

NOTES ON THE SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS
OF ST. ANDREWS FROM A.D. 1093 TO A.D. 1571¹.

II.

GAMELINE, chancellor of the king and papal chaplain (Feb. 13, 1254—T. no. 161), was postulated on the first Sunday in Lent, 1254 (Sc. vi 43), which works out as Feb. 14, 1254-5. M. (*s. a.* 1254) says he was elected by the prior and convent of St. Andrews, presumably referring to the Keledei being refused a voice in the election.

Gameline is confirmed by Pope Alexander IV on July 1, 1255; and the letter of confirmation (T. no. 176) explains why the word 'postulated' was used by Sc. He suffered from defect of birth, being *ex soluto genitus et soluta*. The letter recites that on the death of Abel, the prior and chapter convened, and proceeded *per viam compromissi*, appointing nine of their number to make choice of a bishop either by election or postulation. The choice fell on Gameline, papal chaplain and chancellor of Alexander, king of Scotland. Four persons, Robert de Prebenda, dean of Dunblane, Simon of Kynros, clerk, and brothers Helyas and Alan, canons of St. Andrews, were sent by the prior and chapter to the Pope with the postulation. The Pope dispenses for defect of birth, and confirms. A letter of the same date (T. no. 176 *ad finem*) was addressed by the Pope to the bishop of Glasgow commanding him, in the usual terms, to associate with him two other bishops, chosen by the bishop elect, and to confer on Gameline the gift of consecration. He is still 'elect' on Sept. 20, 1255 (Bain's *Calendar*, i no. 2013), at which date he had been removed from the council of the king for offences against the king of England.

The consecration by William, bishop of Glasgow, was on *secundo die natalis Domini, quo dominica habebatur*, 1255 (Sc. vi 43). Dec. 26, did fall on Sunday in 1255. The delay between the papal confirmation and the consecration may be accounted for by opposition on the part of the king and the members of his council. Gameline's banishment in the following year is attributed by M. (*s. a.* 1256) partly to his opposing the designs of the king's councillors, and partly because he refused to give them money, *quasi pro emptione sui episcopatus*².

Gameline died on the morrow of St. Vitalis, Martyr (which feast is celebrated on April 28), 1271, at Inchmurdauch, and was buried in the

¹ The writer will be grateful for corrections or additions to these notes.

² On July 31, 1255, Pope Alexander IV gives leave to Master Gameline, bishop elect of St. Andrews, to retain for two years from his consecration the benefices which he had before his postulation. This is granted because of the debts on his church and the repairs which it and other buildings needed (T. no. 178).

'new church,' close to the great altar (Sc. vi 43). Wyntoun concurs as to the year of Gameline's death (ii 258)¹.

WILLIAM WISCHARD (Wiscard, Wishart, Wishard).

He was at the time elect of Glasgow, and was postulated June 3, 1271, little more than one month after the death of his predecessor². The Keledei were excluded from the election (Sc. vi 43).

It is not till March 15, 1273, that we find the Pope, Gregory X, remitting to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Argyle to inquire into the character of the elect. The papal letter states that the Pope was satisfied as to the canonical character of the election (which had been *per viam compromissi*) of 'William, our chaplain, archdeacon of the same church (St. Andrews),' but was not satisfied as to the qualifications of the elect. If the forenamed bishops were satisfied as to the qualifications of the elect, they were to consecrate him, after receiving the oath of fidelity to Rome (T. no. 256). This letter makes no allusion to William as being elect of Glasgow. Probably Sc. is incorrect in using the word postulated instead of elected, for the former word would not have been appropriate in the case of one who had not been actually consecrated already, unless he suffered from some other canonical impediment, which is not alleged in this case.

The consecration of William took place at Scone, on Oct. 15, 1273 (F. vi 43). This works out, as one might expect, as Sunday.

William Wischard died on May 28, 1279, at Merbotill (in the deanery of Teviotdale), and was buried on June 2, in the 'new church' at St. Andrews, before the altar: Sc. (vi 43), which points out that the day of his burial was the anniversary of his election; but, as we have seen, this is in error. Lanercost (103) agrees as to the year of his death.

¹ Lanercost (84) is wrong in placing his death in 1268, for he confirms a charter April 14, 1271 (North Berwick, 23).

Two charters (Kal. Aug. 1248, and iv Non. Sept. 1248) make mention of Gamaliel (*sic*) bishop of St. Andrews (R. P. S. A. 121, 174). The dates (if genuine) are fatal to identifying Gamaliel and Gameline. But one cannot but suspect that the charters (if not wholly forgeries) belong to the time of Gameline, and were subsequently furnished with dates by some ignorant scribe who wrongly expanded a contracted form of the name Gameline.

