

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: <i>SALUS</i> IN THE <i>COMMENTARIUS IN MATTHAEUM</i>	13
1. The Father's Plan of Salvation	25
1.1 Christ the end of the Law; the mercy of God	25
1.2 The Law cannot give <i>salus</i>	26
1.3 <i>Salus</i> through the incarnation and passion of Christ	30
1.3.1 <i>Sacramentum salutis</i>	31
1.3.2 The incarnation.....	39
1.3.3 The passion.....	40
1.4 Christ's hunger and fear related to his desire to save.....	41
2. <i>Salus gentium</i>	44
2.1 <i>Salus</i> offered first to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel"	44
2.2 The scandal of the cross and saving faith	48
2.3 Opposition to the <i>salus gentium</i>	49
2.3.1 Opposition from the scribes, Pharisees, and Jews in general	49
2.3.2 Opposition from Jesus' disciples.....	51
2.3.3 <i>Salus</i> is offered to the <i>gentes</i>	52
2.4 The faith of the disciples and their role in offering <i>salus</i>	53
2.5 <i>Confessio</i> and <i>salus</i>	56
2.6 Forgiveness <i>in salutem</i>	63
3. <i>Salus</i> and the public ministry of Christ.....	65
3.1 The Lord's <i>ingressus</i> and <i>salus</i>	65
3.1.1 Removal of ignorance	67

3.1.2	<i>Salus</i> from the <i>saeculum</i>	70
3.1.3	<i>Salus</i> enables confession of faith and <i>sequela Christi</i>	72
3.1.4	The Canaanite woman's daughter revisited	73
3.2	<i>Salus</i> and Christ's divinity	74
3.2.1	Christ's saving power given to the Apostles	75
3.2.2	The "gift" of the Holy Spirit	78
4.	<i>Salus</i> and eternal life	83
4.1	<i>Immortalitas, aeternitas</i>	84
4.1.1	Life	85
4.1.2	A new birth	85
4.1.3	A new kind of life	86
4.2	The resurrection of Christ and <i>salus</i>	88
4.3	The resurrection of others	95
4.3.1	<i>Saluari</i> = to participate in Christ's resurrection	96
4.3.2	<i>Saluus esse</i> = the resurrection of the body	96
4.3.3	<i>Salus</i> and redemption	98
4.3.4	Eschatological <i>salus</i> through the scandal of the cross	103
4.4	<i>Salus</i> and the Kingdom	105
4.5	<i>Salus</i> and hope	106
Conclusion	.....	106

CHAPTER II: *SALUS* IN THE *DE TRINITATE*

1.	The divine plan of salvation	112
1.1	<i>Dispensatio salutis</i>	112
1.1.1	<i>Mysterium salutis, magnae pietatis sacramentum</i>	116
1.1.2	<i>Sacramentum/a salutis</i>	118
1.1.3	Apology for alleged indignities of Christ's conception and birth	125
1.2	<i>Salus</i> is accomplished by the power of divinity	127
2.	The Christological content of saving faith	129
2.1.1	Faith in Christ's eternal divinity	130
2.1.2	Salvation by accepting the scandal of the cross	135
2.1.3	Faith in Christ's resurrection	136
2.2	<i>Salutaris confessio</i>	136
2.2.1	Old Testament	138
2.2.2	New Testament	139
2.2.3	<i>Salus in ecclesia</i>	143
2.3	<i>Salus gentium crediturarum</i>	144

3. Why is the faith called “saving”?	144
3.1 The reward of faith	145
3.2 Baptismal regeneration	145
3.3 Eternal life	147
3.4 Glorification / divinization	151
Conclusion	152

CHAPTER THREE: *SALUS* IN THE *TRACTATUS SUPER*

<i>PSALMOS</i>	155
“Weak” meanings of <i>salus</i>	157
1. Basis of <i>salus</i> : the mercy of God	158
1.1 God’s mercy and man’s <i>profectus</i>	158
1.1.1 The wrath of God and <i>salus</i>	162
1.2 <i>Opus erat medico</i>	164
2. <i>Dispensatio</i> : The Father’s plan of salvation	167
2.1 Saving purpose of the incarnation and passion	168
2.1.1 The incarnation	168
2.1.2 The Passion	170
2.2 <i>Sacramentum salutis</i>	173
3. Christ obtains <i>salus</i> for himself, and <i>salus</i> for others	178
3.1 Christ obtains <i>salus</i> for himself	179
3.1.1 <i>Susceptio</i>	181
3.1.2 <i>Salus</i> and glorification	183
a) Absorption of corruption	183
b) <i>Profectus</i>	186
c) <i>Demutatio</i>	187
d) Being clothed in glory	188
e) <i>Habitus, forma, imago</i>	189
3.2 Christ obtains <i>salus</i> for others	191
3.2.1 <i>Susceptio</i>	193
3.2.2 The Kingdom and “kings”	195
3.2.3 <i>Salus</i> and glorification	196
a) Absorption of corruption	196
b) <i>Profectus</i>	198
c) <i>Demutatio</i>	199
d) Being clothed in glory, being clothed “ <i>salutari</i> ”	200
e) <i>Habitus, imago</i>	202
4. <i>Salus gentium</i>	203
4.1 Salvation offered to all	203
4.1.1 The <i>salus gentium</i> in the titles of the Psalms	206

4.2	The Church, instrument of salvation.....	211
4.3	Opposition to <i>salus</i>	222
5.	Content of the saving faith	222
5.1	Knowledge of the Savior	224
5.1.1	Christological content	226
5.2	<i>Salutaris confessio</i>	226
5.3	Faith and morals.....	227
6.	Preparation for eschatological <i>salus</i> in this life.....	218
6.1	<i>Salus</i> and hope	228
6.2	Eschatological <i>salus</i> begins with baptism.....	230
6.3	<i>Consortium, aeternitas</i>	231
6.4	The Eucharist as a preparation for eternal communion.....	234
6.5	<i>Salus</i> and the eternal Sabbath.....	236
Conclusion	.....	238
Appendix:	<i>Salus</i> in the <i>Tractatus Mysteriorum</i>	241
	The salvation of the Church	241
	<i>Salus</i> and <i>misericordia</i>	244
	<i>Salus</i> and justification by faith in the scandal of the cross	246
GENERAL CONCLUSION	.....	249
ABBREVIATIONS	.....	261
BIBLIOGRAPHY	.....	263

CHAPTER I

SALUS IN THE COMMENTARIUS IN MATTHAEUM

Introduction¹

The CM is the oldest extant Gospel commentary in the Latin language to have survived in nearly complete form (the introduction and concluding pages have been lost). While its exact date of composition cannot be determined, it must have been after 350 but before Hilary's exile (356). The work is not a collection of homilies delivered to the faithful, but was written for the instruction of a learned readership, probably the clergy of Poitiers². It offers the first known Western example of a coherent system for interpreting Sacred Scripture. While nearly all other ancient commentaries on Matthew, whether in Greek or Latin, employ some kind of literal interpretation, Hilary's work is one of the few, along with that of Origen, in which an allegorical interpretation is prevalent. Hilary's interpretation, however, is independent of Origen's

¹ All quotations from CM are taken from the edition of J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers, Sur Matthieu, Introduction, texte critique et notes* (SC 254 & 258), Paris 1978-1979. In this chapter, quotations identified by chapter and verse number only are from CM. For a critical assessment of the SC text, see M. SIMONETTI, "Su una recente edizione del *Commento a Matteo* di Ilario di Poitiers", *Augustinianum* 19 (1979) 527-530 and Doignon's response, "Quatre formules énigmatiques dans l'exégèse d'Hilaire de Poitiers", *Vigiliae Christianae* 38 (1984) 371-384.

² Cf. SC 254, 19-20.

and we may conclude, with Simonetti³ and Doignon⁴, that Hilary did not directly know Origen's commentary. The thought of Origen did influence Hilary indirectly, via the works of Latin authors such as Victorinus of Pettau⁵. A direct influence of Origen on Hilary cannot be confirmed in the case of CM or DT; it can be shown in the later works TM and TP⁶.

While "allegorical" is a convenient summary designation for Hilary's exegetical method, the word does not tell us much about how our author understood his method. In the CM, the literal sense is called *simplex* or *absoluta*. The second sense is called *typica ratio/significantia*, *caelestis intellegentia/significantia*, *interior significantia*, or *sermo spiritualis*. The deeper meaning of the text thus revealed is described as *altius*, *amplior*, *interior*; it "lies beneath" (*subesse*, *subiacere*) the words and deeds related in the text⁷.

The deeper understanding of the Scripture is oriented to the future; the foundation of this exegetical principle is the saying of St. Paul that the practices of the Law are *umbra futurorum* (cf. Col 2,17). Hilary uses this principle in two notable ways: first, to show how the Old Testament foretells the person and mission of the Incarnate Savior; second, to show how the words and deeds recorded in the Gospel foreshadow the future reality of the *salus gentium*⁸. While Tertullian and Cyprian had used this kind of exegesis here and there to correct error and support particular teachings, Hilary is the first Latin author to employ it consistently

³ Cf. M. SIMONETTI, "Note sul commento a Matteo di Ilario di Poitiers", *Vetera Christianorum* I (1964) 35-36.

⁴ Cf. J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 170-190, as well as the table comparing CM with Origen's commentary on Matthew, 545-556.

⁵ See also A. BASTIT, "Conception du commentaire et tradition exégétique dans les *in Matthaëum* d'Origène et d'Hilaire de Poitiers", *Origeniana Sexta*, Louvain 1995, 675-692.

⁶ Cf. M. FIGURA, *Das Kirchenverständnis des Hilarius von Poitiers* (Freiburger theol. Studien 127), Freiburg 1984, 31.

⁷ Cf. P.C. BURNS, *The Christology in Hilary of Poitiers' Commentary on Matthew* (Studia Eph. Augustinianum 16), Rome 1981, 51-55; A. CASAMASSA, "Nota sul 'Commentarius in Matthaëum' di S. Ilario di Poitiers", *Scritti Patristici* I (Lateranum 21), Roma 1955, 212.

⁸ Cf. BURNS, 56-65; BASTIT, 690; SC 254, 29.

throughout an entire work. He maintains a careful balance between developing the consequences of spiritual typology and firmly maintaining the historical reality of the words and deeds recounted in the Gospel⁹. Inseparable from his exegesis is his conception and defense of an orthodox belief in the incarnation¹⁰.

Hilary's theological vocabulary, at this point in his career, shows the influence, above all, of Tertullian. Along with Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage is mentioned by name in CM, the Bishop of Carthage receiving the title of an "authority"¹¹. There are also identifiable traces of Iuvenus, Novatian, and Victorinus of Pettau. Doignon concludes that the CM shows no evidence that Hilary read any Greek exegetes¹². While there are many apparent points of contact between CM and the *Aduersus Haereses* of Irenaeus of Lyon, upon close examination many important divergences appear, and it proves impossible to demonstrate a direct dependence of CM upon Irenaeus. Further, a Latin translation of *Aduersus Haereses* would not have been available to Hilary before 350¹³.

1. The Father's plan of salvation

1.1 *Christ the end of the Law; the mercy of God*

The great theme of the CM is the transition from Law to Gospel. This transition is not merely a question of one set of beliefs and practices being replaced by another, newer set; rather, it is a revolution, a new way of offering salvation, and a radical enlargement of its reach. While the commentary follows the order of the Gospel narrative, Hilary is able to develop his theme in a coherent manner thanks to the exegetical method described above.

⁹ Cf. FIGURA, *Das Kirchenverständnis*, 36-46.

¹⁰ Cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 524-525.

¹¹ Cf. 5,1,8-12. For the influence of Cyprian, cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 218-221; 224-225. Hilary acknowledges Tertullian's competence but also cautions that the heresy into which he fell toward the end of his life diminishes his authority; cf. *ibid.*, 221-224; 521.

¹² Cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 194ff.

¹³ Cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 194-200.

Christ is the end of the Law and its fulfillment¹⁴. The Law foretold that Christ was coming and with him the *salus gentium*¹⁵; i.e., a new way of salvation¹⁶. The new economy of salvation would be based, not on performance of the works of the Law, but on the mercy (or "goodness") of God. John the Baptist is an image of the Law completing its work of announcing the coming of Christ and the end of salvation from the Law¹⁷. The publicans and sinners heeded John's message, accepting his baptism and expecting their *salus* to come from Christ¹⁸.

1.2 The Law cannot give *salus*

The events recorded in the Gospel, as well as the parables of Christ, point to a future time, when salvation by faith in Christ will replace the

¹⁴ "Con la venuta di Cristo la legge ha esaurito il suo compito, in quanto essa era proprio prefigurazione della nuova economia ormai inaugurata". M. SIMONETTI, "Note sul commento a Matteo di Ilario di Poitiers", *Vetera Christianorum* 1 (1964) 50. Cf. 9,3,8-10; 11,2; 11,7,16-18; 12,5,4-6; 17,11,7-8.

¹⁵ For Hilary, as for other Latin Fathers, *lex* is a metonymy for all of the Old Testament. Cf. A.G. HAMMAN-Y. FROT, "Note sur les mots *praestructio* et *praedicatio* chez Tertullien et Hilaire de Poitiers", *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 531-533.

¹⁶ Quibus Dominus ostendens non ex salute fidem, sed per fidem salutem exspectandam [...] (9,9,12-13). Cf. 9,9,8-12; 15,3; 27,10,3-6. The Jews knew this but refused to believe it: Diximus enim hunc populum esse de lege non ignorantem Domini aduentum et gentium salutem, sed infidelem [...] (27,10,10-12); cf. 32,6. The unbelief of the Jewish people is a leading theme of CM; there are precedents in Cyprian and Tertullian. Hilary calls the Jewish people *incredibilis* (17,6,4), characterized by hereditary *infidelitas* (17,6,6; 11,8,3); he reserves *incredulus* for the *gentes*. The Synagogue is *infidelis* (21,9,11), the Jewish people is *infidia* (2,6,7). Historically, the unbelief of the Jews consists in their abandonment of God for the idolatry of the *gentes* (cf. 14,7,8-10; 18,7,6). With the coming of Christ, their unbelief is expressed in their refusal to "accept" him: "Sua eum respuunt, aliena suscipiunt" [...] (11,7,20); i.e., to believe that he is God. Cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 344-348.

¹⁷ Cf. 11,2; 14,8. The same idea is found in TERTULLIAN, *adu. Marc.* 4,33,9: "Iohannem praedicarat [...] in hoc uenturum, ut legis et prophetarum ordo exinde cessaret". Quoted in DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 325.

¹⁸ They are represented by the younger son in the parable of the two sons (cf. Mt 21,28-32). Filius autem minor plebs est publicanorum et peccatorum ipsa peccati in quantum demorabatur condicione posterior, cui praeceptum sit per Ioannem ut a Christo expectaret salutem et ab eo baptizata crediderit (21,14,1-4).

search for justification in the works of the Law¹⁹. The Magi, after worshipping the Child at Bethlehem, are forbidden to return to Herod in Judea, showing that we will find no saving knowledge in Judea; that is, in the old Law. Instead, we must put our hope for salvation in Christ (“in Christo salutem omnem et spem locantes”; 1,5,12-13), leaving aside our old way of life²⁰. When John the Baptist says that he is baptizing for repentance, this shows that the Law has no power to save²¹. The power of Christ, who will come to save believers, is contrasted with the weakness of the Law, which is “inefficax ad salutem”(2,4,5)²². The Jews will be “saved from” the Law, first by John the Baptist, then by the apostles: “duabus enim uocationibus Israel uel per apostolos uel per Ioannem ex lege saluatur” (21,1,18-20). Because the works of the Law cannot save, obedience to the Law is a kind of slavery²³. Here, then, *saluare* means “to liberate from slavery”.

Christ’s power to bring salvation is especially evidenced by the miracles he works; especially, though not exclusively, in miracles of healing and exorcism²⁴. When Christ cures the deaf-mute demoniac (cf. Mt 9,32-33), the crowd’s reaction, “Never was anything like this seen in Israel”, underscores the weakness of the Law in contrast to the power of the divine Word to save²⁵. When Christ feeds a great multitude with

¹⁹ Debitum namque erat per orbem terrarum euangelium praedicari et gentes fidei iustificatione saluari (20,7,8-9). On the antithesis of Law and Gospel faith in CM, cf. A. PEÑAMARÍA, *La salvación por la fe. La noción “fides” en Hilario de Poitiers*, Burgos 1981, 102-107.

²⁰ Cf. 1,5.

²¹ Cf. J. DOIGNON, “Le sens d’une formule relative à Jean-Baptiste dans l’ *In Matthaeum* d’Hilaire de Poitiers”, *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984) 27-32.

²² Et quia legis opus esset iam inefficax ad salutem et Ioannes baptizandis in paenitentiam nuntius exstitisset – prophetarum enim officium erat a peccatis reuocare, Christi uero proprium saluare credentes –, se quidem baptizare in paenitentiam dicit (cf. Mt 3,11), sed fortiorem esse uenturum [...] (2,4,4-9).

²³ On the Law as “burden”, cf. 11,13; 13,8; 19,10; *et passim*.

²⁴ Thus, the word *salus* occurs as a corollary to such words as *curare* (7,2,8-9), *curatio* (7,4,2; 9,2,14; 12,7,10; 12,9,1-3), *sanari* (7,4,6), *sanitas* (7,5,10), *sanus* (9,2,13; 14,19,11).

²⁵ Quin etiam post haec in muto et surdo et daemónico gentium plebs indiga totius salutis offertur. [...] Cuius facti admirationem talis turbae est consecuta confessio: *Numquam sic apparuit in Israel* (Mt 9,33b), eum cui per legem nihil adferri opis

seven loaves and a few small fish (cf. Mt 15,32-38), this shows that, in the future, the gentiles will receive no salvation from the Law, but rather will find their *salus* in the grace of the Holy Spirit, whose gift is seven-fold²⁶. The People of the Law, considering the Law sufficient for salvation (*ad salutem*), neither accept the new way of salvation nor wish to share it with the gentiles²⁷. The Lord's goodness is shown in his willingness to perform miracles in the public view, thus making evident his desire to give *salus* to all²⁸.

Hilary's extended commentary on Christ's dialogue with the rich young man and the disciples' reaction (cf. 19,2-20,3; Mt 19,16-26), is also based on the idea that the Law cannot save. Hilary defines the young man's question as an enquiry about salvation. Christ refers the young man to the commandments of the Law to show him that observing the Law could not bring him *salus*²⁹. Then he tells him to sell his possessions; i.e., to give up the Law. The Apostles, who at this point still think that *salus* is to be found only in the Law, react by saying, "Then who can be saved"? (Mt 20,25)³⁰. Christ replies, "With men this is

potuerat Verbi uirtute saluari quodque laudes Dei homo mutus surdusque loqueretur (9,10,1-2; 9-13). Christ's power to save (*uirtus*) will be the subject of further study in section 3.2.

²⁶ Panes igitur septem offeruntur. Nulla enim ex lege et prophetis gentibus salus sumitur, sed per gratiam Spiritus uiuunt, cuius septiforme, ut per Esaiam traditur, munus est; ergo Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est (15,10,1-5). The meaning of *Spiritus* in this passage will be studied in detail in section 3.2.2.

²⁷ Qui uero unum talentum acceptis et in terram recondidit populus est in lege persistens [...] et quem uirtus praedicationis euangelicae non subeat, sed propter inuidiam saluandarum gentium in terra acceptum talentum absconderit neque ipse utens neque utendum aliis dispenset, sed sufficere sibi legem existimet ad salutem (27,9,1-2; 3-7).

²⁸ Non existimo cadere in saluatoris bonitatem, ut circumcursantes relinquere uoluerit et secretum quoddam impertiendae salutis eligere (7,8,9-11; cf. Mt 8,18-19).

²⁹ Hunc igitur ex lege insolentem, sollicitum de salute remittit ad legem, ut in ea ipsa, in qua gloriaretur, intelligeret nihil se exinde recti operis fecisse. [...] Sed adolescens tamquam populus insolens et glorians in lege confidit, cui tamen obsecutus ex nullo est (19,5,1-3.4-6).

³⁰ Apostoli enim spiritualiter audientes neminem ex lege posse saluari, cum ipsi etiam nunc in lege essent; nam uehemens eos amor legis fauorque detinuit. Hi igitur, nondum penitus euangelici mysterii ueritate comperta, metuunt neminem saluum esse posse sine

impossible, but with God all things are possible” (Mt 20,26). This is a reference to the incarnation. Those who take Christ as a mere man find it ridiculous to expect salvation from him instead of from the Law. But because Christ is God incarnate, he has the power to save³¹. Those who follow him will receive a *salus* that the Law could not give; namely, rebirth unto life eternal³².

In Matthew’s Gospel, Christ twice quotes Hos 6,6 to the Pharisees, “I desire mercy and not sacrifice” (cf. Mt 9,13; 12,7). In each instance, Hilary assigns the same spiritual meaning. Although neither of the two Gospel passages explicitly speaks of salvation, Hilary interprets them according to his own theology of salvation. Christ’s saying, “For I came not to call the righteous, but sinners” (Mt 9,13b), is linked to Paul’s soteriological statement, “Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners” (1 Tm 1,15b). Here, the *salus* Christ came to bring is the grace of justification by faith³³.

Sed ut intelligeret neminem suorum sanum esse, admonuit ut scirent quid esset: *Misericordiam uolo, non sacrificium* (cf. Mt 9,13), legem scilicet sacrificiorum obseruatione deuinctam opem ferre non posse, sed salutem uniuersis in misericordiae indulgentia reseruari. *Non enim ueni iustos uocare, sed peccatores in paenitentiam* (cf. Mt 9,13). [...] Ostendit ergo inanem iustitiae esse iactantiam, quia sacrificiis infirmibus ad salutem misericordia erat uniuersis in lege positis necessaria. Nam si iustitia fuisset ex lege, uenia per gratiam necessaria non fuisset (9,2,14-20.22-26).

Above we saw Hilary attribute salvation to God’s power; now he says that salvation comes from God’s mercy (*misericordia*) and goodness: “Opus salutis nostrae non in sacrificio, sed in misericordia est et lege cessante, in Dei bonitate saluamur” (12,5,4-6; cf. 12,11,8). There is no contradiction; the matter is clear: only divinity can save. Our author has based his doctrine on the Pauline teaching that no one is justified by observance of the Law. But Hilary expresses this idea in different words, saying that the Law could not give *salus*; this word serves as a summary term, containing in itself the idea of justification. The underscoring of the Law’s weakness emphasizes the power,

lege, quia omnem salutem etiam tunc in lege constituent (20,3,1-6).

³¹ Cf. 20,3,9-16.

³² Cf. 20,4,4-9.

³³ Cf. 8,6; PEÑAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, 104.200-202.

and thus the divinity, of Christ. It also emphasizes that salvation is a gift. Christ's desire to save, and thus his mercy and goodness, is made evident by his willingness to become incarnate and undergo his passion.

1.3 *Salus through the incarnation and passion of Christ*

While the idea that obedience to the Law is no longer a means of salvation is one of the pillars of his teaching, nevertheless Hilary does not say that the Law is utterly worthless. The old Law is a prefiguration of the new; more to the point, the Law speaks of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ "sub uelamento uerborum spiritalium" (14,4,7-8)³⁴. These mysteries of Christ were part of the plan which the Father had devised before time began³⁵, for the salvation of the world: "Iesus enim Domino nostro nomen ex corpore est. Itaque et corporalitas eius et passio uoluntas Dei et salus saeculi est" [...] (14,4,16-17). Thus, Jesus says "I have come to fulfill the Law" (cf. Mt 5,17), to indicate his obedience to the Father's salvific will, and his willingness to carry out the Father's plan of salvation³⁶.

Hilary realizes that, in speaking of this obedience, he will have to defend the eternal divinity of Jesus Christ, entering into the great and inexpressible mystery of the Trinity. Both Christian heretics and Jews denied the eternal divinity of Christ by appealing to the alleged indignities of his corporal human existence and suffering. Hilary responds that, far from disproving the divinity of Christ, these realities are expressions of the Father's will. They are not part of the divine nature, but were undertaken for the sake of our salvation³⁷. It is beyond our power to express how the eternal and consubstantial Son could become incarnate, be subject to the human condition, die and rise, and return to the glory of heaven, bringing with him his risen body³⁸. As he

³⁴ Cf. SIMONETTI, *Note*, 51.

³⁵ Cf. 4,14,4-12.

³⁶ Cf. 4,14,1-7.

³⁷ Corpus autem carnis huius in aeternitate Spiritus Deo nullum est, uerum humanae salutis causa Christus in corpore est quod adsumpsit ex homine (16,9,10-13).

³⁸ Itaque et corporalitas eius et passio uoluntas Dei et salus saeculi est; et ultra humani sermonis eloquium est Deum ex Deo, Filium ex Patris substantia atque intra Patris substantiam consistentem, primum in hominem incorporatum, dehinc morti hominis

does in his subsequent works, Hilary is structuring his description of Christ's saving mission after the three moments of the hymn in Ph 2,6-11: pre-existence, abasement, glorification³⁹.

1.3.1 *Sacramentum/a salutis*

In CM, DT, and TP, the phrase *sacramentum* or *sacramenta salutis* proves to be loaded with meaning. In CM it occurs six times, three times in the singular and three in the plural⁴⁰. In five out of the six cases, the phrase occurs with a verb or verbal adjective expressing completion or perfection. When Hilary uses the plural *sacramenta salutis*, the emphasis is on the fulfillment of the plan of salvation in believers.

We first consider the objective sense of *sacramentum salutis*. The phrase first occurs in the scene of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan, which context will establish its basic meaning. Hilary's theological point of departure is the Son's assumption of humanity in the incarnation⁴¹.

Erat in Iesus Christo homo totus atque ideo in famulatum Spiritus corpus adsumptum omne in se sacramentum nostrae salutis expleuit. Ad Ioannem igitur uenit ex muliere natus, constitutus sub lege (cf. Gal 4,4) et per Verbum caro factus (cf. Jn 1,14). [...] Sed adsumptum ab eo creationis nostrae fuerat et corpus et nomen, atque ita non ille necessitatem habuit abluendi, sed per illum in aquis ablutionis nostrae erat sanctificanda purgatio. [...] Erat enim per eum omnis implenda iustitia per quem solum lex poterat impleri. Atque ita et prophetae testimonio (cf. Mt 3,15) lauacro non eget et exempli sui auctoritate humanae salutis sacramenta consummat hominem et adsumptione sanctificans et lauacro (2,5,2-7.9-12.14-19).

condicione subiectum, postremo post triduum in uitam a morte redeuntem consociatam Spiritus et substantiae suae aeternitati materiem ad caelum adsumpti corporis retulisse (4,14,16-24).

³⁹ Other references to the Philippians hymn: 13,7,3-4; 16,11,5-7; 24,11,1-2.

⁴⁰ Cf. 4,14; also MAŁUNOWICZ, *De voce "sacramenti" apud S. Hilarium Pictaviensem*, Lublin 1956, 134-143.

⁴¹ For a thorough theological analysis, cf. LADARIA, *La Cristologia*, 105-118, esp. 105-108; for sources, cf. J. DOIGNON, "La scène évangélique du Baptême commentée par Lactance ('Divinae Institutiones' 4,15) et Hilaire de Poitiers ('In Matthaëum' 2,5-6)", in *Epiktasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, Paris 1972, 67-73.

In the incarnation, Christ assumed a complete human nature, just like ours (*homo totus [...] creationis nostrae*)⁴². As God, he does not personally need to be washed clean of sin. But he has a mission to perform, which he alone can carry out: to fulfill the Law in and through the humanity he had assumed (*per eum*). This humanity is totally at the service of the single divine subject in Christ (*in famulatum Spiritus*). His mission is one of sanctification. In the passage above, two things need to be sanctified: the sacrament of baptism, and humanity. Christ does not need to be washed, but the waters of our baptism need to be sanctified. Entering the waters, Christ inaugurates the sacrament of Christian baptism⁴³, which will be the *purgatio* of believers⁴⁴. The humanity Christ

⁴² “La integridad de la naturaleza humana de Jesús es lo primero que se pone de relieve: ‘homo totus’. Pero es curioso que a continuación se mencione sólo, y en dos ocasiones, el cuerpo. [...] Hilario quiere insistir por tanto en la humanidad entera de Jesús, pero lo que ante todo tiene presente en este momento es su cuerpo. Esto parece una constante en el comentario a Mateo”. LADARIA, *Cristología*, 42-43. Cf. VACCARI, 121-122.

⁴³ We take *sanctificanda purgatio* as a reference to the sanctification of the waters of baptism. But this is not explicitly clear in this passage; see the discussion of this question in LADARIA, *Cristología*, 106. In his last work, Hilary states outright that the waters of the baptism were consecrated by the Lord’s baptism in the Jordan: *per quem populo in repromissionis terram iter fuerat, per eum uia nobis caelestis regni et in nouae generationis lauacro possessio aeternorum corporum inchoatur, aquis ipsis baptismo Domini consecratis* (TP 65,11,9-13).

⁴⁴ The *salus* given to a leper (cf. Mt 8,3) is described as a purgation: *Adest leprosus, emundari se rogat, purgatur Verbi potestate cum tactu [...] Contactu corporis uisitatur, Verbi uirtute curatur et ut salus haec non offerretur potius quam quaereretur [...] in eo Verbi uirtus intelligeretur praemium quoque receptae salutis qui purgatus est Deo offerat [...] (7,2,1-3.8-10.12-14)*. The leper is a figure of all who will be saved by faith. The rather strong expression *purgatio* is not usual in early Christian literature as a designation for the sacrament of baptism or its effects. Nevertheless it was not altogether unknown. Cyprian describes the effects of baptism thus: “*Omnes quidem qui ad diuinum munus et patrium baptismi sanctificatione perueniunt, hominem illic ueterem gratia lauacri salutaris exponunt et innouati Spiritu sancto a sordibus contagionis antiquae iterata natiuitate purgantur (habit. uirg. 23)*. Another early witness is found in the decree of a fourth-century African council which decided that, if there were some doubt about the fact of the baptism of infants, the children should be admitted to baptism without any scruple about possibly repeating the sacrament, “*ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione priuari*” (Concilia Africae 345-525, *Breuiarium Hipponense*, CCSL 149,46). There is also a text of the Pseudo-Hilary of Arles, which

assumed needs to be sanctified because it shares our created condition. Christ's humanity is sanctified in the incarnation (*adsumptione*) and in his baptism (*lauacro*)⁴⁵.

The words *omne*, *expleuit*, and *consummat* make clear that the entire mystery of our salvation has been accomplished in and through the humanity of Christ. In an objective sense, human salvation has been totally realized in him. Thus, when Hilary speaks of the authority of Christ's example, he means that in Christ's baptism we see "the paradigm and the exemplary cause of that which has to take place in us"⁴⁶. By accepting baptism, Christ shows how others may be saved. The Father's voice and the descent of the Spirit in the form of a dove reveal Christ as the living example of what saved human beings will be like.

Nam baptizato eo, reseratis caelorum aditibus, Spiritus Sanctus emittitur et specie columbae uisibilis agnoscitur et istius modi paternae pietatis unctione perfunditur. Vox deinde de caelis ita loquitur: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te* (Lk 3,22b). Filius Dei auditu conspectuque monstratur [...] ac simul ut ex eis quae consummabantur in Christo cognosceremus post aquae lauacrum et de caelestibus portis sanctum in nos Spiritum inuolare et caelestis nos gloriae unctione perfundi et paternae uocis adoptione Dei filios fieri, cum ita dispositi in nos sacramenti imaginem ipsis rerum effectibus ueritas praefigurauerit (2,6,1-7.9-15).

The parallel between *humanae salutis sacramenta consummat* (2,5,17-18) and *ex eis quae consummabantur* (above) makes clear the parallel between the baptized Christ and the status of those who will receive Christian baptism. He is the present reality (*ueritas*) prefiguring what believers will become (*dispositi in nos imaginem*). The presentation of a present reality as an image of the future is not only in keeping with Hilary's exegetical method; it also reveals the foundation of his soteriology. The meaning of human salvation is first revealed in the humanity of Christ. For others, the assumption of humanity by the Son

connects *purgatio* with the "rule of baptism", the new life which ought to be led by the baptized. In baptism, our sins are "purged": "Obluionem accipiens purgationis ueterum suorum delictorum, id est regulam baptismi obliuiscens in qua uestra purgantur delicta" (*Tract. in sept. ep. cath., In epist. Petri II,66*).

⁴⁵ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 107.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

is the beginning of human salvation⁴⁷. If they wish to become like the sinless Christ, they must first be sanctified in baptism, which washes them clean of sin⁴⁸. The “Holy Spirit” that descends on Jesus designates the divine nature, which Hilary often calls “Spiritus”⁴⁹, while the “Holy Spirit” that comes upon baptized believers is the gift of the Spirit, the Third Person of the Trinity, given by the Father and the Son. Christ’s humanity is sanctified by a unique kind of anointing (*istius modi*) with the Father’s *pietas*; those saved in baptism are anointed with “heavenly glory”, which Hilary identifies with the Holy Spirit⁵⁰. Christ is the eternal Son, the baptized are adopted sons⁵¹.

When will the mysteries of salvation begin to be realized in believers? The parable of the two sons (cf. Mt 21,28-32) foretells a time after the resurrection of Christ, when men will be saved by hearing the Gospel

⁴⁷ Cf. LADARIA, *op. cit.*, 44.

⁴⁸ The meaning of the *sanctificatio* received in baptism is more clearly defined in TP 55,7,16-18: Pro peccatoribus igitur ad salutem resurrectionis est mortuus, sed sanctificatos in sanguine suo saluabit ab ira (cf. Rm 5,8-9). This sanctification is the *salus* obtained by those who give up reliance on the Law in favor of faith in Christ: gentes peccatorum suorum uinculis conligentur [...] euangelicae sanctificationis se iugo subderent, gentium autem uincula per libertatem praedicationis abrumperent [...] (TP 2,9,14-15.27-29; cf. Ps 2,3). It is equivalent to the *salus gentium*: Populus autem [est] Israel indignus factus sanctificatione gentium [...] (TP 55,1,19-20).

⁴⁹ Cf. L.F. LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo en San Hilario de Poitiers* (Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas 18), Madrid 1977, 33-42.84-89.

⁵⁰ This is explained in the detailed analysis of CM 2,6 in L.F. LADARIA, “La ‘unción de la gloria celeste’. Gloria y Espíritu Santo en Hilario de Poitiers”, *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 25 (2000), 133-135. We shall further examine the relationship between *Spiritus Sanctus* and *salus* in section 3.2.1 and ff.

⁵¹ The relationship between Christ’s sanctification and the sanctification of adopted sons is discussed in Book Seven of DT, where Hilary is defending Christ’s eternal sonship: Et si a ceteris hominibus non inreligiosa huius nominis usurpatio est, ab eo homine quem sanctificauit Pater – omnis enim hic de homine responsio est, quia Dei Filius etiam filius hominis est, – non inpuenter usurpari uidetur, quod Dei se Filium dixerit: cum praecellat ceteros, qui cognominare se non inreligiose deos possunt, per id quod sanctificatus in Filium est; beato Paulo scientiam nobis sanctificationis istius intimante, cum ait: *Quod ante promisit per profetas suos in scribituris sanctis de Filio suo, qui factus est ex semine Dauid secundum carnem, qui destinatus est Filius Dei in uirtute secundum Spiritum sanctificationis* (Rm 1,2-4). [...] et sanctificatus ac missus a Patre nihil aliud se quam Dei Filium sit professus (7,24,32-43.45-46).

teaching from the Apostles and believing it: “sed quia euangelicam accipere doctrinam non nisi post passionem Domini per apostolos potuit (tum enim erant humanae salutis sacramenta peragenda)” [...] (21,14,6-9)⁵². In the paragraph above, we saw that Christ’s baptism prefigured a future reality. The word *tum* tells when that future reality will come to pass; namely, during the time of the Apostolic preaching. In those who accept the Gospel teaching from the Apostles, the mysteries of salvation will be completely carried out; that is, the fruits of the redemption Christ won in and through the humanity he assumed will be realized in them⁵³. The word *peragenda* confirms the strict relationship between the salvation of humanity *accomplished* in Christ’s baptism (see above: *expleuit* [2,5,5], *consummat* [2,5,18], *consummantur* [2,6,9]) and the salvation of believers.

In the miraculous cure of the tribune’s servant (cf. Mt 8,5-13), the realization of this mystery is portrayed: “Succedit igitur in hoc puero post paralytici sanitatem curationi populi de monte descendentis salus gentium. [...] Quarum salutis sacramentum in tribuni puero expletur, non tamen ingressuro domum Christo” (7,4,1-3.10-12).

Once again, a verb expressing completion or fulfillment signals the relationship between the mystery of salvation fulfilled by Christ (*omne in se sacramentum nostrae salutis expleuit* [2,5,4-5]) and its future realization in believers. The verb is passive because the servant does not fully carry out the mystery of human salvation; rather, in him the future effects of that mystery are made visible. Here, *sacramentum* has the force of “prophetic figure”, a sign of things to come⁵⁴. While this passage

⁵² Sed usque in finem perseuerantibus salus reseruata est ac tum, per omnes orbis partes uiris apostolicis dispersis, euangelii ueritas praedicabitur (25,2,26-29; cf. Mt 24,13-14).

⁵³ “[Hic locus] quid redemptione Christi factum sit, monstrat: gentes ad Deum converti”. MAŁUNOWICZ, *op. cit.*, 141. Małunowicz considers this text only in its immediate context. We attempt to go beyond this classification of meanings in this section of our dissertation, studying the key phrase *salutis sacramentum* in relation to its other occurrences in CM. In this way the relationship between Hilary’s Christology and soteriology is illuminated.

⁵⁴ Beginning with Tertullian and Cyprian, *sacramentum* is the most typical term in Latin exegetical works for expressing the concept of a prophetic figure in the Scriptures. J. Doignon identifies four places in CM where *sacramentum* has this meaning: 7,4,11;

speaks of the *gentium* [...] *salutis sacramentum*, as opposed to the *humanae salutis sacramenta* of the passage immediately above, the same idea is being expressed: that spiritual healing takes place in those who believe in the saving message of Christianity. The gentiles will be saved by believing in the words of the Apostles; the tribune's servant is cured because the tribune believed in the power of Jesus' word: "Et tribunus scit puerum uerbo posse sanari, quia salus gentium omnis ex fide est et in praeceptis Domini uita est uniuersorum" (7,4,5-7)⁵⁵. The equivalence of *gentium* and *uniuersorum* demonstrates that *salus gentium* is a way of speaking about *salus* being made available to the whole human race. We could say that the *sacramentum salutis humanae* accomplished in Christ, when realized in believers, is called the *sacramentum salutis gentium*. In other words, the word *gentium* has replaced the word *humanae*. The extension of *salus* to believers of any nation is made possible by the assumption of a complete humanity in the incarnation.

The remaining example of *salutis sacramenta* in the plural requires special consideration. Its meaning is not specified by *humanae* or *gentium*, and its significance is not immediately apparent. Hilary is discussing the Lord's comparison about a patch of new cloth being sewn onto an old garment. The figure turns out to be a lesson about the new way in which salvation will be offered to men:

Vt autem intelligerent non posse sibi in ueteribus positis perfecta haec salutis sacramenta committi, comparationis posuit exemplum. Pannum rudem uestimento ueteri non adsui (cf. Mt 9,16), quia uetustatis infirmitatem uirtus adsui rudis dissoluat, et uinum nouum ueteribus utribus non infundi (cf. Mt 9,17) (feruentis enim musti calor utres ueteres abrumpit), infirmas uidelicet uetustate peccatorum et animas et corpora nouae gratiae sacramenta non capere (9,4,1-9).

The *perfecta* [...] *salutis sacramenta* are, seemingly, equivalent to the *nouae gratiae sacramenta*. But what are these *nouae gratiae sacramenta*, which cannot be borne by body and soul made weak by the oldness of sin? To answer this question we must go backwards to the paragraph

12,2,15; 22,3,9; 22,3,16. Cf. *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 291-293.

⁵⁵ For further analysis of how the healing of the tribune's servant prefigures the *salus gentium*, see section 2.4.1.

immediately preceding, where Hilary is speaking of the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. Jesus is speaking to the Pharisees and the disciples of John the Baptist. The latter ask why Jesus' disciples do not fast. Hilary's interpretation of the Lord's response is a teaching about the relation of faith in the resurrection to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist:

Quod uero praesente sponso ieiunandi necessitatem discipulis non esse respondit, praesentiae suae gaudium et sacramentum sancti cibi edocet, quo nemo se praesente, id est in conspectu mentis Christum continens indigebit. Ablato autem se, resurrexisse Christum habituri non essent cibum uitae. In fide enim resurrectionis sacramentum panis caelestis accipitur et quisque sine Christo est, in uitae cibi ieiunio relinquetur (9,3,10-18).

Those who do not believe in that Christ has risen cannot discern his presence in the Eucharist (*sacramentum panis caelestis*)⁵⁶, and so cannot receive the Bread of Life (*in uitae cibi ieiunio relinquetur*)⁵⁷. Likewise, those who are still in the oldness of sin cannot receive the *nouae gratiae sacramenta*⁵⁸. It would be a great sin to receive these without having first left behind the old life of sin: "Duplex enim talium erit reatus, si praeter uetustatem peccatorum suorum uirtutem nouae gratiae non sustinebunt; atque ideo et Pharisaeos et discipulos Ioannis noua non accepturos esse, nisi noui fierent" (9,4,10-14). At this point it may appear that *perfecta*

⁵⁶ The Eucharist remains a sign of faith in the resurrection of Christ in all the works of Hilary; cf. B. BOBRINSKOY, "L'Eucharistie et le mystère du salut chez saint Hilaire de Poitiers", in *Hilaire et son temps*, Paris 1969, 235-241. Unfortunately Bobrinskoy gives only a quick glance at the CM, looking more closely at DT, TP, and TM.

⁵⁷ The use of "fasting" to indicate non-reception of the Eucharist is inspired by Tertullian: "Alter uero pro delictis oblati et sacerdotibus templi in pabulum datus secundae repraesentationis argumenta signabat qua delictis omnibus expiatis sacerdotes templi spiritualis, id est ecclesiae, dominicae gratiae quasi uisceratione quadam fruerentur, ieiunantibus ceteris a salute" (*contra Marcionem* 1,23, CSEL 47, 322).

⁵⁸ In commenting on the same Gospel passage, Tertullian also speaks of the "new grace", employing a similar exegetical method: "Oportebat enim in hac quoque specie nouum unum nouis utribus recondi et nouam plagulam nouo adsui uestimento. Ceterum quicquid retro fuerat, aut demutatum est, ut circumcisio, aut suppletum, ut relique lex, aut impletum, ut prophetia, aut perfectum, ut fides ipsa. Omnia de carnalibus in spiritalia renouauit dei gratia superducto euangelio, expunctore totius retro uetustatis, in quo et dei spiritus et dei sermo et dei ratio approbatus est dominus noster Iesus Christus [...] (*de oratione* 1).

haec salutis sacramenta, in the text under consideration (page 36), is simply another name for the Eucharist. In fact, the meaning of the phrase includes the Eucharist but goes beyond it. It is a way of naming the new dispensation of Christianity. Hilary's argumentation is based on antitheses: old-new, Law-grace, sacrifice-mercy, sick-well, sin-forgiveness, sinners-just⁵⁹. "Oldness" (*uetustas*) is not only the old life of sin (cf. 9,4,7-8), but the old dispensation of the Law (cf. 9,4,1-5). It is not merely sin that the Pharisees and followers of John the Baptist have to give up; they must also give up relying on the Law for salvation. Those who continue to rely on the old Law (*in ueteribus positis*), which has no power to save, cannot receive forgiveness through grace and be made "new" (*nisi noui fierent*; 9,4,13-14); i.e., justified⁶⁰. The new mysteries of salvation are called "perfect" in opposition to the weakness and obsolescence of the Law.

While the Jews must leave the "old" Law, the gentiles who want to be saved must give up their "old" way of life⁶¹. In this context, *salus* is the new life of grace conceded to those who believe in Christ and his resurrection, and *salutis sacramenta* designates the new dispensation of Christianity.

The last text to be considered in this section has more to do with the mystery of the Father's will discussed in section 1.3 (see page 30). "Numquid possibile erat non pati Christum? Atquin iam a constitutione mundi sacramentum hoc in eo erat nostrae salutis ostensum" (31,7,9-11). Małunowicz and Doignon understand this sentence to contain the phrase *sacramentum nostrae salutis*, which is certainly possible⁶². Nevertheless it seems more likely that Hilary is employing *oratio obliqua*, the word *esse* being understood. In this case we should read, "this mystery [=Christ's passion] had been declared to be the mystery of our salvation"

⁵⁹ Cf. 9,2.

⁶⁰ Ostendit ergo inanem iustitiae esse iactantiam, quia sacrificiis infirmibus ad salutem, misericordia erat uniuersis in lege positis necessaria. Nam si iustitia fuisset ex lege, uenia per gratiam necessaria non fuisset (9,2,25-26). Cf. 12,5,5-6.9-10: lege cessante, in Dei bonitate saluamur [...] cum, sacrificiorum uetustate cessante, uniuersis per eos misericordiae nouitas subueniret [...].

⁶¹ Cf. 1,5; 9,10; 10,3; 10,26.

⁶² Cf. MAŁUNOWICZ, 143; SC 258, 235.

or “this mystery had been declared to belong to our salvation”. This way of reading the text explains why its central meaning is distinct from that of the five examples of *sacramentum/a salutis* studied above. We should also note that, unlike the other five examples, this text contains no word expressing completion or perfection. This final passage, then, is correctly understood as an expression of the saving *dispensatio*, the Father’s plan of salvation devised before all ages. The mystery of salvation, determined before time began, is made visible in the passion, revealing in time the Son’s eternal obedience to the Father.

1.3.2 *The incarnation*

The three moments of the Lord’s “journey” from heaven to earth and back (pre-existence, abasement, glorification) are clearly seen in CM 18,6, where Hilary is exegeting the example of a man who leaves 99 sheep to go after the one who has strayed (cf. Mt 18,12-13).

Sed in unius Adae errore omne hominum genus aberravit; ergo nonaginta non errantes multitudo angelorum caelestium opinanda est, quibus in caelo est laetitia et cura salutis humanae. Igitur et quaerens hominem Christus est et nonaginta nouem relictis caelestis gloriae multitudo est, cui cum maximo gaudio errans homo in Domini corpore est relatus (18,6,7-14)⁶³.

The one sheep who went astray is the human race, the entirety of which went astray in Adam. The 99 who did not stray are the angels in heaven. As the good shepherd left the 99 sheep to seek the one who was lost, so the Son of God left heaven to seek and save errant humanity. This is the purpose of the incarnation: “filius hominis uenit saluare quae perdita sunt” (18,5,5; cf. Mt 18,11; 1 Tm 1,15b). Hilary also draws on the parallel passage in Lk 15,6-7, which describes the joy among the angels in heaven over the repentance of one sinner, and the parable of the lost coin in Lk 15,8-10.

The key to discovering the meaning of *salus* in this passage lies in grasping the dynamic of Hilary’s theology of the incarnation. The eternal Son leaves the glory of heaven (pre-existence) in order to seek out and

⁶³ There is a parallel passage to this in TM 1,18; we will study both the CM text and the TM parallel in greater depth in section 4.2.

save the human race. He assumes a body and so is able to suffer and die (abasement). He rises from the dead, returning to his glorious heavenly state, bringing with him the humanity he had assumed (glorification). In this "journey" away from heaven, through the cross, and back to heaven, the Son has opened up a new possibility for all humanity: to rise from the dead and share his glorious destiny. The entire human race (*omne humanum genere*) has been brought back to heavenly glory in the resurrection and return to glory of the incarnate Son of God (*in Domini corpore*). The purpose of the incarnation, then, is to achieve the *salus* of the human race; this means joining it to divinity and bringing it safely into the glory of heaven. The single subject in Christ assumes humanity in the incarnation and brings it back to glory, showing that the incarnation is the beginning of a movement upward that will culminate in glorification. We shall return to the image of the Good Shepherd in section 4.2 (page 88).

1.3.3 *The passion*

The passion of Christ was a crucial part of the Father's plan of salvation (cf. 14,4,16-17): "Numquid possibile erat non pati Christum? Atquin iam a constitutione mundi sacramentum hoc in eo erat nostrae salutis ostensum" (31,7,9-11). Despite this apparent character of necessity, Hilary stresses that the Son undertook the passion, as he had the incarnation, voluntarily: "Numquid pati ipse nolebat? Atquin superius fundendum in remissionem peccatorum corporis sui sanguinem consecrauerat" (31,7,12-14). He is crucified between two thieves to indicate that the whole human race is called to participate in the mystery of his saving passion⁶⁴, illustrating the universal scope of God's will to save. In the passion, the mystery of our salvation announced from the beginning of the world, Christ is held out before the whole world as the *salus et uita* of all: "in ligno uitae cunctorum salus et uita suspenditur"

⁶⁴ duo latrones laeuae ac dexteræ adfiguntur omnem humani generis uniuersitatem uocari ad sacramentum passionis Domini ostendentes (33,5,2-4).

(33,5,1-2)⁶⁵. But even though all are called, not all are saved, because not all believe⁶⁶. The division between believers and unbelievers is seen in the contrasting statements of the two thieves. The thief on Jesus' right believes and so is saved; he is a figure of all who will be saved by the justification of faith: "Sed quia per diuersitatem fidelium atque infidelium fit omnium secundum dexteram situs fidei iustificatione saluatur" (33,5,4-8).

1.4 *Christ's hunger and fear related to his desire to save*

The eternal Son undertook both the incarnation and the passion voluntarily, in obedience to the Father's will, for the sake of human salvation. In CM, the *apatheia* of Christ is related to the Pauline doctrine of the divine will, revealed in the life of Christ the Son of God, to accomplish the "mystery of (God's) will" on behalf of the salvation of the human race⁶⁷. When the Gospel describes Christ as hungry, or sad, or afraid, Hilary interprets this in a spiritual sense, always with regard to Christ's desire to save.

Just before beginning his public ministry, Christ spends forty days in the desert fasting and, at the end of this period, he is hungry⁶⁸. This

⁶⁵ This idea appears to be based on Deut 28,66. "your life shall hang in doubt before you; night and day you shall be in dread, and have no assurance of your life" (RSV). Hilary takes this as a prophecy of the Lord's passion: In hoc ligno apud eundum Moysen uita omnium pendet cum dicit: Videbitis uitam uestram pendentem [...] et non credetis uitae uestrae. [...] Contra uero in ligno sacramento, in quo Dominus pendit [...] quia per scandalum crucis salus est [...] (TM 1,35.36). See Chapter Three, appendix. The cross is also called the *lignum uitae* in TP 1,4,6ff. Also compare the expression of Ambrose: "Virgo genuit mundi salutem, uirgo peperit uitam uniuersorum" (*Epistula extra collectionem tradita* 14,110; CSEL 14, 252).

⁶⁶ "Cristo se ha unido a todos, pero, si se me permite esta expresión, no todos nos unimos a él. No hay nada por tanto de pancristismo ni de afirmación ingenua de una salvación para todos". LADARIA, *La Cristología*, 292.

⁶⁷ Cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 375-378.

⁶⁸ Hilary is careful to specify that Christ is not hungry *during* the forty days he fasts, but *after* (cf. 3,2,1-4; 3,3,11-15; Mt 4,2). During the forty days, his humanity is sustained by his divine power (*uirtus diuina*), and so is susceptible neither to hunger nor to temptation. At the end of the fast, his divine power, which did not feel hunger, abandons his humanity, so that the Devil may be conquered by his "flesh" (cf. 3,2,4-9).

hunger has a spiritual meaning: "Non cibum etiam hominum esuriit, sed salutem" [...] (3,2,1); "Sed Dominus non panem potius quam salutem hominum esuriens" [...] (3,3,10-11). The Lord's hunger after the forty-day fast has a prophetic meaning; it points to the desire for human salvation that he would have during the forty days between his resurrection and ascension: "Qua rerum ratione indicat post quadraginta dierum conuersationem (cf. Acts 1,3), quibus post passionem in saeculo erat commoraturus, esuritionem se humanae salutis habiturum" (3,2,13-16)⁶⁹.

Christ's disciples will share his hunger for salvation, for they will share his mission *ad gentes*⁷⁰. This is the spiritual meaning of the episode described in Mt 12,1ff: "At that time Jesus went through the grainfields on the sabbath; His disciples were hungry, and they began to pluck ears of grain and to eat" [...]. The present reality is an image of the future harvest of those who will be saved by faith.

In illo tempore abiit Iesus per segetes (Mt 11,28), id est in eo tempore quo patri Deo gratiam data gentibus salute confessus est [...]. Ergo sabbato in agrum profectus in legis otio Domini progressus in hunc mundum est segetem eam, id est sationem humani generis inuisens. Et quia esuritio fames est salutis humanae, spicas praecepere ac uellere, scilicet sanctorum se salute satiare discipuli festinant (12,2,2-4.7-12).

For a thorough analysis, see L.F. LADARIA, "Adán y Cristo. Un motivo soteriológico del In Matthaem de Hilario de Poitiers", *Compostellanum* 35 (1990), 147-153.

⁶⁹ The full meaning of *humana salus* in this passage will be studied in section 4.2, page 88.

⁷⁰ In CM, when the "disciples" are concerned about *salus* or participate in ministering it, this is an image of the mission of the *Apostles*. For a thorough discussion, cf. L.F. LADARIA, "Los Apóstoles en el comentario a Mateo de Hilario de Poitiers", in *Ecclesia Tertii Millenniumi Advenientis. Omaggio al P. Angel Antón*, Casale Monferrato 1997, 771-785. Obviously, when Hilary explains the nature of Christ's hunger, he is facing theological questions that do not arise when speaking of the Apostles' hunger. Here the problem is not the nature of their hunger, but the purpose of their mission; cf. L.F. LADARIA, "Adán y Cristo. Un motivo soteriológico del In Matthaem de Hilario de Poitiers", *Compostellanum* 35 (1990) 145-153, esp. 147.

The “sabbath” is the time when the law is “at rest”; with the coming of Christ into the world, the Law has lost its power⁷¹. The expression “at that time” refers to a future time, when the gentiles will come to believe through the ministry of Jesus’ disciples⁷². They will carry out the “ministry of human salvation”⁷³. Christ gives thanks to his Father for the *salus gentium* to come⁷⁴; the further explanation given here of the “inner meaning”⁷⁵ of the Gospel words makes plain that the extension of salvation to the *gentes* expresses God’s desire to save the whole human race. Thus it is the *salus humani generis* that will satisfy the hunger of Christ and the Apostles⁷⁶.

The same idea is present in Hilary’s interpretation of the Gospel episode where Jesus curses a fig tree for lacking fruit (cf. Mt 21,18-22). The fig tree stands for the Jewish people, which bore no fruit because it continued to glory in the Law instead of believing in Christ. Christ is not hungry for figs, but for the salvation of the Jewish people.

⁷¹ Cf. 12,2,5-10; 12,4; 14,9,6-15; DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l’exil*, 323-324.

⁷² *In illo tempore abiit Iesus per segetes* (cf. Mt 11,28), id est in eo tempore quo patri Deo gratiam data gentibus salute confessus est [...] (12,2,2-4). This last sentence, of course, refers back to 11,11; it may also contain an oblique reference to Jn 17,20. Witness this passage from *De Trinitate*: Vel id quod Dominus salutem crediturarum in se gentium a Patre postulans ait: Non pro his autem rogo tantum, sed et pro his qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me [...] (DT 8,5,14-17; Jn 17,20).

⁷³ This is foretold in Jesus’ reply to the question whether it is licit to heal on the sabbath (cf. Mt 12,9ff). Quos decidentis in foueam ouis conclusit exemplo quam sine crimine sabbato extrahere sint solliciti; rectiusque homini, qui oui praestet, medendum esse neque in ministerio salutis humanae existimandum sabbatum posse uiolari [...] (12,6,4-8).

⁷⁴ Cf. 11,11.

⁷⁵ The words and actions of the passage under discussion (Mt 11,28-29) have an *interioris causae intelligentiam* (cf. 12,1,3-6).

⁷⁶ In response to the Pharisees’ protest (cf. Mt 12,2), Christ appeals to the OT example of David (cf. Mt 12,3-4): Dominus [...] admonuit Dauid una cum his qui secum aderant esurientem panibus illicitis expletum fuisse. [...] Verum sine criminis piaculo factis prophetat in lege, ut ipse cum ceteris panibus propositionis expletus sit ita ostendens Christum cum apostolis gentium salute satiantum, quod Iudaeis illicitum uideretur. (12,3,3-4, 7-11; cf. 12,7,1-5).

Nam in ficu Synagogae positum exemplum est. Dato enim paenitentiae spatio, eo uidelicet tempore quod inter passionem et reditum claritatis est medium ueniet esuriens plebis huius salutem et inueniet infecundam, foliis tantummodo uestitam, id est uerbis inanibus gloriantem, sed fructibus uacuam, operibus quippe bonis sterilem, et exspectatis prouentibus nudam (21,6,3-10).

Like his hunger, Christ's sadness and fear are interpreted spiritually in relation to salvation. In the garden of Gethsemane, as he prepares for his passion and death, the Lord says that his soul is sad even unto death (Cf. 31,1,7-9; Mt 26,37-38). He is sad, not because he fears death, but on account of his disciples. He knows that they will be afraid, and flee, and deny that they know him. He fears lest they commit the unforgivable blasphemy against the Holy Spirit by denying his divinity, thus making it impossible for them to be saved. Christ's sadness and fear are, like his hunger, expressions of his will to carry out the Father's plan to save others⁷⁷. We may discern a relationship between this interpretation of Christ's fear and Hilary's picture of the ideal bishop as one who concerns himself with the *salus publica* (see below, section 2.4).

2. *Salus gentium*

The words and deeds recounted in the Gospel reveal how the offer of salvation through faith in Christ will be extended, first to the Jews, then to the gentiles. The essence of the saving faith is recognizing God in Christ. Nothing is more "dangerous" to salvation than denying Christ's divinity⁷⁸.

2.1 *Salus offered first to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel"*

The events of Christ's infancy foretell how he will be received as an adult. St. Joseph represents the Apostles⁷⁹:

Hi tamquam Herode mortuo, id est populo eius in passione Domini deperdito, Iudaeis praedicare sunt iussi; missi enim erant ad oues perditas

⁷⁷ Cf. 31,1-5.

⁷⁸ "The main structure of [Hilary's] defense of the divinity of Christ was cast in a soteriological framework". BURNS, 135.

⁷⁹ As does Joseph of Arimathea; cf. 33,8,7ff.

domus Israel, sed manente hereditariae infidelitatis dominatu metuunt et recedunt. Admoniti per uisum, sancti scilicet Spiritus donum in gentibus contemplantes ad eas transferunt Christum Iudaeae missum, sed uitam et salutem gentium nuncupatum (2,1,12-20).

Having carried the child Jesus to the land of Israel, Joseph was warned in a dream and returned to the district of Galilee, to Nazareth (cf. Mt 2,19-22). The Apostles carry the message of Jesus to the “lost sheep of the house of Israel”, then have a vision of the future faith of the gentiles⁸⁰. So they bring Jesus, through their preaching, to the gentiles. The meaning of the curious phrase *uitam et salutem gentium nuncupatum* is not immediately evident, because Hilary does not reproduce or directly refer to the words that conclude the Matthean infancy narrative: “He shall be called a Nazarene” (Mt 2,23b). As it turns out, this verse is the key to understanding the “title” Hilary gives Christ. Jesus was called a Nazarene because he was taken away from Judah and transferred to Nazareth⁸¹; now he is called *salus et uita gentium* because the Gospel message, rejected by the Jews, was taken away from them and transferred to the *gentes*.

The words *salus gentium nuncupatum* suggest that Hilary has identified the *salus gentium* with the person of Christ. The gentiles will indeed be saved by believing in Christ; however, *salus* is not offered to the gentiles as directly as it is to the Jewish people. The former will not receive *salus* from encountering Christ in person. The preference shown to the Jewish people is seen in the fact that they were given the chance to accept Christ in person, while the gentiles would come to know Christ indirectly, through the preaching of the Apostles. This lesson is taught by the example of the Canaanite woman who begs the Lord to cure her daughter. At first he remains silent, then he tells his disciples, “I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel”, then he says to the woman, “It is not right to take the bread of sons and give it to dogs” (cf. Mt 15,22-26). Both the Lord’s silence and his two statements reveal the intended order of salvation:

⁸⁰ The *sancti* [...] *Spiritus donum* is the saving gift of the Christian faith; *vide infra*, section 3.2.2.

⁸¹ Cf. 1,4-8.

Dominus tacet silentii patientia Israel priuilegium salutis reseruans. [...] se perditis Israel missum esse respondit, ut absolute liqueret typum Ecclesiae Chananaeae filiam continere, cum illa posceret quod aliis deferebatur, non quod non et gentibus impertienda salus esset, sed suis Dominus atque in sua uenerat (cf. Jn 1,11), primitias ergo fidei ab his quibus erat ortus exspectans, ceteris deinceps apostolorum praedicatione saluandis (15,4,4-5.7-13).

According to the Father's mysterious plan, the Jews were to have the privilege of being the first to receive *salus* by accepting Christ; that is, by acknowledging him as the Christ and Lord. The Canaanite woman, a figure of Jewish proselytes, does this very thing⁸². The "dogs" are the gentiles, represented by the woman's possessed daughter. Because the Law foretold that Christ was coming, the Jews should have recognized him during the time of his incarnate appearing, as the Canaanite woman did: "quia Dominum cognouit ex lege, Daudid filium nuncupat" (15,3,18-19). After this was to come the salvation of the gentiles by means of the apostolic preaching. The Lord's silence does not express unwillingness to save the woman's daughter, but is a prophecy of the Church to come, the assembly of the gentiles who would believe in him⁸³.

In Mt 11,20-24, Christ preaches against "the cities where most of his mighty works had been done, because they did not repent" (Mt 11,20). For Hilary, the great fault of the Jewish people of these cities is not that they failed to repent of sin in general, but specifically that they did not believe in Christ's divinity when they saw the miracles he worked (cf. 11,10,1-16). Their unbelief is more serious because they were privileged to hear the Gospel before the gentiles. So they are compared, unfavorably, with those who did not see the miracles but who believed the apostolic preaching nevertheless and so received *salus*. "Primis enim Iudaeis oportuit praedicari, sed priuilegio praedicationis infidelitatis cumulatur inuidia, cum credentium arguantur exemplo, quibus, nulla factorum admiratione proposita, salus omnis ex fide sit" (11,10,4-8).

⁸² Cf. 15,3,14-4,4.

⁸³ Et ut silentium Domini intelligeremus ex ratione temporis, non ex uoluntatis difficultate proficisci, adiecit: *O mulier, magna est fides tua* (Mt 15,28), salutis suae scilicet ipsa iam certa, quin etiam de gentium congregatione confidat [...] (15,5,1-4).

The Jews are the chosen people, God's elect⁸⁴. But their failure to believe in Christ's divinity, even when they see his divine power revealed in a miracle, excludes them from the *salus* he offers. This is seen when Jesus raises the daughter of the synagogue leader (cf. Mt 9,18.23-25). When Jesus says that the girl is not dead, but only sleeping, the crowd laughs at him – a sign of their lack of faith. Those who laugh are expelled:

Atque ut rarus hic esse ex lege credentium electionis numerus intelligi posset, turba omnis expulsa est; quam utique saluari Dominum optasset, sed irridendo dicta gestaque eius resurrectionis non fuit digna consortio. Et exeunte fama in uniuersam terram, illam post electionis salutem donum Christi atque opera praedicantur (9,8,7-13).

This miracle is called *electionis salus* because it prefigures the salvation of those who will accept the gift of *salus* offered them by believing in Christ⁸⁵. *Electio* functions as a synonym for the Church, the new chosen people. The scriptural foundation for Hilary's use of the word in this sense is Rm 11⁸⁶. Salvation by faith was first offered to the Jewish people, but the healing of the woman with the hemorrhage is an image of the future, when it will be given to those outside the Law: "Sed prior cum apostolis peccatorum turba saluatur. Et cum primum electionem, quae ex lege destinabatur, uiuere oportuisset, anterior tamen in mulieris specie salus publicanis et peccatoribus redditur" (9,6,1-4). Even though Christ wishes to save the people of the Law, they cannot be counted among the elect who will be saved if they fail to believe in him. Few Jews will believe and join the Church: "rarus [...] ex lege credentium electionis numerus"⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ Cf. 9,6,1-3.

⁸⁵ fieri iubet electio, eorum scilicet qui Dominum per multa saeculi huius pericula et iactationes essent secuturi (7,9,4-6). A complete list of other occurrences of *electio* in this sense in CM and DT will be found in R.J. KINNAVEY, *The Vocabulary of St. Hilary of Poitiers* [...], Washington, D.C. 1935, 113-114.

⁸⁶ And, possibly, 1 Pt 2,9 as well.

⁸⁷ The eschatological meaning of *salus electionis* and *saluari* in this passage will be discussed in section 4.3.1.

2.2 *The scandal of the cross and saving faith*

Although the Jews are wise in their own estimation, they prove themselves foolish in comparison to the gentiles who will believe. The gentiles are called "little children", but they are greater in understanding and good will than Israel⁸⁸. Thus Christ confirms the "paradox"⁸⁹ of the Father's will: those who refuse to become like little children and accept God's plan of salvation become foolish⁹⁰.

The Lord's words, "How difficult it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom", speak of how difficult it will be for the Jews to cease glorying in the Law and accept the Gospel (cf. 19,8). Those Jews who take the Lord's sufferings on the cross as evidence that he is not God will not receive any *salus* from the cross.

Est autem huic populo crux et passio scandalum, et idcirco ipsi nihil salutis ex ea est. Sed gloriatur in lege et coheredes gentes aspernatur et transire in euangelicam libertatem recusat; atque ideo difficile regnum caelorum introibit (19,10,2-6).

Those who wish to receive *salus* must give up reliance on the Law. But Hilary states that, compared to the multitude of gentiles who will believe, few Jews will believe and be saved⁹¹.

⁸⁸ *In illo tempore respondens Iesus dixit: Confiteor tibi, Domine pater caelorum et terrae, quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus et reuelasti ea paruulis (Mt 11,25). [...]* Nam tametsi optabilis fuerit salus Israel, tamen non extra gaudium Domino erat praedicata olim fides gentium. Caelestium enim uerborum arcana atque uirtutes sapientibus absconduntur et paruulis reuelantur, paruulis malitia, non sensu, sapientibus uero stultitiae suae praesumptione, non prudentiae causis (11,11,1-10).

⁸⁹ Doignon's happy rendering of *huius facti*; cf. SC254, 267.

⁹⁰ Factique huius aequitatem Dominus paternae uoluntatis iudicio confirmat, ut qui dedignantur paruuli in Deum fieri, stulti deinceps in sapientia sua fiant (11,11,10-13). Cf. 18,1,3-7: Non nisi reuersos in naturam puerorum introire regnum caelorum Dominus docet, id est in simplicitatem puerilem uitia corporum nostrorum animique reuocanda. Pueros autem credentes omnes per audientiae fidem nuncupauit. Cf. J. EMMENEGGER, *The Functions of Faith and Reason in the Theology of Saint Hilary of Poitiers*, Washington 1947, 199-201.

⁹¹ Cf. 19,10,7-10.

2.3 *Opposition to the salus gentium*

Some will not only decline to accept the Gospel message on their own behalf; they will even try to stop others from doing so. Hilary notes opposition to the *salus gentium*, not only from those Jews who opposed Christ's teaching, but even from the Lord's own disciples.

2.3.1 *Opposition from the scribes, Pharisees, and Jews in general*

In the poor, the sick, and children rejected by the Jews, Hilary sees prophetic figures of the gentiles who will come to believe in Christ. The poor are those who do not put their trust in the Law, the sick are cured by faith in Christ, and children accept the new message of saving faith⁹². The scribes and Pharisees are condemned for hindering the salvation of others by keeping them enslaved to the Law.

Vae vobis scribae et Phariseae hypocritae qui comeditis domos uiduarum (Mt 23,14). Hinc illae sunt ueritatis inficiae, hinc adeundae ceteris salutis inhibitio et regni caelestis obseratio, ut in obeundis uiduarum domibus retineatur ambitio, ut longae orationis dignatione spolientur, ut ab his caelestis cognitio tamquam a thesauro repositae opulentiae expetatur, ut legis dignitas gratiae silentio perseueret (24,4,1-8).

Their sin is rooted in their reliance on the Law, which leads them to hinder the salvation of others by suppressing knowledge of how one can be saved by grace instead of through the works of the Law. The Pharisees also earn condemnation for proselytizing among the gentiles, thus opposing the *iustificatio fidei* by yoking them to the Law⁹³.

In the final analysis, the Jews have little excuse for opposing the *salus gentium* since they knew from the Law that Christ was coming to offer to all nations the gift of salvation/justification by faith. But still they did

⁹² On the antithesis between Jews and gentiles, cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 327-328.

⁹³ Cf. 24,5,5. Ultimately, Jewish opposition to the *salus gentium* can become violent. Thus, Christ condemns the Pharisees for killing the prophets. Hilary explains that the People of the Law hates the prophets because they teach that the gentiles to come (*gentes futuras*) will inherit the covenant along with the children of Abraham (cf. 24,8,9-12; SC258, p.175, n.16).

not believe. This is seen in the parable of the talents (cf. Mt 25,14-30). The servant who failed to invest the talent given him says to his master, "I knew you to be a hard man, reaping where you did not sow, and gathering where you did not winnow" (Mt 25,24b). The servant represents the Jews who put their hope for salvation in the Law, and oppose the *salus gentium*.

Qui uero unum talentum accepit et in terram recondidit populus est in lege persistens totus carnalis et stupidus et nihil spiritale intelligens et quem uirtus praedicationis euangelicae non subeat, sed propter inuidiam saluandarum gentium in terra acceptum talentum absconderit neque ipse utens neque utendum aliis dispenset, sed sufficere sibi legem existimet ad salutem (27,9,1-7).

The parable is a prophecy of the future; i.e., of the time to come when the Gospel would be preached to the *gentes*. The People of the Law did not understand the spiritual meaning of the Law which taught them about God's plan of salvation. They were jealous that God would give salvation to the gentiles (*saluandarum gentium*) through the Gospel, instead of restricting it to themselves, who relied on the Law. Hence it is even more unforgivable that the People of the Law did not give the money to the bankers in order to have it back with interest; i.e., that they would not allow the Gospel preaching to reach others⁹⁴:

Qui cum Christum Dominum ad salutem gentium missum fuisse non possit abnuere – nam et aduentus et passio eius ex lege est –, obtemperare tamen euangelii ipse noluerit [...] Diximus enim hunc populum esse de lege non ignorantem Domini aduentum et gentium salutem, sed infidelem, quippe cum sciat metendos illic iustitiae fructus ubi lex sata non sit et colligendos ex gentibus [...] (27,10,3-6; 10-14).

