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Brief Study

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BRIEF STUDY

THE TWO NATURES IN CHRIST by
Martin Chemnitz in English Translation:
A Review Article¹

I

English-speaking Christians — particularly the Lutherans among them — should be deeply grateful both to the publisher and to the translator of *The Two Natures in Christ*. It represents a labor of love for both of them.²

There were actually two editions of *De duabus naturis* in the original. The first — called the *libellus*, or “little book” — came out in 1570 in the printing plant of Donatus Ritzenhain in Jena. It runs to about 90,000 words. The dedication to Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, is dated 1569. It was this first edition that exerted such a profound influence on Article VIII of the Formula of Concord.³ The second edition is the one translated here.⁴ In it Chemnitz had extensively augmented and altered the first edition. The text proper of the second edition runs to an estimated 165,000 words, nearly twice the length of the initial edition. This edition came out in 1578, a

year after the publication of the Formula of Concord.

Chemnitz was born in 1522. He belongs to the distinguished second generation of theologians of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. He is probably best remembered for *A Weighing of the Council of Trent (Examen Concilii Tridentini)*, but his most significant theological contribution was his role in the preparation of the Formula of Concord, which succeeded in reuniting the bulk of the divided Lutheran community in the Holy Roman Empire.

As a theologian, Chemnitz synthesized the broad outlines of Luther's teaching with Melancthon's theological method. He is a Biblical theologian, conscious that the ultimate importance of the Sacred Scriptures lies in their “kerygmatic” content, in what they have to tell human beings about religious matters — about God and what He is and about human beings and what they are. Chemnitz is equally a Catholic theologian, persuaded that the Church of the Augsburg Confession stands squarely in the unbroken mainstream of Catholic tradition and is instructed by the insights not only of the primitive church but of the medieval church as well. Chemnitz is an evangelical theologian who is keenly aware of the primacy of the Gospel, the Holy Spirit, and the new creation over the “Law,” the “natural” man, and the age that now is.

Chemnitz has a proper respect for the “reverent and learned work of the more unspoiled ancient times” (*verae & purioris antiquitatis pia eruditaeque diligentia*; p. 18). “God-pleasing humility,” he insists a little farther on, “requires that we do not trust in our own reason (*ingenium*) in this serious discussion, but rather that we take into our counsel the thinking of the ancient [and] orthodox church in accord with the Scripture and the analogy of faith” (p. 19). Of himself he says: “I decided that the safest way to educate and remedy my own simplicity would be to consult the fathers of the church, who in the times of the pristine purity and learning (*primis purioribus & eruditis post Apostolos temporibus*) were active in expounding this subject publicly and with characteristic diligence.” (*Ibid.*)

¹ Martin Chemnitz. *The Two Natures in Christ*. Translated by J. A. O. Preus. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971. 544 pages. Cloth. \$12.00. All otherwise unidentified page references in this review article refer to this edition.

² The first edition was printed in only 1,500 copies (p. 544). The translator states that he spent seven years on the project (*CPH Commentator*, house organ of Concordia Publishing House, Winter 1971, p. 10).

³ A copy of this very rare edition is in the collection of the Foundation for Reformation Research, Clayton, Mo., which kindly made it available to me for use in preparing this review article. There are 262 unnumbered leaves (524 unnumbered pages) in 16-page gatherings from A through Z and from Aa through Kk 6 verso (omitting the letters J, U, W, and Jj). The text proper of *De duabus* occupies all but the first 16 pages and the last page.

⁴ The translator had access to a copy of the first printing of the 1578 edition. In checking his translation I used my own copy of the Frankfurt am Main/Wittenberg printing put out in 1653 by the heirs of Tobias Maevius and Elert Schumacher.

Chemnitz is determined to show that the Lutheran position accords with "the uninterrupted consensus of the orthodox church" (p. 267). He displays his patristic arsenal so "that there might be public testimony that in our churches when we explain this doctrine we have not given birth to any new ideas, nor have we introduced into the church any strange, monstrous, erroneous, dangerous, or scandalous expressions or forms of speech, but rather we are simply imitating the thinking and language of the ancient orthodox church in a reverent and devout way" (pp. 302-3; see also pp. 341-42 and 395).