² Sc. (vi 43) says the postulation was on June 2 (iv. Non. Iunii); but we are so fortunate as to possess the draft of the letter of the chapter announcing the election and praying for the Pope's confirmation (R.M. 338). There it is said that the assent of the king having been, 'iuxta regni consuetudinem,' sought and obtained, they appointed the *morrow* of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (which feast is on June 2) 1271, being Wednesday, for the election. Now, the Sunday Letter for 1270-1 being D, June 2 fell on Tuesday, which fits in correctly with the statement of the letter of the chapter. The *compromissarii* were seven in number, six of the canons (including John, the prior) and the archdeacon of Lothian. Having gone apart they were unanimous in choosing 'W. the archdeacon of our church.'

WILLIAM FRASER, chancellor of the kingdom, dean of Glasgow.

On the day of St. Nicholas (Dec. 6) 1279, William Fraser, dean of Glasgow (he does not style himself elect of St. Andrews), obliges himself for a debt of 200lb. sterling incurred by the chapter of Glasgow 'pro arduis nostris negociis in Curia Romana promovendis.' His brothers, Sir Symon Fraser, knight, and Andrew Fraser, are his 'fidejussores' (R.G. i. 193-5). We cannot but conjecture that this money was for expediting his bulls.

Elected August 4, 1279 (Sc. vi 44). The letter of confirmation from Pope Nicholas III, dated May 21, 1280, relates that the election was *per viam compromissi*. The 'compromissarii' were the prior, the sub-prior (the text reads probably in error 'superiori'), six canons, and the archdeacon of St. Andrews, all named. They unanimously chose William, then dean of Glasgow. Proctors were sent to Rome, and, according to custom, the decree of the election was examined by three cardinals. The election was confirmed by the Pope (T. no. 276).

According to Sc. (vi 4) Fraser was consecrated at the Roman court by Pope Nicholas on May 19, 1280.

The letter of confirmation already referred to, dated May 21, contains the expression 'tibi que munus consecrationis *nostris manibus* duximus impendendum.' This is worth noticing; for sometimes the expression that a consecration was by the Pope means no more than that it was by his command or commission¹.

Fraser died Aug. 20, 1297, at Artuyl (in France), and was buried at Paris in the church of the Preaching Friars (Sc. vi 44). His heart was brought to Scotland, and by his successor, Lamberton, was deposited in the wall of the church of St. Andrews near the tomb of bishop Gameline (*ibid.*)².

WILLIAM DE LAMBERTON (Lambirton, Lambyrton), then chancellor of Glasgow.

Elected Nov. 5, 1297, 'exclusis penitus Keldeis tunc, sicut et in duabus electionibus precedentibus' (Sc. vi 44). The election was *per viam compromissi*, the 'compromissarii' being the prior, the sub-prior, the archdeacon, and four others, being canons, all named. The

¹ He had served as envoy to England July 10, 1277; and again Feb. 20, 1278; and again April 10, 1279 (B.C. ii pp. 23, 24, 48). Oct. 3, 1289, he and others were accredited to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Norway (*ibid.* ii 96). At the end of 1290 the seven earls of Scotland and the community of the realm complain of W. bishop of St. Andrews and John Comyn as guardians (*ibid.* ii 109). He had a brother Simon (*ibid.* ii 103).

² On March 23, 1277, Master William Fraser, dean of Glasgow, chancellor of Alexander, king of Scotland, receives from Nicholas III a dispensation to hold one benefice with cure of souls in addition to the deanery and the church of Ar. (Ayr). C.P.R. i 454.

votes were given unanimously for Lamberton, chancellor of the church of Glasgow, who consented within the lawful time, and went to the Apostolic See, with three canons as proctors of the chapter. The election was confirmed by the Pope (Boniface VIII), who caused Lamberton to be consecrated by M[atthew], cardinal bishop of Porto¹. The consecration would probably be shortly before the letter of the Pope dated Rome, at St. Peter's, June 17, 1298 (T. no. 362). There is no reason for questioning the accuracy of Sc. (vi 44), who gives June 1, 1298, as the date of the consecration². He is found returning from Flanders July 8, 1299 (B.C. ii 271), and was chosen to be one of the guardians of the realm, Aug. 12, 1299 (*ibid.* ii 525).