It is as if the People of the Law were criticizing God for making salvation available to gentiles: "[...] et idcirco durus hic homo sit, scilicet sine lege iustificaturus, sine dispersione collecturus et sine satione messurus"⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ Cf. 27,11,5.

⁹⁵ Cf. 27,10,14-16.

2.3.2 *Opposition from Jesus' disciples*

Since it was God's plan to offer salvation first to the Jews, it is no wonder that Jesus' disciples wanted Israel to be saved before the gentiles. This desire is expressed when little children are brought to Jesus for a blessing, and the disciples try to hinder them. Little children, as we have seen, represent the gentiles who will believe and be saved through faith and hearing: "Infantes quidem uere oblatis sunt, sed et uere inhibiti sunt. Sed hi gentium forma sunt, quibus per fidem et auditum salus redditur. Verum ex adfectu primum saluandi Israel a discipulis inhibentur accedere" (19,3,8-12). The great crowd that stays with Jesus in the desert for three days with nothing to eat (cf. Mt 15,32-38) represents the gentiles to come, who will fast for three days in preparation for baptism. When Jesus points out that they have nothing to eat, his disciples argue that they do not have enough bread to feed so many. Their arguing reveals their partiality: they want Israel to be saved rather than the gentiles: "Quantus enim apostolorum in saluando Israel fauor fuerit, beatissimi Pauli epistolae docent (cf. Rm 9,2-5); atque ideo eodem demorante, nunc in concursu gentium et de pane causatio et de ieiunio silentium introducitur" (15,9,9-12). The disciples' desire that Israel be saved first is again seen in their reaction to the woman who pours ointment on Jesus' head as his passion nears (cf. Mt 26,6-13). She is a prefiguration of the gentiles who will believe in Christ's divinity even in his passion. The anointing of Jesus' head expresses this faith, because Christ's "head" stands for his Godhead⁹⁶.

Igitur omnem curam corporis sui et totum pretiosae mentis adfectum in honorem Dei laudemque transfudit. Sed discipuli fauore saluandi Israelis ut saepe numero commouentur: uendi hoc in suum pauperum debuisse. Sed neque mulier haec uenale unguentum circumferebat et pauperes fidei indigos instinctu prophetico nuncupauerunt. Atque hanc gentium fidem emi potius ad salutem egeni huius populi debuisse (29,2,5-13).

The disciples oppose her action because they were bound by the desire to save Israel; they say that the ointment should have been sold and the money given to the poor. But they do not understand that the truly "poor"

⁹⁶ Cf. 29,2,1-7; 1 Cor 11,3

are those without faith. The gentiles need to be provided with faith, so that they may receive *salus*.

2.3.3 *Salus is offered to the gentes*

After Israel was given the chance to believe first, *salus* is made available to the gentiles and “sinners”; the latter are those who have separated themselves from the Synagogue. Hilary finds the *salus gentium* expressed most vividly in the miracles Christ performs.

Typically, someone outside the Synagogue (for whatever reason) expresses faith in Jesus’ power to heal, offering a type of those who will believe in his divinity. For example, the Roman tribune who asks Jesus to cure his servant is confident that a word from Jesus can make his servant well⁹⁷. But how can Christ say, “I have not found such faith in Israel,” since the servant he healed was, seemingly, an Israelite? In fact, both *sanitas* and *salus* are obtained because of the faith of the gentile who makes the request. “Et tribunus scit puerum uerbo posse sanari, quia *salus gentium omnis ex fide est*” [...] (7,4,5-6)⁹⁸. This event foretells the future Church of the gentiles⁹⁹, when those outside the Synagogue will gather together in the Church to seek *salus* from the power of Christ¹⁰⁰.

The gentiles who will be saved are not considered as individual believers, but as a group, a *plebs*¹⁰¹. The *gentium plebs* (9,10,2) is contrasted with Israel, the Jewish people. The *salus* that had been prepared for Israel was “taken over” by the *plebs gentium*, because of its faith: “Ita alteri *salus*, dum alii defertur, est reddita. Cuius fidem et

⁹⁷ De tribuno posuisse me satis sit principem esse gentium creditorum (7,3,10-11).

⁹⁸ Cf. 11,10,7-8: “[...] *salus omnis ex fide sit*”.

⁹⁹ Perfecta quidem est in puero secundum credentis fidem ueritas sanitatis, sed praesentium efficientia etiam futurorum imagini proficere monstratur, quando, et tribuno credente et puero saluato, nec talis in Israel fides reperta est et regni caelorum consortium cum Abraham gentibus destinatur (7,5,8-14).

¹⁰⁰ This future reality is prefigured in the two possessed men who lived among the tombs outside of the city (cf. Mt 8,28ff). Extra urbem autem, id est extra legis et prophetarum Synagogam [...]. Igitur, ut esset in rebus gerendis futuri plena meditatio, uenienti Domino duo homines occurrunt, ut occursu eorum concurrentium ad salutem uoluntas indicaretur (8,4,4-5.9-12).

¹⁰¹ The *plebs gentium* (9,6,14; 9,10,2) and the *plebs* [...] *publicanorum et peccatorum* (21,14,1-2) are identical; cf. 21,11,10: *gentium peccatorumque plebs* [...].

constantiam Dominus laudavit, quia quod Israeli praeparabatur, plebs gentium occupavit” (9,6,11-14).

2.4 *The faith of the disciples and their role in offering salus*

Jesus’ disciples, like their Master, will be able to give *salus* to others. But first, the power of God must enter their lives. This is seen in the cure of Peter’s mother-in-law (cf. Mt 8,14ff). The Lord enters Peter’s house; i.e., into his body¹⁰². Peter’s ailing relative, confined to her bed, symbolizes Peter’s unbelief¹⁰³ and misused freedom, which makes him unable to serve others, because he is under the domination of vices. Once cured, the mother-in-law is able to minister to Jesus and the disciples¹⁰⁴. In the same way, the cure of Peter’s faith enables him to carry out a sacred ministry: “Nam primus credidit et apostolatus est princeps, et quod in eo ante languebat, Dei Verbo inualescens ministerio tamquam publicae salutis operatum est” (7,6,8-11). The phrase *publicae salutis* calls for special attention. Its meaning will be clarified by the comparison with a passage near the beginning of DT with remarkably similar wording. There Hilary is speaking of himself when he says, “Quin etiam id quod sibi credebat, tamen per ministerium impositi sacerdotii etiam ceteris praedicabat, munus suum ad officium publicae salutis extendens” (DT 1,14,9-12). Doignon rightly sees this sentence as containing a definition of a bishop’s ministry, and points out the classical conception of a *munus publicum* or *officium* underlying the Bishop of Poitiers’ words¹⁰⁵. However, in neither of the two texts at hand does the adjective

¹⁰² The image of the body as the house of the soul is Pauline (cf. 2 Cor 5,1-2); it is exploited by Tertullian (*resurr.* 41,1-3) and Cyprian (*Demetr.* 19) as well as Cicero and Seneca; cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 311. In interpreting the healings worked by Jesus, Hilary follows Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius in linking bodily disease and the “heaviness” of the body to sin; cf. 9,6; 9,10; *ibid.*, 315.382.

¹⁰³ Unbelief is again personified as a mother-in-law in ch. 10 of CM. A condition of becoming the “new man” is the liberation of the will from unbelief. Cf. 10,23-24.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 7,6,1-8.

¹⁰⁵ “dans le ‘ministère’, dont la fonction consistait, suivant la définition juridique du *munus publicum*, à enseigner aux autres ce qui faisait sa croyance personnelle”. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l’exil*, 153. He illustrates this via a classical quotation: “Du *munus publicum* POMPON. *dig.* 50,16,239, éd. Mommsen, t. 2, 955, écrit: ‘Munus publicum est officium priuati hominis, ex quo commodum ad singulos

publicum modify the nouns *munus* or *officium*. Instead, in both cases it is the phrase *publica salus* that defines the nature of the *munus*. As we saw in the Introduction, *publica salus* is the public welfare, the well-being of the *res publica*, as distinguished from that of an individual. For the Roman, the *salus* of the individual was ensured by the protection of the *salus publica*. In the Christian sense, to be a minister of *publica salus* is to have a duty to care for the welfare, not of a state, but of other human beings in general¹⁰⁶. Thus, Peter's faith is said to be at the service of the salvation of others, because of his position of leadership as first to believe and prince of the Apostles. Once Peter's faith has been "cured", he can lead others into the faith which alone gives eternal *salus*. In this context, then, *publica* means not only "general"¹⁰⁷, but also "for the whole human race".

In the passage from CM, the presence of the qualifying word *tamquam* shows that Hilary is deliberately employing a technical term already known to his audience, giving it a new, Christian sense¹⁰⁸. By the time he

uniuersosque ciues remque eorum imperio magistratus extraordinarium peruenit" (*ibid.*, n. 4). On *officium* in Roman ethics, cf. *ibid.*, 136, n. 4.

¹⁰⁶ This is how Cyprian understands his duty as a bishop: "Nam sicut domini mandata instruunt, orto statim turbationis inpetu primo, [...] non tam meam salutem quam quietem fratrum publicam cogitans interim secessi [...]". *Epistula* 20,1,2. On the *munus* and *officium* of bishops in Cyprian, cf. A. Beck, *Römisches Recht bei Tertullian und Cyprian* (Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft 7,2), Halle 1930, 160-161.

¹⁰⁷ Doignon renders *ministerio tamquam publicae salutis* as "en quelque sorte du salut général" (SC 254, 185).

¹⁰⁸ The cult and temple of *Salus publica* at Rome still existed in the 4th century A.D.; cf. H. FRANKE, "Salus publica", *Liturgische Zeitschrift* 5 (1932/33), 148. Franke shows how St. Ambrose frequently employed the phrase *salus publica* in a Christian sense. Easter is the *festum publicae salutis* (*Ep.* 23,22; PL 16 1035), the feast of our redemption; death, which is common to all, is not to be feared, for it is the *causa salutis* [...] *publicae* (*De fide ressurect.* 2,46; PL 16 1327); the resurrection of all in the resurrection of Christ is the *publicae sacramentum salutis* (*Exp. eu. sec. Luc.* 4,61; PL 16, 1630). Franke identifies and comments on only three examples of the phrase in the works of Ambrose, but there are at least nine more; cf. *De interpellatione Iob et David*, tract. 4,1,5; *Expl. ps. XII*, ps. 39,6,1; *Expl. ps. XII*, ps. 43,71,1; *Exp. eu. sec. Luc.* 3; *Exp. eu. sec. Luc.* 6; *De inst. uir.* 7,48; *Exhort. uir.* 5,28; *De fide libri V* 4,2; *epist.* 57,10. In none of these texts does the Bishop of Milan concern himself with Hilary's theme; namely, the responsibility of the Christian leader to serve the salvation of others

was writing, the meaning of *salus publica* had been expanded by the emperor Hadrian to include, not only the welfare of the Roman people but that of the provinces as well, so that it had become equivalent to *salus generis humani*¹⁰⁹. This suggests how apt is its application to the Christian endeavor of evangelizing the *gentes*. The idea of reaching out to the provinces, extending to them all the concern of the state and the benefits of order, law, and religious unity, parallels the idea of bringing the Gospel to every nation, bringing all men into the unity of the Church where *salus* is to be found.

For Hilary, personal faith is never dissociated from priestly responsibility to look out for the faith and salvation of others¹¹⁰. This is seen, not only in his discussion of Peter's faith, but in what he says of the work of the Apostles in general. Not only Peter, but all the Apostles would have the ability to bring salvation to others through their preaching. This is demonstrated, negatively, in the cure of the man with the withered hand (cf. Mt 12,13ff). Christ goes to the Synagogue, seeking workers to gather in a harvest of believers. But because the men he met with did not yet believe, they had no ability to offer *salus* to others. This lack of ability is symbolized in the withered hand: "Dandae enim salutis substantiam non habebant et manus officium cessabat et ministerium corporis, quo aliquid agitur atque impertitur, aruerat" (12,7,6-8). Their lack of faith is "cured" so that they may join in the saving ministry of the Apostles: "Hi igitur curantur in manco" (12,7,5)¹¹¹.

The faith that the Apostles need in order to offer salvation to others has a specific content. The Apostles bring to Jesus a possessed boy whom they had been unable to help (cf. Mt 17,15-16), because their faith was not yet perfect¹¹². The Apostles believed, but not fully, for they had not yet fully given up their attachment to the Law. There is also a warning

by preaching the faith he himself holds.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. WINKLER, *Salus*, 76-79.

¹¹⁰ Cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 522.

¹¹¹ Dominus igitur manum eum iussit extendere, quae restituta est ei sicut altera. Curatio omnis in uerbo est et manus sicut altera redditur, id est similis ministerio apostolorum in officium dandae salutis efficitur; docetque Pharisaeos aegre ferre non oportere operationem humanae salutis in apostolis, cum ipsis ad officii eiusdem ministerium manus sit reformanda, si credant (12,7,8-15).

¹¹² Crediderant quidem apostoli, nondum tamen erant perfectae fidei (17,6,1-2).

here about the future time between Christ's ascension and his return in glory. Should Christ's followers go back to the reliance on the Law, back to their "old unbelief" during this intermediate period, they would no longer be able to offer any salvation to others¹¹³.

The faith that is called for is the faith of Gospel freedom. It requires giving up reliance on the Law – the "ancient unbelief". The ability to give *salus* depends on the same condition of possibility for receiving it: faith that Christ is God, and so has divine power to save. The faith that is called for must also include the belief that Jesus is risen from the dead and lives in the glory of God, even though he can no longer be seen with the eyes of the body. Because he is God, his saving power can be communicated anywhere, even after his incarnate presence on earth has ended.

2.5 *Confessio and salus*

At the beginning of our discussion of the *salus gentium* (page 44), we stated that the essence of the saving faith consists in recognizing Christ's divinity. In our author's theological vocabulary, both the profession and content of this saving knowledge are described by the word *confessio*. In early Christian usage, *confessio* has several striking meanings, some of them new with respect to classical Latin. Biblical Latin, in imitation of Hebrew, gave us *confessio* = the praise of God (from *confiteri* = to praise God), but this meaning was not usual in the earliest Christian parlance¹¹⁴. In Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hilary, *confessio* usually refers, either to the confessing of sins (see section 2.6) or to professing the Christian faith¹¹⁵. This last meaning is subdivided into the profession of baptismal faith and the heroic confession of a martyr¹¹⁶. When speaking of the confession of

¹¹³ *Generatio incredibilis et peruersa, quousque ero uobiscum?* (Mt 17,17) quia, absente se, antiquae infidelitatis consuetudo subreperat. Docet igitur eos nihil salutis adferre posse, qui medio euangeliorum et iterati aduentus sui tempore a fide tamquam Domino absente decesserint (17,6,6-9).

¹¹⁴ C. MOHRMANN, ELC I,32; cf. TP 66,6.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 31.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Augustine on the Holy Innocents, *sermo* 199,2,3: "illi pro Christo potuerunt pati quem nondum poterunt confiteri [...]". Quoted in MOHRMANN, *loc. cit.* Later, *confessio* could designate the place where someone had made a heroic confession of

the baptismal faith, Hilary uses *confessio* and *professio* interchangeably: “non nisi ex praecepto suo salutem gentibus posse praestari quae secum infuso mulieris huius unguento sint consepultae, quia regeneratio non nisi commortuis in baptismi professione redhibetur” (29,2,14-18). The confession of the baptismal faith leads to salvation because it admits the confessor to the rebirth of baptism¹¹⁷.

In one passage, Hilary interweaves two meanings of *confessio*: baptismal profession of faith, and the heroic confession of a martyr:

Qui inuenit animam suam, perdet illam; et qui perdidit animam suam propter me, inueniet eam (Mt 10,39). Verbi scilicet potestate et ueterum diuisione uitiorum proficiet lucrum animae in mortem et damnum in salutem. Ergo suscipienda mors est in nouitate uitae et cruci Domini configenda sunt uitia et aduersus persequentes contemptu praesentium gloriosae confessionis retinenda libertas est et damnosum animae lucrum refugiendum, scientes cuiquam ius in animam non relinquere et detrimento breuis uitae fenus immortalitatis acquiri (10,26,3-10).

All who confess the faith and are baptized endure the loss of the old life of sin, while martyrs lose their physical life as well. Both groups, however, enjoy the same reward of *salus*. The construction *in salutem* defines *salus* as the object, end, and motive of *confessio*. *Salus* is defined in contrast to death and loss as life and profit¹¹⁸. The life gained, in contrast to the short life lost, is immortal: *fenus immortalitatis* = the “profit” or “interest” of immortality.¹¹⁹

In the remainder of this section, we wish to examine the content of the saving *confessio* as defined in CM. The confession that leads to *salus* acknowledges that Jesus is the Christ foretold by the Law¹²⁰. To acknowledge this means confessing something quite specific:

faith, or been put to death for it, or buried; cf. *ibid.*, 31-32.

¹¹⁷ Cf. 29,2,11-13. The *confessio* of baptismal faith can also be considered a kind of “praise”: cf. 21,5,6-12.

¹¹⁸ Speaking of martyrdom, Tertullian likewise defines *salus* by antithesis with loss: “Pati pro ueritate in salutem quae alii affectauerunt pro uanitate in perditionem” (*Mart.* 5,2). Quoted in BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*, 481.

¹¹⁹ We will comment further on the meaning of *salus* in this passage in section 4.1.3, page 87.

¹²⁰ Cf. 32,7,1-11.

Ille uero seruus cui duo talenta commissa (cf. Mt 25,14-30) sunt gentium populus est fide atque confessione et Filii iustificatus et Patris et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Deum atque hominem et Spiritu et carne confessus. Nam et corde fides et ore confessio est (cf. Rm 10,9-10). Haec ergo huic sunt duo talenta commissa (27,8,1-6).

In this text, it is obvious that *Deus* corresponds to *Spiritus* and *homo* to *caro*¹²¹. To confess that Jesus Christ is both God and man is to acknowledge both his eternal divinity (*Spiritu*) and his incarnation in true human flesh (*carne*). The gentiles will be saved and justified by confessing the common divinity of the Father and the Son, and the union of two natures in the incarnate Son, Jesus Christ. Hilary refers to Rm 10,9-10 to show that both internal assent to and external profession of this truth are needed.

Sometimes a confession of Christ's divinity is elicited by a miracle he works. For example, Christ cures a deaf-mute demoniac, who is a figure of the gentiles in need of *salus*. The crowd's reaction acknowledges that Jesus can do something that the Law cannot: "Cuius facti admirationem talis turbae est consecuta confessio: *Numquam sic apparuit in Israel, eum cui per legem nihil adferri opis potuerat Verbi uirtute saluari quodque laudes Dei homo mutus surdusque loqueretur*" (9,10,8-12).

The crowd's *confessio* implies a recognition of Christ's divine power, the *uirtus* of the eternal Word¹²². But it does not amount to an explicit confession of the Christian faith. It will be the Apostles, not the crowds, who first come to know the awesome mystery of the true faith. This is so because the Apostles will have the task of proclaiming Christ to the world¹²³. Hilary discusses this when commenting on Peter's confession

¹²¹ Here, *caro* has a purely anthropological significance, designating the body; cf. 16,9,7-13. It does not have any negative moral connotation, as is sometimes the case when the sinful tendencies of the flesh are opposed to the Christian moral life "in the Spirit"; cf. 14,15,8-11; LADARIA, *El Espiritu Santo*, 99-100. Neither does this text speak of the contrast between "carnal" and "spiritual" understandings of Scripture, as described in CM 27,9,1-7.

¹²² The word *uirtus* is one of Hilary's most frequent terms for designating Christ's divine power; this is discussed further in section 3.2.

¹²³ Two blind men cured by Christ (cf. Mt 9,27-30) are ordered to keep silent, "quia apostolorum erat proprium praedicare" (9,9,18).

of faith made in the district of Caesarea Philippi (Mt 16, 13-20; cf. CM 16,6-7). The scene opens with Jesus himself bringing up the question of who he is. This affords Hilary the opportunity to lay out the “true and inviolable faith”, which confesses the eternal consubstantiality of Father and Son, and professes that the Son is of same nature as Father because of his eternal birth¹²⁴. Those who do confess the common divinity of Father and Son will be taken up into heaven and glorified; the heretics who deny it will be left in a material state and subjected to everlasting punishment¹²⁵. They will not be “saved from” the material condition of the body.

The *perfecta confessio* is to proclaim faith in the incarnation of this eternal, begotten Word. This is what Jesus reminds his disciples in calling himself the “Son of Man”:

Hunc igitur adsumpsisse corpus et hominem factum esse perfecta confessio est, quia, sicut aeternitas naturae nostrae corpus accepit, ita cognoscendum est naturam corporis nostri aeternitatis adsumere posse uirtutem. Igitur quia summum in fide ista bonum est, a discipulis requirit quem se homines esse dicerent et adiecit: *hominis filium* (16,5,1-7; cf. Mt 16,13).

As we have seen, *uirtus* designates divine power; here, the word is specified by *aeternitatis*. Hilary is using *aeternitas* as a synonym for

¹²⁴ In processu sermonis atque operis absolutius discipulis cognitionem suam praestat et quamdam intelligendi se formam rationemque constituit. Est autem haec uera et inuolabilis fides, ex Deo aeternitatis, cui ob id quod semper filius fuerit semper et ius patris et nomen sit, ne, si non semper filius, non semper et pater sit, Deum filium profectum fuisse, cui sit ex aeternitate parentis aeternitas. Nasci autem eum uoluntas eius fuit cuius in uirtute ac potestate inerat ut nasceretur. Est ergo filius dei ex Deo Deus, unus in utroque; thetetam enim, quam deitatem Latini nuncupant, aeterni eius parentis, ex quo nascendo est profectus, accepit. Accepit autem hoc quod erat et natum est Verbum quod fuit semper in Patre, atque ita Filius et aeternus et natus est, quia non aliud in eo natum est quam aeternum est (16,4,2-17).

¹²⁵ Sed quia unitatem Patris et Filii et communem eorum thetetam, quam deitatem nuncupamus, catholicorum ueritas praedicabit et eandem rursus plurimis contumeliis haereticorum falsitas impugnabit, idcirco ex duobus in lecto alius relinquatur et alius adsumetur (cf. Lk 17,34; Mt 24,40), quia fidem confessionis utriusque in uno adsumendo et alio relinquendo diuini arbitrii iudicium comprobabit (26,5,19-28).

“divine nature”¹²⁶. Those who confess that the eternal Son of God assumed a body of the same nature as ours will receive a reward, the *summum bonum* of salvation¹²⁷. But only a confession of right faith will do: “Haec enim confessionis tenenda ratio est, ut sicut Dei filium, ita et filium hominis meminerimus, quia alterum sine altero nihil spei tribuit ad salutem” (16,5,7-10). This *salus*, the reward of the *perfecta confessio*, is here described as the participation of believers in “eternity” (*naturam corporis nostri aeternitatis adsumere posse uirtutem*)¹²⁸. The salvation of believers follows the pattern of the assumption of human nature by the Son in the incarnation¹²⁹. We will again take up the theme of *salus* and *aeternitas* in section 4.1.

To know that Christ is both God and man is a divine gift which makes its possessors blessed; to deny the incarnation is the work of the Devil. This is why Jesus calls Peter “Satan” when Peter protests the prophecy of the passion. Some deny the incarnation because of its “lowliness” and the sufferings of the passion, but this is dangerous¹³⁰.

Vt Dei munus est Christum in Spiritu Deum nosse, ita diaboli opus est Christum in homine nescire. Atque eiusdem periculi res est uel corpus negare sine Deo uel Deum negare sine corpore. Corpus autem carnis huius in aeternitate Spiritus Deo nullum est, uerum humanae salutis causa Christus in corpore est quod adsumpsit ex homine (16,9,7-13).

¹²⁶ Cf. 16,4; LADARIA, *Cristología*, 44; J.M. McDERMOTT, “Hilary of Poitiers: the Infinite Nature of God”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973), 177; BURNS, 73-74.

¹²⁷ Cf. 16,7,1: Et dignum plane confessio Petri praemium consecuta est [...].

¹²⁸ Cf. WILD, 59-60; DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 379.

¹²⁹ The same idea of an “exchange”, first found in Irenaeus, is also expressed by the two Latin writers who had the greatest influence on Hilary. “Quod homo est, esse Christus uoluit, ut et homo possit esse quod Christus est”; CYPRIAN, *Idol.* 11. “Haec est natiuitas noua, dum homo nascitur in Deo, ex quo in homine natus est Deus”; TERTULLIAN, *de carne Christi* 17,3; CCSL 2, 904. Hilary frequently employs the formula *Deus in homine*, especially in his commentary on the first Gospel. For a complete list, cf. LADARIA, *La Cristología*, 41, n. 20.

¹³⁰ Et quia scientium in Spiritu Christum beatitudo monstrata est, negatae rursus humilitatis et passionis eius periculum declaratur (16,8,4-7). Both Tertullian and Novatian spoke of the “danger” of deviating from Christological orthodoxy; cf. J. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 368-370. Novatian’s phrasing resembles that of Hilary: “Est enim periculum grande saluatorem generis humani [...] hominem tantummodo dicere” (*trin.* 11,57).

It was for the sake of human salvation that God became incarnate in Jesus Christ; accordingly, it is a danger to salvation not to confess the full truth of the saving incarnation. In this text, *in Spiritu/in aeternitate* designate the divine nature, while *in homine/in corpore* name the human nature. Both natures must be professed: “To know Christ in the Spirit is to recognize his divine condition. But it is equally necessary to recognize him *in homine*”¹³¹. Recalling the motive of the incarnation (*humanae salutis causa*) assists in keeping one’s *confessio* correct. Along with believing the Christian teaching that Jesus is *Deus in homine*, one must also believe in the resurrection, both that of Jesus and the resurrection of believers. The Jews who laughed at Jesus when he said the synagogue leader’s daughter was sleeping (cf. Mt 9,23-25; page 47) believed in neither: “Numquam enim illi Deum in homine crediderunt, quin potius praedicari resurrectionem ex mortuis riserunt” (9,8,3-5). For this reason they could not be saved: “quam saluari Dominus optasset, sed irridendo dicta gesta que eius resurrectionis non fuit digna consortio” (9,8,9-11; see also section 4.3.1).

Even the greatest commandment is interpreted as a call to recognize the common divinity of the Father and the Son.

Respondit itaque primum esse mandatum: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum in toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua* (Mt 22,37). [...] Deinde adiecit: *Hoc est magnum et primum mandatum. Secundum uero simile huic: Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum* (Mt 22,38-39). Sed mandatum sequens et simile significat idem esse et officii et meriti in utroque. Neque enim aut Dei sine Christo aut Christi sine Deo potest utilis esse dilectio. Alterum igitur sine altero nullum ad salutem nostram adfert profectum (23,6,1-20.7,1-7).

Here, *Christus* stands for the human nature and *Deus* for the divine nature. To love one nature without loving the other; that is, to profess one without professing the other, is not helpful to salvation. Indeed, the

¹³¹ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 46.

common divinity of Father and Son is the basis for the unity between love of God and love of neighbor¹³².

We have seen Hilary teaching that only a "perfect" confession of Christological faith leads to salvation. The opposite of the perfect confession is the unforgivable blasphemy against the "Spirit", which consists in denying the divinity of Christ. When Christ cures a blind and mute demoniac (cf. Mt 12,22ff), the cured man recognizes God in Christ and praises Christ's work as the work of God, making a *confessio* of Christ's divinity: "[...] qui erat habitatio daemonis et caecum et mutus Deo capax pararetur et Deum contueretur in Christo et Christi opera Dei confessione laudaret" (12,11,13-16). The Pharisees know that his cure is too great a prodigy to be the work of a mere man, but they will not confess that it was a work of God. So they blame it on the devil. Jesus calls the Pharisees' response the blasphemy against the Spirit, which consists in denying the divinity of Christ¹³³. He challenges them: *Aut facite arborem bonam et fructus eius bonos; aut facite arborem malam et fructus eius malos* (Mt 12,33; cf. CM 12,18); in other words, either to recognize or deny his divinity¹³⁴. The Pharisees' refusal to make a decision is a prophecy of the coming of Christian heretics, who will admire Christ's works but deny his divinity and consubstantiality with the Father. Had they spoken only against his humanity, they could have been forgiven, but they, too, will commit the unforgivable blasphemy against the Spirit¹³⁵.

It is clear that only an orthodox confession of faith in Christ's divinity, one that keeps us from falling into an intermediate position, leads to

¹³² In DT, Hilary will explain that the only reason to love Christ is that He came forth from the Father in an incorporeal birth: "[...] Christum ob id diligenter, quia exisset ex Deo" (DT 6,30,21-22).

¹³³ Cf. 12,17,2-18; LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 84,104; on Christ as "Spirit" and "flesh", cf. *ibid.*, 99-111; SIMONETTI, "Note sul commento a Matteo di Ilario di Poitiers", *Vetera Christianorum* 1 (1964), 58; for antecedents in Tertullian, cf. SC 254, 285, n. 9.

¹³⁴ Cf. L.F. LADARIA, "Adán y Cristo en los *Tractatus super Psalmos* de San Hilario de Poitiers", *Gregorianum* 73/1 (1992) 98.

¹³⁵ Cf. 12,18,1-30.

eternal life¹³⁶. Hilary concludes that we are either justified or condemned according to the correctness of our confession of Christological faith: “quia de confessionis nostrae uerbis aut condemnandi simus aut iustificandi talem futuri iudicii beneuolentiam recepturi, qualem de caelestis gloriae Domino sententiam tenuerimus (12,19,5-8).

2.6 *Forgiveness in salutem*

Four texts link the forgiveness of sins to obtaining *salus*. These same texts also highlight the relationship between *salus* and God’s mercy and patience¹³⁷. The Lord shows his love in sparing Israel, even though the Jewish people abandoned him and sacrificed to foreign gods. He sent the law, the prophets, and John the Baptist to call Israel back to faithfulness. Finally he sent his Son, followed by the Church. The Apostles’ authority to loose or bind is an expression of the Lord’s goodness in offering sinners a chance to return to him:

Ad terrorem autem metus maximi, quo in praesens omnes continerentur, immobile seueritatis apostolicae iudicium praemisit, ut quos in terris ligauerint id est peccatorum nodis innexos reliquerint et quos soluerunt, confessione uidelicet ueniae receperint in salutem, hi apostolicae condicione sententiae in caelis quoque aut soluti sint aut ligati (18,8,1-7; cf. Mt 18,18).

The *confessio ueniae* by which sinners are taken back *in salutem* is not identical with the saving *confessio* of right faith in Christ, yet it is not unrelated. When Hilary speaks of confession of sins leading to *salus*, the sin in question is a sin against faith. Above, the sin was idolatry; as the commentary continues, the sin is failure to believe in and accept Christ.

¹³⁶ Only a “good” confession obtains the eternal reward of God’s “goodness”: Atque ideo etiam in eo Dominus bonitatis suae munus extendit dicens aut malam arborem cum malis fructibus aut bonam cum bonis fructibus esse faciendam, quia in malae arboris opinione sub secreto indulgentiae Dei reposita sit uenia, quia omne peccatum sit remittendum, in bona confessione fructus aeternus sit, ne incidentes mediam inter utrumque sententiam, cum constituere malum non audeamus, confiteri bonum nolumus, indissolubili corruptae de se opinionis iudicio relinquamur (12,18,30-39). Cf. TP 1,14.

¹³⁷ Quod si contuens longam Dei patientiam, quae in profectum humanae salutis extenditur [...] (27,2,1-2). On divine and human patience, cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l’exil*, 399-400.

Those who need forgiveness most are the Lord's detractors and persecutors, the authors of his passion, who have earned punishment¹³⁸. In his goodness, the Lord forgives even these: "Sed Dominus per confessionem credentium huius criminis ueniam largitur, id est per baptismi munus obtrectatoribus ac persecutoribus gratiam salutis indulget" [...] (18,10,16-19). The confession of sins leads to a confession of faith preparatory to baptism, which gives the grace of salvation.

The leaders of the Jewish people despised the fact that sinners were saved by the justification that comes from faith and baptism¹³⁹. The eternal fate of the Synagogue is symbolized in the fig tree that is cursed for not bearing fruit (cf. Mt 21,18-22; see page 44).

Principes autem sacerdotum et Pharisaei uidentes haec et contemnentes, qui iustificati per fidem non erant, nec per paenitentiam regressi sunt ad salutem, atque ideo in perpetuum fructus eorum sub maledictione ea quae in arbore ficu praeformabatur arescet (21,15,10-14).

The sterility of the fig tree indicates both lack of faith and the eternal damnation consequent on that lack¹⁴⁰. The penance that might have led to the Synagogue's *salus* is, primarily, repentance for not having believed in Christ¹⁴¹. Between the passion and the second coming of Christ in glory, the Synagogue will be given a chance to repent and believe. Even in cursing the fig tree, the Lord is revealing his goodness, his will to save, by giving a warning of the dangers of unbelief: "Et in eo quidem bonitatis dominicae argumentum reperiemus" (21,6,12-13).

¹³⁸ Ergo uenia omnis ex eo est quo etiam ea quae in se sint peccata post reditum confessionis indulgeat. Soluenda quidem per Cain poena in septuplum constituta est, sed peccatum illud in hominem est; in Abel enim fratrem peccatum usque ad necem fuerat. Sed in Lamech supplicium usque ad septuagies et septies est constitutum et in eo, quantum existimamus, constituta in auctores dominicae passionis est poena (18,10,8-16).

¹³⁹ Atque ideo publicani et meretrices in regno caelorum erunt priores, quia Ioanni crediderint (cf. Mt 21,31-32) et in remissionem peccatorum baptizati in aduentum Christi confessio sint, curationum opera laudauerint, sacramentum passionis acceperint, uirtutem resurrectionis agnouerint (21,15,5-10).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. 21,2,23-24 (sterility); 21,6,10-20; 21,7,12-16 (damnation).

¹⁴¹ Cf. 21,11,1-8.

The Lord's lamentation over Jerusalem expresses both Israel's failure to accept him and his patient mercy. Despite the offense of unbelief, Israel could still be forgiven by believing and coming back "to salvation":

Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quae interficis prophetas et lapidas eos qui ad te missi sunt. Inter multa obiurgationum genera semper misericordiae suae protestatur adfectum, cuius hunc omnis querela est, quod regredi in salutem quam praestabat abnuerent. [...] Quod si creditum ei fuisset, non solum extra poenam necis prophetarum credentium fides foret, sed ipsam illam dominicae passionis sententiam esset uenia consecuta. At uero cum nec post resurrectionem creditum ei fuerit, etiam ultio ab his Abel et Zachariae sanguinis repositur (24,10,1-5.10-15).

In each of the four texts considered in this section, the meaning of *salus* is revealed negatively: deliverance from the punishment due someone who has rejected God. It is obtained by those who confess their sins and "come back" *in salutem* or *ad salutem*; that is, by those who give up false beliefs and believe in Christ, thus receiving the reward of faith¹⁴². The fourth text, as it continues, also defines a positive meaning of *salus*, the eschatological consequences of belief in Christ. This will be examined fully in section 4.

3. *Salus* and the public ministry of Christ

The afflictions taken away by Christ's miracles of healing and exorcism symbolize the spiritual problems of the *gentes*: religious ignorance, sin, and the inability to follow Christ. This last problem is portrayed as a kind of paralysis¹⁴³. By examining the effects of these miracles, we may better understand what it means to participate in the mysteries of salvation.

3.1 *The Lord's ingressus and salus*

It will be the Apostles' task to bring the Lord to the gentiles, through their preaching (see above, section 2.1). If the gentiles receive with faith

¹⁴² Cf. 21,7,12-16.

¹⁴³ Cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 328.

the word preached by the Church, the Lord will "enter" them with his saving power. Thus, the Apostles are said to make possible the Lord's *ingressus*.

Commenting on the Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem (cf. Mt 21,7-8), our doctor portrays the Apostles as successors to the OT prophets, whose teaching prepared for the Lord's saving entrance¹⁴⁴:

Illic enim prophetae uestimenta sua incedentis itineri substernunt; hanc enim uiam gentium uectararum Deum praedicauerunt [...]. Apostoli quoque excisarum arborum ramos post uestimenta substernunt [...]. Rami enim incedentem impedirent et implicitum iter facerent properantis ingressui, uerum explicatur omnis ratio prophetiae et futuri forma seruat. Igitur infructuosarum gentium rami, id est infidelium quondam gentium fructus per apostolos itineri Domini substernuntur et saluatoris iustificantur ingressu et per eos inceditur et gratissimum fit incedenti Deo ex ramis infecundae radice officium (21,2,13-15.18-19.20-28).

Succeeding the prophets (*post uestimenta*), the Apostles will evangelize the gentiles, who are ignorant of God (*infidelium quondam fructus*). *Fructus* stands for the results of faith in God¹⁴⁵. If the gentiles believe the Church's preaching of Christ¹⁴⁶, the power of God will enter them and they will be justified by this *ingressus* (*saluatoris iustificantur ingressu*).

The healing of the tribune's servant (cf. Mt 8,5,1-13) is a perfect image, both of how this *ingressus* is made possible, and what its effects are.

Succedit igitur in hoc puero [...] salus gentium. Iacebat enim puer dissolutus in domo humili, corruptibili et ingressu eius, cuius tamen egens erat, saluatoris indigna. Et tribunus scit puero uerbo posse sanari, quia salus gentium omnis ex fide est et in praeceptis Domini uita est uniuersorum. Igitur iacentes in saeculo et peccatorum morbis dissolutae gentes

¹⁴⁴ Cf. 21,2,1-13.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. 21,6; 21,15.

¹⁴⁶ Templum uero introiit (cf. Mt 21,12), id est ecclesiam traditae a se praedicationis ingressus est (21,4,1-2). [...] Et his dictis ciuitatem egressus reliquit eos atque in Bethania mansit (cf. Mt 21,17), uidelicet Synagogam deserens in Ecclesia gentium demoratur (21,5,12-15).

existimandae sunt [...]. Quarum salutis sacramentum in tribuni puero expletur, non tamen ingressuro domum Christo (7,4,1-12).

The Lord does not physically enter the house; i.e., the servant's body¹⁴⁷. Instead, the servant is healed by a word (*uerbo posse sanari*). The gentiles will be saved by believing in the Gospel teaching. If they believe, the Lord's saving power will enter their bodies, healing them of the sickness of sin¹⁴⁸. They are liable to sin because of their human condition; being in a corruptible body, they are exposed to the inherent sinfulness of the *saeculum*. Giving in to the influence of the world has paralyzed them, but the Lord's *ingressus* will take away the power of sin, enabling them to follow him. The meaning of *in saeculo* will be studied in more detail in section 3.1.2 (page 70).

“And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity” (Mt 9,35). The actions of Jesus described in the Gospel are a prophecy of the future, when *salus* will be given to the people of the gentiles¹⁴⁹: “Salute autem gentibus data, ciuitates omnes et castella omnia uirtute et ingressu Christi illuminantur et omnem infirmitatem ueterni languoris euadunt” (9,10,12-15)¹⁵⁰. The Lord's saving *ingressus* will happen when the Church gives knowledge of God to the gentiles: “Dei quippe cognitione superstitionum omnium uesania effugata, et uisus et auditus et sermo salutis inuehitur” (9,10,6-8).

3.1.1 *Removal of ignorance*

One of the inner meanings of healings worked by Jesus is the bestowal of religious knowledge and belief. Before the age of the apostolic

¹⁴⁷ Hilary employs the same image in describing the calling of Matthew: Ergo ex domo, id est ex peccatis corporis, Matthaem Dominus euocauit, in cuius mentem ingressus recumbit (9,2,3-4).

¹⁴⁸ Similarly, the Lord is said to enter Peter's “house”, or body, to cure him of his infidelity and the domination of sin: “Ergo ingressu Domini in Petri domum, id est in corpore, curatur infidelitas peccatorum calore exaestuans et uitiorum aegru dominatu” (7,6,5-7).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. 9,10,1-2.

¹⁵⁰ For further discussion of the effects of *salus* as described in this passage, see section 3.1.1.

preaching, the gentiles' hearts were like stone, impervious to the fear of God¹⁵¹. Ignorance of God and immorality characterize the gentiles. That is why the disciples sent on a missionary journey were told to avoid the gentiles (cf. Mt 10,5): "Abstinere se a uis gentium admonentur, non quod non etiam ad salutem gentium mitterentur, sed ut opere et uita gentilis ignorantiae abstinerent" (10,3,1-3). The gentiles, submerged in the world, were trapped by their total ignorance of God, while the Jews at least had the way of the Law given to them¹⁵². This fundamental religious ignorance must be overcome before salvation can be given; this is seen in the cure of the deaf and mute demoniac (Mt 9,32-33).

Quin etiam post haec in muto et surdo et daemoniaco gentium plebs indiga totius salutis offertur. Omnibus enim undique malis circumsessa totis corporis uitis implicabatur. Et in eo rerum ordo seruatus est. Nam daemon prius eicitur, et tum reliqua corporis officia succedunt: Dei quippe cognitione superstitionum omnium uesania effugata, et uisus et auditus et sermo salutis inuehitur (9,10,1-8).

The demoniac is an image of the gentiles who need "total" salvation (*totius salutis*); i.e., they need to be freed from all evils, and from all the sins of the body. Before the physical ability to hear and speak is restored, the demon must be driven out. The spiritual meaning of this is that the knowledge of God drives out superstitions, making possible the reception of the saving message.

After this cure, Jesus continues to visit "all the towns and villages, teaching [...] and healing every disease and every infirmity (Mt 9,35)". This is a prophecy of the future, when the gentiles will receive the Gospel preaching: "Salute autem gentibus data, ciuitates omnes et castella omnia uirtute et ingressu Christi illuminantur et omnem infirmitatem ueterni languoris euadunt" (9,10,12-15). The gentiles who believe will receive *salus*; this means that they will be enlightened by the knowledge of God, and escape the weakness of their ancient sickness (*ueterni languoris*); in

¹⁵¹ Cf. 33,8,16-21.

¹⁵² Igitur gentes quod agunt nesciunt et in uitae suae opere detentae caeci laboris ignorantia continentur. Iudaeis autem scientiae iter in lege praestatum est (18,2,16-18). On "ignorance" and "the world" in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hilary, cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 301.

other words, their ignorance of God¹⁵³. This enlightenment will be brought about by Christ's divine power (*uirtute*).

The cure of a blind and deaf demoniac (cf. Mt 12,22ff.) is another figure of the *salus gentium*. "Oportebat igitur ut [...] in unius huius forma gentium salus fieret, ut qui erat habitatio daemonis et caecus et mutus Deo capax pararetur et Deum contueretur in Christo et Christi opera Dei confessione laudaret" (12,11,12-16). Again, the order in which the man's ills are healed is significant. First, he must be freed from the demon; then, physical cures followed, so that the man "spoke and saw" (cf. Mt 12,22). Each of the three parts of the miracle represents one aspect of the *salus gentium*. The man had been a dwelling place of the devil; now Christ makes him *Deo capax*, a fit dwelling place for God. He had been blind, religiously ignorant, not knowing Christ; now he sees, recognizing God in Christ. He had been mute because he did not know the true God; now he can speak a confession of faith in God, praising the works Christ wrought by his divine power.

The phrase *Deo capax*, in the text above, does not refer to the indwelling of the Blessed Trinity in the individual believer, but rather speaks of the gentiles as a people. They were like a deserted place, not in the sense of being devoid of human inhabitation, but of the knowledge of God. When the time of the Law comes to an end, the Word of God will leave the People of the Law and, through the preaching of the Apostles, will penetrate the hearts of the gentiles, heretofore godless¹⁵⁴.

The crowds bring to the Lord persons suffering from every kind of disease (cf. Mt 15,30-31) and he cures them. Their cure is an image of the *salus gentium*, which will come about when believers bring

¹⁵³ Understood in relation to the "ancient unbelief" of the Jews; cf. 17,6,6; 11,8,3.

¹⁵⁴ Ergo Dei Verbum, lege finita, nauem conscendens Ecclesiam adit et in desertum concedit, relicta quippe conuersatione Israel, in uacua diuinae cognitionis pectora transiturus. Turba haec audiens Dominum de ciuitate pedes sequitur in desertum, de Synagoga uidelicet ad Ecclesiam concedit. Quam uidens misertus est et omnem languorem eius infirmitatemque curat, obsessas scilicet mentes et corpora infidelitatis ueterno ad intelligentiam nouae praedicationis emundat (14,9,1-9; cf. 15,4,4-13; 10,23; Mt 14,13-15).

unbelievers to Christ¹⁵⁵. The sickness of the gentiles is unbelief, and once they are cured, they can know God, confess him, praise him, and follow him¹⁵⁶. They spend three days in the desert with Christ, pre-figuring the three-day fast made by catechumens prior to their baptism¹⁵⁷.

3.1.2 *Salvation from the saeculum*

The paralyzed servant of the tribune, lying on his bed (cf. Mt 8,5ff), is an image of the gentiles in need of salvation. They are described as “iacentes in saeculo et peccatorum morbis dissolutae” (7,4,7-8).

Succedit igitur in hoc puero [...] salus gentium. Iacebat enim puer dissolutus in domo humili, corruptibili et ingressu eius, cuius tamen egens erat, saluatoris indigna. Et tribunus scit puerum uerbo posse sanari, quia salus gentium omnis ex fide est et in praeceptis Domini uita est uniuersorum. Igitur iacentes in saeculo et peccatorum morbis dissolutae gentes existimandae sunt, omnibus undique artibus fluidis et ad consistendi officium ingrediendique corruptis. Quarum salutis sacramentum in tribuni puero expletur, non tamen ingressuro domum Christo (7,4,1-12).

The servant was healed even though Christ did not enter the house where he lay; he is a *sacramentum* or image of the future *salus gentium*¹⁵⁸. After the ascension, the Lord’s teaching (*praeceptis*) will be proclaimed to the gentiles. If they receive this “word” with faith, the saving power of Christ will heal them, even though they will not see or touch him (*uerbo posse sanari*). The servant is lying paralyzed in a house (*in domo*); i.e., his body. The gentiles are lying *in saeculo*, but this seems

¹⁵⁵ This is likewise the meaning of the Canaanite woman begging a cure for her daughter (cf. Mt 15,22-28). The woman represents those who already believe; she looks forward to the salvation of the gentiles who will come to believe and be delivered from the domination of evil spirits (cf. 15,5,3-6).

¹⁵⁶ continuo in monte obsessi uario genere morborum a turbis Domino offeruntur, id est a credentibus infideles aegrotique ut adorent et procidant instruuntur, quibusque salus redditur atque ad sentiendum, contuendum, laudandum, comitandumque Deum omnia et mentis et corporis ministeria reformantur (15,5,9-14). [...] consequentis populi curationem concursus aegrotarum gentium esse tradidimus (15,6,6-7).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. 15,8; also SC258, 44, n. 15.

¹⁵⁸ We have already noted that *sacramentum* can mean a sign of a future reality; see page 35.

to mean *on* the world, not *in* the world. This will become clear once a comparison is made to the crowds of five thousand and four thousand fed by Jesus (cf. Mt 14,14-21; 15,32-38). The crowd of five thousand represents Jews who will become Christians¹⁵⁹. They recline, not directly on the ground, but on the grass. “Accumbere [...] supra fenum populus iubetur non iam in terra iacens, sed lege suffultus et tamquam terrae feno fructibus operis sui unusquisque substernitur” (14,11,4-7). Before converting to Christianity, they had been kept alive by the nourishment of the Law “In operibus enim legis tamquam ex pane erat uita” (14,10,16-16-17). The grass between their bodies and the earth symbolizes the Law, or rather their obedience to it, which formed as it were an insulating layer, protecting them from the earth. The harmful influence of the earth is brought out in the account of the feeding of four thousand. This crowd represents the gentiles who will come into the Church from the four parts of the world¹⁶⁰. Since they did not have the advantage of knowing God’s Law, they are not insulated from the earth:

superior turba substernitur, haec accumbit in terra. [...Gentes] in terram recumbunt; nullis enim legis operibus fuerant ante substratae, sed peccatorum et corporum suorum origini inhaerentes ad donum Spiritus septiformis uocantur (15,7,4-5; 15,10,1-3.4-8).

The earth (*terra*) is the common origin of the body and sin. Similarly, the world (*saeculum*) is infested with sin and vices, so that the gentiles are corrupted by contact with it; they are necessarily paralyzed by sin: “iacentes in saeculo”¹⁶¹. To receive *salus* is to be liberated from the sinful influence of one’s earthly origin and bodily condition, liberated from the

¹⁵⁹ Cf. 14,11,16-19; Acts 4,4.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. 15,10,14-16.

¹⁶¹ Igitur iacentes in saeculo et peccatorum morbis dissolutae gentes existimandae sunt, omnibus undique artibus fluidis et ad consistendi officium ingrediendique corruptis (7,4,7-10; cf. Mt 8,9). In another passage, “paralysis” is similarly attributed to an absence of the Christian faith: Turbarum Dominus miseretur uexatarum et iacentium, tamquam gregis sine pastore dispersi [...] Immundi uidelicet spiritus dominante uiolentia uexatam et sub legis onere aegrotam plebem Dominus miseratur, quia nullus adhuc his pastor esset custodiam sancti Spiritus redditurus (10,1,5-6.10,2,3-6).

saeculum, cured of the paralysis of sin¹⁶². The body is seen as heavy¹⁶³, susceptible to the downward pull of the earth and the *saeculum*. The natural phenomenon of gravity has a moral meaning. Accordingly, salvation will be portrayed as an upward motion or flying; the eschatological implications of this *salus* will be considered in section 4.4.

3.1.3 *Salus enables confession of faith and sequela Christi*

The usual reaction when Christ works a miracle is to praise God. For Hilary, this is a recognition of Christ's divinity. Usually the praise is spoken by witnesses to the healing, but, in some cases, the person healed was previously unable to praise God, and the reception of *salus* enables him to do so.

The cure of the blind and deaf demoniac (cf. Mt 12,22) is a type of the *salus gentium*. Once unable to speak, now he is enabled to praise the works of God in a confession of faith¹⁶⁴. In the cure of the maimed, the blind, the dumb, and the lame (cf. Mt 15,29-31), Hilary sees another prefiguration of the gentiles to whom *salus* will be given, enabling them to perceive, see, praise, and follow God¹⁶⁵. These three examples reveal an additional meaning of the *salus gentium*. The gentiles, formerly ignorant of God, now both know him and profess that knowledge by praising him. They are able to do so, not merely because a physical

¹⁶² Tertullian expresses the notion of the *salus gentium* from the *saeculum* by the verb *liberare*, which for him is a generic term for the notion of salvation: "liberantur de saeculo nationes, per aquam scilicet, et diabolum dominatorem pristinum in aqua oppressum derelinquunt" (*Bapt.* 9,1,7). Cited in R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*, 503-504; cf. 501.

¹⁶³ On the "heaviness" of the body, see footnote 102.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. 12,11,12-16.

¹⁶⁵ Nam post praefiguratam in Chananaeae filia gentium plebem continuo in monte obsessi vario genere morborum a turbis Domino offeruntur, id est a credentibus infideles aegrotique ut adorent et procidant instruuntur, quibusque salus redditur atque ad sentiendum, contuendum, laudandum comitandumque Deum omnia et mentis et corporis ministeria reformantur (15,5,7-14).

limitation has been taken away, but because their spiritual faculties have been restored, the domination of unclean spirits having been lifted¹⁶⁶.

3.1.4 *The Canaanite woman's daughter revisited*

We have seen that the Canaanite woman's possessed daughter was cured thanks to her mother's faith. The *salus* given to the daughter foretells the *salus* to be given to all who will believe in Christ. Her cure is described as a returning of health – “Post quae fidem eius Dominus collaudat et in tempore ipso puellae sanitas reddita est” (15,2,16-17) – but since her sickness was spiritual the *sanitas* in question is more than physical health. It is a liberation from the domination of unclean spirits¹⁶⁷. Further clarification of the effects of this *salus* can be found in the preface to Hilary's so-called *Opus Historicum*, written, like CM, before the exile¹⁶⁸:

Igitur Deus iustitiae praemiis muneratur creditus ab ignorante, quod Deus sit. Atque ob id Abraham fides prima iustificat et Cananae filiam silentio dominum temtantis matris fides¹⁶⁹ saluat et credentibus in nomine eius potestas in Iohanne tribuitur, ut ex Deo nati sint, magnum est fidei meritum et perfecta credentibus Deo beatitudo, per quam genitis in corpore, in iniquitate, in aegritudine et iustitia et sanitas et ortus ex Deo est (par. 2, ed. Smulders 32).

Salvation, the reward of faith, is equated with justification. The anthropological consequences of this are clearly seen in a succession of opposites. In this world, men are born into sin and sickness; faith gives a new birth ex *Deo* into justice and health. To say that faith saves (*fides saluat*) implies that the power of God in Christ Jesus (*in nomine eius*

¹⁶⁶ [Dominus] quin etiam de gentium congregatione confidat, quo in tempora ita credentes mox ut puella ab omni dominatu immundorum spirituum liberabuntur (15,5,4-6).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. 15,5,1-6.

¹⁶⁸ Citations are taken from P. SMULDERS, *Hilary of Poitiers' Preface to his Opus Historicum. Translation and Commentary*, Leiden, 1995. For the dating of the *Opus Historicum*, cf. 17-22.

¹⁶⁹ Other possible readings: “silentio domini temtatae matris fides” or “silentio domini temtata matris fides”. Cf. *ibid.*, 40-41.

potestas) frees man, not only from sin and sickness, but from all the innate limitations of the earthly body (*in corpore*). The eschatological effects of this will be explored in section 4.

3.2 *Salus and Christ's divinity*

By working miracles that brought health to the body, Jesus showed that his divine power could bring health to the soul as well¹⁷⁰. This divine power, evidenced in physical healings during the time of his incarnate presence, is the same power that will effect salvation through faith in the time after the ascension. Hilary calls this divine power *uirtus* or *potestas*. For example, Jesus touches a leper, who is cleansed of his sickness by the power of the Word: "purgatur Verbi potestate [...] Verbi uirtute curatur et ut haec salus non offeretur potius quam quaeretur" [...] ¹⁷¹. He cures the deaf-mute demoniac, a figure of the gentiles, who is said to have been "saved" by the power of the Word: "Verbi uirtute saluari"¹⁷². Other passages that do not treat of miracles offer further evidence. The Apostles, still clinging to the Law and not understanding the Gospel, ask, "Then who can be saved"?¹⁷³. In fact, they are not asking *who* can be saved, but wondering *how* anyone can be saved, for they think that no

¹⁷⁰ Nam ubi adferre uoluit procuratae per se salutis exemplum, uirtutis suae potestatem in humanis corporibus exercuit spem futurorum et animae salutem curis praesentium aegritudinem commendans (21,6,12-16).

¹⁷¹ Adest leprosus, emundari se roget, purgatur Verbi potestate cum tactu, iubetur silere, sed tamen ostendere se sacerdoti et munus quod Moyses in testimonium fieri praecepit offerre. [...] Contactu corporis uisitatur, Verbi uirtute curatur et ut salus haec non offerretur potius quam quaeretur, silentium imperatur et ostendere se sacerdotibus iubetur, ut praenuntiat in lege factis et operibus cernatur et in quo lex infirmabatur, in eo Verbi uirtus intelligeretur praemium quoque receptae salutis qui purgatus est Deo offerat [...] (7,2,1-4; 8-14).

¹⁷² Cuius facti admirationem talis turbae est consecuta confessio: *Numquam sic apparuit in Israel*, eum qui per legem nihil adferri opis potuerat Verbi uirtute saluari quodque laudes Dei homo mutus surdusque loqueretur. Salute autem gentibus data, ciuitates omnes et castella omnia uirtute et ingressu Christi illuminantur et omnem infirmitatem ueterni languoris euadunt (9,10,8-15).

¹⁷³ Auditis itaque istis, discipuli admirantur et metuunt dicentes neminem posse saluari. Dominus respondit hoc impossibile esse apud homines, possibile apud Deo (20,1,1-3).

one can be saved except by performing the works of the Law. And indeed, before the coming of Christ, this would have been the only possible way of salvation¹⁷⁴. Since Christ, however, is not a mere man, but divine as well, a new possibility now exists; namely, that those who believe can be saved by the power of God in Christ. “Quid autem Dei uirtuti tam possibile est quam ut per fidem saluet” [...]? (20,3,13-14).

There is a certain ambiguity in Hilary’s use of *Verbi uirtus* and *Verbi potestas* when describing miracles. Because the miracles described in the Gospel are figures of the *salus gentium* to come, the “Word” can mean either the Second Person of the Trinity or the saving word that the Apostles will preach to the nations¹⁷⁵. It is to the role of the Apostles in offering *salus* to others that we now turn our attention.

3.2.1 *Christ’s saving power given to the Apostles*

Sometimes a miracle of healing worked by Christ is attributed to the “power of the Holy Spirit”, which power is credited with giving *salus*. In Hilary’s vocabulary, the word *spiritus* often designates the divinity of Christ. Our author uses this terminology to speak of the spiritual divine nature of the Son, both in speaking of his eternal divinity, and when treating of the divine nature of Jesus Christ, as opposed to his human nature or *caro*¹⁷⁶. When considering the mystery of human salvation, Hilary speaks of the Spirit acting in and through the humanity of the Savior. “The presence in Jesus of divinity as Spirit is not something static, seen as a simple metaphysical component, which exists from the

¹⁷⁴ Quomodo igitur fiunt tristes et quomodo metuunt dicentes saluum esse neminem posse? (20,2,6-7) [...] Apostoli enim spiritualiter audientes neminem ex lege posse saluari, cum ipsi etiam nunc in lege essent; nam uehemens eos amor legis fauorque detinuit. Hi igitur, nondum penitus euangelici mysterii ueritate comperta, metuunt neminem saluum esse posse sine lege, quia omnem salutem etiam tunc in lege constituent. [...] Quid enim Iudaeo tam sine effectu uidetur, ut ab homine magis salutem expectet quam ex lege, quam ut in crucis scandalo legislatio et testamentum et adoptio et haereditas negligatur? Quid autem Dei uirtuti tam possibile est quam ut per fidem saluet, ut per aquam regeneret, ut per crucem uincat, ut per euangelia adoptet, ut per resurrectionem ex morte uiuificet (20,3,1-6; 9-16)?

¹⁷⁵ Cf. LADARIA, *La Cristologia*, 138.

¹⁷⁶ On the “Spirit” in Jesus, cf. LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 83-143; on the term in CM see also *id.*, *La cristologia*, 40-46.

beginning and remains unchanged. In the man Jesus, the Spirit acts in ever different ways and with always-renewed energy"¹⁷⁷. As used by the Bishop of Poitiers, the language of *Geistchristologie* reveals a concept of a single subject in Christ. As we have seen (cf. section 1.3.1), the body assumed by Christ in the incarnation was at the service of divinity (*in famulatum Spiritus*) for carrying out the mystery of our salvation¹⁷⁸.

We have also seen passages where the divinity of Christ, when bestowing *salus*, is called *uirtus* or *potestas*. The Apostles, who came to share Christ's "hunger" for human salvation (see page 42), will be given this same saving power, enabling them to preach, to cure, and to drive out demons:

Tota deinde in apostolos potestas uirtutis dominicae transfertur, et qui in Adam in imaginem et similitudinem Dei erant figurati, nunc perfectam Christi imaginem et similitudinem sortiuntur, nihil a Domini sui uirtutibus differentes. [...] Praedicent regnum caelorum propinquare, imaginem scilicet et similitudinem Dei nunc in consortium ueritatis adsumi, ut sancti omnes, qui caeli nuncupati sunt, Domino conregnent; infirmos curent, mortuos suscitant, leprosos emudent, daemones eiciant; quidquid malorum Adae corpori Satanae instinctus intulerat, hoc rursus ipsi de communionem dominicae potestatis emudent (10,4,1-13).

The Apostles do not receive the Lord's divinity, but the power of his divinity (*potestas uirtutis*), so that they resemble Christ in what he can accomplish. In this sense, they are said to be conformed to Christ, the heavenly Adam¹⁷⁹. Because they share in the Lord's power, they can purify the "body of Adam"; i.e., the *earthly* body of humanity, from all the evils it has suffered at Satan's instigation. In other words, they will continue Christ's work of salvation. This Gospel episode is a prophecy of the time after the Lord's resurrection, when the Apostles will be a

¹⁷⁷ LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 111.

¹⁷⁸ Erat in Iesus Christo homo totus atque ideo in famulatum Spiritus corpus adsumptum omne in se sacramentum nostrae salutis expleuit (2,5,2-5).

¹⁷⁹ The terminology of "image and likeness" recalls the comparison between the first earthly Adam and the second heavenly Adam in 1 Cor 15,45ff. The Apostles' conformation to the "reality" of Christ is described as a *consortium ueritatis*. On *consortium* as a reference to incorporation to Christ cf. 4,12,8; TP 91,9; LADARIA, *Los Apóstoles*", 774.

quasi-physical extension of the Savior in space and time. During the time of the Lord's incarnate presence on earth, the Spirit is "localized" in his humanity; after the Apostles receive the "gift of the Holy Spirit", they can make Jesus and his saving power present to all who believe¹⁸⁰.

Hilary describes Christ's divine power radiating from his body as a crowd of sick persons approaches in search of healing (cf. Mt 14,34-35). The sick try to touch the fringe of Christ's garment in order to be made well by faith¹⁸¹.

Finitis enim legis temporibus et ex Israel quinque millibus uirorum intra Ecclesiam collocatis, iam credentium populus occurrit iam ipse ex lege per fidem saluus reliquos ex suis infirmos aegrotosque offerens Domino, oblatique fimbrias uestimentorum contingere optabant sani per fidem futuri. Sed ut ex ueste tota fimbriae, ita ex Domino nostro Iesu Christo sancti Spiritus uirtus exit; quae apostolis data, ipsis quoque tamquam ex eodem corpore exeuntibus, salutem his qui contingere cupiunt subministrat (14,19,6-15).

As fringes extend from a garment, so does the power of divinity (*sancti Spiritus uirtus*) fan out from Christ's body. Here, "body" means the Church, the body of the risen Christ¹⁸². There is no discontinuity between Christ's own eternal divinity, and the saving power of that divinity at work in the ministry of the Apostles, who have received the "gift of the Holy Spirit" (*sancti Spiritus uirtus [...] apostolis data*). Through their ministry of evangelization, Christ furnishes salvation (*salutem [...] subministrat*) to believers (*per fidem*). The Apostles can announce the Gospel to all the nations, only because they are filled with the Spirit¹⁸³.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. LADARIA, "Los Apóstoles", 773-775; TP 56,6.

¹⁸¹ Cf. PEÑAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, 115.

¹⁸² Cf. LADARIA, "Los Apóstoles", 785. Hilary distinguishes 3 "bodies" of Christ: (1) the natural body, which the Son of God assumed in the incarnation, (2) the sacramental Body, which Christ gives us in the Eucharist, (3) the glorified Body. In his incarnation, Jesus is the beginning of the Church: "Initium itaque ecclesiae in Bethlem auditur; esse enim coepit a Christo" (TP 131,13,12-13). Cf. M. Figura, *Das Kirchenverständnis des Hilarius von Poitiers* (Freiburger theol. Studien 127), Freiburg 1984, 51.

¹⁸³ Cf. LADARIA, "Los Apóstoles", 785.

3.2.2 *The "gift" of the Holy Spirit*

When Christ cures the woman with the hemorrhage, who represents publicans and sinners who will be saved by faith, the "gift of the Holy Spirit" is said to emanate from his body as a fringe from a garment. Hilary's commentary may be seen to answer an implicit question: if Christ is God incarnate, does this mean that God's power can operate only where and when Christ is physically present?

in mulieris specie salus publicanis et peccatoribus redditur. Haec itaque tactu uestis Domini sanam se [...] futuram esse confidit, [...] fimbriam uestis per fidem festinat adtingere, donum uidelicet Spiritus sancti de Christi corpore modo fimbriae exeuntis cum apostolis conuersata contingere, fitque mox sana. Est autem in simplici intelligentia magna uirtutis dominicae admiratio, cum potestas intra corpus manens rebus caducis efficientiam adderet sanitatis et usque in uestium fimbrias operatio diuina procederet (9,6,3-6.8-11).

At first glance, the *donum* [...] *Spiritus sancti* radiating out from the Christ's body seems to be identical with Christ's *potestas*, *operatio diuina*, and *uirtus*¹⁸⁴. But when we recall the future orientation of Hilary's typological exegesis, we realize that it is distinct. In the time of Christ's incarnate presence, the woman is restored to health (*sana*), receiving the benefits of Christ's divine power by a touch (*tactu*). After his ascension, sinners will receive health (*sanitas*) through faith (*per fidem*), which puts them in touch with the saving power of God. Here, the "gift of the Holy Spirit" is the correlative of faith¹⁸⁵. Like the Apostles, the woman has come to believe in Christ (*cum apostolis conuersata*).

In the passages we have examined, the word *Spiritus* by itself denotes Christ's divinity, while *donum Spiritus* or *munus Spiritus* signals the presence of the third Person of the Trinity. The divine *uirtus* of Christ, his "Spirit", when it emanates from Christ to produce a salvific effect in

¹⁸⁴ Cf. LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 144.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 146. The Magi represent the Apostles who will see the "gift of the Holy Spirit" given to believing gentiles after the resurrection: Admoniti per uisum, sancti scilicet Spiritus donum in gentibus contemplantes ad eas transferunt Christum Iudaeae missum, sed uitam et salutem gentium nuncupatum (2,1,12-20).

human beings, is the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Blessed Trinity¹⁸⁶.

In another passage, the distinction is blurred when Hilary simply states: “*Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est*” (15,10,4-5). The crowd following the Lord in search of physical healing (cf. Mt 15,29-39) is a type of the gathering of the gentiles into the Church where they will receive *salus*. Christ multiplies five loaves and two fishes to feed the four thousand, and seven baskets of food are left over. Hilary explains that the gentiles will receive *salus*, not from the Law and prophets, but from the “grace of the Spirit”:

Panem igitur septem offeruntur. Nulla enim ex lege et prophetis gentibus salus sumitur, sed per gratiam Spiritus uiuunt, cuius septiforme, ut per Esaiam traditur, munus est; ergo Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est (15,10,1-5).

Since the word *Spiritus* occurs by itself in the last line, it might appear to mean the divinity of Christ. But the words *gratia*, *munus*, and *per fidem* show that something else is meant. The Gospel events are a prophecy of the future, when salvation will come from faith rather than from performing the works of the Law. In describing this time, Hilary derives his terminology both from the Pauline vocabulary of justification by faith¹⁸⁷ and from the primitive apostolic preaching as described in the Acts of the Apostles, which book he indirectly cites¹⁸⁸. The conversion of the gentiles, recounted in Acts, is the fulfillment of what was prophesied by the miracles of the Gospel. While Paul tends to speak how one is justified¹⁸⁹, the leading question in Acts is, “What must I do to be saved”? This is seen in Peter’s first preaching after he has received the

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 148-149.

¹⁸⁷ “*Gratia enim estis saluati per fidem; et hoc non ex uobis, Dei donum est*” [...] (Eph 2,8, *Vulg.*).

¹⁸⁸ He mentions Acts explicitly when describing the earlier miracle of the feeding of the five thousand (cf. Mk 14,15-21): “*Nam sicut libro Praxeas continentur, ex Israel populi infinitate uirorum quinque millia crediderunt*” (14,11,17-19; cf. Acts 4,4. On the connection between Acts and Hilary’s theology of the *salus gentium*, see LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 166-175.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Rm 1,16; Rm 3,1—5,2; 2 Cor 3,9; Gal 3; Gal 5,5. *Salus* and *iustitia* go together in Rm 10,1-10.

Holy Spirit. Speaking to Jews from every nation, the Apostle says, "On that day, whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts 2,21; cf. Joel 2,32). When his audience asks, "what shall we do"? Peter answers, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2,37-38). Later, the Spirit, called the "gift of God", is bestowed through the laying on of hands (cf. Acts 8,14-20).

Gentiles are just as eligible as Jews to receive this gift. The Jewish Christians are amazed when the "grace of the Holy Spirit" is poured out upon a group of gentiles who receive the word of God spoken by the Apostles (cf. Acts 10,45-11,1). When a group of gentiles hears the message of salvation preached by Peter, God gives the "same gift" to them that he gave to Jews who believed in the Lord Jesus (cf. Acts 11,13-17). By believing the "word of salvation" (cf. Acts 13,26), the gentiles receive forgiveness of sins, and are justified from everything from which the Law could not justify them (cf. Acts 13,38-39). All this is the necessary background for understanding Hilary's statement, "Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est". By hearing and believing the message of salvation through faith in Christ, the gentiles receive the gift of the Spirit¹⁹⁰. This is a sign that they are destined for eternal life: "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed" (Acts 13,48). When Hilary says "Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est", *Spiritus* refers to divine power, but not the divine power (*uirtus, potestas*) of Christ, which cannot be communicated to others as such¹⁹¹. It is the "gift of God" that is meant, the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. This gift is obtained by faith, which is also a gift of God: "munus Dei est Christum in Spiritu Deum nosse" (16,9,7-8). Jesus gives the gift of the Spirit only to those who believe that he is God, that he has the divine power to save¹⁹².

¹⁹⁰ Paul expresses the same idea; e.g., "Did you receive the Spirit by works of the Law, or by hearing with faith"? (Gal 3,2).

¹⁹¹ "En todos los casos se trata de lo mismo: por la fe se obtiene la actuación salvífica de Cristo, que dimana de su 'uirtus', de su divinidad. El Espíritu Santo sería según esto el don salvífico por excelencia, que dimana también de la fuerza infinita de la divinidad de Cristo, pero que no se identifica simplemente con ella ya que la 'uirtus divina' de Jesús, su divinidad, es algo que, como tal, no puede comunicarse." LADARIA, *op. cit.*, 146, n. 140.

¹⁹² Cf. LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 193.

