν τὸ μυστήριον. ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἐπιχορηγοιμένης ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ»²¹¹.

The ascetical struggle depicted in the *Vita Antonii* is a preparation for the spiritual combat the saint wages against the demons; it makes man strong, powerful and perfect in God's eyes²¹². The struggles of a Christian are directed to the acquisition of virtue by rejecting temptation and dedication to work well done.

Christians avoid fighting amongst themselves because they prefer to build instead of destroy: «when they hear the teaching of Christ, they immediately turn from war to farming, and instead of arming their hands with swords they stretch them out in prayer; and instead of waging war among themselves, they arm themselves against the demons, subduing them with the weapons of sobriety and spiritual virtue»²¹³. The imitation of the life of Our Lord Jesus Christ is only efficacious with the assistance of the Holy Spirit who gives us the power to act as Christ, with his same intentions and sentiments.

VI. THE SPIRIT MAKES MAN A TEMPLE OF GOD

Contra arianos I-III offers a progressive development of Athanasius' doctrine on Christ as the full possession of the Holy

Spirit. The Word of God was not altered in taking his *σάρξ* (*sárx*), but rather he divinized it for the glory of his Father: «Υφωσις δὲ ἦν τὸ Θεοποιεῖσθαι αὐτόν» — his exaltation was his proper divinization²¹⁴. Baptism makes us temples of God by introducing us into the exalted and divinized Body of Christ: «For it is the Father's glory that man, made and then lost, should be found again; and when dead, that he should be made alive, and should become God's temple. (...) that even when he became man, the Son of God is worshipped, and the heavenly powers will not be astonished at seeing all of us, who are of one body with him, introduced in their realms [angels and archangels]»²¹⁵. The promise of our future exaltation and bodily resurrection is included with the gift of the Spirit²¹⁶, and the sanctification of men begins in Christ and is continued in his «mystical body».

1. *Human nature is anointed and sealed*

The Hellenic idea of the *noûs* was used by Athanasius to express man's intellectual participation in God's science, a knowledge that is made possible by the grace of faith. Adam and Eve's sin left them and all their descendents blind to divine things, and they began to act for merely personal motives since they had ceased to work for the glory of God. The Incarnate *Logos* receives sanctification in himself, constituting himself as ὁδὸς ὡσπερ καὶ ἀρχή, the way and active principle, of the Holy Spirit and his gifts. We have already mentioned that Christ's anointing was a sign of our own future glorification in heaven. Christ received the Holy Spirit so that he could give him to us for our sanctification. The Son was always holy, and the *kénotic* mission of the *Logos* restores the Holy Spirit to humanity. When the Incarnate Word received the Spirit as man, he was constituted as the Head of humanity.

a) *The Spirit gives participation in divine nature*

Athanasius corrected the Arian error concerning the relationship between the Son and the Spirit in God. The Son does not partake of the Spirit, rather the Son gives him his own holiness for communication to creatures:

«All other things partake of the Spirit, but he, according to you, of what is he partaker? of the Spirit? No, but rather *the Spirit himself takes from the Son*, as he himself says; it is not reasonable to say that the latter is sanctified by the former. Therefore it is of the Father that he partakes (...). But this which is participated, *what* is it [exactly] or *from where* does it derive? (...). What is partaken of is not external to God, but from the essence of the Father»²¹⁷.

The Son fully participates in the essence of the Father, and the Spirit *takes* this divine nature from the Son. The essential characteristic of the Holy Spirit, then, is *reception* of divine nature. He receives the complete essence of God from the Father through the Son. Besides being the «spirit of filial adoption»²¹⁸, the Holy Spirit is also the *communicable possession* of God²¹⁹. Now the formulation *in the Spirit* takes on a new meaning, it indicates that baptism imparts a participation in the fullness of created grace that is contained in Christ's humanity²²⁰. The living water (ὕδωρ ζωτικόν) of the Spirit is ἐπληρώθη²²¹ (replete), it is the fullness of grace that unites us to Christ like precious stones mounted on firm bedrock²²². Besides making a man a true son of God, by inserting him into the life of the Trinity, the Spirit confers a faculty or capacity to receive and utilize the divine attributes of the Son.

The reception of the Holy Spirit is the first step in the process of sanctification. He communicates divine knowledge since he is the spirit of truth, the communicable «express image» of God:

«It is not by a creature that we were united to him [the Word] and to the Father, but rather by the Holy Spirit, who was promised when he said that he would not send an angel, but «the Spirit of truth that proceeds from the Father» [Job. 15, 26], who was derived from him and given»²²³.

The temporal mission of the Holy Spirit has Christ as its foundation. His work in us is essentially Christocentric. Although we receive a created grace that unites us to the *Logos*, it is the Holy Spirit who gives us the power of union.

In the second century, Irenaeus considered the Holy Spirit to be the *constitutive element* of the perfect man. The Gift of the Spirit allows one to discover the created gift of grace and the Giver of the Gift, Christ, who is inseparable from it²²⁴. This doctrine was common among the Greek Fathers, who insisted that a created grace exists in the soul by way of the Holy Spirit. The seal of the Spirit appears to be this conformation of man to the divinity of Christ. The Spirit impresses the figure and the characteristics of Our Lord in the soul and produces a semblance or likeness to him. Here we see the meeting point of two worlds, the uncreated Spirit and the created conformation to Christ. The process of sanctification is a continual identification of the soul with Christ, a more faithful reproduction of the *μορφή Χριστοῦ*.

b) *The Spirit reveals the Word in us*

Besides the grace given the soul by the presence of Christ's Spirit, how does one cooperate with this conformation to Christ? The Word constantly bestows his Spirit to the soul so that we can *hear* the Word, the Spirit reveals Christ's presence in us²²⁵. The Christian hears the Word *in the Spirit*: «and so, if the saints say, «listen to what the Lord says», it is none other than in the Spirit which he speaks, and speaking in the Spirit it is in Christ he speaks those words»²²⁶. The gift of faith communicates a message and a power of discernment in the Holy Spirit. He makes the Word decipherable by the *charism of discerning spirits*:

«Δι' ὅ καὶ πολλῆς εὐχῆς, καὶ ἀσκήσεώς ἐστι χρεία. ἵνα τις, λαβὼν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρισμα διακρίσεως πνευμάτων, γινῶναι ζυνηθῇ τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦς. — Therefore much prayer and asceticism is needed so that one who receives through the Spirit the *gift of discrimination of spirits* might be able to recognize their traits»²²⁷.

As we described above, one distinguishes the real from the imaginary with the *noûs*. This faculty discerns the first principles, especially the principle of identity. Athanasius seems to say that the Holy Spirit restores or re-creates the *noûs* to its original clarity so that phantasms of our own invention do not mislead us. We see «in the clarity of the Holy Spirit» who reveals the Word's

presence. This is important because Satan relies on spiritual blindness to perform evil in and through creatures:

«We need not fear their apparitions, for they are nothing and they disappear quickly-especially if one fortifies himself with faith and the sign of the cross»²²⁸.

«They are evil, and they despise nothing so much as inflicting injury on those who love virtue and honor God. But because they have no power to act [διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδὲν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν], they do nothing except issue empty threats. If they had the power, they would not delay, but immediately would perform the evil for which they have a ready inclination — especially evil directed against us»²²⁹.

Hell and the creatures that dwell there are unable to exercise their free will except through free creatures. Therefore, sin and evil are products of man who is separated from God. The devil induces men to sin, but they are powerless to take real possession of us because Christ has come to «take possession» of the human race.

2. *Divine filiation*

A few authors claim that Athanasius understood our first parents as being true children of God, possessing two *images* of God²³⁰. One is a «natural image» given in creating him as a rational man, and the second is a «supernatural image» conceded when he was elevated to a state of divine filiation:

«The so-called sons of virtue and grace have a grace in place of nature by way of acquisition (...). As the men who received the Spirit by participation Scripture says: «I begat and exalted children, and they rebelled against me [cf. *Is.* 1, 2]». Of course, since they were not sons *by nature*, when they changed [sinned], the Spirit was taken away and they were disinherited»²³¹.

Man can never be a «natural son» of God because his nature is created and human. However, following the Ascension of Our

Lord, the Holy Spirit gives us the power (ἐξουσία) to become children of God in Christ. This is a new type of divine filiation²³², a Christological filiation. Adoptive filiation in Christ ensures that we will never lose access to God because the Spirit is always present in his body.

Compared to the grace man now has, the grace of Adam was substantially the same and had the same formal effects — adoption as children of God, and entitlement to inherit heaven— however, they differ in degree and modality²³³. Our grace is founded upon the uncreated grace of Christ, it is irrevocable, and permanently present in his human nature due to the hypostatic union. We can even say that the grace of the Spirit is perfected in Christ's human body²³⁴.

a) *Man made τέκνα Θεοῦ*²³⁵

Our divine filiation begins with the sacrament of Baptism which washes us in the living water of the Spirit:

«Ἐκέλευσε γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι οὐκ εἰς ὄνομα ἀγενήτου καὶ γενητοῦ, οὐδὲ εἰς ὄνομα ἀκτίστου καὶ κτίσματος, »all' εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. οὕτω γὰρ τελειούμενοι υἱοποιούμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀληθῶς»²³⁶. — we are baptized, not in the name of the unbegotten and begotten, not in the name of the uncreated and created, but in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

We become children of God in the Spirit by invoking the three persons of the Trinity. As St. John, Athanasius uses the formulation τέκνα Θεοῦ and υἱός Θεοῦ to distinguish the promise and the fulfillment of the promise of divine filiation. Man is begotten (γεννᾶται) in the Spirit and receives divine filiation in him: «they could not become sons, being by nature creatures, except by receiving the Spirit of the natural and true Son»²³⁷.