Lamberton died (date not given) in the prior's chamber of the monastery of St. Andrews, and was buried in the great church, on the north of the great altar, June 7, 1328 (Sc. vi 44). The place of his grave is more particularly described by W. (viii 23).

Dr. J. Maitland Thomson, Curator of the Historical Department of H.M. General Register House, Scotland, has called my attention to *Exchequer Rolls*, i 109, from which one would be led to believe that Lamberton died two days before Whit-Sunday, 1328. Whit-Sunday in that year fell on May 22. The interval between May 20 and June 7 (the day of his burial) seems long³.

¹ See Ciaconius (ii 265). This was Matthew de Aquasparta. He died 1302. According to a representation made by Edward I to the Pope, Lamberton's election was made 'par force et par destresse,' to which the chapter was subjected by William Wallace and his adherents. The king also states that 'Mestre William Comyn frere au Conte de Bogan [Buchan]' was elected (Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, 332, 339). Comyn, it is true, objected to the validity of Lamberton's election, but, so far as appears, only on the ground that he, as provost of the church of St. Mary (in St. Andrews), ought to have been admitted to the celebration of the election, and was in fact excluded. (See the letter of Boniface VIII, May 7, 1298, to Comyn, printed in Stevenson's *Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, ii 289.)

² Like Robert Wyschart, bishop of Glasgow, he on several occasions swore fealty to Edward I, and as frequently broke his oath. He was a prisoner (in chains, by order of Edward I, Aug. 7, 1306) at the castle of Winchester (Rymer). He again took the oath of fealty to Edward, August 11, 1308 (*ibid.*). In Palgrave's *Documents and Records*, i pp. 322-40, the English view of his conduct is set forth at length. He was freed from Winchester castle to go to Rome June 1, 1308 (B.C. iii 25).

³ An attempt was made by Edward I (repeated by Edward II) to get the Pope to appoint Thomas de Riveris, a Franciscan, to the see of St. Andrews, which, it was alleged by Edward I, was vacant through the deposition of Lamberton, condemned to perpetual imprisonment as a traitor. Edward II protested to Pope John XXII that Clement V had actually conferred the see on this Thomas. Pope John replied, on Sept. 18, 1317, that the Registers had been carefully searched, and no record of the appointment of Thomas could be found. He asks King Edward to send him the apostolic letters to which he had referred (T. no. 417). We hear

JAMES BEN (Bene, Bane).—In one of the MSS of *Scotichronicon* (vi 45) the heading of the chapter gives the name as 'Jacobus Benedicti.' Keith (*Catalogue*, Russel's edition, p. 23) suggests, with probability, that 'Jacobus Bene dictus' in a contracted form ('Jacobus Bene dict') may have given rise to the reading¹, archdeacon of St. Andrews (Sc.; W. ii 375), canon of Aberdeen and prebendary of Cruden (C.P.R. ii 286).

Twelve days after the burial of Lamberton the chapter proceeded (June 19, 1328) to an election. By calculation we find that the day was a Sunday. Some of the votes were given for James Ben, archdeacon of St. Andrews [and papal chaplain, T. no. 472]; and some were given for Alexander Kininmonth, archdeacon of Lothian. As usual, the number of votes for each is not recorded. Ben was at the time at the papal court, and before the news of the election reached him, he had been advanced to the see by John XXII. Alexander Kyninmonth went to Avignon to prosecute his claim; he found St. Andrews already filled up, but the Pope provided him to the see of Aberdeen (Sc. vi 45).

In a letter of John XXII to 'James bishop of St. Andrews' (T. no. 472) dated Avignon, Aug. 1, 1328, the Pope states that during the life of William de Lamberton he had resolved to reserve the see of St. Andrews to his own provision. There is no reference to an election by the chapter. James is appointed, and the Pope had caused him to be consecrated by Bertrand, bishop of Tusculum². A letter of the Pope to King Robert I, dated Oct. 15, 1328, commending Ben, is printed by T. (no. 473).

After the battle of Dupplyn (Aug. 12, 1332) in fear of the English he bade farewell to the prior and canons of St. Andrews, and sailed for Flanders. He arrived shortly afterwards at Bruges, and died Sept. 22, 1332 (Sc. *l.c.*). The date of his death is confirmed by the inscription on his monument in the church of the canons regular of Eckhot (Akewod. Sc.). He is styled in the epitaph 'Iacobus, dominus de Biurt (*sic*), episcopus S. Andreae in Scotia, nostrae religionis.' Keith (from a *memoir* belonging to the Scots College in Paris).