A comparison of the feeding of the four thousand in the desert to Christ's hunger after his forty days in the desert will illuminate the relation between his *Spiritus* and the gift of the Spirit through the ministry of the Apostles. During the forty-day fast, Christ is not hungry because his humanity is sustained by his divine power, called *uirtus* (3,2,4-6) and *Spiritus* (3,3,13). After forty days, he is hungry, not for the bread of men, but for the *salus* of men¹⁹³. At the end of the forty days, his humanity is deserted by his divine power and feels hunger¹⁹⁴, but this hunger is for something greater than human food. The subject of the hunger is the single subject in Christ: "Dominus [...] esuriens" (3,3,10-11). His hunger expresses both the divine desire to save and man's need for a higher kind of food:

Sed Dominus non panem potius quam salutem hominum esuriens ait: *Non in pane solo uiuet homo* (Mt 4,4), quia ipse non solum homo, sed et Deus, licet usque in temptationis diem cibo hominis abstineret, Dei tamen Spiritu alebatur, ostendens non in pane hoc solitario, sed in Verbo Dei (cf. Mt 4,4b; Deut 8,3) alimoniam aeternitatis esse sperandam (3,3,10-15).

Like Christ, the crowd is hungry after a fast. The Lord gives them what sustained his humanity in the desert: *Spiritus*. But for them it is a gift (*gratia, munus*): "per gratiam Spiritus, cuius septiforme [...] munus est" (15,10,3-4). The 4000 men who are fed represent the thousands of believers who will come from the four directions of the compass. The earlier feeding of five thousand in the desert (cf. 14,9-11; Mt 14,15-21), which represents the salvation of believers coming from the Law, has a similar meaning (even though *salus* is not mentioned). It gives more detail on the future role of the Apostles in distributing the gift of salvation. The Apostles are not yet converted. They protest that they have only five loaves and two fishes; i.e., the only spiritual food they know of is the five books of the law (loaves) and the preaching of John the Baptist and the prophets (fishes). They thought that life came from the works of the Law, from the preaching of the prophets, and from John's baptism (14,10,11-18). They did not know that a greater food was to come: the preaching of the Gospels, which would give eternal life. The Apostles

¹⁹³ Cf. 3,2,1; 3,3,10-11.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. 3,2,4-6.

feed the huge crowd with the five loaves and two fishes to show that they would be the ministers of the Gospel teaching, which would follow upon the Law and prophets but be more powerful¹⁹⁵. They will give *salus* by distributing this new food, the Word of God, which gives man eternal life. The *salus* they receive by faith is understood as the fulfillment of Christ's hunger in the desert: "Dei tamen Spiritu alebatur, ostendens non in pane hoc solitario, sed in Verbo Dei (cf. Mt 4,4b; Deut 8,3) alimoniam aeternitatis esse sperandam" (3,3,13-15). Christ's humanity was nourished by his Spiritus; the gentiles who receive the word of God in faith will be nourished by the gift of the Spirit. This gift of divine power will save them: *Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est* (15,10,4-5). The saving message preached by the Church is the food of eternal life, and the *salus gentium* is salvation unto life eternal.

Commenting on the Gospel story of the little children who are brought to Jesus for a blessing (cf. Mt 19,13-15), Hilary speaks of Jesus imparting the *munus et donum* of the Holy Spirit, not the power (*uirtus*) of the same. Although no miracle is involved and the word *salus* is absent, the main idea is still the *salus gentium crediturarum*, prefigured in the Gospel episode. As in other passages, the little children approaching Christ represent the gentiles who will come to believe in Christ and be saved¹⁹⁶. In the future, the *gentes crediturae* will approach the Church to receive the "gift of the Holy Spirit" – salvation by faith – from the hands of her ministers¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁵ Nondum enim concessum apostolis erat ad uitae aeternae cibum caelestem panem perficere ac ministrare. [...] Haec igitur primum, quia in his adhuc erant, apostolis obtulerunt, sed ex his euangeliorum praedicatio profecta monstratur et his originibus deducta in maiorem uirtutis suae abundantiam crescit (14,10,9-11.19-22). Doignon takes "cibum caelestem perficere ac ministrare" as a reference to the confection of the Eucharist but this is erroneous; cf. SC 258, 21, n. 9. In fact, the "heavenly food" mentioned here is the Word of God.

¹⁹⁶ Infantes quidem uere oblatis sunt, sed et uere inhibiti sunt. Sed hi gentium forma sunt, quibus per fidem et auditum salus redditur (19,3,8-10).

¹⁹⁷ Quos Dominus ait non oportere prohiberi, quia talium sit regnum caelorum; munus enim et donum Spiritus sancti per impositionem manus et precationem, cessante legis opere, erat gentibus largiendum (19,3,15-18; cf. Acts 8,14-17).

The reception of the saving message in faith admits the believer to baptism. Unlike the Law and the baptism of John, the Christian sacrament gives *salus*:

Et quia legis opus esset iam inefficax ad salutem et Ioannes baptizandis in paenitentiam nuntius exstitisset – prophetarum enim officium erat a peccatis reuocare, Christi uero proprium saluare credentes –, se quidem baptizare in paenitentiam dicit, sed fortiolem esse uenturum [...]. Salutis igitur nostrae et iudicii tempus designat in Domino dicens: *Baptizabit uos in Spiritu sancto et igni*, quia baptizatis in Spiritu sancto reliquum sit consummari igne iudicii [...] (2,4,4-9; 13-16).

The Law, the prophets, and John the Baptist could only prepare the way for what Christ alone could do; namely, give salvation. Even after the time of his incarnate presence has ended, Christ continues to save through the Church's ministry of word and sacrament. The "time of the Church" is the time of salvation, during which Christ gives the Holy Spirit to those who believe and are baptized. Even for the baptized, however, there remains a time of judgment. This leads us into a consideration of the eschatological meaning of *salus*.

4. *Salus* and eternal life

We have already seen that *salus* can have an eschatological sense. In this section we concentrate on the eschatological implications of receiving *salus* and "being saved"¹⁹⁸. Christ is called the *magister salutis perpetuae*¹⁹⁹, the "teacher of eternal salvation", because he invites us to have eternal life by believing in him instead of putting our hope for salvation in the Law. As did Cyprian before him, Hilary is clearly

¹⁹⁸ Our study restricts itself to occurrences of *salus* and related words. For more wide-ranging discussion of Hilary's teaching on the afterlife, cf. M. DURST, *Die Eschatologie des Hilarius von Poitiers*, Bonn 1987; BURNS, *op. cit.*, 113-135; A. FIERRO, *Sobre la gloria en san Hilario*, Rome 1964; P. WILD, *The Divinization of Man according to Saint Hilary*, Mundelein 1950.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. 24,1,28-30; Mt 23,8. Cyprian gives the Lord a similar title: Itaque in euangelio dominus doctor uitae nostrae et magister salutis aeternae uiuificans credentium populum [...] (*De op. et elem.* 7). For Tertullian, *perpetuitas* is a property Christ has by virtue of his eternal birth, equivalent to Hilary's *aeternitas* (cf. 16,4,2-17). Cf. R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*, 319.

differentiating the Christian sense of *salus* from its natural and political senses, to show that the *salus* Christians hope for lasts beyond the limits of this world²⁰⁰.

4.1 *Immortalitas, aeternitas*

The Son of God became incarnate and suffered death on the cross to restore what the entire human race had lost through Adam's fault: immortal life. Once Adam fell, the human race was marked by the dishonor of weakness and corruptibility, not the "honor and power of immortality". Both in the incarnation and in the passion of Christ, an exchange of sorts took place, described in the two texts below:

sicut aeternitas naturae nostrae corpus accepit, ita cognoscendum est naturam corporis nostri aeternitatis adsumere posse uirtutem. [...] Haec enim confessionis tenenda ratio est, ut sicut Dei filium, ita et filium hominis meminerimus, quia alterum sine altero nihil spei tribuit ad salutem (16,5,2-5.7-10).

(A sponge soaked in sour wine is offered to Christ on the cross; cf. Mt 27,48). Vinum et honor est immortalitatis et uirtus, quod per uitium aut incuriae aut uasis inacescit. Hoc igitur cum in Adam coacuisset, ipse accepit et potauit ex gentibus. In calamo enim ex spongia ut potaret offertur, id est ex corporibus gentium uitia corruptae aeternitatis accepit et in se atque immortalitatis communionem ea quae in nobis erant uitia transfudit. Denique in Ioanne, postquam perpotauerat, dixit: *Consummatum est* (Jn 19,30), quia omne uitium humanae corruptionis hausisset (33,6,11-19).

In the incarnation, divinity (*aeternitas*), assumed a human nature, so that human nature might assume the power (*uirtus*) of divinity²⁰¹. Similarly, on the cross, Christ took our sins upon himself, absorbing "corrupt eternity" (*corruptae aeternitatis*) into his immortal life (*immortalitatis communionem*). In sum, he endured his scandalous passion for the sake of restoring *aeternitas* to the human race²⁰². The

²⁰⁰ Cf. B. STUDER, "Die Soteriologie", 438-439.

²⁰¹ For the notion of "exchange", cf. LADARIA, *La Cristologia*, 44, n. 29, and ff.

²⁰² *Humilitas passionis scandalum mundo est. [...] Ideo uero necesse est ait uenire scandala* (cf. Mt 18,7), quia ad sacramentum reddendae nobis aeternitatis omnis in eo passionis humilitas esset explenda (18,3,3-4; 11-14).

incarnation and passion have established the possibility for men to become participants in the divine nature or “eternity”. Those who believe in Christ as both God and man can be given this participation, which is called *salus*.

4.1.1 *Life*

The eschatological meaning of *salus* is seen in its association with the word “life”. Christ is called “*salus* and life of the gentiles”²⁰³, and “*salus* and life of all”²⁰⁴. In Acts 3,15, Jesus is called the “author of life”, but when Hilary paraphrases this same passage he calls Jesus the author of *salus*: “eligunt damnationi reseruatum quam salutis auctorem” (33,2,8-9). Here *salus* is not only equated with life, but defined in opposition to damnation, so that it is clear that *eternal* life is meant. *Salus* and life come from believing the Lord’s words and keeping his commandments²⁰⁵. It is not surprising, then, that the movement of the “saved” from this life to the next is described in terms of birth.

4.1.2 *A new birth*

Shortly before his passion, Christ weeps over Jerusalem because so many have refused to believe in him and thus come back into the *salus* he was offering (cf. Mt 23,27):

Inter multa obiurgationum genera semper misericordiae suae protestatur adfectum, cuius hinc omnis querela est, quod regredi in salutem quam praestabat abnuerent. [...] Tamquam gallina congregans pullos suos continere eos sub alis suis uoluit, terrena uidelicet nunc et domestica auis factus, quodam corporis sui tamquam alarum operimento calorem ut pullis suis uitae immortalis indulgens et in uolatum uelut noua generatione producens. [...] Huius igitur familiaris ac paene terrenae auis more congregare intra se uoluit, ut qui condicione nascendi editi iam fuissent,

²⁰³ Admoniti per uisum, sancti scilicet Spiritus donum in gentibus contemplantes ad eas transferunt Christum Iudaeae missum, sed uitam et salutem gentium nuncupatum (2,1,17-20).

²⁰⁴ Atque ita in ligno uitae cunctorum *salus* et uita suspenditur [...] (33,5,1-2).

²⁰⁵ Et tribunus scit puerum uerbo posse sanari (cf. Mt 8,5-13), quia *salus* gentium omnis ex fide est et in praeceptis Domini uita est uniuersorum (7,4,5-7).

nunc alterius generationis ortu et calore confouentis renati in caeleste regnum tamquam pennatis corporibus euolarent (24,10,2-4; 24,11,8-9.13-17).

The meaning of *salus* here is clear: undying life including transformation. The passage to eternal life involves a transformation from one level of existence to another. Those who believe in Christ are “saved from” the earthly human condition into which they were born (*condicione nascendi*). They are given resurrection, called a second birth into a higher condition (*alterius generatione ortu [...] renati*), taking their place in the heavenly kingdom. Both soul and body are saved; in the resurrection, the body undergoes a change into a spiritual substance. The material condition of the body is “heavy”; figuratively speaking, it needs to sprout wings to escape gravity and progress upward into a spiritual condition²⁰⁶. This transformation is enabled by Christ imparting his divine power (*calore [...] confouentis*) to the saved.

The contrast between earth and heaven is based on St. Paul’s teaching on the nature of the risen body (cf. 1 Cor 15,35-50). In the incarnation, Christ took an earthly body like ours; he became an “earthly bird” (*terrena [...] auis factus*), but retained his divinity. By his divine power he gives those who believe in him the ascent from this life to the next (*in salutem*), gathering them together in the heavenly kingdom. Christ gives this gift (*indulgens*) because, as God, he is merciful and desires to save (*adfectum [...] misericordiae*)²⁰⁷.

4.1.3 *A new kind of life*

Commenting on the phrase, “He who finds his life will lose it, and he who loses his life for my sake will find it” (Mt 10,39), Hilary teaches that our

²⁰⁶ Hilary speaks of Christ’s return to heavenly life in his resurrection in terms of “flying” and “wings” in TP 54,7,3-14, commenting on the words “*Quis dabit mihi pinnas sicut columbae? Et uolabo et requiescam*” (Ps 54,7). Cf. PEÑAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, 173-177.

²⁰⁷ Note similar wording in 9,2,15-19: [Dominus] admonuit ut scirent [...] salutem uniuersis in misericordiae indulgentiae reseruari.

participation in immortal life begins on this side of the grave. “Nailing your sins to the cross” and dying to the old life of sin in baptism²⁰⁸ leads to *salus*.

Verbi scilicet potestate et ueterum diuisione uitiorum proficiet lucrum animae in mortem et damnum in salutem. Ergo suscipienda mors est in nouitate uitae et cruci Domini configenda sunt uitia et aduersus persequentes contemptu praesentium gloriosae confessionis retinenda libertas est et damnosum animae lucrum refugiendum, scientes cuiquam ius in animam non relinquere et detrimento breuis uitae fenus immortalitatis acquiri (10,26,3-10).

Separation from old vices (*ueterum diuisione uitiarum*) is made possible by the sword of Christ’s teaching penetrating the heart²⁰⁹. Here, the “power of the word” (*Verbi [...] potestate*) is not directly the divinity of Christ, but the power of the Gospel message brought to the nations by the Church. Acceptance of this message puts the believer into contact with the saving power of divinity. As discussed above (page 80), Christ’s divinity belongs to him alone and cannot be communicated as such. It reaches believers as the gift of the Spirit²¹⁰.

Instead of sin being taken away when *salus* is received, as seen in some of the miracle accounts, here we have the idea of a voluntary giving up of sin that leads to *salus*. Baptism sets one free to live as the new man²¹¹. The believer is separated from sin and infidelity by the power of the Word of God, and rejoices in the newness of the Spirit: “et corpus et anima in Spiritu nouitate gaudebit” (10,24,18-19; cf. Rm 7,6b). Believers begin to participate in this new life even before dying, by living a life free of sin and holding on to the confession of the true faith. While the spiritualization of the body is not yet fully realized; the Spirit

²⁰⁸ Cum ergo innouamur baptismi lauacro per Verbi uirtutem, ab originis nostrae peccatis atque auctoribus separamur [...] (10,24,1-3).

²⁰⁹ Dei igitur uerbum nuncupatum meminerimus in gladio [...] id est praedicationem eius hominum corporibus infusam (10,23,8-10).

²¹⁰ Cf. 14,9. The distinction is clearly seen in another passage commenting on the temptation of Christ: *Non in pane solo uiuet homo* (Mt 4,4), quia ipse non solum homo, sed et Deus, licet usque in temptationis diem cibo hominis abstineret, Dei tamen Spiritu alebatur, ostendens non in pane hoc solitario, sed in Verbo Dei alimoniam aeternitatis esse sperandam (3,3,11-15).

²¹¹ Cf. LADARIA, *El Espiritu Santo en San Hilario de Poitiers*, 206; DT 9,9.

received in baptism sets in motion the process that will be completed in the resurrection²¹². Here *salus* is understood in opposition to death. In a natural sense, the opposite of physical death is continuing to live, and *salus* is preservation from a threat to life. For the Christian, physical death is not the worst threat one can face, so that *salus* is understood as a deliverance from spiritual death in this life, and everlasting punishment in the next. Those who do not give up the old life of sin do not experience the spiritualization of the body given to the saved, instead, they remain "physical" forever. This is what makes their everlasting punishment possible²¹³.

4.2 *The resurrection of Christ and salus*

Earlier (section 1.3.2) we considered the example of the man who leaves 99 sheep to seek out the one who has strayed. We now return to the same passage to consider what it tells us about Hilary's theology of the resurrection and the meaning of *salus*. Our understanding of the passage in CM will be deepened by studying it together with the exegesis of the same Gospel figure in *Tractatus Mysteriorum* (TM 1,17-18)²¹⁴. The human race had wandered away from God in the sin of Adam. Christ, the new Adam, took all humanity upon himself when he left the glory of heaven and took flesh in the incarnation. When Christ rises from the dead and returns to heavenly glory, he brings the whole human race back to heaven in his glorified body. At Christ's return to heaven, the angels rejoice at "the return of human salvation":

Atque ut ingentem esse in caelis laetitiam reditu humanae salutis ostenderet, comparationis posuit exemplum eius qui oves nonaginta et nouem in montibus reliquisset et errantem unam requisisset [...]. Ovis una homo intelligendus est et sub homine uno uniuersitas sentienda est. Sed in unius Aadae errore omne hominum genus aberrauit; ergo nonaginta nouem non errantes multitudo angelorum caelestium opinanda est, quibus in caelo est laetitia et cura salutis humanae (18,6,1-4.6-11; cf. Mt 18,12-13; Lk 15,3-7).

²¹² Cf. 33,5; LADARIA, *op. cit.*, 232-233; PEÑAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, 199.

²¹³ corporalis et ipsis aeternitas destinatur, ut ignis aeterni in ipsis sit aeterna materies et in uniuersis sempiternis exerceatur ultio sempiterna (5,12,12-15; cf. Mt 6,30).

²¹⁴ The continuity between CM 18,6 and TM 1,18 was recognized by Wilmart and confirmed by Doignon; cf. SC 258, 81, n.14.

Here, *reditu humanae salutis* means the return of the Son, now united to humanity, to heaven. This is the fulfillment of Christ's "hunger" for human salvation (see above, page 41):

Qua rerum ratione indicat post quadraginta dierum conuersationem (cf. Acts 1,3), quibus post passionem in saeculo erat commoraturus, esuritionem se humanae salutis habiturum. Quo in tempore exspectatum Deo patri munus hominem quem adsumpserat reportauit (3,2,13-17).

The fulfillment of the hunger felt after the forty days fast is achieved after the forty days the Lord spent on earth after his resurrection. In his ascension, Christ returns to the Father, bringing with him, as a gift, the humanity he had assumed. His hunger for human salvation is fulfilled in his own return to heaven, when he gives his humanity to the Father as the firstfruits of the salvation of the entire human race²¹⁵.

There is great joy in heaven over Christ's return: "*reditu humanae salutis*" (18,6,1-2). In order to reach a fuller appreciation of the angels' joy over Christ's return, we first need to recognize what is behind the use of the word *reditu* in this passage. We believe that Hilary is employing an expression that originated within the Roman emperor-cult. Since the *salus* of the Roman people was believed to depend on the *salus* of the emperor, the leader's safety was important to the entire citizenry. At the beginning of each year, an offering *pro salute Augusti* was made on behalf of his well-being and protection. Because concern for the emperor's safety increased when he had to make a voyage away from Rome, especially to wage war, it was thought good to make a special offering for his safe return. In 59 A.D., such an offering was made *pro salute et reditu Neronis*, and thereafter these *vota* quickly became a regular practice²¹⁶. *Vota* were offered especially when the emperor left the *patria* to set out on a military campaign, and upon his safe and successful return, as an act of thanksgiving²¹⁷. In this way, the meaning

²¹⁵ Cf. LADARIA, "Adán y Cristo.", *Compostellanum* 35 (1990), 149.

²¹⁶ Cf. WINKLER, 115.

²¹⁷ *Vota* were offered *pro salute et reditu* (Nero, Otho, Domitian), *pro salute et aduentu* (Vitellius), and *pro salute et reditu et victoria* (Trajan, Domitian); cf. WINKLER, 61. As a thanksgiving after a victory of Caracalla, an offering was made *ob salutem victoriamque Germanicam imperatoris Caesaris*. After Hadrian's successful

of *salus* was expanded to apply to the emperor's health, to his victory in battle, and to his safe return²¹⁸.

This explains the way Hilary describes the joy of the angels in heaven over the return of *humana salus*. The Bishop of Poitiers portrays the angels as the citizens of the heavenly homeland²¹⁹. Christ, their leader, left heaven on a campaign to save humanity. As the Romans gave thanks *pro salute et reditu Augusti*, the angels rejoice [*pro*] *reditu humanae salutis*: Christ has returned whence he came, safe and victorious; in the humanity he assumed, sinful humanity has come home to the eternity it lost when Adam went astray²²⁰.

The incarnate and risen Christ is properly called *salus humana* for two reasons: he is both agent and example. First, he is the Savior, who left heaven to bring back errant humanity, so that *salus* in this passage serves as the *nomen agentis*²²¹. Second, he has brought back humanity to heaven. Christ in glory is the example of what other humans may become

campaign in Gaul (121 A.D.), a coin was struck with the legend V(ota) S(uscepta) PRO RED(itu); *ibid.*, 135-136.

²¹⁸ Cf. WINKLER, 136-137.

²¹⁹ Cf. 5,11; 18,5.

²²⁰ In DT, Hilary writes that the angels never cease to praise Christ, not only because he is God, but also because he has brought human flesh out of corruption into the glory of eternity; cf. DT 3,7,6-17; FIERRO, 60.

²²¹ In TM 1,18, the Good Shepherd is called *saluator* and *redemptor*. Referring to the same Gospel image of the Good Shepherd in TP, our doctor calls Christ, not *salus*, but *saluator*: *Digno autem omnia euangelici sacramenti fine conclusit dicens: Erraui sicut ovis, quae perit; uiuifica seruum tuum, quia mandata tua non sum oblitus* (Ps 118,176). *Referrri enim se errabundam ac perditam ouem pastoris sui humeris festinat* (cf. Lk 15,5), *ut per saluatorem suum aeternumque pastorem in caelo angelis aeterna gaudia praebeat se recepta* (cf. Lk 15,10). *Filius enim hominis uenit saluare, quod perierat, missus ad oues perditas domus Israhel* (Mt 18,11), *Dominus noster Iesus Christus [...]* (TP 118,22,7,1-9).

if they are “saved”; they too will come back to the homeland Adam left²²², and the eternal life of heaven will be given them²²³.

Once it is understood that the phrase *humana salus*, in this context, refers to Christ himself, the meaning of the following phrase can be correctly understood: “ergo nonaginta nouem non errantes multitudo angelorum caelestium opinanda est, quibus in caelo est laetitia et cura salutis humanae” (18,6,9-11). What does it mean to say that the angels in heaven have “cura salutis humanae”? In commenting on this text, Burns follows Petorelli in noting the close parallels to the healing of the paralytic at 8,5²²⁴:

Paralyticus	Ovis
in paralytico gentium uniuersitas offertur medenda [...]	Ovis una homo intelligendus est et sub homine uno uniuersitas sentienda est.
In Adam uno peccata uniuersis gentibus remittuntur.	Sed in unius Adae errore omne hominum genus aberrauit; ergo nonaginta nouem non errantes
Hic itaque angelis ministrantibus	multitudo angelorum caelestium opinanda est, quibus in caelo est laetitia
curandus offertur [...]	et cura salutis humanae.
postremo reditu in domum propriam iter in paradysum [...] (8,5,1-2.5-7; 8,7,11).	Atque ut ingentem esse in caelis laetitiam reditu humanae salutis ostenderet [...] (18,6,6-11.1-2).

²²² This is the spiritual meaning of the cure of the paralyzed man who is told by Jesus, “Rise, take up your bed and go home” (Mt 9,6b). Primum remissionem tribuit peccatis, dehinc uirtutem resurrectionis ostendit, tum sublacione lectuli infirmitatem ac dolorem corporibus docuit afuturum, postremo reditu in domum propriam iter in paradysum credentibus esse redhibendum, ex quo Adam parens uniuersorum peccati labe dissolutus excesserat (8,7,8-13; cf. 8,8,17-19).

²²³ ad sacramentum reddendae nobis aeternitatis omnis in eo passionis humilitas esset explenda (18,3,12-14).

²²⁴ Cf. P.C. BURNS, *The Christology*, 115-116; J.P. PETTORELLI, “Le thème de Sion, expression de la théologie de la rédemption dans l’oeuvre de saint Hilaire de Poitiers”, in *Hilaire et son temps*, Paris 1969, 213-233.

Burns remarks,

The surprising element in [these two passages] is the almost total absence of any mention of Christ in the elaboration of this model [of soteriology]. This absence of a clear christological reference is especially surprising in view of the tradition of Tertullian and Hilary's own familiarity with other aspects of the Adam theme²²⁵.

It would indeed be surprising if Hilary failed to mention Christ in the two passages above. However, he does mention Christ in both of them. The "unus Adam" represented by the paralytic is Christ, the second Adam, in whom our sins are remitted²²⁶. In the first passage, the *reditus* to heaven is the return to heaven of believers²²⁷, while in the second, as we have shown, it is the return to heaven of Christ. In both texts, the angels are ministering to Christ. The mention of the "angelis ministrantibus" who care for the second Adam recalls the angels who ministered to Christ after he was tempted in the desert (cf. Mt 4,11; CM 3,5,23-27). When Hilary says that there is "laetitia et cura salutis humanae" among the angels in heaven when Christ ascends to glory, he does not mean that the task of human salvation is an office entrusted to the angels. The pairing of *cura* with *laetitia* indicates that *cura* does not denote an office, but an interior affect of care, solicitude, concern for a loved one. They rejoice at the return of the Son, who is *humana salus*. The angels' *cura salutis humanae* should not be confused with Christ's hunger for human salvation.

The remainder of 18,6, studied together with the parallel passage in the *Tractatus Mysteriorum* (TM 1,17-18), reveals the ecclesial character

²²⁵ BURNS, *op. cit.*, 115.

²²⁶ This becomes more clear when we look at a larger portion of the passage: In Adam uno peccata uniuersis gentibus remittuntur. Hic itaque angelis ministrantibus curandus offertur, hic filius nuncupatur, quia primum Dei opus est, huic remittuntur animae peccata et indulgentia primae transgressionis ex uenia est. Non enim paralyticum peccasse aliquid accepimus [...] (8,5,5-10).

²²⁷ Burns omitted the one word that clarifies this; namely, *credentibus*: Primum remissionem tribuit peccatis, dehinc uirtutem resurrectionis ostendit, tum sublacione lectuli infirmitatem ac dolorem corporibus docuit afuturum, postremo reditu in domum propriam iter in paradysum credentibus esse redhibendum, ex quo Adam parens uniuersorum peccati labe dissolutus excesserat (8,7,8-13).

of human salvation, and speaks of how it tends toward final fulfillment. Hilary is able to develop this idea by having recourse to the numerical values assigned to certain letters of the alphabet in Latin literature. One letter, “A”, was added to the name of Abram to make him Abraham; the letter “R” was added to the name of Sara to make Sarra. The letter “A” stands for the number one²²⁸; the letter “R” (rho) stands for one hundred²²⁹, the total number of sheep in the Gospel figure. Abraham prefigures Christ; Sarra stands for the Church²³⁰. Abraham, by the addition of one letter, is called the father of nations; Christ, by the assumption of “one” – the totality of the human race – in the incarnation, is made the Father and Redeemer of nations, when he brings back humanity (the hundredth sheep who had wandered away) to “Sarra”, the heavenly Church, the Jerusalem on high²³¹.

Christ is called *saluator* and *redemptor* in TM 1,18 because he is a “rescuer” and “restorer”, seeking out and bringing back. In his return to heavenly glory, he brings back humanity, now cleansed from sin, to the glory of heaven²³². What is realized in Christ will one day be brought to

²²⁸ Cf. SC 19b, 107, n. 4.

²²⁹ Cf. SC 258, 80, n. 13; SC 19b, 107, n. 5.

²³⁰ Sarra etiam ecclesiam signat, Agar Synagogam [...] TM 1,17.

²³¹ Et quod per se splendendum erat in Abraam praefiguratur; ille per adiectionem unius pater gentium nuncupatur, ipse per assumptionem unius pater et redemptor gentium constituitur reddita Sarrae, id est primitivae caelestis Ierusalem, centesima oue [...text missing] (TM 1,18).

²³² Hilary’s compressed style and originality of expression pose a challenge to interpreters and some confusion has arisen as a result. BURNS goes astray when he says that the aim of Christ’s “progress” from humility to glory in his resurrection is “to have mankind occupy the empty place among the angels” (*Christology*, 129). First, Hilary does not speak of any “empty place” needing to be occupied in heaven. Second, if there were an empty place, it would have been the one created by the human race when it “wandered off” in Adam, thus losing its right to the heavenly life. This is why Christ had to leave heaven, the home of the angels, to seek out humanity and bring it back, not to the angels, but to heaven (cf. 18,6,7-14). Christ’s “progress” is the complement of his “egress”; i.e., of his kenotic incarnation. The full number 100 is not achieved by adding one human race to 99 angels; rather, both the number one and the number 100 are applied to the human race (cf. 18,6,14-15.19-24). The number 100 signifies the eschatological fullness of the heavenly Church, which fullness is achieved by increase in the number of (human) believers. VACCARI, mixing CM 18,6 and TP 1,18, concludes that the 99 sheep are the angels who form the “primitive church” (*ecclesiae primitivae*

completion in his glorified Body, which is the Church²³³. All creation awaits the eschatological fulfillment of this movement to glory, when all believers will be gathered together into the heavenly Church, the new and eternal Jerusalem. This will be the final establishment of humanity in the state of heavenly glory that Christ had with the Father before the world began²³⁴.

In commenting on this passage in CM, Burns speaks of Hilary's "angelomorphic" soteriology (he does not consider the parallel in TM).

caelestis Ierusalem). He goes on to assert that humanity, saved by Christ (*centesima ovis*), will be united ("si uniranno") to the angels (*ecclesia primitiua*) to form the *caelestis Ierusalem* (cf. *La teologia della assunzione*, 221). Such statements cannot be supported by the text. Yes, the human race returns to heaven in the body of Christ; however, Hilary does not say that it is thus united to the angels, but only "brought back" (*relatus*, 18,6,14); brought back, that is, to heavenly glory. The *ecclesia primitiua* and the *caelestis Ierusalem* are one and the same reality, symbolized by Sarra, the mother of many nations. Like Burns, Vaccari misunderstands the symbolism of the numbers one and 100, not grasping that both numbers apply to the human race: "Infatti quantunque la *ecclesia caelestis* sia Sar-r-a [sic] soltanto dopo la riunione dell'umanità nel corpo di Cristo con gli angeli, è tuttavia sempre da presupporre una Chiesa celeste che viene prima nel disegno di Dio e che si compie in Christo" (222, n. 57). This speculation is based on a misinterpretation of the adjective *primitiua* which, here, does not mean "primal, primitive" but refers to "firstfruits"; cf. "primitivus" in A. BLAISE, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, Strasbourg 1954. This is Hilary's way of saying that the full number of members of the heavenly Church (100) is yet to be completed (cf. 18,6,19-23; Rom 8,19-22). The *ecclesia primitiua* is the Church of saved human beings. In TP, Hilary calls it the *ecclesia primitiuorum*: *Habitemus nunc ecclesiam, caelestem Hierusalem, ut non moueamur in aeternum. In hac enim habitantes habitabimus in illa; quia haec illius forma est [...]. Sed et haec caelestis et illa caelestis [...] et illa quidem ecclesia angelorum multitudinis frequentium: sed est ecclesia primitiuorum, est et ecclesia spirituum in Domino fundatorum. Fundandi ergo sumus in spiritu, et in hac habitantibus standum est [...]. Non simus procursibus uagi neque uiis incerti neque inanis doctrinae uento euolantes* (TP 124,4,9-12.15-19.20-22). Cf. G. PELLAND, "La 'subjectio' du Christ chez saint Hilaire", *Gregorianum* 64 (1983) 427.

²³³ Cf. LADARIA, "Adán y Cristo", *Compostellanum* 35 (90) 149.

²³⁴ Merito igitur hic numerus per litteram et Abrahae additur et consummatur in Sarra [...]. In uno enim Abraham omnes sumus et per nos qui unum omnes sumus caelestis ecclesial numerus explendus est. Atque ideo et creatura omnis reuelationem filiorum Dei exspectat et ideo congemiscit et dolet (cf. Rom 8,19-22), ut numerus, qui per alfa Abrahae additus est et qui in ro consummatus in Sarra est ad caelestem constitutionem incremento credentium impleatur (18,6,14-15.17-23).

He cites Lactantius and Tertullian to support his assertion that “this ‘angelomorphic’ soteriology was present in Hilary’s Latin background”²³⁵. However, Hilary does not compare risen men to angels in the same way that Lactantius does. According to the latter, the risen will resemble the angels both in their appearance (clothed in white, in immortality), and in their office of serving God²³⁶. But Hilary compares the risen to angels primarily to describe the spiritualization that occurs in the resurrection. Those who rise will be like angels because they will be covered or clothed with the glory of God; the material of their corruptible bodies will be changed into a new and heavenly substance²³⁷. Hilary does not describe risen men as serving God when he compares them to the angels. He makes a comparison of qualities, not duties. The angels’ homeland is heaven; their natural state of existence is glorious and undying. Man’s risen body will share their homeland and the qualities of glory and immortality. To call Hilary’s soteriology “angelomorphic” is rather misleading; it leads one away from the central teaching of the passage, which clearly expresses the strict relation between the resurrection and glorification of Christ and the glorious destiny of believers²³⁸.

4.3 *The resurrection of others*

The Son of Man came to save; i.e., to unite himself to the human race in the incarnation and bring it back to God in the resurrection. God’s great love for believers is clear: they are called “saved”, and angels assist at their prayers:

²³⁵ BURNS, 127.

²³⁶ This is clear in the three quotations from Lactantius found in BURNS, 127: ut similes angelis effecti summo patri [...] seruiamus (*Diuinae institutiones* 7,6,1); transformabit Deus homines in similitudinem angelorum [...] et domino suo sacrificabunt et seruiant in aeternum (*ibid.* 7,26,5); transformabit iustos in figuras angelorum, ut [...] seruiant deo in sempiternum (*Epitome diuinarum institutionum* 67).

²³⁷ Cf. A. FIERRO, *Sobre la gloria en San Hilario*, 231. Fierro analyzes CM 5,6-13 on 228-232.

²³⁸ This is analyzed in LADARIA, *Cristología*, 89-90.

Videte ne contemnatis unum de pusillis istis qui credunt in me (Mt 18,10). Artissimum uinculum mutui amoris imposuit ad eos praecipue qui uere in Domino credidissent. Pusillorum enim angeli quotidie Deum uident, quia filius hominis uenit saluare quae perdita sunt (cf. Mt 18,11). Ergo et filius hominis saluat et Deum angeli uident et angeli pusillorum praesunt; fidelium orationibus praeesse angelos absoluta auctoritas est (cf. Rev 8,3-4); saluatorum igitur per Christum orationes angeli quotidie Deo offerunt (18,5,1-10).

The angels are mentioned here, not because they have any agency in bringing about salvation (it is the Son of Man who saves), but to highlight the dignity of the believer, the closeness of his bond with God, and his glorious destiny. In Christ's own resurrection the mystery of salvation was accomplished, in that his own humanity was brought to heaven. Others can return to God only if they believe in Christ.

4.3.1 *Saluari = to participate in Christ's resurrection*

The raising of the Synagogue leader's daughter demonstrates, negatively, the reward of faith in Christ.

Atque ut rarus hic esse ex lege credentium electionis numerus intelligi posset, turba omnis expulsa est; quam utique saluari Dominum optasset, sed irridendo dicta gestaue eius resurrectionis non fuit digna consortio (9,8,7-11; cf. Mt 9,18; 23-25).

The crowd who laughed when Christ told them that the little girl was only sleeping will not be saved; i.e., they will not have a share in the resurrection.

4.3.2 *Saluus esse = the resurrection of the body*

Another passage equates "to be saved" with the resurrection of the dead. The Lord says that even the hairs of our heads are counted (cf. Mt 10,28-31); this reference to an incalculable number explains how the resurrection of the body is to be understood.

Vt igitur nihil ex nobis perituum esse cognosceremus, quia multo passeribus meliores sumus, ipso capillorum nostrorum supputatorum numero indicatur, saluis nobis ex solido futuris, cum quod innumerabile in nobis sit conseruandi et adfectu et potestate numeretur. Nullus igitur

corporum nostrorum casus est pertimescendus neque ullus interimendae carnis admittendus est dolor, quando pro naturae suae atque originis condicione resoluta in substantiam spiritalis animae refundatur (10,20,3-12).

The root meaning of *saluis* is seen in the associated word *conseruandi*: preservation. But an additional idea has been added to the classical definition. Here, to be “saved” means more than to be “preserved”, as the pre-Christian meaning of the word had it; the Christian sense of the word includes both continuity and transformation. It is natural to wonder how we can be said to be “preserved” if our bodies are going to fall into dust. Hilary explains that the natural process of decay is not to be feared by Christians. After the body has “dissolved”, it will be re-established in a new state, made into the spiritual essence of the soul²³⁹. This “saving” is due both to God’s good will toward believers and to his power (*conseruandi adfectu et potestate*); his power, that is, to transform our decayed bodies into a spiritual substance. This calls to mind what we have previously seen; namely, that salvation is attributed both to God’s mercy and to his power.

The curious phrase *saluis ex solido futuris* calls for some study and explanation. While some have taken it to mean “we will be saved *totally*”, this not a correct translation²⁴⁰. In CM, Hilary does indeed teach that it is the totality of man that will be saved or lost²⁴¹; however, *ex solido* expresses a different idea. The preposition *ex* indicates that the saved will be preserved *from* something dangerous or undesirable²⁴², in

²³⁹ The transformation of the risen is expressed in similar terms elsewhere in CM: Et haec recte perfecteque uiuentium merces est, ut in nouam caelestemque substantiam ex hac corruptibilis corporis materie transferantur et corruptio terrena caelesti incorruptione mutetur (5,12,42-27); cf. 5,8-10.

²⁴⁰ Doignon gives “nous devons être sauvés en totalité” (SC 254, 241). The Italian translation by Longobardo follows Doignon extremely closely throughout; the phrase in question reads: “noi saremo salvati totalmente”; Ilario di Poitiers, *Commentario a Matteo, Traduzione, introduzione e note* a cura di Luigi Longobardo (Collana di testi patristici 74), Rome 1988, 127.

²⁴¹ Cf. M.-J. RONDEAU, “Remarques sur l’anthropologie de saint Hilaire”, *Studia Patristica* 6 (TU 81), Berlin 1962, 197-210.

²⁴² The verb *saluare*, a Christian neologism, is the Christian equivalent of the classical *seruare*: “uita ex hostium telis seruata”, CICERO, *Rep.* 1,3,5; “urbs ex belli ore et faucibus erepta atque seruata”; *id.*, *Arch.* 9,21., quoted in BRAUN, *Deus*

this case from the *solidum*. The word *solidum* has a double meaning. In opposition to an incalculable number, it means an integral number, solid and indivisible, finite. In opposition to the *substantia spiritalis* of the resurrected, it is the material substance of our earthly bodies²⁴³, which is liable to decay. The “saved” are the risen, who have been freed from the world of matter and their material bodies by being given a new spiritual existence.

4.3.3 *Salus and redemption*

A link between being saved and being freed is seen in Hilary’s understanding of redemption. The second coming of Christ in glory will mark the time of our redemption. Many signs will indicate that this time has arrived:

Gloriam aduentus sui et claritatis reditum indicat obscuritate solis, defectione lunae, casu stellarum, uirtutum caelestium motu, ostensione signi salutaris, lamentatione gentium cognoscentium filium hominis in Dei gloria et ad collectionem sanctorum destinatione angelorum cum tubae, id est iam publicae libertatis hortatu. [...] Quarum omnium rerum indicio scire nos uoluit tempus nostrae redemptionis [...] (26,1,2-8.12-13; cf. Mt 24,29-31).

The two terms that concern us the most in this passage are *signi salutaris* and *publicae libertatis*. It is difficult to determine definitively whether *salutaris* is a noun or an adjective. M. Durst takes *salutaris* as an adjective, in which case the *ostensione signi salutaris* denotes the appearance of the glorious cross, heralding the end of the world. Since the 2nd century, Christian writers understood the “sign of the Son of man” to mean the cross of Christ, appearing in the East to signal the parousia;

Christianorum, 492. In another passage from CM, the phrase *in salutem* specifies the eschatological meaning of *seruare*: Quin etiam per hanc tacendi de se uoluntatem dictorum per Esaiam effectus impletur (cf. Mt 12:18-21), de cuius prophetia illud nunc tantum admonemus, hunc et dilectum a Deo et in eo paternae beneplacitum uoluntati et Spiritum Dei super eum esse et ab eo iudicium gentibus nuntiari et arundinem quae quassata sit non esse confractam et linum fumigans non exstinctum, id est caduca et quassata gentium corpora non fuisse contrita, sed in salutem potius reseruata [...] (12,10,1-9).

²⁴³ Cf. BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 182-183.

this understanding became general since the 4th century²⁴⁴. However, it is not altogether clear that Hilary is referring to the *crux eschatologica*. One of the signs heralding the second coming of Christ is “*lucens uniuersis lumen in ligno*” (26,1,11). Durst thinks it possible that this refers to the eschatological sign of the glorious cross²⁴⁵, but in fact it refers to the Church. The Synagogue hides the “lamp of Christ” under a basket, preventing salvation from reaching others. By contrast, the “lamp of Christ” hanging high on the “wood” of the cross offers “eternal light” to everyone who is within the Church²⁴⁶. In the passage under consideration, Christ speaks of the glory of *his own* coming (*Gloriam aduentus sui*), and the lamentation of the nations recognizing the Son of man in the glory of God (*filium hominis in Dei gloria*), a clear reference to the glorified Christ. Hilary is contrasting Christ’s glory to lack of light: the darkening of the sun, the failing of the moon, the falling of the stars²⁴⁷.

Finally, considering that the Gospel speaks of “the sign of the Son of Man” appearing in the heavens (cf. Mt 24:30), we take *ostensione signi salutaris* to mean “by the appearance of the sign of the Savior”. This is the only occurrence of *salutaris* in CM, and there is only one instance of *salutare*. In keeping with established Christian usage, Hilary is employing *salutaris* as the *nomen agentis* “Savior” and *salutare* as a noun meaning “salvation”²⁴⁸.

The consequences of the eschatological redemption brought by the Savior are summed up in the phrase *publica libertas*. The sound of the angel’s trumpet is the announcement that *publica libertas* has now been

²⁴⁴ For discussion and bibliography, see DURST, 230-231.

²⁴⁵ Cf. DURST, 230-231.

²⁴⁶ Cf. 4,14,1-10; Mt 5,14-15.

²⁴⁷ Compare TP 134,19,8-10: In medio itaque orbis terrae loco, in quo dominus salutem operans passus est, signa et prodigia misit, dum crucis suae horis sol effugit [...].

²⁴⁸ In CM *salutare Dei* is the salvation that will be made available by faith after the ascension: “Apostolici temporis beatitudinem docet, quorum oculis atque auribus contigit Dei salutare uisere et audire” [...] (13,3,2-4; cf. Mt 13,16). *Saluator* and *salutaris* are found side by side in the earliest Latin versions of the Scriptures to translate σωτήρ; cf. ELC III,137. In TP, *salutaris* will often mean Christ the Savior; cf. Chapter Three.

given to the faithful²⁴⁹. As was the case with *publica salus*, Hilary is employing a familiar phrase drawn from Roman law to illustrate the nature of salvation. In Roman legal terminology, *publica libertas* is the freedom of the collective *Populus* from tyranny, as opposed to the *libertas* of an individual²⁵⁰. It is not a form of government, but a state of affairs characterized by preservation from oppression and lawlessness, in which one's life was safe from harm. In positive terms, it is a state of affairs marked by *securitas* and *incolumitas*. Thus *publica libertas* is intimately related to *publica salus*²⁵¹. The *libertas* Hilary is talking about

²⁴⁹ That redemption is given only to the *fideles* is explained as this section of the CM continues, cf. 26,5.

²⁵⁰ "Vom europäischen Freiheitsbegriff, der aus den altständischen Korporationsrechten und der religiösen Gewissensfreiheit hervorging und sich in den individuellen Grundrechten der modernen Verfassungen konsolidiert, ist die griechische ἐλευθερία wie die römische *libertas* freilich verschieden. Ihr vorstaatlicher Ausgangspunkt ist die Freiheit einer Person von der Herrengewalt einer anderen; ihre Übertragung auf die Gesamtheit der Bürger durch dieses Muster bestimmt. [...] Überwiegend ist also *libertas publica* ein aktiver Status der Teilhabe des Bürgers an der Souveränität der *Populus*, nicht (wie die grundrechtlichen Freiheiten des europäischen Verfassungsstaates) zuerst ein *status negativus* der Freiheit des Tuns und Lassens von Herrscher oder Staat. Insofern sich allerdings Unterdrückung des *Populus*, besonders die Mißachtung des *ius auxilii* der Tribune, ihrer Natur nach gegen einzelne *cives* oder Gruppen von ihnen richtet, bezeichnet *libertas* auch einen Zustand, in dem der Einzelne vor gesetzwidrigen Handlungen der Amtsgewalt geschützt ist. Zudem bringt das Muster der sehr alten *libertas* des *ius civile*: Freiheit von personenrechtlicher Vater- oder Herrengewalt, auch in die politische *libertas* ein Element individueller Freiheit". F. WIEACKER, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte. Quellenkunde, Rechtsbildung, Jurisprudenz und Rechtsliteratur. Erster Abschnitt*, Munich 1988, 379. In CM, Hilary also speaks of the *libertas* of an individual Christian to profess the faith in the face of persecution: *confessionis libertas* (cf. 10,26,5-10).

²⁵¹ "It is interesting that from Galba onwards LIBERTAS PUBLICA becomes a very common legend on imperial coins. *Libertas publica* means freedom as it is enjoyed by the public, that is to say absence of oppression and lawlessness; it signifies a state of affairs, not a form of government. Under the Empire it meant order, security, and confidence. It was in fact tantamount to *securitas*. 'An parua pronaque sunt ad aemulandum quod nemo incolumitatem turpitudine rependit? Salua est omnibus uita et dignitas uitae, nec iam consideratus ac sapiens qui aetatem in tenebris agit' (Pliny, *Paneg.* 44,5). These words of Pliny show what *securitas* and *libertas publica* must have meant". CH. WIRSZUBSKI, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome During the Late Republic and Early Principate*, Cambridge 1960, 159.

in this passage is eschatological: a freedom from the limitations of the human physical condition, realized in the spiritualization of the resurrected: “Quarum omnium rerum indicio scire nos uoluit nostrae redemptionis, quo ex corruptione corporum in honorem spiritualis substantiae transferemur” (23,1,12-15)²⁵². To be freed in this sense is equivalent to being *saluus* (cf. section 4.3.2). Once again, the basic meaning of a classical phrase has been retained but also expanded; *libertas publica*, like *saluus*, keeps its classical meaning of “preservation” while gaining the idea of transformation. It describes the new state of affairs of the redeemed *populus*. The connection established between *redemptio* and *publica libertas* is expressive of Hilary’s thoroughly Roman intellectual formation. In Roman political thought, *redemptio* is the releasing of captives from bondage, or the purchase of a soldier’s discharge from his oath of service (*redemptio sacramenti*). In Hilary’s presentation, Christ the *Salutaris* is the *Liberator* who restores *publica libertas* to the *Populus*²⁵³. By dying, he restored eternal life to believers: “exemplo Domini qui animam suam pro redemptione nostra salutis impenderit” (20,12,9-11). In contrast to Christ who purchased our *salus*, Judas sold his, “Iudas ad uendendam salutem eius erumperet” (29,1,10). Because of this action, he will not have eternal life in the kingdom of heaven²⁵⁴.

But who is the *Populus* who enjoys *libertas publica*? It is the Church, the “city” made up of those members of the human race who will have

²⁵² The power of Christ’s divinity “redeemed” the weakness of the body he assumed: Et adsumptio corporis non naturam uirtutis inclusit, sed ad redemptionem suam fragilitatem corporis uirtus adsumpsit quae tam infinite libera est, ut etiam in fimbriis eius humanae salutis operatio contineretur (9,7,9-12). The spiritualization of the resurrected is again signaled by the sound of the trumpet in a later passage: Sponsus atque sponsa Dominus noster est in corpore Deus. Nam ut Spiritus carni, ita Spiritui caro sponsa est. Denique tuba excitante, sponso tantum obuiam proditur; erant enim iam ambo unum, quia in gloriam spiritalem humilitas carnis excesserat (27,4,1-5). Cf. G. PELLAND, “La ‘subiectio’ du Christ”, 427; P. GALTIER, *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers*, 157.

²⁵³ In classical Latin, *liberator* is equivalent to *conseruator* and *tutor*. These three titles were given to Jupiter and Hercules; cf. R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*, 498. Before Augustine made his peace with the Christian neologism *Saluator*, he twice called Christ *Liberator* (*de uita beata* 36, *contra Fortunatum* 2); cf. ELC I, 387-388.

²⁵⁴ Cf. 29,2,1-8.

believed in Christ. These, the "saints", are gathered together²⁵⁵ into the heavenly city, the "city set on a hill"²⁵⁶. Hilary already used the image of a "city" to designate the entirety of the human race, to which the Son was joined in the incarnation²⁵⁷. The earthly city, Jerusalem, is primarily the prefiguration of the Church, the body of Christ. Both "city" and "body" express the reality of our incorporation into the universal body of Christ²⁵⁸. Now that portion of the human race which believed in Christ is portrayed as the heavenly city, which is free from the domination of man's earthly, material, limited condition²⁵⁹. Only the citizens of that city enjoy eternal *libertas*²⁶⁰.

²⁵⁵ ad collectionem sanctorum destinatione angelorum [...] (26,1,6-7). The "saints" are those who are saved because they believed the good news preached by the Apostles: Et quia esuritio famis est salutis humanae, spicas percipere ac uellere, scilicet sanctorum se salute satiare discipuli festinant [...] (12,2,10-12).

²⁵⁶ This is one of several traditional images of the heavenly Church listed here: id est iam publicae libertatis hortatu. Sic erit de grano sinapis arbor ingens (cf. Mt 24,31), sic de lapide montis contrita imagine orbem terrae mons occupans (cf. Dan 2,35), sic ciuitas omnibus contemplabilis (Mt 5,14-15), sic lucens uniuersis lumen in ligno, sic ex humilitate mortis Dei gloria (26,1,7-12). Cf. SC 258, 194, n. 2. On the heavenly Church as "city", see DURST, 317-320; J.T. PETTORELLI, "Le thème de Sion".

²⁵⁷ Ciuitatem carnem quam adsumperat nuncupat (cf. Mt 5,14), quia, ut ciuitas ex uarietate ac multitudine consistit habitantium, ita in eo per naturam suscepti corporis quaedam uniuersi generis humani congregatio continetur. Atque ita et ille ex nostra in se congregatione fit ciuitas et nos per consortium carnis suae sumus ciuitatis habitatio (4,12,3-9).

²⁵⁸ Cf. 4,24,8-14. This is the only place in CM where the Church is called the "body of Christ", but in several places Hilary speaks of the unity between Christ and the human race in terms of a "body"; e.g., 4,12,3-9. This is no mere "figure of speech" (P.T. Wild, *The Divinization of Man*, 65), but a serious theological statement; cf. Figura, *Das Kirchenverständnis*, 60-61; FIERRO, *Sobre la gloria*, 185. Fierro notes: "La doctrina del cuerpo universal de Cristo, no se encuentra en ningún otro autor en términos de tanta fuerza, e incluso de tan duro realismo" (*ibid.*). This was observed and commented on by Dom Coustant; cf. his *Praefatio Generalis*, PL 9, 43B-46C. See also LADARIA, *La cristología*, 87-103, with bibliographical indications (87, n. 1).

²⁵⁹ To the phrase *publica libertas*, Doignon appends the note: "La 'Jerusalem d'en haut est libre' (cf. Gal 4,26)". SC 258, 193, n. 1.

²⁶⁰ "At Rome and with regard to Romans full *libertas* is coterminous with *civitas*. [...] Only a Roman citizen enjoys all the rights, personal and political, that constitute *libertas*". WIRSZUBSKI, *op. cit.*, 3-4.

Redemptio and *salus* are also related in the commentary on Mt 14,28-31. Peter is walking on the water toward Jesus when he becomes afraid and begins to sink. This is a sign of his future weakness at the time of the Lord's passion.

Nam quamuis incedere ausus esset, submergebatur; per imbecillitatem enim carnis et metum mortis etiam usque ad negandi necessitatem coactus est. Sed proclamatur et salutem orat a Domino. Clamor iste paenitentiae suae gemitus est. Nondum enim passo Domino in confessionem reuersus est et negandi ueniam habuit in tempore, Christo postea pro uniuersorum redemptione passuro (14,15,8-15).

While Peter's cry for *salus* is an expression of repentance for denying Christ just before his passion, his rescue is a "type" or image of the redemption that will later come from the Lord's passion²⁶¹. Peter tries to go across the water to the Lord but is unable to reach him. His life is endangered by the "disturbances and storms of the world" ("*saeculi motus tempestatesque*"; 14,16,6), so the Lord stretches out his hand and upholds him. This expresses the fact that Christ alone has power over the *saeculum*²⁶², and that no one else could share in his work of redemption. Christ alone would suffer to pay for the sins of all²⁶³. "*Ita cum esset ipse redemptio uniuersorum, erat etiam Petrus ante redimendus ad redemptionis istius fidem*" [...] (14,16,10-11). He saves Peter, who thus becomes a sign or "pledge" (*fides*) of the redemption Christ will win for all.

4.3.4 *Eschatological salus through the scandal of the cross*

Those who believe will be saved by the power of God. They will rise from the dead and live forever. But God's saving power works under the appearance of weakness. The apparent weakness of the incarnation and passion are an obstacle to belief for the Jews. They did not believe that Christ could give them *salus*; they took him for a mere man, especially because they were scandalized

²⁶¹ typicus in eo ordo seruatus est (14,16,5-6).

²⁶² Licet enim in saeculo [Christus] demoratus sit, uitia tamen saeculi et peccata non adiit (7,4,12-13).

²⁶³ solus enim passurus pro omnibus omnium peccata soluebat nec socium admittit [...] (14,16,8-9).

by the cross. Those Jews who did not believe in Christ are represented by the rich young man²⁶⁴ who asks Christ, "What good must I do to have eternal life"? (Mt 19,16; cf. 19,4-11). This is equivalent to asking, "How can I be saved"? The answer, of course, is that one is saved by believing in Christ as God, not by performing the works of the Law²⁶⁵. By contrasting the expectations of a Jew with the mystery of salvation through the cross, Hilary shows both how one is saved and what the content of *salus* is (the text is printed in columns to underscore the contrasts):

Quid enim Iudaeo tam sine effectu
uidetur,

ut ab homine magis salutem
expectet quam ex lege, quam

ut in crucis scandalo (cf. Gal 5,11)
legislatio et testamentum et adoptio
et haereditas negligatur? (cf. Gal
3,15-18).

Quid autem Dei uirtuti tam
possibile est quam

ut per fidem saluet,
ut per aquam regeneret,

ut per crucem uincat,
ut per euangelia adoptet,
ut per resurrectionem ex morte
uiuificet (20,3,9-16)?

Each of the clauses beginning with *ut* expresses a different aspect of the mystery of human salvation. Therefore, we should consider all five of the clauses together. The power of God can conquer through the scandal of the cross. Those who have faith that Christ is divine, that he is the "power of God", are saved by that faith, reborn in baptism, and adopted as sons. The last and greatest consequence of "being saved" is to rise from the dead and have eternal life.

²⁶⁴ He is called "rich" because he puts his confidence in the Law; cf. 19,6-8.

²⁶⁵ Hunc igitur ex lege insolentem, sollicitum de salute remittit ad legem, ut in ea ipsa, in qua gloriaretur, intelligeret nihil se exinde recti operis fuisse (19,5,1-3).

4.4 *Salus and the Kingdom*

The use of “kingdom” to designate the eternal life of heaven is less prominent in CM than in TP, but still important²⁶⁶. Christ is the *Saluator* because he heals the disease of sin and frees those who believe in him from the limitations of the body in granting them eternal life in the kingdom of heaven²⁶⁷. Accordingly, to give *salus* means to take away sins and admit the recipient into the heavenly kingdom: [Dominus] “reuertens in claritatis aduentu populo omni, qui ex Israel erit reliquus, salutem reddat ipse eiusque peccata dimittat, dimissoque uel in caeleste regnum potius admisso [...]” (14,13,10-13). To impede others from gaining access to *salus* is to shut them out of the kingdom of heaven: “adeundae ceteris salutis inhibitio et regni caelesti obseratio” (24,4,3-4; cf. Mt 23,14). By opposing the salvation through faith of the gentiles, the Pharisees are restricting access to heaven²⁶⁸. But the gentiles who believe will have their rest in the kingdom of heaven. The relationship between receiving *salus* by faith and having eternal rest in the heavenly kingdom is seen in the healing of the tribune’s servant (cf. Mt 8,5-13).

Succedit in hoc puero [...] *salus gentium*. [...] Perfecta quidem est in puero secundum credentis fidem ueritas sanitatis, sed praesentium efficientia etiam futurorum imagini proficere monstratur, quando, et tribuno credente et puero saluato, nec talis in Israel fides reperta est et regni caelorum consortium cum Abraham gentibus destinatur (7,4,1-3; 7,5,8-14).

The healing of the servant is a perfect image of the *salus gentium* to come²⁶⁹. The gentiles will be saved because of faith; as a result, they will have their “rest”: “uerbi ratio subiecta est tantam fidem, quanta gentium est, in Israel non reperiendam et cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno

²⁶⁶ Cf. DURST, 315-317.

²⁶⁷ Cf. 7,5,8-14.

²⁶⁸ When the Apostles pluck and eat grain on the sabbath, the Pharisees protest that this is forbidden (cf. 12,2; Mt 12,1-2). This represents Christ’s and the Apostles’ hunger for the *salus gentium*, which the Pharisees oppose: Phariseae, qui penes se clauem caelorum esse existimarent, illicita agere discipulos coarguunt [...] ostendens Christum cum apostolis gentium salute satiandum, quod Iudaeis illicitum uideretur (12,3,1-2.9-11).

²⁶⁹ Sed ut similitudinem futuri haec ipsa ueritas aemularentur [...] (7,5,4-5).

caelorum ex ultimis gentibus quieturos" (7,5,5-8; cf. Mt 8,11). To rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Hilary explains several chapters later, means to have eternal life with God²⁷⁰.

4.5 *Salus and hope*

Our hope of eternal salvation is based on our faith in what the power of Christ can accomplish: "Nam ubi adferre uoluit procuratae per se salutis exemplum, uirtutis suae potestatem in humanis corporibus exercuit spem futurorum et animae salutem curis praesentium aegritudinem commendans" (21,6,13-16)²⁷¹. To hope for eschatological *salus* is to hope for eternal, glorified existence in heaven²⁷².

Conclusion

As discussed in the Introduction, *salus* is a pre-eminent example of a Christian semasiological neologism. The Christians have retained a pre-existent word, but transposed its meaning. Our author's first exegetical work offers abundant examples of this phenomenon. In CM, *salus* always has a thoroughly Christian meaning. Nevertheless it is striking to observe how closely *salus* is related with words and concepts central to the old Roman *salus*-ideology; e.g., *publica libertas*, *seruare*, *salus publica*, *salus et reditus*, *salus humani generis*, as well as the basic physical meaning of *sanitas/curatio*. Hilary transposes these concepts to a new

²⁷⁰ *Ego sum Deus Abrahae et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob; non est Deus mortuorum, sed uiuentium* (Mt 22,31-32). Sermo enim hic ad Moysen sanctis istis patriarchis iam pridem quiescentibus exstiterat; erant ergo quorum erat Deus. [...] Atque ita Deum habere uiuentium est, cum Deus aeternitas sit et non sit eorum quae mortua sunt habere id quod aeternum est. Et quomodo esse illi futuri quae semper negabuntur quorum se esse profiteatur aeternitas? (23,5,3-7.9-12). *Quies* is also defined as the eternal rest of the blessed in contrast with the eternal punishment of the damned; cf. 5,12.

²⁷¹ per fidem salutem expectandam [...] (8,9,13); sed in Christo salutem omnem et spem locantes admonemur prioris uitae itinere abstinere (1,5,12-13).

²⁷² regnum caelorum [...] Dominus noster [...] uult sine aliqua incertae uoluntatis ambiguitate sperari [...] (5,6,12-14); sperare nos caelestis gloriae uoluit operimentum exemplo angelicae claritatis (5,11,16-17); Iubemur igitur non ambigere de futuris [...] (5,13,22). Cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 400.

and higher key, holding on to their basic pre-Christian meaning while elevating it at the same time.

Christology and soteriology are inseparable in Hilary's works. The incarnation and passion of Christ can only be understood in relation to the eternal plan of salvation. They are the temporal expression of this eternal plan. Salvation is seen to be given by God's mercy and power. God's mercy and goodness – his will to save what was lost – is made apparent in the Son's willingness to leave heaven, abase himself in the incarnation, and die to give eternal life to believers. The Holy Spirit, likewise, is revealed in time during the age of the Church as the Gift. God's merciful offer of salvation is valid until the second coming of Christ in glory.

The coming of Christ has inaugurated the new way of salvation: justification by faith. The miracles of healing and exorcism worked by Christ are the figure of how believers will receive *salus* through the ministry of the Church. The preaching and ministry of the early Church, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, is the necessary background for understanding Hilary's exegesis. Thus, Hilary brings together the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith with the emphasis on "being saved" found in the first apostolic preaching.

The role of the Church in making *salus* available to the human race is a prominent feature of CM. Just as Christ hungered for human salvation, so the Church will make this her primary care. To her Christ entrusted the preaching of the word of salvation. The Apostles and their successors are like an extension of the physical presence of Christ in time and space, so that the same divine power that saved those whom Christ touched can save those who hear the word preached by the Church. The effects of the *salus* to be given by their ministry are illustrated in the Gospel miracles of healing and exorcism.

The salvation of man is strictly dependent on Christ's 3-stage journey of pre-existence, abasement (incarnation), and glorification. Christ's journey can also be the journey of believers of any race, because Christ has joined himself to the whole human race in the incarnation. The *salus gentium* is the *salus generis humani*, the salvation of the *uniuersitas*. Hilary has achieved, not only a new sense of *salus*, but a new sense of

genus humanum. The latter is no longer that portion of the human race living within the Roman empire, but the whole race of Adam.

The experiences of Christ's humanity are central to an understanding of *salus humana*. In and through the particular humanity he assumed, which joined him to all humanity, Christ completes the mystery of human salvation (*sacramentum humanae salutis*). He is both agent and icon of the salvation of all who will believe in him. This is especially evident in Christ's baptism and in his return to heaven. Both for Christ and for believers, *salus humana* is a return to the heavenly homeland. That portion of the human race that joins themselves to the death and resurrection of Christ by faith will become the Church on high, the heavenly Jerusalem, the *ciuitas* that is the glorified Body of Christ.

Man is brought into effective, saving union with Christ primarily through faith in the divinity of Christ, and through dying and rising with Christ in baptism. The only *confessio* that saves is an orthodox Christological confession, which is a prerequisite for baptism. In Book Eight of DT, union with Christ is related to the Eucharist, but this is not a feature of CM.

One of the more remarkable features of Hilary's theology as found in CM is the identification of *salus* with the very power of God. This power fills Christ's body, so that it can be communicated by a touch. After his ascension, it will be given by faith, through the vehicle of the word preached by the Church. Believers will receive that *salus* which is the gift of the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity: *Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est*.

As a verbal idea, "to be saved" means to be saved *from* something. Above all, it means to be saved from the limitations of our earthly condition, the condition of Adam. The believer is saved from a material condition in two ways. First, the power of Christ enters the body, freeing it from the sinful influence of the world and the power of temptation which have misled and paralyzed the will. The saved person's sins are forgiven; he is described as sanctified and justified. During this life, the saved person is free to know, love, and serve God. Both body and soul rejoice in newness of life. Second, in the resurrection, the believer is saved by being transformed: his material nature is spiritualized after the pattern of the spiritual soul, and the earthly man is made into the

heavenly man, who enjoys eternal life. He is saved from the mortal condition in which man was left by Adam's "wandering away" from heaven. In this eschatological sense, *salus* is both a restoration of something lost, and a transformation to a higher state. It is described as motion upward, both morally and metaphysically. In CM, "the spiritual soul is the model of the risen body. The theological weakness of this conception is manifested by the fact that Hilary himself abandoned it in his later works"²⁷³. Our doctor has not yet achieved a full integration of two conceptions of salvation: spiritualization, and conformation with the risen Christ. But his insistence on the solidarity of Christ with the whole human race prepares the way for further refinement, which will be especially evident in TP.

²⁷³ LADARIA, *El Espiritu Santo*, 233, n. 208.

CHAPTER II

SALUS IN THE DE TRINITATE

Compared to CM, DT presents contrasts of both structure and content. The former work, necessarily, was organized according to the order of the Gospel narrative, and unified by the central theme of the transition from Law to Gospel. For the purposes of this dissertation, that theme has been designated *salus gentium crediturarum*. In DT, that theme, while not totally absent, is not very prominent. There is but one occurrence of any form of the phrase *salus gentium crediturarum*, and there it is brought up only in an ancillary role to support the primary point at issue¹. Yet references to salvation in DT are frequent and significant. While the author's leading concern in this work is not so much to define *salus* as to define how it may be obtained and retained, nevertheless he did not use the word without having a definition in mind. Thus, as we shall show, it will prove possible to show what the word itself means in DT².

In this chapter, the occurrences of *salus* and related words, alone or in various combinations, have been isolated, organized, and analyzed under three broad headings: 1. The divine plan of salvation, 2. The Christological content of saving faith, 3. Why is the faith called "saving"?

¹ See section 2.3, page 144.

² All quotations from DT are taken from the edition of P. SMULDERS, *Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi de Trinitate* (CCSL 62-62a), Turnhout, 1979-1980. In this chapter, quotations identified by chapter and verse number only are from DT.

1. The divine plan of salvation

1.1 *Dispensatio salutis*

L.F. Ladaria has analyzed the various meanings of *dispensatio* in DT³. In a few cases, the term refers to the unique relation of the Father and Son in the unity of the divine essence⁴. Most of the time, however, it refers to the saving economy considered as distinct from the nature of God, so that *dispensatio* is often opposed to *natura* and *genus* (the terms are equivalent)⁵. The term allows Hilary to express the correlation between God's eternal designs and their realization in time. From the first moment of creation, Christ is involved in the temporal execution of the eternal plan of God⁶. In the theophanies of the Old Testament, Christ cannot be seen according to his divine nature, but only through assumed appearances, especially the appearance of an angel. This mode of appearing belongs to the order of *dispensatio*, as opposed to *genus* or *natura*. The *dispensatio*, the appearing in visible form, in no way affects the Son's eternal divine nature. The culmination of God's eternal plan is the incarnation of the Son; this is *dispensatio* in the fullest sense of the term, the culmination of God's manifestation *ad extra*⁷.

As in the case of the OT manifestations, the incarnation does not affect the Son's divinity; he does not lose his divinity in taking the *forma serui*, but in some way gives up his unity with God the Father in giving up the *forma Dei*⁸. This unity is regained in the resurrection and glorification of Christ, the culmination of the *dispensatio*⁹. Thus, the

³ See L.F. LADARIA, "Dispensatio" en S. Hilario de Poitiers", *Gregorianum* 66 (1985) 429-455. Toward the end of the article appear a few references to TP; see 452-453.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 429-431.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 431-432.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 432.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 433-434.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 434,438.

⁹ "El recurso a la noción de dispensatio permite a Hilario insistir en el realismo de la encarnación, sin comprometer la naturaleza divina del Hijo. Le permite a la vez contemplar el decurso de la vida de Cristo sobre la tierra como camino que culminará en la vuelta al Padre, cumplimiento del designio divino de salvación, cuando sea de nuevo, también en cuanto hombre, enteramente uno con él" (*ibid.*, 439).

whole dispensation may be seen to have three phases: pre-existence, abasement, and glorification, following the sequence of the hymn in Ph 2,6-11¹⁰.

The hymn is seen to contain the whole of the Father's plan of salvation: in obedience to the Father's will, the eternally-begotten Son emptied himself and assumed the form of a slave for the sake of our salvation¹¹. In general, then, *dispensatio salutis* refers both to the fact and purpose of the incarnation¹².

Even before the incarnation, at the creation of the world, it is evident that one of the characteristics of the Son is obedience¹³. Hilary, however, wants to emphasize that the Son positively willed to become incarnate without ceasing to be divine¹⁴. He stresses this fact to refute the Arians, who impugned Christ's divinity by pointing to the alleged indignities and weaknesses of Christ's humanity. The heretics argued that Christ could not be divine because he was subjected to the same necessities as all other humans. Hilary answers that the eternal Son chose to become incarnate in a real humanity because he wanted to make salvation available to men. Another strong objection to the divinity of Christ was based on Scripture passages which state that the Son is "less than" or subordinate to the Father. Hilary presents the Son's obedience as intra-Trinitarian; it is part of the first stage of the *dispensatio* (pre-existence). In this way he can emphasize that the Son is coeternal and consubstantial with the Father.

The Son's obedience to the Father's salvific will, and thus his own will to save, is most apparent in two temporal events: the incarnation and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 445-446.

¹¹ Some notable references: 8,45,3-5,11-12; 9,51,11-19; 9,56,1-5; 10,7,1-11; 11,6. The words of Christ himself testify both to the truth of the incarnation and to its purpose: "nec enim misit Deus Filium suum in hunc mundum, ut iudicet mundum, sed ut salus fiat per eum [...]" (Jn 3:17, quoted in DT 6,25,19-21).

¹² The exact phrase is found in 9,9,4; 9,51,15; 12,47,9. The word *dispensatio* is closely linked with *salus* or *salutaris* in 5,13,9; 5,22,2-12; 7,33,17-18; 9,56,1-2; 11,6,1-3; 11,9,16-22. Hilary sometimes uses the word *dispensatio* alone to mean the plan of salvation; cf. 1,29,9; 1,32,17; 3,9,19; 9,38,1; 9,38,9-10; 9,39,4-7; 9,51,1; 9,51,11; 10,7,5; 10,47,32; 11,9,17; 11,40,9-10 *et passim*.

¹³ Cf. 5,24,8-11.

¹⁴ Cf. 3,9.

the passion. These are the same two realities to which the heretics appealed in denying Christ's divinity.

Iam in ceteris dispensatio uoluntatis paternae est. Virgo, partus et corpus, postque crux mors inferi, salus nostra est. Humani enim generis causa Dei Filius natus ex uirgine est et Spiritu sancto, ipso sibi in hac operatione famulante [...] (2,24,1-5).

