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T. E. Pollard

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AND THE EARLY CHURCH

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PREFACE

The research on which this work is based was commenced in the Faculty of Divinity of the University of St Andrews under the supervision of Professors J. H. Baxter and E. P. Dickie. Principal Matthew Black and Dr R. McL. Wilson also gave me considerable encouragement and advice. The period of study in St Andrews was made possible by a generous research grant made to me by the late A. Thyne Reid through the Council of St Andrew's College, Sydney. More recently a research grant from the University Grants Committee of New Zealand has enabled me to bring the research up to date. To all of these my deepest gratitude is due.

My thanks are due also to the following:

The Librarians and their assistants in the Libraries of the University of St Andrews, the University of Otago, and Knox College, Dunedin, for helping me to locate important material; the isolation of Australasia and the lack of adequate patristic collections in this part of the world have made research in this field difficult and often frustrating, and I am aware of several *lacunae*, e.g. H. de Riedmatten's collection of the fragments of Paul of Samosata in *Les actes du procès de Paul de Samosate*, and M. Spanneut's collection of fragments of Eustathius of Antioch in *Recherches sur les écrits d'Eustathe d'Antioche*, neither of which was procurable.

My colleague, Professor Ian Breward who has read much of the manuscript and made valuable suggestions, and my former student, the Rev. K. N. Booth, for help with proof-reading and preparation of indices.

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The Editors of *The Scottish Journal of Theology* and *New Testament Studies* for permission to use material already published in articles in their Journals.

Lastly, to my wife who bore more than the usual share of family duties in caring for a young family while I carried out my research.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review.</i>
<i>ACW</i>	<i>Ancient Christian Writers.</i>
<i>ANCL</i>	<i>Ante-Nicene Christian Library.</i>
<i>Ang</i>	<i>Angelicum.</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist.</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i>
<i>BjRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
<i>BullSNTS</i>	<i>Bulletin of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas.</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly.</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History.</i>
<i>CPT</i>	<i>Cambridge Patristic Texts.</i>
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review.</i>
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly.</i>
<i>DCB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography.</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</i>
<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.</i>
<i>ECQ</i>	<i>Eastern Churches Quarterly.</i>
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times.</i>
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.</i>
<i>Greg</i>	<i>Gregorianum.</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Hibbert Journal.</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review.</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</i>
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies.</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History.</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
<i>LCC</i>	<i>Library of Christian Classics.</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library.</i>
<i>LTQ</i>	<i>Lexington Theological Quarterly.</i>
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mélanges de science religieuse.</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum.</i>
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies.</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca (ed. J. P. Migne).</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina (ed. J. P. Migne).</i>
<i>RAM</i>	<i>Revue d'Ascétique et Mystique.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique.</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.</i>
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses.</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de philologie.</i>
<i>RechSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse.</i>
<i>RevSR</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses.</i>
<i>RTP</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie.</i>
<i>SAB</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources chrétiennes.</i>
<i>SD</i>	<i>Studies and Documents.</i>
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica (TU).</i>
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok.</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology.</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses.</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica (TU).</i>
<i>StC</i>	<i>Studia Catholica.</i>
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica.</i>
<i>TCL</i>	<i>Translations of Christian Literature.</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (tr. G. W. Bromiley).</i>
<i>ThS</i>	<i>Theological Studies.</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung.</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Texts and Studies.</i>
<i>TU</i>	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.</i>
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae.</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.</i>
<i>ZNTW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.</i>
<i>ZRGG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte.</i>
<i>ZST</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie.</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.</i>

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INTRODUCTION

The revival of interest in patristic exegesis during the past twenty years has opened up many exciting avenues of study, and is contributing in no small measure to the increasing co-operation and mutual understanding of scholars from the different Christian traditions. Through the study of the way in which the early church used and interpreted scripture, fresh insight is being gained into the way in which doctrine developed in the church.

While this present work concentrates on the way in which the Fathers interpreted St John's Gospel, I am not unaware that other books and key passages of scripture (e.g. Philippians ii. 6 ff., Colossians i. 15 ff., Proverbs viii. 22 ff.) also played an important role. Nevertheless I believe that it was St John's Gospel, with its Logos-concept in the Prologue and its emphasis on the Father-Son relationship, that raised in a most acute way the problems which led the church to formulate her doctrines of the trinity and of the person of Christ.

In this study attention is fixed mainly on the trinitarian problem, although it has been necessary at many points to look at the strictly christological problem as well. Naturally whatever we may say about the relationship between Jesus Christ and God has implications for our doctrine of the person of Christ. In this regard I have found it necessary to modify the *schemata* which have now become familiar in christological discussion since A. Grillmeier's work on early christology in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. 1, and *Christ in Christian Tradition*. Grillmeier has distinguished between the *Logos-sarx* schema, in which the *Logos* is a divine hypostasis and *sarx* is less than full manhood, and the *Word-man* schema, in which the *Word* is not fully hypostatized and therefore rather an attribute or power of God, and *man* is fully personal manhood. I believe that to complete the picture it is necessary to add a third schema, *God-man*, in which both the divinity and the humanity are seen to be complete.

Any discussion of the development of doctrine in the early church involves semantic difficulties. This is particularly true of

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the word *Logos*, whose exact meaning in a particular context is frequently very difficult to define. Is it to be translated as 'reason', or 'word', or 'speech', or should it simply be transliterated as 'Logos'? Similar difficulty attends the cognate words λογικός and ἄλογος. I have tried wherever possible to indicate which meaning I believe these words to have, even to the extent of giving translations which may appear to be clumsy and ugly.

In chapter 2 I have avoided any detailed discussion of the relationship between gnosticism and St John's Gospel. My lack of any knowledge of Coptic has prevented me from studying the Nag-Hammadi texts in any detail, and my poor knowledge of Spanish has precluded any assessment of the work of A. Orbe. Readers are referred to the chapter on gnosticism and St John in M. F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel*, and to R. McL. Wilson's recently published *Gnosis and the New Testament*.

In order to complete the study of the influence of St John's Gospel on the development of the doctrine of the person of Christ it would be necessary to go beyond the point at which the trinitarian question is settled to the strictly christological controversies of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. That, however, is beyond the scope of the present work.