Unlike many other theological writers in the Lutheran tradition, Chemnitz' interest extends not only to the first four general councils (through Chalcedon, 451) but to the first six (through Constantinople III, 680-81).⁵

He finds the patristic differentiation between the divine essence and the divine energies (*energeiai*)—one of the distinctive features then and now of the Eastern Orthodox doctrine about God—useful. (Pp. 307-8)

He is not at all concerned about having everybody follow his theological patterns. Thus he is perfectly willing to have others operate with two "genera" of the exchange of properties, even though he finds three more convenient. (P. 166)

Chemnitz quotes Vigilius of Thapsus (flourished around 500) on the need for moderation in intramural polemics: "Many of the orthodox have divided themselves into parties over differences not of belief but of terminology" (p. 212). Chemnitz' own words are: "Prudence, together with Christian moderation, must be applied with reference to our vocabulary and our ways of speaking in disputations and arguments of this kind" (*Prudentia igitur una*

⁵ On page 436 he writes: "Notions which deny either the essence of the human nature or its essential attributes have been condemned on the basis of God's Word in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth General Councils." See also pp. 113, 153, 159, 185, 209, 226, 227, 277, 302, 471, 493. Chemnitz does not see the iconoclastic issue in the seventh ecumenical council (Nicaea II, 787) as Christological—although on further reflection he might well have done so. But he is intimately acquainted with its documents; his quotations from SS. Athanasius and Cyril on page 379 are from Nicaea II.

cum Christiana moderatione in hujusmodi disputationibus et certaminibus de vocabulis & modis loquendi adhibenda est). (P. 213)

Chemnitz cites the Sacred Scriptures with considerable freedom. On one occasion even the translator calls attention to "the free way in which Chemnitz cites Scripture." (P. 246, n. 4)

Chemnitz' high opinion of the sacred ministry is reflected in his insistence that our Lord spoke the words, "All authority is given to Me in heaven and on earth," when He "was about to give to His apostles the command and authority to gather the church throughout the world by the ministry of Word and Sacrament." (P. 317)

For discussions about symbolical subscription it is not without interest that Chemnitz sees *quia* and *quatenus* as synonyms (*quia seu quatenus*), either of which correctly translates the Greek conjunction *hoti*. (P. 283)

II

The translator has set himself two goals. The first is to provide a readable translation of the Chemnitz text. The second is to identify in generally accessible patristic collections the sources that Chemnitz cites. It would be unfair to fault him for not having done something else.⁶

⁶ At the same time, the translator might have made things a little easier for the reader who is not extremely well versed in late 16th-century theology by an occasional comment. Thus, for example, it might have been useful to identify the "Torgau meeting" of page 160 as the theological conference held at Torgau in May-June 1576, at which the semifinal draft ("Torgic Book") of the Formula of Concord was produced. Again, Chemnitz attributes this statement to Luther: "The Son of God when He wills can be where He wills with His assumed body, leaving the true reality of His body unimpaired, but He has assured us with a certain word and a particular promise that He wills to be present in the supper of the Lord with His body, just as He wills to be present in the church with the nature that He has assumed" (cp. p. 464). The translator cites the Weimar edition of Luther's works as declaring that these words are not really Luther's, but Melancthon's (p. 465, n. 54). The translator does not point out—possibly because he may not himself have been aware of it—the importance of this fact for Chemnitz' own thinking and for his development of the doctrine of *ubivolvipraesentia* or *multivolvipraesentia*, that is, that Christ is present with His

The translation before us is several cuts better than most English translations from Latin originals. In terms of readability it rates in the good-to-excellent bracket. For example, Chemnitz has a penchant for interminable sentences and interminable paragraphs. The translator has prudently broken up many of both into more manageable and intelligible units. Again the translator has tacitly corrected many of the slips of Chemnitz and of Chemnitz' printer.⁷

Here and there, the translator allows himself an occasional archaism, such as "subtilely" (p. 189) and "nowise" (p. 347). On page 59 "hell" is used in the translation of Ps. 16:10, "Thou shalt not leave My soul in hell," where one would have expected "Sheol." (Similarly, "netherworld" or "Hades" would have been a better word than "hell" in St. Epiphanius' description of Christ's descent into the netherworld on page 358, line 10.) Another is "world" (rather than "age") to reproduce *saeculum*; for example, "begotten before all worlds" on page 172.