What CM called the *paternae uoluntatis arbitrium* is now known as the *dispensatio uoluntatis paternae*. The mystery of the Father's saving plan embraces all the moments of Christ's life and has no other finality than human salvation. Curiously, while the descent among the dead is mentioned as one moment of the saving dispensation, the resurrection is not¹⁵. For the moment we content ourselves with noting that the two most important moments in the dispensation are the incarnation and passion¹⁶. Hilary looks beyond the surface appearance of the incarnation and passion, considering the two realities in the light of their common, divinely-ordered purpose, and in view of their common cause: the mercy of God. The incarnation was an expression of divine love for the world¹⁷, and an act of divine power¹⁸. Willingly, God the Son took upon himself everything that belongs to our nature, in order to save us: "Ea autem quae ei sunt secundum corpus quod adsumpsit, bonitatis eius ad salutem nostram uoluntas est" (3,3,14-15)¹⁹. He himself was the agent of the

¹⁵ Elsewhere it is made clear that the resurrection is an integral part of the *dispensatio salutis*; see below, p. 122. Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 24-25.

¹⁶ On the passion as an important moment in the saving dispensation, see Ladaria, *Cristologia*, 191 (with bibliographical indications).

¹⁷ Hinc dilectionis et caritatis fides est, mundi saluti et Filium et suum et unigenitum praestitisse (6,40,33-24; cf. entire paragraph).

¹⁸ Sed incompraehensibiliter inenarrabiliter ante omne tempus et saecula unigenitum ex his quae ingenita in se erant procreavit, omne quod Deus est per caritatem adque uirtutem natiuitati eius inperiens (3,3,8-11).

¹⁹ "É la bontà divina del Verbo stesso, secondo Ilario, che sta all'origine di questa assunzione [...] Il proposito di salvare l'uomo nasce dalla bontà del Figlio di Dio nei confronti della nostra natura umana bisognosa di redenzione [...] Questa bontà si è rivelata in modo particolare quando il Figlio di Dio ha assunto tutto ciò che appartiene all'uomo" [...]. VACCARI, *La teologia della assunzione*, 97.

incarnation: “ipso sibi in hac operatione famulante” (2,24,4-5)²⁰. As in CM, Christ’s human nature is at the service of his divinity in accomplishing salvation²¹. Hilary has a double purpose in stressing the reality of Christ’s human birth from the Virgin. In addition to defending Christ’s divinity, he insists on the true humanity of Jesus, noting that his birth involved all the usual realities of human birth²². His goal in doing this is the same as his purpose in asserting Christ’s true divinity; namely, to show the soteriological finality of the incarnation. Christ can be the Savior of the human race because of the solidarity with the human race he established when he assumed a true humanity in the incarnation. In him – that is, in the humanity the Son assumed – the whole body of the entire human race exists as sanctified²³, so that Hilary can say “Virgo, partus et corpus [...] salus nostra est” (2,24,2-3). The Son’s human birth from the Virgin in a true humanity sanctifies the human race as a whole. But our author also says that Christ’s passion, death, and descent to the underworld are our salvation: “Virgo, partus et corpus, postque crux mors inferi, salus nostra est” (*ibid.*). Christ’s solidarity with the human race includes, not only sharing in the human realities of birth and infancy, but also experiencing the grim realities of suffering and death. Yet his suffering, death, and descent to the abode of the dead are more than just a passive experience, a being subjected to the general fate of fallen humanity. These events, too, are our *salus*; they are part of the Father’s saving dispensation and have salvific value. Even in suffering and dying, the divine power of the Son was at work in the humanity he assumed²⁴.

²⁰ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 82-83.

²¹ Erat in Iesus Christo homo totus atque ideo in famulatum Spiritus corpus adsumptum omne in se sacramentum nostrae salutis expleuit (CM 2,5,2-5).

²² Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 85.

²³ Humani enim generis causa Dei Filius natus ex uirgine est et Spiritu sancto, ipso sibi in hac operatione famulante, et sua, Dei uidelicet, inumbrante uirtute corporis sibi initia conseuit et exordia carnis instituit: ut homo factus ex uirgine naturam in se carnis acciperet, perque huius admixtionis societatem sanctificatum in eo uniuersi generis humani corpus existeret: ut quemadmodum omnes in se per id quod corporeum se esse uoluit conderentur, ita rursus in omnes ipse per id quod eius est inuisibile referretur (2,24,3-12).

²⁴ This idea is taken up in detail below; cf. esp. section 1.2 (page 127).

1.1.1 *Mysterium salutis, magnae pietatis sacramentum*

Another Hilarian term equivalent to the *dispensatio salutis*, as discussed above, is the phrase *mysterium salutis*. Here again, his opponents are the Arians. Hilary uses the teaching of St. Paul to explain and bolster his position, identifying the apostle's term *magnae pietatis sacramentum* with the mystery of the incarnation:

Estne adhuc quisquam tam haebetis intellegentiae, ut dispensationem adsumptae a Domino carnis aliud quam *sacramentum esse pietatis* intellegat? (cf. 1 Tm 3,16) [...] Non enim apostolus ambigit, quin hoc ab uniuersis fatendum sit, *mysterium salutis* nostrae non esse contumeliam diuinitatis, sed *magnae pietatis sacramentum*. (11,9,16-22; cf. 1 Tm 3,16ff).

In our author's interpretation, the *sacramentum pietatis* is not only the "mystery of our religion"; that is, the content of the Christian faith that we believe. In keeping with his anti-Arian purpose in this section of DT, he sees the word *pietas*, not so much as a name for our faithfulness toward God, but primarily as a statement about God's love for us²⁵. In appealing to this NT text, Hilary not only wishes to support his claim that the Son did not cease to be divine in becoming incarnate; he also wants to show that the incarnation was part of the plan of salvation, which originated in God's free love for the human race²⁶. The human realities experienced by the incarnate Son cannot be made into an occasion for denying his divinity. "Non est ergo istud necessitas sed pietas, nec infirmitas sed magnae pietatis sacramentum" [...] (11,9,22-24). The incarnation is not characterized by necessity, but by free and loving concern (*pietas*) for human salvation²⁷. In the text given above (11,9,16-22), *mysterium salutis* refers primarily to the fact of the incarnation (*esse*); the same phrase with *ad* refers to the purpose of the incarnation: "Hoc mihi rursus euangelicae adque apostolicae uoces loquuntur et ex

²⁵ In other passages, he uses *pietas* to name our faithfulness toward God, the obedience of faith; for example: *Pietas est non ambigere, et iustitia est credere, et salus est confiteri* [...] (10,70,15-16). Cf. section 2.1.3, page 136.

²⁶ "el libérrimo designio de la salvación en el que está nuestra esperanza" [...], LADARIA, "Dispensatio", 439.

²⁷ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 61; VACCARI, 101-103.

ipso sacro unigeniti tui ore condita in libros uerba testantur: Filium tuum ex te ingenito Deo unigenitum Deum, hominem ex uirgine ad mysterium salutis meae natum” [...] (6,9,19-23).

The personal note is touching: Hilary is praying to the Father, acknowledging his belief that the Father sent his Son for “my” salvation. He can say this because he understands the purpose of the incarnation to have been “our” salvation, the salvation of human beings in general:

Sed tamen manifestatio in carne non aliud quam magnae pietatis sacramentum confitendum est, quia manifestatio eius in carne et iustificatio Spiritus est et claritatis adsumptio (cf. 1 Tm 1,16). Et qua tandem spe in fide nostra est piae dispensationis mysterium diuinitatis infirmitas, cum per claritatis adsumptionem magnae pietatis sacramentum sit confitendum! Et quia iam non est infirmitas sed sacramentum, nec necessitas sed pietas, dicti nunc euangelici ratio quaerenda est, ne quod salutis nostrae et gloriae mysterium est, id ad occasionem praedicationis inopiae relinquatur (11,9,50-60).

Hilary exploits the vocabulary of 1 Tm 1,16 to develop his teaching about salvation, both in an objective and subjective sense. Objectively, the *magnae pietatis sacramentum* has two main elements: the Son’s incarnation (*manifestatio in carne*), and his glorification (*claritatis adsumptio*). The two natures in Christ are named in terms of the opposition *caro-Spiritus*. The word *iustificatio* has more to do with the content of the Christian faith than with the justification by faith of believers. *Iustificatum* and *iustificatio* refer to Christ’s invisible divinity, his *Spiritus*, as opposed to his visible human nature or *caro*, which is *infirmum*, *manifestum*, and *infirmitas*²⁸. His divinity is said to “justify” his humanity. What exactly this means is not defined, but it seems apparent from the polemical context of the passage. Seeing only Christ’s weak humanity, which is subject to necessity, Hilary’s opponents say that he is merely human, mere weak flesh. By contrast, those who understand the mystery of salvation recognize Christ’s divinity (*Spiritus*), which “justifies” or vindicates Christ, unjustly insulted by the Arians who

²⁸ sacramentum non iam mysterio occultatum sed in carne manifestatum, neque adhuc per naturam carnis infirmum sed in Spiritu iustificatum: ut per iustificationem Spiritus abesset a fide nostra carnis infirmitas [...] (11,9,24-28).

denied his divinity (“contumeliam diuinitatis”; 11,9,21). His divinity is said to “justify” his weak humanity, as in CM it was said to “redeem” it: “Et adsumptio corporis non naturam uirtutis inclusit, sed ad redemptionem suam fragilitatem corporis uirtus adsumpsit” [...] (CM 9,7,9-11). Christ’s flesh makes visible the will to save of the divine Son, who freely chose to become incarnate in order that the flesh might be glorified.

The eschatological consequences of this mystery for believers are seen in Christ’s resurrection. In Christ’s incarnation, the eternal plan of salvation has been made manifest, and its goal is made manifest in his assumption in glory. The saving dispensation begins to be fulfilled in the resurrection of Christ, which is the pattern of its total fulfillment in the fulness of time²⁹: “Quae enim per adimpletionem temporum sunt gerenda³⁰, ea iam in Christo, in quo omnis est plenitudo (cf. Col 1,18) consistunt (cf. Col 1,17); et quaecumque futura erunt, dispensationis in his potius est ordo quam nouitas” (11,31,12-15). This is why the *sacramentum pietatis* is the *salutis nostrae* [...] *mysterium*. Christ, in his humanity, is the first to rise and be glorified; those who believe in him will also rise and be glorified. Their glorification will not differ from his (*dispensationis in his potius est ordo quam nouitas*). We will return to this theme in section 3.4 (page 151).

1.1.2 *Sacramentum/a salutis*

In addition to defining the *magnae pietatis sacramentum* as the *mysterium salutis*, the Bishop of Poitiers frequently employs the term

²⁹ “La resurrección de Cristo es el fundamento de todo lo que tiene que ocurrir todavía en el curso ulterior de la dispensación salvadora. De ahí que el futuro esté no sólo anticipado en Cristo, sino basado y fundado en él de modo real”. LADARIA, *Cristología*, 240.

³⁰ In Hilary’s exegesis, *gerenda* signifies the future realization of something prefigured in actions already performed (*gesta*). There is a resemblance between *gesta* and *gerenda*; cf. CM 19,4,9-14. Cf. also TM 1,22; M. FIGURA, *Das Kirchenverständnis des Hilarius von Poitiers* (Freiburger theol. Studien 127), Freiburg 1984, 36-41; J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l’exil*, 283.

sacramentum salutis or *sacramenta salutis* in DT³¹. *Sacramentum*, in this phrase, always means “mystery”. For Hilary, the mystery *par excellence* contains two essential points: first, the mystery of the Father and Son, coeternal and consubstantial³²; second, the incarnation of the Son for the sake of human salvation.

Already in the Old Testament, the coeternal and consubstantial Son had been revealed, both in the words of prophecy and by manifestations in mysterious types. These OT revelations reveal, not only that God is Father and Son, but also what the Son will do on our behalf, that he will become our incarnate Savior. Hilary repeatedly cites Is 45,15, “Tu enim es Deus, et nesciebamus, Deus Istrahel saluator”³³ as a kind of refrain. He sees Isaiah’s prophecy “et captiuitatem plebis meae conuertet, non cum praemio neque cum muneribus [...]” fulfilled in the fact that believers in the Son are saved by grace, not by their own works: “gratia enim omnes saluamur [...]” (4,38,32; cf. Eph 2,8).

It was out of concern for our salvation that the true God revealed himself in various mysterious types in the OT. Indeed, we cannot be saved unless we know God as he is; namely, as Father and Son. The OT manifestations of the Son form a sort of prelude to and preparation for the incarnation. As such, they are part of the *dispensatio salutis*³⁴, for they reveal to us that our salvation will come from the incarnate divine Son.

Take, for example, the voice speaking to Moses from the burning bush. Hilary explains that the voice belongs to an angel who is, in fact, God the Son. His words reveal, not only that he is God, but also the

³¹ For a complete list, cf. L. MAŁUNOWICZ, *De voce “sacramenti” apud S. Hilarium Pictaviensem*, Lublin 1956.

³² See the long summary of this faith in 6,8,1-14, followed by the words “Sed antequam res ipsas salutarium sacramentorum loqui incipimus” [...] (6,8,14-15).

³³ Notably different from Jerome’s Vulgate: “Vere tu es Deus absconditus, Deus Israel saluator”. Lactantius’ version is nearly identical to Hilary’s: “Tu enim es deus, et nos nesciebamus, deus Istrahel saluator” (*Diu. inst.* 4,13,7), while Cyprian gives “Tu enim es Deus, et non sciebamus, Deus Istrahel saluator” (*ad Quirinum* 2,6).

³⁴ Tenet itaque naturae uirtus ueritatis fidem, et inter dispensationis suae salutaria mundo sacramenta qui Deus uerus est, nescit Deus uerus aliquando non esse (5,13,8-10). Cf. LADARIA, “Dispensatio”, 433-434.

future mystery that God will become man and so will be able to bring about our salvation. This knowledge could not have been obtained by human reason alone; it had to be revealed to us by God³⁵.

Ita enim scribitur est: *Dixit autem Dominus ad Moysen: Ego sum qui sum. Et dixit: Sic dices filiis Istrahel: Qui est misit me ad uos* (Ex 3,14). Coeptus ab angelo Dei sermo est, ut sacramentum intellegatur humanae salutis in Filio; idem Abrahae Deus et Isac et Iacob est, ut ei naturae suae nomen sit; mittit deinde ad Istrahel Deus qui est, ut uere intellegeretur esse quod Deus est (5,22,8-14)

When speaking of the *sacramentum salutis*, Hilary sometimes places the accent on the fact of the incarnation, and sometimes on its salvific purpose; or, in other words, sometimes on the identity of Jesus Christ, and sometimes on his mission. It was through the mystery of salvation that the Son of God received his identity as Son of Man: "Vnigenitus uero Deus et per sacramentum salutis nostrae hominis filius" (8,44,10-11). But he took on this new identity for a purpose, as indicated by the preposition *ad*: "ad sacramentum salutis nostrae homo cernebantur" (6,23,36-37); "ad consummanda salutis nostrae sacramenta uenisse" (6,31,21-22); "ad sacramentum salutis nostrae [...] uenisse" (6,43,8-9)³⁶. Identity and mission, fact and purpose, ultimately are not separable³⁷.

³⁵ Cf. 5,21,1-7.

³⁶ This is the same idea expressed by "ad mysterium salutis meae natum"; above, page 117.

³⁷ We have drawn the distinction between identity and mission in order to point out the varied emphases in Hilary's use of the phrase, but this does not mean that we disagree with the summary statement of Mañunowicz: "*Sacramentum nostrae salutis vel salutis nostrae sacramenta eandem rem declarant: omnibus hominibus Christum salutem comparauisse. Hilarius etiam atque etiam dicit, quod, sibi maximum uidetur, Dei Filium, ut Patris uoluntatem expleret mundumque saluaret, sua sponte hominem factum esse ita, ut Dei maiestas infirma hominis natura uelaretur. Finis ipse, quem habuit sibi propositum Filius, cum homo nasceretur, illos Arii sequaces uidetur fugere; quod Deus habitus humilitatem suscepit, argumento esse uoluit Filium Patre minorem esse: ad contumeliam diuinitatis*" (142-143). Mañunowicz refers to TP 138,2, but that passage has *ad contumeliam indemetabilis suae et inuisibilis et incorporeae et impassibilis substantiae*. The exact phrase *ad contumeliam diuinitatis* is found in DT 11,6,2; cf. 1,33,4-5: [inpii homines] sacramenti reuelationem ad Dei contumeliam transtulerunt [...].

There is always at least a reference to the idea of the Father's saving dispensation:

Operibus ergo Fili clarificatus est Pater, dum Deus esse intellegitur, dum Dei unigeniti Pater manifestatur, dum ad salutem nostram Filium suum etiam ex uirgine natum esse hominem uoluit, in quo explentur ea omnia in passione quae de partu uirginis coepta sunt (3,16,7-11).

In emphasizing the fact of the incarnation, Hilary wants the reader to understand the great mystery that, even in the kenosis of the incarnation, the eternal Son did not cease to be divine. He also wants to recall the mystery of the eternal dispensation. This is the true, apostolic faith, which the heretics oppose, seizing upon Christ's humanity to deny his divinity. Twisting God's goodness in making himself visible to men into a pretext to deny Christ's eternal divinity, they attack the plan of salvation itself: "dispensationem adsumpti corporis rapiunt ad contumeliam diuinitatis, et inpietatis causas adripiunt de salutis nostrae sacramento" (11,6,1-3)³⁸. In this sense, *sacramentum salutis* is equivalent to *dispensatio salutis* as discussed above: "Quid dispensationem ad inpietatem rapis? Quid sacramentum nostrae salutis inuadis ad mortem?" (9,56,1-2).

Ironically, the Arians themselves partially affirm the *sacramentum salutis* in their dispute with the Sabellians, according to Hilary's recounting of the debate. While denying the reality of Christ's sonship, Sabellius recognizes that God worked through the human Christ. The Arians, while insisting that the Son is not of the same nature as the Father, nevertheless rebuke Sabellius, "You do not know the mystery of your salvation"; i.e., the revealed faith that the Son through whom all

³⁸ The text continues: Qui si apostolicae fidei tenaces essent, intellegerent eum qui in forma Dei esset, adsumpsisse formam serui (cf. Ph 2,6-7); neque formam serui usurparent ad formae Dei dehonestatem, cum forma Dei plenitudinem in se Dei contineret [...] (11,6,3-7). Cf. 8,44,10-13: Vnigenitus uero Deus et per sacramentum salutis nostrae hominis filius, uolens proprietatis nobis paternae in se significare speciem, signatum se a Deo ait (8,44,10-13). Cf. LADARIA, "Dispensatio", 434-435.

things were made was born and died for our salvation³⁹. However, the Arian is truly ignorant of the mystery of his salvation, since he does not know that Jesus is "marked with the Father's seal"; i.e., truly God, equal in divinity to the Father⁴⁰: "Sed sacramentum salutis suae nescit, qui nescit filium hominis dantem escam in uitam a Deo Patre esse signatum" (8,42,20-22).

Christ is seen as a man because it was as a man that he would accomplish our salvation, but the Father's voice at his baptism tells us that Christ is also the eternal Son of God.

Et haec quidem paternae uocis significatio ea fuit, ne qui ad inplendam omnem iustitiam (cf. Mt 3,15) baptizandus esset, quid esset ignoraretur, sed ut qui ad sacramentum salutis nostrae homo cernebatur, Dei uoce Dei Filius nosceretur (6,23,34-37).

Like the word *dispensatio*, the phrase *sacramentum salutis* sometimes serves to distinguish the Son's eternity from his temporal appearing. In the plural, the phrase can refer to the multiple moments in the life of Christ in which the saving dispensation would be revealed and fulfilled⁴¹. Born eternally of the Father, the Son was born in time so that he could carry out the mysteries of our salvation in the flesh: "Alterum itaque in dispensatione, alterum in natura est. [...] cum aliud sit a Deo in substantiam natiuitatis exisse [=eternal birth], aliud est a Patre in hunc mundum ad consummanda salutis nostrae sacramenta uenisse" [=incarnation in time] (6,31,20-22)⁴². The "mysteries of our salvation"

³⁹ Clamabunt uero contra haec dissimilem Deo Patri Filium praedicantes non minus ore uipereo: "Sacramentum salutis tuae nescis. Credendus est Filius, per quem saecula facta sunt, per quem formatus homo est, qui per angelos legem dedit, qui de Maria natus est, qui missus a Patre est, qui crucifixus est, mortuus et sepultus est, qui de mortuis resurgens in dextris Dei est, qui uiuorum iudex ac mortuorum est. In hunc renascendum est, hic confitendus est, huius regnum est promerendum" (7,6,21-29).

⁴⁰ Hilary relates the theme of the Father's "seal" to the concept of the *forma Dei* as found in Ph 2,6-7. This is analyzed in detail in LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 70-71 and ff.

⁴¹ Just as *dispensatio* can refer to various aspects of the life of Christ revealing the realization in time of God's eternal plan; cf. LADARIA, "Dispensatio", 440-444.

⁴² Hilary explains the distinction between the Son's birth in time for the sake of the dispensation and his eternal birth, by virtue of which he has the same nature as the Father: "Alterum itaque in dispensatione, alterum in natura est" (6,31,15).

include the incarnation of the Son of God, his passion and death, his resurrection from the dead, and our participation in his death and rising. All of these events were purposeful; the Son “came”; i.e., became incarnate, precisely to accomplish the mystery of salvation:

Ait enim idem: *Quia scimus quod Filius Dei uenit et concarnatus est propter nos et passus est et resurgens de mortuis adsumpsit nos et dedit nobis intellectum optimum, ut intellegamus uerum et simus in uero Filio Iesu Christo. Hic est uerus et uita aeterna et resurrectio nostra* (cf. 1 Jn 5,20). O infelix intellegentia et Dei Spiritu carens et in Antechristi spiritum ac nomen proficiens et nesciens ad sacramentum salutis nostrae Dei Filium uenisse [...] (6,43,1-9)⁴³.

The mystery of salvation may be considered under both its objective and subjective aspects. Objectively, it refers to the pre-existence, abasement, and glorification of Christ; subjectively, it speaks of our own salvation, our participation in the mystery. As seen in Chapter One (section 1.3.1), the link between these two senses is sometimes signaled by a verb expressing completion. It is an objective fact that Christ became incarnate to *accomplish* the mysteries of our salvation in his human flesh, “in hunc mundum ad consummanda salutis nostrae sacramenta uenisse” (6,31,21-22). Subjectively, these mysteries *are accomplished* in the believer:

Prius confitendus est Pater et Filius, ut unus uerus Deus possit intellegi; et cognitis sacramentis salutis humanae, quae in nobis per regenerationis uirtutem in Patre et Filio consummantur ad uitam, legis et profetarum sunt mysteria consequenda (5,35,3-7).

The future accomplishment of the mysteries of salvation in believers (“Quae enim per adimpletionem temporum sunt gerenda” [11,31,12]) is made possible by what the incarnate Son went through for the sake of human salvation (“Quae ad sacramentum salutis humanae Deus in homine nascendo gessit” [5,18,4-5])⁴⁴. As in CM, the link between the

⁴³ Following upon this passage, Hilary addresses himself to the Arians with great sarcasm, asking them what arcane mysteries have informed them better than the experience of the Apostles themselves (cf. 6,43,12-25).

⁴⁴ On the relation between *gessit* and *gerenda*, see above, footnote 30.

two senses has to do with baptism⁴⁵. This will be considered in greater detail in section 3.2 (see page 145).

We cannot participate in Christ's glorification except by willing to be united with him. In taking flesh, Christ assumed⁴⁶ "all flesh", all humanity, so that all men are "in Christ" by that very fact⁴⁷. The hapax *concernatus* (6,43,9, quoted above, page 123)⁴⁸ seems to emphasize this union. Yet the stress Hilary lays on right religious knowledge in the passage above implies that it is possible to be left out of glorification. As we shall later discuss in more detail, it is our faith that determines

⁴⁵ This connection seems to be implied in a passage from Book Two: *Euntes nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, docentes eos seruire omnia quaecumque mando uobis. Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque in consummationem saeculi* (Mt 28,19-20). *Quid enim in eo de sacramento salutis humanae non continetur?* (2,1,1-9). Unfortunately our author does not elaborate on the meaning of *sacramentum salutis* here.

⁴⁶ The word *adsumpsit*, in the passage under discussion (6,43,1-9), appears to refer to being raised, not to the assumption of a human nature by the Son in the incarnation: "Parlando di assunzione nella risurrezione, Ilario evidenzia che la nostra salvezza definitiva avviene mediante un'unione più profonda di Cristo con ciascuno di noi in seguito alla sua vittoria sulla morte. La risurrezione è dunque un'altra nostra assunzione rispetta a quella dell'Incarnazione che ci rende già partecipi della stessa risurrezione di Cristo". VACCARI, 292-293.

⁴⁷ On the assumption of all humanity in the incarnation see J. BEUMER, "De eenheid der menschen met Christus in de theologie van den H. Hilarius van Poitiers", *Bijdragen tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 5 (1942), 151-167; LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 87-103, with further bibliographical indications on 87, n. 1.

⁴⁸ *Concernatus* appears only once in DT, where it is more common to see words derived from *corpus* designating the incarnation; cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 91, n. 10. Thus in DT we have *sacramentum [...] corporationis* (4,27,10-11; 8,42,6), *mysterium corporationis* (5,33,11-12), *dispensatio corporationis* (9,56,12), etc.; cf. *ibid.*, 43, n. 25. "Quia in ipso inhabitat plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter" (Col 2,9) expresses the fact of the incarnation in 1,13; 2,8; 2,20; 3,3; 8,53; 8,54; 8,55; 8,56; 9,1; 9,8; 9,10; 12,20. For the finer points of meaning of *corporaliter* see J. DOIGNON, "Un terme difficile de Col. 2,9 éclairé par Hilaire de Poitiers: *corporaliter*", *Revue Bénédictine* 105 (1995), 5-8. Christ's birth in time is distinguished from his eternal divine birth by the phrase *per corporalem [...] natiuitatem* (8,15); cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 43, n. 25; VACCARI, 292. TERTULLIAN uses *concernatur* once in *De carne Christi* 20 in a comparison referring only indirectly to the incarnation; he employs *concernatio* once in *De monogamia* 9,7 in reference to conjugal union; cf. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*, 303. A precedent of Hilary's usage is CYPRIAN, *Ad Quirinum* 2,2: "de sacramento concernationis".

whether we shall receive this glorious *salus*, because faith determines whether an individual remains “in Christ”⁴⁹. If we wish to remain united to Christ and so participate in his glory, it is necessary to have a proper understanding of his mysteries.

1.1.3 *Apology for alleged indignities of Christ’s conception and birth*

In Book Two, chapters 24-27, Hilary opposes the heretical claim that Christ’s divinity and eternal birth are disproved by the shameful realities of his human condition. The basis of Hilary’s apology is the idea that the Son positively willed to become incarnate for the sake of salvation⁵⁰. Therefore, the physical realities he endured, including his suffering and death, did not happen out of necessity, which would imply a lack of divinity; rather, they are signs of God’s loving concern to accomplish human salvation.

The heretic sees only the humiliations of the Son’s conception and birth, and concludes that Christ is not divine. Appealing to the Gospel accounts, Hilary calls us to recognize the many signs of honor accompanying Christ’s conception and birth⁵¹.

Sed ne forte detineant scrupulosas mentium cogitationes cunae uagitus partus adque conceptio, reddenda est singulis Dei dignitas, ut uoluntatis humilitatem potestatis ambitio praecedat, nec dignationem dignitas derelinquat (2,26,1-4).

The faithful response to the mystery of God’s gracious condescension (*dignationem*) in the incarnation is to recognize the honor (*dignitas*) due Christ’s divinity. The Word has come to dwell among us through his conception and human birth. This happens by pure divine condescension. The word *dignatio*, like *misericordia*, underscores both the divine will to save and the divine freedom in taking flesh⁵².

⁴⁹ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 87-103, esp. 94.

⁵⁰ Dei igitur imago inuisibilis pudorem humani exordii non recusauit, et per conceptionem partum uagitum cunas omnes naturae nostrae contumelias transcucurrit (2,24,13-15).

⁵¹ Cf. 2,26-27.

⁵² Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 50; cf. also n. 56.

The signs and wonders attendant upon the Lord's conception and birth call for this response, as do the words of the angel announcing to the shepherds that the Savior of all men has been born: "Angelus pastoribus nuntiat natum Christum Dominum salutem uniuersorum" (2,27,6-9; cf. Lk 2,11). The angel's words make clear that the human birth of Jesus was part of the divine plan of salvation. His human birth has no other goal than salvation. "Humani enim generis causa Dei Filius natus ex uirgine est et Spiritu sancto, ipso sibi in hac operatione famulante [...]" (2,24,3-5)⁵³. Again, the lowliness of the incarnation is seen to demonstrate both divine power and concern for the human race. What does it mean that the angel defines the newborn Christ as *salus uniuersorum*? The title recalls the phrase of CM: "Christum Iudaeae missum, sed uitam et salutem gentium nuncupatum" (2,1,18-20). Whether Christ is designated as *salus uniuersorum* or *salus gentium*, in either case it is the universal scope of Christ's saving mission that is expressed. The text from DT does not say that Christ will give *salus* to all; rather, he *is* the *salus* of all. This is the only place in DT where Christ is directly identified with *salus*. Usually, *salus* is something distinct from Christ himself, something given by Christ or obtained by right faith in him⁵⁴. Christ can be the *salus uniuersorum* because he did not lose his divine power in becoming incarnate: "Parit uirgo, partus a Deo est [...]. Panni sordent (cf. Lk 2,12), Deus adoratur. Ita potestatis dignitas non amittitur, dum carnis humilitas adoptatur" (2,27,22-25).

⁵³ In this context Hilary intends *Spiritu* to mean the Second Person of the Holy Trinity; the Son himself, by virtue of the power of the Father that is in him, overshadows Mary and brings about his own conception; cf. LADARIA, *Espiritu Santo*, 113; *Cristologia*, 82. For Hilary's theological understanding of the Lord's birth in time, see LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 81-86; BRÉSARD, 94-96.

⁵⁴ For example, the heretic who says that Christ is a creature is attacking the *uniuersorum salus*; i.e., the faith by which all may obtain *salus*: "Et o te miser haeretice, qui indulta ecclesiae aduersum synagogam arma contra fidem ecclesiasticae praedicationis inuadis, et doctrinae salutaris munitissimam intellegentiam rapis aduersum uniuersorum salutem, creaturam Christum per haec uerba esse contendens" [...] (12,36,1-5). Cf. 3,25,17.37; 6,2,5.11; 6,25,32; 6,41,9.14.17; 6,42,1; 6,47,1; 6,48,17; 6,50,33; 7,4,15; 7,26,11; 7,33,17; 8,5,13; 8,34,37; 9,10,27; 9,32,16; 10,48,11.14; 10,70,16.20.22; 10,71,27; 12,20,22; 12,51,18.

1.2 *Salus is accomplished by the power of divinity*

It is necessary to perceive the power of God at work to save in the incarnation. The heretic fails to do this. Because he has an irreligious mind and a narrow understanding, he cannot take in the mystery of the incarnation. Considering the indignities of Christ's birth, the weakness of his infancy, his physical growth, his suffering and death on the cross, he concludes that Christ is not true God. Hilary, however, clearly teaches that the single divine subject in Jesus Christ accomplished the mysteries of salvation: "quae ad sacramentum salutis humanae Deus in homine nascendo gessit, mens inreligiosa non capiat, dum opus salutis suae non intellegit Dei esse uirtutem" (5,18,4-5). As we have seen in the previous chapter, the word *uirtus* designates Christ's divine power. This same divine power accomplishes our salvation:

Suscitat operatio Dei Christum a mortuis, et haec eadem Dei operatio nos uiuificat cum Christo [...]. Tene ergo Christum hominem a Deo ex mortuis excitatum, tene Deum Christum salutis nostrae operationes cum esset moriturus operantem. Vt cum haec Deus operatur in Christo, operans licet Deus, spolians se tamen Christus carne moriturus sit; et cum mortuus est Christus, operans ante mortem Deus, mortuum tamen Christum operatio Dei excitet: cum ipse sit Christum a mortuis excitans qui est ante mortem Christus operatus, et idem sit spolians se carne moriturus (9,10,19-20.26-34; cf. 9,9,1-12).

The same divine power that raised Christ from the dead was at work throughout his passion, and it accomplishes our salvation as well. The words *operatio* and *operare* are drawn from the apostle's expression "per fidem operationis Dei, qui excitauit eum a mortuis" (Col 2,12). Hilary uses this idea to call for faith in the divinity of Christ at work in his passion and resurrection. If the sufferings Christ endured on the cross have the character of necessity, like common human suffering, then Christ is not truly divine and his passion cannot save us⁵⁵. Only God could accomplish the work of our salvation. The work of salvation (*salutis [...] operationes*) accomplished in the passion of Christ should

⁵⁵ This is closely related to the discussion of the *magnae pietatis sacramentum*; cf. page 116.

be understood as a powerful action carried out by a loving God on our behalf, and not as the result of the mere passive acceptance of suffering inflicted from without (cf. 10,48,13-20)⁵⁶.

Adquin apostolus loquente in se Christo locutus (cf. 2 Cor 13,3-4), et salutis nostrae per Dominum opus memorans, mortem Christi ita significat, ut carne se spoliet et potestates cum fiducia dehonestet et de his in semetipso triumfet (cf. Col 2,13-15). Si in passione sua necessitas est, et non salutis tuae donum est [...] (10,48,10-14).

Because Christ accepted the passion freely, the work of salvation (*salutis* [...] *opus*) is rightly considered to be a gift (*salutis* [...] *donum*). His victory over the devil and the cosmic powers (*potestates*) reinforces the idea that his divine power could not be submitted to the sufferings of the passion in a compulsory fashion. The might of the powers is seen especially in their influence over the passions of human weakness. God's mysterious plan of salvation, established before the foundation of the world, had devised a way to free human beings from the definitive conquest of human weakness. In the incarnation, the Son of God took our weaknesses upon himself and chose to die. In this event, the spiritual powers were conquered by the alliance of weak human flesh and the power of God⁵⁷. The *opus salutis* is the fulfillment of the *dispensatio salutis*; it liberates the flesh from all enemies, passions, and limitations. The incarnation is saving in that it joins the unlimited and unconquerable power of God to weak human nature, which, though passible, is not passive in the performing of the *opus salutis*. In this context, *salus* has the connotations of "rescue, liberation from mortal threat". The specific danger from which we have been rescued is the "law of sin in us"⁵⁸ which threatens us, not only with the prospect of slavery to our passions, but

⁵⁶ The emphasis is on the fact of Christ's divinity manifest in his resurrection rather than on the soteriological significance of the *operationes* themselves; cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 196.

⁵⁷ Nascitur itaque Deus adsumptioni nostrae, patitur uero innocentiae, postremo moritur ultioni: dum et homo noster in Deo permanet, et infirmitatum nostrarum passiones Deo sociae sunt, et spirituales nequitiae ac malitiae potestates triumpho carnis Deo per carnem moriente subduntur (9,7,19-24; cf. 9,11).

⁵⁸ legem in nobis peccati [...] (9,7,15; cf. Rom 7,23).

even the possibility of everlasting death. But *salus* means something even greater than the liberation of a weaker party (man) by a stronger party (God). The union between omnipotent divinity and weak humanity in the incarnation will lead to a glorification; the humanity of Jesus will be fully incorporated into the glory of the Father. This is the culmination of the *dispensatio salutis*⁵⁹.

2. The Christological content of saving faith

According to his own testimony, it was concern for the salvation of others that prompted Hilary to compose DT. By identifying, analyzing, and refuting heretical errors, he enables his readers to know, believe, and profess the mysteries of correct faith in Jesus Christ⁶⁰. As a good pastor, he also wanted to make sure that true believers would not be led astray by his opponents' cleverness and thus put their eternal salvation in danger⁶¹. While a simple faith may have great power to save the simple believer, nevertheless more advanced instruction is called for, so that the believer may be able to withstand and answer the cunning arguments of the heretics⁶².

⁵⁹ Cf. 9,38,9-26; LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 236-237.

⁶⁰ Ac mihi quidem praeter studii mei adque officii necessitatem, qua hoc ecclesiae episcopus praedicationis euangelicae debeo ministerium, tamen eo propensior cura ad scribendum fuit, quo magis plures periculo infidelis intellegentiae detinebantur; uberius gaudium consecrans ex salute multorum, si cognitis sacramentis perfectae in Deum fidei, inopia humanae stultitiae instituta desererent et se Deo redderent, hereticis repudiatis [...] (6,2,1-8).

⁶¹ "He did not regard the question of the Trinity as a mere theological dispute, but as a matter of life and death for each individual. It is not sufficient for salvation to believe that God is the Creator and that Christ performed miracles. We must accept God as the Father and Christ as the Son if we are to be saved". S. MCKENNA, C.SS.R., *Saint Hilary of Poitiers. The Trinity*, New York 1954, xiv.

⁶² Fidem non nudam apostolus adque inopem rationis reliquit (cf. 2 Cor 10,4-5): quae quamuis potissima ad salutem sit, tamen nisi per doctrinam instruat, habebit quidem inter aduersa tutum defugiendi recessum, non etiam retinebit constantem obnitendi securitatem, eritque ut infirmis sunt post fugam castra, non etiam ut castra habentibus adest interrita fortitudo (12,20,21-27). Also: Parum autem est in rebus ad salutem maxime necessariis sola ea ad satisfactionem fidei adferre, quae propria sunt [...] (1,29,1-3).

2.1.1 *Faith in Christ's eternal divinity*

In DT, Hilary briefly reprises what had been a leading theme of CM: it is impossible for one to be saved by observance of the Law; faith alone justifies. But the arguments of DT make it plain that "faith" has a specific meaning: believing and confessing that Christ is God. Christ himself said, "Why do you call me good? No one is good except God alone" (Mk 10,18), precisely to reveal his divinity and evoke faith in it⁶³. Our salvation depends on believing and confessing the Son's eternal birth from the Father, the truth of the mystery of his incarnation, and his resurrection from the dead.

Only one passage in the first book of DT speaks of belief in the mystery of the Trinity as part of the "saving definition" of faith established by the authority of the apostles and evangelists: "inlaesum adque incontaminatum regenerantis trinitatis sacramentum intra definitionem salutarem apostolica adque euangelica auctoritas contineret" [...] (1,36,7-9). In the revelation of the Trinity, the mystery of human salvation is made known to us under both an objective and subjective aspect. First, we learn the objective truth of the existence of the immanent Trinity. The title "Father" implies the existence of a Son. The Holy Spirit is mentioned by name, and so must exist. But this mystery, Hilary defines, is the mystery of a life-giving Trinity (*regenerantis trinitatis sacramentum*), so that it interests us personally. Christ's commission to his apostles (cf. Mt 28,19-20) is a complete and perfect statement of the mystery of human salvation, because it both opens a window into the inner life of God, and tells us how to receive salvation⁶⁴. This gift is received in Baptism, which includes a profession

⁶³ Cf. 9,16.

⁶⁴ Sufficiebat credentibus Dei sermo, qui in aures nostras euangelistae testimonio cum ipsa ueritatis suae uirtute transfusus est, cum dicit Dominus: *Euntes nunc docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, docentes eos seruire omnia quaecumque mando uobis. Ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque in consummationem saeculi* (Mt 28,19-20). Quid enim in eo de sacramento salutis humanae non continetur? (2,1,1-9). Hilary's main point here has to do with the motive of belief. He affirms that believers should accept God's own revelation about himself, unlike the heretics who have recourse to elaborate and deceptive arguments about the deep mysteries of the faith (cf. 2,2-3). This means that the summary analysis of

of faith in the Triune God⁶⁵.

It is important to note the context of the passage from Book One quoted in the paragraph above. It is generally acknowledged that the first three books of the work are dedicated to an exposé of the faith professed in Baptism, and to showing how the mystery of the Trinity is made known in the New Testament. From Book Four onward, Hilary takes an overtly polemical stance, appealing to Sacred Scripture to demonstrate the content of the true and saving faith over and against the errors of the heretics⁶⁶. Given our author's historical situation, it is inevitable that the heresies in question are Christological, and that the work focuses on the Father and the Son⁶⁷.

A simple faith that Jesus is the Christ is not sufficient to save; one must also know and believe that he is the eternal Son of God, not a creature⁶⁸. Already in the Old Testament, as mentioned above, the mystery of the eternal Son of God had been revealed in mysterious types. In the New Testament, the mystery is clearly proclaimed, to make possible the saving faith⁶⁹.

Małunowicz is slightly off the mark: "Opus redemptorium memoratur [...], cuius conditio est, ut Trinitas, lavacrum regenerationis summaque doctrinae catholicae credantur" (139).

⁶⁵ Baptizare iussit *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*, id est in confessione et auctoris et unigeniti et doni (2,1,13-14).

⁶⁶ For a summary of the scholarly discussion on the work's composition see SMULDERS' preface to CCSL 62, 1*-3*. The ultimately insoluble question of the work's original title (if, indeed, it had one at all) is discussed on pages 6*-8*. Our study reveals many obvious reasons why this work was known to many early writers, not as *De Trinitate*, but *De Fide*.

⁶⁷ For a comparison of DT with Augustine's *De Trinitate*, see BRÉSARD, 97-98.

⁶⁸ Cf. 6,50; 12,51,13-15, *et passim*. Cf. MAŁUNOWICZ, "Vt salvemur, Filius non solum esse, sed etiam Patri aequalis exsistere credendus est" (145).

⁶⁹ Et uideamus quam ostenderit dicens: *Haec autem scribta sunt, ut credatis quoniam Iesus est Christus Filius Dei* (Jn 20,31). Scribendi igitur euangelii non aliam praetulit causam, quam ut omnes crederent Iesum esse Christum Filium Dei. Si sufficit ad salutem Christum credere, cur adiecit *Filium Dei?* (6,41,5-10).

The man with perfect faith is saved because he believes that Jesus Christ is the Son of God⁷⁰. The mystery contained in the words, "The Father and I are one" (Jn 10,30); namely, the eternal divinity of the Son⁷¹, is the basis of salvation⁷². The Jews who tried Christ raged against Jesus' claim to be divine; Hilary tells the heretics that they are equally "godless" for calling Christ a creature and failing to accept his own words⁷³. Thus they lose the chance of obtaining *salus*⁷⁴. For a careful study of the Lord's own words reveals that one obtains life through believing in his divinity, not merely by obeying his teaching⁷⁵. In addition, by teaching that Christ was not divine, but a creature, the heretics threaten the salvation of others⁷⁶.

⁷⁰ Haec igitur salus uera est, hoc perfectae fidei meritum, Iesum Christum Filium Dei credidisse, Non est enim dilectio in nobis ad Deum Patrem, nisi per Fili fidem (6,42, 1-3).

⁷¹ Cf. 7,23-27.

⁷² Hoc est illud: *Ego et Pater unum sumus* (Jn 10,30). Haec est natiuitatis natura, hoc salutaris fidei sacramentum: non diuidere quod unum sunt, nec natiuitati adimere naturam, et ex uiuente Deo uiuentis Dei ueritatem confiteri (7,27,6-9).

⁷³ *Responderunt ei Iudaei: Pro bono opere non lapidamus te sed pro blasfemia, et quia tu cum sis homo facis te Deum* (Jn 10,33). Ad tu uero, heretice, quid agas ac profiteris agnosce, et eorum te intellege esse consortem, quorum in te refers perfidiae exemplum. Ad id enim quod dictum est *Ego et Pater unum sumus* (Jn 10,30) Iudaei lapides eleuauerunt, et eorum inpius dolor ad sacramentum fidei salutaris inpatiens usque ad inpetum inferendae mortis erupit. [...] Quanto tu inreligiosior Iudaeo! (7,23, 14-21, 24). Horum igitur furori respondere animus exarsit, recolens hoc uel praecipue sibi salutare esse non solum in Deum credidisse sed etiam in Deum Patrem, neque in Christo tantum sperasse sed in Christo Dei Filio, neque in creatura sed in Deo creatore ex Deo nato (1,17, 1-5).

⁷⁴ Infrenis audaciae est desperata iam per conscientiam salus et extra pudorem est professa omnis impietas (7,26, 10-11).

⁷⁵ Non nos in erratica adque in inuia deducit ille qui uia est, neque inludit per falsa qui ueritas est, neque in mortis relinquit errore qui uita est. Et quia haec benigna ad salutem nostram dispensationis suae nomina ipse constituit, ut nos tamquam uia in ueritatem deduceret et ueritas constitueret in uita, cognoscendum est, quod illud obtinendae uitae sacramentum esse demonstret (7,33, 15-21). See also 7,33, 22-26; 7,39, conclusion.

⁷⁶ Et o te miser heretice, qui indulta ecclesiae aduersum synagogam arma contra fidem ecclesiasticae praedicationis inuadis, et doctrinae salutaris munitissimam intelligentiam rapis aduersum uniuersorum salutem, creaturam Christum per haec uerba

For the sake of our salvation, the eternal Son became incarnate, while remaining fully divine. By perverting the truth of the saving incarnation, the heretic makes a life-giving event into something dangerous, even fatal: “Quid dispensationem ad impietatem rapis? Quid sacramentum nostrae salutis inuadis ad mortem?” (9,56,1-2).

The heretic has no excuse for denying that Christ is truly the Son of God, since he knows that Christ was born of a Virgin. While the Jews who put Christ on trial knew that the Messiah must be the Son of God, they did not know of his birth from the Virgin. Thus, an opportunity to be saved remains for them, should they come to believe that Jesus is the Son of God: “Illis [Iudaeis] in eo quod nesciunt, potest adhuc in tuto salus esse, si credant. Tibi iam omnia clausa sunt ad salutem, qui negas quod ignorare iam non potes” (6,50,32-34).

As noted in more detail above, those who are being saved accept the scandal of the cross and believe in Christ’s divinity even when his passion and death seem to make this impossible to believe⁷⁷. Their faith is based, not on what the eyes of the body can perceive, but on the “vision of faith” which perceives Christ’s divinity. The vision of faith goes beyond the appearance of things, based on the authority of God who reveals⁷⁸.

Nevertheless, the heretic may yet be saved by being led back to the true faith. This is precisely what Hilary says he intends to do, by teaching that Jesus Christ is the Son of God who is truly divine by nature:

Sed cesset sermo temerarius et ex his, in quae demonstrandae stultitiae hereticae necessitate proruperat, in reddendae potius rationis ministerium decedat, ut si qui adhuc salui esse ad fidem possunt, teneant euangelicae doctrinae adque apostolicae iter ac uerum Dei Filium non ex adoptione, sed ex natura intellegant (6,22,1-6).

In this passage, the force of *salui* cannot be determined exactly. At a minimum, it has the connotation of “saved, unharmed”, in which case the

esse contendens, non Iudaeum potius negantem Christi ante saecula aeterna diuinitatem et in omnibus operibus ac doctrinis Dei efficaciam per haec uerba sapientiae subsistentis extinguens! (12,36,1-8).

⁷⁷ Cf. 3,25,14-17; EMMENEGGER, 201.

⁷⁸ Non hoc corporis oculis tui cernis, quod uisu fidei tuae sentis (5,19,12-13).

passage would read, "if any can be (led back) safely to the faith". The word *salui* might also be translated "saved", but nothing in the immediate context treats of the question of salvation by faith. We tend to accept the first and more limited meaning⁷⁹.

The word *salus* occurs with a similar sense in Hilary's interpretation of the words Christ prays in the Garden of Gethsemane, "Holy Father, keep them in your name [...]" (Cf. Jn 17,11-12, cited in 10,42,6-8). Hilary explains these words as a prayer on behalf of the disciples. Christ prays that his upcoming passion may not be an occasion for the disciples to deny his divinity⁸⁰. Here, "to be saved" means to be kept safe from the danger of disbelief.

Et quod orat Dominus, utique pro his orat quos cum his manens ipse saluauit, quos et Patri saluandos reliquit. Nunc uero sacramentum mortis peracturus, patrem his custodem praecatur, [...] *Vt adimpleretur uerbum quod dixerat: Quoniam quos dedisti mihi, non perdi ex his neminem* (Jn 18,9). Inpletur enim per se orationis praecatio, et salui omnes sunt. Sed oratur Pater, ut saluatos per se nunc in nomine suo saluet ipse. Et adeo saluat, ut Petri fides paenitentia⁸¹ subsequente non deficiat, licet territa (10,42,21-24.29-36).

The passage is remarkable for the large number of occurrences of the verb *saluare* and the adjective *salus*. If we examine the passage in its proper context (10,30-44), we can clearly see that these two words denote protection (*custodem*) from the danger of losing faith in Christ's divinity. Christ prays that those who have already been saved (*quos cum his manens ipse saluauit*) through faith in his divinity will maintain that faith. The heretics used the Lord's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane to question his divinity, but Hilary interprets the Lord's fear, sadness, and the words of his prayer as expressing his solicitude for the protection of his disciples: "cum quando per praecem Iohannis, qua Patri apostolos

⁷⁹ Watson gives "those among them who are capable of being saved", while McKenna has "if any can still be saved".

⁸⁰ Cf. 10,37.

⁸¹ In Peter's case, the repentance (*paenitentia*) in question is not repentance for sin in general, but specifically a turning away from the sin of denying Christ's divinity and returning to faith in him.

commendat, et tristitiae causa et transeundi calicis depraeatio absoluta sit: non a se passionem amoueri Domino deprecante, sed Patrem ut apostolos se passuro tueatur orante" [...] (10,43,4-8).

The Lord is not asking to be saved, or delivered, from suffering and death. Instead, he wants the apostles to be saved; i.e., protected from spiritual danger. This interpretation recalls Hilary's explanation of Christ's fear in the Garden of Gethsemane as found in CM 31,⁸². In that text, he fears lest his disciples deny his divinity and lose their salvation; in the text from DT given above, he prays that they will be protected from the same danger; namely, a loss of faith that leads to damnation.

2.1.2 *Salvation by accepting the scandal of the cross*

As discussed above, the *sacramenta salutis* accomplished by the Son of God when he was in the flesh often become the occasion for the Arians to deny Christ's divinity. The most obvious case of this, of course, is the Lord's passion and death on the cross. In this connection, Hilary repeatedly appeals to the message of 1 Cor 1,18-25⁸³: the scandal of the cross is foolishness to those who do not believe (the perishing), but to those who are being saved (believers), it is the power of God. Hilary seizes upon the phrase "power of God" to defend the divinity of Christ which accomplishes our salvation even in the apparent weakness of the passion⁸⁴. The cross, then, is not foolishness, but a mystery in which God's power is at work to save believers.

Et idcirco sapientiam sapientium et intellegentiam intellegentium Deus inprobat, quid per opinionem stultitiae humanae credentibus salus tribuitur: dum et infideles quae extra sensum suum sunt stulta esse decernunt, et fideles potestati ac uirtuti Dei omnia largiendae sibi salutis suae sacramenta permittunt (3,25,14-20).

⁸² Cf. Chapter One, section 1.4.

⁸³ Cf. 2,4,12; 2,10,6-7; 2,12,7; 2,12,9; 2,12,11; 3,8,1; 3,8,14-15; 3,24,20; 5,1,36; 5,2,1; 5,18,20-21; 7,3,39; 7,11,19; 8,6,1-2; 8,11,12-13; 9,12,15; 10,64,2-3; 12,20,10; 12,25,15-16; 12,52,14.

⁸⁴ Ergo quidquid pereuntibus stultitia est, hoc his qui saluantur Dei uirtus est: quia nihil naturalis sensus sui infirmitate moderantur, sed diuinae potestatis efficientiam secundum infinitatem caelestis uirtus expendunt (3,25,10-14).

Those who believe in the mystery of the incarnation accept the mysterious ways which God has chosen to give them their salvation.

2.1.3 *Faith in Christ's resurrection*

"If you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord, and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved" (Rm 10,9). Hilary relies on Rm 10,9 further to define the content of the saving faith⁸⁵. To confess Jesus as Lord means to acknowledge his divinity, the same divinity which accomplished his resurrection. To believe in these two truths is a requisite for obtaining *salus*, while to doubt, impugn, or deny them removes that possibility.

Pietas est non ambigere, et iustitia est credere, et salus est confiteri. [...] Dominum Iesum confiteri et a Deo suscitatum a mortuis credere, salus est. Quae uero insania est, qualis et cuiuscemodi Iesus sit calumniari, cum salus sola sit, hoc solum scire quod Dominus sit! [...] Et cum nobis haec sola sit proprietas ad salutem, ut Dei Filium confiteamur ex mortuis, cur, rogo, in hac inreligiositate moriamur [...]? (10,70,15-16.19-23.27-29).

We ought to observe that Hilary's main point is not the necessity of believing in the simple fact of the resurrection. As discussed above, it was the power of divinity which Christ had as Son of God that raised him from the dead. In using Rm 10,9 to defend Christ's divinity, our author identifies "God" who raised Jesus from the dead, not with the Father, but with the divinity Christ has by nature⁸⁶. Indeed, belief in Christ's divinity is the foundation of belief in his resurrection.

2.2 *Salutaris confessio*

The phrase *salutaris confessio* (or *professio*) is frequently met with in DT, where Hilary is consciously responding to the heretics' own "confession". The heretics' profession of faith, reproduced in full in DT 4,12-13 and 6,5-6, summarizes the Arian doctrine while distinguishing it from the teaching of Valentinian, Mani, Sabellius, and Hieracas.

⁸⁵ Cf. 10,68,6 ff., 10,70,11-31; 10,71,27-33.

⁸⁶ Cf. 9,10,19-20,26-34, cited on page 127.

Taking these distinctions as mere evasive maneuvers on the part of the Arians, Hilary forthrightly identifies their main errors: the Son's divine nature is denied, so that the title "Son" does not denote a nature; God is called "Father" as a title of honor only; the Son is created, not born. He will counter the heretics' "profession" with another profession, based on the words of Scripture. As we have seen, the idea that only a correct profession of Christological faith saves was already present in CM, and it will be touched upon with some weight in TP.

The basic principle at work is found in the very first book of DT. A right and saving confession of faith about God must correspond to God's own confession, to his own words about himself, as found in Sacred Scripture⁸⁷. Noting that it is necessary for salvation to believe in Christ as the true, eternally-born Son of God⁸⁸, Hilary announces his intention to find support in both Testaments for our saving confession of Father and Son:

Sed nos edocti diuinitus neque duos deos praedicare neque solum, hanc euangelici ac profetici praeconii rationem in confessione Dei Patris et Dei Fili adferemus, ut unum in fide nostra sint uterque non unus, neque eundem utrumque neque inter uerum ac falsum aliud confitentes [...] (1,17,13-17).

Hilary recognized his obligation as a bishop to help the faithful not fall into heresy; he also hoped to bring those who had strayed back to the true faith⁸⁹. By urging them to heed the Old Testament prophets as well as the witness of the New Testament, he could enable them to make a correct profession of faith and thus receive salvation: "si cognitis sacramentis perfectae in Deum fidei, [...] sequerenturque Christum ducem, profetas nuntios, apostolos praeuios, fidem consummatam et salutem in Patris et Fili confessione perfectam" [...] (6,2,6-12).

⁸⁷ Confirmat autem fidei nostrae ueram et salutarem professionem idem adque unus in plurimis Spiritus prophetiae [...] (5,38,1-3). The heretic is directly urged to base his confession on Christ's own words: Non audis: "creatorem caelestium creasti"; non audis: "effectorem terrestrium effecisti"; sed audis: *Pater, manifestaui nomen tuum hominibus* (Jn 17,6). Vtere saluatoris tui munere (3,33,28-31).

⁸⁸ Cf. 1,17,1-5.

⁸⁹ Cf. 6,1-2.

The heretics who fail to use God's own words to speak of God are doomed to fall into error and condemnation because of the limits of human reason. Only God can reveal God. Thus, Hilary repeatedly apostrophizes the heretic, urging him to heed the words of Scripture, and to base his confession on God's own words about himself:

Verbis Dei de Deo utere! Confitere ita et praecare regem [...]. Caret contumelia honoris officium, neque offensionem habet confessionis exemplum, maxime cum aduersatio eius plena confusionis sit et pudoris. Inmorare Dei uerbis, confitere Dei uocibus, et fuge confusionis denuntiationem [...] ⁹⁰. Honoris fidem innascibili Deo confitere, quod praeter eum Deus nullus sit; unigenito Deo praedica, quod absque eo Deus non sit (4,41,17-18.20-24.26-29).

2.2.1 *Old Testament*

The mysterious manifestations of the Son in the OT⁹¹ prove that he is truly God by nature and not called "God" in name only:

cum Deum et Deum et Dominum et Dominum lex locuta sit [...] cum uirtus Dei potestas Dei res Dei nomen Dei in eo esset, quem Deum lex praedicabat [...] ut ad salutarem confessionem in Patre Deo et in Filio Deo Deus semper ostensus, naturae ueritatem ipso naturae nomine edoceret, cum lex Deum utrumque significans ambiguitatem non relinqueret ueritatis (5,24,4-5.7-9.15-19).

The revelation of the Son in the Old Testament helps to make possible the saving confession. In addition to the OT theophanies, the words of prophets inspired by the Holy Spirit confirm the true and saving confession of our faith⁹². This confession has two main elements: first, that God is Father and Son; second, that the Son became incarnate to be our Savior.

⁹⁰ The phrase *confusionis denuntiationem* is taken from Is 45,16: *Erubescet et pudebit omnes qui aduersantur ei, et ibunt cum confusione.*

⁹¹ On Hilary's interpretation of the OT theophanies, see LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 11-22.

⁹² Cf. *ibid.*, 23-33.

Confirmat autem fidei nostrae ueram et salutarem professionem idem adque unus in plurimis Spiritus profetiae, per successiones et interualla temporum non demutans religiosae doctrinae praedicationem. Vt enim per Moysen ex persona unigeniti Dei dicta pleniore ad intellegendum confirmarentur profectu, rursus sermone Dei Patris ex persona uirorum excelsorum idem profetiae Spiritus per Eseiam loquitur: *Quoniam in te est Deus, et non est praeter te Deus. Tu enim est Deus, et nesciebamus, Deus Istrahel saluator* (5,38,1-10; Is 45,14-15).

2.2.2 New Testament

The New Testament gives us both the Father's words on behalf of the Son, and the Son's words on his own behalf. The confession of believers is saving only if its Christological content corresponds with the Father's testimony about the Son, and with the Son's profession about himself.

God the Father wills that Jesus Christ be known as his true Son, and so he does not call him "Son" in the sense that all the baptized are called "sons"; i.e., by virtue of adoption. This is seen at Christ's baptism in the Jordan, when the Father's voice is heard from the sky. "Alios quidem cognominatos habeo in filios, sed hic Filius meus est; donauit adoptionis plurimis nomen, sed iste mihi Filius est" [...] (6,23,27-29). The Father also wants us to know that his Son has become incarnate for the sake of human salvation: "Et haec quidem paternae uocis significatio ea fuit [...] ut qui ad sacramentum salutis nostrae homo cernebatur, Dei uoce Dei Filius nosceretur" (6,23,34-37)⁹³.

By knowing and confessing the truth of the incarnation, we may obtain eternal life. That is why, at the Transfiguration, the apostles hear the Father's voice a second time: "Et quia in fidei huius confessione credentium vita esset [...] uox e caelis rursus ab apostolis iteratae huius significationis auditur, ut id firmitus crederetur ad uitam, quod non credidisse mors esset" (6,24,1-6). By ordering the apostles to hear his Son, the Father makes clear that what the Son says about himself must be believed⁹⁴. The Son's profession on his own behalf is supported by the

⁹³ Cf. 6,43,7-10.

⁹⁴ Paterna de caelis uox est: *Hunc audite* (Jn 11,41; 6,25,26); Auctoritas paterna de caelo est: *Hic est Filius meus* (Mt 17,5; Jn 2,16; 6,25,30-31).

Father's profession, and must be believed by those who would be saved⁹⁵. Although the miracles Jesus worked sufficed to prove that he came from the Father, this was not enough to convince unbelievers. This is why the Father's witness was needed: "The Father who sent me has himself borne witness to me" (Jn 5,37; cf. Mt 3,7 and Mk 1,1).

Hilary gives several examples of the Son's *confessio* or *professio* about himself: Jn 17,5; Mt 26,24; Jn 14,28; Jn 12,27; Mt 27,46; Mt 15,3; Jn 2,16; Jn 3,17; and finally, a question posed by Jesus: "Do you believe in the Son of God" (Jn 9,35)? This question calls for a response of faith, which alone leads to salvation: "Professio nominis salus est, cum interrogatio fidem postulat dicens: Tu credis in Filium Dei"? (Jn 9,35; 6,25,32-33). To confess "the name" means to acknowledge Christ's divine nature. The name "Son" does not refer to adoptive sonship, nor is the name "Father" a mere title of honor. These are names of nature, referring to attributes proper to divinity. We are reminded of this by the Father's words, which call us to hear and believe the Son's profession about himself, that we may confess the saving truth of the true faith.

Vt enim in eo quod ait Pater: *Hic est Filius meus* naturae demonstratio est, et in eo quod subiecit: *Hunc audite* (cf. Mt 17,5) sacramenti et fidei ob quam e caelis uenit auditio est, cum eum ad salutarem confessionis doctrinam admonemur audire [...] (6,28,2-6).

A confession of faith in Christ has salvific value only when it includes belief in his divine nature: "In quo ergo Filium Dei Iesum Christum fides confessa praecellit, cum ei secundum filios Fili non natura, sed nomen sit"? (6,30,17-19)⁹⁶.

⁹⁵ Adest tamen auctoritatis paternae professio et Filius hic per proprietatem significantis ostenditur. [...] Et quamquam ambiguitas per professionem paternam non relinquatur, tamen et Fili professio de se credenda decernitur [...] (6,24,15-17; 21-23).

⁹⁶ Such a *confessio* would be "godless" (*inpia*), revealing a lack of love for the Father: "If God were your Father, you would love me, for I proceeded and came forth from God (Jn 8,42a)". Christum perfidia ista non diligit nec haec inpia professio pie sibi adsumet Deum Patrem, quia si sibi Pater Deus esset, Christum ob id diligerent, quia exisset ex Deo. [...] Sed cum ab his qui sibi Deum Patrem dicerent, idcirco se diligendum ait, quia ex eo exisset, causam dilectionis ex causa docuit esse nascendi. [...] Ex Deo igitur Filius est non aduentu sed natiuitate, et dilectio in Patrem hinc erit omnis, si Filius ex eo esse credatur (6,30,19-22; 29-31; 40-42).

The sure guarantee of our faith is the true doctrine about the Son, the “evangelical and apostolic doctrine”⁹⁷, which professes Christ as the Son of God by nature, not in name only. This faith is expressed in Peter’s confession, “You are the Christ, the Son of the living God” (Mt 16,16)⁹⁸. Seeing Christ’s miracles and listening to his words about himself, the apostles came to recognize and profess the eternal birth of the Son. But Peter was the first of the apostles to confess his divine nature. Peter’s confession is called “blessed” because he speaks what a human voice had not yet announced. Peter’s confession was not a mere confession of honor, “[n]am utique ad confessionem honoris suffecerat dixisse: ‘Tu Christus es’” (6,36,29-30).

Nam tametsi in corpore manens Dei se Filium esset professus, tamen apostolica fides nunc primum naturam in eo diuinitatis agnouit. Neque enim Petro tantum ex confesso honore laus reddita est, sed ex agnitione mysterii, quia non Christum solum, sed Christum Dei Filium esse confessus est. [...] (I)n eo enim quod dicitur *Hic est*, reuelantis indicium est, in eo uero quod respondetur *Tu es*, confitentis agnitio est (6,36,24-29.35-37).

Peter’s confession is a paradigm of the saving confession of the true faith, which does not misrepresent Christ as a creature made from nothing, but instead confesses him as Son of God by nature⁹⁹.

Hilary appeals to the avowed purpose of John’s Gospel to reinforce his teaching on the saving confession: “These things have been written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and believing, have life in his name” (Jn 20,31). A simple faith “in Christ” is not enough for salvation; it is necessary to believe in Christ precisely

⁹⁷ In DT, Hilary repeatedly appeals to the authority of the Gospels and Apostles to establish what is the true and Catholic faith of the Church in the real divinity of Christ. For some notable examples cf: 1,10; 2,22; 4,1; 4,5; 4,7; 5,6; 5,10; 5,35; 5,37; 6,4; 6,8; 6,11; 6,19; 6,36; 7,2; 7,7; 8,2; 8,4; 9,3; 9,11; 9,42; 10,36; 10,52; 10,64; 11,1; 11,5; 11,7; 12,5; 12,19; 12,50-51.

⁹⁸ Already in CM Peter’s confession was defined as a recognition of the common divinity of the Father and Son; cf. CM 16,6-7, discussed in Chapter One, section 2.5

⁹⁹ Christum non creaturam ex nihilo mentiri, sed secundum proprietatis naturam Dei Filium confiteri (6,37,6-7).

as the only-begotten divine Son of God, and to confess his "name"; i.e. his divine nature:

Si sufficit ad salutem Christum credere, cur adiecit Filium Dei? Si uero Christum credere ea demum fides est, non Christum tantummodo sed Christum Filium Dei credidisse, non est nomen Fili in Christo unigenito Deo ex adoptionis consuetudine, quod proprium est ad salutem. Si ergo salus in confessione nominis est, quaero cur in nomine ueritas non sit. Quodsi in nomine ueritas est, qua auctoritate creatio esse dicetur, cum non creationis confessio salutem sit praestitura, sed Fili? (6,41,9-15).

The impious profession of those who claim that Christ was made, not eternally born, is identical with the words of Antichrist. The Evil One, working through the heretics¹⁰⁰ and Antichrist, disturbs the saving confession by denying the divinity and eternal birth of Christ:

Loquitur haec interim, loquitur plane per aduentus sui profetas ac praeuios ipse ille qui postea erit in Ante christo locuturus: salutarem fidei confessionem his temptamentis nouis inquietans, ut primum conscientiae nostrae qua ita credimus intellegentiam Fili naturalis auellat, deinde ipsum illud quod adoptium erit reliquum nomen excludat (6,46,12-17).

In addition to endangering the salvation of others, the heretic, of course, throws away any chance of salvation for himself¹⁰¹ by failing to imitate the saving confession of the apostles.

Habueras in confessione eorum, quibus desaeuiente uento et turbato mari in uerbi iussu restituta tranquillitas, ut et tu uerum Dei Filium confitereris et eorum uoce utereris: *Vere Filius Dei est* (Mt 14,33). Sed te saeuens spiritus in naufragium uitae rapit et mentis tuae motibus tamquam fluctuoso mari incumbens procella dominatur (6,51,1-6).

The saving confession, in sum, is a faithful obedient response to God's own revelation concerning himself, which calls for the obedience of faith, for true *obsequium religiosum*:

¹⁰⁰ The heretic makes the same profession as Antichrist: Si professionem tenes, profitentis nomen recognosce. An cum creatorem et creaturam Patrem et Filium praedicabis, per adsimulatas nominum uoces excludere posse te credis, ne esse Antechristus intellegaris? (6,42,11-15).

¹⁰¹ Cf. 6,50,30-34.

Huius igitur piae ac debitae professionis modum ita in omnibus quae locutus est Dominus temperavit, ne diuinitatis suae contumeliam confessio natiuitatis adferret, ne obsequii religio naturam maiestatis offenderet, sed ut et honorem debitum natiuitas profiteretur [...] (11,12,1-5).

The response of faith is a loving response of service (*meritum*) to the love of the Father who sent his only-begotten Son, and not a creature, to save the world. To believe means to love the Father in return, and one can only do this by having faith in the Son whom the Father sent. True salvation, then, comes from a unified act of believing and loving: “Haec igitur salus uera est, hoc perfectae fidei meritum, Iesum Christum Filium Dei credidisse. Non est enim dilectio in nobis ad Deum Patrem, nisi per Fili fidem” (6,42,1-3).

2.2.3 *Salus in ecclesia*

The profession of faith is saving inasmuch as the integrity (*ordo*) of its content is preserved¹⁰². Christ’s *professio de se* makes this possible, showing that he was not given divine power gradually, as needed for working miracles, but that he always possessed the fullness of the divine nature by virtue of his eternal sonship.

Et ut maneret salutaris in Patre et Filio confessionis nostrae ordo, naturam natiuitatis ostendit, quae potestatem efficiendi non per incrementa indultarum ad unum quodque opus uirium sumeret, sed de cognitione praesumeret (7,17,22-28).

The Church remains faithful to the teaching of the Gospels and the apostles¹⁰³. The foundation of the Church is the rock of Peter’s confession of faith that Jesus is the Son of God (cf. 6,37,22-24). She takes seriously the words of Christ as recorded in the Gospels, and the *ordo* of Christ’s words keeps whole the order of the Church’s faith: “Tenet itaque responsionis dominicae ordo ecclesiasticae fidei integrum ordinem” [...] (7,19,1-2).

¹⁰² See 11,30-31 (with reference to the incarnation and 1 Tm 3,16): Adque ita apostolus fidei totius ordinem tenuit [...] Also cf. 11,9,30-36.

¹⁰³ Cf. 6,9,13-15; 6,45; 7,7,13 ff.

Because the Church preserves a faith in Christ that is free from error, salvation is to be found within her. She wishes to offer salvation by teaching the mystery of the true faith. When heretics leave the Church or are expelled from it, she can no longer offer them salvation: “Seq discedentibus ex ea hereticis uel abiectis, quantum amittit occasionis largiendae ex se salutis, tantum adsequitur ad fidem expetendae de se beatitudinis” (7,4,13-16).

2.3 *Salus gentium crediturarum*

Once only in DT, Hilary mentions by name a concept that had been a prominent, unifying theme of CM: the *salus gentium crediturarum*. In the present work, however, this concept is brought up only to support the main point at issue; namely, that the union between Christ and the Father is a union of nature, not a mere unity of will¹⁰⁴.

3. Why is the faith called “saving”?

We have discussed, above, the objective Christological content of the true and saving faith. Now we look into the subjective experience of salvation through faith, at how it benefits the believer. To begin with, it is clear that the true faith is “saving” in a negative sense; it preserves the one professing it from the danger that threatens the non-believer or heretic.