Basil said that we are properly sons of God as opposed to a mere figurative filiation. And Athanasius writes that we are τέκνα Θεοῦ, but we are promised to be transformed into υἱώτης — real sons, to fully participate in Christ's sonship:

“«Όταν» γάρ, chsñi, «φανερωθῆ, ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα»: ὅμοιοι δηλονότι οὐ τῆ οὐσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῆ υἰοτητι, ἧς μεταλαμβάνομεν παρ’ αὐτοῦ» — for «when he shall appear, we shall be like him» [*I Joh.* 3, 2], like that is, not in essence but in *sonship*, which we shall partake from him²³⁸.

To be a child of God is the most eloquent way of expressing our resemblance to God. Man was made «in the image of God» which is seen in the intellectual and spiritual operations of the soul. But the most «personal» characteristic of this reality is to be another υἰός Θεοῦ. The fulfilled promise of filiation is destined to grow on earth and to be fully realized in heaven.

Since man is different from God by nature, he cannot become a *natural son* of God. The only way he can «live» in God is by way of a personal relation of *adoptive filiation* in the person of the Incarnate Word. We are promised to become true sons in Christ:

«Καὶ πάλιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντος ἀληθινοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἡμεῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα λαμβάνουτες, υἰοοῦμεθα: «Οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε», fhsñi, Πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον’ ἀλλ’ ἐλάβετε Πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας» (*Rom.* 8, 15). Υἰοτοωόμενοι δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι, δῆλον, ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ Χρηματίζομεν τέκνα Θεοῦ». — And again, given that Christ is the true Son, we are *made sons* in receiving the Spirit. «You haven’t received a spirit of enslavement, something to be feared, rather you have received the Spirit of divine filiation». But made sons by the Spirit, it is evident that in Christ we are christened [called] sons of God²³⁹.

The Spirit *christens* the soul and makes us anointed members of Christ’s «mystical body». We do not participate in God by means of a sort of *direct* contact with His divine nature, but rather by the filiation of Christ imparted to us in the Holy Spirit. We are joined to the Son as a spouse and to the Father as a child²⁴⁰. We recall that Athanasius believed that the Holy Spirit is the ontological principle in which we participate, and Christ is the spouse to whom we are united by the Spirit.

We must bear in mind that Athanasius draws a clear distinction between our adopted filiation and the natural one of Christ. It is in Christ that we are children of God, because 'as many received him, he gave them the right to become children of God' (*Job.* 1, 12)²⁴¹. The distinction between children of God (τέκνα Θεοῦ) and sons of God (υἱὸς Θεοῦ) is clearly Johannine. Only the Word is Υἱός. Men can become τέκνα — adopted children of God, but our filial relationship is conformed to the Son's relation with his Father. Adoptive filiation is not an analogue or a mere resemblance to Christ's natural filiation. The Incarnation placed the source of filiation in a nature, that of Jesus Christ²⁴². This source is the Holy Spirit, the 'spirit of filiation', who restores a filial frankness (παρρησία) in dealing with God²⁴³.

b) The resurrection of Christ and men

We conclude from this investigation that Athanasius viewed grace as the gift of divine filiation given to man by the Holy Spirit. Of course, the divine Spirit is a χάρις or divine favor: «[we] have received the Spirit by participation»²⁴⁴ and we come to «be in the Son and in the Father because the Spirit is in us»²⁴⁵. He is the vital principle of life that vivifies our nature²⁴⁶ by making our flesh capable of receiving the impression of the Word in the form of Christ²⁴⁷. The Holy Spirit disposes our nature to receive the impression of Christ in the seal of the Spirit. Perhaps he acts in man like he did in raising Christ from the dead:

«The Spirit is called vivifying, as Paul wrote: «he who resurrected Jesus Christ from the dead, will also vivify your mortal bodies with his Spirit that dwells in you» (*Rom.* 8, 11). The Lord is life itself and «the author of life» as Peter says (*Act.* 3, 15); but the Lord himself said: «the water that I will give you will become a source of water that surges up to everlasting life» (*Job.* 4, 14)²⁴⁸.

The Holy Spirit communicated Life to the σὰρξ of the dead Christ and resurrected his human flesh. He re-united the separated human soul to his inanimate corpse. In a similar way, all men who die in the «faith of Christ» are crucified in his Body and receive his divine life: «he who raised up Jesus Christ from the

dead will give life to your perishable bodies by his Spirit dwelling in you»²⁴⁹. The Father and the Son act in the soul through the Holy Spirit, conferring God's Life in Christ²⁵⁰. And the Spirit of Christ engenders supernatural life in concert with the Son as a *donum Dei*, a gift of life that is inserted into the soul²⁵¹.

3. *Spiritual progress*

The Holy Spirit renders our flesh capable of seeing the Word by faith and of being sanctified by him through virtuous acts. Prior to the Incarnation, he was present to men as a divine assistance in certain special moments and circumstances²⁵². However, following Christ's glorification, the vivifying Spirit can be received by all men as participation in the wisdom of God: the Son is Wisdom, and in receiving the Spirit of Wisdom we receive the Son, and in him we are made wise²⁵³. Athanasius combines the classical «logos theology» of early Patristic thought with the Old Testament image of the Spirit as the Wisdom of God. The Aristotelian view of wisdom emphasized the practical intellect, a faculty that judges the prudent course to follow in human acts. Here too, Athanasius seems to understand the Spirit as the divine person who confers this capacity to the soul.

This divine sagacity must be put to good use so that we are perfected in charity. It is used well when we direct our actions toward the contemplation of God and the service of others: «Τετελείωται δὲ τὸ ἔργον, ὅτι, λυτρωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐκέτι μένουσι νεκροί ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοποιηθέντες ἔχουσιν, ἐν ἡμῖν βλέποντες, ἐν ἀλλήλοις τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς ἀγάπης.» — the work is perfected because men, redeemed from sin, no longer remain dead; but being divinized (Θεοποιηθέντες) in looking at us [the Godhead], have the bond of charity in each other²⁵⁴. Contemplation is the activity that divinizes, but the bond of love in the Spirit ensures that the divine work is completed. The ἀγάπη of the Spirit is a prolongation of divine love that makes filial relation with God possible. This bond of charity unites us to Christ in a divinizing contemplation of God so that we become one with him and are perfected in him²⁵⁵.

Contemplation is the principal human means of divinization. The effort to pray and to appreciate the human virtues lived by

Christ opens the door of the soul to the infusion of the charity of the Spirit. But, the theological virtue of charity is the principle of new supernatural life. It not only elevates man's being to the state of divine sonship and participation in God's nature, but it also transforms the will. This supernatural or theological virtue, like faith and hope, makes us pleasing to God because of the excellence of the acts they enable us to perform²⁵⁶.

a) *Imitatio Christi Capitis*

We have seen that redeemed man experiences a gradual transformation of his being and his activity 'in the Spirit': «Τὴν δὲ σάρκα δεκτικὴν τοῦ Λόγου κατασκευάσας, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς μηκέτι κατὰ σάρκα περιπατεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Πνεῦμα [cf. *Rom.* 8, 4]» — having rendered the flesh capable of the Word, he made us no longer walk according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit²⁵⁷. Our flesh is made capable of possessing the Word when it is cleansed of sin. And «to walk according to the Spirit» is to be interiorly transformed by the Spirit of Christ, to become another Christ. The dual presence of the Son and the Spirit is also evident in St. Paul where there is no essential difference between εἶναι ἐν Χριστῷ and εἶναι ἐν Πνεύματι — to be in Christ and to be in the Spirit. To know Christ is the gift *par excellence* of the Spirit²⁵⁸.

The gift of the Spirit is a supernatural virtue or *habitus* that renders the invisible Word visible in the human *noûs*. Man's spiritual progress is a gradual assimilation to the Word that is accomplished by renouncing the passions and desiring greater union or identity with the Word: «our increase (αὐξήσαι) is no other than the renouncing of fleshly things and coming to the Word himself»²⁵⁹. It is similar to the growth of Our Lord in «stature»:

«Οὕτως γὰρ αὐξάνοντος ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ σώματος, συνεπεδίδοτο ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τῆς Θεότητος φανέρωσις, καὶ ἐδείκνυτο παρὰ ταῖσιν, ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστι, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ σώματι». — For as the body increases in stature, the manifestation of the Godhead developed there, and it is shown to all that the body was God's temple and that God was in the temple²⁶⁰.