His death was known to the Pope before Nov. 3, 1332 (C.P.R. ii 384)³.

no more of this. Particulars as to the excommunication of the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen by the Pope will be found in C.P.R. ii 191, 192, 199.

¹ Some late writers, thus misled, call him 'James Bennet.'

² This cardinal was a French Franciscan, of great repute for learning, and known as *Doctor famosus*. He died in 1330, or, according to Luke Wadding, in 1334. Ciaconius, ii 415.

³ A few other particulars as to Ben from sources unknown to Keith may here be added. On Nov. 26, 1329, the Pope appropriated to James and his successors in

After the death of Ben the see was long vacant; according to S (vi 45) for nine years, five months and eight days¹. It would seem that the farewell taken by Ben of the prior and canons must have been a resignation, or, at least, understood as such; for on August 1 1332, *WILLIAM BELL*, dean of Dunkeld², was elected by the canons of St. Andrews, the Keledei being excluded, and now making no claim to a voice. He resorted to the papal court at Avignon; but 'through the opposition of many' he failed to obtain confirmation. At length, depressed by age and afflicted by blindness, he surrendered any right he had obtained by reason of his election. He eventually returned from the papal court in the train of Landells, after the consecration of the latter to the bishopric, entered the Priory of St. Andrews, and died Feb. 7, 1342 (Sc. *ibid.*).

During the wars several efforts were made by the English crown to secure an English partisan for the see. Edward III first suggested to the Pope Master Robert de Ayleston (or Ingleston), archdeacon of Berkshire, but the Pope declined him. Again on July 24, 1333, Master Robert de Tanton was recommended to the Pope (B. C. iii 195).

WILLIAM DE LANDALLIS (Landel, Landells, Landelys), rector of Kinkel in the diocese of Aberdeen.

Feb. 18, 1342, Benedict XII appoints William, rector of the church of Kinkel, in the diocese of Aberdeen. The Pope's letter of this date recounts that on the vacancy of the see by the death of James, the prior and chapter elected William Bell, dean of Dunkeld, *concorditer, per formam compromissi*; that the elect had gone to the papal court to seek confirmation; but had eventually for various causes, *non tamen persone sue titio*, spontaneously resigned all right arising out of the election into the hands of the Pope. Before the resignation the Pope declares that he had judged that in all such cases of resignation of an election the appointment should be reserved to himself. He accordingly appoints William, but he adds that he took into account the strong

the see of St. Andrews the parish church of Monimale, value forty marks. His predecessor, William, had built at Monimale a manor (C.P.R. ii 303). A composition between Adam de Postefract, prior of Coldingham, and James, bishop of St. Andrews, Jan. 16, 1330-1 is preserved (*Correspondence of the Priory of Coldingham*, Sixteens Society, pp. 18, 19). On June 16, 1332, John XXII wrote to James, bishop of St. Andrews, thanking him for 4[000] florins offered as a subsidy against the heretics, and sent by John de Leys, canon of Glasgow, and Adam de Dornach (C.P.R. ii 504).

¹ I have not been able to make this exactly square with facts; but it comes pretty close to reality.

² There is a mandate of John XXII (Nov. 11, 1329) addressed to 'William Bell, dean of Dunkeld,' and two others. C.P.R. ii 301.

recommendations of William that had been sent to him by the prior and chapter (T. no. 550)¹.

Bower (Sc. vi 45) gives the date of William's appointment as Feb. 18, thus exactly corresponding with the date of the papal letter. The letter is addressed to William as 'elect' (i. e. as chosen by the Pope) which shows that he was not then consecrated. Sc. (*ibid.*) gives the date of his consecration as March 17. And this falls in well with the Pope's mandate to William, dated March 18, to betake himself to his diocese, having been consecrated by Peter, bishop of Palestrina (C.P.R. ii 557)².

He died in the monastery of St. Andrew's, 1385, Sept. 23 (in festo Sancte Teclæ, virginis), Sc. vi 46³; and was buried in the floor of the great church before the door of the vestibule (that is, the vestry or sacristy), *ibid.*⁴

STEPHEN DE PA (Pai, Pay, W. iii 26), prior of St. Andrews, was elected by the chapter after the death of Landells, presumably in October, 1385. Carrying the decree of his election and letters commendatory from the king of Scots, he was taken prisoner at sea 'by pirates,' and carried captive to England. Shrinking from burdening the monastery with the cost of his ransom, more particularly because of the expenses involved through the burning of the church of St. Andrews seven years previously, he preferred to remain in England. He was soon after taken ill at Alnwick, and there died (Sc. vi 46) on March 2, 1385 (i. e. 1385-6). Sc. vi 53.