Sed nos sapientiam Dei quae mundo stultitia est consecuti, et per fidei dominicae salutarem et sinceram confessionem uiperae doctrinae fraudulentiam prodituri, hunc responsionis nostrae ordinem

¹⁰⁴ Vel id quod Dominus salutem crediturarum in se gentium a Patre postulans ait: *Non pro his autem rogo tantum, sed et pro his qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me: ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me et ego in te [...]* (8,5,14-18; Jn 17,20-21). Hilary has not at all abandoned his ideas about the transition from Law to Gospel as found in CM. He mentions, for example, that the Apostle Paul came from the Law and was called to the Gospel of Christ (8,34,29ff.). His main point in this passage, however, is that belief in God the Father alone (such as the Jews had), does not bring *salus*. To receive *salus*, one must believe both in God the Father and in Jesus Christ his co-eternal Son. This is the faith of the Church, the “Israel of God”, in contrast to the disbelief of the Jews, “carnal Israel” (cf. 5,28,15-22; 5,30,1-15).

inchoauimus, qui et aditum sibi demonstrandae ueritatis acquireret, nec se periculo inopiae professionis insereret [...] (5,2,1-6).

The exact nature of this danger will become clear once we have examined the positive results of saving faith.

3.1 *The reward of faith*

Jacob wrestled with God, in the form of a man, and received a blessing. Similarly, the man who recognizes that Christ is God incarnate, despite the apparent weakness of Christ's humanity, will be blessed "in the Spirit"; i.e., in the saving knowledge of Christ's divinity¹⁰⁵.

Infirmis secundum te homo est, sed anima tua secundum uisum Deum saluata est. Iacob in lucta es, post fidem postulatae benedictionis Istrahel es. Subditur tibi secundum carnem homo ad mysterium passionis in carne; Deum in carnis infirmitate non nescis ad sacramentum benedictionis in Spiritu (5,19,11-18).

We have already noted that the two natures in Christ can be expressed by the word-pair *caro-Spiritus* (cf. page 117). Whether a man's life will be saved depends on whether he recognizes and believes in the divinity of Jesus Christ (*secundum uisum Deum*).

3.2 *Baptismal regeneration*

The blessing, or reward, of the saving faith consists in the gift of adoptive sonship. Those who come to know the mystery of the Trinity and the saving incarnation are admitted to the rebirth of baptism and reborn as the adopted sons of God¹⁰⁶.

Prius confitendus est Pater et Filius, ut unus uerus Deus possit intellegi; et cognitio sacramentis salutis humanae, quae in nobis per regenerationis uirtutem in Patre et Filio consummantur ad uitam, legis et profetarum sunt mysteria consequenda (5,35,3-7).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. LADARIA, *El Espiritu Santo*, 57; also 268-269; _____, *Cristologia*, 44-45.

¹⁰⁶ Rarissimam deinde huius salutaris cognitionis fidem esse, sed praemium maximum noscit, quia et sui non receperunt et recipientes in filios Dei aucti sunt, non ortu carnis sed fidei (1,11,9-12; cf. Jn 1,12-13).

What needs to be confessed is the two basic teachings of the prologue of John's Gospel. First, the mystery of the Father and the Son: the Word is not a second God, nor a god with a different nature. Second, the incarnation, which makes possible man's progress toward God or divinization: "Rarissimam deinde huius salutaris cognitionis fidem esse, sed praemium maximum noscit, quia et sui non receperunt et recipientes in filios Dei aucti sunt, non ortu carnis sed fidei" (1,11,9-12; cf. Jn 1,12-13)¹⁰⁷. Here the full Christian force of *salutaris* is plainly seen. The knowledge of the mystery of human salvation is truly a *salutaris cognitio*, and its confession is *salutaris*, not only because it preserves one from danger and is generally helpful (the classical sense of the word), but because it admits the believer into a new birth, into a new kind of life.

The same divine power (*uirtus*) that raised Christ from the dead regenerates the baptized, so that the old man dies and the new man arises. This is made possible by the incarnation:

Demonstrato autem et naturae suae et adsumptionis nostrae sacramento, cum in eo *plenitudine diuinitatis* manente (cf. Col 2,9), nos in eo per id quod homo natus est repleamur, reliquam dispensationem humanae salutis exsequitur dicens: *In quo et circumcisi estis circumcissione non manufacta in expoliatione corporis carnis, sed in circumcissione Christi, consepulti ei in baptisate, in quo et conresurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui excitauit eum a mortuis* (Col 2,11-12). Circumcidimur itaque non circumcissione carnali, sed circumcissione Christi, id est in nouum hominem renati. Cum enim consepelimur baptismati eius, mori nos necesse est ex uetere homine, quia regeneratio baptismi resurrectionis est uirtus (9,9,1-12).

Hilary establishes a continuity between the *uirtus* of baptism and the *uirtus* of resurrection. Baptismal regeneration ("per regenerationis uirtutem" [5,35,5]) is a new birth unto a new kind of life, which will reach its fulfillment in resurrection: "Cum enim consepelimur baptismati eius, mori nos necesse est ex uetere homine, quia regeneratio baptismi resurrectionis est uirtus" (9,9,10-12).

The fullness of divinity which dwells in Christ bodily (cf. Col 2,9) is communicated to all men through the assumption of our common nature

¹⁰⁷ Cf. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 141-145; WILD, 47-73.

in the incarnation (*adsumptionis nostrae sacramento*). We have seen how the term *dispensatio salutis* designates the eternal plan of salvation and its temporal realization in the incarnation (section 1); now, in this text, we see how the plan comes to its fulfillment in the believer (*reliquam dispensationem humanae salutis exsequitur*)¹⁰⁸. While the incarnation joins all men to Christ's divinity, not all will sacramentally join themselves to the full mystery of what he endured in his humanity: dying and rising. As the text continues, we see that the *salus* communicated to us by the power of Christ's resurrection is a new kind of life. We repeat part of a text already given above:

Suscitat operatio Dei Christum a mortuis, et haec eadem Dei operatio nos uiuificat cum Christo [...]. Tene ergo Christum hominem a Deo ex mortuis excitatum, tene Deum Christum salutis nostrae operationes cum esset moriturus operantem (9,10,19-20.26-28).

Rising with Christ in baptism is the result of faith in Christ's divinity, which raised him from the dead. The same divine action (*operatio*) saves us, bringing us to life in Christ (*nos uiuificat*), a life that cannot die. In the believer, the union with Christ's divinity already begun in the incarnation reaches fulfillment in a divinization, a transformation of natural life into eternal life "in Christ"¹⁰⁹.

3.3 *Eternal life*

The highest reward of participation in the mystery of salvation through baptismal rebirth is the gift of resurrection to eternal life. Knowing that the fullness of divinity is in Christ, and confessing our faith in his divinity, we need fear death no longer, since we know that God will raise up believers to life eternal¹¹⁰. Hilary identifies the *salus* that comes from the true faith with "life"¹¹¹, "blessed life"¹¹², "eternal life"¹¹³,

¹⁰⁸ Cf. LADARIA, "Dispensatio", 452.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. VACCARI, 194-196.

¹¹⁰ Cf. 1,13,52-56; 1,14,1-3.

¹¹¹ Cf. 10,70,19-23; 8,42,20-22.

¹¹² Cf. 10,70,27-29.

¹¹³ Cf. 1,14,1-3; 6,43,5-9; 8,34,36-44; 8,42,19-22; 8,44,10-14; 9,32,1-16.

“eternity”¹¹⁴, and “blessed immortality”¹¹⁵; those who fail to believe, by contrast, are “perishing”¹¹⁶. The mystery of the saving dispensation made known to us is the mystery of obtaining “life”: “quia haec benigna ad salutem nostram dispensationis suae nomina ipse constituit [...] cognoscendum est, quod illud obtinendae uitae sacramentum esse demonstret” (7,33,17-21). And we have already seen Hilary, in his rhetorical battle with the Arians, contrasting the *salus* that comes from faith with eternal death, the result of wrong belief: “Quid dispensationem ad impietatem rapis? Quid sacramentum nostrae salutis inuadis ad mortem”? (9,56,1-2)¹¹⁷.

Merely to define *salus* as the opposite of sickness or death is to add nothing new to the meaning of the word. But Hilary has done more. Once he came to understand the central message of Christianity¹¹⁸, he recognized that, for the believer, this present life is only a preparation for the eternal life to come¹¹⁹. This being the case, our *salus* in this life – our physical health or well-being – matters little in comparison with the *salus* Christ gives, which is eternal life. Just as the meaning of this present life has been transformed, so has the original pre-Christian meaning of the word *salus*. Likewise, the opposite of *salus* is no longer mere physical

¹¹⁴ Cf. 8,44,13-15.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 1,14,4-12.

¹¹⁶ Cf. 3,24,20-3,25,42. The scriptural basis for the contrast is 1 Cor 1,17-25.

¹¹⁷ Cf. 6,24,1-6.

¹¹⁸ In 1960, P. Galtier proposed that the spiritual journey described in the prologue of DT was a fictitious one, and not indicative of a conversion from paganism on Hilary's part (*Saint Hilaire*, 9-11). This thesis was not universally accepted. In any case, for our purposes, it is not necessary to take a position either way. For the various interpretations of the passage in question, from the fourth century to the twentieth, see DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exile*, 49-83. See also A. PEÑAMARÍA DE LLANO, “¿Es cierta la conversión de San Hilario de Poitiers?”, *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 42 (1967), 251-258.

¹¹⁹ In hoc igitur conscio securitatis suae otio mens spebus suis laeta requieuerat, intercessionem mortis huius usque eo non metuens, ut etiam reputaret in uitam aeternitatis. Vitam autem huius corporis sui non modo non molestam sibi aut aegram arbitrabatur, ut eam quod pueritiae litteras, quod aegris medicinam, quod naufragis natatum, quod adulescentibus disciplinam, quod militiam esse crederet imperaturis, rerum scilicet praesentium tolerantiam ad praemium beatæ immortalitatis proficientem (1,14,1-9).

sickness or a threat to one's well-being that might cause the end of biological life, but the real possibility of a "second death" – eternal death after the end of this earthly existence¹²⁰.

The Son became incarnate for our salvation; i.e., so that he might give us eternal life. Christ explained that he could give eternal life precisely because he was the eternal Son, of the same nature as the Father. According to Hilary, this is what Christ is speaking of when he promises to give food that will not perish:

Vnigenitus uero Deus et per sacramentum salutis nostrae hominis filius, uolens proprietatis nobis paternae in se significare speciem, signatum se a Deo ait (cf. Jn 6,27-29). Et hoc ideo, quia uitae aeternae escam filius hominis esset daturus, ut per hoc potestas in eo dandae ad aeternitatem escae intellegi posset, qui omnem in se paternae formae plenitudinem signantis se Dei contineret [...] (8,44,10-16).

The word "food" stands for the gift of eternal life itself, and is not a specific reference to the sacrament of the Eucharist. Those who work for the food that does not perish are those who believe in the *sacramentum salutis*: the mystery that the eternal Son of God, who alone can give eternal life, took flesh for our salvation.

Et quis est, quem signauit Deus? Filius utique hominis, escam scilicet praebens uitae aeternae. Et qui tandem sunt, quibus praebet eam? Illi namque qui operabuntur escam non intereuntem [...] Et quomodo escam uitae aeternae filius hominis dabit? Sed sacramentum salutis suae nescit, qui nescit filium hominis dantem escam in uitam a Deo Patre esse signatum (8,42,13-16.19-22).

God gave us his Son for our salvation, because he loved us. In obedience to the Father, the Son assumed his role in the Father's plan and became flesh. The great mystery of the incarnation is not only a mystery of salvation (*sacramentum salutis*), but also a great mystery of love¹²¹. Similarly, in his loving concern for our salvation, Christ made known the

¹²⁰ Cf. 6,47,15-16; 9,50,1-2.

¹²¹ Cf. the discussion of the *magnae pietatis sacramentum*, above, 116ff.; cf. also the discussion of the "Mystère de tendresse" in BRÉSARD, *op. cit.*, 94-96; LADARIA, *Cristología*, 61, 239.

mystery of his divinity and incarnation, leaving us a clear teaching on this point¹²². In this way, he made it possible for us to avoid fatal error, and to obtain life through faith in his name.

Non nos in erratica adque in inuia deducit ille qui uia est, neque inludit per falsa qui ueritas est, neque in mortis relinquit errore qui uita est. Et quia haec benigna ad salutem nostram dispensationis suae nomina ipse constituit, ut nos tamquam uia in ueritatem deduceret et ueritas constitueret in uita, cognoscendum est, quod illud obtinendae uitae sacramentum esse demonstret (7,33,15-21).

Hilary himself, having come to believe in the possibility of being rewarded with eternal life through faith in Christ, was ordained a priest and preached the saving faith to others. In doing so, he assisted in their salvation, helping them gain the hope of eternal life: "Quin etiam id quod sibi credebat, tamen per ministerium inpositi sacerdotii etiam ceteris praedicabat, munus suum ad officium publicae salutis extendens" (1,14,9-12; cf. 1,14,1-9). The wording of this passage bears more than a passing resemblance to Hilary's interpretation of the cure of Peter's mother-in-law in CM¹²³. Her cure represented the recovery of Peter's own faith, which enabled him to minister salvation to others. The same meaning of *publica salus* is at work in the passage from DT: one individual's concern for the general welfare, for the *salus* of other human beings through the Christian faith¹²⁴. The polemic purpose of DT gives

¹²² Non incertam aut dubiam Dominus tanti sacramenti doctrinam reliquit nec nos in ambiguae intelligentiae deseruit errore [...] (7,33,1-3); cf. 11,1,6-12.

¹²³ Nam primus credit et apostolatus est princeps, et quod in eo ante languebat, Dei Verbo inualescens ministerio tamquam publicae salutis operatum est (CM 7,6,8-11; cf. Chapter One, *ad loc.*). The near-exact repetition of concepts and wording supports the hypothesis that the Prologue of DT dates from before the time of Hilary's exile. This is the conclusion of J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 83. C.F.A. BORCHARDT, *Hilary of Poitiers' Role in the Arian Struggle*, 41-42, outlines the history of scholarly discussion on this matter. For an opposing view see M. SIMONETTI, "Note sulla struttura e la cronologia del De Trinitate di Ilario di Poitiers", in *Scritti in onore di G. PERROTA (Studi Urbinati 39)*, 1965, 274-300.

¹²⁴ "le 'ministère', dont la fonction consistait [...] à enseigner aux autres ce qui faisait sa croyance personnelle", DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 153; cf. 156. SC 443 renders the phrase in question: "au service du salut de tout un peuple" which is true to the classical meaning of the phrase (= *salus rei publicae*), but might be misleading, since it is not *one*

publica salus an additional dimension here; namely, looking out for the safety of others, protecting them from the danger of heretical belief. The fundamental task of the *ministerium salutis* is to impart sound doctrine, the saving truth of faith, to others¹²⁵.

Qui plantat autem et qui rigat unum sunt (1 Cor 3,8), ut non differente ministerio ad salutem et in eiusdem sacramenti profectu, uoluntatis sit unitas in duobus. Vel id quod Dominus salutem crediturarum in se gentium a Patre postulans ait: *Non pro his autem rogo tantum, sed et pro his qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me* (Jn 17,20) [...] (8,5,11-17).

The conscientious Christian minister is aware that the salvation of others depends on his planting the seed of faith, on their hearing the saving message through his words.

By contrast, the heretic who denies Christ's divinity cannot expect to receive eternal life for himself¹²⁶; moreover, by preaching against the divinity of Christ, he endangers the *salus*, the eternal well-being, of those who might be led astray by his words¹²⁷. Hilary reminds the heretics that they are threatened with death. Nevertheless they may yet obtain their *salus*, the blessed life of eternity, by ceasing to stir up complicated disagreements, accepting the truth of the saving faith, and confessing that Jesus Christ is God¹²⁸.

3.4 *Glorification / divinization*

The resurrection and glorification of Christ are a reason to believe in and to confess his divinity¹²⁹. Faith in the plan (*dispensatio*) of salvation,

single people that Hilary wants to be saved, but rather all nations, all human beings. P. GALTIER sees this phrase as expressing Hilary's desire to extend "son ministère au salut de tous"; *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers*, 10. See the extended discussion of this question in Chapter One.

¹²⁵ Cf. 8,1,49-52.

¹²⁶ *Quam, rogo, uel a quo uitam expectat hoc denegans, cum sola sit uita sic credere?* (6,47,15-16).

¹²⁷ *Quid sacramentum nostrae salutis inuadis ad mortem?* (9,56,1-2).

¹²⁸ Cf. 10,70,15-31.

¹²⁹ Cf. 11,9,36-43; 53-56.

through which we have come to share in Christ's death, also prepares us to share in his glorification¹³⁰. The true Christian understands that the humanity of Christ is not a sign of weakness (*infirmitas*); i.e., mere humanity devoid of divinity. Instead, it is an invitation to believe that the Son became incarnate willingly, in obedience to the merciful Father's mysterious plan of salvation. By believing in this mystery, one may be saved and share in the glory of the risen Christ:

Et quia iam non est infirmitas sed sacramentum, nec necessitas sed pietas, dicti nunc euangelici ratio quaerenda est, ne quod salutis nostrae et gloriae mysterium est, id ad occasionem praedicationis in pie relinquitur (11,9,56-60).

In DT, the connection between *salus* and glorification is clearly established. But it is not explained at length or in detail. It will be in TP that Hilary develops this theme most fully, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Salus and related words express safety, in opposition to danger. An orthodox confession of faith is called *salutaris* because a heretical confession is dangerous. Jesus prays for his disciples to be kept safe from the danger of unbelief. The bishop has the responsibility to look out for the *publica salus* of his flock, not only by teaching them the faith, but by protecting them from false teaching. But *salus* is more than safety.

DT contains a well-developed theology of the plan of salvation, the *dispensatio salutis*, conceived as a *mysterium/sacramentum*. The apparent weakness and shamefulness of Christ's human nature and experience are correctly understood only within the mystery. In refuting the Arians, who supported their denial of Christ's divinity by pointing out that his humanity was subject to necessity, Hilary emphasizes the Son's free decision to become incarnate and suffer for the sake of human

¹³⁰ per hanc dispensationis fidem conformes adsumi claritatis dominicae praeparatur (11,9,46-47); cf. 11,9,16-60. On the *dispensatio salutis* and glorification in DT, cf. G. PELLAND, "La 'subjectio' du Christ chez saint Hilaire", *Gregorianum* 64 (1983), 423-429.

salvation. Thus he shows that our salvation was accomplished by *pietas* and *uirtus*; by God's free love and his power. What was usually called *misericordia* in CM is called *pietas* in DT. The mystery of our salvation is the mystery of God's great *pietas* for his creatures, the goodness of his salvific will.

God's love and plan of salvation became visible when the Son took flesh, thus uniting himself with the whole human race. He did so in order to accomplish the mystery of human salvation: dying, rising, and being glorified. The mystery of human salvation can be the mystery of *my* salvation, if I believe in Christ rightly and die and rise with him in baptism. This is the subjective aspect of salvation, the fulfillment of the *dispensatio salutis*. The *sacramentum salutis* is the *sacramentum obtinendae uitae*. The new life of the Christian begins in the new birth of baptism and culminates in resurrection unto glory. In this life, the flesh is saved from the baleful influences of carnal passions and evil spirits; in the resurrection, the flesh is liberated from its material limitations. "To be saved" is to be admitted into the blessed life of eternity, transformed after the likeness of the risen and glorified Christ.

and massive God: who has not his power but was made called
 and massive in God is called man in the mystery of our salvation
 is the mystery of God's greatness for his nature, the goodness of his
 will, and all in one substance in a person in a single act.
 to God who was plain of substance becoming visible when he took
 flesh, thus uniting himself with the whole human race in order
 to accomplish the mystery of human salvation of man, rising and being
 glorified. The mystery of human salvation can be the mystery of why
 and how it is believed in Christ truly and his and the will, him in
 person. This is the subjective aspect of salvation, the fulfillment of the
 sacramental whole. The sacramental whole is the sacramental
 sacramental whole. The new life of the Christian results in the new birth of
 baptism and continues in communion with God, in the life of the flesh
 is saved from the material fallacies of carnal passions and evil spirits in
 the resurrection, the flesh is glorified from its material limitations. To
 be saved is to be admitted into the blessed life of eternity, transformed
 after the likeness of the risen and glorified Christ.
 An original in manuscript. The text appears to be a Latin translation of a Greek text.
 The text is written in a Gothic script and is arranged in two columns. The ink is dark and the paper is aged and slightly yellowed. There are some faint markings and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is dense and appears to be a theological or philosophical treatise.

The text continues with further theological discussion, mentioning the nature of the sacraments and the relationship between the divine and the human. The script remains consistent with the rest of the page.

CHAPTER III

SALUS IN THE TRACTATUS SUPER PSALMOS

Introduction¹

In the year 361, his exile over, Hilary returned to his see to spend the few remaining years of his life looking after the needs of his flock. Prominent in his mind was the need for sound instruction in the true faith². While concern to combat Christological heresy had always been one of his leading motives for producing theological writings, the new political situation in the West after the death of Constantius (361) also played a part in determining the emphases of Hilary's teaching during the

¹ In order to take advantage of the latest critical texts, the citations from TP are taken from three different editions. *Instr. ps.*—TP 91 are quoted from the edition of J. DOIGNON, CCSL 61. TP 118 is cited according to the edition of M. MILHAU, SC 344 and 347. All other citations from TP are taken from A. ZINGERLE, CSEL 22. Reference has been made to Doignon's "Notes critiques sur le texte des citations scripturaires dans les *Tractatus super Psalmos*", CCSL 61, LXXXII-CIV, in which he corrects a large number of the scripture citations in CSEL 22. Note that the CSEL edition numbers the lines of each page, not the lines of each chapter. Some slight typographical and punctuation changes have been made for the sake of uniformity. In this chapter, quotations identified by chapter and verse number only are from TP. For the sake of convenience, quotations from the Psalms are cited according to Hilary's (LXX) numeration.

² Thus he wanted to correspond to the portrait of the ideal bishop, who is "able both to exhort in sound doctrine and to confute opponents" (Tit 1,9-10, quoted in DT 8,1).

last seven years of his life³. Julian the Apostate (reigned 361-363) was content to let the Christians quarrel amongst themselves, while Valentinian I (364-375) was willing to be more or less indifferent to theological debate, as long as the peace of the churches was not threatened. As a result, Hilary felt the obligation both to perfect the religious instruction of his clergy and people, and to unmask teachers of falsehood who took advantage of imperial indifference to continue their harmful activity⁴. Such were his pastoral concerns as he worked on his last two major works, the self-styled *Tractatus super Psalmos*⁵ and the *Tractatus Mysteriorum*. The bulk of this chapter treats TP. Since that portion of TM that has come down to us is fairly brief, it will be considered in an appendix.

The *Tractatus super Psalmos* clearly reveals both the pastoral and theological preoccupations of the Bishop of Poitiers. While he comments on only fifty-six out of one hundred fifty psalms, the *Instructio Psalmorum* which introduces the work shows that he is examining the Book of Psalms as a whole, in a scientific manner, and not simply preaching on selected texts extemporaneously, in a liturgical context. As organized by the LXX translators, the Psalter is divided into three parts of fifty psalms each; each part aims at the same goal: to make known Christ and his work of salvation. Hilary finds the Person and saving work of Christ expressed throughout the Psalms, in allegory and figure. The Psalmist's words teach us of the coming of Christ in the flesh, of his passion and kingdom, and how his resurrection and glorification make possible our own rising to glory⁶. The relatively high level of culture exhibited, the numerous Greek citations, the discussion of technical textual questions and the subtleties of translation, all suggest that the tractates, like the CM, were meant for the instruction of Hilary's clergy⁷.

³ Assuming that Hilary died in 367. A.J. GOEMANS proposes a death date of November 1, 367; cf. "La date de la mort de saint Hilaire" in *Hilaire et son temps*, Paris 1969, 107-111.

⁴ Cf. P. GALTIER, *Saint Hilaire du Poitiers*, 159.

⁵ On the dating of TP, see N. J. GASTALDI, *Hilario de Poitiers exegeta del salterio*, Paris-Rosario 1969, 12-13.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 160-162.

⁷ Cf. CCSL 61, x-xv.

In preparing his text, Hilary studied the commentaries of Origen⁸ and, possibly, those of Eusebius⁹. The internal evidence, then, strongly argues against the suggestion that TP is a collection of homilies.

We take the Tractates to be considered, informed reflection on the texts of Sacred Scripture, shaped by pastoral concerns to be sure, but based above all on a profound theological vision of salvation history. Centered on Christ, it looks forward to the final culmination of his saving mission in the heavenly Church, the eschatological gathering of the nations in an eternal *consortium* with the glorified and risen Christ, the King of the nations.

"Weak" meanings of *salus*

In TP, *salus* can occasionally mean "bodily health"¹⁰, "spiritual assistance/rescue"¹¹, or "(spiritual) protection"¹². *Salutaris* can mean "life-saving"¹³, or, in a very general sense, "beneficial"¹⁴. When used in

⁸ For a thorough study of the influence of Origen's writings on the TP, see E. GOFFINET, *L'utilisation d'Origène dans le Commentaire des Psaumes de saint Hilaire de Poitiers* (Studia Hellenistica 14), Louvain, 1965. Cf. also J. DOIGNON, "De l'absence à la présence d'Origène dans l'exégèse d'Hilaire de Poitiers: deux cas typiques", *Origeniana Sexta*, Louvain 1995, 694-699.

⁹ Cf. GASTALDI, 60-76; J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 543.

¹⁰ *Iucundus est luxus, sed bonus non est; est enim in ipsa illa corporalis lasciviae amoenitate detrimentum et salutis et famae* (132,1,16-18; cf. 127,7,14-20).

¹¹ [Propheta] scit inparem se tribulationibus sine auxilio Dei esse; et idcirco per Deum salutis suae certus est [...] ait enim: *super iram inimicorum meorum extendisti manus tuas: et saluum me fecit dextera tua* (Ps 137,7) [...]. Sed super iram inimicorum, per quos diabolus semper operatur, manus domini extenditur, et sperantes in se saluos facit dextera eius (137,15,24ff.).

¹² *Sunt enim angeli paruulorum cotidie deum uidentes* (cf. Mt 18,10). *Hi igitur spiritus ad salutem humani generis emissi sunt [...] ut haec nos diuina praesidia aduersus mundipotentes harum tenebrarum in hereditanda nobis salute tueantur* (134,17,17-19; 25 ff.). *In muris autem tuitionem salutis significari meminimus [...]* (54,12,13-14; cf. Ps 54,10). Cf. 129,7.

¹³ Ideo autem: "in fine" *tituli inscriptio* est, quia et gloriosa ad aeternitatis honorem uita suscepta et mors plurimis salutaris uirorum fortium inscribatur sepulcris et haec omnia ad eum referri oporteat, qui uel finis est legis uel quem psalmi ipsius finis ostendat (56,2,4-8). Cf. 55,1,16-19: quia tituli inscriptio [...] his maxime, qui probabilem uitam degentes etiam pro salute patriae mori bello non timuerint, ad

the senses given above, *salus* and *salutaris* show the same meanings found in classical, pre-Christian literature. In the overwhelming majority of cases, however, these words have a new and much more profound significance, which we will now begin to explore.

1. Basis of *salus*: the mercy of God

Man hopes for salvation because God has revealed his mercy; that is, his willingness to go beyond human concepts of strict justice, to be patient with sinners. Unlike human justice, God's justice includes the desire to be merciful, to give weak human sinners the chance to repent. God shows his power notably in being merciful to his creatures; in fact, his mercy is to be esteemed greater than his power to create¹⁵.

1.1 *God's mercy and man's profectus*

God's mercy advances human salvation: "Quod enim potens est, naturae suae uirtus est: quod autem misericors est, salutis nostrae profectus est" (144,15). The word *profectus*, along with its verbal form *proficere*, is one of Hilary's favorites¹⁶. In general, it signifies a movement from one status to a better one. The progress being made or good being obtained is specified by the noun with the genitive, as in the text above (*salutis [...] profectus*), or by a prepositional phrase¹⁷. In combination with *salus*, it reveals an optimistic view of history, in which God is constantly moving man forward toward a glorious consummation. This eschatological goal of man's *profectus* will be considered later in

aeternitatis gloriam deferatur.

¹⁴ A reference to the visions Moses saw in the tent of meeting (cf. Num 12,5-8): in quo [tabernaculo] sanctarum uirtutum tremendae contemplationes et salutare uisiones extiterunt [...] (51,15,2-4).

¹⁵ *Miserationes eius super omnia opera eius* (Ps 144,9). [...] praestat ceteris Dei operibus misericordia, quia magna eius operatio uirtutis suae res est, misericordia uero eius usus alienus est (144,15,5-11). Cf. 144,14-16.

¹⁶ So described by R. KINNAVEY, *The Vocabulary of St. Hilary of Poitiers*, 277. Kinnavey's study, however, does not cover the use of *profectus* in TP, considering only CM, DT, and *Liber I ad Constantium*. For more detailed consideration of the term and its theological meaning in all the works of Hilary, cf. FIERRO, *Sobre la Gloria*, 205-208.

¹⁷ Similar usages are found in other early Latin writers; cf. FIERRO, 205.

this chapter (see pages 186, 198ff.); for now, we aim only to show its relation with God's mercy. One of God's means for advancing human salvation is his revealed word in the Old Testament. The teaching of the Law gives the psalmist a reason to ask, first for mercy, then for salvation (*salutare* or *salus*)¹⁸. All the books of the Old Testament ("prophetic books") are very helpful to human salvation and learning. They were written for our sake, to teach us how to lead a sinless life, to bring us knowledge about God, to inform us about our origin and nature, to give us knowledge of future events, etc.¹⁹. Thus, a *profectus* in knowledge of God and a *profectus* toward salvation go hand in hand²⁰. God's will to save is expressed in salvation history by his progressive revelation of himself through the establishment of his people Israel, to whom he gave leaders and a Law²¹. God's word teaches us to hope that when we pray

¹⁸ The equivalency of the two terms is evident in the following text: Post superiorem enim sensum ita loquitur: *Et ueniat super me misericordia tua, domine, salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum* (Ps 118,41). *Misericordiam* itaque primum deprecatus est, dehinc *salutare*. *Salus* enim nostra ex misericordia Dei est, et bonitatis suae hoc munus in nobis est: et inde coepit oratio, unde et *salus* inchoat deprecantis. Dehinc, ne ex incerta et ex inopinata spe precari propheta existimaretur, primum *misericordiam*, dehinc *salutare* commemorat; tum tertio subiecit: *Secundum uerbum tuum*, ut hanc orandi fiduciam proficisci *secundum uerbum Dei*, id est ex doctrina legis ostenderet (118,6,2,1-11). Origen also comments on the order of the words in this verse: God's mercy first, then salvation (*Ch. p.*, 260, v.41, 1.1-4; cf. SC 344, 227, n. 3).

¹⁹ nihil amabilius Deo homine est. [...] Legem accipit [...] post peccatum misericordiae reseruatur, omni saeculi huius aetate ad cognitionem eruditur [...] (134,14,3; 134,20.22-23.).

²⁰ Omnia autem, quae in libris propheticis sunt, maximum humanae et salutis et doctrinae profectum in se habent, nostrique causa uniuersa scripta sunt (cf. 2 Tm 3,14-17) [...] (135,2,26ff.). Cf. 67,20,7-12: Cotidie autem per populi credentis adcessionem benedictionis multiplicatur augeturque confessio, cum gentiles superstitiones impiaeque de diis fabulae, cum arae daemonum, cum idolorum inania relinquuntur et iter omnibus ac profectus dirigitur in salutem. Cf. 118,22,1; 131,1,7-10.

²¹ Prospectio Domini de caelo frequens fuisse cognoscitur, quotiensque peccatis humani generis commotus salutis nostrae causa aut Noe ante diluuium eligit aut Abraham iustificat per fidem aut Isaac sponsionis suae promittit heredem aut in Iacob posterioris populi primogenita praefiguratur aut Moysen prophetam et ducem praeficit et latorem legis instituit aut dum prophetas in omni tempore legis inspirat (52,5,4-10). Cf. 143,10.

to God he will have mercy and save²².

But man's desire for *salus* is a desire for something more than the possession of religious knowledge in this life. Ultimately, it is a desire for everlasting life after death. Indeed, the goodness of God offers religious knowledge in order to give a *profectus* that will lead to that eternal life²³. Those who fear God pray that he will deliver them from eternal death and everlasting judgment, making them partakers of the kingdom that has no end²⁴. The hope expressed in this prayer corresponds to a merciful God's purpose in creating the world: to raise men to a divine status²⁵, giving them an eternal share in his blessings. Both creation and redemption, which show God's power, have no other cause than God's goodness and mercy²⁶. God's mercy and power are both at work in advancing human salvation; this is seen in the promise of eternal life after death, a possibility extended to those who believe in Jesus Christ.

²² *Misericordia* primum oratur a Deo, *salus* etiam expectatur a Deo; deinde eam sponondisse per *uerbum suum* Deus ostenditur. Concluditur itaque *exprobrantium* impietas ab his qui *in Dei uerbis sperant*; cum quando Deus praedicatur, et *misericordiam* et *salutem* ab eo credentium fides *sperat*, et doctrina haec *spei* nostrae sit, ut oratus et *misereatur* et *saluet* (118,6,3,10-17; cf. Ps 118,41-42).

²³ extra bonitatem Dei sit, aut occultari quod uoluerit *pronuntiari*, aut aliud aliquid nisi cum *aequitate mandare*. *Aequitatis autem mandatorum Dei* ea summa est, ut omnibus sint salutaria, ut hoc, uod in hanc uitam uenimus, cum profectu aeternitatis ineamus (cf. Ps 118,171-172). Nam nasci ad mortem, non uitae est causa, sed mortis (118,22,3,8-14).

²⁴ Sed quae uoluntas fiet orantium? *Et saluos faciet*, inquit, *eos*. Hoc uolunt timentes Deum, hoc ut audiantur orant, ut non dominetur eorum aeterna mors, non in interitum perpetui iudicii deputentur, sed sub custodia Dei tuti sint. Sequitur enim: *custodit Deus diligentes ipsum*. Saluos ergo faciet eos custodiendo, id est aeterni regni participes reseruando: sed eos qui et timebunt et precabuntur et diligunt (144,22,3-10).

²⁵ Horum ero talium dominorum Deus dominus est, uocans eos per spem aeternitatis, ut domini sint, ut his dominis Deus dominus sit: et hoc non ob aliam causam nisi ob id, *quia in saecula misericordia eius* (Ps 135,3): donans nobis per aeternae misericordiae suae benignitatem, ut, effectis nobis dominis, digni simus, quorum ipse sit dominus (135,6,23ff.).

²⁶ Quod caelum, quod terra, quod cetera sunt, et ipsum illud, quod sumus, qui non fuimus, quod erimus, quod non sumus, causam aliam non habet nisi *misericordiam Dei*: quid ad consortium bonorum suorum nasci nos uoluit ille, qui bonus est (131,15,13-17). Cf. 135,6-8.

Vt autem omnia haec, quae allegorice commemorata sunt, in profectum humanae salutis geri intellegentur, psalmum conclusione confirmat. Ita enim ait: *Non in uiribus equi uoluntatem habet, nec in tabernaculis uiri beneplacitum est ei. Beneplacitum est Domino super timentes eum et in omnes qui sperant super misericordiam eius* (Ps 146,10-11). [...] Sed quia omnis Dei misericordia curam habet humanae salutis, allegorice superius dicta conclusionis absolute consummat: non pecorum speciem atque uirtutem nec pretiosarum domorum deo ornamenta placuisse [...] sed placere tantum timentem, sperantem et potestatem Dei et misericordiam spe metuque testantem. Misericors enim et potens est, qui dixit: *Qui credit in me, non iudicabitur, sed transiet de morte ad uitam* (Jn 5,24); et potens mortem demutare uita et misericors iudicii amouere terrorem Dominus noster Iesus Christus [...] (146,13,19ff.).

In his mercy, God desires, above all, human salvation (*omnis Dei misericordia curam habet humanae salutis*)²⁷. This is the reason to hope in his mercy, which removes both the fear of judgment and the fear of death. The salvation that God-fearing men hope for is salvation from death. This *salus* is understood both negatively and positively; negatively, in opposition to judgment, and positively, as a transformation of death into life (*mortem demutare uita*)²⁸. Only God has the power to give what we hope to receive from his mercy. The Psalmist praises God in saying, “*melior misericordia tua super uitam*” (Ps 62,4). God’s mercy is better than life; that is, better than this present life, in which we are subjected to the law of death (cf. Rm 7,23). There is a life after this life (“*Est enim et uita post uitam*” [62,7,9]), a new and eternal life, which is given by the mercy of God to those who die and rise with Christ²⁹:

²⁷ In CM, Christ makes visible this concern for human salvation: *Patremfamilias hunc* (cf. Mt 20,1) *Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum existimari necesse est, qui totius humani generis habens [...] (20,5,4-7)*. God’s desire for human salvation is revealed in Christ’s hunger: *Sed Dominus non panem potius quam salutem hominum esuriens [...] (CM 3,3,10-11)*. That desire would be fulfilled in the Lord’s ascension into glory: *Qua rerum ratione indicat post quadraginta dierum conuersationem* (cf. Acts 1,3), *quibus post passionem in saeculo erat commoraturus, esuritionem se humanae salutis habiturum (3,2,13-16)*. Cf. Chapter One, section 1.4.

²⁸ The identification of *salus* with this *demutatio* will be studied below; sections 3.1.2c (page 187) and 3.2.2c (page 199).

²⁹ This theme will be revisited in greater detail in section 6.1, page 228 and ff.

Sed quia plena omnis anxietatum ac dolorum aetas nostra est, plus in misericordia Dei spei est quam in uita, quia hanc mors ex peccati lege consequitur, haec uero aeternitatem ex morte restituet. [...] magnum misericordiae Dei munus est, si commortui Christo uiuamus in Christo (62,6,3-6.8-10).

1.1.1 *The wrath of God and salus*

Commenting on Ps 59,1-2, “Deus, reppulisti nos et destruxisti nos; iratus es et misertus es nobis”, Hilary observes that “wrath” and “mercy” normally are considered to be opposed to each other. In the case of God’s wrath, this is not so. Even his wrath is an expression of his mercy, his will to save. The wrath of God does not destroy its target immediately; rather, God offers the opportunity for repentance because he wants the sinner to live. Christ, who came to save, wants the sinner to die to sin and live forever in him³⁰. Because the wrath of God serves as a warning and incentive to repent, it is said to “save” when it moves the sinner to repentance³¹. For the wrath of God in the present can lead to *salus* in the future, as St. Paul shows when he speaks of delivering a malefactor to Satan “in interitum carnis, ut spiritus saluus sit in die Domini” (1 Cor 5,5). This means that the Apostle is concerned, above all, for the sinner’s eternal welfare, since the “day of the Lord” refers to eternity³², in contrast to the limited mortal life of man on this earth. In evaluating the actions of God, one must keep in mind their eternal consequences, looking beyond how they may be experienced in the present. In this perspective, God’s wrath is not opposed to his mercy. Likewise, God sometimes wounds in order to heal. Commenting on Ps 68,26 “quem tu percussisti,

³⁰ Quod autem ait: *si occidas Deus peccatorem* (Ps 138,19a), numquid, qui uenit saluare quod perierat et peccatorem redimere, peccatorem precatur occidi? Absit, ut uelit occidi. Sed peccator occiditur, cum saeculo moritur, cum Christo commoritur, ut uiuat in Christo (138,42,6-11).

³¹ Non enim statim Deus in ira sua perimit [...]. Et haec quidem ex auctoritate Testamenti Veteris praesumpta sint (cf. Is 1,15-20); uideamus an etiam in Nouo Dei ira talis esse intellegatur, ut saluet. Namque Ioannes eos, quos esse *nationem uiperarum* ob malitiam paternae in se impietatis exprobat, ita ad salutem monet: *Facite dignum fructum paenitentiae* (2,20,12-13.17-19; 2,21,1-3; cf. Mt 3,8).

³² Cf. 51,5,18-21.

persecuti sunt”, Hilary shows how God’s *percussio* may be understood to benefit us, to be *salutaris*³³.

Et ne per singula, quae sunt multa, discurram, cum et apostolus *in interitum carnis ad salutem spiritus tradat* (1 Cor 5,5), Dominus ipse, quid *percutiens* proficiat, ostendit dicens: [...] *Ego interimam et ego uiuificabo; percutiam et ego sanabo* (Dt 32,29), ut *percutiendi* causam proficisci ex causa sanationis ostenderet (68,23,12-17).

The healing for the sake of which God strikes is the healing of our mortality. Christ took our sins upon himself and was stricken, put to death on the cross, so that we might be given healing in rising from the dead along with him³⁴. In this context, *salus* is understood in close relation to *sanitas*. It is more than mere healing, however; it refers to the immortalizing transformation that occurs when a mortal man is fully united with the undying life of God by faith.

When Hilary speaks of repentance leading to salvation, the sin in question is often that of unbelief; specifically, the failure to believe in Christ³⁵. It can also be sin in a very general sense; i.e., living according to the flesh rather than according to the spirit³⁶. God offers *salus*, the blessings of eternal life in heaven, to all who repent and return to a life of right faith and good works³⁷.

³³ de his quae percussa a Deo sint quid sentiri oporteat ante tractandum est, ut, quatenus et haec percussio salutaris et illa percussi persecutio impia sit, possit intellegi (68,22,2-4).

³⁴ *Percussus* ergo est Dominus peccata nostra suscipiens et pro nobis dolens, ut in eo usque ad infirmitatem crucis mortisque *percusso* sanitas nobis per resurrectionem ex mortuis redderetur (68,23,1-3).

³⁵ Cf. 2,21,1-3; Chapter One, section 2.6; DT 10,42,29-36.

³⁶ Sed nos spiritalibus doctrinis eruditi scimus et animae et corporis salutem a Deo esse donatam, si modo post regenerationis gratiam mentis gaudiis sensus corporis imbuatur, id est si non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum uixerimus (cf. Rm 8,4; Gal 5,16-25) [...] (62,3,17-20). Cf. 128,10; Gal 6,8.

³⁷ [Propheta] uota autem sua erga paenitentium salutem pro reditu bonae operationis ostendit benedictiones rursus, quas negauit, optando. Seramus ergo utiliter et labores nostros in replendis manibus ac sinibus praeparemus, ut benedictionum Dei participes sumus [...] (128,14,13-17). To sow usefully is to live according to the spirit; to fill the hands is to reap the fruit of good deeds; to fill the bosom is to reap the fruit of a perfect conscience, faith, and good will. Cf. 128,10-11.

1.2 *Opus erat medico*

The Old Testament tells of the world's need for salvation, and foretells the coming of Jesus Christ, the Savior. Hilary's commentary on Psalm 13 and on the nearly-identical Psalm 52 expresses his views about why the human race needed what the Latin text of these Psalms calls *salutare*. A careful analysis of TP 13 and TP 52 is needed to elucidate the exact meaning of this word in the Hilarian vocabulary.

A deadly illness was killing the human race: ignorance of God and lack of faith in him. Symptomatic of this illness is the statement of the fool: "There is no God" (cf. Ps 13,1; Ps 52,1). The cure for this illness, however, was not to be found on earth. The human race was like a plague-ridden city, in which no physician might be found, the only physician with the power to cure it being far away. Someone entering such a city would cry out, "Quis est qui eum [medicum] praesentem efficeret et salutare eius adferret"? (13,3,8-9). Similarly, the Holy Spirit, seeing the human race denying God and succumbing to the resultant spiritual sickness, cries out through the Psalmist, "Quis dabit ex Sion salutare Israel"? (Ps 13,7 cf. 13,3,10-28; 52,18,1-11; 58,9,7-8). Sometimes Hilary uses *salutare* and *salus* interchangeably, but here *salutare* is not something given, but the power to give something³⁸, the power to save the human race from the consequences of not knowing God or not believing in him. It is analogous to the power to heal a physical illness, to *sanare* and *curare*³⁹.

³⁸ *Salutare* is variously identified with God's *uirtus* (13,5,1), his *potestas* (13,3,34), and his "mighty arm" (cf. 13,5,5-7). Salvation is also said to be accomplished by God's "right hand" (cf. 59,5). Hilary is following Origen (*Com. in Psalm.*, Ps 13; PG 12, 1208 A 10-B 6): "Hilaire recherche la signification de *salutare* dans l'Écriture Sainte. Ce terme signifie *uirtus*. Les textes cités sont d'abord *Is.*, LII, 10 [...], ensuite *Ps.*, XCVII, 2 [...], et, en dernier lieu, *Ps.*, LXXIV, 8 [...] enfin viennent deux citations des Évangiles: *Mt.*, XIII,17 [...] et *Lc.*, II, 29-32 [...]. Nous retrouvons les mêmes citations chez Origène, au moins pour ce qui concerne les textes de l'Ancien Testament. Origène fait remarquer que dans l'Ancien Testament le Christ est appelé τὸ σωτήριον, et il cite les textes: *Is.*, LII, 10 [...] *Ps.*, XCVII,2 [...] *Ps.*, LXXIV,8 [...]. On constate que les deux auteurs citent les mêmes textes: *Is.*, LII, 10; *Ps.*, XCVII,2; *Ps.*, LXXIV,8. Hilaire ajoute: *Mt.*, XIII,17 et *Lc.*, II, 29-32". GOFFINET, 66.

³⁹ Cf. 13,3.

This *salutare* was not to be found among men. The Psalmist describes God looking down from heaven – a sign of his concern to save – to see if any seek God with understanding⁴⁰. But all are found to be useless in this regard, giving rise to the complaint, “Non est qui faciat bonitatem, non est usque ad unum” (Ps 52,3; cf. TP 52,8-9). The reason for the universal failure of men to be good does not lie in the character of this or that individual, but in the mutability of human nature itself. Man is inconstant by nature, always subject to emotional and physical change. Only God is constantly good because of his immutable nature. Even those men who were most praised in the Scriptures and most pleasing to God, such as Moses, David, Peter, et al., were not able to be *constantly* good, precisely because of their mutable human nature⁴¹.

Nor was the power to save to be found in performing the works of the Law of Moses: “Lex autem ex Sion non fuit salutaris, opere quidem uiuificans, sed non iustificans ex fide” (52,18,16-17; cf. Rm 3,28). Here it is evident that the power to save is equivalent to the power to justify, as this term is understood within the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith⁴².

“Opus erat medico, qui una atque eadem auxilii sui ope uniuersa curaret et tot ac uarios in toto orbe languores non arte, non opere [...] sed Verbi potestate sanaret” (13,3,31-34)⁴³. The world needed a physician with *salutare*, the power to cure its spiritual sickness. This could not come from man, nor from the Law; it had to come from God⁴⁴. The Old

⁴⁰ Cf. 52,6.

⁴¹ Non enim Moyses dederat, non Elias, non Esaias, non prophetae; omnia legis opera aduersus tantam morborum pestem infirmabantur (13,3,28-30). Here, our author is translating Origen almost word-for-word, even keeping the same word order: “οὐ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς, οὐκ Ἠλίας, οὐχ Ἡσαίας, οὐχ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν προφητῶν; πάντα τοῦ νόμου τὰ ἔργα πρὸς τοιοῦτόν τι ἦν ἀσθενῆ” (Com. in Psalm., Ps 13, quoted in GOFFINET, 65). An expanded consideration of the same ideas is to be found in TP 52,11-12.

⁴² On the antithesis between Law and Gospel in TP, cf. A. PEÑAMARIA, *La salvación por la fe. La noción “fides” en Hilario de Poitiers*, Burgos 1981, 107-112.

⁴³ On the healing power of the Word (*Verbi potestas*) in CM, see Chapter One, section 3.2.

⁴⁴ “Nous retrouvons cette idée chez Origène: nécessité d’un médecin qui, par la puissance d’un mot, puisse remédier aux misères morales. L’Esprit saint demande la venue d’un tel sauveur dans le monde”. GOFFINET, 64. The relevant passage in Origen

Testament clearly teaches that the world's physician would be Jesus Christ, and both Testaments give the name *salutare* to Christ⁴⁵. By antonomasia, Jesus Christ is the only one with the power to save: "Iesus enim, ut saepe diximus, ipso nomini salutaris est" (52,18,15-16)⁴⁶. Hilary stresses that Christ is able to give *salus* because he is the eternal Son. He received this power as one aspect of the complete divinity he received from the Father in his eternal birth: "Ab ipso enim salutare eius est (cf. Ps 61,1), et Filius omnia accepit a Patre (cf. Jn 3,55); et idcirco in eo Dei potestas uel accepta uel nata est" (61,9,22-24). The Psalmist's question, *Quis dabit ex Sion salutare Israel*, is answered by the words of Isaiah, who foretells the incarnation: "Ex Sion exiet lex, et uerbum Domini ex Hierusalem" (Is 2,3; cf. TP 52,18,9-13). In Hilary's exegesis, *lex* and *uerbum Domini* are opposed concepts. The former is the Law of Moses,

is *Com. in Psalm.*, Ps 13 (PG 12, 1205 D 10-1208 A 9).

⁴⁵ Sed in eo quod salutare est uirtus est nominis. Non nos aptamus aut fingimus, sed in Veteris Testamenti libris *salutare* Dominum Deum nostrum nuncupari docemur, et proprie hoc nomen per pollicitationem gentibus semper indultum est. Ait enim Esaias: *Et reuelauit Dominus brachium suum sanctum in conspectu omnium gentium, et cognoscent omnes fines terrae salutare Dei nostri* (Is 52,10). [...] *Ostendit Dominus salutare suum* (Ps 97,1) [...] et rursum: *Adnuntiate in gentibus gloriam eius et in omnibus populis salutare eius* (Ps 95,3) et rursum: *Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da nobis* (Ps 84,8). [...] Hoc salutare Simeon et expectauit diu et [...] adorauit dicens: *Nunc dimitte seruum tuum, Domine, [...] quia uiderunt oculi mei salutare tuum* (13,5,1-20; cf. Lk 2,29).

⁴⁶ Et de *salutari* quid intellegi oporteret, saepe tractauimus; eum scilicet esse Iesum, qui *saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis* (118,16,8,6-8; cf. Mt 1,21; 118,22,5,1-4). *ut cognoscamus in terra uiam tuam et in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum* (Ps 66,2). Iesum salutarem dici ipse ille proprietatis sermo loquitur. Nam quod nobiscum salutare est, id apud Hebraeum Iesus est. Confirmat autem istud angelus ad Ioseph de Maria dicens: [...] *uocabis nomen eius Iesum, quia ipse saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis* (Mt 1,21). Iesum itaque ostendit angelus idcirco, quia salutaris esset populo, nuncupandum (66,4,17-24). Cf. 118,11,1; 118,21,7. *Salutaris* and *saluator* are equivalent, as seen by the fact that the same Gospel text justifies both titles: Huius ergo nomen expectat (cf. Ps 51,11b), Iesum scilicet uidere, id est saluatorem suum nosse, angelo dicente: *Et cognominabis nomen eius Iesum; ipse enim saluum faciet* [...] (51,24,6-9). Cf. LADARIA, *La Cristología*, 37, n. 7.

which has no power to save; the latter is Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh, who alone has saving power⁴⁷.

In a later section, we will explore Hilary's teaching on the consequences for humanity of the saving power of Christ. Our doctor has established that humanity's need for salvation could be fulfilled only by God, and, in the divine plan, by God incarnate. Now we turn our attention to the plan of salvation itself as discussed in the TP.

2. *Dispensatio*: The Father's plan of salvation

Given its prominence in DT, it is remarkable that the phrase *dispensatio salutis* occurs only once in the TP, at the very beginning of the work⁴⁸. Moreover, it there refers, not to the Father's plan of salvation, but to the three stages in the journey to heaven of individual Christians: remission of sins in baptism, the life of justice and innocence on earth, and eternal glorified life in heaven. These three stages correspond to the division of the psalter into three parts of fifty psalms each⁴⁹. In this passage, then, Hilary is describing the subjective aspect of salvation, and not the fact that the incarnation and passion of Christ were part of the Father's eternal plan. In other occurrences of the word *dispensatio* in TP,

⁴⁷ Hoc Verbum Domini *caro factum est* (cf. Jn 1,14). Haec caro et Sion et Hierusalem est, ciuitas nobis pacis et speculatorium nostrum. Hinc salutaris, hinc Iesus (52,13-15). The implications of the identification of Christ and Sion will be explored further in section 4.2, page 218 and ff.

⁴⁸ The term *dispensatio*, so frequent in DT, hardly ever appears in other works of our author, outside of a few occurrences in TP; cf. L.F. LADARIA, "'Dispensatio' en S. Hilario de Poitiers", *Gregoriana* 66 (1985, 429-455).

⁴⁹ Tribus uero quinquagesimis psalmoreum liber continetur; et hoc et ratione ac numero beatae illius nostrae expectationis. Namque qui et primae quinquagesimae et secundae deinde quinquagesimae et tertiae rursus quinquagesimae, in qua finis est libri, consummationem diligenter aduertat, prouidentiam dispositorum in hunc ordinem psalmoreum cum dispensatione salutis nostrae intelleget conuenire. Cum enim primus gradus sit ad salutem in nouum hominem post peccatorum remissionem renasci sitque post paenitentiae confessionem regnum illud Domini in sanctae illius ciuitatis et caelestis Hierusalem tempora seruatum et postea, consummata in nos caelesti gloria, in Dei Patris regnum per regnum Filii proficiamus, in quo debitas Deo laudes uniuersitas spirituum praedicabit, facile intellegemus in singulis psalmoreum uirtutibus sub quinquageno numero conlocatis sacramentum dispositionis huius quinquagenariae contineri (*instr. ps.* 11,1-16). Cf. GASTALDI, 103-105.

references to the Father's eternal plan are likewise absent. It would be wrong, however, to conclude from the absence of a particular phrase to the absence of the idea expressed by it in DT. As we will see, the ideas expressed by *dispensatio salutis* in DT will be expressed in other ways in TP, and especially by the phrase *sacramentum salutis*.

2.1 *Saving purpose of the incarnation and the passion*

Hilary insistently teaches that the incarnation and passion took place for the sake of salvation, in obedience to the Father's plan. We will first identify the passages where the salvific purpose of the incarnation is discussed, then examine those in which the salvific purpose of the passion is treated. Finally, we will point out how the purpose of the incarnation and that of the passion are united. Having done so, we will have laid the groundwork for a full appreciation of the force of the phrase *sacramentum salutis*.

2.1.1 *The incarnation*

In fulfillment of the mysterious, hidden plan of the Father⁵⁰, the Son willingly accepted the humiliation of the incarnation for the salvation of the human race:

Quod autem infirmitates nostras ad salutem generis humani ex paterna uoluntate suscepit, quia non uoluntatem suam facturus uenerit, sed eius, qui se miserit, Patris, nunc quoque per subiecta declarat: *Quoniam propter te sustinui improprium, operuit reuerentia faciem meam. [...] Sustinuit ergo improprium propter Deum, dum alienum a natura sua corpus adsumit [...]* (68,9,1-5.16-17).

Against the Arians who saw Christ's birth from the Virgin as something shameful that disproved his divinity, Hilary stresses that the Son positively willed to become incarnate for the salvation of mankind: "unigenitus Dei filius ad saluandum hominem, in quo nasci uoluit" [...] (143,18,20). The emphasis on the Son's obedience to the Father for the

⁵⁰ Est enim occultum, Deus salutis humanae causa non in caelesti gloria et claritate nominis sui adfuisse, sed formam humani corporis induisse (9,3,11-14). For the Christological significance of *nomen* and *gloria*, see below, section 3.1.2e, page 190.

sake of human salvation is evident, as well as the cost of this obedience, which demanded of the Son a *kenosis*. Within the framework of the Ph 2 hymn, Hilary employs the notion of “poverty”, drawn from 2 Cor 8,9, to exegete the words of the psalmist: “*Pauper et dolens sum ego* (Ps 68,30). *Pauper est qui secundum apostolum, cum esset omnium diues, seipsum, ut nos ditesceremus, paupertauit*” (2 Cor 8,9).

For Hilary, “poverty” expresses the essential neediness of human nature. To take on a human nature is to accept this poverty. This the Son willingly did, for the sake of *salus*. Another passage referring to 2 Cor 8,9 makes clear both this willingness and the reason for it: “*Paupertauit se, secundum Apostolum, ut nos locupletaremur, cui in saeculi rebus nihil nisi corpus fuit* (cf. 2 Cor 8,9). *Huius enim salutis causa nasci inops uoluit ex uirgine*” [...] (139,16,4-6).

Hilary also sees the Son’s obedience to the Father’s plan of salvation expressed in the Psalms in terms of a vow or oath. This metaphor lays the stress on the Son’s firm intention to carry out the Father’s plan of salvation⁵¹. The mystery of the incarnation is pre-figured in David, who had sworn an oath to the Lord that he would not go back to his bed to rest until he had built the Temple, a place for the Lord to dwell (cf. Ps 131,2-5)⁵². This oath foreshadowed the obedience of the Son who, without ceasing to be divine, left the “bed” of his divine state, his “rest”, to become incarnate for the sake of human salvation⁵³.

Excessit ergo ex illo aeternae beatitudinis suae strato. [...] Cum per oboedientiam uoluntatis paternae ex Deo homo, ex potente infirmus [...]. In illud igitur aeternae et beatuae quietis stratum uouit, nisi reperto dei tabernaculo, non redire, sed nec ante somnum oculis suis dare (131,7,17-22).

⁵¹ Hilary concedes that he may be speaking figuratively, but his purpose is to bring out both the fact of the Son’s obedience, and the purpose of that obedience: *Sicut, inquit, iurauit domino, uotum uouit Deo Iacob* (Ps 131,2). *Sacramenti mentio ad professionem uoluntatis adsumitur. Et nescio, an unigenitus iurauerit. Certe ita et gessit et locutus est omnia, ut sacramenti religioni satisfacere uideretur* (131,4,11-15).

⁵² Hilary says that this psalm must refer to Christ, since a mere man could not swear to give up sleep for a long time, due to the inherent weakness of human nature; cf. 131,5,19-21.

⁵³ [Dei filius] *qui omnia humanae salutis sacramenta tamquam iuratus expleuit* [...] (131,6,1-2).

The phrase *ex Deo homo* calls for some comment. We have already seen that *homo* can stand for Christ's human nature in opposition to *Deus*, which stands for his divine nature. Thus our author can say, "ex Dei Filio hominis filium natum meminimus, Dei naturam omnibus antea saeculis manentem in naturam hominis esse ex partu uirginis genitam" [...] (54,2,3-5). In both cases, the word *ex* indicates the continuity between the Son of God and the Son of Man, and thus the single subject in Jesus Christ. The Son of Man is "born from" the Son of God; in other words, divinity brings about the conception of Jesus, who is both Son of God and Son of man. By virtue of his human birth from the Virgin, he has the nature of man, *hominis*. In addition to standing for the human nature that Christ has in common with all other men, *homo* can indicate the particular humanity assumed by the Son in the incarnation. This will be especially important in TP, where Hilary will speak of the salvation of this *homo*; i.e., of the humanity of Christ. This will be studied in greater detail below, especially in section 3 (see page 176ff.).

2.1.2 *The Passion*

Above, we selected passages from TP in which Hilary clearly states that the Son chose to become incarnate for the sake of salvation. Clear statements that the Son freely chose to suffer for the sake of salvation are even more numerous. This is not surprising for two reasons. First, because many prefigurations of the Lord's passion are found throughout the Book of Psalms. Second, because the passion seems to offer a more serious argument against the divinity of Christ.

Having voluntarily accepted the incarnation, the Son offered himself voluntarily to the Father on the cross, as an offering for the complete salvation of the human race. This is the meaning of the psalmist's words, *Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi* (Ps 53,8). Christ's self-sacrifice on the cross is contrasted with the sacrifices of the Law, which did not have the same character of willingness⁵⁴:

⁵⁴ *Legis sacrificia [...] non habent in se uoluntatis professionem* (63,13,1-3).

Maledictorum se ergo obtulit morti, ut maledictum legis dissolueret, hostiam se ipse Deo Patri uoluntarie offerendo [...]. Cuius sacrificii alio loco meminit in psalmis: *Hostiam et oblationem noluisti, perfectisti autem mihi corpus* (Ps 39,7), Deo Patri legis sacrificia respicienti hostiam placentem suscepti corporis offerendo. [...Christus] omnem humani generis salutem oblatione sanctae huius et perfectae hostiae redempturus (53,13,10-12; 14-17; 19-20).

This text shows the unity between the Son's willingness to become incarnate and his willingness to suffer. He could offer the Father a perfect sacrifice because he had taken a body (*suscepti corporis*) in the incarnation. The participle *redempturus* clearly shows his intent, the reason why he was willing to become incarnate and accept the cross: to "buy back" the *salus* that the human race had lost⁵⁵. Because Christ willed to experience suffering and death for our salvation, his passion does not call into question the fact that he is truly God incarnate:

Nam cum salutem generi humano suscepta crucis morte donaret, non potest uideri *sacramentum* hoc *magnae pietatis* arguere (cf. 1 Tm 3,16). Nam utique si inimicus esset, querelae causa non esset, cum id in se consummaretur, quod ad salutem nostram perpeti ipse uoluisset [...] (54,13,7-12).

As in DT, the *sacramentum* [...] *magnae pietatis* refers to the mysterious dispensation of salvation. It indicates that the incarnation and passion took place, not out of necessity, but out of free and loving concern for the salvation of the human race⁵⁶.

The Psalms foretell the hate, the many insults Christ would endure, especially in his passion. For Hilary, this refers, not only to the insults hurled at Christ as he hung upon the cross, but to a future reality of unbelief:

Sed illo uel paterni nominis magnificentiam testante uel humanae salutis opus moliente, odia in eum multiplicantur in cassum. [...] Numerus odientum *ultra capillos capitis* (Ps 68,4) est multiplex, siue ob impiorum copiosam multitudinem, siue quia indigni sint Dei cura, [...] siue quia infidelium numerus ultra numerum sit fidelium (68,7,1-3; 6-8; 9-10).

⁵⁵ Cf. CM 14,15,14-15: Christo postea pro uniuersorum redemptione passuro.

⁵⁶ Cf. Chapter Two, section 1.1.1.

Christ endured both the sufferings of the cross and the insults of his enemies for the sake of saving mankind. He did not think of himself, but of the *salus* he was winning for others, including his enemies: "Denique nihil se sua causa agere ac pati consequentibus docet dicens: *Tu enim scis improperium* (Ps 68,19) [...]. Et quia propter inimicos suos haec perpetianda sibi fuerant, per quae humanae saluti atque aeternitati consulebat" [...] (68,17,1-2; 8-10).

Christ not only endured the insult of suffering and unbelief; indeed, he positively desired it:

Improperium expectavit cor meum et miseriam, desideratas sibi esse huius temporis significans passiones [...] quia in his passionis suae desiderii beneplaciti temporis consistebat effectus. Sed pati ad profectum nostrae salutis expectans alterius quoque expectationis desiderio detentus est [...] (68,17,11-13.14-15; 68,18,1-2).

The Son underwent his passion animated by desire and expectation because he knew that in doing so, he was fulfilling the Father's great salvific plan in the weakness of human flesh⁵⁷. His desire and expectation have the same goal as God's mercy: the *profectus* of human salvation. Thus, the passion can be seen as an expression of God's mercy.

The Son's willingness to suffer for the sake of human salvation is also expressed in terms of a vow or oath. Because the Son had, as it were, sworn an oath to the Father to undergo the passion for the sake of human salvation, he would not allow Peter to prevent him from dying on the cross:

Tanta ei religio fuit pro humanae generis salute patiendi, ut Petrum [...] satanae conuicio nuncuparet [...]: *Reconde gladium tuum in theca: calicem, quem dedit mihi pater, non bibam illum?* (Jn 18,11), impium et profanum docens esse, si non omnia, quae erga humanam salutem Patri uouisset, expleret (131,4,23 ff.).

The idea of a "vow" is central to Hilary's defense of Christ's divinity. The humiliations of the incarnation and passion happened because Christ was obeying his Father and willingly carrying out the plan of salvation. The incarnation and passion are two aspects of a single act of

⁵⁷ Cf. 68,8,1-3; 68,9,1-8; 138,26.

obedience⁵⁸, which led to the assumption of the *forma serui*. The ultimate expression of the Son's kenotic obedience is his death, as expressed in the words of the Ph hymn: *usque ad mortem*⁵⁹.

Thus, the words of the psalmist, "Pauper et dolens sum ego" (Ps 68,30) are truly the words of Christ. He is *pauper* because he made himself poor in assuming flesh for our salvation; he is *dolens* because he is the Suffering Servant who, bearing our sins, suffers for our salvation⁶⁰.

2.2 *Sacramentum salutis*

The Son's will to save mankind through the incarnation and passion is clearly evidenced by Hilary's use of the phrase *sacramentum salutis*. As we have seen in the previous chapters, Hilary often employs this suggestive phrase without defining it, as if he assumed that his readers would find its meaning self-evident. Depending on the passage in which it appears, however, its force varies significantly, as we will now see.

In TP, Hilary employs this phrase nine times, in both the singular and plural. We may identify two main meanings: first, it refers to the mystery of the incarnation that took place for the sake of human salvation; second, it refers to the realization of human salvation in the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ, in and through which believers receive eternal life.

⁵⁸ Cum per oboedientiam uoluntatis paterna ex Deo homo, ex potente infirmus, ex uiuificante mortuus, ex aeterno saeculorum iudice crucis reus dicitur [...] (131,7,17-20).

⁵⁹ *Sustinuit ergo improprium propter Deum, dum alienum a natura sua corpus adsumit, dum secundum apostolum peccati nescium Pater facit esse peccatum (cf. 2 Cor 5,21), dum fit oboediens usque ad mortem crucis (cf. Ph 2,8), dum ipsi exprobat, quod ceteros saluans se ipse non saluet (cf. Mt 27,42), dum contumelias sputorum alaparumque (cf. Mt 27,30) perpetitur (68,9,16-21).*

⁶⁰ *Pauper est secundum apostolum, cum esset omnium diues, seipsum, ut nos ditesceremus, paupertauit (2 Cor 8,9); dolens est qui secundum prophetam pro nobis dolet (68,25; cf. Is 53,4). Nam rememorationis precatio ei competit, qui se incidere in obliuionem eius a quo uel auxilium uel ueniam expectat pertimescet et aut sui ad salutem commemorationem fieri desideret aut eorum ad poenam, qui sibi semper infest sunt. Et quidem in anteriore superscriptionis ipsius psalmo de uenia et salute tractatum est, qui totus ex persona dolentis Domini pro nobis portantisque peccata nostra consistit (69,1,4-11).*

In CM, we have seen the phrase *sacramentum/a salutis* used with verbs expressing completion⁶¹. An active verb indicates the agency of Christ, while a passive verb indicates the salvation of believers. In and through the humanity he assumed, Christ accomplished the mystery or mysteries of human salvation. These same mysteries are the pattern of what will be accomplished in believers. A *sacramentum* points to the future, serving as a sign of things to come⁶². In DT, in addition to a verb, the preposition “ad” can express the idea that Christ came to accomplish the mystery or mysteries of salvation⁶³. In this same work we find one reference to the mysteries of salvation being accomplished in the believer⁶⁴. In TP, the preposition “ad” signals a reference to the purpose of the incarnation. Also in TP, Hilary will use the verbs *perficere*, *peragere*, and *explere* to say that Christ, in and through the humanity he assumed, accomplished the mystery of human salvation. These individual passages call for individual analysis and comment.

The first passage employs the prepositional phrase “ad sacramentum humanae salutis” to express the purposefulness of the incarnation:

Sed contuenti mihi penitus quasdam uirtutes proprietatesque uerborum, quae ultra humani sermonis consuetudinem altius nescio quid et sublimius elocuntur, eius potius hominis, in quo ex partu uirginis ad sacramentum humanae salutis unigenitus dei filius natus est, repertus est psalmus iste intellegi oportere. Secundum eam enim quae in se generis fuit utriusque naturam, Dei uidelicet atque hominis [...] locutus est, ut, dum diuinitatis suae impassibilem atque indemutabilem uirtutem docet, infirmitatem quoque naturae corporeae non taceret [...]. Quod enim Deus est, naturae suae est; quod autem homo fuit, naturae nostrae adsumptio est (139,2,1ff.).

We have already seen Hilary’s interest in stressing that the incarnation took place for the sake of human salvation (section 2.1.1, page 168ff.). Now, we see him using the expression *sacramentum humanae salutis* to

⁶¹ Expleuit (CM 2,5,5), consummat (CM 2,5,18), peragenda (CM 21,14,9), expletur (CM 7,4,11); cf. Chapter One, section 1.3.1.

⁶² Cf. Chapter One, section 1.3.1; GASTALDI, 85-86.

⁶³ ad consummanda salutis nostrae sacramenta (DT 6,31,21-22); ad sacramentum salutis nostrae [...] uenisse (DT 6,43,8-9). Cf. Chapter Two, section 1.1.2.

⁶⁴ sacramentis salutis humanae, quae in nobis [...] consummantur ad uitam [...] (DT 5,35,4-6); cf. Chapter Two, section 1.1.2.

help his reader better understand the importance of Christ's true humanity. It was in and through a true human nature that the Son would accomplish the mystery of human salvation. The weakness of the human nature he assumed (*homo, natura corporea, natura nostrae*) does not call into question his divinity, but shows the divine desire to save humanity, as it were, "from within". The obedience of the Son to the Father's eternal plan of salvation is made visible in time in the weakness of the Son's assumed humanity. Christ's passion and death, which might seem to argue against his divinity, are likewise to be understood as an expression of the Son's obedience: "Pati omnia in se ipse constituit, dummodo humanae salutis sacramenta perficeret" (54,6,4-5). In accepting the passion, Christ was accomplishing (*perficeret*) the mysteries of salvation, as he had sworn to do: "omnia humanae salutis sacramenta tamquam iuratus expleuit" (131,6,3-4)⁶⁵. Thus, far from disproving Christ's divinity, the passion is correctly understood as an expression of the divine Son's willingness to save:

Quod autem et in crucem actum unigenitum Dei Filium et morte damnatum eum qui natiuitate, quae sibi ex aeterno Patre est naturalis, aeternus sit, frequenter, immo semper, praedicamus, non ex naturae necessitate potius quam ex sacramento humanae salutis passioni fuisse subditus intellegendus est, et uoluisse se magis passioni subici quam coactum (53,12,1-6).

One cannot help admiring the seamless combination of theological precision and rhetorical elegance in this passage. Consistent with his doctrine in CM and DT (*frequenter, immo semper, praedicamus*), Hilary teaches that Christ was driven (*actum*) to the cross by his desire to save man, not forced (*coactum*) to endure suffering and death. He could not be forced, because his divine nature is not subject to necessity (*non ex naturae necessitate*)⁶⁶. Again the link between the Son's voluntary acceptance of the humility of the incarnation and his voluntary acceptance of the passion is evident. Our author draws a polemical

⁶⁵ Compare CM 2,5,2-5: Erat in Iesus Christo homo totus atque ideo in famulatum Spiritus corpus adsumptum omne in se sacramentum nostrae salutis expleuit. On the idea that the Son swore an oath, see above, page 169.