The sanctified Christian gradually moves from an initial possession of the Word toward self-abandonment in him. God takes over and comes to be more clearly manifest in the soul just as he is in Christ. Our Lord lives in us as in a temple by an accidental union of two persons in Christ. The 'spousal bond' of the Holy Spirit moves the soul to become one with the *Logos*²⁶¹.

We return again to the Athanasian *μορφή Χριστοῦ* impressed by the seal of the Spirit. Just as the child Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature before God and men, so too all mankind can grow in that wisdom²⁶². Spiritual growth in Christ enables man to transcend the normal operations of his nature. God makes us an organ or instrument of His wisdom by giving us the Holy Spirit:

«Τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ προέκοπτεν, ὑπεραναβαῖνον κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, καὶ βεοποιούμενον, καὶ ὄργανον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς Θεότητος καὶ τὴν ἔκλαμψιν αὐτῆς γινόμενον καὶ φαινόμενον πᾶσι». — Manhood advanced in Wisdom transcending by degrees human nature, and being divinized he becomes and appears to all as the [organon [organ] of Wisdom for the operation and shining forth of the Godhead²⁶³.

«He who gives the Spirit is also said to be made, that is, to be made among us Lord because of his manhood while giving the Spirit because he is God's Word»²⁶⁴.

The Lord actively directs the sanctification of his members. He sanctified himself in the Spirit in order to make each one's individual sanctification possible²⁶⁵. Even his human body was made a participant of the Son of God by way of the *χάρις* given by the *Πνεῦμα*²⁶⁶. In summary, the Word of God is sanctity and the instrument of that sanctification is the Holy Spirit²⁶⁷. And the two divine persons forge a new *μορφή Χριστοῦ* in each member of the Church to manifest God's presence.

b) Vivificatio Corporis Christi per Spiritum Sanctum sicut Animae

Our sanctification consists in a divinizing transformation of the human soul. It would be incorrect, or at least incomplete, to

say that our human nature was changed by the Holy Spirit. This transformation heals and restores the original state of man. It is not a mere juridical liberation because it has an ontological effect, it affects the very *being* of man²⁶⁸. The Spirit is the vital principle or soul of Christ's flesh, and of all the human members of his living body in the Church: «he made us to walk no longer according to the flesh, rather according to the Spirit»²⁶⁹. Athanasius closely follows Pauline pneumatology here: «if we live by the Spirit, also we walk by the Spirit» (*Gal* 5, 25)²⁷⁰. The function of the Holy Spirit, then, is two-fold: union and vivification of the the «mystical body» of Christ.

The Holy Spirit builds souls upon the foundational rock of Christ's glorified body. Then the *Logos* sanctifies himself, and all of us, as the Lord of sanctification²⁷¹. This follows the familiar Christian axiom concerning the struggle for sanctity, *the saint strives each day to sanctify himself more* (cf. *Apoc.* 22, 11). While the *Logos* gives man a share in his sanctity, the Holy Spirit draws him into the triune relations of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is communion, the Son is filiation, and the Father is paternity²⁷². Christ's body continues to be an instrument of salvation in the Church. During his earthly life the body of Our Lord made the light of the *Logos* visible as if it were refracted in a prism²⁷³. Now his glorious body is seen in the Church, where the Spirit makes the *lux Verbi* visible in the life and work of Christians.

VII. SUMMARY

We have reviewed a number of different themes in the work of St. Athanasius. Our principal interest has been those aspects of his theology that are most directly related to the Holy Spirit. We have investigated the role that the third person of the Blessed Trinity carries out in the sanctification of a Christian. To that end we have analyzed Athanasius' use of the concept of divinization. This process of sanctification is a spiritual assimilation to the Resurrected Christ, and a mystical conformation to his image as the Son of God. We acquire this «image» by spiritual contact with the Holy Spirit who, as a seal, imprints the *form* of the Incarnate

Logos, Jesus Christ. The seal is an anointing that marks us with the *bonus odor Christi* and logifies our human nature.

Although the *personal* character of the Holy Spirit is not strongly emphasized in his writings, Athanasius does seem to affirm that this mode of divine presence in the soul. The Holy Spirit enables a man to converse with God by enlightening the mind, the so-called *noûs*. This illumination allows divine things to be appreciated and contemplated. Our intellectual or cognitive powers are included in the grace of adoptive filiation received in the sacrament of Baptism. Our new filial relationship brings God into the soul where we contemplate him.

It is interesting that Athanasius speaks of all created things participating in life through the Spirit. He is depicted as the *breath of God* who gives life to all creation. However, angels and men enjoy a more profound ontological participation. They can actually enter into the triune life of God *in the Spirit*. This doctrine is a natural consequence of his Christology and soteriology. The Son is the essence of filiation, in Christ the Filiation of the Father is present. In a similar way, the Holy Spirit is the essence of receiving all that is given by God, he is a *receptacle* of Filiation. Therefore, our adopted filiation is now greater than the sonship enjoyed by Adam as designed in the original plan of salvation.

At this early stage of theological development it seems that Athanasius understood God's grace to be first and foremost a divine favor. The Holy Spirit restores our lost inheritance and administers grace to cure us of sin and to elevate our minds to know and love God. If Athanasius did in fact believe that Christ had a human soul, his *noûs* was re-created at the moment of the Incarnation. And our incorporation into his «mystical body» takes place by means of an act of faith on the part of the *noûs*. The Spirit of Christ is the divine Gift of faith, hope and charity, the personification of God's self-donation to man. We receive the *Logos* of God, the *Noûs*, with the act of faith. The Holy Spirit is the «hand of God» that inserts us into the Trinity by giving us the belief in Christ as divine. And we can know God and ourselves by studying the life of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate *Noûs*.

Finally, our community of divine life is compared to the spousal bond that joins man and woman in matrimony. It is a



permanent union like that of Christ with his Church. This power of adherence influences our behavior so that we can live Christian virtues that far exceed our normal capacity. Christians imitate the God-man by living for the glory of God above all other concerns, rejecting the attraction of the passions and striving for a simplicity that looks only to serve others. This new race of men learns to completely surrender themselves to the work of God by the practice of virtue, actions that we term Christian because they represent Jesus Christ of Nazareth to men of all time.



NOTES

1. SHAPLAND, C. R. B., *St. Athanasius. Letters concerning the Holy Spirit*, London 1951, pp. 37-38.
2. Denz.-Schön., 150.
3. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* 10 (PG 35, 832 A); Gregory of Nyssa, *In illud 'Tunc ipse Filius'* (PG 44, 1320 D) and *In Cant. Cant.*, Hom. 12 (PG 44, 1016); Augustine, *De Trin.* XV, 26, 46; Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Ioan.* 6, 64 (PG 73, 604) and *Comm. in Heb.* (PG 74, 961 B); Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua* (PG 91, 1040 C).
4. Several manuscripts contain a fourth discourse against the Arians. The Benedictine edition [J. P. Migne, 1698] includes the *Oratio contra Arianos IV*. It appears that a compiler added this letter to the original three at some later date since it differs significantly in style and phraseology, dealing with the Marcellians more than the Arians.
5. SIMONETTI, M., *Sulla paternità del De incarnatione Dei Verbi et contra Arianos*, in *ND* 5 (1952) 5-19. Athanasius normally used «hypostasis» as a synonym for «essence». He did admit its use to designate «person» at the Synod of Alexandria in 362 [Quasten, J., *Patrology III. The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature. From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon*, Utrecht/Antwerp 1960, pp. 28-29].
6. STÜLCKEN, A., *Athanasiana. Literar- und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, in *TU* 19/4 (1899) 70-75; LEIPOLDT, J., *Didymus der Blinde von Alexandrien*, Leipzig 1905, pp. 24-26.
7. SCHEIDWEILER, F., *Wer ist der Verfasser des sogeannten Sermo maior de fide?*, in *BZ* 47 (1954) 333-357; *idem.*, *Καίπερ, nebst einem Exkurs zum Hebräerbrief*, in *Her* 83 (1955) 220-230; CASEY, R. P., *The pseudo-Athanasian Sermo maior de fide*, in *JTS* 35 (1934) 394-395.
8. OPITZ, H. G., *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius*, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, pp. 104-109.
9. STRÄTER, H., *Die Erlösungslehre des hl. Athanasius*, Freiberg 1894; MERCATI, G., *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, in *ST* 5 (1901) 145-179; *ibid.*, *Sull'autore del De titulis psalmodorum stampato fra le opere di s. Atanasio*, in *OCF* 10 (1944) 7-42.
10. J. P. Migne compiled fragments of the latter in *MG* 27, 1347-1350.
11. DEVREESSE, R., *Anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque*, in *RB* 44 (1935) 180; RECHEIS, A., *Sancti Athanasii Magni doctrina de premordiis seu quomodo explicaverunt Genesisim*, in *Ant* 28 (1953) 219-260.
12. Migne Greek [MG] 26, 835-976. Reprint of the Benedictine edition (Paris, 1698).
13. QUASTEN, J., *op. cit.*, p. 40.
14. *MG* 28, 251-282.