The translator most of the time simply transliterates the Latin *Damascenus*, that is, St. John of Damascus. The reader who does not recognize the father in question under this designation will have difficulty in identifying him at the hand of most of the available reference works. But if the reader thinks to look up "Damascenus" in

assumed human nature wherever (*ubi*) He wills or simultaneously in as many (*multi*) places as He wills, in the conviction that he was echoing an authentic view of Luther. This has its implications for the interpretation of the Book of Concord. It is one thing if Chemnitz in drafting Article VIII of the Formula of Concord understood Luther's views on the omnipresence of Christ's human nature as compatible with the (Melanchthonian) view expressed in the cited passage and with Chemnitz' own doctrine of *multivolipraesentia* and affirmed both positions. It is another thing altogether if the view of Luther on the one hand and the view of Melancthon and Chemnitz are not compatible but are quite different solutions to the same theological problem.

⁷ P. 12. On p. 202, lines 22-26, the translator has won the gratitude of his readers by tacitly correcting the garbled Latin text of Chemnitz. On p. 279, line 29, however, the erroneous reading *Dialogus 4* in place of the correct reading *Dialogus 5* reflects an error in the translation process.

the index, he will be referred to "John of Damascus."

The fact that the translator refers almost throughout to "Nazianzus" where Chemnitz has *Nazianzenus*, that is, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, must be regarded as a personal crotchet.⁸ The same must be said of the translator's less consistent reference to St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Nyssenus* in the Latin) as "Nyssa." Similarly, if the reader looks up "Nazianzus" in the index, he is referred to "Gregory of Nazianzus." But if he looks up "Nyssa," he finds no entry on page 521; on page 513 the entry is "Gregory Nyssa," as if "Nyssa" were a surname, rather than "Gregory of Nyssa." "Emissenus" is cross-referenced to "Eusebius Emissenus" (that is, Eusebius of Emesa) on page 510, but not to "Paulus Emissenus" (that is, Paul of Emesa; see p. 522), who is quoted on pages 372, 400, and 404.

One might ask if "Laurentius de Lignano" in note 33, page 194, will adequately identify Bishop Lawrence of Lychnidus (the modern Ohrid), the contemporary of St. Gelasius of Rome. On page 200, "the Spalensian Council" will mystify most readers; what Chemnitz is referring to as *Concilium Spalense* is the Second Council of Seville.

III

The translation is highly accurate, by and large, as one would expect of a doctor of philosophy who wrote his dissertation on St. Jerome's translation of the Vulgate. Here and there, however, one can quarrel with the precise correctness of the translation. Some of the passages where a reading of the translation suggests comparison with the original follow.

On page 8, line 1, "neglect" does not accurately reproduce the Latin *neganda* (from *negare*, "to deny").

On page 15, line 7, *divus Augustinus* should be rendered "St. Augustine," not "the divine Augustine."

On page 16, line 18, *oikonomia* is admittedly difficult to translate, which may be the reason why Chemnitz uses the Greek word rather than a Latin equivalent. In English "dispensation" or "ordering"

⁸ The editorial addition "[Gregory of] Nazianzus" on page 59 ought to have been added throughout, 1973

would reflect the patristic usage of *oikonomia* with reference to the incarnation better than "plan." The same observation can be made with reference to page 178, line 26, where Chemnitz has again transliterated the Greek word as *oeconomia*.

On page 20, line 6, *exigi* would be better rendered with "decided" than "interpreted." (The Greek word *exegesis* may have been lurking in the back of the translator's mind.)

On page 21, line 20, Chemnitz is not likely to have referred to the Elector August of Saxony as "our" illustrious prince, and the possessive pronoun is missing in the Latin original.

On page 22, lines 1 and 2, Chemnitz, accomplished courtier that he was, would not have said "his honorable married sister, your mother." The Latin, studied in its ceremonious correctness, reads "his sister, the most illustrious matron, the mother of Your Highness (*sororem suam Illustrissimam matronam Celsi [tudinis] Vestrae matrem*)."

In lines 4 and 5 on page 23, *Dominis et Fratribus suis in Christo Emanuele colendis* does not mean "fathers and brothers in the worship of Christ, our Immanuel." *Colendus* then had the same force that "reverend" has in English today. The quoted phrase thus actually means "his reverend masters and brothers in Christ the Emmanuel."