⁶⁶ God subjected himself to the passion voluntarily, but Christ's divine nature felt no pain (cf. 53,12,6-16).

conclusion: unlike the heretics, faithful Christians do not make the saving incarnation into an occasion to deny Christ's divinity⁶⁷.

It is in the paschal mystery that Christ fulfills his oath to accomplish the *humanae salutis sacramenta*. On the cross, in the midst of insult, he was bringing the mysteries of salvation to completion: "Sed inter has omnium de se obrectationes et contumelias humanae salutis sacramenta peragebat; et salutem a Deo homini quem adsumpserat deprecatur" (68,13,1-3). Hilary's analysis of the insults endured by the Lord has great Christological and soteriological significance. The incarnation itself is a great humiliation, in which the Son assumes a nature foreign to him and is obedient unto a humiliating death on a cross. In addition to the physical insults of spitting and slapping, his divine ability to save is denied. Thus he is said to endure insult "for the sake of God"; i.e., his divinity is impugned as he hangs on the cross⁶⁸. Yet, because he never ceased to be divine, he can complete the mystery of salvation in and through his humanity. When he asks for *salus*, he asks on behalf of the humanity (*homo*)⁶⁹ he assumed: "et salutem a Deo homini quem adsumpserat deprecatur" (68,13,2-3). The *salus* he begged for was deliverance from death in the resurrection: "omnis tribuendae uerae salutis oratio est, ut ea ipsa salutis ueritas intellegeretur, quae ex resurrectione speratur" (68,15,2-3). Finally, the mystery of our salvation was brought to completion in the resurrection, when Christ broke the power of death: "Sacramentum itaque salutis nostrae primum resurgens ipse ex mortuis decretumque mortis nostrae, quo ante detinebamur, absoluens in se ipso, qui ex mortuis aeternus iam maneret, impleuit" (67,23,12-15). The verb tenses are critical. The use of the imperfect

⁶⁷ Diligenter autem ea obseruanda ratio, ut, quaecumque homini illi [...] apta esse et congrua uidebuntur, cum debita caelesti naturae suae dignitate tractarentur neque sacramentum salutis nostrae, quo in forma Dei manens formam serui accepit, ad contumeliam indemutabilis suae et inuisibilis et incorporeae et impassibilis substantiae coaptemus. Quod enim homo fuit, nobis profecit, sibi nihil dempsit (138,2,14-21).

⁶⁸ *Sustinuit ergo improprium propter Deum* (cf. Ps 68,8a), dum alienum a natura sua corpus adsumit, dum secundum apostolum peccati nescium Pater facit esse peccatum (cf. 2 Cor 5,21), dum fit oboediens usque ad mortem crucis (cf. Ph 2,8), dum ipsi exprobat, quod ceteros saluans se ipse non saluet, dum contumelias sputorum alaparumque perpetitur (68,9,16-21).

⁶⁹ On the term *homo*, see above, p. 170

(*perficeret, peragebat*) means that Christ, on the cross, was bringing the mysteries of salvation to completion. Nevertheless the mysteries were not completed in his passion and death. The perfect tense shows that these mysteries are fully completed in his resurrection and ascension to glory: “Sacramentum [...] salutis nostrae [...] impleuit” (67,23,12.15). Christ completed the mysteries of salvation with a definite end in mind: “Domino nostro Iesu Christo unigenito Dei filio, qui omnia humanae salutis sacramenta tanquam iuratus expleuit [...] hoc opus maximum fuit, ut hominem ad scientiam diuinam eruditum dignum habitaculo Dei redderet” (131,6,3-7)⁷⁰.

This passage is based on the metaphor of David’s oath to build the Jerusalem Temple⁷¹. David swore not to return to his bed to rest until he had built a worthy place for God to dwell (cf. 131,5). Hilary plays with this concept to express the finality of the incarnation and passion. For Hilary, it is in the incarnation that the Son of God first makes the humanity he has assumed a place for his divinity to dwell⁷². He also wants to dwell spiritually in the hearts of the faithful⁷³. Only after he has prepared these “dwelling places” will he return to his heavenly homeland, bringing his humanity with him to dwell there. “Adsumpto igitur corpore unigenitus Deus neque ante se cum homine suo ingressurum tabernaculum domus suae iurat, id est in caelestem habitationem suam esse rediturum, quam haec religiosi pectoris loca Domino inueniat” (131,6,21ff.)⁷⁴. This demonstrates that the mysteries

⁷⁰ Ob id autem tantum oboediens usque ad crucis mortem est, ut nos habitatione Dei dignos esse praestaret (131,7,9-11).

⁷¹ See above, section 2.1.1, page 169.

⁷² Domum autem Dei etiam ipsum adsumptum a Dei filio hominem intellegere erit promptum, quia in eo inhabitet omnis plenitudo diuinitatis (64,6,29-31; cf. Col 2,9); cf. ADARIA, *Cristología*, 63, n. 100.

⁷³ Habitat autem Deus religiosorum mentes non corporali habitu neque naturae rauioris ingressu, ut alibi non degens illic tantum, quo se intulerit, insistat: sed spiritali virtute in uacua se a terrenis labibus corda permittit seseque luminis modo in patentes innocentiae foribus mentes inluminaturus infundit (131,6,16-21).

⁷⁴ Sometimes when Hilary speaks of God or the Spirit dwelling within a human being in this life, he is actually speaking of human knowledge of God; cf. 68,28,1; 118,4,12; 131,6; WILD, *op. cit.*, 91-92. He also speaks of the incarnate Word dwelling (*inhabitare*) among us to mean the assumption of the whole human race in the incarnation; cf. 51,17; VACCARI, 205.

of human salvation cannot be considered completed until Christ has returned to heaven.

In TP, the phrase *sacramentum salutis* has assumed several important functions that had been carried out, in DT, by the term *dispensatio*⁷⁵. In most cases, *dispensatio* refers to the saving economy as distinct from the nature of God, *dispensatio* often being opposed to *natura*. In TP, the distinction is drawn between *natura* and *sacramentum salutis*. Christ's divine nature is not subjected to necessity, but the humanity he assumed can suffer. Hilary contrasts Christ's impassible divine nature *ex aeterno Patre* with the passible humanity he assumed *ex sacramento humanae salutis*. To express this distinction, our author has abandoned the phrase *dispensatio salutis* and returned to the terminology of CM⁷⁶.

In reference to Christ's saving work, the phrase *sacramentum salutis* points to a twofold reality: the salvation of the humanity assumed by Christ in the incarnation, and the hope held out to others of sharing the glorious destiny of Christ's humanity⁷⁷. We will now examine in detail what it means for Christ's humanity to be saved, and what hope this holds out to the rest of the human race.

3. Christ obtains *salus* for himself, and *salus* for others

Among the works of St. Hilary, only the TP gives a wealth of material, scattered though it may be, of the soteriological significance of the Lord's death and resurrection⁷⁸. According to our author, the several psalms in which David or a just man asks God for *salus* are prophecies of Christ's passion. For the purposes of this study, the tractates on Pss. 53, 54, 68, 139, and 143 are most helpful in helping us to answer the question: What does it mean when Christ asks for *salus* for himself? Once we understand what this means, we will be in a better position to understand the meaning of *salus* offered to others in and through the mystery of the cross. It will become evident that Jesus Christ is the

⁷⁵ Cf. Chapter Two, section 1.1.

⁷⁶ Cf. CM 31,7; 2,5.

⁷⁷ We have postponed consideration of one occurrence of the phrase *sacramentum salutis* to a later section; cf. page 228.

⁷⁸ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristología*, 161.

exemplar of human salvation. The mysteries of salvation, first accomplished in his death and resurrection, are the pattern for the fulfillment of those same mysteries in believers.

3.1 *Christ obtains salus for himself*

In the Psalms, *salus* is requested by someone in such a predicament that he is obliged to request assistance from someone else, someone stronger than himself. The request for *salus* expresses the need for protection, deliverance, liberation, preservation, safety, restoration, escape⁷⁹. When a need for *salus* is expressed by Christ in the predicament of his passion, the word takes on new and unique connotations.

For the Son, the incarnation represents a humiliation, both because in it the Son assumed a condition inferior to his divine state, and because it made him liable to death. Yet, since he did not cease to be divine even in assuming a human nature, he has within him the divine power to save himself. As man, he asks God to save him; as God, he saves the “man” he assumed in the incarnation⁸⁰.

Even when Christ asks for something as man, he always does so with a full consciousness of his divinity. The fact that Christ prayed for salvation does not imply that he is less than divine; rather, it shows that the divine Son assumed our humanity with its limitations and weaknesses⁸¹. While any human being could ask to be saved, only Christ could do so using the very words found in the Psalms. In pressing this point home, Hilary is simultaneously defending the divinity of Christ,

⁷⁹ Cf. W. BARCLAY, *New Testament Words*, London 1964.

⁸⁰ Fierro has ably summarized the paradox: “En otros autores de su tiempo, no es fácil encontrar aplicados a Cristo los acentos afligidos del salmista que implora ser liberado. En la cristología de San Hilario constituye, en cambio, uno de sus elementos más notables, la necesidad de que Jesús, en su forma de siervo, sea salvado. Esto le coloca en plano de igualdad con los demás hombres. Pero el Señor, por otra parte, es ‘dueño de la resurrección’, que pone la vida y deja la gloria cuando quiere, para volver a tomarlas cuando le place. Ambos aspectos son complementarios: como hombre, necesita, pide y espera; como Dios, y Señor, resuscita con su propio poder”. FIERRO, 134.

⁸¹ Et ex communi nostra infirmitate salutem sibi est deprecatus a Patre, ut natiuitatem nostram cum ipsis infirmitatis nostrae inisse intellegeretur officiis (53,7,10-12).

and upholding the validity of a Christotypical interpretation of the Psalms⁸².

The unique quality of Christ's prayers for salvation is discussed in the tractates on Pss 53, 68, and 139. Christ's plea, "Deus, in nomine tuo saluifica me et in uirtute tua iudica me" (Ps 53,3), expresses his true divinity. As true God, even after having assumed the form of a slave, he has both the name of God and the power of God:

In humilitate corporis unigenitus Dei filius sub prophetae sui dictis haec precatur, qui et gloriam, quam ante saecula habuerat, reposcebat; *saluificari se in dei nomine rogat* (cf. Ps 53,3), in quo est et nuncupatus et natus, ut se in eo corpore, in quo erat natus, idipsum, quod naturae anteriori suae et generi erat proprium, saluum faceret Dei nomen (53,4,13-18).

Normally, a human being would not ask to be judged by God's power (*uirtus*), but by his mercy and fairness⁸³. In the unique case of Christ, however, to be judged by the power of God means to be accorded the name of God which by right belongs to him: "Et ut huius nominis, in quo se saluari orabat, honorem non nudae tantum nuncupationis doceret esse, *iudicari se in uirtute Dei precatur*" (53,5,8-10). For Christ, "to be saved" means that, after being obedient unto death, he is exalted, regaining his original glorious condition (*qui et gloriam, quam ante saecula habuerat, reposcebat*)⁸⁴. In Christ's return to his original exalted state, the humanity he assumed is "saved"; in other words, it is granted resurrection⁸⁵, and forever joined to the glory of divinity.

In speaking of the salvation of Christ's humanity, Hilary emphasizes the word *uirtus*, a designation of divine omnipotence⁸⁶, in which, as has been noted, the power to give *salus* is rooted⁸⁷. The word *potestas* has the

⁸² Hilary criticizes the Jews for denying that, in the Psalms, "David" stands for Christ. But Christ, who brought salvation to the human race in the flesh he assumed, is the new David foretold by the prophet: *suscitabo illis David regem, orientem, iustum [...] in diebus eius saluabitur Iudas* (131,1; cf. Jer 23,5-6). Cf. 131,2; 131,10-11.

⁸³ Cf. 53,5,23-25.

⁸⁴ We return to this text in section 3.1.2e, page 189, 191.

⁸⁵ Cf. 53,14.

⁸⁶ Cf. 144,15.

⁸⁷ Cf. 13,5,1; 59,5,3-11; 139,10,5-12; 139,11,1-3; 143,18,14-24; section 1.2, note

me meaning; it is the divine power by which Christ saved his own humanity⁸⁸.

1.1 Susceptio

David (that is, Christ in his passion) prays “Salua me, Deus, quoniam trauerunt aquae usque ad animam meam [...]” (Ps 68,1). This is the prayer of one who, about to die, could not be held bound by death, because he was God (cf. 68,2; 68,15,11-24). Yet, it was his humanity who had the task of begging for salvation, while his consciousness of divinity hoped for salvation even in death. In the same way, it was in his assumed weak humanity that he said, “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?”⁸⁹, indicating the need for God’s help.

The need is supplied; Christ’s divinity saves his humanity. This salvation is discussed in terms of the verb *suscipere*, drawn from the words of the Psalm: *Pauper et dolens sum ego: et salus uultus tui, Deus, suscepit me* (Ps 68,29). In Hilary’s vocabulary, *suscipere* is one of the principal synonyms for *adsumere*⁹⁰. The verbal concept expressed by *adsumere* or *suscipere* refers both to the assuming or taking up of human nature by the Son in the incarnation, and to the glorification of man, whether of Christ as man or of men in general⁹¹. In TP, *suscipere* and the nominative form *susceptio* are the most frequent synonyms for *adsumere* and *adsumptio*; this is due to Hilary’s Latin Bible⁹². Of

⁸⁸ Cf. 143,18,14-24.

⁸⁹ *Adsumpta ergo infirmitas habuit officium deprecandae salutis, diuinitatis uero inscientia spem tenuit salutis in morte sperandae. Saluari se ergo orat, qui et dixerit: Deus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti?* (68,2,12-15; cf. Mt 27,46; Ps 21,1). Commenting on the same Psalm, Origen also refers to the human nature of Christ by an expression equivalent to *adsumpta infirmitas*: ἰδιοποιούμενος τὰ καθ’ ὃν εἴληφεν ἄνθρωπον πάθη (*Com. in Psalm.*, Ps 68; PG 12 1512 B 12-14, quoted in GOFFINET, 77).

⁹⁰ In Tertullian, *carnem suscipere* is a synonym for *carnem induere, accipere, assumere, subire*, all expressing the Son taking flesh in the incarnation. The phrase is derived from Greek Christological expressions originated by Clement of Alexandria and Origen; cf. BRAUN, 310-311.

⁹¹ KINNAVEY, 59, 79, 155, 208; VACCARI, *passim*; J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l’exil*, 361.

⁹² Cf. VACCARI, 23-28.

particular interest for the present study is the connection between *suscipere* and *salus* in Psalm 68,3: *Pauper et dolens sum ego; et salus uultus tui, Deus, suscepit me*⁹³.

Sed hunc *pauperem ac dolentem salus* ea quae *uultus* Dei est suscepit. [...] Hunc igitur *pauperem* in *salutem uultus Dei* qui forma Dei est, suscepit, id est adsumptum ab se hominem unigenitus Deus, qui imago inuisibilis Dei est, in aeternitatis suae uita, quia in Deo *salus* esse intellegitur, conlocauit. *Omnis enim lingua confitebitur, quia Dominus Iesus in gloria Dei patris est* (Ph 2,11), id est susceptus homo in naturam diuinitatis adceptus (68,25,15-16.18-24)⁹⁴.

Here we plainly see the double meaning of *suscipere*. The Son who had taken upon himself the poverty of a human condition in the incarnation (*susceptus homo*), now takes his humanity up (*suscepit*) to a higher condition, into the *salus* which is in God. God shows his *salutare*, his power to give *salus* to humanity, by lifting up the human nature (*homo*) assumed by the Son into a divine state⁹⁵. Therefore Christ can address God as his *susceptor* and *saluator*; that is, as the one who helps him and saves his life by rescuing his humanity from death in the resurrection, freeing it from the limitations of its earthly condition, and raising it to a higher state in glorification⁹⁶. By using *suscipere*, a synonym for *adsumere*, in a double sense, Hilary is underscoring the saving finality of the incarnation. In so doing he unites Christology and

⁹³ The precise meaning of *salus uultus* will be considered in section 3.1.2e, page 191.

⁹⁴ The participle *adceptus* appears to underscore the close relation between *suscipere* and *adsumere*. "Significativo in questo testo è l'impiego e lo scambio dei principali tre verbi sinonimi: *adsumptus homo* e *susceptus homo* indicano la natura umana assunta; *suscipere* e *accipere* [sic] si riferiscono anche alla glorificazione di Cristo". VACCARI, 26, n. 129. Vaccari fails to note how the word *salus* gives specificity to the words *suscipere*, *adsumere*, and *adscipere*.

⁹⁵ Hoc enim, isto *paupere et dolente in salutem uultus Dei* formaeque *suscepto*, continuatur et sequitur: *Laudabo nomen tuum [...]. Placebit ergo super uultum peccati honor laudis secundum illud: Sacrificium laudis honorificabit me; et illic iter, quo ostendam illis salutare Dei. Iter igitur ostendendi salutaris Dei in laudis est sacrificio* (68,26,3-5; 11-14).

⁹⁶ Cf. 1,1,8-9.19; 53,9-10; 131,19.

soteriology for, as we have noted, the glorification of Christ is the pattern for the glorification of the believer.

3.1.2 *Salus and glorification*

In his now-classic work, *Sobre la gloria en San Hilario*, A. Fierro identifies five main aspects of glorification: (a) absorption of corruption, (b) *profectus*, (c) *demutatio*, (d) being clothed in glory, (e) *habitus*⁹⁷. When examining what it means for Christ to receive *salus* in his resurrection and return to glory, we may organize our analysis of the relevant texts in the same order, thus illuminating the relationship between *salus* and glory, between being saved and being glorified.

a) *Absorption of corruption*

The concept of “absorption” or “being swallowed up” is primarily negative, denoting the leaving behind of our earthly condition. The bodies of the glorified do not cease to exist, but they do lose certain qualities of earthly flesh: lowliness, heaviness, weakness, and, above all, corruption. This last-named term expresses both mortality and perishability.

The tractate on Psalm 139, in discussing the resurrection and glorification of Christ, describes the absorption of corruption as a consequence of the reception of *salus*. An examination of this tractate allows us to see, not only the soteriological and eschatological dimensions of *salus*, but its Christological import. While many of the ideas in this psalm could be applied to David, or more generally to any faithful man asking God for help in time of trouble (cf. 139,1), Hilary sees that it speaks especially of the mystery of the incarnate Son. It teaches that the power of his divinity, or *uirtus*, is unchanging and impassible, while also speaking of the weakness and passibility of the human nature he assumed in the incarnation⁹⁸. Hilary observes that an

⁹⁷ FIERRO, 201ff. There is no need here to reproduce Fierro’s detailed analysis in full, except insofar as it bears upon the words *salus* and *salutare*.

⁹⁸ Cf. 139,2.

important transition⁹⁹ occurs in the psalm with the words, "Deus meus es tu: inaurire, domine, uocem orationis meae. Domine, uirtus salutis meae, obumbrasti super caput meum in die belli" (Ps 139,6-7). Up to this point, the speaker of the Psalm had been describing his enemies and their plans to ensnare him. Now he says, *Deus meus es tu* (Ps 139,6). This prayer could be spoken by no one except the incarnate God. This means that the word *salus* will take on a unique significance. The psalm, taken as a whole, is a prayer for deliverance, and that is of course how the word *salus* came into the Latin version of the psalm. To a Latin-speaker like Hilary, however, *salus* is not only deliverance but also *sanitas*. It is this pre-Christian meaning, and not the strict Biblical sense of the word, that constitutes the point of departure for his argument. Had any human being other than Christ made this prayer, he observes, the order and case of the words *uirtus* and *salus* would have been reversed:

Sed in eo quod sequitur: *Domine, uirtus salutis meae* (Ps 139,8), non communis est fiduciae professio. Non enim ait: *Salus uirtutis meae*. Humani namque uoti res ista est, ut uirtuti nostrae salutem precemur, ut *sanitas* his, in quibus ualemus, a Deo sit (139,10,5-9).

This is no common prayer. Had anyone other than Christ spoken, *salus* would have been equivalent to *sanitas*. The one praying would have been expressing a need for external assistance from God so that his human powers might be made stronger, safe and sound. But because it is the incarnate Son who speaks, the prayer takes on a unique form, and the word *salus*, in turn, acquires a unique meaning:

Haec autem e contrario precatio est, ut non uirtutis suae *salus*, sed salutis suae uirtus a Deo sit. Qui saluti uirtutem precatur, iam de salute non ambigit, et certus est nihil in se caducum, nihil mortale esse. Sed ei, quod adsumpsit, infirmo ut uirtus praestetur, orat: corpus Dominus in se gerebat, quod, tametsi secundum nos morti debitum erat, non tamen erat obnoxium corruptioni, ipso per prophetam loquente: *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem* (Ps 15,10) (139,10,9-17).

⁹⁹ Et hic intercedens diapsalma uidetur aliquam demutationem attulisse, et non exiguam quidem [...] (139,8,11-12). For Hilary, the diapsalma can signal either a change of person, or a change of meaning; here it is the former. Cf. GASTALDI, 135-140.

Rather than signifying mere health or *sanitas* that someone needs to obtain from God, in the prayer spoken by Christ *salus* refers to something that he does not need to obtain. As God, he is not liable to death, and he already has *salus* by virtue of his eternal divine nature. Christ is asking that the power of *salus* (*salutis suae uirtus*) be given to the weak, perishable humanity he had assumed. The *salus* he asks for belongs to him, it is “his own”, *sua*. He does not ask for a healing of his divine powers, since he never lost them. Rather, he is looking out for the *salus* of his humanity: “Non est igitur de salute naturae huius in se infirmis incertus. Solum a Deo uirtutem eius, quae in se sit, salutis orat et orat per hanc confidentiam, qua ait: *obumbrasti super caput meum in die belli*” (139,11,18-20; cf. Ps 139,7). Again, this is a prayer only Christ could make, as shown by the words *eius, quae in se sit, salutis*. Since *salus* is in Christ (*in se*), had Hilary wanted to indicate simple possession he would have said *suae* rather than *eius* (as in 139,10,9-17, above). Instead, he says *eius* which, here, means “that” or “that kind of”. This emphasizes the fact of Christ’s divinity and the uniqueness of his prayer for *salus*. What is being requested is a *salus* found only in Christ as God. Because Christ is aware of the power of his divinity, he is confident that he will be “kept safe” even when he has to undergo death on the cross¹⁰⁰. In this passage, moreover, *salus* is not only present safety; it also refers to a future transformation. For Christ’s human body, to receive the power of *salus* means, not only that he regains life after death, but also that the corruptibility of his human nature is absorbed into the glory of divinity¹⁰¹. *Salus* is here described as the power of the divine life, given to weak, corruptible humanity to transform it into a higher, incorruptible state.

¹⁰⁰ Hoc autem totum dici ab eo ex ratione poterit, qui gerens hominis deique naturam habebat et ex hominis infirmitate trepidationis affectum et ex conscientia diuinitatis fiduciam securitatis. Scit autem se in die gloriosi illius belli, quo mortem perimet, quo diabolus uincet, quo omnes potestates inimicas triumpho crucis suae configet, obumbratum protectumque esse (139,11,27-5).

¹⁰¹ Permissum enim corpus passioni est; sed permissi sibi corporis dominata mors non fuit: sanctus enim non uidit corruptionem. [...] Non modo ad uitam corpus rediit ex morte, sed etiam in diuinitatis gloriam natura corruptionis absorpta est (139,11,11-16).

b) *Profectus*

While the notion of corruption being absorbed contains the idea that one quality is taken away, leaving something behind, the word *profectus* signifies the improvement of something that remains: there is a gain, an advance into a better condition. As we have noted earlier in this chapter (section 1.1, page 158), *profectus* is one of Hilary's favorite words. While he is fond of employing it to denote the progress of salvation in general, in the majority of cases it has an eschatological significance¹⁰². It is that sense we will consider here, examining only those cases where *profectus* or *profiscere* occur together with *salus/salutare* to indicate, not the general progress of salvation, but "a qualitative change into a better substance"¹⁰³ that occurs in resurrection and glorification.

Hilary speaks of a *profectus* in the case of the glorification of Christ, but he does not directly link *profectus* and *salus* in this context. Nevertheless, the two ideas are clearly related. After the resurrection, Christ returns to a better state, regaining the eternal glory that was his before the incarnation¹⁰⁴. *Salus* is both restoration and advance; it is not his divinity that advances, but his weak humanity¹⁰⁵. We have already seen that when Christ asks for *salus* he is asking for a return to glory, and that he asks for *salus* precisely on behalf of his weak human nature. The consequent absorption of corruption and a moving ahead (*profectus*) into eternal glory go hand in hand:

natura carnis post resurrectionem glorificata ad profectum eius [=of Christ] quam antea habuerat claritatis prouehabatur, cum hominis filius consessurus Patri et, in immortalitatem corruptione carnis absorpta, in uiuentem tunc et non moriturum amplius Dei Filium nasceretur (2,27,27-31).

In being "saved", Christ's humanity is not eliminated and replaced by a new creation; rather, it is transformed¹⁰⁶. Having appreciated the full

¹⁰² FIERRO, 205; G. PELLAND, "La 'subjectio' du Christ chez saint Hilaire", *Gregorianum* 64 (1983), 429.

¹⁰³ "un cambio cualitativo en una sustancia mejor". FIERRO, 207.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 2, 27.

¹⁰⁵ Omnis autem hic profectus non naturae diuinae, sed infirmitati hominis optatur [...] (56,7,1).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 55,12; FIERRO, 208.

meaning our author gives to *salus* here, we can better see how the Christian meaning of the word both includes and goes beyond Roman and Old Testament concepts of protection and restoration¹⁰⁷, adding the new notion of eschatological transformation. This leads to the next aspect of glorification to be considered; namely, *demutatio*.

c) *Demutatio*

Hilary often speaks of a transformation of risen humanity that occurs after the subject rises from the dead; his favorite word for this is *demutatio*¹⁰⁸. Even when he uses the term *demutatio resurrectionis* he is speaking of something more than a simple rising from the dead; the term of this *demutatio* is glory and a renewed nature¹⁰⁹. Hilary speaks of *demutatio* in describing the benefits of salvation extended to those who have believed in Christ; when speaking of the *salus* of Christ himself, however, Hilary does not employ the noun *demutatio*, but rather the verb *transformare*. We see this in the tractate on psalm 143, where, as in TP 139, the notion of *salus* as eternal divine life is operative. The Psalmist says, “Canticum nouum cantabo tibi”. When the psalms speak of a new song, Hilary explains, they speak of a song of victory, the victory of Christ, the eternal King (cf. 143,17); in a word, his passion and resurrection. When he returned to his original glorious state, Christ brought with him the humanity he had assumed, which in rising and being glorified underwent a transformation:

Liberauit eum dextera eius et brachium sanctum eius. Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum ante conspectum gentium (Ps 97,1-2). Hoc nouum canticum est, hoc mirabile Dei est: quod liberauit eum dextera eius. Quod sibi ipsi

¹⁰⁷ The Roman concept of preservation has been noted in the Introduction. Pre-Christian messianic thought awaited one who would “restore the rule to Israel” (cf. Acts 1,6). The same connotation of salvation is to be found in the Magnificat. “The idea of restoration runs through the Magnificat from beginning to end. Israel is to regain God’s favor. Israel is to regain its national glory. [...] If now one connects the Eulogium (Lk 1,68-69) with the Magnificat he learns again that Israel is to be delivered from its oppressors, and that peace is to be restored between God and Israel”. J.T. ROSS, *The Conception of σωτηρια in the New Testament*, Chicago 1947, 29-30.

¹⁰⁸ But not his only word: cf. 118,15,8,12-16.

¹⁰⁹ FIERRO, 208.

salutem uirtus sua tribuit. *Potestatem enim, inquit, habeo animam meam ponendi, et potestatem habeo animam meam resumendi* (Jn 10,18). Non externo eguit unigenitus Dei filius ad saluandum hominem, in quo nasci uoluit, auxilio et in gloria paternae maiestatis manens sua in se usus est potestate: per quam resurrectionis gloriam salutare suum notum gentibus fecit, cum in eo naturae suae carnem in aeternae salutis substantiam transformatam esse cognoscunt (143,18,14-24).

In Christ's return to glory, his humanity is saved by his own divine power (*uirtus sua, sua [...] potestate*). For his humanity, "to be saved" means to rise from the dead and be glorified. Christ's risen and glorified flesh is a revelation of his power to save (*salutare*) which he always had as the eternal Son. As in TP 139, the two words *uirtus* and *salus* are closely interrelated. In TP 143, Christ's divine *uirtus* gives *salus* to his humanity (*Quod sibi ipsi salutem uirtus tribuit*), while in TP 139 Christ asks for the power of his own *salus* to be given to his humanity (*Solum a Deo uirtutem eius, quae in se sit, salutis orat*)¹¹⁰, so that it is transformed: *in aeternae salutis substantiam transformatam*¹¹¹. Since *aeterna salus* belongs to God alone by nature, to say that Christ's humanity has been transformed into the substance of eternal *salus* is to assert that it has been divinized. It has been freed from the weakness, the heaviness, all the limitations of earthly flesh¹¹². Although these limitations have been removed, Christ's humanity continues to exist; it is not destroyed and replaced with a new one, but renewed.

d) *Being clothed in glory*

Hilary frequently speaks of glory as a garment for the soul. In this life, our soul is clothed in an earthly body; in the glory of heaven, the souls of the just will be clothed in the risen and glorified body¹¹³. When speaking of the "salvation" of Christ, however, Hilary does not speak in terms of putting on *salutare* or *salutaris* or *salus* like a garment. This is partly explained by what has been said in the previous paragraph. For Christ,

¹¹⁰ 139,11,19-20.

¹¹¹ Cf. LADARIA, *Cristologia*, 258-259.

¹¹² Cf. 54,7.

¹¹³ Some texts: 9,4; 64,14; 64,17; 131,26; 139,14; cf. FIERRO, 211-215.

salus is not something that belongs to another, nor is it bestowed from without; it is his to give by virtue of his eternal divinity, so that he can and does give it to himself¹¹⁴. For others, who will be saved by faith in him, this *salus* will be something only God can give: a gift, not a birthright. The rest of the explanation will be found below in section 3.2.3d, page 200.

e) *Habitus, forma, imago*

The term *habitus* does not occur in close relation to the word *salus* with reference to the resurrection of Christ. Of greater relevance to the present study is the closely-related term *forma*, when it designates the concrete condition of lowliness the Word accepted in becoming incarnate¹¹⁵. Having emptied himself of the *forma Dei* in the incarnation, the Son needs to be “saved”; that is, to be restored to his original glorious state. In this restoration, the humanity assumed by the Son will be saved:

Deus, in nomine tuo saluifica me et in uirtute tua iudica me (Ps 53,1). [...] Et quia omnis haec ex persona formae seruilis oratio est, cui formae seruili usque ad crucem mortis adsumptae salutem eius nominis quod Dei est deprecatur, et saluandus ex Dei nomine id continuo subiecit: et in uirtute tua iudica me. Namque ob meritum humilitatis quia se exinanisset formam serui accipiens, formam nunc rursus dei consortem in ea quam adsumpserat, humilitate repetebat, in Dei nomen homine ipso, in quo Deus nasci oboedierat, saluato (53,5,1-8).

The verb *repetebat* indicates that the Son is asking to have returned to him something that belongs to him by right; namely, the name and glory of divinity: “In humilitate corporis unigenitus Dei filius [...] gloriam, quam ante saecula habuerat, reposcebat” (53,4,13-15). For the Son, the return to glory brings with it a restoration of the name of God which belongs to him by virtue of his eternal birth and consubstantiality with

¹¹⁴ Ab ipso enim salutare eius est, et Filius omnia accepit a Patre; et idcirco in eo Dei potestas uel accepta uel nata est (61,9,22-24).

¹¹⁵ The two terms are frequently equivalent; their close relation is seen notably in the Ph hymn so central to Hilary’s Christology and understanding of *salus*: “formam serui accipiens [...] habitu inuentus ut homo” (cf. Ph 2,7). Cf. FIERRO, 51, 117, 167-168, 215-216.

the Father. But the Son is also asking something on behalf of the *forma seruilis* he assumed: *salutem eius nominis quod Dei est deprecatur*. For the humanity he assumed, the name of God is a gift to be received, as explained in the Tractate on Ps 143. The Son asks for the return of his glory, and God raises him on high, giving him a name above all other names¹¹⁶. However, since the Son never ceased to be God; it is to his servile form that this name is given, not as a return of property, but as a gift:

Quid ergo uel cui donatur? Non ei utique, qui in forma Dei erat, donatur, ut dei forma sit; erat enim et, quia erat, iam non egebat hoc dono [...]. Obedientiae ergo illi, per quam habitus seruilis adsumitur, et ipsi habitu seruili id donatur, ut, quod erat, esset: in forma scilicet Dei esset (143,7,25-27.30f).

The name above all other names is given to the *habitus/forma seruilis*, as a reward for obedience. This is what it means to be saved “in the name of God”. The humanity the Son assumed, in and through which he fulfilled the Father’s plan of salvation, receives the *salus nominis* (cf. 53,5,21): “in Dei nomen homine ipso, in quo Deus nasci oboedierat, saluato” (53,5,7-8). After the resurrection, Jesus, as man, has the name and glory of God. A very similar idea is expressed in terms of “image”:

Pauper et dolens sum ego: et salus uultus tui, Deus, suscepit me (Ps 68,29). [...] Sed hunc *pauperem ac dolentem salus* ea quae *uultus Dei* est suscepit. Forma et uultus et facies et imago non differunt. [...] Hunc igitur *pauperem* in *salutem uultus Dei* qui forma Dei est, suscepit, id est adsumptum ab se hominem unigenitus Deus, qui imago inuisibilis Dei est, in aeternitatis suae uita, quia in Deo *salus* esse intellegitur, conlocauit (68,25,12-13.15-17.18-22).

¹¹⁶ *Sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis, ut omne quod dedisti ei, det illi uitam aeternam* (Jn 17,2) et illud: *Omnia data sunt mihi in caelo et in terra* (Mt 28,18). Data autem non tum ei primum, quia iam in mundo erat, per quem mundus erat factus, qui gloriam repetit, quam ante constitutionem mundi habuerat apud patrem; sed data post hominis adsumptionem, quia ita dictum est: *qui cum in forma dei esset, formam serui accepit: propter quod exaltauit illum Deus et donauit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen* (143,7,15-24; Ph 2,6f.).

We have already noted the relationship between *salus* and *susceptio* in this passage (cf. section 3.1.1, page 182). Here we want to inquire into the way *salus* is qualified in the text. Instead of the *salus nominis Dei*, we now have the *salus uultus Dei*. *Vultus Dei*, the face of God, is an equivalent term to the form, face, and image of God. In other words, *uultus Dei* refers to the Son, the Word who from all eternity is the image of the invisible God. According to this passage, the agent of the resurrection is the Son, who took up (*suscepit*) his lowly and suffering humanity (*pauperem ac dolentem*)¹¹⁷, establishing that “man” (*hominem*) in a new situation within the eternal life of God (*in aeternitatis suae uita*). As the *salus nominis Dei* meant that the risen Jesus, as man, receives the name and glory of God, so the *salus uultus Dei* means that the risen Jesus, as man, has been saved by God the Son, who is the form and image of God the Father. The Son has returned to the condition he had before the incarnation, while his humanity has been glorified¹¹⁸. The Son, the image of God, is the *salus* of the humanity he assumed.

3.2 *Christ obtains salus for others*

From what has been said above, it is by now abundantly clear that Christ’s incarnate existence and bodily passion came about for the sake of giving *salus* to mankind¹¹⁹. We have seen what it means for Christ to receive *salus* in rising from the dead and being glorified. Now we examine what it means for others to receive this eschatological *salus*¹²⁰.

¹¹⁷ We have already discussed the Christological significance of *pauper et dolens*; cf. pp. 169, 173.

¹¹⁸ Cf. LADARIA, *La Cristologia*, 249.

¹¹⁹ The Psalmist’s victory chant, “Misit signa et prodigia in medio tui, Aegypte, in Pharaonem, et in omnes seruos eius” (Ps 134,9) refers to the victory of the Lord’s passion. Hilary points out that the *salus* Christ won by his death is *salus* for others: *In medio tui quid est? Cognoscimus ex eo, quod dictum est: Dominus Deus autem, rex noster, rex ante saecula, operatus est salutem in medio orbis terrae. In medio itaque orbis terrae loco, in quo Dominus salutem nobis operans passus est, signa et prodigia misit, dum crucis suae horis sol effugit, tremet terra, saxa rumpuntur, sepulcra panduntur, mortui exurgunt* (134,19,5-12).

¹²⁰ *Salus* is sometimes specified by the adjective “eternal” in TP; cf. 63,5,20; 143,18,23-24.

For Christ's humanity, to be saved meant, first of all, to be freed from death in the resurrection. What this means for others who are saved is described in the "new song" called for in the Psalms, a song of liberation from death¹²¹. In the case of the Son, his own divine power liberated him from death. Others who wish to be saved, lacking this divine power, must look to Christ for their *salus*.

This attitude of faith in Christ's power to save is prefigured in the woman with the hemorrhage who reaches out to touch the hem of Christ's garment (cf. Mt 9,20-22). "Dominus [...] *intendit* autem in eam feminam, quae fidei silentio salutem sibi etiam a uestis fimbria expetebat" (54,4,21-23)¹²². At first, there is no detailed discussion of what *salus* means here; it appears to refer to mere physical healing. As the text continues, however, Hilary associates healings – note the plural – worked by Christ with the saving passion of Christ. Our author builds his argument on the word *exercitatio*, found in the words of the psalm, "in exercitacione sua conturbaretur a uoce inimici et a tribulatione peccatoris" (Ps 54,2-3). *Exercitatio* refers primarily to physical exercise, and secondarily to distress, harassment. Both meanings are operative in the following passage:

Et quidem *exercitatio* numquam nisi ad res utiles salutareque suscipitur, quas quia in sancto quoque impii ferre non possunt, omnibus eum iniuriis adficere et usque ad formidinem mortis defatigare contendunt. Sed haec in Domino Iesu Christo *exercitatio* nostrae salutis operatio est, quam diuersarum sanationum, dehinc passionis ipsius *exercitatio* prouehabat. In hoc quoque *se* mundo consortio nostrae infirmitatis *exercens* [...] a uoce *inimici* etiam turbatur, cum Samaritanus, cum daemonium habens dicitur (cf. Jn 8,48), cum, quia se a cruce non eruat, negatur esse ceteris *salus* (cf. Mt 27,40) (54,5,1-15).

The "exercise" spoken of in the psalm is the "working of our salvation" (*salutis operatio*) by Christ in miracles of healing and in the

¹²¹ Cf. 143,19.

¹²² The woman's silent gesture reveals her faith; this parallels the description of the same scene in the Commentary on Matthew; cf. CM 9,6; Chapter One, section 3.2.2.

passion¹²³. Both in working miracles and in performing the work of our salvation on the cross, Christ is troubled by the “voice of the enemy”; i.e., by someone denying that he is God. When he heals, he is said to be possessed, and as he hangs on the cross, it is said that he is not *salus* for others. Both in his miracle-working and in his passion, the divinity of Christ, which makes him *salus*, is denied by his “enemies”, those who refuse to believe.

3.2.1 *Susceptio*

Pauper et dolens sum ego: et salus uultus tui, Deus, suscepit me (Ps 68,29). The Son of God “took up” the “poor man” in two senses: he assumed a weak human nature in the incarnation, and raised the humanity he had assumed into the *salus*, the glorious eternal life, of God (see page 181). Similarly, this *salus* is offered to humanity at large, who are called the “poor in spirit”¹²⁴. This designation speaks of the neediness of men living in the restricted conditions of earthly life, who need to be made “spiritual”; that is, released from the limitations of their earthly condition in being raised to the life of heaven¹²⁵. Only Christ can give this elevation: *Nonne Deo subdita erit anima mea? Ab ipso enim salutare meum. Etenim ipse, Deus meus, saluator meus, susceptor meus; non movebor amplius* (Ps 61,1-2). When a man arrives at the knowledge of the true faith, he recognizes both the fact of the *susceptio* of a human nature in the incarnation, and the possibility of the eschatological, salvific *susceptio* only Christ can offer. For this reason, he hails Christ as both *susceptor* and *saluator*:

Reperta itaque fidei sede, post uagos errores impietatisque sententiam, quia *susceptorem suum saluatoremque cognouerit, amplius non mouetur*. Quid enim ultra ignorantioni anxietatique hominum est relictum, cum aeternitas animae et corporis, id est totius hominis praedicetur, cum adsumptio atque *susceptio* terrenae nostrae carnis a Deo sub sacramento magnae huius

¹²³ In DT, Hilary insists that the *operatio salutis* is, above all, the *operatio Dei*. Our *salus* is accomplished by the power of divinity. Cf. DT 9,10,19-34; Chapter Two, section 1.2.

¹²⁴ Cf. 68,28,1.

¹²⁵ Cf. 67,11; 68,27-28; 68,31.

pietatis ostensa sit, cum peccatorum remissio, condemnata peccati lege, sit praestita, cum homini nostro a dextris Dei consessus in caelis sit? (61,2,41-49; cf. 118,15,7-8).

Man understands that his eschatological *salus* can come only from the *saluator* whose humanity has been saved by God's power, and is now everlastingly united to divinity. An important difference between the salvation of Christ and that of all others is that, while all can call upon Christ as *saluator* and *susceptor*, only the Son can say, "Deus meus, et susceptor *salutis meae*" (Ps 88,20)¹²⁶, just as only the Son can say "Dominus susceptor animae meae" (Ps 53,4b) and "Deus susceptor meus" (58,9b)¹²⁷. The word "my" indicates Christ's eternal Sonship and the common divine essence of the Father and the Son. He can address God as "susceptor salutis meae" because *salus* belongs to his divinity. Hilary understands *susceptor* to mean one who upholds or lifts up¹²⁸. In the case of Christ, this means God who elevates the human life of Christ to a new level of existence in the resurrection¹²⁹. In the case of others who are saved, to call Christ *saluator* and *susceptor* is to acknowledge that only his divine power can give them resurrection and a new, higher existence:

Sed inter haec laetitiam eius qui ob humanae salutis gaudium frequenter ad Patrem exaltauit¹³⁰, ostendit: *Rex autem laetabitur in Domino, laudabitur omnis qui iurat in eo, quoniam obstructum est os loquentium iniqua* (Ps 62,11). Causam cur *rex laetetur* significat, quia quisque *in eo iurabit*, in Deo sacramenti huius religione *laudabitur*, qui sciat scilicet regem Iesum [...] qui secundum Paulum testetur magni Dei saluatoris aduentum (cf. Tit 2,13) [...] quia praedicetur ex lege et ex prophetis atque ab apostolo in eo nos ante constitutionem mundi et elegerit Pater et benedixisse doceatur (cf. Eph 1,3-4) et ipse nos coexcitauerit et conlocauerit a dextris Dei in caelestibus (cf. 2,6) [...] (62,12,1-6.7-8.10-13).

¹²⁶ Cf. 1,1; 131,19.

¹²⁷ Cf. 58,10,15 – 58,11,5.

¹²⁸ See the discussion of *suscipere* and *susceptio* above, p. 181.

¹²⁹ *excedentem habitaculo corporis animam sciat in Dei susceptione requiescere [...]* (53,10,4-50).

¹³⁰ Cf. CM 11,11; 12,2,2-4.

Above all, Christ is the *saluator* of those who know and believe in him, because he gives them resurrection, lifting them up to the life of heaven, the culmination of *humana salus*.

3.2.2 *The Kingdom and "kings"*

The event of Christ's "salvation" has opened up a new possibility for mankind, so that a new song is called for:

Et cur sit hoc canticum nouum, mox Propheta subiecit, dicens, *Exaltabit mansuetos in salutem, exultabunt sancti in gloria [...].* Quod etiam in huius psalmo nouo cantico simile cantatur: *Deus, cationem nouam cantico tibi [...]* qui das salutem regibus [...] regibus [...] qui nobiles ligabunt, qui reges manicis et compedibus constringent, qui iudicabunt, arguent, uindicabunt (143,19,26-28; 143,20,12-14.21.23-24; cf. Ps 149,4-6).

Those who have received *salus*, the humble who have been lifted up, are rightly called "kings", for they now have power to judge nations, peoples, kings, and princes. But this is not the most important reason they are called "kings".

In TP, discussion of the eschatological kingdom is situated within the setting of Christ's resurrection to glory. Christ's resurrection, in which he leaves the poverty of the *forma serui* to regain the glory proper to the *forma Dei*, makes him the King. Those who are called to "reign with" Christ, to participate in his resurrection, also share his glory, and so are called "kings"¹³¹. Christ, rising from the dead, is freed from the law of death; the humble (*mansuetos*), similarly, are raised to new heights, to a higher condition:

Itaque dum hic Daud [= Christ] liberatur et legi mortis eximitur, salus quoque regibus datur. Ipse est enim primogenitus ex mortuis (Col 1,18). *Et ut in Adam omnes morimur, ita et in Christo omnes resurgemus* (I Cor 8,22). Liberatio ergo eius salus regum est. Regnabunt enim conformes gloriae suae, per assumptam ab eo naturae nostrae coniunctionem rursus omnes in naturae eius communione mansuri (143,21,13-20).

¹³¹ Cf. G. PELLAND, "Le thème biblique du Règne chez saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Gregorianum* 60/4 (1979), 646-656; GOFFINET, 58-60.

Because of the union with all humanity with Christ, established in the incarnation, Christ's liberation offers *salus* to all. Those who receive *salus* will rise with Christ and live forever; they will "reign with" him¹³². Christ is the first to be "born" into the resurrected life; the faithful who will rise are described as being born again as sons of God¹³³. For them, *salus* means liberation from the law of death. They will still experience death, but for them it will lead to a new kind of life: eternal, glorified life in the eschatological kingdom. Christ is the *salus* of the lowly; that is, those who need to be saved. And he is the splendor of the saints, those who have been saved.

exultabit mansuetos in salutem. exultabunt sancti in gloria (Ps 149,4b-5a).
 [...] *Iuravit Dominus, non paenitenit eium: tu es sacerdos in aeternum* (Ps 109,4) [...] *Complacitum ergo est quod impoenitens esse iuratum est ei, quo regnante secundum ordinem Melchisedech, id est, gentium et rege et sacerdote, primum mansuetis salus, deinde splendor est sanctis exsultantibus super regem suum* (149,3,27ff.).

3.2.3 *Salus and glorification*

By now it is clear that *salus*, in its fullest sense, entails more than just rising from the dead, whether in the case of Christ or of those others saved through him. It also entails glorification after rising. We can analyze the relationship between "being saved" and being glorified, according to the five aspects of glorification already listed in describing the glorification of Christ.

a) *Absorption of corruption*

The absorption of corruption that happens in the case of the saved is expressed negatively in the tractate on Psalm 145. A contrast is made between the saved and earthly kings:

Nolite confidere in principibus et in filiis hominum, quibus non est salus.
 [...] *Exibit spiritus eorum et reuertentur in terram suam* (Ps 145,3-4). [...]

¹³² Cf. 149,2-4.

¹³³ Cf. 145,3. The resurrection of the faithful was described as a "birth" already in CM; cf. Chapter One, section 4.1.1 and ff.

Confidere uetuit in regibus. Et quibus regibus? subiecit: *et in filiis*, inquit, *hominum*. Et quibus filiis hominum? *quibus non est salus*. Et cur salus non est? ostendit: *Exibit spiritus eorum, et omnes reuertentur in terram suam*. Et reuersuris in terram quid erit? *In illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum* (Ps 145,4b): corruptae ipsi scilicet originis; quia esse filii hominum perstiterunt, nec filii Dei esse uoluerunt: nullius quoque salutis; quia exeunte spiritu, et in terram corporibus dissolutis, cogitationes eorum corporeae atque terrenae cum terreno corpore interibunt (145,3,6-19).

In this passage, Hilary employs the word “kings” to make two points. First, he is condemning superstition and idolatry. In his day, both living and dead Roman emperors were invoked as gods¹³⁴. Although some emperors were called by the title *salus*, meaning “preserver” or “restorer”¹³⁵, they do not deserve such a title because they are not truly divine, and thus not immortal. It is Christ who is the true *salus*. Second, our author is contrasting the fate of unbelievers (“earthly kings”) to that of Christians who will reign with Christ forever (see section 3.2.2, above). Being unregenerate, unbelievers remain earthly “sons of men”, subject to the corruption proper to earthly bodies, and so perish utterly after death. They have no *salus*, no Savior to preserve them from corruption. By contrast, those who receive *salus* will lead an immortal life that is no longer subject to corruption, for this will have been swallowed up: “*Tunc saluabitur, cum ex corporea terrenaque natura in spiritalem gloriam transformatus nullum aduersantis inimici periculum metuat, uiuat inter electos angelos, sit paradisi incola et absorpta corruptione ex mortali immortalis existat*” (118,15,8,12-16; cf. 1 Cor 15,42-48.53-54)¹³⁶. They are transformed after the pattern of the risen and

¹³⁴ Most of the time, Hilary refers to the emperor as *rex*; e.g., 58,7,4; 58,12,9; 68,30,6; cf. A.F. FEDER, “Kulturgeschichtliches”, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 81 (1911), 33. The emperor cult is equated with idolatry: “*Sed qui Deum non inuocant, et illud impietati suae addunt, ut timeant non timenda: illic enim trepidauerunt, ubi non erat timor, saxa, metalla, robora, ignem, aquam, aethera, reges mortuos atque morituros uel cetera religionum superstitiosa commenta uenerantes*” [...] (52,14,1-5; cf. Ps 52,4-5). Cf. 65,17; 142,3; 145,4.

¹³⁵ Cf. BRAUN, 479.

¹³⁶ *Has laudes Deo referre festinat, iudiciis Dei absorpta terrenae corruptionis infirmitate ad aeternitatis adiutus profectum; ob id utique, quia elegit mandata et concupiuit salutare Domini, quia meditatio eius in lege Dei semper est* (118,22,6,12-16;

glorified Savior, being raised “into *salus*”; in a sense, they are turned into Christ: “*Exultabit mansuetos in salutem, exultabunt sancti in gloria*” [...] (143,19,26-28; cf. Ps 149,4-5).

b) *Profectus*

The word *profectus*, in conjunction with *salus*, has two interrelated meanings. First, it expresses the general advance of humanity toward salvation; we could put this meaning under the heading of “salvation history”. God’s merciful concern for human salvation is seen when he intervenes in human affairs, advancing our knowledge of God and his ways. Ultimately, this knowledge leads to eternal life with God. This general sense of *profectus* has been considered already, toward the beginning of this chapter (see section 1.1, page 158).

The second meaning of *profectus* is eschatological, describing a gain, a perfecting, an advancement into an eternal, undying state of existence. It involves questions of soteriology and eschatology. This *profectus* results from an intervention on the part of God, who offers man something beyond human powers to give:

Sed repositae spei, quia quod Israel est reliquum saluabit, misericordiam propheta non tacuit dicens: *Da nobis auxilium de tribulatione et vana salus hominis* (Ps 59,11). [...] Scit *uanam salutem* esse, quae ab hominibus speratur, quia et uitae huius usus sine misericordia Dei nullus sit secundum illud: *Melior misericordia tua super uitam* (Ps 62,4), quia, nisi ad profectum aeternitatis uita suscepta sit, miseriarum in nobis potius erit origo, non uitae. *Auxilium* itaque a Deo *in tribulationibus sperat*, quia *hominum salus uana* sit (59,14,1-3; 4-10).

The *salus* requested here is a special form of assistance that only God can provide. Man asks to be rescued from the predicament of his mortality, and God grants the request out of his mercy (*misericordia*). God’s mercy is spoken of as something exclusively divine; it is “better than life”¹³⁷ because the *salus* given by the merciful God raises our

cf. Ps 118,174-175, Rm 1 Cor 15,54). See also 59,14.

¹³⁷ On “mercy is better than life”, cf. above, section 1.1, page 161.

human condition, by nature subject to death, to a higher condition of immortality (*ad profectum aeternitatis*)¹³⁸.

c) *Demutatio*

Hilary bases a crucial part of his discussion of *demutatio* on the Latin translation of the New Testament commonly used in his day, which contained a faulty version of 1 Cor 15,51. While St. Paul says, “We shall not all die, but we shall all be changed”, Hilary’s Latin text conveys an opposite meaning: “omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur”. Curiously, this error in translation gave rise to some very important theological discussion on the part of certain Western theologians, including Hilary¹³⁹. According to Hilary, those who did not accept Christ as God, who failed to die and rise with him by faith, will rise from the dead like everyone else. However, they will not undergo glorification/transformation¹⁴⁰. These are said to have been saved “for nothing”:

Sequitur enim: *Sicut expectauerunt animam meam, pro nihilo saluos faciet illos, in ira populos deduces* (Ps 55,6-5). *Nouus hic prophetae sermo est, ut eos qui expectent animam suam ad nihilum Deus saluet et, cum aliud sit nihilum, alius saluari, nunc salus, quae in eos fiet, in nihilum sit. Est ergo quod saluetur in nihilum? Est plane quicquid, resurrectione concessa, demutatione non dignum est. Nam cum omnis caro redempta in Christo sit, non tamen omnibus gloria et honor est promiscuus resurgendi. Quibus ergo tantum resurrectio, non etiam demutatio est tributa, hi saluantur in nihilum. In ira enim deducuntur hi populi, quibus ad poenae sensum salus resurrectionis est constituta; a qua ira eripiendos nos apostolus pollicetur dicens: Quoniam si, cum adhuc peccatores essemus, Christus pro nobis*

¹³⁸ *Salutare*, in connection with *profectus*, has the same meaning as *salus*: *Has laudes Deo referre festinat, iudiciis Dei absorpta terrenae corruptionis infirmitate* (cf. 1 Cor 15,54) *ad aeternitatis adiutus profectum; ob id utique, quia elegit mandata et concupiuit salutare Domini, quia meditatio eius in lege Dei semper est* (118,22,6,12-16; cf. Ps 118,174-175).

¹³⁹ Cf. A. FIERRO, *Sobre la gloria*, 208-211.

¹⁴⁰ 1 Cor 15,51 is cited in connection with rising to glory or punishment in TP 52,17; 54,16; 69,3. But also: *Et idcirco demutatio his non relicta est, quia pro peccato semel mortuus et resurgens* (cf. Rm 6,10) *eos tantum demutatione donauit, qui secum per fidem et commortui sunt et resurgent* (54,16,13-16; cf. Rm 6,8).

mortuus est, multo magis iustificati in sanguine eius saluabimur per eum ab ira (Rm 5,9). Pro peccatoribus igitur ad salutem resurrectionis est mortuus, sed sanctificatos in sanguine suo saluabit ab ira (55,7,1-18).

In the passage above, “to be saved” has two meanings; the second being stronger than the first. Christ died so that all flesh might rise, but all must then face judgment before being rewarded with punishment or glorification. Unbelievers receive an “incomplete” *salus*; namely, the restoration of life after death, but this leads only to punishment. Although they have been redeemed in Christ, as was all flesh, they do not receive true *salus*. After rising they are not rewarded with transformation (*demutatio*), which is reserved for those who have been saved *from* the wrath of God. Theirs is not a true *salus* because it is not a resurrection in the fullest sense. The *salus* of those who have been justified or made holy in Christ’s blood is not only a continuance of personal existence, but also a rescue or preservation from the wrath of God. True *salus* means a glorious transformation of one’s personal existence¹⁴¹.

d) *Being clothed in glory, being clothed “salutari”*

Another expression equivalent to being glorified is “to be clothed *salutari*”.

Dehinc sequitur: *Sacerdotes eius inducam salutari, et sancti eius exsultatione exsultabunt*. Sacerdotes superius iustitia induuntur, sed profectum honoris sui sumunt: salutari scilicet induuntur, conformes effecti gloriae salutaris: quia, secundum Apostolum, de coelis saluificatorem nostrum expectamus, qui potens est, secundum operationem efficientiae suae, corpus humilitatis nostrae conformare corpori gloriae suae (Ph 3,20-21). Hoc ergo salutari sacerdotes induuntur: sed et sancti exsultatione exsultabunt (131,26).

It is first necessary to determine what word is behind the ablative *salutari*: is it *salutare* or *salutaris*? The reference to Ph 3,20 indicates that the risen will be clothed with *salutaris*; in other words, they will be clothed with the Savior, in the sense that their glorified bodies will be

¹⁴¹ The distinction between rising to salvation and rising to wrath seems to be inspired by Jn 5,30: “Those who have done good will rise to life, while those who have done evil will rise to judgment”.

exactly like his. Earlier we saw that *salutare* can mean the power to give *salus*, while Jesus Christ is *salutaris* by antonomasia. We can conclude, then, that *salutari* is the ablative of *salutaris*, referring to Christ. The glorified body of the saved is called a garment¹⁴²; the saved will “put on Christ” when their bodies are conformed to his risen and glorified body. Jesus Christ is called *salutaris* and *saluificator*¹⁴³ because he alone, through his incarnation and passion, can mediate the power of God’s own life to mortal men. Hilary draws a distinction between putting on *iustitia*, which has no eschatological connotation, and putting on *salutaris*, which does¹⁴⁴.

Comparing 131,26 with 131,28, observing the parallel contrast between the saved and the not-saved, between those covered with *salus* and those covered with confusion, we can see that to be clothed with *salutaris* and to be clothed with *salus* are one and the same: “Inimici eius confusione induentur; uidebunt enim filium hominis in maiestate Patris sui: et non salute, sed confusione induentur, terreni scilicet et in dedecoris corpore resurgentes” [...] (131,28,20-22)¹⁴⁵. The essential meaning of being clothed with *salus* or *salutaris* is the transformation of the earthly body into the glorified body, the clothing of immortal glory¹⁴⁶.

By contrast, the enemies of God, those who did not know or refused to believe that Christ is the only-begotten Son, will rise in their earthly bodies, which will remain untransformed. For these there is no glorification, no sharing with the glory of the risen Christ, no salvation, no true life.

¹⁴² FIERRO, *op. cit.*, 213-215.

¹⁴³ This is the first occurrence of *saluificator* in Latin literature; cf. BRAUN, 495, n.

3.

¹⁴⁴ FIERRO, *op. cit.*, 212, n. 54.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. 61,5,5-17.

¹⁴⁶ Compare passages that speak of being clothed in glory, e.g.: Cum alii immortalitatis gloria induantur [...] (139,14,1-2): ut nos clarificatos et immortalitate coopertos et in corporis sui gloriam conformatos in regnum Patris inducat [...] (9,4,20-22).

e) *Habitus, imago*

Little need be said about *habitus* as the word does not occur in direct connection with *salus* or related words. Hilary sometimes uses the word in the sense of “clothing”¹⁴⁷: “Hoc ergo indumento arietes ouium induuntur et hoc gloriosae immortalitatis habitu uestiuntur” (64,17,12-14). This is very close to the idea that the saved are clothed in the Savior, *salutaris*, as laid out in the section immediately above.

A related and, for our purposes, more important term is *imago*. As was discussed above (section 3.1.2e, page 189, 191), Christ’s humanity was saved by God the son, the image and likeness of God. Those who are saved will be re-made into the image of the Son. The psalmist teaches us that *salus* is far from sinners: “Longe est a peccatoribus salus, quoniam iustificationes tuas non exquisierunt” (Ps 118,155; quoted in TP 118,20,5,4-5). In contrast to sinners, the saints who keep God’s decrees hope to receive life in return. Thus the psalmist, who not only fears God, but loves his commands, can pray: “Vide, quoniam mandata tua dilexi, Domine; in tua misericordia vivifica me” (Ps 118,159; quoted in TP 118,20,9,3-4). The “life” the psalmist prays for, defines Hilary, is the life of the resurrection: a glorified, immortal life after death: “Non nunc se ille uiuere putat, sed uitam exempto hoc mortali corpore et absorto in gloriam immortalitatis exspectat” (118,20,9,9-11; cf. 1 Cor 15,53-54, Col 3,3-4). The *salus* that is far from sinners, but available to those who love and keep God’s commandments, is nothing less than a fulfillment of God’s original intention at the creation, when God said, “Let us make man according to our image and likeness” (Gen 1,26). Because God is eternal, man is not fully conformed to God’s image and likeness until he is remade in the image of the risen and glorified Christ, the “heavenly Adam”, in the resurrection. Such will be the reward, the *salus*, of those who keep God’s commands.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Cf. FIERRO, 215.

¹⁴⁸ Scit [propheta] sibi hoc iam in exordio creationis suae esse promissum, cum a Deo dicitur: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram* (Gen 1,26). Hoc super hominem principium uocis est Dei, cum *ad imaginem* interminatae aeternitatis originis nostrae exordium conderetur. Certus ergo se *uita* illa atque in *immagine Dei* esse uicturum, ait: *Principium uerborum tuorum ueritas; in aeternum omnia iudicia iustitiae tuae* (Ps 118,160). [...] *Principium ergo uerborum Dei ueritas*

4. *Salus gentium*

Having devoted a good many pages to analyzing the content of *salus*, we now turn our attention to how it is made available. In TP, Hilary returns to a theme that dominated CM: the *salus gentium*. His treatment of the *salus gentium* in his last work may be divided into two great themes: (1) in his mercy, God offers salvation to all, of any nation; (2) this salvation is found within the Church. In this life, the Church is the instrument of salvation; at the end of time, the heavenly Church will be seen as the culmination of God's saving plan.

4.1 *Salvation offered to all*

The time of the new dispensation of salvation begins with the coming of Christ, the end of the Law, as foretold by the Old Testament itself:

Defecit in salutare tuum anima mea, et in uerbum tuum spero (Ps 118,81). [...] *Defecit* igitur in desiderio *salutaris*, et *defecit* ob id, quia in *uerbis Dei* credat. *Finis enim legis Christus* Iesus est (cf. Rm 10,4) et hic est de quo *scripserunt Moyses et prophetae* (cf. Jn 1,45). Est autem *salutis* ipso illo nomine, quo Iesus nuncupatur (cf. Mt 1,21). [...] *Causa itaque defectionis* est desiderium *salutaris*. Desiderii autem hinc origo est, quod in *uerbis Dei sperat*. *Salutaris* enim noster Iesus est, qui et *desideratus* et natus est (118,11,1,8-9.11-15.18-21)¹⁴⁹.

The Law taught man to hope for the coming of Jesus, who is *salutaris*. Faith in him replaces the observance of the works of the Law as the way to salvation. Even in the old dispensation, the precepts of the Law had no power to save in themselves¹⁵⁰; rather, it was the faith of those who observed the Law that rendered those precepts helpful to salvation. Thus it may be said that the old dispensation had the same outline as the

est; neque de se, id est de *hominis* creatione, ullum alium anteriorem Dei scit esse sermonem quam ut secundum *imaginem Dei* ac *similitudinem* fieret. Haec itaque indemutandae *ueritatis* est constitutio; sic in *principio uerborum Dei* *ueritas* est, ut *nouus homo*, regeneratus in Christo (cf. Eph 4,22-24; Col 3,9-10), uiuat deinceps secundum *aeterni Dei*, id est *caelestis Adae imaginem* iam *aeternus* (118,20,10,1-8.11-18; cf. 1 Cor 15,45-49).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. 118,16,8-9.

¹⁵⁰ This idea occurs very frequently in CM; cf. Chapter One, section 1.2.

new¹⁵¹, in which faith in Christ forms the key to salvation. In sum, Christ is both the end of the Law and its fulfillment¹⁵².

The Law foretold that Christ was coming and with him the *salus gentium*:

Tempus faciendi Domino; dissipauerunt legem tuam (Ps 118,126). [...] Pollicitus enim in lege est ut salutem gentibus daret (cf. Is 49,6), ut ipse sibi hominis corpus, qui secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei est factus (cf. Gen 1,26), adsumeret, ut dissipata lege fidei gratiam donaret. Temporis huius meminit per Esaiam prophetam dicens: *Tempore accepto exaudiui te et in die salutis auxiliatus sum tibi* (Is 49,8). Apostolus uero dicti huius interpres haec scribit: *Ecce nunc tempus bene acceptum, ecce dies salutis* (2 Cor 6,2); id est: *dissipata lege* euangelicae praedicationis aduenit (118,16,14).

In addition to announcing the coming of Christ and the new dispensation of salvation, the events recorded in the Law foretell what will happen after Christ's ascension, when the Church will bring the message of salvation to all the peoples of the whole world:

Et quia sub his quae in Iudaeae populo temporibus legis expleta sunt uniuersarum fere gentium ad speciem futurae misericordiae salus est inchoata, ut per id quod tum gestum est id quoque quod postea gerendum esset doceretur, cum ipsos illos, in quos illa tum gerebantur, et inumbratio nubis et iter maris et mannae spiritalis cibus et spiritalis potus ex petra in spe euangelica fideque concluderet, nunc quoque, ut semper, in his ipsis Noui ac Veteris Testamenti per prophetam facta conexio est, cum dicit: *Visa sunt itinera tua, Deus [...] praeuenerunt principes coniuncti [...] In ecclesiis benedicite Dominum [...]* (67,27,1-12; cf. Ps 67,24-27).

The Exodus event, in which Israel was saved from Pharaoh and his army, has the same outline as the "mercy to come" (*ad speciem futurae*

¹⁵¹ Ea enim obseruari praecepta sunt non uirtute efficientiae ipsius utilia erant, sed obseruantium fide salutaria [...] (91,1,5-7). In Roman political thought, *utilitas* and *salus* were closely related ideas; see Introduction, section 1.

¹⁵² Scit enim [propheta] in quo *finis* sit legis (cf. Rm 10,4), cum ait: *Exspectabam salutare tuum, Domine, et mandata tua feci* (Ps 118,166). *Salutaris* Iesus est. [...] In eo autem *mandata Dei* se profitetur *fecisse*, quod *salutare Domini* *exspectet*, declarans omnia legis *mandata* aduentu Dei unigeniti continere (118,21,7,2-5,8-10). This idea, too, is already found in CM; cf. Chapter One, 1.1.

misericordiae), the *gentium* [...] *salus*. The Christian knows how to read the Law correctly, finding in it the shadow of the new dispensation to come. By contrast, the Jews do not understand the Law they read, which is why they put to death Christ, the “saluatorem generis humani et uitae aeternae largitorem”¹⁵³.

The incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ have a common purpose: to offer salvation to all. The universal scope of Christ’s saving mission is expressed in the words, “Exurge in occursum mihi et vide tu, Domine, Deus virtutum, Deus Israel, intende ad visitandas gentes” (Ps 58,4b-5)¹⁵⁴. To say that God “looks upon” and “visits” the *gentes* is equivalent to saying that his desire to save extends to all the nations of the world¹⁵⁵. Accordingly, the knowledge that Jesus Christ is the merciful God incarnate is not given to one nation only, but to the whole human race¹⁵⁶. In the death and resurrection of Christ, the possibility of *salus*; i.e., of rising and being glorified, is held out to all.

Liberavit eum dextera eius et brachium sanctum eius. Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum ante conspectum gentium (Ps 97,1-2). [...] Non externo eguit unigenitus Dei filius ad saluandum hominem, in quo nasci uoluit, auxilio et in gloria paternae maiestatis manens sua in se usus est potestate: per quam resurrectionis gloriam salutare suum notum gentibus fecit, cum in eo naturae suae carnem in aeternae salutis substantiam transformata esse cognoscunt (143,18,14-24).

The transformation of the risen and glorified Lord into “the substance of eternal *salus*”¹⁵⁷ reveals to all the nations what can be made of

¹⁵³ Cf. 118,13,4.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. 58,6.

¹⁵⁵ E.g., *Oculi eius super gentes respiciunt* (Ps 65,7) [...] ergo incorporealis Deus misericordiae suae oculis et tamquam ministerio famulantium angelorum protegit gentes et in omnes credentes donem se diuinae miserationis effundit (65,14,1-2; 13-16; for link to *salus* see 65,15,14-17). *Visitari itaque in occursum suo omnes gentes precatur secundum illud: Neque enim misit Deus Filium suum in hunc mundum, ut iudicet mundum, sed ut saluus fiat mundus per eum* (58,6,13-16; cf. Jn 3,17).

¹⁵⁶ Cf. 137,10. On the equivalence of *gentes* and *humanum genus*, cf. PETTORELLI, 231.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. section 3.1.2c, page 188.

humanity that lets itself be transformed by the Lord's *salutare*. This divine power to save is offered to the whole human race¹⁵⁸.

4.1.1 *The salus gentium in the titles of the Psalms*

Following the exegetical approach of the school of Origen, our author pays especial attention to the titles of the Psalms, discovering hidden meanings in them¹⁵⁹. In many cases, conveniently enough, the meanings he discovers serve to confirm his favorite theological themes; this holds true with regard to the *salus gentium*. Thus, in the few words of a psalm's title, he finds some of the the same ideas that he discovered in the Gospel of Matthew: the pagans must leave their godless ways and come into the Church to be saved, while the Jews must leave the Synagogue and also join the "gathering of the nations" who believe in Christ, so that they too may find *salus*. In contrast to CM, the eschatological dimension of *salus* is much more developed in TM, where it is explained in strict relation to the glorification of Christ's humanity in his return to heaven. In order fully to appreciate how Hilary employs *salus*-terminology to make his theological points, some literary analysis is called for. We turn our attention to the titles of Psalms 55-59.

In a brief article, J. Doignon has drawn our attention to the recurrence of the specific phrase *in tituli inscriptione* in TP 55-59. He shows how Hilary employs traditional Roman moral rhetoric in making his "spiritual" interpretation of the Psalms. The exegesis of the Bishop of Poitiers, he observes, is strongly marked with classic Roman vocabulary and civic values¹⁶⁰. Although Doignon's article furthers our understanding of Hilary's vocabulary, style, and exegetical technique, it does not discuss how he exploits the formula *in tituli inscriptione* in TP to make theological points. Nor does Doignon observe that, in TP, the two-word phrase *in finem* is invariably found together with the formula

¹⁵⁸ Cf. A.G.S. ANYANWU, *The Christological Anthropology of St. Hilary of Poitiers' Tractates on the Psalms*, Rome 1983, 99.

¹⁵⁹ The different classifications of titles in TP and their meanings have been exhaustively studied by GASTALDI, 112-131.

¹⁶⁰ "L'interprétation romaine de la formule *in tituli inscriptione* dans les *Traitées sur les Psaumes* d'Hilaire de Poitiers", in *Aevum inter utrumque*, Steenbrugis 1991, 121-125.

in tituli inscriptione. As will become evident, the phrase *in finem* is one of the keys to understanding Hilary's exegesis¹⁶¹. The Psalms with the title *in finem* point to the future: either to the time of the Gospel dispensation to come with the advent of Christ, or the eschatological themes of judgment, resurrection, and glory¹⁶². We now set out to show how our author uses these two short phrases to develop his theology of the *salus gentium*. We give each title along with some explanatory text, designating each excerpt by a Greek letter. In the analysis which follows, it will be found convenient to refer to the various excerpts by their respective letters.