WALTER TRAIL (Trayl, Treyle). In 1378 he was official of Glasgow, M.A., and a licentiate in canon and civil law (C.P.R. *Pet.* vol. i 540). In 1380 he was a doctor of canon and civil law, papal chaplain and auditor (*ibid.* 555). In 1382 he was treasurer of Glasgow (*ibid.* 564). His petition for the deanery of Dunkeld was granted by Clement VII (anti-Pope) in November, 1380 (*ibid.* 555).

¹ Bower (Sc. vi 45) mentions that he had been strongly recommended to the Pope by the kings of Scotland and France, as well as by the chapter of St. Andrews.

² Peter de Prato, a Frenchman, created cardinal bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina) by John XXII. He died in 1361. Ciaconius, ii 416.

³ Keith, in error, makes S. Thecla's day to be Oct. 15. But there can be no doubt what day is intended, for the Cupar MS. of Sc. reads 'in festo S. Teclæ sive Adamnoli.' In Scotland the feast of S. Adamnan rather overshadowed the commemoration of S. Thecla on Sept. 23. See the Kalendar of *Missale de Arbutnott* (xi), and *Breviarium Aberdonense* (pars estiv. Propr. Sanct. fol. cxliii verso).

⁴ Keith gives many references to evidence from charters. There are many notes of papal writs to this bishop in C.P.R. vols. iii, iv. They chiefly relate to administration and discipline. In 1381 (June 3) he is described as feeble and broken with age, and is granted an indulgence by Clement VII (anti-Pope) to use *ovis et quibuslibet lactiniis* twice or thrice daily in Lent and other fasts. His confessor is also allowed to commute his life-long vow to fast on Wednesdays into other works of piety. C.P.R. iv 243.

There is a *lacuna* here in the papal registers. Bower says his appointment was of the spontaneous provision of Clement VII (anti-Pope), adding that Trail was *gratioso bullis expeditus* (Sc. vi 46). But we do not possess any decisive statement as to the date of his appointment. Dr. Maitland Thomson has pointed out to the editor that 'From the account of the customers of St. Andrews for the period, March 16, 1384-5, to March 31, 1386 (*Exch. Rolls*, iii 137-8), it appears that the see had become vacant during that period.' This falls in well with the date assigned above to the death of Pay. We find Trail bishop of St. Andrews Feb. 15, 1386, when he was granted a faculty to hear and decide first appeals to Rome (C.P.R. iv 252). This shows that Pay must have resigned his claim, or that his claim was disregarded by the Pope. But Bower (Sc. vi 46) assigning Trail's death to the year 1401, tells us he sat as bishop sixteen years. The election by the chapter after Trail's death was, according to Wyntoun (iii 79), July 1, 1401. Supposing that Trail died early in June, this would give us Trail's appointment as in June, 1385. This is obviously too early by some months, at least.

We find Walter as conservator of the privileges and rights of the Scottish Church on July 18, 1388 (R.M. p. 350).

An inquisition about the 'scolarlandis' of Ellon made before Walter in 1387 (neither month nor day is recorded) leaves no doubt that Walter had been bishop for a year before the inquisition was made (R.A. i 177-8).

Trail died in the castle of St. Andrews, which he had built from the foundation, 1401 (Sc. vi 46; Pluscarden x 17; Wyntoun iii 79), and some time before July 1, when the election (by the chapter) of his successor was held (Wyntoun *l.c.*). He was buried in the cathedral close to the great altar to the north *intra* (? *infra*) *pulpitum* (Sc. vi 46)¹.

On the death of Trail, THOMAS STEWART, archdeacon of St. Andrews, an illegitimate son of Robert II, was elected on July 1, 1401 'be concord electioun' (W. iii 80); but though the election was 'admitted' (i. e. probably by the king), when the decree of the election was about to be transmitted to the Pope, he renounced his rights (Sc. vi 47)². The *Papal Prædicationes* (in vol. i) have some notices of Thomas Stewart. In 1380 the Pope, Clement VII, provides Thomas Stewart, natural son of the king of Scotland, to the archdeaconry of

¹ During the Schism, as we are told by the anonymous continuator of the lives of the archbishops of York (Raine ii 424), Urban VI appointed to St. Andrews Alexander Neville archbishop of York, who had been condemned for treason and banished (1388). The appointment was, of course, ineffective. Neville, for three years before his death (May 16, 1392), served as a parish priest in Louvain.