15. AUBINEAU, M., *Les écrits de S. Athanase sur la virginité*, in *MUS* 48 (1935) 55-73.
16. LEFORT, L. Th., *S. Athanase sur la virginité*, *MUS* 42 (1929) 197-275; *idem*, *Athanase, Ambroise et Chenoute 'sur la virginité'*, *MUS* 48 (1935) 55-73.
17. LEBON, J., *Athanasiana syriaca I. Un λόγος περί παρθενίας attribué à saint Athanase d'Alexandrie*, *MUS* 40 (1927) 209-218; AUBINEAU, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 14-18.
18. LEFORT, L. Th., *Saint Athanase sur la virginité*, in *MUS* 42 (1929) 265-269; *idem*, *Un citation copte de la pseudo-Clémentine De Virginitate*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéol. orient.*, 30 (1030) 509-511.
19. HOSS, K., *Studien über das Schrifium und die Theologie des Athanasius*, Freiburg 1899, pp. 96-103.
20. *MG* 26, 1431-1444.
21. *MG* 26, 1435-1440.
22. MERCATI, G., *Il canone biblico athanasiano con sticometrie interpolate*, in *ST* 95 (1941) 78-80; RUWET, J., *Le canon alexandrin des Écritures. S. Athanase*, in *BIB* 33 (1952) 1-29.
23. Several authors could be cited in this regard. One article that presents this position is that of SÄAKE, H., *Pneumatologica. Untersuchungen zum Geistverständnis im Johannesevangelium, bei Origenes und Athanasius von Alexandria*, Frankfurt 1973, pp. 63-74.
24. *Ad Ser. II*, 4 (*PG* 26, 613 C).
25. *De inc.* 9 (*PG* 25, 112 A).
26. *PG* 26, 529-676.
27. Athanasius referred to them as *Tropici* because they made frequent recourse to metaphorical interpretations [τροπικοί] of Sacred Scripture to support their heterodox doctrine.
28. *Ad Ser. I*, 26 (*PG* 26, 593 A).
29. *Ibid.* I, 1 (532 A).
30. *C. arianos I*, 6 (*PG* 26, 29 B): «οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ μόνος αὐτὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐόματι μόνον λέγεται Λόγος καὶ Σοφία, καὶ χάριτι λέγεται Υἱὸς καὶ δύναμις.» — he is not the true and only Word of the Father, but is called Word and Wisdom in name only, and is called Son and power by grace. Such a stance was rejected by Athanasius because Christ would not be able to give man what he himself did not really possess. If he were not divine, independent from the merits he earned as a man, it would be impossible for him to share God's divine nature with us.
31. *PG* 26, 12—525.
32. *Ad Ser. I*, 21 (*PG* 26, 580 B); *Ibid.* 24 (585 BC).
33. Cf. *Wis.* 1, 5. 7, 22-24; 8, 1.
34. Cf. *Joel* 3, 1-2.
35. Cf. *II Pet.* 1, 21.
36. *Ad Ser III* 3 (*PG* 26-628).
37. ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA *Ep. ad Serapionem*, III, 3 (*PG* 26, 628).
38. AMBROSE, *De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 7; AUGUSTINE, *De Trin.*, VI, ch. 10; *idem*, *Contra Max. Arian.*, II, ch. 16; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *In Ioan.*, XI, ch. 2.

39. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *The Mysteries of Christianity*, St. Louis 1958, pp. 111-112.
40. Athanasius never expressly refers to the Holy Spirit as God. This curious fact is explained by Lebon to be due to the historical and political *milieu* in which he lived. Following the Council of Nicaea there was considerable reluctance among many ecclesiastics to accept the *homoousios* doctrine. Therefore, Athanasius probably preferred to avoid direct and explicit affirmations that the Holy Spirit was God. Instead, he explains again and again the consubstantial relation of the Spirit to the Son by arguing that he could not be a creature, not even an angel, otherwise we would not be divinized. It is a negative approach to a truth of faith that was as yet not fully appreciated (LEBON, J., *Athanase d'Alexandre. Lettres a Sérapion sur la divinité du Saint-Esprit*, SCh 15, Paris 1947, pp. 57-58, note 1.
41. An interesting article which discusses the importance of religious piety in Athanasius is that of IBAÑEZ, J., *Naturaleza de la «Εὐσέβεια» en S. Atanasio*, in *ScrTh* 3 (1971) 31-73.
42. KANNENGISSER, Ch., *Athanasius of Alexandria and the foundation of traditional Christology*, in *TS* 34 (1973) 103-104.
43. *Ad Ser. I*, 1 (PG 26, 530 A-532 A).
44. Athanasius considered the *Logos* to be the *Noûs* of God and the ontological foundation of all creation. In *lato sensu* all created things are similar to God inasmuch as their essence first existed in the *mente Dei*, the mind of God. He appreciated the relationship present between ontology and gnoseology, two sciences that offer access to the study of the divine mysteries by rational man.
45. *C. arianos I*, 11 (PG 26, 33 B— 73 A). Man participates in the eternal act of divine generation while the Son is Divine Filiation or Sonship. The Father is Paternity and the Son is Filiation: «it is proper only to the Godhead that the Father is properly father, and the Son is properly son.» Cf. *C. arianos I*, 11 [33 BC]; *Ibid.* 16 [44 D-45 C] and 21 [54 D-57 A].
46. *Ad Ser. I*, 15 (PG 26, 568 A).
47. *Oratio contra gentes* [*C. gentes*] 41 (PG 25, 81 C). The *Logos* is the full and perfect intellectual representation of God, the personal possession of the ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ — express image of the Father.
48. Cf. *Gen.* 1, 26.
49. *C. gentes* 30 (PG 25, 60 C): «Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ταύτης γνῶσιν καὶ ἀκριβῆ κατάληψιν οὐκ ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν χρεῖα, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὐδ', ὥσπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὸ ὁ θεὸς ὑπεράνω πάντων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοῦτον ὁδὸς πᾶρρωθεν ἢ ἔξωθεν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἄλλ' ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν εὐρεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν δυνατὸν, καθὼς καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἐδίδασκε λέγων 'Τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ἐντὸς τῆς καρδίας σου ἐστὼ'. Οπερ καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ σημαίνων καὶ βεβαιῶν ἔλεγεν' Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν'. Ἐνθὺν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες τὴν πῶτιν καὶ τὴν βεβαιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, δυνάμεθα ταχέως θεωρηῆσαι καὶ νοῆσαι τὸν τοῦ παντὸς βασιλέα, τοῦ Πατρὸς σωτήριον Αἰὼνον.» — For its knowledge and accurate apprehension [knowledge of truth] we need nothing but ourselves, but it is in us, and we can discover its origin in ourselves, in the first instance as Moses also taught: 'the word of faith is in your heart' (*Deut.* 30, 14). This very thing the Saviour declared and confirmed saying: 'the Kingdom of God is within

- you' (*Lk.* 17, 21). For having in ourselves faith and the Kingdom of God, we soon can contemplate and perceive [know] the King of the universe, the saving Word of the Father.
49. *Ad Ser. III*, 5 (PG 26, 632 BC).
 50. *Oratio contra Arianos (C. arianos III)*, 44 (PG 26, 416 A).
 51. NEWMAN, J. H., *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Garden City 1960, pt. 1, sect. 2, 6, p. 151: «Christ, in rising, raises his saints with him to the right hand of power. They become indistinct with his life, of one body with his flesh, divine sons, immortal kings, gods. He is in them, because he is in human nature; and he communicates to them that nature, deified by becoming his, that them it might deify. He is in them by the presence of his Spirit, and in them he is seen.»
 52. *Ad Ser. I*, 20 (PG 26, 577 C):
 53. *Ibid. I*, 14 (565 B):
 54. PRESTIGE, G., *God in Patristic Thought*, London 1959, p. 529.
 55. *Ad Ser. I*, 30 (PG 26, 600 BC).
 56. CAMPBELL, T. C., *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Theology of Athanasius*, in *SJT* 27 (1947) 417: «there is a community of activity and being that leads toward a oneness in being, the ὁμοούσιον of the Spirit with the Son and through him with the Godhead of the Father.»
 57. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 AB).
 58. *Ibid.*
 59. *Ad Ser. III*, 1 (625 B); cf. *Gal.* 4, 6.
 60. *Ibid. I*, 10 (557 A); cf. *Rom.* 8, 9.
 61. *Ibid.* 20 (580 AB).
 62. *C. arianos I*, 9 (PG 26, 29 A).
 63. *Ad Ser. I*, 30 (PG 26, 600 C).
 64. CAMPBELL, T. C., *op. cit.*, p. 422; cf. *Ad Ser. I*, 28 (PG 26, 596 BC); *Matth.* 28, 19.
 65. *C. arianos III*, 15 (PG 26, 353 B).
 66. BASIL OF CESAREA, *De Spiritu Sancto*, PG vol. 32.
 67. *Ibid.* XXVI, 63 (184 C).
 68. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *The Fifth Theological Oration-On the Holy Spirit and Last Farewell*.
 69. GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, R., *Predestination*, London 1939, pp. 8-17.
 70. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sancto XXVI*, 61 (PG 32, 181 BC).
 71. Several other early Church Fathers shared the idea that our return to God is realized in the Spirit, by way of the Son, from the Father. Some examples are the following: GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Quod non sint tres Dii, ad Ablabium* [PG 45, 125 C] and CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *In Ioan.* lib. X c. 2 [PG 74, 337]. The three divine persons necessarily carry out this work together since they each have the same divine essence. However, each one operates according to the order and character of their hypostatic being, assimilating the soul to the Trinity by imprinting their distinctive mark or seal (CONGAR, Y. M. -J., *Je Crois en L'Ésprit Saint*, II., Paris 1980, pp. 122-124).
 72. *C. arianos II*, 18 (PG 26, 184 B): «To give the Spirit with authority is not in the power of creature or work, but the Spirit is God's gift (Θεοῦ δῶρον.