α *In finem pro populo, qui a sanctis longe factus est, Dauid in tituli inscriptione [...]*¹⁶³.

[Intellegimus] notionem, ut, quod Dauid passus est, prefiguratio fuerit passionum Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut, quod "tituli inscriptio" est, eius qui moriendo uicerit significata uideatur aeternitas, quia tituli inscriptio [...] his maxime, qui probabilem uitam degentes etiam pro salute patriae mori bello non timuerint, ad aeternitatis gloriam deferatur (55,1,13-19).

β *In finem, ne disperdas, Dauid tituli inscriptio [...]*.

Itaque Dauid ad humanae carnis gloriam resurrectionis dominicae tempus expectans nunc et non *corrupti*¹⁶⁴ se rogat et auersam a se corruptionem in eo, in quo primitiae resurrectionis sunt, prophetae praescientia gratulatur. Ideo autem: "in fine" *tituli inscriptio* est, quia et gloriosa ad aeternitatis honorem uita suscepta et mors plurimis salutaris uirorum fortium inscribatur sepulcris et haec omnia ad eum referri oporteat, qui uel finis est legis uel quem psalmi ipsius finis ostendat (56,2,1-8).

¹⁶¹ In some cases, Hilary's interpretation of the formula "in finem" appears to be based on that given by Origen; cf. GOFFINET, 20-21.

¹⁶² Cf. GASTALDI, 131.

¹⁶³ For an analysis of Hilary's exegesis of this title, cf. GASTALDI, 133.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Ps 15,10, quoted in TP 56,1,8-9: Nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem [...].

γ *In finem, ne disperdas, David in tituli inscriptione.*

Hic ergo finis in psalmo est, haec depellendae corruptionis fiducia, haec ei qui nos per mortem redemit *tituli inscriptio* est (57,1,7-9).

δ *In finem, ne disperdas, David in tituli inscriptione [...].*

Haec autem maxime quamquam spiritali sint distributa ratione, cum et finis legis sit Christus et corruptioni subiecta non fuerit eius aeternitas et gloriosae mortis ipsius titulus in salute sit gentium [...] (58,1,7-10).

ε *In finem, in his qui inmutabuntur in tituli inscriptione David in doctrinam [...].*

de superscriptione tractemus, quae intellegenda refertur ad *finem* et *his qui immutabuntur*, qui ex impietate scilicet ac uitiiis desinentes ad religionem atque innocentiam transferentur et ex peccatis synagogae ad ecclesiae gratiam demutabuntur [...]. Et idcirco *tituli inscriptio pro his qui immutabuntur* adscribitur, gloriam mortis eius qui pro omnibus mortuus tituli inscriptione testante *ad doctrinam David*, ut omnes eum David, qui et oriens et iustus et rex aeternus est nouerimus [...] (59,2,3-6.14-18; cf. Heb 7,13).

In the first place, the phrase *in finem* is a key to interpretation; it means that the psalm is a prophecy of a future time¹⁶⁵. The David spoken of is the Christ, the latter David¹⁶⁶. *In finem* also indicates that Christ is the end of the Law (β)¹⁶⁷; that is, the beginning of a new age of salvation through faith¹⁶⁸. The advent of Christ marks the end of waiting for a Savior, the last hope left for humanity, the only one who could bring salvation¹⁶⁹.

The psalms tell of a time to come, when people from every nation, having come to know to the Lord, will gather together to praise him¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. 51,1,3-5.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. for example 52,1,15-18; 69,1,15-18, *et passim*.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. 54,1,9; 55,1,21-22; 56,2,4-8.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. 91,1.

¹⁶⁹ ut is qui titulo praefertur intellectus in finem possit intellegi, tali propheta spem beatorum finis ipsius adhortation confirmat dicens: Quis dabit ex Sion salutare Israel? (52,18,2-5). Cf. section 1.2, page 166.

¹⁷⁰ Est autem et ipse "in finem" et congregationem gentium, quae Dominum laudaturae sunt, nuntiat (64,1,2-4). Here we may perceive the faint echo of the *gentes crediturae* in CM.

The Church is that *congregatio gentium*, including pagans who have abandoned religious error and immorality, as well as Jews who have left the synagogue (*in his qui immutabuntur*)¹⁷¹ for faith in Christ (*ad doctrinam David*) (€). The Jews who do not believe in Christ are called “far from the saints” because they do not join the Church and participate in the *salus gentium* (α). “Populus autem, qui longe sit factus a sanctis, Israel indignus factus sanctificatione gentium longeque ab ea discedens esse noscendus est” (55,1,19-21). The gentiles have been made holy, which, here, is equivalent to being saved: “Pro peccatoribus igitur ad salutem resurrectionis est mortuus, sed sanctificatos in sanguine suo saluabit ab ira” (55,7,16-18). To be saved from God’s wrath means, not only to be kept whole and unharmed, but to receive glorification rather than eternal punishment¹⁷².

The same phrase *in finem* can mean “forever”¹⁷³, here with specific reference to immortality, both to the immortality innate in Christ’s divinity, and the unending beatitude given to those who believe aright¹⁷⁴. This leads us into a deeper understanding of the phrase *in tituli inscriptione*. The word *titulus* has two meanings: first it refers to the epigraph (*superscriptio*) of the Psalms¹⁷⁵; second, it has the sense of “title of victory” or “title of honor”, referring to a specific Roman practice. A military commander who had won a great victory over an enemy of the Roman people could be awarded a title of victory, either by a formal decree of the Senate (*Senatus consultu*), or by acclamation of the military. He might then be given a *titulus*; an official state act would decree an inscription on a tablet or coin in his honor¹⁷⁶, thus immortalizing his memory. In referring to this traditional practice, Hilary transforms its meaning. Christ is compared to a hero who is willing to die for his country because he expects glorious immortality afterwards; this

¹⁷¹ The same explanation of the phrase *In his qui immutabuntur* is given at 68,1.

¹⁷² Cf. 55,7,1-18; see page 200.

¹⁷³ Cf. 67,16,18-22; 91,10,32-34.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *instr. ps.* 18,5-10.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. 58,1,1-6.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. M. PEACHIN, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235-284*, Amsterdam 1990, 2-3.

is a typical expression of Roman ideology¹⁷⁷. Here, the *tituli inscriptio* is the tomb inscription of a hero. Christ's death is seen to be glorious (δ), not only because it is a victory for himself, but also because it confers eternal *salus* on all who will believe in him¹⁷⁸. Here again we see the *salus* of Christ and that of believers described in terms of "glory" (cf. section 3.2).

Christ does not die *pro salute patriae* in war (α); rather he wins in his passion the victory that will give *salus* to the whole human race. This is the basis of his claim to the honor or title *in salute gentium* (δ). The extension of eternal *salus* to all nations is a reason to praise God, as does the Psalmist: "*Confitebor tibi in populis, Domine, psalmum dicam tibi inter gentes* (Ps 56,9). *Laudaturus in populis et in gentibus Deum necesse est ut in eo salutem gentium laudet*" [...] (56,8,17-20). Just as the military hero was said to lead a "glorious" life, and even his death could save the lives of many others (*mors plurimis salutaris*, β), so Christ's death will save the lives of those who believe in him. This "saving" has eternal consequences. It leads to everlasting glory, not only for the humanity the Son assumed in the incarnation (*ad humanae carnis gloriam*, β), but also for those united with him by faith¹⁷⁹. The words *ne disperdas* tell of Christ's prayer that God would save him; i.e., that his divine power would preserve his humanity from corruption and raise him from the

¹⁷⁷ Cf. DOIGNON, "L'interprétation", 124. Doignon gives two citations from Cicero that establish the background for Hilary's discourse: "Quid ipsa sepulcerorum monumenta elogia significant nisi non futura etiam cogitare"? (*Tusc.*, 1,14,31); "Quid in hac re publica tot tantosque viros ob rem publicam interfectos cogitasse arbitramur? [...] Nemo unquam sine magna spe immortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem" (*Tusc.*, 1,15,32).

¹⁷⁸ Cyprian speaks of the "glorious death" of the Christian martyrs, whose names and dates of death were immortalized through liturgical celebration: Tertullus [...] scripserit et scribat ac significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosae mortis exitu transeunt, et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ab commemorationes eorum [...] (*epist.* 12,2; CSEL 3, 503ff.).

¹⁷⁹ Et quia compatiendi et commoriendi fides nos glorificat in Christo, [propheta dicit] *Exurge, gloria mea, exurge psalterium et cithara. Exurgam diluculo, confitebor tibi in populis, Domine, psalmum dicam tibi in gentibus* (Ps 56,8-9). [...] *Exurgens autem diluculo* cum gloria sua spei euangelicae gloriam cantat, congruente diluculi et orationis tempore et salutis (56,8,1-2.4-6.15-17).

dead (β)¹⁸⁰. The old Roman idea of looking out for the temporal *salus populi Romani* or the *salus rei publicae* has given way to concern for the eternal *salus* of the whole human race, of all peoples. It is true that certain Roman emperors were portrayed as the personification of the *salus generis humani*¹⁸¹, but the “human race” in question was limited to that portion of humanity dwelling within the *orbis terrarum* of the Roman empire¹⁸². In Hilary’s thought, the old Roman terms are extended and universalized. Christ’s *patria*, for the *salus* of which he gave his life, is the whole human race, which became his homeland in the incarnation. The words *misericordia* and *uirtus*, by now familiar, are both to be noted in connection with the *salus gentium*. In his mercy, God wills to save all the nations¹⁸³; by his might, he raises them from the dead to live with him forever in glory¹⁸⁴.

4.2 *The Church, instrument of salvation*

It is not the Synagogue, but the Church who makes *salus* available to all the nations, through her teaching and her sacraments. The teaching of the Church extends the knowledge of God and his *salus* to all nations:

Sed quia, quae ante praeformata in Pharao et in Israel fuerant, in diaboli suorumque clade et populorum omnium salute perfecta sunt, non ad synagogae confessionem, sed ad ecclesiae benedictionem nos cohortatur propheta [...] ex initiis scilicet legis atque adumbratione gestorum doctrinam ecclesiae defluxisse¹⁸⁵ commemorans [...] (67,28,1-4; 6-8).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. section 3.1.2a, page 183.

¹⁸¹ For example, Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus, and Caracalla; cf. WINKLER, 68, 176, *et passim*. A coin inscription honors the emperor Valerian (253-260) as the *restitutor generis humani*; cf. PEACHIN, 300.

¹⁸² *Genus humanum* was used under Trajan to designate the inhabitants of the provinces, in opposition to the *populus Romanus*. In general, however, the phrase was used in such a way as to put the inhabitants of the provinces on a level of equality with Roman citizens. Cf. WINKLER, 68-79; H.U. INSTINSKY, *Die alte Kirche und das Heil des Staates*, Munich 1963, 5ff.

¹⁸³ Cf. 56,9-10.

¹⁸⁴ *Exurgere enim sibi in occursum Deum uirtutum ad uisitandas omnes gentes precatur: in eo namque coexcitatae et collocatae a dextris eius in caelestibus gentes sunt* (58,6,6-9; cf. Ps 58,4b-5).

¹⁸⁵ Cf. 67,32,10: *tum ad gentes cognitio Dei scientiaque defluxit [...]*.

In addition to the doctrine of the Church, her sacraments were pre-figured in the Old Testament. This is seen in the Exodus event:

Nam et patres nostri sub nube fuerunt et in Moyse et in mari baptizati sunt et in similitudinem caelestis panis manna e caelis decedente saturati sunt et in Christo aquam petra praebente potati sunt; quae quidem in illis salutariter gesta symbola quoque nostrae in se salutis habuerunt, ut sequens prophetiae sermo declarat dicens: *Deus, dum egredieris coram populo tuo, dum transgredieris in deserto [...]* (67,9,6-12).

In this passage, *salutariter* has a natural and historical meaning, while *symbola [...]* *salutis* has a supernatural and future-oriented meaning¹⁸⁶. This is in keeping with the future orientation of Hilary's typological exegesis. Just as God provided for Israel's temporal safety and physical health during the Exodus, so through the mysteries of the Church he will give eternal *salus* to its members. Hilary finds the composition of the Church foreshadowed in the words of Ps 67,5-10. The Church is made up of widows and orphans; that is, both Jews and gentiles united in peace in God's holy place¹⁸⁷. In the Church, believers are re-born as sons of God, regardless of their national origin. When the Psalm says that God marched with his people through the desert, the desert is the arid and desolate hearts of the godless gentiles. But God gave rain to this desert: "Pluuiam uoluntariam segregabis, Deus, hereditati tuae" (Ps 67,9). The "rain" is a sign of God's will to save; i.e., his "good will", which he extends to his inheritance, the Church, setting up Peter and Paul as its pillars¹⁸⁸. Through them and their fellow apostles, the saving knowledge of God (*divina cognitio*) will be given to the gentiles, who will thereby be freed from their sins and re-born as the sons of God¹⁸⁹.

The office of preaching the saving message belongs primarily to the Apostles and those authorized to carry on their apostolic mission. This, too, is foretold in the words of the Psalm, "praeuenerunt principes [...] ibi Benjamin iunior in pavore, principes Iuda duces eorum, principes

¹⁸⁶ The phrase *symbola salutis* here has the same force as *sacramentum salutis* in CM 2,5,4-5: a "prophetic figure" of a future reality. Cf. Chapter One; section 1.3.1.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. 67,8,5-9.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. 67,10,13-22.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. 67,8,12-24.

Zabulon, principes Nephthalim” (Ps 67,25-27, cited in TP 67,27,9-14). The *principes* are the Apostles, chosen from among the various tribes of Israel to become the leaders of the “Gospel dispensation”¹⁹⁰. Paul is chosen from the tribe of Benjamin; in him are fulfilled the words spoken of Benjamin: “matutino deuoratas carnes ad uesperum diuidens in salutem” (67,28,13-14; cf. Gen 49,27). The same Psalm foretold that the gentile nations would eagerly seek out salvation from the apostolic ministry of the Church: “Venient legati ex Aegypto, Aethiopia praeueniet manu sua” (Ps 67,31).

Aethiopia uero in Candaces eunucho fidei confessione praeuenit, *manu autem sua*, dum ipse baptismi gratiam sibi postulat (cf. Acts 8,36) [...] sacramentum ipsum baptismi adeo impatientis desiderii cupiditate *praeueniens*, ut a diacono ministerium apostolici officii salutis suae cupidus exigeret. Et quia exinde per omnes fere gentes praedicatio diuinae cognitionis inluxit [...] (67,33,11-18).

Notwithstanding the importance of the sacrament of baptism in this passage, it is clear that Hilary lays the stress on the acquisition of the “divine knowledge” (*diuina cognitio*). It is this knowledge that saves; baptism cannot be received except by someone who first believes and professes it. The preaching of the apostles brings the word of God to the whole world, thereby inviting all nations to be baptized into the unity of the saving faith. The apostles’ words are compared to the leaves of the tree of life described in Rev 22; they are “salutary”, giving *salus* to the gentiles:

Quod autem haec folia ligni huius non inutilia sunt, sed salutaria gentibus, sanctus Iohannes in Apocalypsi testatur dicens: *Et ostendit mihi flumen aquae uitae [...] et ex utraque parte fluminis arborem uitae, quae facit fructum duodecies, singulis mensibus reddens fructum suum, et folia arboris sunt ad sanitatem gentium* (Rev 22,1-2). [...] Conuenerat enim dixisse ex utraque parte fluminis demonstrati arbores esse, non arborem. Sed quia uitae arbor ubique in sacramento baptismi una est undique ad se uenientibus apostolicae praedicationis fructus subministrans, ideo ex utraque parte fluminis una uitae arbor adsistit – unus enim agnus est in Dei throno uisus et unum flumen et uitae arbor una, quae omnia in se

¹⁹⁰ Cf. 67,28.

complectuntur mysteria corporationis, baptismi, passionis – cuius folia, id est praedicationis uerba salutem gentibus per doctrinam eloquii non decidentis impertiunt (1,17,1-7.10-19)¹⁹¹.

The Church of the gentiles (that is, of all the nations of the earth) is the new Israel, the Lord's inheritance¹⁹². The new Israel is made up of all who believe in Christ, regardless of their national origin, as contrasted with "carnal Israel", those who belonged to the nation of Israel by virtue of physical descent¹⁹³.

Hic uero expectatus salutaris et datus est Israel, sed non carnali illi Israel (cf. Rm 9,8). [...] Non est ergo Israel iste ex successione corporea¹⁹⁴, cui ob infidelitatem origo profanissimi generis deputatur. Neque huic data salus est, qui non suscepit oblatam, sed ei qui, auersa captiuitate, populus Dei factus est (52,19,1-2; 13-16).

The gentiles are said to have been in "captivity" because they were trapped in religious ignorance, held in bondage by their service to false gods. When Christ-*salutaris* is revealed to them and they come to believe in him, they are freed from that captivity and become the new Israel, the

¹⁹¹ In the Roman rhetorical tradition, rivers were typically associated with the notion of "eloquence"; e.g., CICERO, *de orat* 2,15,62: *orationis flumen*; QUINTILIAN, *inst.* 10,1,61: *eloquentiae flumen*. Cf. J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 52, n. 3. Hilary is turning the traditional figure to his own use. By specifying that the "eloquence" in question here is "never failing" (*non decidentis*), he shows that he is referring to the message of *everlasting* life to be delivered by the apostles, giving the eternal *salus* of immortal life to the whole world.

¹⁹² *necesse est ut in eo salutem gentibus laudet [psalmista], quia iam non in uno Israel funiculum hereditatis artatum sit neque Iacob portio, sed terrae plenitudo iam Dei sit [...]* (56,8,19-22). Cf. 67,11-12; 126,16.

¹⁹³ Cf. 126,16.

¹⁹⁴ The glory of the people of God comes from faith, not from physical descent: *Ac ne sibi Israel impius in ciuitates Iudaeae gloriam eo, quod secundum carnem seruorum Dei semen est, uindicaret, eorum hereditatem, eorum habitationem in Sion esse demonstrat, qui nomen Domini diligant, ut pietatis magis sit, non generis electio [...]* (68,33,1-5). The phrase *pietatis [...]* *electio* refers to the same idea as the phrase *electionis salus* in CM; cf. Chapter One, section 2.1.

true people of God, the Church¹⁹⁵. The teachings of the true faith are called the “salutis nostrae instituta”¹⁹⁶ because they free us from religious error and put us on the path to *salus*:

digna haec ad Deum prophetae subiecta confessio est: *Dominus et Deus benedictus de die in diem, prosperum iter nobis faciet Deus salutarium nostrorum* (Ps 67,19). [...] Cotidie autem per populi credentis adcessionem benedictionis multiplicatur augeturque confessio, cum gentiles superstitiones impiaeque de diis fabulae, cum arae daemonum, cum

¹⁹⁵ Ergo hoc salutare gentium adnuntiatur, non carnali Israel [...] sed sermo iste omnis ad gentes est et gentium *salutaris* est (13,5,22-25; cf. 13,5,1-21). [...] Captiuitas (cf. Ps 13,7) proprie gentium est, qui in corde suo dixerant: *Non est Deus* (Ps 13,1) [...] qui in generatione iusta Dominum habitaturum negauerunt capti religionibus daemonum, superstitionibus temporum, officiis creaturae (13,6,2-3). Mendacio inimicorum in nuncupatis diis demonstrato, salutis nostrae instituta praebentur, ut *terrena omnis origo nostra adoret et psallat altissimo* (cf. Ps 65,4), uerum Deum et uniuersorum conditorem, relictis impietatum mendaciis, recognoscens (65,8,3-7). Tempia conlapsa sunt, simulacra muta sunt, haruspices interuentu sanctorum silent, augurium fides fallit: unum dei nomen in omnibus gentibus sanctum est (137,10,5-7). “Origène développe dans son commentaire [*Com. in Psalm.*, Ps 13; PG 12, 1205 D 4-9] la même idée de la captivité; celle-ci consiste dans le retour de la gnose et de la vertu à l’ignorance et la méchanceté. Nous insistons sur le fait qu’Origène n’emploie que des mots abstraits: gnose, vertu, ignorance, méchanceté. Selon lui, celui qui aura conquis la *πρακτικὴ ἀπάθεια* et qui aura été jugé digne de la contemplation gnostique, se réjouira comme Jacob et Israël. Si l’on compare les textes, on constate qu’Hilaire dit la même chose qu’Origène, mais il présente ses idées d’une façon concrète. Pour Origène, la captivité consiste dans l’ignorance, *ἄγνωσία*, pour Hilaire, c’est l’ignorance de Dieu: *captiuitas proprie gentium est, qui in corde suo dixerant: non est Deus*. Le deuxième élément est, d’après Origène, le retour à la méchanceté, *κακία*. Hilaire dit d’une façon plus concrète: *capti religionibus daemonum, superstitionibus temporum, officiis creaturae*. La joie de la délivrance consiste dans la contemplation gnostique, basée sur la *πρακτικὴ ἀπάθεια*. Pour Hilaire, cette joie se trouve aussi dans la contemplation, mais dans la contemplation de Dieu: *Deo contemplato*. Ainsi, dans ce texte [TP 13,6], Hilaire fait de la contemplation de Dieu, le pendant de ce qu’est la gnose pour Origène”; GOFFINET, 67. Origen also speaks of Christ the Savior being given to “spiritual Israel”: Ἄλλὰ τίς δώσει τὸν Χριστὸν ἰδεῖν τὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σωτήριον (*Com. in Psalm.*, Ps 52; PG 12, 1461 B, quoted in GOFFINET, 74).

¹⁹⁶ Mendacio inimicorum in nuncupatis diis demonstrato, salutis nostrae instituta praebentur, ut *terrena omnis origo nostra adoret et psallat altissimo* (Ps 65,4), uerum Deum et uniuersorum conditorem, relictis impietatum mendaciis, recognoscens (65,8,3-7).

idolorum inania relinquuntur et iter omnibus ac profectus dirigitur in salutem (67,20,2-5.7-12).

God directs all *in salutem* by calling them out of captivity into membership in the Church, the “believing people” (*per populi credentis adcessionem*). What is the nature of the *salus* found within the Church? On a purely linguistic level, the basic idea expressed is one of safety, but this is not the whole meaning of *salus* here. Something much more important is being expressed. The title given to God, “Deus salutarium nostrorum” (67,20,4-5) connects our *salus* with the eternity of God: “Hic igitur salutarium nostrorum Dominus ac Deus est, cuius *de die in diem* benedictionum significatur aeternitas” (67,20,7-13; cf. Ps 67,19-20). Our God is the God of our salvation, the God who saves, precisely because he offers everlasting life after death to humanity.

Even among the gentiles, the number of believers will be less than that of unbelievers¹⁹⁷. Nevertheless, Hilary does not tire of contrasting those gentiles who come to make up the Church, characterized as the “believing people”¹⁹⁸, with those Jews who failed to believe in Christ, remaining “unbelieving Israel”¹⁹⁹. The new Israel is the “Israel who believes”, recognizing in Christ his divinity and power to save: “Sed Israel erit ille qui credit, Israel erit ille qui Deum oculis cordis adspiciet, quia Israel Deum uidens est, qui post captiuitatem auersam hoc Dei salutare cognoscit” (13,6,7-10). Not to believe in Christ’s divinity and resurrection is an offense against the witness of the Law, which foretold that Christ was coming to save²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. 58,9,11-19.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. 2,23,5; 24,3,19ff.; 51,22,8; 52,21,13.19; 67,20,8; 68,18,26-27; 126,15,13. 138,39-40.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. 2,21,1-3 (*paternae in se impietatis*); 51,4,1-14 (*populus impius*); 51,21,19-27 (*infidelis ille populus*); 53,3,9-16 (*populus [...] infidelis*); 67,36,14 (*impiam Israel uineam*); 68,18 (*non credente Israel*); 68,19-21 (*retributio tantae impietatis*). Cf. 52,2,12ff; Chapter One, section 1.1, n. 16.

²⁰⁰ *contaminauerunt testamentum eius* (Ps 54,20b), cum cum qui testamento legis ad salutem praenuntiatus est reppulerunt (54,16,9-11; cf. *instr. ps.* 5-6). Hilary appears to understand *testamentum* to mean “witness” rather than “covenant”.

The unbelief of the Jewish people earned it the wrath of God²⁰¹, which means damnation, not salvation. The coming of the Savior has not only brought about a new Israel, but re-defined the original Israel, the Jewish people. As we have seen (above, page 214), those coming from the Law who refused to believe in Christ are called “Israel carnalis”²⁰² or “ille Israel”²⁰³ in contrast to the new Israel, the Church. The longed-for Messiah, Christ the Savior, is given to the new Israel, which means that *Israel carnalis* receives no *salus*: “Hic uero expectatus salutaris²⁰⁴ et datus est Israel, sed non carnali illi Israel (cf. Rm 9,8). [...] Neque huic data salus est” [...] (52,19,1-2.14-15). Nevertheless, there is still a chance for the original people of God to be saved, despite their rejection of Christ. This is seen in Hilary’s treatment of Rm 11,25b-26 (RSV): “a hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will be saved” [...]. Hilary’s Bible does not speak of “all Israel” but of “the remnant of Israel”; that is, those Jews who did not join the Church initially: “introgressa gentium plenitudine, id quod Israel est reliquum saluabitur” (58,11,3-4; cf. Rm 11,25)²⁰⁵. God has not abandoned his chosen people, for mercy is held out to the remnant of Israel until the very end²⁰⁶.

From the revelation given to the Church, we have learned the “salutis nostrae instituta”, the mystery of the Father and Son. From this we understand that the power of God was at work in the death and resurrection of Christ. The same divine power that took flesh in the incarnation saved the humanity it had assumed in the resurrection, bringing it into heavenly glory²⁰⁷. Christ, the first to rise from the dead,

²⁰¹ Omnis ergo operationem et misericordiam Dei in salutem gentium denegans in iram prouocat misericordiae et salutis auctorem [...] (65,15,14-16). Cf. 2,12-13; 51,9,6-13; 51,10; 51,19,29-39.

²⁰² Cf. 52,19,1-2.

²⁰³ Cf. 121,8,21.

²⁰⁴ *Salutaris* = Christ; see above, footnote 46.

²⁰⁵ The same verse from Romans is quoted at: 59,13-14, 126,15.

²⁰⁶ Nam etsi consummationi temporum propter patres et electos (cf. Rm 11,28b) haec dispensatio misericordiae reseruetur [...] (58,12,2-3).

²⁰⁷ primogenito ex mortuis tantum proprius fuit egressus ex morte. Atque ideo proprius *exitus mortis* est *Domini*, quia adsumptae ab eo carnis haec uirtus sit, ut naturae nostrae corruptionem in gloriam caelestem post *exitus mortis* efferet (67,21,27-30; cf.

is the exemplar of the mystery of human salvation²⁰⁸. In his resurrection, we see that *salus* is more than “safety”; it is deliverance from death, accomplished by the power of God. This deliverance is said to belong to the Lord:

Ad huius igitur nos propheta scientiam Dei, qui nobis et passus et mortuus est et resurrexit et Dominus est (cf. 2 Cor 5, 15), instituit dicens: *Deus noster Deus saluos faciendi, et Domini exitus mortis* (Ps 67, 20), eum nobis Deum intimans, qui, cum esset Deus (cf. Ph 2, 6), omnia ad salutis nostrae incrementa susciperet. Et idcirco hic *Deus noster* est, quia Deus eorum sit qui fient salui. Saluos autem nos per id *Deus noster* efficit, quod *exitus sit mortis* egressus [...]. Verumtamen in his quae dicta sunt: *Deus noster Deus saluos faciendi, et Domini exitus mortis*, et salutis nostrae *Deus* et *exitus* eius ultra exitum mortis ostenditur, qui *mortis exitus Domini* sint (67, 21, 11-18. 23-26).

Again, the *salus* found within the Church is defined as the *salus* of eternal life. God is called a “God who saves” precisely because he has power over death itself: *Domini exitus mortis*. He is called “our God” and “the God of our salvation” (*salutis nostrae Deus*) because he is the God of those who are themselves “saved” (*qui fient salui*); that is, given life after death.

Eternal *salus* is found only within the unity of the Church, where the Lord gives “blessing and life forever”.

Est ergo bonum atque iucundum, ut a gentili errore, id est, a profana Hermon ueneratione descendens, ad Sion (cf. Ps 132, 3a), id est ad aeternae beatitudinis domum transeat, et eum qui salute omnium laetatur oblectet, ob id: *Quoniam illic mandauit Dominus benedictionem, et uitam usque in saecula* (Ps 132, 3b): in Sion scilicet, uel etiam in unanimitate cohabitantium fratrum. Benedictiones enim Ecclesia sola largitur, uitam aeternam unanimitas promeretur (132, 7, 7-14).

“Sion” stands for the Church, either the Church in this world or the heavenly Church of the saints, where the resurrected dwell²⁰⁹. One who

Ps 67, 20).

²⁰⁸ Sacramentum itaque salutis nostrae primum resurgens ipse ex mortuis [...] impleuit (67, 23, 12-13. 15).

²⁰⁹ Cf. 68, 29-31.

wishes to make his home in Sion must first abandon “Hermon”. According to Hilary’s etymology, Hermon means “anathema”, the seat of gentile error; i.e., godlessness and superstition²¹⁰. God, who does not want the sinner to die, but to convert and live (cf. Ez 18,23)²¹¹, wants all to abandon religious error and pass over into the Church, where they will find *salus*, the blessing of eternal life. The error needing to be abandoned can take two forms: the Jews need to abandon reliance on the Law of Moses, and the gentiles need to give up their “godlessness”, their idolatry²¹².

The *unanimitas* of the Church, in which individuals find their *salus*, is based on something even more fundamental than unity of belief. The foundation of the Church is Christ himself, who is called both Mt. Sion and Jerusalem, the holy city. To enter Sion is to enter the Church, which is the Body of Christ²¹³.

Sion quae sit, apostolus docet, cum dicit: *Accedamus ad Sion montem et ad sanctam ciuitatem Hierusalem* (Hb 12,22); omnes enim currimus adprehendere, in quo sumus adprehensi a Christo (Ph 3,12), id est, inueniri in eius corpore, quod ex nobis ipse praesumpsit, in quo ante constitutionem mundi a Patre sumus electi (cf. Eph 1,14), in quo reconciliati ex inimicis (cf. Col 1,21-22) et adquisiti sumus ex perditis, in quo apostolus cum damno uniuersorum optat inueniri dicens: *Et omnia arbitror stercora, ut Christum lucrifaciam et inueniar in illo* (Ph 3,8-9). Ergo, quia non nisi ex adsumptione carnis nostrae hi morbi essent nostri corporis auferendi et ex adsumptione carnis salus nostra omnis in Deo est, idcirco ita ait: *Quis dabit ex Sion salutare Israel?* (13,4,1-12)²¹⁴.

²¹⁰ Cf. 132,6,5-19.

²¹¹ Cited in 132,7,2-3.

²¹² Cf. 68,1,9-13. The fundamental error of the gentiles is the worship of false gods: cf. 13,5-6; 61,2,3; 65,8; 67,20,7-12; 118,12,12,17; 132,6; 134,8,22-29; 134,26-27.

²¹³ et non ambiguum est apostolum fundamentum (cf. Is 28,16) Christum significasse, per quod beata illa dominici corporis ecclesia, cuius fundamentum est Christus, significari uidetur in monte. Quam idem apostolus et Hierusalem nuncupat dicens: *quae nunc est Hierusalem, seruit cum filiis suis; ea autem, quae sursum est Hierusalem libera est, quae est mater nostra* (Gal 4,25-26). Habemus ergo montem Sion domini, habemus et ciuitatem Dei Hierusalem [...] (124,3.).

²¹⁴ Cf. 13,6,8-15; 52,15,19-21.

We can have *salus* only because Christ joined himself to the whole of the human race when he took a human nature in the incarnation. Hilary consistently uses the image of a city to describe this *uniuersitas*²¹⁵. “Hoc Verbum Domini *caro factum est* (cf. Jn 1,14). Haec caro et Sion et Hierusalem est, ciuitas nobis pacis et speculatorium nostrum. Hinc salutaris, hinc Iesus” (52,18,13-15). In the passage from Tractate 13 above, *salus* is a status of safety and rescue; the saved are those who have been taken from among the lost (*adquisiti sumus ex perditis*) and incorporated into Christ. To remain a member of Christ’s Body, the Church, is to be “safe”, because to remain in the Church is to remain in Christ, *in illo* (cf. Ph 3,12). Our *salus* is said to be *in Deo*; i.e., “in the Son of God who is God made flesh, and who in his flesh has destroyed all the vices and diseases of our human nature united to himself”²¹⁶. Ultimately, of course, Christian *salus* is something transcending all human experiences of safety and rescue in this life. Believers await the eschatological *salus* of resurrection and glorification. They wait for their Savior to come from Sion: “Hinc salutaris, hinc Iesus” (52,18,15). They look to Mt. Sion, that is, to the glorified body of Christ in heaven, the example of what it means to be saved: “In eo enim sumus resurrectionem nostram in resurrectione nostri in eo corporis contemplantes: speculatio est enim Sion” [...] (124,4,16-17).

Just as the humanity of Christ was said to be “saved” in his resurrection and glorification, so the heavenly Sion is described as having been “saved”, in contrast with the earthly cities of Judah, which were destroyed by the “Roman king” (cf. 68,30,1-6). As Hilary develops this idea, he identifies the heavenly city with Christ, the firstborn from the dead, the first to be saved:

Quoniam Dominus saluificauit Sion, et aedificabuntur ciuitates Iudae (Ps 68,35). [...] Nam ob id *aedificari ciuitates Iudaeae* propheticus sermo

²¹⁵ We saw this already in CM: *Ciuitatem carnem quam adsumpserat nuncupat* (cf. Mt 5,14), quia, ut ciuitas ex uarietate ac multitudine consistit habitantium, ita in eo per naturam suscepti corporis quaedam uniuersi generis humani congregatio continetur. Atque ita et ille ex nostra in se congregatione fit ciuitas et nos per consortium carnis suae sumus ciuitatis habitatio (CM 4,12,3-9). Cf. Chapter One, section 4.3.3; J. PETTORELLI, “Le thème de Sion”, 230-232.

²¹⁶ VACCARI, 214.

declarat, ut in ea, quae salua facta sit, Sion inhabitent. [...] Est autem digna plane Deo *laus caeli, terrae ac maris* confessione tribuenda (cf. Ps 68,34), quod illa filia Sion, quae inuecta in Hierusalem tanto praeaeuntium sequentiumque comitatu (cf. Jn 12,15) salua per Deum sit, in quam angeli concupiscunt, in qua creatura omnis gemens dolensque prospectat (cf. Rm 8,22), in qua aeternitatis nostrae gloriam laudemque speculamur, in qua aedificatarum ecclesiarum ciuitates manebunt. [...] In hoc ergo corpore Domini, quo resurrexit ex mortuis, [...] quo in gloria Dei patris est, spem nostram uitamque speculamur. Et quia reuelationem nostrae in eo claritatis et ipsa in eandem liberanda creatura omnis expectat (cf. Rm 8,23), salutem huius Sion sub significatione caeli et terrae et maris laudat, quia omnia in caelis et in terra pacificata et reconciliata per eam Deo sint (cf. Col 1,20), quia in resurrectionis gloriam, cuius spem in ipso ex mortuis resurgente speculamur, peccatum, mors, corruptio a uita et immortalitate deuorata sint et exhausta (68,29,2-3; 68,30,8-10; 68,31,1-7.10-18).

The faithful look to the risen Christ, hoping that he will give them the eschatological *salus* of glorification: “Loquatur et Paulus et dicat: *nostra enim conuersatio in caelis est, unde et saluatorem nostrum expectamus, qui transformabit corpus humilitatis nostrae conformatum corpori suae*” (Ph 3,20) [...] (124,4,19-23). Those saved by faith are said to be “like Mt. Sion”; i.e., like the risen and glorified Christ: “*qui confidunt in Domino, sicut mons Sion; non commouebitur in aeternum, qui habitat in Hierusalem* (Ps 124,1). [...] Confidamus in Domino, ut conformes corporis corporis gloriae Dei simus. Habitemus nunc ecclesiam, caelestem Hierusalem, ut non moueamur in aeternum” (124,4,5-7.8-11). Having become like the risen Christ, they are “saved”, secure in eternal life. By standing firm in the faith of the Church on earth, we may be assured of being with God forever in the heavenly Church.

In hac [= earthly Church] enim habitantes habitabimus in illa [= heavenly Church]; quia haec illius forma est [...]. in hac habitantibus standum est, non discurrendum, sicut Moysi dictum est: *tu autem hic mecum sta* (Deut 5,31). Non simus procursibus uagi neque uiis incerti neque inanis doctrinae uento euolantes (cf. Eph 4,14). In aeternum enim manendum est, si sine commotione steterimus (cf. Hb 12,27) (124,4,11-12.19-23).

4.3 *Opposition to salus*

Both Jews and heretics oppose salvation, but for different reasons and in different ways. "Carnal Israel" considers the mercy of God to be its exclusive possession; for this reason they oppose the salvation of the gentiles. In doing so, they oppose the unity and peace God has established between Jews and gentiles in the gathering of the Church²¹⁷. They deny that salvation can come from faith, boasting instead of their own physical descent from Abraham²¹⁸. In their opposition to the new dispensation, they kill the Apostles and subvert the Church²¹⁹.

Christian heretics also disturb the unity of the Church through their false teachings and assemblies. They work against salvation, because they are killing souls²²⁰.

Finally, any persecution or torture aimed at killing the Christian's faith, eliciting a "confession of unbelief", would put his salvation itself at risk²²¹.

5. Content of the saving faith

We have examined in detail Hilary's doctrine on the saving incarnation of Christ, and seen how he understands the salvation of Christ's humanity. Christ, in his passion, could call God his "Savior". At the same time, Christ is the Savior of all other men, and their salvation is patterned after that of his humanity. Objectively speaking, he united all men to himself in the incarnation when he assumed the *totus homo*, the same humanity that he brought to the glory of heaven. He is the Good

²¹⁷ Cf. 67,31-32.

²¹⁸ But their unbelief makes them aliens, not members of the nation of Abraham at all. For the contrast between physical descent from Abraham and membership in the Church, see 2,3; 52,19; 65,15; 68,32-33. This same theme was prominent in the Commentary on Matthew; see CM 2,3; 12,24; 20,3; 21,13.

²¹⁹ Cf. 51,4.

²²⁰ *Dolosa autem doctrina est haeticorum [...] nihil ad salutem hominum laborant [...] isti infelices animas extinguunt et in unam ecclesias sibi congregant [...]* (138,45,20ff.).

²²¹ *Vrant enim licet in excidium fidei ignes, lacerent quoque ad periculum salutis nostrae flagella, effodiant etiam ad eliciendam impietatis confessionem redempta a Deo corpora unguulae [...]* (118,12,10,12-15).

Shepherd who left the “rest” of heaven to save what was lost. Assuming a human nature, the Son joined himself to all humanity. In his return to heaven, he brings humanity with him, as the shepherd carries the sheep on his shoulders²²². The *exitus-reditus*²²³ of the Son has opened up a new possibility for all humanity: to be united with God forever in glory²²⁴. But this is only a possibility, not a necessity. As we have seen, not all human beings will be saved. The actualization of salvation in the case of each individual human being depends on the faith of the individual. The Lord spoke of this distinction when he said, “Non ueni pacem mittere in terram, sed diuisionem” (Mt 10,34; quoted in 59,6,27-28). The division he spoke of is the division between believers and unbelievers. Accordingly, the division between those who will be saved and rise with Christ is the division between those who believe and those who refuse to do so²²⁵.

²²² This is the summary of the mystery of salvation: *Digno autem omnia euangelici sacramenti fine conclusit dicens: Erraui sicut ouis, quae perit; uiuifica seruum tuum, quia mandata tua non sum oblitus* (Ps 118,176). Referring to himself as errabundam ac perditam ouem pastoris sui humeris festinat (cf. Lk 15,5), ut per saluatorem suum aeternumque pastorem in caelo angelis aeterna gaudia praebeat se recepta (cf. Lk 15,10). *Filius enim hominis uenit saluare, quod perierat* (cf. Mt 18,11)[...] (118,22,7,1-8). This is exactly the same interpretation of the parable of the Good Shepherd given in CM 18,5-6 and TM 1,18 (cf. Chapter One). As Milhau correctly notes, Hilary’s exegesis of the parable of the lost sheep (cf. Mt 18,11-14; Lk 15,4-7) does not offer anything approaching a complete interpretation of the parable. It has the sole aim of commenting on the figure of Christ the Redeemer (cf. SC 347, 303, n. 7).

²²³ Hilary does not employ these exact words, but the same idea is present. See, for example, 58,6,1-3: *Hic ergo solus currens direxit* (cf. Ps 58,4), qui, infirmitatis nostrae humilitate suscepta, egressus caelos, regressus ad caelos, qui reuolvens nos secum oblaturusque Deo munus precatus sit [...].

²²⁴ Cf. 67,19.

²²⁵ *(V)r liberentur dilecti tui, salua dextera tua et exaudi me* (Ps 59,5). *Dextera Domini fecit uirtutem* (cf. Ps 117,16) et a dextris Deo uirtus Dei, coexcitata secum humilitatis nostrae carne, consedit (cf. Eph 1,20). *Data ergo significatione fugiendi a facie arcus liberantur dilecti* (cf. Ps 59,4) et per *Dei dexteram saluantur*. Et a qua *facie arcus liberentur saluenturque*, apostolus docuit dicens: *Qui liberauit nos de potestate tenebrarum et transtulit in regnum Filii dilectionis suae* (Col 1,13). *Liberandi ergo dilecti saluandique per dexteram Dei sunt*. Sed salutis huius ad fidei firmitatem noscenda est prophetia. Sequitur enim: [...] *Laetabor et partabor Sicimam* (cf. Ps 59,6a). [...] *Partita ergo Sicima est, cum fideles ab infidelibus separantur* (59,5,4–59,6,1-3.23).

Hilary is highly concerned with the gnoseological content of the saving faith. We have already seen the importance of religious knowledge for salvation. God shows his mercy and desire to save man by teaching him (cf. section 1.1, page 158), first through the Law, then through the Church's ministry of the Gospel (cf. section 4.2, page 211). The characteristic names for this saving knowledge are (*diuina*) *cognitio*²²⁶, *doctrina*²²⁷, and *scientia*²²⁸. In TP, as was the case in CM and DT, a vague, undefined knowledge of God is not sufficient for salvation. A correct knowledge of Christ and his mysteries is called for.

5.1 *Knowledge of the Savior*

The Tractate on Ps 51 speaks of the saving knowledge that will come with the advent of Christ. This is seen in the title of the Psalm: "In finem intellectus illi Dauid" [...] ²²⁹. The Psalm tells of the coming of Christ (*ille Dauid*), the end of the Law, of how he was rejected by the Jewish people and accepted by the Church of the saints, the body of Christ²³⁰. The Son of God became incarnate, immersing himself in the sea of this sinful world²³¹, to save us from drowning in it by means of his teaching: "Unigenitus itaque Dei Filius, Dei Verbum et Deus Verbum, ad erudiendos nos ex profundo saeculi huius naufragio descendit doctrinae

²²⁶ Cf. 67,19,20-25; 67,32,10; 67,33,11-18; 134,20,22-23. Cf. 118,15,11,5: *suseptam fidem et cognitionem Dei adeptam relinquunt [...]*.

²²⁷ Cf. 1,17,18; 51,13,17.

²²⁸ Cf. 67,32,10.

²²⁹ Nam et non sui temporis res psalmus continere ostenditur, cui praescriptio tituli in finem est. Et cum in fine intellegentia sit, non potest in eo alicuius alterius magis rei intellegentia esse quam finis. Finis autem est, ut frequenter ostendimus, quo concluduntur omnia, cuius causa cetera sunt, ad quam uniuersa spei, rerum, negotiorum opera festinant (51,1,3-9).

²³⁰ Cf. 51,4; 51,8-9.

²³¹ The tossing sea stands for the sinful influences of the world. Omnis etenim anima infidelis in saeculi huius tamquam maris profundo naufraga incerto motu uagoque differtur et diuersarum cupiditatum aestu mobilis fluctuat [...] Quod autem saeculi huius motus atque fluctus undantis maris sit aestibus comparatus [...] (51,13,1-3.7-9). This same image was found with the same meaning in CM: Non enim Domino saeculi motus tempestatesque calcanti quisquam passionis esse particeps poterat (CM 14,16,6-7). See the discussion of Peter walking on the waves toward Jesus in Chapter One, section 4.3.3.

suae reti” (51,13,15-17). By accepting this teaching, the gentiles obtain the hope of resurrection and glorification²³². To accept the Gospel means, not only to accept the teaching of Christ, but to believe that he is divine. This idea is contained in the psalmist’s prayer: “Et expectabo nomen tuum, quoniam bonum est in conspectu sanctorum tuorum” (Ps 51,9b). To await the “name of God” is to await Christ the Savior²³³:

Expectabit ergo Dei nomen, cui confitetur, per quem facta sunt omnia: *Vnus enim Deus Pater, ex quo omnia et nos in ipso; et unus Dominus noster Iesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum* (1 Cor 8,6). Huius ergo nomen expectat, Iesum scilicet uidere, id est saluatorem suum nosse, angelo dicente: *Et cognominabis nomen eius Iesum; ipse enim saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum* (Mt 1,21). Christum conspicerem, ut per professionem generosae familiae sit christianus, expectat. Bonum autem hoc nomen est [...] quod ad salutem homines adsumunt, quia scriptum est: *Et omnis qui inuocauerit nomen eius, hic saluus erit* (Rom 10,13) (51,24,3-11.12-14).

To be saved, one needs more than general religious knowledge (*cognitio, scientia*). One must also know Christ (*saluatorem suum nosse*), believe that he is the Son of God (*Dei nomen*), and profess faith in him. He is the *Saluator* of those who believe in him. Their profession of faith makes them part of a “noble family” (*generosae familiae*), the family of the saints in whose company they profess their belief in the name of Jesus (*in conspectu sanctorum*)²³⁴.

²³² Extendit enim spes suas ad infinitam perennitatis aetatem nec concluditur mortis occasu, quin sciat sibi in Abrahae sinibus exemplo pauperi Lazari esse uiuendum, sciat quoque gloriosae resurrectionis demutatione coaeternum se et conformem Deo esse mansurum [...] (51,22,28-32).

²³³ On Christ as the “name of God”, cf. section 3.1.2e, page 189; see also Chapter Two, section 2.2.2.

²³⁴ The saints include both the members of the Church on earth and the saints in heaven: Expectat autem non occulte, non trepidus, non solus, sed in conspectu sanctorum eius, fide scilicet libera testimonium expectationis suae uel sub sanctorum caelestium conscientia non recusans uel prophetae exemplo sanctis omnibus, qui in terra sunt, in se ipso praebens expectationis exemplum (51,24,14-19).

5.1.2 *Christological content*

By explaining how Israel might have been saved, Hilary clarifies some of the main elements of the saving faith: “Ille Israel [...] in cruce si crederet saluatus, in resurrectione si confiteretur glorificatus, nihil horum suum credidit, nihil horum manere suum uoluit” (121,8,21ff.). Behind this text lies Rm 10,9: “if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved”²³⁵. The “heavenly mystery” that saves includes the three great Christological mysteries: the incarnation, the revelation of the unity of the Father and Son at Christ’s baptism, and the paschal mystery of Christ’s suffering, death, and resurrection²³⁶.

5.2 *Salutaris confessio*

Although the exact phrase *salutaris confessio/professio*, so prominent in DT, does not appear in TP, the latter work makes it quite clear that one who wishes to receive and retain *salus* must make a correct confession of the true faith. The Psalms inform our faith, teaching us how to profess religious truth correctly²³⁷. A *profectus* or growth in religious knowledge is paralleled by a *profectus* or development of one’s *confessio*²³⁸. The culmination of religious knowledge is to know Christ the Savior; therefore it is necessary to confess that he is God incarnate²³⁹, and that he and the Father are one²⁴⁰.

Virginity, continence, fasting – these are all good things, but they do not profit one’s holiness, unless they harmonize with the truth of the Christian faith. Both our confession of faith and moral life must be in

²³⁵ This text was one of the defining bases of the saving faith in CM; see Chapter One, section 2.4.

²³⁶ This is symbolized in the “tree of life” (cf. Rev 22,1-2), whose leaves stand for the saving knowledge man cannot have except from the apostolic preaching: *uitae arbor una, quae omnia in se complectuntur mysteria corporationis, baptismi, passionis – cuius folia, id est praedicationis uerba [...]* (1,17,15-17).

²³⁷ Cf. 63,3.

²³⁸ Cf. 61,2.

²³⁹ Cf. 68,25.

²⁴⁰ Cf. 61,9,22-33.

order if we wish to arrive at heaven²⁴¹. Our confession of faith is in order when it is a profession of Catholic teaching:

Qui non egit dolum in lingua sua (Ps 14,3) et ueritatem quam sentit non fallat in uerbis (cf. Ps 14,2), ut catholicae doctrinae professionem et ita sentiendi ac praedicandi iudicium etiam operatio consequatur, quia secundum apostoli testimonium *ut in corde creditur, ita ore confessio fit ad salutem* (cf. Rm 10,10)²⁴². Ergo ut sit in Dei requiem dignus ascensus, in uerborum ac linguae ueritatem uiuendum est, ut per operationem fidem sensus nostri uerba non falsa sint (14,9,6-13).

A confession of the true faith leads to *salus*, that is, to the everlasting rest of heaven²⁴³. An untiring confession is called something “saving” (*salutare*) for the same reason. A faithful Christian learns from the insults Christ suffered before his passion to persevere in the saving confession of faith that will lead to glorification²⁴⁴. Not to persevere in a confession of faith is a danger to one’s salvation²⁴⁵.

5.3 Faith and morals

While Hilary insists that *salus* comes from faith and not from doing the works of the Law, he does not ignore the fact that true faith is lived out in one’s actions. Only the man who keeps God’s commandments, who exhibits untiring mercy to others, constant unshakeable continence, the habit of fasting, and cheerful generosity, can say that he belongs to God: *Tuus sum ego, salua me; quia iustificationes tuas exquisiui* (Ps 118,94). He asks to be saved, because he belongs to God and not to sinful

²⁴¹ Cf. 14,8,6-16.

²⁴² Cf. 51,24,13-14; 60,2,6-7.

²⁴³ Cf. 67,20,7-16.

²⁴⁴ Sed id quod sibi maxime salutare est sanctus iste [...] congeminat indefessae in nobis confessionis perseuerantiam oportere esse demonstrans. Sequitur enim: *Verumtamen Deo subiecta est anima mea, quoniam ab ipso est patientia mea. Quia ipse est Deus meus et saluator, adiutor meus, non emigrabo. In Deo salutare meum et gloria mea* (Ps 61,1-2) [...]. *Ipse enim Deus suus est atque saluator, ipse etiam adiutor, ne de patientiae huius perseuerantia speique suae fiducia motus emigret. In eo enim est salus et gloria eius et spes, qui se coexcitatum sibi conformem sit caelesti suae gloriae* (cf. Eph 2,6) redditurus (61,5,1-7.13-17).

²⁴⁵ Cf. 118,12,10.

ways²⁴⁶. The psalmist's prayer teaches us that *salus* has, as it were, a cost; namely, keeping the commandments: "Nos uero *salutem* tamquam debitum postulamus [...] Propheta uero [...] salutis ipsius stipendium docet dicens: *Et custodiam mandata tua*" (118,19,3,7.13-15; cf. Ps 118,145-146).

The mystery of salvation is not fully realized in every human person, but only in those who fear God and keep his commandments. This is seen in Hilary's exegesis of the statement, "Longe est a peccatoribus *salus*, quoniam iustificationes tuas non exquisierunt" (Ps 118,155; quoted in TP 118,20,5,4-5). The mystery of our salvation in Christ, he explains, was prefigured in the Old Testament practices of freeing slaves after six years of servitude (cf. Ex 21,2), of letting the land lie fallow every seventh year, and of the jubilee celebrated every fifty years, during which debts would be forgiven: "Non ignorat [propheta] quantum in his sacramentum nostrae salutis expressum sit per quasdam praefigurationum aeternarum in rebus praesentibus notiones" [...] (118,20,6,1-3). These practices of the Old Law were a reflection of God's superabundant mercy, which is promised to those who keep God's just decrees²⁴⁷. These, the faithful, expect *salus*, the glorified life of immortality²⁴⁸.

6. Preparation for eschatological *salus* in this life

6.1 *Salus and hope*

Faith establishes a union between the individual believer and the dying and rising of Christ, so that the *sacramentum salutis* – Christ's own death and resurrection to glory – is seen to be the *sacramentum*

²⁴⁶ Cf. 118,12,12.

²⁴⁷ Cf. 118,20,6-7; 118,3,7. In addition to the Jubilee, other rites and cult objects mentioned in the OT are seen as prefigurations of Gospel realities; namely: festivals in general, the seventh year, the sabbath, circumcision, sacrifices and holocausts, aspersions, the tent of meeting, the Temple and the altar, unleavened bread, the ark of the covenant, blood, oil, the Paschal lamb, manna, priests, the tabernacle lamp, the psalter, Sion, Jerusalem, and Israel. Cf. GASTALDI, 229-230.

²⁴⁸ Et quamquam amor legis potior quam metus sit, non tamen ita sui fidens est, ut non magis *uiuificari* se per *Dei misericordiam* deprecetur (cf. Ps 118,159). Non nunc se ille *uiuere* putat, sed *uitam* exempto hoc *mortali* corpore et absorto in *gloriam immortalitatis* exspectat (118,20,9,7-11; cf. 1 Cor 15,53-54; Col 3,3-4).

nostrae salutis. The tractate on Psalm 56 tells how man may receive eternal life if, by faith, he participates in the death and resurrection of Christ:

Et quia huic sanctorum spei uel persequentium odi uel negantium aduersatura semper essent, commemoratis humanae salutis sacramentis, subiecit: *Filii hominum, dentes eorum scutum et sagittae et lingua eorum machaera acuta* (56,5,1-4).

The passion of Christ was both an occasion for Christ's opponents to deride him, and the hope of the faithful. Faith, which makes it possible for us to suffer and die with Christ, also allows us to share in his glorification, so that we live in hope: "Et quia compatiendi et commoriendi fides nos glorificat in Christo, uelut in procinctu spei fideique huius propheta consistit" [...] (56,8,1-2). Christian hope is called "Gospel hope" because it is based on faith in the Gospel, not on trusting in the works of the Law. It looks forward to a future and final *salus*: rising and being glorified with Christ. This is the spiritual sense of the psalmist's words: "Exurge, gloria mea [...]. Exurgam diluculo" (Ps 56,8). "*Exurgens autem diluculo cum gloria sua spei euangelicae gloriam cantat, congruente diluculi et orationis tempore et salutis*" (56,8,15-17).

The fate of those who deny Christ's divinity is seen in the prophetic words of the psalm, "Avertantur retrorsum et erubescant, qui cogitant mihi mala" (Ps 69,2a). Their derisive cry, "Saluos fecit alios, se ipsum saluum facere non potest" (69,3,25-26; cf. Mk 15,31; 68,9,16-21), is seen to be doubly ironic. First, Christ *can* save himself (that is, his humanity), and does so by his own divine power. Second, those who uttered these mocking words will not be saved themselves. They will rise from the dead, but will not be raised to a higher condition: "*auertentur non in alia, sed retrorsum*" (69,3,12). They will "go back"; i.e., they will retain their lowly and perishable human condition. By contrast, the faithful who love and profess their faith in Christ's *salutare* will have everlasting life²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁹ Cf. 69,4,1-11. This is the same idea expressed in the concept of being saved *pro nihilo*; cf. section 3.2.3c, page 199.

6.2 *Eschatological salus begins with baptism*

We have seen how God's saving deeds on behalf of the children of Israel foreshadow the salvation of all the nations. Reflecting on the crossing of the Red Sea, Hilary has occasion to show how the Old Testament teaches about the future sacrament of Baptism. It is obvious that God's mighty deeds saved his people Israel from Pharaoh and his army. But how does this particular historical event further the *salus* of the whole world?

Verum haec, quamuis uirtutum Dei opera sint, non tamen spei et saluti satisfaciunt uniuersorum. Populo enim tantum legis mare in terram demutatatum est eiusque itineri Iordanes aruit. Sed quid hoc ad uniuersae terrae salutem proficit? [...] Quid ergo mihi ad salutem tanto postea genito Iordanes tum arefactus impertit? (65,11,1-4.6-8).

The crossing of the Red Sea is important to everyone because it is a figure of Baptism, the bath of new birth in which we start down the road that will lead to our glorification, our eschatological *salus*:

Impertit plane [...] et per quem populo in reuersionis terram iter fuerat, per eum uia nobis caelesti regni et in nouae generationis lauacro possessio aeternorum corporum inchoatur, aquis ipsis baptismo Domini consecratis. [...] Per has enim Iordanis aquas in illa quae a prophetis promissa sunt terrae bona gressu abluendorum corporum transitum est atque transitur; et ibi caelestis sacramenti exordiis laetamur (65,11,8.9-13.18-21).

The phrase, *possessio aeternorum corporum*, indicates the eschatological consequences of baptism, thus defining the meaning of *salus* in the question "Quid ergo mihi ad salutem tanto postea genito Iordanes tum arefactus impertit"? (65,11,6-8). In the washing of baptism, the believer has already been born into the heavenly life, which will be fully realized in the resurrection of the body and its glorification, when it will be an "eternal body". We now wish to enquire more closely into the meaning of the "eternity" promised to the believer, showing how closely this concept is related to *salus* in the thought of Hilary.

6.3 *Consortium, aeternitas*

Baptism starts one down the road to heaven, so that believers hope to achieve eternal union with God beyond the boundaries of this present life. This is the end for which we were created:

Quod caelum, quod terra, quod cetera sunt, et ipsum illud, quod sumus, qui non fuimus, quod erimus, quod non sumus, causam aliam non habet nisi misericordiam Dei: quia ad consortium bonorum suorum nasci nos uoluit ille, qui bonus est (135,15,13-17).

Both the mere fact of our earthly existence and the amazing possibility of existing eternally in heaven, sharing God's blessings forever, have no other cause than the mercy of God. By bringing the knowledge of God to the *gentes*, Christ made it possible for them to rise from the dead in a new birth (*nasci*). This birth brings them into *consortium* with God as well, so that they might live with God forever. Such a glorious fate is beyond natural human hope:

Et quia ultra humanae spei fidem sit, eum terrena carnis corruptionem in caelestem gloriam transtulisse gentesque impias et ante uitiorum ac superstitionum furore peruasas ad cognitionem Dei consortiumque esse deductas, ob hoc in his *dona hominibus* accepit (cf. Ps 67,19), qui se cum Deo habitaturos esse non crederent (67,19,20-25).

Those who do not know God, who have not been taught by him, cannot hope for everlasting *consortium* with him. To the mind ignorant of Christ and his doctrines, it seems impossible for corruptible earthly flesh to be changed into a heavenly glorified state. It seems equally impossible for men to live with God. Nevertheless, what seems metaphysically impossible to the godless has been shown to be possible by the resurrection of Christ. Jesus rose from the dead and his humanity was glorified. Consequently, those who believe in him can also rise and live with God²⁵⁰. While belief in Christ is an individual choice, it is also

²⁵⁰ Dehinc *dona in hominibus* accepit (cf. Ps 67,19), cum primogenitus ex mortuis (cf. Col 1,18) de se ipse testatur dicens: *Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Posce a me, et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae* (Ps 2,7-8). Accepit ergo *dona in hominibus*, gentes scilicet in hereditatem, in quibus *in sancto in altum* (cf. Ps 67,18-19) primogenitus ex mortuis,

a choice that establishes the believer as part of a communal reality. This communal reality, the Church, is called Christ's inheritance. Rising from the dead and returning to heaven, Christ brings his inheritance with him into the glory of heaven²⁵¹.

Hilary follows the Latin stoic philosophers²⁵² in observing that every man has an inner knowledge of eternity and hope for the same, implanted in him by a sort of natural instinct²⁵³. But while his inner, spiritual self (*mens*) desires this, the bodily element in him is naturally attracted to what is sinful. For this reason, the body despairs of the *consortium* for which the spirit longs: "Porro autem terrena haec corpora, quae ad uitiorum concreta materiam sint, dum his quibus quasi naturaliter delectantur infecta sint, desperant sibi consortium munusque caeleste" [...] (62,3,9-12)²⁵⁴.

The *salus* given to the baptized is *salus* of both body and soul, preserving both the spiritual and material elements in man.

capta captiuitate, conscendit (cf. Col 1,18) (67,19,15-20).

²⁵¹ Cf. 67,19,23-24.

²⁵² Especially Seneca and Cicero; cf. J. PETTORELLI, "La thème de Sion", 228-230. For a brief study of the philosophical content of Hilary's own cultural formation, the neo-Platonic school of Asia Minor in the fourth century, and Hilary's judgment on philosophy and philosophers, cf. H.D. SAFFREY, "Saint Hilaire et la philosophie", in *Hilaire et son temps*, 247-265.

²⁵³ The inner spiritual element in man is called *mens*: Et quidem uniuersiusque mens ad cognitionem spemque aeternitatis naturali quodam fertur instinctu, quia ueluti insitum impressumque omnibus sit diuinam inesse nobis animarum originem opinari, cum non exiguam caelestis in se generis cognationem mens ipsa cognoscat (62,3,5-9). "Die *mens* war schon für die Römer nicht nur Trägerin des Wissens, sondern auch der Tugend und meinte den ganzen inneren Menschen mit seinem Erkenntnis- Willens- und Gefühlsleben. In der Sprache der Väter wird *mens* ebenfalls für den inneren [...] Menschen gebraucht und zwar mit besonderem Bezug auf dessen innerste gottzugewandte Seelensicht. Dieselbe Verwendung findet der Begriff in der Kultsprache". W. DÜRIG, *Imago. Ein Beitrag zur Terminologie und Theologie der römischen Liturgie*, Munich 1952, 120; quoted in BÜSSE, "Salus" in der römischen Liturgie, 41.

²⁵⁴ J. Pettorelli points out that this is an echo of SENECA: ex terreno et graui concreta corpora (Cons. ad Helu. 6,7) and CICERO: Terrenis concretisque corporibus (Tusc. 1,66). Cf. "Le thème de Sion", 229. Similar vocabulary is found in CM: Quia iam periculose soleat animi generositate terrenae carnis uitiosa origo dominari, longeque magis peccata corporum ingrauescere [...] (CM 5,4,9-11).

Sed nos spiritalibus doctrinis eruditi scimus et animae et corporis salutem a Deo esse donatam, si modo post regenerationis gratiam mentis gaudiis sensus corporis imbuatur, id est si non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum uixerimus (cf. Rm 8,4), quia spiritus carnisque opera secundum apostolum (cf. Gal 5,22) uitiorum et continentiae studiis distinguitur. Arduum autem, sed maxime uerum est aeternitatem ita corporis ut animae sperare (62,3,17-23).

This preservation must itself be preserved by the believer. He remains “safe” only if he continues to live according to the spirit. Taught by spiritual doctrines, he will be able to lead a continent life, not enslaved to the desires of the flesh. If he does so, the *salus animae et corporis* received in baptism will be preserved unto life eternal. Both body and soul will have eternal *consortium* with God.

The mention of *aeternitas* calls to mind CM, where eschatological *salus* is defined as communion with the divine nature, called *aeternitas*²⁵⁵. In TP, this idea is stated in more defined Christological terms. The saved will have eternal communion with the “nature” of Christ; that is, with the glorious condition of the risen Christ: “liberatio ergo eius [= of Christ] salus regum est. Regnabunt enim conformes gloriae suae, per adsumptam ab eo naturae nostrae coniunctionem rursus omnes in naturae eius communione mansuri” (143,21,17-20). The eternal communion of the saved with the nature of the risen Christ is made possible by the bond with human nature established in the incarnation. The passion, too, was undertaken to make this same gift available: “humanae saluti atque aeternitati consulebat” (68,17,9-10). Hence the necessity of a correct faith. To know Christ, the incarnate Savior, is to know that *aeternitas* is offered to men:

Ab ipso enim salutare meum. Etenim ipse Deus meus est, saluator meus, susceptor meus. Non mouebor amplius (Ps 61,1-2). Reperta itaque fidei sede, post uagos errores impietatisque sententiam, quia *susceptorem suum saluatoremque cognouerit, amplius non mouetur*. Quid enim ultra ignorationi anxietatique hominum est relictum, cum aeternitas animae et corporis, id est totius hominis praedicetur (61,2,39-45).

²⁵⁵ Cf. CM 16,5,2-10; Chapter One, section 4.1.

Hilary specifies that the “whole man” is saved, body and soul. Baptism gives *salus animae et corporis* (cf. 62,3,17-18)²⁵⁶. The baptized are exhorted to continue living according to the spirit, so that they may hope for *aeternitas corporis et animae* (cf. 62,3,23). By specifying that *salus* means the gift of *aeternitas* to both body and soul, Hilary distinguishes Christian *salus* from all earthly concepts of physical or political *salus*²⁵⁷.

6.4 *The Eucharist as a preparation for eternal communion*

Only one passage in TP speaks directly about the Eucharist in relation to “being saved”²⁵⁸.

Flumen Dei repletum est aqua, parasti cibum illorum, quoniam ita est praeparatio tua (Ps 64,9b). [...] *Habemus etiam et cibum paratum. Et quis hic cibus est? Ille scilicet in quo ad Dei consortium praeparatur per communionem sancti corporis in communione deinceps sancti corporis conlocandi. Id enim praesens psalmus significat dicens: Parasti cibum illorum, quoniam ita est praeparatio tua, quia cibo illo, quamvis in praesens saluamur, tamen in posterum praeparemur* (64,14,2-4.12-18).

²⁵⁶ There may be traces here of early liturgical language deriving from the liturgy of baptism or from the Mass. H. BÜSSE, “*Salus*” in *der Römischen Liturgie*, has studied the phrase *salus animae et corporis* in the Roman liturgy. He gives the texts of two post-communion prayers dating back to the Gelasian Sacramentary: *Proficiat nobis ad salutem corporis et animae domine deus huius sacramenti susceptio* [...]; *Sentiamus, domine, quaesumus, tui perceptione sacramenti subsidium mentis et corporis, ut in utroque saluati de caelestis remedii plenitudine gloriemur* [...] (43, nn. 13 and 14; cf. 39-47). Büsse concludes, “‘Anima’ steht für den ganzen Menschen, und die Rede vom Heil der Seele schließt selbstverständlich auch den Glauben ein und die Hoffnung auf Verklärung des Leibes” (47).

²⁵⁷ Cyprian faced the same challenge of the conflict between the Roman and Christian ideas of *salus*. He had to stress that the Christian *salus* was eternal, lasting beyond this present life: *praemium uitae et gaudium salutis aeternae et perpetua laetitia et possessio paradisi nuper amissa mundo transeunte* (*Mortalit.* 2). The *securitas salutis nostrae* (*Ep.* 11,8) that Christians hope for transcends the *securitas* of this world; it is *perpetua securitas* (*Mortalit.* 3). Texts as given in B. STUDER, “Die Soteriologie Cyprians von Karthago”, *Augustinianum* 16 (1976), 439.

²⁵⁸ The “*cibus salutaris*” mentioned in the Tractate on Ps 58 is not the Eucharist, but the word of God for which man “hungers”; cf. 58,7,4-14.

A careful reading of the entire tractate on Ps 64 will reveal the eschatological orientation of the passage above. The water of the *flumen Dei* is the Holy Spirit which is given to all who believe in Christ, bringing knowledge of divine realities²⁵⁹. The Eucharist is a food prepared for believers, by which they are prepared for the afterlife²⁶⁰. Objectively, the body of Christ received in the Eucharist is the same true body of Christ which is now in glory; subjectively, a distinction is experienced. *Communio* in the sacramental Body of Christ in the present is a preparation for everlasting *communio* or *consortium* with God in heaven. There, the blessed will be in permanent communion with the body of Christ; that is, their bodies will become like Christ's glorified body²⁶¹. Hilary is not saying that reception of the Eucharist is, by itself, the cause of eternal salvation, or even the principal means to that end. Rather, his emphasis in this *tractatus* is on the gift of faith, through which we are brought into an effective union with Christ²⁶². While all men are united to Christ by the simple fact of the incarnation, each man must believe in Christ in order to be brought into an effective and saving union, a dynamic and transforming union. This effective union begins

²⁵⁹ Cf. 64,14,4-12. On this theme see LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo*, 193-256, esp. 193-198. See also Chapter One, section 3.2ff.

²⁶⁰ Commenting on the same passage, Origen also identifies the *cibus* as the Eucharist, but does not speak of being saved or prepared for communion with God in heaven; cf. GOFFINET, 100-101.

²⁶¹ Cf. 64,17,12-14: Hoc ergo *indumento arietes ouium induuntur* et hoc gloriosae immortalitatis habitu uestiuntur (cf. Ps 64,13).

²⁶² Wild does not see a natural union expressed in this passage: "[Hilary] seems in this passage also to foreshadow those Fathers of the West who will stress union with Christ as a principal effect of the Eucharist. However, though in the *De Trinitate* he teaches a union with Christ in this life, in this passage from the *Tractatus* he does not assert such a union. [...] (E)ven Hilary's words on our union with Christ through the Eucharist refer to the preparation of our bodies for the resurrection". WILD, *op. cit.*, 112-113. We would agree with Wild that the kind of clear and detailed assertion of union with Christ through the Eucharist found in Book Eight of DT is not to be found in TP. He is right to note the emphasis, in the passage from TP under discussion, on preparation for the resurrection. However, as we note in the text, the tractate on Ps 64 does in fact discuss union with Christ through faith, without which our bodies will not rise to glory and *consortium Dei*, but to everlasting punishment.

with baptismal rebirth²⁶³, is nurtured by the Eucharist, maintained by the living of Christian moral life, and reaches its fulfillment in glorification²⁶⁴.

All who become members of the Church by receiving knowledge of the true God and believing in Christ are given both lasting knowledge of God and everlasting *consortium* with him in glory²⁶⁵.