Selnecker would never have made the concession that the translation attributes to him in the last paragraph of page 26: "When [Satan] could not withstand the truth, he directed his efforts in customary fashion to foul deception and *he tricked us into teaching and maintaining the idea of ubiquity . . . namely, that the human body of Christ by some kind of local expansion is extended and diffused immeasurably, so that it fills all things in heaven and earth*" (emphasis added). What Selnecker actually wrote was: *Dum [Satanas] veritati resistere non potest, convertit se suo more ad tetras calumnias, et fingit doceri et statui Ubiquitatem* ("When [Satan] cannot resist the truth, he turns himself after his custom to foul misrepresentations, and invents the lie that 'ubiquity' was being taught and held [among us Lutherans].")

Chemnitz held that as a result of the incarnation our Lord's humanity received the divine majesty that the bodily indwelling of the fullness of the Godhead

implied. This meant that the humanity of Christ shared in this divine majesty from the very first moment of the incarnation. During the first part of the incarnation—the state of humiliation, as the theologians came to call it—He did not use (or manifest or enjoy) the divine majesty that was His. He entered into the full enjoyment of it only at His exaltation. Crucial to the precise English expression of the position of Chemnitz is the use of the verb "possess" and of the noun "possession." Normally these are good enough English equivalents for the Latin *possidere* and *possessio*. But in the discussion of the exaltation of Christ they have perfectly correct specialized meanings, namely, "enjoy" or "exercise" and "enjoyment" or "exercise." In passages like the last full paragraph on page 41, it might have been well if the translator had translated *habuit* in the first line with "had" and *possessionem* with "exercise" or "enjoyment."⁹

On page 148, line 28, *perpetua* as a modifier of *ecclesia* would be more accurately rendered with "abiding" in place of "eternal." One might compare Augsburg Confession VII, which affirms that the church will remain *perpetuo* ("continually") or *alle Zeit* ("for all time").

On page 165, beginning at line 22, the translator has this: "In this third *genus* the person of Christ in His function as King and High Priest performs and carries on at the same time both in, with, and through the human nature. [It does this] not only according to and through the attributes which belong to the human nature in itself and are considered according to its principles (*systatika*), [but also with] those attributes which are proper, natural, and essential to the human nature. [He functions] particularly according to those attributes which His human nature has received and possesses above, beyond, and outside its natural properties. All [this is] a result of the hypostatic union with the Logos and because of the inter-

⁹ In this connection, see p. 491, as well as Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration VIII, 26 (especially the words "Possess und Gebrauch") and 49-62; Franz Hermann Reinhold Frank, *Die Theologie der Concordienformel*, III (Erlangen: Theodor Blaesing, 1863), 211-12 and 216-17; Otto Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, IV (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1927), 100-1.

penetration (*perichoresis*)." This is not what the Latin says: "*In hoc tertio vero genere, persona Christi, in officijs regni & sacerdotij, agit ac operatur simul etiam in humana, cum humana, & per humanam naturam, non tantum secundum ea, & per ea, quae humanae naturae in se, ex principijs systatikois consideratae, naturalia et essentialia sunt, sed praecipue secundum ea, quae humana natura in Christo, praeter, ultra & supra naturales proprietates, ex hypostatica cum verbo unione ac perichôrêsei, accepit & habet.*" We might render this: "In this third category the person of Christ, in [the discharge of His] royal and priestly functions, acts and works at the same time in the human nature, with the human nature, and through the human nature. [The person of Christ does so] according to and through the [qualities] which are natural and essential to the human nature in itself, considered in terms of its constituent principles. But [the person of Christ does so] also and indeed chiefly according to the [qualities] that the human nature of Christ has received and possesses as preternatural, ultranatural, and supernatural properties in consequence of its hypostatic union with the Logos and the interpenetration [of the two natures]."¹⁰

The English translation of the Decree of Chalcedon on pages 172-73 becomes needlessly confusing when it ends: "Jesus Christ, the Son and only-begotten Lord, in two natures, unmingled, immutable, undivided, inseparable, known, and proclaimed." The word-order gives the impression that "known and proclaimed" (especially with a comma after "known") continue the series of modifiers begun with "unmingled." (Actually, of course, the four adjectives "unmingled, immutable, undivided, inseparable" are adverbs in both the Latin and the original Greek.) Much of the difficulty could have been obviated by translating: "Jesus Christ, the Son and only-begotten Lord, known and proclaimed in two natures in an un-mixed fashion, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably."