- (Θεοῦ δῶρον) For the creatures are hallowed by the Holy Spirit, but the Son is not hallowed by the Spirit, but on the contrary, he himself is the Giver of it to all...»
73. FEDORYKA, D., *Towards a concept and a phenomenology of the gift*, manuscript 3/4/92, p. 2.
 74. *C. arianos*, I, 16 (44 D— 45 A).
 75. *Ad Ser. I*, 2 (PG 26, 533 B); cf. *Ibid.* I, 11; III, 1; IV, 3 (560 B; 625 C; 641 BC).
 76. KANNENGIESSER, Ch., *Athanasius of Alexandria and the Holy Spirit between Nicea and Constantinople I*, in *ITQ* 48(1981)179, note 31: «Christ in his quality of Son is the one who gives grace and the Spirit of grace (...) there is a synonymy of formulae. In *Contra arianos II*, 18 the Spirit is said to be «gift of God (Θεοῦ δῶρον)» because the Son dispenses it to all humans included in the salvific economy».
 77. «Pater a nullo est factus: nec creatus, nec genitus, Filius a Patre solo est: non factus, nec creatus, sed genitu. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio: non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.»
 78. *Ep. Fest. Cop.* 36; translated from a French citation in Roldanus, J., *Le Christ et L'Homme dans la Théologie d'Athanasie d'Alexandrie. Étude de la conjonction de sa conception de l'homme avec sa Christologie*, Leiden 1968, p. 238.
 79. BASIL, *De Sancto Spiritu XVI*, 38 (PG 32, 136 B): «One cannot say that there are three hypostatic principles nor that the act of the Son is imperfect. There is truly only one Principle of being, who creates by way of the Son and perfects in the Spirit. The Father «who works everything in all» (*I Cor.* 12, 6) is not imperfect in his operation, nor is the Son defective in his creative activity, much less is the Spirit faulty in his perfecting or consummating».
 80. *C. arianos III*, 24 (PG 26, 373 A; 376 A).
 81. *Ibid.* (373 B).
 82. *Ibid.* (376 A).
 83. *C. arianos I*, 16 (45 A): «All things partake of the Son according to the grace of the Spirit.»
 84. *Ibid.* 15 (44 B).
 85. *Ad Ser. I*, 9 (PG 26, 553 C).
 86. *C. arianos II*, 18 (PG 26, 184 BC).
 87. ROLDANUS, J., *op. cit.*, p. 251.
 88. *Ad Ser. I*, 22 (PG 26, 581 AB).
 89. *Ibid.* 23 (584 C).
 90. SCHEEBEN, M., *op. cit.*, p. 393.
 91. *Ad Ser. I*, 24 (PG 26, 585-588 A).
 92. *C. arianos I*, 15 (PG 26, 44 B).
 93. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sancto XVI*, 38 (PG 32, 136-137 A).
 94. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *De recta fide ad Theodosium* 20 (PG 76, 1161).
 95. *Ad Ser. I*, 30 (PG 26, 600 C).
 96. *Ibid.*
 97. MERSCH, E., *The Whole Christ. The historical development of the doctrine of the Mystical Body in Scripture and Tradition*, Milwaukee 1938, p. 141-147.

98. *Ad Ser. I*, 3 (PG 26, 536 B).
99. ORIGEN, *De Principiis* I, 3, 7 (PG 11, 153 CD). He writes, based on *Ps.* 32, 6: «all of the heavens were made by the word of Yahweh, and all of the armies by the breath of his mouth.»
100. IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer.* V, 12, 2 (PG 7, 1152 BC): «The Πνεῦμα is properly constituted in relation to God (...) while the respiratory breath, πνοή, is commonly attributed of all creatures (...). The πνοή is temporal while [the Πνεῦμα] is perpetual.»
101. *Ad Ser. III*, 4 (PG 26, 632 BC).
102. *Ibid.* III, 1 (625 A).
103. The Greek verb, ἐνεφύσησεν [breathed], is also found in Gen. 2, 7 where we read: «[God] breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul» - «ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσῃπον αὐροῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν».
104. *De inc.* 7 (PG 25, 109 A); *C. arianos II*, 53 (PG 26, 260 B).
105. MÖHLER, J. A., *Athanasie le Grand et L'Eglise de son temps en lutte avec l'Arianisme*, tr. J. COHEN, Paris 1840, p. 117.
106. Cf. *C. arianos II*, 67 (PG 26, 289 B).
107. *Ad Ser. III*, 5 (PG 26, 632 C): «διὰ τοῦ Λόγου κτιζόμενα ἔχει ἕκκ τοῦ Πνεύματος παρὰ τοῦ Λόγου τῆν τοῦ ὁσχύ».
108. GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Or. de verbis I Cor. 15-28* (PG 44, 1313): «The pure divinity of the only-begotten, knowing naught of corruption, was in human nature, that was mortal and subject to corruption. But from the whole of human nature, to which was joined 'divinity, arose, as the first fruit of the common mass, the man who is in Christ, by whom all humanity was united to divinity.»
109. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 BC).
110. *C. arianos II*, 68 (PG 26, 292 C).
111. MERSCH, E, *op. cit.*, p. 146. Of course, the formula «mystical body» was not used as such by Athanasius or the early Fathers, it is a later development based on St. Paul's teaching on the Christian's union with Christ in the Church. Therefore, in subsequent references to this idea we will place the formula in quotation marks.
112. BOVER, J.M. *Teología de San Pablo*, Madrid 1952, pp. 187-188.
113. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sanctu* XXIV, 56 (PG 32, 172 C-173 A): «The Spirit knows the depths of God, the creature receives the mysteries of revelation by way of the Spirit. He lives with God engendering life (ζωογονούτος) in all living things with the Son who gives life (...). And the Lord attests that it is the Spirit that vivifies: «the flesh serves for nothing» (*Joh.* 6, 63)».
114. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 57 (173 AB): «The Spirit is in us as a gift coming from God. Certainly a gift does not have the same honor as that of the donor. However, the Spirit is the gift of God, but he is the gift of life, «the law of the Spirit of life has made you free» (*Rom.* 8, 2). And the gift of power (δῶρον δυνάμεως), «you have received a power, that of the Holy Spirit that descends upon you» (*Act.* 6,63)».
115. *Ad Ser. I*, 31 (PG 26, 604 A): Athanasius cites *Zech.* 1, 6:7 12 and Peter in *Acts* 1. 16:4, 24-25 regarding the gift of prophecy given to a select few. He also reproduces *Joel* 2, 28: «and it shall come to pass afterward, that

I will pour out my spirit on all flesh». This fulfils of the promise given to Moses that all of the Lord's people would be able to become a type of prophet because they will each receive the influence of the Spirit of God (Cf. *Num.* 11, 29).

116. *C. arianos I*, 48 (PG 26, 112 B).
117. *Ibid. III*, 31 (388 C).
118. *Ad Ser. I*, 12 (PG 26, 561 B).
119. *Ibid.*; cf. *Exod.* 33, 1-2. Moses refused to follow an angel in leaving Egypt, so God granted the audacious request to send his Spirit because Moses was favorable to him. (Cf. *Ps.* 176, 21; 177, 53 and 135, 16; *Deut.* 1, 30-33).
120. *C. arianos III*, 38 (PG 26, 405 B).
121. *Ibid. I*, 46 (108 A). It is interesting that Athanasius used the term *χορηγέω* to express the act of the Word giving his Spirit. The Greek term means to supply or provide, but it also signifies directing a musical choir or to furnish the necessary sustenance for a musical symphony.
122. *Ad Ser. I*, 31 (PG 26, 604 A): 'Thus when the Spirit is said to be in anyone, it means that the Word is in him bestowing the Spirit'; *Ibid. IV*, 4 (641 D): 'When we partake of the Spirit we have the Son, and when we have the Son, we have the Spirit'; *Ibid. I*, 21 (580 C): 'The Spirit (...) is in the Son, and the Son in him».
123. *Ad Ser. I*, 24 (PG 26, 585 BC): «It is also through the Spirit that we are said to participate in God. 'Don't you know that you are temples of God and that the Spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone were to destroy the temple of God, God would destroy him, because the temple of God, which you are, is holy.' (*I Cor.* 3, 16-17). If the Holy Spirit were a creature, there would be no *participation produced in us* but we would be joined to a creature and made strangers of divine nature in such a way that we would take part in nothing of him. But, bearing in mind that we are said to be participants of God, it appears that the unction and seal that are in us are not derived from created things, but rather it is from the Son, through the Spirit in us, that we are united to the Father.»
124. *Ibid. I*, 19 (576 C).
125. *C. arianos II*, 70 (PG 26, 296 B).
126. DANÉLOU, J., *Christ and Us*, tr. from *Approches du Christ* by B. Roberts, New York 1961, p. 217.
127. NEWMAN, J. H., *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, Part I, Ch. IV*, pp. 147-148: «Christ, in rising, raises his saints with him to the right hand of power. They become indistinct with his life, of one body with his flesh, divine sons, immortal kings, gods. He is in them, because he is in human nature; and he communicates to them that nature, deified by becoming his, that them it may deify. He is in them by the presence of his Spirit, and in them he is seen».
128. *C. arianos II*, 70 (PG 26, 296 B).
129. SHAPLAND, C. R. B., *St. Athanasius. Letters concerning the Holy Spirit*, London 1951, p. 37: «he thinks of creation and sanctification as one single work.»
130. *C. gentes*, 2 (PG 25, 5 CD).
131. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *op. cit.*, p. 150: «By virtue of their infinity and omnipresence, all the divine persons together are from eternity substantially