² W. (iii 80) represents the superior, William Nory, as having actually carried the decree of the election to Avignon.

St. Andrews and to the canonry and prebend of Stobo in Glasgow cathedral (p. 551). In 1389 the king petitions for the deanery of Dunkeld for his son Thomas, and for a dispensation to hold it together with the archdeaconry. This petition was granted (p. 574). In 1393 Thomas petitions that he may hold a canonry of Brechin with his other preferments. Granted (p. 577). In 1395 Thomas Stewart, natural son of the late Robert, king of Scotland, bachelor of canon law at Paris, and archdeacon of St. Andrews, petitions that while he is at the university he may visit his archdeaconry by deputy, and receive money procurations for five years (p. 592). Wyntoun (iii 80) also speaks of him as a bachelor of canon law.

JOHN DOWDEN.

(*To be continued.*)

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–215) was no doubt one of the greatest writers and theologians of the early Church; the place which he holds among the divines of the first centuries is at once eminent and peculiar. The aim of his studies was not only to explain the Christian doctrine, but also to reconcile it with the tenets of philosophy. He endeavoured therefore to link together faith and science, revelation and reason, theology and philosophy. Faith, in his judgement, ought to be scientific, and science, in its turn, ought to be faithful. It is of course well known that he maintains, with both acuteness and earnestness, the view that philosophy leads the human mind to the Christian religion, and that the believer alone is the true scholar, or *γνωστικός*. In the present note I do not of course aim at a complete exposition of Clement's Christology, but merely at such an outline as may exhibit its fundamental principles and its main positions. From this point of view his Christology may be considered in certain divisions which form, so to say, the heads of the subject.

1. *Matter is good.* Clement starts upon his course by showing that matter, and bodies as well as souls, were created by God: they are God's work and therefore good. In this way he sets aside at once an antecedent objection to the possibility of the Incarnation. The objection may be stated thus: 'Matter is evil: but God cannot unite Himself to any evil thing, since evil and good are incompatible; therefore the Incarnation of the Word is impossible.' This argument Clement overthrows by maintaining that matter, as a work of God, is good; for God cannot do evil. The human body, in particular, is the crown and highest perfection of the corporeal world: it is in truth a masterpiece of

the power and wisdom of God, because it was the work of his own hands¹: soul is, indeed, the most excellent element of man, but body is itself quite perfect in its kind. God has granted to it a wonderful organization, and an upright form, fitting it to look towards heaven². Its nature, then, places no impossibility in the way of the Incarnation of the eternal Word.

2. *The Word took human flesh.* Human flesh not being evil, the Word could assume it. This is a leading principle. But the Word took human flesh in order to purify and sanctify it. Thus human flesh became the abode of the Divine Word. To speak precisely, our Lord, the incarnate Word, was God in the form of man³. The Word bore a visible body⁴. He took our passible flesh⁵ and our actual nature, to the end that we may imitate His examples and keep His precepts⁶. He took a humble and lowly form, lest His disciples might be led by their contemplation of fairness and beauty set before their sight to forget His teaching and the things that are not seen⁷. Thus Clement stoutly defends the reality of our Lord's body against the Docetists. Some scholars have indeed maintained that Clement was in a measure allied with the Docetists, since he says at times that our Lord took human shape in order to fulfil the drama of Redemption⁸. But such an objection has no solidity, for on the one hand Docetism is ranked in Clement's teaching as a mere heresy⁹; and on the other

¹ Ἐκόντως ἄρα φίλος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ Θεῷ, ἐπει καὶ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κελεύει μόνον πεποιήκειν, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον δι' αὐτοῦ ἐχειροῦργησε καὶ τι αὐτῷ ἴκον ἐνεφύσησεν. *Raed.* i 3 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 257). 'Ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄρα, ὃν πεποιήκειν ὁ Θεός, δι' αὐτὸν αἰρετὸν ἐστὶν (*ibid.*).

² Οὐκουν εὐλόγως οἱ κατατρέχοντες τῆς πλασείας καὶ κακίζοντες τὸ σῶμα· οὐ συνορῶντες τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὄρθην πρὸς τὴν οὐρανοῦ θεῖαν γενομένην, καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθησέων ὀργανοποιῶσαν πρὸς γῶσιν συντείνουσαν, τὰ τε μέλη καὶ μέρη πρὸς τὸ καλόν, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν εὐθετα. *Strom.* iv 26 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 1372-73).

³ Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ σχήματι. *Raed.* i 2 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 252).

⁴ Ἐστῆθεν πρόσωπον εἰρηται τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Τίσις, αἰσθησεαν πεντάδι, σαρκόφορος γενόμενος ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ πατρῷου μηνυτῆς ἰδιώματος. *Strom.* v 6 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 57).

⁵ . . . τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐμπαθὴ φύσει γενομένην ἀναλαβὼν κ.τ.λ. *Strom.* vii 2 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 412).

⁶ Οὐ γὰρ ὅτιν, τοῦτο ἄφθη τοῖς χωρήσαι μὴ δυναμένοις διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς αἰσθητὴν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν σάρκα, τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπος κατὰ τὴν ὑπακοὴν τῶν ἐπιτολῶν δείξαν ἀφίκετο (*ibid.*). [I follow the correction adopted by Hort and Mayor.]

⁷ Αὐτίκα ὁ Κύριος οὐ μᾶτην ἠθέλησεν εὐτελεῖ χρήσασθαι σώματος μορφῆ, ἵνα μή τις τὸ ὠραῖον ἐπειῶν καὶ τὸ κάλλος θαυμάζων, ἀφίστηται τῶν λεγομένων, καὶ τοῖς καταλειωμένοις προσανέχων, ἀποτέμνηται τῶν νοητῶν. *Strom.* vi 17 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 381).

⁸ For instance . . . οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ ἀνθρώπου προσωπεῖον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ σαρκὶ ἀναπλασάμενος, τὸ σωτήριον δρᾶμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀγροηθείς. *Col. ad gen.* 10 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 228).

⁹ Αἱ δὲ [τῶν αἰρέσεων] ἀπὸ δογματῶν ἰδιαζόντων, ὡς ἡ τῶν Δοκίτων καὶ Αἰματιτῶν. *Strom.* vii 17 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 553).

hand the phrase τὸ ἀνθρώπου προσωπεῖον is opposed, in the passage cited in the note, not to reality of body but to the eternal existence of the Word in heaven. Clement, however, though holding, as against the Docetists, the reality and materiality of Christ's body, does not fully preserve the orthodox belief on the subject of that body. He errs as to its nature and needs. He teaches that it did not by reason of its nature need sleep or nourishment. Christ did, it is true, sleep, eat and drink: but this was not the result of need, but because He desired to preserve those of His own time from the Docetist error¹. Probably, though the point is not clear, Clement also teaches that the passible flesh assumed by the Word afterwards became impassible by its union with Divinity².

3. *The Word of God took complete human nature.* This is closely connected with the actual purpose of the Incarnation, which was the redemption of the whole of mankind. The Word of God became man to redeem and to deliver the posterity of Adam. Clement affirms, as against false theories, that the Word took not only human body but human soul. He was therefore perfect man, compound at once of body and soul. Clement several times distinctly speaks of the Saviour, as *God* and *Man*³; he refers to His human soul⁴; and the existence of this human soul he supposes in speaking of our Lord's descent into hell⁵. He draws, moreover, the consequence that the body is not evil from the position that otherwise our Saviour, in healing as He did both body and soul, would have increased the opposition between the two⁶.

4. *The Atonement.* Jesus Christ was the Redeemer of mankind.

¹ 'Αλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα ἀπατεῖν ὡς σῶμα τὰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας εἰς διαμονήν, γέλασ ἀν εἶη. ἔφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, δυνάμει συνεχόμενον ἀγία· ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ τοὺς συνόντας ἄλλας περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπεισέλθοι· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὑστερον δοκῆσει τινὲς αὐτὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον. *Strom.* vi 9 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 292).

² Οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπὸ τινος ἡδονῆς περιστώμενος, καταλείπει ποτ' ἀν τὴν ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονίαν· ὅς γε καὶ τὴν σάρκα τὴν ἐμπαθῆ φύσει γενομένην ἀναλαβὼν εἰς ἕξιν ἀπαθείας ἐπαίδευσεν. *Strom.* vii 2 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 412). [I again follow the correction accepted by Hort and Mayor.]

³ For instance: ὁ μόνος ἀμφω Θεὸς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν ἄτιος ἀγαθῶν. *Coñ. ad gent.* 1 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 61): see also *Paed.* iii 1 cited below.