On page 182, lines 27-29, "the pious mind distinguishes between what is written with reference to the deity and with

reference to the flesh and thus avoids sacrilege" does not express the sense of the Latin: *Pia mens, quae leguntur, secundum carnem divinitatemque distinguit, sacrilega confundit*. A more accurate translation would read: "A pious mind makes a distinction among the things that are read with reference to the flesh and [those that are read] with reference to the Godhead, while a sacrilegious [mind] mixes them up."

On page 183, lines 4-8, the Latin requires a translation something like this: "We know that true theologians divide according to the two natures the evangelical and apostolic statements about the Lord that pertain to [His] single person. At one place they refer the words that imply divinity to the Godhead of Christ, at another place [they refer] lowly words to His humanity." (*Evangelicas vero & Apostolicas de Domino voces scimus veros Theologos, tanquam ad unam personam pertinentes, ratione duarum naturarum dividere, & alias quidem utpote divinitati competentes, ad Divinitatem Christi, alias vero humiles ad ipsius humanitatem referre.*) There is nothing in St. Cyril's words as Chemnitz quotes them that corresponds to the statement of the translation that the evangelists and apostles were good theologians!

A more accurate rendering of the quotation from St. Cyril's *De incarnatione unigeniti*, chapter 3, on page 183, lines 32-35, would be: "We say that the Son of Man came down from heaven, while the Word, through an 'economic' unity, imparted to His flesh the brilliance of His glory and divine majesty." In lines 38-40, in the second and third sentences of the quotation from chapter 12, there is nothing in the Latin that corresponds to the "must" in the translator's "we must say" and "we must preserve them." The Latin reads: *Unum eundemque Jesum Christum esse dicimus, non ignorantes differentiam naturarum, sed eas inconfusas inter se servantes.*

On page 189, lines 37-38, the sense of the Latin would come through clearer if the sentence *Posset igitur Propositio illa ex rigore Canonis de communicatione Idiomatum defendi* were translated: "Therefore this proposition [that Christ is a creature] could be defended on the basis of a rigorous application of the rule concerning

¹⁰ In his review in *Dialog*, X (1971), 305, Leigh D. Jordahl calls this "the one notable mis-translation" in the volume under consideration.

the exchange of properties." The rule in question is that it is right to ascribe to the hypostasis which subsists in the divine and human natures of Christ the concrete data that apply to either nature (see the paragraph numbered 2 at the bottom of page 188).

On page 202, the translator has St. Leo say in *Epistle 35*: "It is not a case of one person from the Father and the other from the mother, but the same person was in one way from the Father used in another way from the mother." The Latin reads: *Nec alter ex Patre alter ex matre, sed idem aliter ex patre[!] ante omne principium aliter de matre in fine saeculorum*. What St. Leo is saying is: "It is not a matter of one [individual] out of the Father and another [individual] out of [his] mother, but of the same [individual] out of the Father in one way before every beginning and out of [his] mother in another way at the end of the ages."

As translated, the last line on page 207 could give a wrong impression when it quotes Nestorius: "It is impossible for God to be begotten of a man." It is not a question of a male human being begetting God, but of a female human being producing, or giving life to, God. The quoted objection of Nestorius was to calling the Blessed Virgin Mary "Mother of God (*theotokos*, or, in Latin, *Dei genetrix*)." He did not reject the virgin birth of our Lord. It would be potentially less misleading to translate *impossibile enim est ab homine generari Deo*: "For it is impossible for God to be brought forth by a human being."

In lines 4 and 5 on page 213 to translate *Rogo, cum sensibus incolumes sitis, cur vocibus insanities?* with "I ask, since you are sound in your ideas, why are you unsound in your terminology?" misses the point. Vigilius is saying: "Since you are sound in your ideas, I ask, why are you raging like madmen in the words you use [by calling one another heretics]?"