- present everywhere where they can ever be. Therefore they cannot in their substance begin to be anywhere in time where they were not before; a local motion is out of the question with them. Only in the variation of the manner in which these persons and their substance become present to other beings, come to the latter, and enter into relationship with them, can any change take place and any movement of the persons be conceived.»
132. J. H. Newman expresses this in a very beautiful passage: «There are seven notes in the scale; make them fourteen; yet what a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise! What science brings so much out of so little? Out of what poor elements does some great master in it create his new world? (...) Can it be that those mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotion, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No; they have escaped from some higher sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound; they are echoes of our Home; they are the voice of Angels, or the Magnificat of Saints, or the living laws of Divine Governance, or the Divine Attributes; something are they besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we wise distinguished above his fellows, has the gift of eliciting them.» (NEWMAN, J. H., *Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford*, London 1880, XV, pp. 346-347; taken from D. von Hildebrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165).
133. HEINISCH, P. and HEIDT, W., *Theology of the Old Testament*, St. Paul, 1955, pp. 106-115.
134. *C. gentes* 2 (PG 25, 5 D); cf. *Ibid.*, 2 (8B) and 3 (9A).
135. *C. gentes* 7 (PG 25, 16 B).
136. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 573 CD): Τῷ δὲ Πνεύματι φωτισομένων ἡμῶν, ὁ Χριστὸς ἔστιν ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ φωτιζῶν — when we are enlightened through the Spirit, it is Christ who is enlightened in us.
137. JUSTIN, *First Apology*, ch. 61.
138. CLEMENT, *Ep Cor* 36, 1-3: «This, beloved, is the way in which we found our salvation, Jesus Christ, the High Priest who offers our gifts, the patron and helper in our weakness. It is *through him* that we look straight at the heavens above. Through him we see mirrored God's faultless and transcendent countenance. *Through him* the eyes of our heart were opened. *Through him* our unintelligent and darkened mind shoots up into the light. *Through him* the master was pleased to let us taste the knowledge that never fades; for, 'being himself the radiance of his splendor, he towers as much above the angels as the title he has inherited is superior to theirs.' [*Heb.* 1, 3-4].»
139. DANIÉLOU, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 219-222.
140. Vid. *C. gentes* 9, 12, 18, 20, 21, 24, 27, 29, 40, 45.
141. *C. gentes* 9 (PG 25, 20 A).
142. *Ibid.* 4 (9 B): «Abandoning the contemplation of intelligible reality and misusing the individual faculties of the body, delighting in the contemplation of the body and regarding pleasure as the good in itself, [the soul] mistakenly misused the term good and considers pleasure to be the real good.»

143. The Greek *noûs* —and that of Athanasius— was a spiritual organ that discerned the first metaphysical principles. The most important one of those is the principle of identity or non-contradiction: nothing can be and not be under the same aspect or in the same set of circumstances.
144. *C. gentes* 9 (21 AB) and 12 (25 C. 29 A).
145. *Ibid.*, 18 (37 C).
146. *Ibid.*, 45 (89 D-92 A).
147. *Vita Ant.* 76 (PG 26, 949 B): «Εἰ γὰρ, ὅτι καλὴ ἡ κτίσις, τοιαῦτα συνεβήκατε ἀλλ' ἕδει μ᾽εξρι τοῦ Ὑαγμ᾽ασαι μ᾽ονον ἰγμ;aw γεν᾽εsbai, καὶ μὴ Θεοποιῆσαι τὰ ποιήματα». - For if because creation is beautiful you composed such legends, still it was fitting that you stop short at admiration and not make gods of the created things.
148. *De inc.* 54 (PG 25, 192 B); cf. *C. arianos I*, 39 (PG 26, 92 C): «Θεὸς ὢν, ὕστερον γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς Θεοποιήσῃς» he was God, and then became man, and that to divinize us.
149. *C. arianos I*, 39 (PG 26, 93 A).
150. *Decr. syn.* 14 (PG 25, 448 CD).
151. *C. arianos III*, 53 (PG 26, 433 B)
152. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 55-56.
153. *Ibid.* III, 33 (PG 26, 396 A).
154. *Ad Maxim.* 2 (PG 26, 1088 C): One could speculate that Athanasius alludes to the Eucharist here without explicitly calling it such. Christ assimilates us more avidly to himself when we consume the Sacred Host. This language is reminiscent of Ignatius' reference to the Blessed Sacrament as the «medicine of immortality».
155. *C. arianos III*, 31 (PG 26, 389 A).
156. *De inc.* 44 (PG 25, 173 BC).
157. *Ibid.* (176 C).
158. I refer to a *virtual* improvement in our dignity because, although Christ's work of redemption is complete in an objective sense, its application to individual men depends upon each one accepting God's grace in the Spirit.
159. *C. arianos I*, 43 (PG 26, 100 CD).
160. *Apol ad Const.* 33 (PG 25, 640 A).
161. *De Virg.* 2 (PG 28, 253 B).
162. «Le vergini sono spose del Verbo, unite a lui con un vincolo sponsale indissolubile e immortale». In *Sant' Ambrosio, Verginità e Vedovanza*, Città Nuova, Rome 1989, p. 38. Cf., AMBROSE, *Concerning Virgins*, I, 3,10-11.
163. AMBROSE *De Virg.* I, 3, 11: «Those who aren't married nor who marry will be like angels in heaven». *Idem.*, «Virginity has brought from heaven that which it may imitate on earth.» *Idem.*, I, 3, 13: «But in truth after that the Lord, coming in our flesh, joined together the Godhead and the flesh without any confusion or mixture, then the practice of the life of heaven spreading throughout the whole world was implanted in human bodies.»; *Ibid.*: «Only when the Virgin conceived and the Word was made flesh could flesh think of becoming God.»
164. From *Sant' Ambrosio, Verginità e Vedovanza*, pp. 42-44.
165. ATHANASIUS, *De Virg.* 2 (PG 28, 253 D).

166. AMBROSE, *De Virg.* I, 3, 11: «Another merit of virginity: Christ is a virgin's spouse. To put it better, virginal chastity is espoused to him». Virginal chastity is the *form* in which a Christian can conform themselves to the spouse, Jesus Christ. It is a supernatural virtue that pertains to the renewed humanity of the Kingdom of God.
167. ATHANASIUS, *De Virg.* 3 (PG 28, 253 D-256 A).
168. *Ibid.* 16 (269 D-272 A): «You therefore, servant of God, whether upon rising, or sitting, or in any activity, whether eating, or desiring to recline for sleep or arise from your bed, the hymn of God should never be absent from your lips».
169. *C. arianos III*, 34 (PG 26, 397 AB).
170. A. Robertson points out that the term *aujtou*, himself, actually refers to the person of the Son. (*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers...*, vol. 4, p. 378, n. 8).
171. *Ad Ser. I*, 25 (PG 26, 589 B).
172. *Heb.* 2, 10; cited in *De inc.* 10 (PG 25, 114 AB): «ἀγαόντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν διὰ παθημάτων τελειῶσαι» - [the Word] led the head of the race, the founder of the family, to its perfection by suffering.
173. *C. arianos I*, 46 (PG 26, 108 B).
174. *Ibid.* 47 (108 C).
175. *Ibid.* (109 C): «It is the flesh assumed by him which is anointed».
176. *Ad Ser. I*, 23 (PG 26, 585 A).
177. GALTIER, P., *La Saint Esprit en nous d'après les Pères Grecs*, Rome 1946, p. 127.
178. *Ad Ser. I*, 25 (PG 26, 589 A).
179. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oratio X* (PG 35, 832): «The Father of the true and genuine Christ, whom he imbued with the oil of gladness above his fellows, anointed the humanity with the divinity that he might make both one.»; JOHN DAMASCENE, *De fide orthodoxa*, III, 3 (PG 94, 989): «Christ is the name of the person; but the name also signifies the two natures. For he anointed himself: he anointed as God, and was anointed as man. He himself is both one and the other. The ointment of the humanity is the divinity.»; *ibid.*, IV, 14 (1160): «He who is the Son of God and is God incarnate was born of the Virgin; He is not merely a man bearing God, but is God made flesh. He is anointed not by any action, as a prophet is, but by the presence of the anointing person, so that He who anointed has become man, and that which was anointed has become God, not by any mutation of nature, but by a union according to hypostasis. He who anoints is the same person as He who is anointed.»
180. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *op. cit.*, p. 330-334.
181. *Ad Ser. III*, 3 (PG 26, 629 A).
182. AMBROSE, *De Virg.* II, II, 18.
183. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 655-658.
184. Cf. *I Sam.* 9, 16; 10, 1-10; 16,13.
185. *II Sam.* 19, 22; *I Sam.* 16,13: «The Spirit of Yahweh took possession of David». The anointing conferred a sort of *possession* or inhabitation by the spirit of Yahweh (*I Sam.* 10, 10; *II Sam.* 23, 2).
186. The original Hebrew term, *shèmèn*, means vigor, robustness or fertility. Another term often used in reference to the anointing oil was, *ytshehar*,