⁴ Ἔοικεν δὲ ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, ὡ παῖδες ὑμεῖς, τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, οὐτὲρ ἐστὶν Τίς ἀναμάρτητος, ἀνεπίλητος, καὶ ἀπαθὴς τὴν ψυχὴν· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι ἄχρατος, πατρικῶν θελήματι δάκονος, Λόγος Θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεοῦ. Οὗτος ἡμῖν εἰπὼν ἡ ἀηλιδατος· τοῦτοφ παρτι σθένει πειρατίον ἰσομοῖον τὴν ψυχὴν. *Paed.* i 2 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 252).

⁵ Cf. *Strom.* vi 6 (*PG.* tom. ix, col. 265-76).

⁶ Τί δέ; οὐχὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἴατο τῶν παθῶν; οὐκ ἂν δέ, εἰ ἐχθρὰ ἢ σὰρξ ἦν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπετείχει(εν αὐτῇ τὴν ἐχθραν δι' ὑγείας ἐπισκευάζων. *Strom.* iii 17 (*PG.* tom. viii, col. 1208). [I follow Dindorf's correction.]

He offered to His Father a true sacrifice for our sins and our faults : He paid to God an adequate satisfaction for our debts. Among the many passages of Clement which maintain this point and declare the satisfactory character of our Lord's Redemption, it may perhaps suffice to indicate by examples the chief features of his treatment of the subject. Clement calls our Lord the Mediator (*μεσίτης*) between God and man¹. Our Lord was the founder of a new covenant, the Reconciler, and Saviour² (*σπουδοφόρος, διαλλακτής, σωτήρ*). He was also the great High Priest (*μέγας ἀρχιερεύς*) of God³; the sacrifice (*δοκασίωμα, θύμα*) offered to God for us⁴; He it was Who offered Himself for our ransom⁵; He laid down His life for each one of us⁶. His satisfactory work consists in His death on the Cross, which was an atonement for the sins of mankind⁷. He is Saviour and Lord, because He is Lord and Saviour of all men : in a word, He died for all⁸.

V. ERMONI.

¹ Δόγος γὰρ αὐτός, μυστήριον ἑμφανές· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ· καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος Θεός· καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ μεσίτης ἐτελεί· μεσίτης γὰρ ὁ Δόγος, ὁ κοινὸς ἀμφότε· Θεοῦ μὲν Υἱός, Σωτὴρ δὲ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν, Δεῦκος, ἡμῶν δὲ, παιδαγωγός. *Procl. iii 1* (PG. tom. viii, col. 557).

² Ὅθεν τε ἦν αὐτός, καὶ ὅς ἦν, δι' ἃν εἶδδαζε καὶ ἐτεδείξατο, παραστηρόμενος, ὁ σπουδοφόρος καὶ διαλλακτής καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Δόγος, πηγὴ ζωοτοίῳ, εἰρημικῆ, ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς χέομενος· δι' ἃν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν, τὰ πάντα ἤδη πέλαγος γέγονεν ἀγαθῶν. *Col. ad gen. 10* (PG. tom. viii, col. 228).

³ Ἄδιος αὐτός, Ἰησοῦς εἰς, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεύς Θεοῦ τε ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐχεται καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγαλεόεται. *Col. ad gen. 12* (PG. tom. viii, col. 241).

⁴ Ὁλοκασίωμα γὰρ ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἄπορον θύμα ὁ Χριστός. *Strom. v 11* (PG. tom. ix, col. 108).

⁵ Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβη· διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνέβη· διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐκὼν ἔσπεθη, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ὅς ἤγάταρε μεταρθείς, ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀντιμετρήσῃ. Καὶ μέλλων ἐπένδουσαι καὶ λύτρωσιν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιθεοῦς, κοινῆν ἡμῶν διαθήκην καταλειπόμενοι. *Quis dicit. safr. 37* (PG. tom. ix, col. 641).

⁶ Ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκείστων πατίθηκε τὴν ὑψίστην ἀταξίαν τῶν ἄλων (ibid.). [I follow Segzaar's emendation of πατίθηκε for παθήκε.]

⁷ Ὁ θαύματος μυστικῶς. ἐκλείπει μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ἀνίστη δὲ ἀνθρώπος· καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου πείσων, μείζων ὑπακοῆς ἄλλων, οὐρανοῦ ἀπολαμβάνει. *Col. ad gen. 11* (PG. tom. viii, col. 228-29).

⁸ Πάντες δ' ἐν εἰς Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος. εἰ μὴ πάντων Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος; *Strom. vii 2* (PG. tom. ix, col. 412). [I follow Dindorf's correction.]