On page 224, lines 7-8, the translator refers to "the acquiescence (*hekoutes*) of the deity." There is no word *hekoutes* in Greek. The word in St. Athanasius is *eikouses* (from *eiko*, "I yield, give way, draw back, retire"), and the passage as Chemnitz translates it should read: "This took place with the Godhead retiring but with the flesh rousing itself" (*Hoc factum est Deitate*

quidem acquiescente, carne autem insurgente).

The syntax of the first two sentences in the first complete paragraph on page 253 is confused. The first sentence as punctuated is nothing more than a conditional clause with an extra subject ("God" and "He"). The fault lies partly with the punctuation of the Latin original, partly with the translator's failure to catch the force of *instruit*, which means "equips" rather than "directs." The following suggested translation breaks up the long Latin sentence in the interest of clarity. "When God wills to employ in the church the activities and service of the holy ones in whom He dwells by grace, He exercises, manifests, and dispenses the works of His power through them as His [human] instruments. If [God] equips (*instruit*) them with heavenly and divine gifts, so that they can effectively serve Him who works through them and be His coworkers (*synergoi*) (1 Cor. 3[:9]), what do we think happened to the [human] nature of Christ that [the Word of God] assumed? It was so taken up into the oneness of the person of the Word that the divine nature of the Logos exercised the actions [of the human nature] and brought them into play. [The divine nature] did so not by some kind of necessity or need, but with the freest good pleasure, in communion with the nature that the Word of God assumed."

In spite of his admiration for St. Augustine, Chemnitz is not likely to have said (p. 305, 6th and 5th lines from the bottom): "Finally I repudiate these sophistries, because Augustine writes in his *Sermo 4 de Tempore* etc." What Chemnitz did say was: "And finally I put into opposition to these sophistries what Augustine writes in his *Fourth Sermon de Tempore* etc." (*Ac tandem argutulis istis oppono quod Augustinus scribit Sermone 4. de tempore*).

Chemnitz might seem to be a reincarnated Marcellus of Ancyra when he is represented as saying that "by reason of the hypostatic union the divine nature of the Logos does not sustain within itself either diminution or augmentation, but is as it was from eternity, before the union, and remains thus in the union, and will be so after the union, as described in Rev. 1:4, 'He who was, who is, and who will be'" (p. 243; emphasis added). A little closer attention to the sequence of the verbs

and to their tenses would have disclosed that Chemnitz is orthodox after all: "What [the divine nature] was (*fuit*) from eternity, before the union [took place] (*ante unionem*), that it remained (*mansit*) while the union was taking place (*in unione*), that it is (*est*) and will be (*erit*) now that the union has taken place (*post unionem*)." The fact that *mansit* is in the perfect tense rather than in the present indicates that in this context *unio* for Chemnitz means God's action in uniting the Godhead of the divine Word to His sacred humanity.

There was a St. Portianus back in the sixth century. But on page 254 [Gerson] *disputat contra Durandum de sancto Portiano* does not mean "[Gerson] disputes against Durandus concerning Saint Portianus." "De Sancto Portiano" is part of the name of the Scholastic *Doctor Modernus* or *Doctor Resolutissimus*, Durandus of Saint-Pourcain (1270?-1332). (The translator gives the correct Latin form of the name, Durandus de Sancto Porciano, on page 12.)

The "Dimoeritas" referred to on page 275, line 2, was not, as the translation seems to suggest, an individual. *Dimoerites*, literally "half-a-share person," was the pejorative nickname that the Catholic theologians gave to Apollinarius and his followers, because the latter allegedly denied that the incarnate Christ had a rational soul and they thus confessed only half of His humanity. In any case, the passage would be more correctly translated: "This view is identical with the one that Epiphanius, on the basis of Athanasius, refutes when he opposes the 'Half-a-Share People' . . ." (*quae opinio eadem est cum ea, quam Epiphanius contra Dimaeritas ex Athanasio refutat . . .*).

On page 330, line 1, the translation of *omniscientiam* with "omnipotence" is surely a slip of the translator's pen.¹¹

The quotation from St. Ambrose's *De fide*, book 3, chapter 3, in the fifth and fourth lines from the bottom of page 359 is translated: "The Deity did what was hateful by nature even to our corruption, lest the flesh see corruption." The sentence should read something like this: "The Godhead acted so that the flesh, which by nature was subject to decay,

might not see corruption" (*Divinitas fecit, ne caro videret corruptionem, quae utique corruptelae obnoxia erat per naturam*).