- whose root means *to shine*. It was the sparkling oil freshly expressed from a plant, the fragrant essence of abundant life. There are abundant references to this consecrating oil in Sacred Scripture: *Deut.* 32, 13; 33, 24; *I Kings* 5, 11; *Job* 29, 6; *Prov.* 21, 17; *Ez.* 27, 17; *Os.* 2, 7-15; 12, 2; *Luke* 16,16; *Apoc.* 6, 6; 18, 13.
187. LYS, D., *L'onction dans la Bible*, in *ETHR* 29 (1954) 19-20.
188. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
189. *Ad Ser. III*, 3 (PG 26, 628 C).
190. *Ibid. I*, 23 (584 BC).
191. *Ibid.* (584 C): «The Spirit is called vivifying as Paul said: 'He who has resurrected Jesus Christ from the dead will also resurrect your mortal bodies by his Spirit, who dwells in you' [*Rom.* 8, 11]. The Lord is life itself, and «the author of life' [*Act.* 3, 15]; but the Lord himself said: 'the water that will be given to you will come from him as a source of water surging up to eternal life' [*Job.* 4, 14]; 'it is the Spirit who will be received by those who believe in him' [*Ibid.* 7, 39]. For creatures, as was said, they are vivified in him; but he is not life by participation, but *the same object of participation and vivification of creatures, ...*»
192. *Ad Ser. I*, 20 (PG 26, 577B); *Ibid.* 24 (588B); *Ibid.* (592 B); *Ad Ser. IV*, 3 (640 D-641A); cf. CAMPBELL, T. C., *op. cit.*, p. 413.
193. *C. arianos III*, 5 (PG 26, 332 AB).
194. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sancto XVIII*, 45 (PG 32, 149 BC). I reproduce here the entire passage: «The Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son (cf. *Job.* 14, 10), [...]. In consequence, according to the properties of the Persons, they are one and one; however, according to their common nature, the two are one. How is it that they are one and one, and not two Gods? This is because the image of a king is also termed king, and one does not say that there are two kings: the royal power is not doubled, and the glory which we render to it is one and not multiple, because the honor given to the image passes to the prototype. An image is such by imitation, while the Son is by nature. In a similar way, in art, the resemblance is taken from or imprinted with the form; and thus, by divine nature, which is simple, it is in the koinwniva of the deity where the principle of unity resides».
195. *Ibid.*, XXVI, 64 (185 C): «It is impossible to see the Image of the invisible God except in the *clarity* of the Spirit (ἐν τῷ φωτισμῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος). And he who fixes his sight on the Image is incapable of separating the Image from the light because the cause of the vision is necessarily seen at the same time as the object seen (...). By way of the Spirit's illumination one can discern the radiation of the glory of God, by the imprint (χαρακτῆρος) he is brought to that which bears the character and the seal of the same form».
196. *Ibid.*, IX, 22 (108 C): «He is source of sanctification, intelligible light, the sum of all rational power (δύναμις λογική), by whom the truth is uncovered, and he himself ministers a type of *clarity*. He is inaccessible by nature, one can understand him in his goodness; he fills everything with his power and only communicates to those who are worthy, not following a special measure, rather distributing his operation in proportion to the faith».

197. *Ad Ser. I*, 24 (PG 26, 585 C): «Believing that we are said to be participants of Christ and of God, it would seem that the unction and seal that is in us is not of a created nature, but that of the Son who, by way of the Spirit in him, unites us to the Father».
198. *De inc.* 28 (PG 25, 144 C): «οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀπιστῶν περὶ τῆς τοῦ θανάτου νίκῃ λαμβανέτω τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ» — so also he who does not believe in the victory over death, let him accept the faith of Christ; cf. *ibid.*, 50.
199. *Ibid.* 29 (145 D).
200. An interesting connection can be drawn between man's final end —the contemplation of God *facie ad faciem* [*I Cor.* 13, 12]— and this garment terminology. The term αἰνίγμα [enigma] not only meant ambiguity of expression for the early Church but it also was a symbol of an abstract reality. (BASSET, S. E., *I Cor.* 13, 12 Βλέτομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, in *JBL* 47 [1928] 232-236). Later Christian writers used the term in this fashion, for example: «the white robe [that is worn by the elect] is a symbol [αἰνίγμα] of our purification by the blood of Christ; all the stains of sin have disappeared» (ARÉTHAS, *De Apoc.* 15, 707 D). Athanasius describes Christian virtues as manifestations of the life of Christ present in the soul, a behavior that attracts other men to the faith.
201. *De inc.* 28 (PG 25, 145 A): «λαμβάνετω τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦτου διδασκαλίαν παρερχέσθω, καὶ ὄψεται τοῦ θανάτου τὴν ἀσθένειαν, καὶ τὴ κατ' αὐτοῦ νίκην».
202. Athanasius would not have meant that Jesus Christ knew his Father by way of faith because he always possessed a natural knowledge of his Father in the Beatific Vision of the Trinity. This «faith of Christ» must have meant the revealed truths of God given to us by Christ.
203. *De inc.* 44 (PG 25, 176 AB).
204. *Ibid.* (176 B).
205. *Ibid.* (176 C).
206. Figuratively speaking, Adam dressed mankind in garments of death because original sin introduced corruption into human nature. Among the Greek Fathers the central theme of theology was man's loss of immortality, the transformation of life into a state of temporal survival, of putting off his inevitable demise. Life was no longer a characteristic property of our being, now it only continues as long as death is postponed (NELLAS, P., *Deification in Christ. Orthodox Perspectives on the Nature of the Human Person*, Crestwood 1987, p. 47).
207. MÖEHLER, J. -A., *op. cit.*, p. 247.
208. *Vita Ant.*, 17 (PG 26, 869 AB): «We ought also to realize that if we do not surrender these things through virtue, then later when we die we shall leave these things behind —often, to those whom we do not wish, as Ecclesiastes reminds us [*Eccles.* 4, 8; 6, 2]. This being the case, why should we not give them up for virtue's sake, so that we might inherit heaven? (...) Why not rather own (procure) those things that we are able to take away with us — such things as prudence, justice, temperance, courage, understanding, love, concern for the poor, faith in Christ, freedom from anger, hospitality?»
209. *Ibid.*, 4 (846 AB).

210. *Ibid.*, 73 (945 A).
211. RUBENSON, S., *The Letters of St. Antony. Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint*, Lund 1990, p. 133.
212. *Vita Ant.*, 78 (PG 26, 952 B): «We Christians, then, do not possess the mystery in a wisdom of Greek reasonings, but in the power supplied to us by God through Jesus Christ.»
213. RUBENSON, S., *op. cit.*, p. 139.
214. *De inc.* 52 (PG 25, 189 B).
215. *C. arianos I*, 45 (PG 26, 105 B).
216. *Ibid.* 42 (100 AB).
217. *Ibid.* 46 (108 AB).
218. *Ibid.*, 15 (44 BC).
219. Cf. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 A).
220. *C. arianos I*, 15 (PG 26, 44 B): «Πνεῦμα (μαῖλλον παρά) τοῦ Υἱοῦ λαμβάνει» - the Spirit receives (possesses) the Son.
221. The Spirit gives man a variety of divine gifts, the principal one being a γῶαις of God similar to that conceded to the prophets: «καὶ τῇ μεν πάσαν Θεολογίῳν καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν τελείωσιν, ἐν ἧ συνῆπτεν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῶ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ Πατρὶ» (*Ad Ser. I*, 6 [PG 26, 544 A]).
222. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 573 C); cf. *Joh.* 4, 10ff. and 7, 38.
223. *C. arianos II*, 74 (PG 26, 304 B).
224. *Ad Ser. I*, 11 (PG 26, 26, 560 B).
225. IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer.* V, VI; cf. CAYRÉ, F., *Manual of Patrology and History of Theology, I*, Paris, pp. 151-152.
226. *Ad Ser. I*, 31 (604 B): «If it is Christ who speaks in him, it is clear that the Spirit speaking in him is the Spirit of Christ»; cf. *Ibid.* 31 (604 A): «When the Spirit is in anyone, it means that the Word is in him bestowing the Spirit.»
227. *Ibid.*
228. *Vita Ant.*, 22, (PG 25, 876 B).
229. *Ibid.*, 23 (877 AB).
230. *Ibid.*, 28 (885).
231. SCHWANE, J., *Dogmengeschichte der patristischen Zeit*, Freiburg 1895, pp. 441 ff.; ATZBERGER, L., *Die Logoslehre des hl. Athanasius*, München 1880, p. 151; STRÄTER, H., *Die Erlösungslehre des hl. Athanasius*, Freiburg 1894, pp. 19ff.; SCHÖMANN, J. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 342 ff.; BERCHEM, J. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 221-231.
232. *C. arianos I*, 37 (PG 26, 26, 89 A).
233. *Ibid.* 43 (101 A): Athanasius cites two Johannine texts. *Joh.* 1, 12: «as many as received him, he gave them power to become children of God» and *I Joh.* 3, 24: «by this we know that he abides in us, due to his Spirit that abides in us».
234. JOURNET, C., *L'Eglise du Verbe Incarné. II. Su structure interne et su unité Catholique*, Paris 1951, p. 268.
235. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
236. One can consider filiation in two ways. Whereas there is a primary and secondary sense in the use of the word *son*, primary when used with the formal meaning of continuation of nature, and secondary when used