The statement of Ephraim (Euphemius) of Antioch on page 378, lines 32-34, is translated: "In the human nature of Christ our God worked beyond nature without destroying His human flesh." A better translation would be: "In [His] human nature, Christ our God was working beyond nature without the destruction of His human flesh" (*In natura humana ultra naturam operabatur Christus Deus noster, non interemta humana sua carne*).

At the bottom of page 416 and the top of page 417 Chemnitz is made to say: "In the third place, because of the personal union the incarnate Logos is worshiped with the same adoration as the assumed flesh or humanity and not, as the Scholastics say, partly with worship (*latreia*) and partly with bond service (*hyperdouleia*)." The Latin reads: "*Tertio, ratione hypostaticae unionis, logos incarnatus, una adoratione cum assumpta sua carne seu humanitate adoratur, sicut veteres tradunt, et non sicut Scholastici fingunt, partim latreiai partim hyperdouleiai*." A better translation would be: "In the third place, because of the hypostatic union, the incarnate Logos is adored with a single adoration, along with His assumed flesh or humanity, as the tradition of the ancients has it, and not (as the Scholastics imagine) partly with adoration and partly with the higher kind of veneration [accorded to the Blessed Virgin Mary]." Although the classic Greek usage of *hyperdoulos* as meaning "a slave and more" probably underlies the translator's rendering of *hyperdouleia* with "bond service," in the developed language of the medieval church—which is what this text reflects—*hyperdouleia* is "greater service," that is a level of veneration above (*hyper*) the *dulia* that the ordinary saints properly receive, but that is below the *latria* that only God deserves.

There was a St. Peter the Martyr in the 13th century. But the "Petrus Martyr" to whom Chemnitz refers on page 440, line 7, is a 16th-century namesake of Saint Peter the Martyr who is known universally in the English-speaking world as Peter Martyr [Vermigli] (1500-1562), a Reformed theologian of Florentine origin

¹¹ Wilbert R. Gawrisch and W. M. Oesch also call attention to this slip in their review in *Lutherischer Rundblick*, XIX (1971), 272.

who greatly influenced the course of the Reformation in England from 1547 to 1553.

On page 461, lines 6-7, *Sententiarum* are not "writers of the *Sentences*," but "commentators on the *Sentences* [of Peter Lombard]."

IV

With the aid of his capable wife, Delpha, whose assistance the translator acknowledges on page 13 and whose competence in linguistics is admirable, the translator set himself the almost Sisyphean task of trying to locate in modern editions the references that Chemnitz quotes and cites (sometimes very casually and incompletely) from 16th-century editions and sources. The number of hours spent on this task must have been formidable. The translator says that he put in six years at it (*CPH Commentator*, Winter 1971, p. 10). The battling average of the husband-and-wife team is fantastically high. The number of cases where they had to concede defeat is astonishingly small.¹²

I am happy to be able to make a few corrections and additions to the work of the translator and his wife.

Page 140, note 128. The passage in question on page 128 is not a paraphrase of St. Justin the Martyr but a verbatim quotation from the *Libellus fidei Pelagii ad Innocentium missus*, section 4 (MPL 45, 1717).

Page 179, note 3. On page 172, the sentence beginning in line 11 is documented in Canon 7 of the Council of the Lateran and Rome held in 649 under the presidency of St. Martin of Rome (Mansi

[see p. 12 of the translation], 10, 1154). The sentence that begins in line 14 is from Canon 9 of the same council (*ibid.*). The first quotation from the Synodal Letter (lines 16-19) is documented in the synodal letter of St. Martin and the Council of Rome (*ibid.*, cols. 1171-72, lines 42-46).

Page 206, note 39. The passage cited on page 200 is a condensation of Saint Augustine's *Contra Maximinum*, book II, chapter xx, section 2 (MPL 42, 789).

Page 206, note 65. The quotation on page 202 is, with the omission of some words by Chemnitz, from the *Libellus fidei Pelagii ad Innocentium missus*, section 5 (MPL 45, 1717).

Page 231, note 56. The passage quoted on page 229 is from St. Faustus of Riez, *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio*, book I, chapter 1 (MPL 58, 785).

Page 285, note 20. The quotation on page 273 is also from the *Libellus fidei Pelagii*, section 4 (MPL 45, 1717).

On page 376 the Gennadius statement that the translator has not attempted to locate is in Gennadius' *De viris illustribus*, 84 (219). It will be found on page 89 of *Hieronymus und Gennadius, De viris illustribus*, edited by Carl Albrecht Bernoulli (Freiburg im Breisgau: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1895). All that Gennadius really says is: "Also the epistles of Pope Leo against Eutyches on the true incarnation of Christ dispatched to various persons are said to be by [Prosper of Aquitaine]."

Page 391, note 79. The "certain sermon [for the Sunday] after Passion Sunday" is not "for the Sunday after Passion Sunday," which would, of course, have been Palm Sunday. Chemnitz is saying that the sermon was preached "after Passion Sunday," that is, during Passion Week. The passage that Chemnitz cited occurs in a homily for *feria quinta post Dominica in Passione*, that is, for Thursday in Passion Week, ascribed to St. Eusebius of Emesa in *D. Eusebii Emisiani homiliae in evangelia quae cunctis diebus dominicis totius anni ac feriis quadragesimalibus legi solent, nunc primum in lucem aeditae*, edited by Claudius Fremy (Antwerp: Ioan[nes] Steelsius, 1558; the preface is dated 1554), folio 118 recto (the date given in the running head on folio 117 verso is incorrect). The second quotation, like the duplicate quotation at the top of page 398 (which the translator

¹² Apart from Martin Luther, the translator has not generally attempted to identify the sources of quotations from and references to the works of Chemnitz' contemporaries, like Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, and Caspar Schwenckfeld. It should also be noted that the translator makes no effort to reflect current patristic research, but limits himself to occasional observations based on the editions in which he located a given reference of Chemnitz. Thus he notes (p. 495, n. 9) that in Chemnitz' time a *Tractatus de fide orthodoxa* had been wrongly ascribed to St. Gregory of Nazianzus, but that Migne had published it as a work of St. Phoebadius of Agen (died 395?). Current patristic scholarship inclines to regard it as the work of St. Gregory of Elvira (who died after 392).

apparently did not try to trace), is from the homily on the Friday after Easter in the same work (folio 148, verso).

On the same page, note 134. The quotation at the bottom of page 361 and the top of page 362 is from St. Jerome's *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum ad Pammachium*, section 34 (MPL 23, 404).

Page 393, note 291. The *Catena aurea super evangelistas* is of course the well-known *Catena aurea in quatuor evangelia* of St. Thomas Aquinas. The passages that Chemnitz cites on page 383 will be found on page 424 of *S. Thomae Aquinatis Catena aurea in quatuor evangelia*, 1 (*Expositio in Matthaeum et Marcum*) (Turin: Marietti, 1953), 424. (This was the only edition available to me.) The text attributed to Blessed Rhabanus Maurus may be from St. Bede the Venerable. The text attributed to Severian, probably the bishop of Gabala who flourished around 400, is actually from *Sermo 80* of St. Peter Chrysologus (MPL 52, 427).

Page 485, note 1. The references on page 476, lines 1-2 and 3-5, are from St. Jerome's *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum ad Pammachium*, sections 28 and 31 (MPL 23, 396, 399).

On the same page, note 10. The reference on page 478 is from the work cited

in the preceding paragraph, section 34 (MPL 23, 404).

V

Copyreaders and proofreaders face an all but impossible task in a polyglot work like this translation. I have provided the publisher with a list of 34 such slips that came to my attention. They range from errors in Greek accents, breathings, and vowel lengths to mistakes like *karathesis* for *parathesis* (p. 292, line 27) and "Foegadius" for "Foebadius." (P. 495, n. 9).

The three indices—a subject-and-name index, an index of Bible passages, and an index of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin words—were prepared by N. Alfred Balmer. They run to 46 pages—nearly a tenth as long as the translation itself—and greatly enhance the value and usefulness of the volume. They would have been even more useful if the subject-and-name index had included the notes as well as the text and if the index of foreign (especially Greek) words had included all occurrences of the vocables cited.

The binding and the overall book design in every way meet the high level of Concordia Publishing House's tradition.

Arthur Carl Piepkorn