nominally or for an external resemblance to the first meaning. It is applied to the regenerate in the primary sense. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa considered *son* as a term of relationship to nature, and Basil connects our regeneration to Our Lord's eternal generation (BASIL, *Contra Eucon.* 3). Adoption introduces the Christian into the family of God from which he receives the name of son, and he is made the beneficiary of a familial inheritance of future goods. This adoption introduces the sinner into a completely new relationship with God Christ represents all men, he is a living testimony to the will of God for all, that is, to be an incarnate son of God (LEENHARDT, F. J., *L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Romains*, Neuchâtel 1957, p. 122).

237. *De decr.* 31 (PG 25, 473 C).
238. *C. arianos II*, 59 (273 A); *Ibid.* III, 19 (364 B): «we are made sons through him [Word] by adoption and grace as participants of His Spirit».
239. *De syn.* 53 (PG 26, 788 C).
240. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 A); cf. *Ibid.* 25 (589 A).
241. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *op. cit.*, p. 172.
242. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 A).
243. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 382-383.
244. We recall the filial state of life Adam enjoyed in paradise: «[he lived] in happiness and intimacy with God, a life without concern and truly joyful, an immortal life (...) [and] he kept his spirit turned toward God in simple $\pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$ [freedom]» (*C. gentes* 2 [PG 25, 8B]).
245. *C. arianos I*, 37 (PG 26, 89 A).
246. *Ibid.* III, 19 (364 B).
247. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 BC): «The Son is Life, as is said, «I am Life» (*Joh.* 14,6), we are said to be vivified in the Spirit».
248. *C. arianos I*, 60 (PG 26, 137 C): «And having rendered the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$ (flesh) capable of the Word, he made us walk no longer according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit».
249. *Ad Ser. I*, 23 (PG 26, 584 B). It would seem that Athanasius refers to the Father or the Son [Logos] as the Divine Person who resurrected Christ's body by giving the Spirit.
250. *Ibid.*, 19 (576 C); cf. *Rom.* 8, 11.
251. SUNDAY, W., HEADLAM, A. C., *A Critical Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Edinburgh 1968, pp. 199-200.
252. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sancto*, XVI, 56 (PG 32, 172 C-173 A) and *Ibid.*, XXIV, 57 (173 AB).
253. *C. arianos I*, 48 (PG 26, 112 B); *Ibid.* III, 31 (388 C); *Ad Ser. I*, 12 (PG 26, 561 B).
254. *Ad Ser. I*, 19 (PG 26, 576 A).
255. *C. arianos III*, 23 (PG 26, 372 C).
256. *Ibid.* (372 A): «We become one as the Father and the Son in mind and agreement of Spirit»; *Ibid.* (372 C): «Work in them Father, and as you have given to me to bear this, grant them your Spirit that they too may become one, and may be perfected in me». Evidently, Athanasius is thinking of the priestly prayer of Our Lord to his Father, that all be *consummati in unum* (cf. *Joh.* 17, 11. 21).

257. SCHEEBEN, M. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 613-624.
258. *C. arianos I*, 60 (PG 26, 137 C).
259. *Ad Ser. I*, 21; *I*, 31; *IV*, 4; cf. *Rom.* 8, 9-11; 8, 39; 14, 17; *Gal.* 2, 17; *I Cor.* 1, 30; 3, 6; *II Cor.* 5, 17; *Phil.* 3, 1; *Eph.* 3, 16-17.
260. *C. arianos III*, 52 (PG 26, 433 A).
261. *Ibid.*, 53 (433 C).
262. *C. arianos III*, 24 (PG 26, 373 B): «Therefore because of the grace of the Spirit which has been given to us, we come to be in Him and He in us'.
263. «To advance in wisdom is not the advance of Wisdom Itself, but rather manhood's advance in It. Jesus «advanced in wisdom and grace» [*Luke* 2, 52] ... and «Wisdom built herself a house» [*Prov.* 9, 1], and She gave the house advancement. What else is this advance that is spoken of except the divinizing and grace that Wisdom imparts to man, sin and their internal corruption are obliterated according to the likeness and familial relationship which they have to the flesh of the Word?» (*C. arianos III*, 52 [433 B]; cf. *Luke* 2, 52 [cited in *C. arianos III*, 51 PG 26, 430 Bç]).
264. *Ibid.*, 53 (436 A).
265. *Ibid. II*, 18 (184 C).
266. *Ibid.*: «He who sanctifies himself is the Lord of sanctification (...) I, being the Father's Word give the Spirit to myself on becoming man, and I sanctify myself in Him [Spirit] so that from then on all may be sanctified in me».
267. *Ibid. I*, 16 (45 A).
268. *Ibid. II*, 14 (176 C): «By means of a servant's form he has been made Lord of all and Christ, so as «εις τὸ ἀγιάζειν τῷ Πνεύματι πάντος» (to sanctify all by the Spirit)». The phrase is written with the instrumental dative form in reference to the Holy Spirit.
269. STANILOAE, D., *La Doctrine de Saint Athanase sur le Salut*, in «Politique et Théologie chez Athanase de'Alexandrie», ed. KANNENGIESSER, Ch., Paris 1974, p. 287.
270. *Ibid. I*, 60 (137 C).
271. TROMP, S., *De spiritu Sancto anima Corporis mystici, I*. Rome 1932.
272. *Ad Ser I*, 46 (PG 26, 108 BC).
273. The Spirit shares all of the attributes of the Son with the exception of generation, which is unique and proper to the Son just as being ungenerated [ἀγενετός] is the essential characteristic of the Father. The Holy Spirit gives a participation in what is uniquely attributed to Him, that is, a share in the communion of God.
274. *De inc.* 16 (PG 25, 124 D): «although he is invisible and indiscernible, yet by his works he revealed and made himself known to be the Son of God...»



ÍNDICE

	<u>Pág</u>
PREFACE	187
TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR ORIGINAL DISSERTATION	193
BIBLIOGRAPHY	197
ABBREVIATIONS	203
I. INTRODUCTION	207
II. THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ATHANASIUS	211
1. The Life of Athanasius	211
2. His Writings	212
III. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS ON ATHANASIUS' THEOLOGY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT	215
1. The Pneumatology of Athanasius	215
2. The Biblical Foundations for a Theology of the Holy Spirit ...	217
IV. THE HOLY SPIRIT AND HIS ACTIVITY	218
1. The Holy Spirit is Divine	218
2. The Activity of the Holy Spirit	221
a) The Spirit of the Son	222
b) The Holy Spirit is the instrument of the Word	222
3. The Spirit as Gift	225
a) The gift of sonship	227
b) Man's participation in the Spirit	228
4. The Intervention of the Holy Spirit	230
a) A new intervention of the Holy Spirit	231
b) The Spirit enters the soul	233
5. The pouring forth of the Spirit	234
V. THE UNCTION AND SEAL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT	235
1. Divinization	236
2. Baptism: internal justification and spousal union with Christ ...	244
3. Man is anointed and sealed with the Spirit	249
a) The Judeo-Christian notion of <i>crivσμα</i>	252
b) Impression of the <i>morfhvn Cristou'</i>	252
4. The « <i>bonus odor Christi</i> »: the practice of christian virtue	254
VI. THE SPIRIT MAKES MAN A TEMPLE OF GOD	256
1. Human nature is anointed and sealed	257
a) The Spirit gives participation in divine nature	257
b) The Spirit reveals the Word in us	259

2. Divine filiation	260
a) Man made tevkna Theou'	261
b) The resurrection of Christ and men	263
3. Spiritual progress	264
a) <i>Imitatio Christi Capitis</i>	265
b) <i>Vivificatio Corporis Christi per Spiritum Sanctum sicut Animae</i>	266
VII. SUMMARY	267