6.5 *Salus and the eternal Sabbath*

In TP 91, Hilary discusses the healing of the paralytic by the pool of Bethzatha (cf. Jn 5,1-18). He brings up this miracle to elucidate the meaning of the Sabbath, taking as his point of departure the title of Ps 91, "Hoc est de die Sabbati" (in fact this title is the only portion of Ps 91 he considers). Christ was attacked for having healed the paralytic on the Sabbath, which is meant to be a day of rest following after work. The work of God, however, never ceases. This miracle shows that the Father is always at work in the Son, and that the Father and the Son have a unity of nature as well as will²⁶⁶. Thus the miracle reveals the Son's true divinity. If the work of God never ceases, since God has no need to rest, the healing on the Sabbath must have a more than literal significance. In fact, it points to the future reality of the eternal life of heaven, the "Sabbath" or "rest" of God. Only the faithful may enter into this rest²⁶⁷, after having been united with Christ in the waters of Baptism²⁶⁸. The waters of the pool of Bethzatha were an image of the new mode of salvation to come²⁶⁹. Christ heals the paralytic, not by immersing him in the water, but by speaking a word of command: "Hunc ergo paralyticum die sabbati Dominus ubi uidit, uerbo curat praecepto salutem infirmantis

²⁶³ Cf. 64,15,18-27.

²⁶⁴ Cf. A. CHARLIER, "L'Église corps du Christ chez saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 41/3 (1955), 475-476.

²⁶⁵ ad cognitionem Dei consortiumque [...] (67,19,23-24; cf. entire paragraph).

²⁶⁶ Cf. 91,6-7. That the Father and Son are one in nature, not merely in will, is argued at length in Book Eight of DT, against the Arians. In the passage from TP under consideration, however, there is no obvious anti-Arian polemic.

²⁶⁷ Cf. 91,8-9, especially 9,9,1-3.

²⁶⁸ Cf. 91,9.

²⁶⁹ Cf. 91,5,8-13.

efficiens" (91,5,14-15). This detail is consistent with Hilary's analysis of miracles of healing in CM, where cures are effected by a word²⁷⁰.

The connection between the *salus* effected in the physical healing of the paralytic and eternal salvation is present although not immediately obvious. It is to be found in the spiritual significance of the Sabbath day. When a man enters into the eternal Sabbath of God, all the weaknesses and limitations of his physical nature are removed, and he acquires immortality. The weakness of his corruptible physical condition is transformed into glory²⁷¹. This transformation is foreshadowed in the healing of the paralytic. He was waiting for the angel to stir up the waters of the pool. This is an image of the future, indeed, of the end of time, when the voice of an angel over the waters will announce the abolition of all sickness²⁷². The paralytic is not only healed on the Sabbath, but transformed, in that he is made strong enough to carry his mat about²⁷³. In addition to revealing that Christ is true God, this miracle speaks eloquently of the reward promised to those who will have united themselves to Christ by faith.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Chapter One, section 3.2.

²⁷¹ Haec pridie in otium aeterni sabbati sunt paranda, ut, corruptionis nostrae infortimate in caelestem gloriam transformata, nec uitium uoluntas nec ambitio gloriam nec honorem superbia nec otium labor nec cibum corpus nec somnum noctis die lassitudo desideret [...]. Hoc fidei est praemium, haec corporeae resurrectionis est gloria, in qua nihil desiderandum est, quia nullo egendum est, non per inuidiam aemulandum, quia in communione uiuendum, non aut infirmitate aliqua dolendum aut aetate crescendum, quia immortalitate durandum est [...] (91,10,18-22.25-29). Again we see the connection between being saved and the absorption of corruption; cf. sections 3.1.2a, page 183, and 3.2.3a, page 196.

²⁷² Cf. 91,5,1-14. The reference to an angel calling over the waters ("angelo ad aquas uocante") appears to refer to the Book of Revelation, where the angels announce the passing away of the old world and reveal the heavenly Jerusalem, where "death shall be no more" (Rv 21,4).

²⁷³ Dicit ergo paralytico: *Surge et tolle grabatum tuum et ambula* (Jn 5,8). Iam non solum sanus paralyticus, sed etiam oneri utilis factus est. Iudaei paralyticum uiolati sabbati arguunt dicentes: *Sabbatum est et non licet tibi tollere grabatum tuum* (Jn 5,10). Quibus respondit: *Qui me fecit sanum, ille mihi dixit: Tolle grabatum tuum et ambula* (Jn 5,11) eundem auctorem facti sui praeferens quem salutis, ut non existimaretur ab eo culpa uiolati sabbati posse proficisci, cuius in uerbo humani corporis instauratio constitisset (91,5,15-23).

Conclusion

In TP, the foundational meaning of *salus* as safety, preservation, restoration, and deliverance is always present when the word or related words are employed. At the same time, with the exception of a tiny number of instances noted at the beginning of this chapter, the meaning of *salus* is never limited to its pre-Christian significance. Hilary explicitly distinguishes Christian *salus* from earthly *salus*, while still exploiting elements of the Roman *salus*-ideology. We could say that *salus* combines the ideas of preservation, deliverance, and transformation. This is consistent with our author's use of the word in CM and DT. While Hilary definitely made use of Origen's commentary on the Psalms in composing his own Tractates, this made little or no difference to his own ideas about *salus*.

Salus is rooted in the mercy of God, which is his will to save what was lost; namely, humanity, which became "lost" when it sinned against God. God's mercy goes beyond strict justice, and wishes to restore to man what was lost: the eternal *consortium* with God for which man was created. *Salus* is understood in opposition to the just wrath of God and the punishment due to sin. God's mercy is better than life, because it offers man true *salus*: an afterlife which is qualitatively better than earthly human existence. God offers *salus* to the whole man; both body and soul are offered eternal existence in communion with God.

Christ, the new David, is the true protagonist of the Psalter, and the central protagonist of the drama of salvation. Only Christ can save, because he is God. The old Law had no power to save. Nor did any member of the human race, because of the innate mutability of human nature. Man does not have the power to rescue himself from the world of sin; *salus* had to come from without, from a higher power. David's vow not to return to his rest until he has kept his promise to build the Temple enables Hilary to develop the idea of the *exitus-reditus* of the Son. As in all his works, in TP our author thinks in terms of the three phases outlined in the Ph 2 hymn: pre-existence, abasement, glorification. In this work he offers his most developed consideration of how concern for human salvation is at work in each of the three phases.

Concern for human salvation is first seen in the Son's willingness to leave his heavenly rest. Hilary underscores his voluntary acceptance of

two great humiliations: the incarnation and the passion. This brings out the single purpose of the incarnation and passion: the salvation of the human race. Christ accepted the humility of the incarnation and the insults associated with the passion because he wanted to accomplish the *sacramentum salutis*, in and through the humanity he had assumed. The passion does not call Christ's divinity into question; rather, it reveals his *pietas*, God's will to save.

Salus, then, is accomplished both by the mercy and the power of God. As God, Christ alone has *salutare*, the power to save; he is rightly called *salutaris*, *saluator*, *salus*, and *suceptor* of humanity. Christ's power to save humanity is revealed to all the nations in the paschal mystery of his own death, resurrection, and return to heaven to be glorified. Thus he reveals that what was thought to be impossible can in fact happen: man can be united with God in eternal life. As God, Christ is the author of salvation; as man, he is the principal recipient of salvation. Because he did not lose his divine power (*uirtus, potestas*) in becoming incarnate, he himself, as God, can save the humanity he assumed. This is the most striking and original teaching of TP. Just as Christ's divine power saved his own humanity, so it will save those who believe in him. The mocking cry of his detractors, "He saved others; himself he cannot save", is shown to be doubly false. Christ is simultaneously the icon of saved humanity and the Savior of the whole human race. When he returns to glory, he brings with him the humanity he assumed. The Son returns to his rest, his original state; his humanity is elevated to a new state, the glory of eternal life.

The salvation of believers is described in strict relation to the salvation of Christ. The same terms used to describe the *salus* of Christ's humanity are used to describe the *salus* of believers: *susceptio, gloria, corruptio, profectus, demutatio, habitus, imago*.

To be saved, it is necessary to know Christ the Savior and have a correct faith in him. Only a confession of the Catholic faith leads to *salus*, the everlasting rest of heaven. Faith establishes an effective bond between the believer and Christ, so that the believer may share in the glorious destiny of the humanity of Christ. All human beings will rise from the dead, but not all will be glorified, since not all will have believed in Christ. Those who are saved will be transformed after the

likeness of the risen Christ; they will "put on Christ" in a definitive sense, being "clothed in the Savior". They are called "kings", for they have been raised up above their natural human condition and will reign with Christ forever. Their *salus* is defined as a liberation from the law of death.

The Church makes salvation possible by giving the saving knowledge of Christ to the nations. The preaching of the Apostles and those who share their mission within the Church is life-giving and "salutary" because it gives the *salus* of eternal life. In the incarnation, Christ united himself to the whole human race; in his resurrection, he returned to heavenly glory, and his humanity was glorified. Thus the possibility is opened up of the whole race rising to glory after death. Not all, however, will believe and be saved. The Church is also the Body of Christ, that portion of the human race which has accepted him, and will be raised to glory to become the heavenly city. Hilary effectively asserts that there is no *salus* outside the Church, but he does not say this in the same way or for the same reasons as Cyprian and Lactantius. For Cyprian, there is no *salus* outside of the Church because only in the Church, led by the Bishop, are the *bona salutaria* of Baptism made available to sinners²⁷⁴. According to Lactantius, the true Church is that in which sins are remitted by "confessio et paenitentia"²⁷⁵. It is also the place where the faith is to be found, so that someone who does not enter the Church, or who leaves her, is unsuited to the hope of salvation: "Hic est fons ueritatis, hoc domicilium fidei, hoc templum Dei: quo si quis non intrauerit uel a quo si quis exierit, a spe uitae ac salutis alienus est" (*diu. inst.* 4,30,11; SC 377, 246-248). Hilary's emphasis is not on the remission of sins, but on the saving faith, found in its pure form only within the unity of the Church. We remain within the unity of the Church by standing firm in the Church's doctrine. By remaining within the unity of the Church on earth, we are assured of being saved, living forever as citizens of the heavenly city, where our existence will be transformed.

²⁷⁴ Cf. STUDER, "Die Soteriologie", 430-431.

²⁷⁵ Sed tamen quia singuli quique coetus haereticorum se potissimum Christianos et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant, sciendum est illam esse ueram in qua est confessio et paenitentia, quae peccata et uulnera quibus subiecta est inbecillitas carnis salubriter curat (*Diu. inst.* 4,30,13; SC 377, 248).

Appendix: *Salus in the Tractatus Mysteriorum*²⁷⁶

For centuries this work was known only from a mere mention of its title by St. Jerome, and thought to be a sacramentary. At the end of the nineteenth century, a partially complete manuscript was discovered, revealing that TM is in fact a work of exegesis, a series of tractates on certain characters and episodes of the Old Testament. Its date of composition is fixed after Hilary's exile, making it contemporary with TP²⁷⁷.

The basic exegetical approach of TM is the future-oriented typological exposition with which we are already familiar. The events recorded in the OT are the *exemplum, figura, forma, imago, praefiguratio, sacramentum, similitudo, species, or typus* of realities to come, either in the NT or in the life of the Church²⁷⁸.

References to the concept we have designated the *salus gentium* are frequent throughout²⁷⁹, while the term *salus* and related words are found only a few times.

The salvation of the Church

We have already discussed the image of Christ the *Saluator* as the good shepherd, as found in TM 1,17-18. There Hilary discussed the culmination of the Son's saving mission in the heavenly Church²⁸⁰. The same topic is addressed in TM 1,4, where our author speaks of the Church being "saved" from sin. He draws on the Pauline imagery of the new Adam from 1 Cor 15,45ff.²⁸¹, combining it with Eph 5,32, where the union of man and woman in marriage is a figure of Christ and the

²⁷⁶ All quotations from TM are taken from the edition of J-P BRISSON, *Hilaire de Poitiers, Traité des Mystères, Texte établi et traduit avec introduction et notes* (SC 19b), Paris 1967.

²⁷⁷ Cf. SC 19b, 13, n. 2.

²⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 18-28. The comparison between *gesta* and *gerenda* is also present: *Quia praeformari omnia per gesta ueteris testamenti eaque in Domino et per Dominum gerenda esse docemur* (2,4).

²⁷⁹ For example, 1,3; 1,5; 1,8; 1,11; 1,15-16; 1,19; 1,23; 1,28-29; 2,4; 2,6; appendix (164).

²⁸⁰ See Chapter One, section 4.2.

²⁸¹ Cf. 1,2.

Church²⁸², so that Adam prefigures Christ, while Eve prefigures the Church²⁸³.

Quoniam Adam non peccauit, sed mulier peccans transgressione fuit (cf. 1 Tm 2,14). *Saluabitur autem propter filiorum procreationem [si tamen in] fide manserint* (1 Tm 2,15). Ecclesia igitur ex publicanis et peccatoribus et gentibus est; solo suo secundo et caelesti Adam non peccante ipsa peccatrix per generationem filiorum in fide manentium erit salua. Ceterum intelligi ita non conuenit, quod mulier sit a peccato suo redempta per Dominum, et superflue baptizabitur, si magis merito partus sit liberanda. Sed ne per ipsam quidem filiorum generationem erit tuta, cum salua non sit, nisi, qui geniti sunt, fideles perstiterunt (1,3).

In what sense does our author call the Church a sinner (*peccatrix*)? He does not draw a sharp distinction between the “person” of the Church, as mother, and the members of the Church as her children. Sinfulness is predicated of the Church because of the sinful origin of its members. The Church is made up of sinners; this idea is familiar to us from the theme of the *salus gentium* so prominent in CM²⁸⁴. Christ came to call sinners, to save them from their sinfulness by giving them a new birth. The Church is said to be “safe” (*tuta, salua*) as long as her children, reborn in baptism, remain faithful to the new life they have received. It is apparent that this “safety” is equivalent to redemption and liberation from sin. When the members of the Church remain faithful, the Church remains joined to Christ as a wife is joined to her husband. Her safety, then, depends on fidelity, which maintains life-giving union with Christ²⁸⁵. This union culminates in resurrection and glorification. Just as Adam look on Eve and recognized her as “bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh” (Gen 2,23), so Christ will recognize the Church as his body in glory. In the resurrection of Christ, the resurrection of *uniuersa caro*

²⁸² Cf. 1,3.

²⁸³ Cf. 1,2-5.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Chapter One, section 2.3.3 *et passim*.

²⁸⁵ Namque multiplicem misericordiam Dei in ea, quae ad Corinthios prima est (cf. 1 Cor 8,12-15), in sanctificandis per coniugia fidelium infidelibus praedicans hic quoque per procreationem credentium tamen filiorum istiusmodi sanctificationem docuit largiendam, ut, quemadmodum unius fidelis societas prodesset per coniugiam infideli, ita fidelium procreatio infidelibus subueniret (1,4).

has been accomplished. In turn, those who are “in Christ”; i.e., those who have joined themselves to him through faith, will make up the Church in glory²⁸⁶. This is what is means for the Church “to be saved”: that all her members, freed from sin, will rise and be glorified after the pattern of the risen and glorified Christ.

Hilary again speaks of the Church as a sinner in commenting on the story of Rahab (cf. Josh 2). Again, to say that the Church is a sinner is to say that she is made up of sinners:

Duos ab Hiesu missos terrae exploratores meretrix domi susceperit: legem et prophetiam ad explorandam hominum fidem missam peccatrix ecclesia receperit, per quam confitetur *Deus et in caelo sursum et in terra deorsum* (Jos 2,11). Post spiritalem eius generationem natiuitatem contestatam corpoream didicit enim in his: *Post hoc in terris uisus est et inter homines conuersatus est* (Bar 3,38). Ab hisdem etiam signum salutis accepit in coccino, colore scilicet pro dignitate regio et pro corporatione sanguineo, quod utrumque in passione conuenit, cum et tali habitu Dominus indutus est et sanguis ei fluxit e latere (2,9).

From the two *exploratores* – the Law and the Prophets²⁸⁷ – the Church learns about the one true God (*confitetur Deus* [...]). From the words of the Law and the Prophets, she also learns of the Son’s eternal birth (*spiritalem* [...] *generationem, pro dignitate regio*) and incarnation (*natiuitatem* [...] *corpoream, pro corporatione sanguineo*). This

²⁸⁶ Est autem sacramentum hoc secundum apostolum *absconsum a saeculis in Deo* (Col 1,26): *esse gentes coheredes et concorporales et conparticipes pollicitationis eius in Christo* (Eph 3,6), qui potens sit secundum eundem apostolum *conforme* efficere *corpus humilitatis nostrae corpori gloriae suae* (Ph 3,21). Agnoscit ergo post somnum passionis suae caelesti Adam resurgens [de] ecclesia suum os, suam carnem non iam ex limo creatam neque ex inspiratione uegetatam, sed ad crescentem ossi et in corpus ex corpore spiritu aduolante perfectam. Qui enim in Christo sunt, secundum Christum resurgent, in quo iam uniuersae carnis consummata est resurrection, ipso illo in carne nostra cum Dei, in qua ante saecula genitus a Patre est, uirtute nascente. Et quia Iudaeus et Graecus, barbarus et Scytha, seruus et liber, masculus et femina, omnes in Christo unum sunt, cum caro recognita ex carne sit et ecclesia Corpus sit, et mysterium, quod in Adam atque Eua est, in Christum et in ecclesiam praedicetur, perfectum iam sub Adam atque Eua in exordio saeculi est, quicquid in consummationem temporum per Christum ecclesiae praeparetur (1,5).

²⁸⁷ For Origen, instead, the two *exploratores* are the two covenants of the Law and the Gospels. Cf. SC 19b, 154, n. 2.

knowledge is her salvation (*hisdem etiam signum salutis accepit*). The *signum salutis* is a sign of both safety and sanctification: “Hoc coccinum et Manasses accepit in signo, hoc sanguine et consignatae in Aegypto domus tutae sunt et testamenti liber est et sanctificatus est populus (2,9)²⁸⁸. Note that Hilary does not speak of individuals being safe and sanctified, but of the houses and the whole people. Whoever is inside the house marked by the *signum salutis* is a member of the Church. To remain within the Church by believing in Christ’s eternal Sonship and incarnation is to be “safe”; i.e., protected from death: “Quisque autem de familia extra domum repertus esset, sibi reus est constitutus docens eos, qui extra ecclesiam fuissent, causam sibi mortis futuros” (2,9). Brisson notes that this interpretation is nearly identical to that given by Origen:

Si quis ergo saluari uult, ueniat in hanc domum huius quae quondam meretrix fuit. [...] Ad hanc ueniat domum in qua Christi sanguis in signo redemptionis est (*in Iesu Naue Hom.* 3,5). Unde Rahab, quae typum habebat ecclesiae, coccum in signo salutis suae de fenestra suspendit, ut passionem Domini salutem esse gentium indicaret (*Tract. Orig.* 12, p. 139) (both texts as given in SC 19b, 155, n. 3).

Salus and misericordia

God’s mercy and will to save are prefigured in the story of Jacob and Esau (cf. Gen 27). The elder son, Esau, prefigures the Jewish people who refused to believe in Christ, while the younger Jacob stands for the gentiles who believed. Esau sold his birthright for food, and lost the honor due him as the firstborn, along with his father’s blessing. The Jewish people failed to believe in Christ because they were taken up with the desires of the body, and so lost the hope of resurrection and glorification²⁸⁹. Christian believers renounce carnal joys in this life, placing their hope in the blessings of immortality to come. Thus the Christian people receives the blessing destined for the “older brother”,

²⁸⁸ The sanctification of the people is equivalent to its salvation; cf. page 209.

²⁸⁹ *Ecce ego morior, et quo mihi hos primatus?* (Gen 25,32). [...] de spe resurrectionis et gloriae Dei excidit, desiderii corporis occupatus suum honorem desperasse se proferebat, quem primogenitum conuenerat sperare post mortem (1,20).

the Jewish people²⁹⁰. Isaac's blessing prefigures the blessing of eternal life²⁹¹. Although the Jewish people lost this blessing through unbelief, the mercy of God offers them the possibility of regaining it²⁹²:

quin peccator et prior populus benedictionem populi iunioris posset sperare, si crederet. Omnibus enim patet aditus ad salutem et iter uitae non molestiis suis, quae utique nullae sunt, sed arbitrii nostri iure difficile est. Ad consequendam enim Dei misericordiam humanae uoluntatis est mora, quod ex hoc ipso, qui de Esau est, sermone fit cognitum. [...] Sui ergo relinquitur iuris iugum deponere, quia unicuique ad fidem ius propriae uoluntatis est liberum benedictione tum digno, cum se in fidei libertatem ex inreligiositatis seruitute transtulerit (1,26).

Here, the *aditus ad salutem* is the entry into the blessing of eternal life. Israel, the "elder people", may yet be saved by believing; this is consistent with Hilary's teaching in TP: "Ille Israel [...] in cruce si crederet saluatus, in resurrectione si confiteretur glorificatus" [...] (121,8,21ff.). There is also a general lesson here, applicable to all human beings. The door of salvation lies open to all, but our own will makes it difficult for us to enter. Yet each sinner retains the ability (*ius*

²⁹⁰ Vendiderat per desideria corporis primatus suos senior futurorum honorem ob luxum praesentium desperans eosque contra iacturam praesentium iunior coemit. Numquid non corporaliter gestis spiritualiter gerenda succedunt? Qui infideles sunt, omne bonum in uoluptate positum existimant et anterior populus honorem resurrectionis per desideria carnis amisit; credentes autem renuntiant praesentibus gaudiis omnem in futurorum spem suam locantes et ob eam animo et corpore continentes praeripiunt destinata seniori. Nam Iacob Esau stola induitur, quae pro immortalitatis ueste commemorari solet etiam in euangelio, ubi stolam primam iunior fratris et idem accepti patrimonii deoctor accepit (1,22; cf Lk 15,12-22). The phrase "omnem in futurorum spem suam locantes" recalls a passage in CM: in Christo salutem omnem et spem locantes admonemur prioris uitae itinere abstinere" (CM 1,5,12-14).

²⁹¹ benedictionem populi iunioris Ysahac significat atque aeterni saeculi futuram utroque illo, id est et saeculo et qui eo sit usus, aeterno (1,24).

²⁹² The story of Jacob and Esau was written precisely so that we might know how abundant the mercy of God is: Atque ut abundantem Dei misericordiam [...] cerneremus, omnia ita diligenter edita atque scripta sunt [...] (1,25).

propriae uoluntatis) to choose the freedom of faith over the slavery of godlessness²⁹³, and so enter into *salus*.

Salus and justification by faith in the scandal of the cross

Hilary finds a prophecy of the passion in Deut 28,66: “your life shall hang in doubt before you; night and day you shall be in dread, and have no assurance of your life” (RSV). On the cross hangs Christ, the life of all, and he is doubted: “In hoc ligno apud eundem Moysen uita omnium pendet cum dicit: *Videbitis uitam uestram pendentem [...] et non credetis uitae uestrae* (1,35). Those who are scandalized by the cross, so that they will not believe in Christ, cannot be saved²⁹⁴:

Contra uero in ligni sacramento, in quo Dominus pependit, in quo secum omnia, quae humani generis saluti aduersabantur (cf. Col 2,14-15), adfixit, et iustificatio est, quia iustus ex fide est (cf. Rm 1,17), et iudicia sunt, quia, *qui non credit, iam iudicatus est* (Jn 3,18), et temptatio est, quia per scandalum crucis salus est; crux enim pereuntibus stultitia, uirtus autem Dei in salutem credentibus (cf. 1 Cor 1,18) (1,36).

It is obvious that *salus* is here equivalent to justification, and understood in opposition to judgment and perishing. But it means something even more. The cross is called the “mystery of the wood” (*in ligni sacramento*), a reference to Ex 15,22-25. Israel had wandered three days in the desert without water, and when they found some it was bitter. Moses found a tree and threw it into the water, and the water became sweet. This prefigures the power of the cross to transform human nature for, in the Psalms, “water” often stands for a people²⁹⁵. To those who believe, the cross is the power of God that saves them, transforming them

²⁹³ The servitude of *inreligiositas* recalls the spiritual captivity of the gentiles, from which they were freed when they came to believe in Christ, thus becoming the new Israel: “Sed Israel erit ille qui credit, Israel erit ille qui Deum oculis cordis adspiciet, quia Israel Deum uidens est, qui post captiuitatem auersam hoc Dei salutare cognoscit” (TP 13,6,7-10).

²⁹⁴ Cf. Chapter One, section 2.2.

²⁹⁵ *populus pro aquis saepe nuncupatos repperimus, cum dicitur: Viderunt te aquae, Deus, et timuerunt* (Ps 76,17), et rursum: *Omnes aquae plaudite manibus* (Pss 46,2; 97,8) (1,34).

into a new and better condition²⁹⁶. In freeing his people from slavery in Egypt and leading them through the desert, God repeatedly used wood; this prefigures the power of God at work in the cross to save believers, transforming them from unbelief to faith, from those judged to be sinners to the justified, from the perishing to the saved:

Ex hac materie uirga est magos uincens, Pharaonem terrens, Aegyptum conterens, mare diuidens, pelagum refundens, fontem eliciens, amaritudinem adimens, dulcedinem tribuens; huius enim sacramento nitificantur infidelium corda et ex peccatorum atque impietatis amaritudine in fidei dulcedinem transferentur (1,35).

The power of God that worked through wood to overcome Israel's enemies is at work in Christ's passion, in which Christ nailed to the cross all the powers that threatened human *salus*: "in quo [ligni sacramento] secum omnia, quae humani generis saluti aduersabantur (cf. Col 2,14-15), adfixit" [...] (1,36).

²⁹⁶ Quid enim in se momenti lignum habebat quamue efficaciam in se materies inanims continebat, ut amaritudinem aboleret, ut dulcedinem gigneret, ut naturam et inueheret et auferret, dum id, quod triste abhorrebat, dulce sentitur? Et quia in eo, quod ad praesens gerebatur, efficientia est uirtutis Dei in aliud naturam ex altero transferentis, tamen non eguisse ligni officio existimandus est, ut demutationem aquis non nisi eius intercessione praestaret. [...] Ergo siue ipsae per naturam suam aquae amarae siue omnis populus in deserto manens [...], amarus ligni sacramento dulcis efficitur. Et non solum ab eo, quod erat, deficit, sed in melius et ultra usum necessarium mutatur. Non enim solum amara esse desiit, sed dulcis est reddita. Lignum ergo et in praesentem aquam operatur et in populis sub aquae nomine nuncupatis sacramento uirtutis utile est (1,33.34). Hilary does not connect the *demutatio* spoken of here with the *demutatio* of glorification experienced by the saved; cf. section 3.2.3e, page 199.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The Bishop of Poitiers had no interest in writing what later ages would call a treatise on soteriology – much less salutology. He was a great theologian, but did not think of himself in that way. To him, such a title would have seemed vain and foolish. By his own account, his self-identity was determined by his chief responsibility as a bishop: to preach to others the faith he had himself received. He knew that his own *salus* depended on holding firmly to the truths of the faith, and in looking out for the *publica salus*, the eternal welfare of his flock, by confirming them in that truth. His unique motive for composing his great dogmatic works was to elucidate the content of the Church's faith in Jesus Christ, the Savior of the human race.

Beginning with his earliest work (the CM), Hilary explicitly distinguishes Christian *salus* from the purely earthly variety, be it conceived in medical or political categories. The physical *salus* given in miracles of healing is equivalent to *sanatio* or *curatio*, but it is also a sign of the spiritual *salus* that will be given to believers. Christ teaches the way to *salus perpetua*. The *salus publica* with which Peter will concern himself is not the welfare of the state, but the eternal salvation of Christian believers. Even the rather neutral-sounding term *humana salus* is defined by the resurrection and ascent to heaven of Christ's humanity. DT is not so much concerned with what *salus* is as with how it may be obtained. Nevertheless the distinction between Christian *salus* and pre-Christian meanings is present. The Christian bishop has the duty to look after the *salus publica* by preaching the Christian faith to others and protecting them from heretical deviations. *Salus* is equated with eternal life, so that the *salus publica* or general welfare is now something of

eternal value, defined by considerations beyond the worldly. In TP, our author shows that he is still aware of the need to distinguish the *salus* offered by Christ from all earthly concepts. He distinguishes the *salus* a military hero wins for his *patria* from the *salus resurrectionis* won for us by Christ. The *salus resurrectionis* is defined, above all, by the glorious eternal state of the risen humanity of Christ. In this life, too, Christian *salus* is not mere physical health, but something that involves the whole person: *salus animae et corporis*. This complete *salus* culminates in a new and eternal kind of life for the whole person: *aeternitas animae et corporis*.

Hilary's typical word for expressing God's will to save is *misericordia*. This is one of the features of his thought that most clearly shows the distance between his *salus*-concept and the old Roman *salus*-ideology. To the pre-Christian religious sensibility, the claim that *salus* is accomplished by divine power would not seem alien. Mercy is another matter entirely. The mercy of the Christian God is known from revelation; not only from the very words of the Sacred Scriptures, but from the example of Christ, who willed to become incarnate and suffer for our salvation. In CM, the term *misericordia* plays a role in the opposition between the dead works of the Law and life-giving salvation by grace. It is clear that *misericordia* is a divine attribute: *Opus salutis nostrae non in sacrificio, sed in misericordia est et lege cessante, in Dei bonitate saluamur*. In DT, the word *pietas*, from St. Paul's expression *magnae pietatis sacramentum* (1 Tm 3,16), takes the place of *misericordia*. The *mysterium salutis* – salvation through Christ's kenotic incarnation, death, and resurrection – is the great sign of God's free love toward his creatures, the *magnae pietatis sacramentum*. The most developed discussion of the relationship between God's mercy and the *salus* of mankind is found in TP. The mercy of God goes beyond strict justice to reach out to sinful humanity, giving a *profectus salutis* through revelation and forgiveness. God's mercy has man's *salus* as its primary concern. Even God's wrath shows his mercy and desire to save. Because God's righteous anger and just punishment induce the sinner to repent of his transgressions and reform his life, they are seen to be *salutaris*. The mercy of God offers a *salus* that human powers cannot give: a life better than earthly life, eternal life in Christ.

While Hilary often points out the difference between Christian *salus* and the earthly variety, nevertheless the basic pre-Christian meaning of the word never vanishes entirely. In many cases we can see at work a concept of *salus* as safety or preservation. In CM, *salus* is defined as eternal life and profit, in opposition to death and loss. In DT, the emphasis is on the safety of holding on to right belief in Christ. In the Garden of Gethsemane, Christ prays for his followers to be kept *salui*; i.e., safe from the danger of unbelief. The Christian minister must look out for the *salus*, the safety, of others by preserving them from the danger of heresy. The confession of the orthodox faith is *salutaris* in that it protects the confessor from the danger of heresy, for the heretic is threatened by spiritual death. A more developed idea of *salus* as safety is to be found in TP, where the basic meaning of safety is only the substratum for the idea of eschatological transformation. Christ's humanity, threatened by the power of death, asks for a *salus* which is not only protection but liberation from death and elevation to glory. In this same work we also find the idea of *salus* as being preserved from God's wrath. This has two meanings: first, to be justified by faith in this life; second, to be saved from everlasting punishment after death by being raised to glory.

Hilary's soteriological thought is characterized by the notion of a return to heaven. *Salus* and related words often serve to designate such a return. In Chapter One, we noted an allusion to the Roman custom of thanksgiving *pro salute et reditu*, but something more fundamental is at the root of Hilary's thought; namely, the Adam-Christ parallel of 1 Cor 15,45ff and the *exitus-reditus* of the Son described in the hymn of Ph 2,6-11. In Adam, the whole human race wandered away from God, and lost immortality. It needs to be brought back to God so that it may have eternal life. In the kenosis of the incarnation, the Son left the glory of heaven and abased himself, taking on servile form. He needs to return to glory.

This idea is present already in CM. The Son leaves his heavenly homeland, joins himself to the whole human race in the incarnation, and returns to glory, bringing with him the humanity he assumed. Upon his return to heaven, the angels rejoice at the return of *humana salus*. His own humanity is the firstfruits of the salvation of the whole human race.

In his resurrection and ascension to glory, the human race has returned to eternity. Jesus Christ in glory is himself *humana salus*, the exemplar of what every human being may become. In CM, TM, and TP, the image of the Good Shepherd is interpreted along these lines. Our author always gives the same interpretation of the text: “*filius hominis uenit saluare*” (Mt 18,11). “To save” means to leave heaven, take up humanity, and return it to heaven.

The idea of *salus* as “return” is not expressed as such in DT, except inasmuch as the culmination of the *dispensatio salutis* is the incorporation of the humanity of Jesus into the glory of the Father.

The fullest development of the “return” concept, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is found in TP. The words of the Psalter make possible the metaphor of a vow to express the Son’s obedience to the Father in order to fulfill the eternal plan of human salvation. The Son “swears” not to return to heavenly glory until he has completed the mystery of salvation. His return to heaven, bringing with him the humanity he assumed, represents the completion of this mystery. This is equivalent to the fulfillment of what DT called the *dispensatio salutis*. In this context, *salus* is both restoration and reformation. For Christ as God, *salus* is a return to heaven and a restoration of the glory he had before the world began. A consequence of this return is the salvation of Christ’s humanity. For Christ as man – and so for humanity in general – *salus* is a gift of something he never had before, an advancement to a higher state, a transformation and glorification.

In a few cases, repentance is described as a return *in salutem*. This does refer to a return to heaven, but signifies giving up sin and returning to a holy way of life. In this sense, *salus* connotes spiritual safety but not glorification.

It is important to observe that the understanding of *salus* as glorification represents the culmination of a development in Hilary’s thought. In CM, eschatological *salus* is defined as the transformation of the body into a spiritual substance. Even when *salus* is defined as *consortium* in the resurrection of Christ, the resurrected body is not described in terms of the glorious body of the risen Christ. Instead, the new state of the risen body of the saved is said to be remade into the

spiritual essence of the soul. It is freed from the limitations of its former material condition, and is no longer subject to corruption.

With DT, Hilary begins to refine this conception of *salus* as resurrection to eternal life, relating it more directly to the resurrection of Christ. The "working of our salvation" is defined as being raised with Christ, after having died with him. The natural life of the believer is transformed into eternal "life in Christ". The mystery of Christ's death and resurrection is the *salutis nostrae et gloriae mysterium*.

TP offers the most developed conception of what it means to receive eschatological *salus*. The transformation given to those who receive *salus* from Christ exactly parallels that of Christ's own humanity in his resurrection and return to glory. Hilary even employs identical vocabulary to describe the salvation of Christ's humanity and that of believers: *susceptio*, *profectus* and, above all, *gloria*. Christ is called *saluator* and *susceptor* because he makes the saved "spiritual" in lifting them up to the higher state of the glorified. But this *salus* is defined, not as a transformation into the spiritual substance of the soul, as was the case in CM, but as a transformation into spiritual *gloria*. This new state is always defined in strict relation to the risen and glorified humanity of Christ.

In some cases, when our author uses the word *salus* in an eschatological sense, it is defined as a kind of liberation. *Salus* and *libertas* were closely connected in Roman political thought. Hilary's notion of eschatological liberation, however, is not political, but metaphysical and spiritual. Eschatological *salus* entails a transformation of humanity, as noted above. This transformation can be defined, negatively, by way of contrast with the limitations of our earthly human condition. Liberation from these limitations begins with baptism. In being born, we enter a life marked by sin and sickness. In baptism, Christ saves us by giving a new birth to a different kind of life, marked by righteousness and spiritual *sanitas*. His divine power, at work in the believer, gives *salus* from the *saeculum*; i.e., protection from the sinful influence of the world, contact with which produces spiritual paralysis and even death. The *salus* of the resurrection is portrayed as an upward movement, in contrast to the downward pull of the *saeculum*. But the *saeculum* has no power over Christ, who saves us from it, both in this life

and in the next. For the same *salus* which means spiritual life in this world, becomes everlasting life after death. It is deliverance from the *solidum*, from the limitations of remaining in a corruptible material existence, as the physical element in man is re-made into the substance of the spiritual soul. Those who do not receive *salus* can receive everlasting punishment precisely because they remain in a material state. These metaphysical pre-occupations, found in Hilary's pre-exile writings (CM and the *Opus Historicum*), are still present in DT. In his passion, Christ's divine power worked through his weak human nature to perform the *opus salutis*, conquering the harmful spiritual powers that prey on human weakness. This parallels the idea, in CM, that the *saeculum* has no power over Christ. In DT, meanwhile, reference to the eschatological *salus* of believers is barely present. TP returns to the idea that eschatological *salus* means liberation from the limitations of man's earthly condition. If one receives the *salus* of resurrection and glorification, the corruption, weakness, lowliness, and heaviness of his earthly flesh are taken away. Humanity is transformed into the substance of eternal *salus*. The limitation of mortality is swallowed up in the life of eternity. As in CM, the damned remain in an untransformed state, and are said to be saved *pro nihilo*.

Some passages in CM and TP speak of *salus* as a transforming divine self-communication. In CM, the *salus* received by the believing gentiles is the gift of the Holy Spirit, the third Person of the Trinity: *Spiritus per fidem salus gentibus est*. CM speaks of the divine power communicated to believers in this life, while TP concentrates on the divine gift of *salus* that raises human beings from the dead. *Salus* is something that belongs to God alone. As God, Christ does not ask for *salus*, since he already has it. As he did not cease to be divine in becoming incarnate, and retained the fullness of his divine power, so he retained the power of his *salus*. Thus, he can give it to the weak humanity he assumed. In the same way, he can give *salus*, the power of divine life, to anyone who will believe in him. This gift transforms weak, mortal humanity, liberating it from death and lifting it up to a quasi-royal state of immortal glory, after the pattern of the glorified humanity of Christ. The communication of the divine *salus* to men also establishes them in a state of everlasting *consortium* with the life of God in heaven. It may be considered divinization.

God's merciful desire to save the whole human race is the basis of the notion *salus gentium*, so prominent in CM. It is obvious that the great theme of that work is the transition from Law to Gospel, from the Synagogue to the Church, which is the gathering of the nations (*congregatio gentium*). Christ offers *salus* to anyone who will believe in him, regardless of racial origin. Hilary's explication of this point is clearly based on the writings of St. Paul and the primitive apostolic preaching as recorded in Acts. What is new and notable in Hilary is the summing-up of the idea by the use and reinterpretation of a term from the Roman *salus*-ideology: *salus generis humani*. His definition of *salus generis humani* goes beyond the old meaning of the phrase, both in its reach and in its goal. He can re-define the old concept because he has in mind a new definition of the human race, based on the solidarity with all men established by the incarnation. In assuming flesh, Christ joined himself to the whole human race in such a way that his flesh is the *uniuersitas* or *ciuitas* or *corpus* of the whole human race. The Church as Christ's body is understood with the help of terms deriving from Roman social philosophy, but these terms are turned to new use. The *salus* under discussion is no longer the *salus* of the Roman empire, or the Roman republic, but the welfare of what Samuel Johnson called (in another context) "the great republic of human nature"¹. The content of the *salus* in question is also something new and specifically Christian. No longer is it a matter of social well-being, of law and order guaranteed by the emperor. Instead, the *salus* or *publica libertas* given by Christ to the inhabitants of the city of his body is something transformative, with eternal consequences beyond the boundaries of this life. This concept of the unity between Christ and the whole human race is also present in DT. The Son took flesh for the sake of the human race, the whole "body" of which exists in Jesus Christ. In TP, the ecclesiological dimension of the salvation of the human race is brought out in terms of Sion and the heavenly Jerusalem. Fleeting in CM, the heavenly city which is the glorified body of Christ is a leading motive of TP: *Haec caro et Sion et Hierusalem est, ciuitas nobis pacis et speculatorium nostrum. Hinc salutaris, hinc Iesus*. We find our *salus* within that city, and we

¹ Quoted in J. WAIN, *Samuel Johnson*, New York 1975, 284.

hold on to *salus* by remaining within that city; i.e., by remaining in Christ.

The mention of the Body of Christ and Sion brings us to the topic of the Church and *salus*. A study of Hilary's use of *salus* reveals much, not only about his soteriology, but also about his ecclesiology. Three concepts are to be noted: (1) the *salus* of the Church; (2) *salus* is a state of being within the Church; (3) *salus* is something given through the Church.

In CM, miracles that give physical *salus* to an individual prefigure the spiritual salvation of a whole people: the new Israel. In this sense, Hilary speaks of the *salus gentium* or the *salus electionis*. This idea is barely present in DT, but returns to prominence in TP and TM. In TP, there is extended discussion of the fact that *salus* is given only to the new Israel, the Church. The *salus gentium* concept takes on the additional connotation of liberation from the captivity of religious error. In CM, Israel was said to be "saved" or liberated from the yoke of the Law by the acceptance of the Gospel. In TP, the emphasis is on the liberation of the gentiles from slavery to idolatry and godless ways in general. The most striking presentation of the salvation of the Church is found in TM, where the Church is *peccatrix* and *meretrix* in need of salvation, because of the origin of her members in gentile irreligion. She is "saved" by fidelity to Christ and the generation of "sons" in baptism.

Salus is something found only within the Church. Hilary is consistent in teaching that both Jews and gentiles must come into the Church. Within the Church is *salus*, which is both safety and something more. In CM, the Church is the city of the saved, which enjoys *publica libertas*: the inhabitants of this city enjoy freedom from the domination of death itself. In DT, *salus* is found within the Church especially because the pure Christian doctrine, the *confessio salutaris*, is to be found within her. If someone leaves the Church for heresy, she regrets that she has lost the opportunity to save him. In TP, we find an explicit eschatological dimension to the "safety" found within the Church. The members of the Church have been rescued *ex perditis*. To remain within the Church is to remain in Christ, in whom our *salus* is found. By remaining in the earthly Church by standing firm in the true faith, we may be assured of remaining within the heavenly Church, where we will enjoy the blessings

Church by standing firm in the true faith, we may be assured of remaining within the heavenly Church, where we will enjoy the blessings of eternal life, "standing firm" forever. Likewise, in TM, the Church is like a house marked out for safety by her belief that Christ is the eternal Son of God become flesh. All those who remain within that house are safe, while those who are outside the Church will die.

The Church is the instrument of giving *salus* to believers, through her teaching and sacraments. Hilary places the emphasis on the Church's teaching. In CM, the Church continues Christ's mission by preaching the *sermo salutis*, through which the saving power of Christ enters the hearts of those who receive it in faith. With the establishment of the Church, a new age of salvation history has begun. The same *salus* once made available to individuals who could see and touch the incarnate Christ is extended, in the age of the Church, to all who receive the Gospel teaching from the Church's ministers. For this reason, the "age of the Church" is the time of *salus*. While DT has little to say on this subject, TP has much to offer. The thought of CM is reprised and refined, using the words of the Psalms. The Apostles' words are *salutaria gentibus*, bringing about the *sanitas gentium*, which is nothing less than the gift of immortality to those who accept the Church's teaching, the *salutis nostrae instituta*. The Church also gives *salus* through the sacraments, especially baptism. The prefigurations of baptism and the Eucharist in the Old Testament are called *symbola salutis*, signs of the salvation to come.

It is impossible to study Hilary's theological vocabulary without coming to grips with his Christological preoccupations. *A fortiori* this is so when his soteriological vocabulary is the subject of discussion, since all of his Christology bears the stamp of soteriological concerns. In all of his works, the motive for the incarnation and passion is the same: *salus*. The phrase *sacramentum salutis* defines both the motive of the incarnation and the fulfillment of its purpose in the salvation of believers. The mystery of salvation is always described as something completed by Christ in and through the specific humanity he assumed in the incarnation, in obedience to the Father's plan of salvation. In all of Hilary's works, the verbs employed with *sacramentum/a salutis* express this completion. Also, in all of his writings, the phrase helps to explain

the soteriological significance of Christ's humanity. The drama of human salvation is first played out in the specific humanity assumed by the Son in the incarnation. The word *sacramentum* means, not only "mystery", but also a "sign of things to come". There is some development in our doctor's explanation of how the mystery of salvation will be fulfilled in believers. In CM, it is fulfilled in baptism and the experience of grace in this life. In DT, the link between Christ accomplishing the mystery and the accomplishment of the mystery in believers is also to be found in baptism. In this work, however, the eschatological consequences of the *sacramentum salutis* are brought out: in baptism, the mysteries of human salvation are accomplished "unto life" (*consummantur ad uitam*). This means eternal life, for baptism is dying and rising with Christ to a new kind of life, undying life, which will reach its fulfillment in resurrection. TP continues this development, making it clear that the mystery of salvation, which was being brought to completion in the passion of Christ, was not fully completed until his resurrection and ascension to glory. This allows us to determine with precision the full eschatological meaning of the *sacramentum salutis*. The term of the mystery of salvation is resurrection and glorification. In TP, we do not find *sacramentum/a salutis* employed with a passive verb to express the fulfillment of the mystery of salvation in believers. This idea, however, is abundantly present, albeit expressed in other terms.

Salus is accomplished, above all, by Christ's divine power. Hilary frequently uses the word *salus* in association with such words as *potestas*, *uirtus*, *operatio*. In CM, this is especially the case when the power of Christ to save is evidenced in miracles of healing or exorcism. His power is contrasted to the Law's inability to give *salus*. When the gentiles come to believe in the Church's preaching – the *sermo salutis* – the identical power of Christ the *saluator* enters them and they are justified. The Lord's power to give *salus* is extended to the Apostles and their successors, who will carry on his work. The emphasis in CM is on the power of Christ giving *salus* to believers: *salus per fidem*. In his later works, Hilary's attention shifts to the power of Christ at work in the passion and resurrection of Christ. While the Arians saw the humility of the incarnation and passion as proofs that Christ was less than fully divine, Hilary shows that they are signs of God's love and will to save.

One's *salus* depends on recognizing the power of God in the incarnate Christ. Christ can be the *salus uniuersorum* because he did not lose his divine power in becoming incarnate. That same power is at work even in his passion: *tene Deum Christum salutis nostrae operationes cum esset moriturus operantem*. To speak of Christ accomplishing the *opus salutis* on the Cross expresses, both the voluntary acceptance of the passion by Christ, and his divine power. The same divine power that accomplished the work of salvation in the passion will raise up the saved to eternal life. TP affirms that only Christ could bring the *salutare*, the saving power, needed by the human race suffering from the disease of godlessness. The same work offers a full discussion of the resurrection of Christ, in which it is repeatedly affirmed that the power giving *salus* to Christ's humanity is his own divine power (*uirtus, potestas*). Because the Son never lost his communion with his Father, from whom he received everything, he has the power to save his own humanity. In his resurrection, Christ reveals his *salutare*, his power to save, to all the nations; i.e., to the whole human race, showing that he is the only *saluator*. He is the "God who saves" because he has power over death itself: *Domini exitus mortis*.

We believe that the present study has revealed Hilary's theological depth and originality. At the same time, it shows why the thought of the great fourth-century bishop and Christian witness can be difficult to understand. His habit of assigning different meanings to the same words, without going out of his way to define his terms, makes the study of his thought an exercise in patience and, at times, puzzle-solving. In the end, we can conclude that the Bishop of Poitiers was a man of his time, using the language of his time to communicate timeless truths. Culturally, he was a true Roman, but this never compromised the basis of his Christian faith: the divine revelation as found in the Sacred Scriptures, along with the tradition of the Church as found in his own catechetical training and the theological writings available to him. Foremost in his mind was the need to preserve the unity of the Church by appealing to the unity of her Christological doctrine as handed down from Apostolic times. His conception of *salus* is based on these same sources. If he employed concepts drawn from politics or the pre-Christian meaning of *salus*, it was in an effort to reach out to his contemporaries and facilitate their understanding of his Christian message. May this study, in turn, build a

bridge between present-day readers and the message of eternal salvation through faith in the divine Christ that shines forth from the pages of St. Hilary.

ABBREVIATIONS

Biblical Books

OLD TESTAMENT

Gen	Genesis
Ex	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
Josh	Joshua
Judg	Judges
Ruth	Ruth
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Sam	2 Samuel
1 Kings	1 Kings
2 Kings	2 Kings
1 Ch	1 Chronicles
2 Ch	2 Chronicles
Ez	Ezra
Neh	Nehemiah
Tob	Tobit
Jud	Judith
Esther	Esther

Job	Job
Ps	Psalms
Prov	Proverbs
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Sg	Song of Solomon
Wis	Wisdom
Sir	Sirach
Is	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Lam	Lamentations
Bar	Baruch
Ezek	Ezekiel
Dan	Daniel
Hos	Hosea
Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos
Obad	Obadiah
Jon	Jonah
Mic	Micah
Nah	Nahum

NEW TESTAMENT

Mt	Matthew	1 Cor	1 Corinthians
Mk	Mark	2 Cor	2 Corinthians
Lk	Luke	Gal	Galatians
Jn	John	Eph	Ephesians
Acts	The Acts	Ph	Philippians
Rm	Romans	Col	Colossians
		1 Th	1 Thessalonians

2 Th	2 Thessalonians	1 Pt	1 Peter
1 Tm	1 Timothy	2 Pt	2 Peter
2 Tm	2 Timothy	1 Jn	1 John
Titus	Titus	2 Jn	2 John
Pn	Philemon	3 Jn	3 John
Hb	Hebrews	Jude	Jude
Jm	James	Rev	Revelation

Works by Hilary

TP	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i>
DT	<i>De Trinitate</i>
CM	<i>Commentarius In Mattheum</i>
TM	<i>Tractatus Mysteriorum</i>

Reference Works and Patristic Series

RAC	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RSV	<i>The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Edition, Catholic Edition.</i> (reprint) San Francisco: Ignatius Press (no date).
SC	Sources Chrésiennes
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

Other

ELC	C. MOHRMANN. <i>Études sur le latin des chrétiens</i> , 4vv. Edizioni di storia e letteratura 65 (1958), 87 (1961), 103 (1965), 143 (1977). Rome.
-----	--

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Works of Hilary and other Ancient Authors

- Commentarius in Matthaeum* (CM), Hilaire de Poitiers, *Sur Matthieu, Introduction, texte critique et notes* par J. Doignon (SC 254 & 258), Paris 1978-1979.
- Ibid.*, Ilario di Poitiers, *Commentario a Matteo, Traduzione, introduzione e note* a cura di Luigi Longobardo (Collana di testi patristici 74), Rome 1988.
- Contra Auxentium*, ed. J-P Migne (PL 10, 609-618), Paris 1845.
- De Trinitate libri duodecim* (DT), ed. P. Smulders (CCSL 62 & 62A), Turnhout 1979-1980.
- Ibid.*, Hilaire de Poitiers, *La Trinité, Texte Critique* par P. Smulders, Introduction par M. Figura et J. Doignon, Traduction par G.M. de Durand, Ch. Morel et G. Pelland, Notes par G. Pelland (SC 443 [Books I-III] & 448 [Books IV-VIII]), Paris 1999-2000.
- Liber de Synodis seu de Fide orientalium*, ed. J-P Migne (PL 10, 479-546), Paris 1845.
- Liber I Ad Constantium, Liber II Ad Constantium, Fragmenta historica, Hymni, Fragmenta minora*, ed. A. Feder (CSEL 65), Vienna 1916.
- Liber in Constantium Imperatorem*, Hilaire de Poitiers, *Contre Constance. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et index* par A. Rocher (SC 334), Paris 1987.
- Tractatus Mysteriorum* (TM), Hilaire de Poitiers, *Traité des Mystères, Texte établi et traduit avec introduction et notes* par J-P Brisson (SC 19b), 2^e édition, Paris 1967.
- Tractatus super Psalmos* (TP), ed. A. Zingerle (CSEL 22), Vienna 1891.

- Ibid.*, ed. J. Doignon (CCSL 61), Turnhout 1997.
- Tractatus super Ps. 118* (TP 118), *Hilaire de Poitiers, Commentaire sur le Psaume 118, Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et index* par M. Milhau (SC 344 & 347), Paris 1988.
- MARTIALIS, M.A., *Epigrammes*, H.J. Izaac, ed., Paris 1930.
- PLINIUS CAECILIUS SECUNDUS, C., *Lettres*, M. Durry, ed., Paris 1959.
- , *Panegyrique de Trajan*, M. Durry, ed., Paris 1930.

2. Other Works

- ANDRESEN, C., "Erlösung", *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* VI, 1966.
- ANYANWU, A.G.S., *The Christological Anthropology in St. Hilary of Poitiers' Tractates on the Psalms*, Rome 1983.
- BALTZER, J. P., *Die Theologie des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers*, Rottweil 1879.
- , *Die Christologie des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers*, Rottweil 1889.
- BARCLAY, W., *New Testament Words*, London 1964.
- BARDY, G., "Un humaniste chrétien: saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 27 (1941), 5-25.
- BASTIT, A., "Conception du commentaire et tradition exégétique dans les *In Matthaeum* d'Origène et d'Hilaire de Poitiers", in G. Dorival and A. LeBoullec, ed., *Origeniana Sexta*, Louvain 1995.
- BAUR, J. *Salus Christiana. Die Rechtfertigungslehre in der Geschichte des christlichen Heilsverständnisses*, vol. 1, Gütersloh 1968.
- BECK, A., "Die Lehre des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers über die Leidensfähigkeit Christi", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 30 (1906), 108-122, 305-310.
- , *Römisches Recht bei Tertullian und Cyprian* (Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft 7,2) Halle 1930.
- BEUMER, J., *De Eenheid der Menschen met Christus in den Theologie van den Hilarius van Poitiers*, *Bijdragen* 5 (1942), 151-167.
- , "Hilarius von Poitiers, ein Vertreter der christlichen Gnosis", *Theologische Quartalschrift* 132 (1952), 170-192.
- BLAISE, A., *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, Strasbourg 1954.
- BLASICH, G., "La risurrezione dei corpi nell'opera esegetica di S. Ilario di Poitiers", *Divus Thomas* 69 (1966), 70-92.

- BOULARAND, E., "La conversion de saint Hilaire", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 62 (1961), 81-104.
- BRAUN, R., *Deus Christianorum. Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien*, Paris 1962.
- BRENNECKE, H.C., *Hilarius von Poitiers und die Bischofsopposition gegen Konstantius II. Untersuchungen zur dritten Phase des arianischen Streites (337-361)*, Berlin 1984.
- BRÉSARD, L., "Hilaire de Poitiers et le mystère de la naissance", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 86/2 (1985), 83-100.
- BROWN, P., *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World*, Cambridge 1995.
- BROX, N., "Σωτηρία und Salus. Heilsvorstellungen in der Alten Kirche", *Evangelische Theologie* 33 (1973), 253-279.
- BURNS, P.C., *The Christology in Hilary of Poitiers' Commentary on Matthew* (Studia Eph. Augustinianum 16), Rome 1981.
- BÜSSE, H., "Salus" in der Römischen Liturgie. Ein Beitrag zur Sprache und Theologie liturgischer Gebetstexte (exc. diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1960.
- CASAMASSA, A., "Nota sul 'Commentarius in Matthaeum' di S. Ilario di Poitiers", *Scritti Patristici I* (Lateranum 21), Roma 1955, 208-214.
- , "Appunti per lo studio del 'Tractatus super Psalmos' di S. Ilario", *ibid.*, 199-206.
- CHADWICK, H., "Hilarius von Poitiers", *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. III, 3rd ed., Tübingen 1959.
- CHARLIER, A., "L'Église corps du Christ chez saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 41/3 (1955), 451-477.
- COULANGE, L., "Métamorphose du Consubstantiel; Athanase et Hilaire", *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, Vol. 8 (1922), 169-214.
- DOIGNON, J., "'Adsumo' et 'adsumptio' come expression du mystère de l'Incarnation chez Hilaire de Poitiers", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 23 (1953), 123-135.
- , *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil. Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement et l'épreuve d'une foi épiscopal en Gaule au milieu du IV siècle*, Paris 1971.

- DOIGNON, J., "La scène évangélique du baptême de Jésus commentée par Lactance ('Divinae Institutiones' 4,15) et Hilaire de Poitiers ('In Matthaeum' 2,5-6)", in *EPEKTASIS. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, Paris 1972, 63-73.
- , "L'argumentatio d'Hilaire de Poitiers dans l'exemplum de la tentation de Jésus", *Vigiliae Christianae* 29 (1975), 296-308.
- , "Ordre du monde, connaissance de Dieu et ignorance de soi chez Hilaire de Poitiers", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 60 (1976), 565-578.
- , "Les variations des citations de l'épître aux Romains dans l'oeuvre d'Hilaire de Poitiers", *Revue Bénédictine* 88 (1978), 189-204.
- , "Les implications théologiques d'une variante du texte latin de I Cor 15,25 chez Hilaire de Poitiers", *Augustinianum* 19 (1979), 245-258.
- , "Versets additionnels du Nouveau Testament perçus ou reçus par Hilaire de Poitiers", *Vetera Christianorum* 17 (1980), 29-47.
- , "'Spiritus sanctus...usus in munere' (Hilaire de Poitiers 'De Trinitate' 2,1)", *Rev. théol. de Louvain* 12 (1981), 235-240.
- , "Pierre 'fondement de l'Église' et foi de la confession de Pierre 'base de l'Église' chez Hilaire de Poitiers", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982), 417-425.
- , "'Erat in Iesu Christo homo totus' (Hilaire de Poitiers, 'In Matthaeum' 2,5). Pour une saine interprétation de la formule", *Revue des études augustiniennes* 28 (1982), 201-207.
- , "Le sens d'une formule relative à Jean Baptiste dans l'*In Matthaeum* d'Hilaire de Poitiers", *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984), 27-32.
- , "O dignos succedores Petri atque Pauli! Un trait d'Hilaire de Poitiers sur la vocation antihérétique", *Theologische Zeitschrift* 40 (1984), 359-366.
- , "Quatre formules énigmatiques dans l'exégèse d'Hilaire de Poitiers", *Vigiliae Christianae* 38 (1984), 371-384.
- , "Scepticisme, lassitude et conversion chez Hilaire de Poitiers", *Augustinianum* 27 (1987), 175-184.
- , "Deux approches de la Résurrection dans l'exégèse d'Hilaire de Poitiers", *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54 (1987), 5-12.

- DOIGNON, J., "L'interprétation romaine de la formule in tituli inscriptione dans le *Tractatus super Psalmos* de Hilaire de Poitiers", in *Aevum inter utrumque*, Steenbrugis 1991, 121-125.
- , "Un terme difficile de Col. 2,9 éclairé par Hilaire de Poitiers: *corporaliter*", *Revue Bénédictine* 105 (1995), 5-8.
- , "De l'absence à la présence d'Origène dans l'exégèse d'Hilaire de Poitiers: deux cas typiques", *Origeniana Sexta*, Louvain 1995, 694-699.
- DRISCOLL, J., "The Transfiguration in Hilary of Poitier's Commentary on Matthew", *Augustinianum* 24 (1984), 395-420.
- DURST, M., *Die Eschatologie des Hilarius von Poitiers. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Hereditas 1), Bonn 1987.
- ECKHEL, I., *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, 8 vols., Vienna 1828.
- FAVRE, R., "Credo in Filium Dei mortuum et sepultum", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 33 (1937), 687-724.
- FEDER, A.L., "Kulturgeschichtliches in den Werken des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers", *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* 81 (1911), 30-45.
- , "Epilegomena zu Hilarius Pictaviensis I & II", *Wiener Studien* 41 (1919), 51-60, 167-181.
- FELICI, S., (ed), *Cristologia e catechesi patristica* I (Biblioteca di Scienze religiose 31), Rome 1980.
- FIERRO, A., *Sobre la gloria en san Hilario. Una síntesis doctrinal sobre la noción bíblica de "doxa"* (Analecta Gregoriana 144), Roma 1964.
- FIGURA, M., *Das Kirchenverständnis des Hilarius von Poitiers* (Freiburger theol. Studien 127), Freiburg 1984.
- FRANKE, H., "Salus publica", *Liturgische Zeitschrift* 5 (1932/33), 145-160.
- FRIEDRICH, G., ed., trans. and ed. by BROMILEY, G., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids 1971.
- GALTIER, P., "Saint Hilaire trait d'union entre l'Orient et l'Occident", *Gregorianum* 40 (1959), 609-623.
- , *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers. Le premier docteur de l'Église latine*, Paris 1960.
- , "La forma Dei et la forma servi selon saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 48 (1960), 101-118.

- GAMBER, R., "Der Liber Mysteriorum des Hilarius", *Studia Patristica* III (TU 78), Berlin 1961, 129-138.
- GARCÍA DE LA FUENTE, O., *Introducción al latín bíblico y cristiano*, 1990.
- GASTALDI, N.J., *Hilario de Poitiers exégeta del salterio*, Paris-Rosario 1969.
- GIAMBERARDINI, G., "De incarnatione Verbi secundum S. Hilarium Pictaviensem", *Divus Thomas* 50 (1947), 35-56, 194-205; vol. 51 (1948), 3-48.
- , "S. Hilarii doctrina de praedestinatione Verbi incarnati", *Miscellanea Francescana* 49 (1949), 266-300; 514-533.
- GOFFINET, E., *L'utilisation d'Origène dans le Commentaire des Psaumes de saint Hilaire de Poitiers* (Studia Hellenistica 14), Louvain 1965.
- HAARHOFF, T., *Schools of Gaul. A study of Pagan and Christian education in the last century of the Western Empire*, Oxford 1920.
- Hilaire et son temps. Actes du colloque de Poitiers, 29 septembre-3 octobre 1968 à l'occasion du XVI centenaire de la mort de saint Hilaire*, Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1969.
- HOLMES, T.S., *The Origin and Development of the Christian Church in Gaul during the First Six Centuries of the Christian Era*, London 1911.
- INSTINSKY, H.U., *Die alte Kirche und das Heil des Staates*, Munich 1963.
- JACOBS, J.W., "The Western Roots of the Christology of St. Hilary of Poitiers. A Heritage of Textual Interpretation", *Studia Patristica* 13 (TU 116), Berlin 1975, 198-203.
- KINNAVEY, R.J., *The Vocabulary of St. Hilary of Poitiers as contained in Commentarius in Matthaeum, Liber I Ad Constantium, and De Trinitate. A Morphological and Semasiological Study* (diss. Catholic University of America), Washington, 1935.
- P. DE LABRIOLLE, "Saluator", *Archivium Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 14 (1939), 23-36.
- LADARIA, L.F., *El Espíritu Santo en San Hilario de Poitiers* (Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas 18), Madrid 1977.
- , "Dispensatio" en S. Hilario de Poitiers", *Gregorianum* 66 (1985), 429-455.
- , *La cristología de Hilario de Poitiers* (Analecta Gregoriana 255), Rome 1989.
- , "Adán y Cristo. Un motivo soteriológico del In Matthaeum de Hilario de Poitiers", *Compostellanum* 35 (1990), 145-162.

- , “Adán y Cristo en los ‘Tractatus super Psalmos’ de San Hilario de Poitiers”, *Gregorianum* 73 (1992), 97-122.
- , “Los Apóstoles en el comentario a Mateo de Hilario de Poitiers”, in *Ecclesia Tertii Millennii Advenientis. Omaggio al P. Angel Antón*, Casale Monferrato 1997, 771-785.
- , “Hilario de Poitiers en el Tratado sobre la Trinidad de la Summa de Santo Tomás”, *Compostellanum* 98 (1998), 342-359.
- LEWIS, C., *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879.
- LOI, V., “Il termine ‘mysterium’ nella letteratura cristiana prenicena: I”, *Vetera Christiana* 19 (1965), 210-252.
- , “Il termine ‘mysterium’ nella letteratura cristiana prenicena: II”, *Vetera Christiana* 20 (1969), 25-44.
- LÖFFLER, P., “Die Trinitätslehre des Bischofs Hilarius von Poitiers zwischen Ost und West”, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1960), 26-36.
- LORSCHIED, B., *Das Verhältnis der Freiheit des Menschen zur Barmherzigkeit Gottes nach der Lehre des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers* (exc. diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1940.
- MAŁUNOWICZ, L., *De voce “sacramenti” apud S. Hilarium Pictaviensem*, Lublin 1956.
- MATZKOW, W., *De vocabulis quibusdam Italae et Vulgatae christianis quaestiones lexicographae*, Berlin 1933.
- MCDERMOTT, J.M., “Hilary of Poitiers: the Infinite Nature of God”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973), 172-202.
- MCHUGH, J.F., *The Exaltation of Christ in the Arian Controversy* (diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Shrewsbury 1959.
- MCMAHON, J.J., *De Christo Mediatore Doctrina Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis*, (diss. Mundelein), Mundelein, 1947.
- MIR, I.M., “Latinitas Christianorum propria I”, *Latinitas* 19 (1971), 233-248.
- , “Latinitas Christianorum propria II”, *Latinitas* 20 (1972), 10-20.
- MOHRMANN, C., *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens* (Edizioni di storia e letteratura 65, 87, 103, 143), 4 vols., Rome 1958 – 1977.
- MORESCHINI, C., “Il linguaggio teologico di Ilario di Poitiers”, *La Scuola Cattolica* 103 (1975) 339-375.

- OPPELT, I., "Hilarius von Poitiers als Polemiker", *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973) 203-217.
- ORAZZO, A., "Ilario di Poitiers e la 'universa caro assumpta' dal Verbo nei Tractatus super Psalmos", *Augustinianum* 23 (1983), 399-419.
- , *La salvezza in Ilario di Poitiers. Cristo salvatore dell'uomo nei Tractatus super Psalmos*, Naples 1986.
- PEACHIN, M., *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235-284*, Amsterdam 1990.
- PELLAND, G., "La thème biblique du Règne chez saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Gregorianum* 60 (1979) 639-674.
- , "La 'subjectio' du Christ chez saint Hilaire", *Gregorianum* 64 (1983) 423-452.
- , "La Loi dans le Tr. Ps. 118 de S. Hilaire", *Gregorianum* 76 (1995), 575-583.
- PEÑAMARÍA DE LLANO, A. "¿Es cierta la conversión de San Hilario de Poitiers?", *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 42 (1967) 251-258.
- , "Libertad, mérito y gracia en la soteriología de Hilario de Poitiers", *Revue des études augustinienes* 20 (1974) 234-250.
- , *La salvación por la fe. La noción "fides" en Hilario de Poitiers*, Burgos 1981.
- PLANTNER, S.B., *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London 1929.
- QUELL, G., AND SCHRENK, G., *Righteousness*, London 1951.
- RAIFER, F., *Die Soteriologie des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers* (exc. diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1946.
- ROSS, J.T., *The Conception of σωτηρία in the New Testament*, Chicago 1947.
- SANDERS, G., and VAN UYTFANGHE, M., *Bibliographie signalétique du latin des chrétiens* (Corpus Christianorum Lingua Patrum 1), Turnhout 1989.
- SHEERIN, D., "Christian and Biblical Latin", in MANTELLO, F.A.C. and RIGG, A.G., ed., *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, Washington 1996, 137-156.
- SIMONETTI, M., "Note sul commento a Matteo di Ilario di Poitiers", *Vetera Christianorum* 1 (1964) 35-64.
- , "Ilario e Novaziano", *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 7 (1965) 1034-1047.

- SIMONETTI, M., "Note sulla struttura e la cronologia del De Trinitate di Ilario di Poitiers", in *Scritti in onore di G. PERROTA = Studi Urbinati* 39 (1965) 274-300.
- , *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo*, Rome 1975.
- , "Su una recente edizione del *Commento a Matteo* di Ilario di Poitiers", *Augustinianum* 19 (1979), 527-530.
- SMULDERS, P., *La doctrine trinitaire de S. Hilaire de Poitiers*, (Analecta Gregoriana 32), Rome 1944.
- , "Hilarius van Poitiers als exegeet von Mattheüs", *Bijdragen* 44 (1983) 59-83.
- , *Hilary of Poitiers' Preface to his Opus Historicum. Translation and Commentary*, Leiden, 1995.
- STEINBY, E.M., ed., *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 5 vols, Rome 1999.
- STUDER, B., "Die Soteriologie Cyprians von Karthago", *Augustinianum* 16 (1976), 427-450.
- , *Trinity and Incarnation. The Faith of the Early Church*, Edinburgh 1993.
- TURNER, N., *Christian Words*, Edinburgh 1980.
- VACCARI, G., *La teologia della assunzione in Ilario di Poitiers. Uno studio sui termini "adsumere" e "adsumptio"* (diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1994.
- VANSTEENKISTE, C., "S. Tommaso d'Aquino e S. Ilario di Poitiers" in *San Tommaso. Fonti e riflessi del suo pensiero* (Studi Tomistici 1), Rome 1975, 65-71.
- VATTIONI, F., ed., *Sangue e antropologia biblica nella patristica*, Roma 1982.
- WAIN, J., *Samuel Johnson*, New York 1975.
- WILD, P.T., *The Divinization of Man according to Saint Hilary of Poitiers* (diss. Mundelein), Mundelein 1950.
- WIEACKER, F. *Römische Rechtsgeschichte. Quellenkunde, Rechstbildung, Jurisprudenz und Rechstliteratur. Erster Abschnitt*, Munich 1988.
- WINKLER, L., *Salus. Vom Staatskult zur politischen Idee: eine archäologische Untersuchung*, Heidelberg 1995.
- WIRSZUBSKI, CH., *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome During the Late Republic and Early Principate*, Cambridge, 1960.

PONTIFICIA UNIVERSITAS GREGORIANA
FACULTAS THEOLOGIAE

SALUS IN ST. HILARY OF POITIERS

Auctore

THOMAS BUFFER

*Dissertatio ad Doctoratum
in Facultate Theologiae
Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae*

ROMAE MMII

BR
65
H76
B84
2002

MARIAN
LIBRARY

Vidimus et approbamus ad normam Statutorum Universitatis
Romae, ex Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana
Prof. Ladaria Luis F., sj
Prof. Renczes Philipp, sj
Romae, die 07 - 01 - 2002

Approbatio
Secretarius Generalis Universitatis Gregoriana
Romae, die 10 - 01 - 2002

Imprimatur
dal Vicariato di Roma
† Luigi Moretti
Vescovo tit. di Mopta
29 - 01 - 2002

INTRODUCTION

In 302 B.C., a temple on the Quirinal hill in Rome was consecrated to the goddess *Salus Publica Populi Romani*¹. Over six hundred years later, the Christian priest Hilary of Poitiers says that his ministry is dedicated to serving *salus publica*². Roman coins from the days of the emperors Galba, Trajan, Commodus, and Caracalla bear the inscription *SALVS GENERIS HVMANI*³. During the reign of a later emperor (either Julian the Apostate or Valentinian I), Hilary calls Jesus Christ the *saluator generis humani*⁴. What happened between 302 B.C. and the middle of the fourth century A.D. that could account for such radical transformation in the meaning of the same word? Obviously, Christians had given a new sense to the word *salus* from the first moment they began to explain the new religion to speakers of Latin. More specifically, what meaning (or meanings) was attached to *salus* and related words by a fourth-century bishop in Latin-speaking Gaul, which was still mostly pagan? To what

¹ The exact site of the temple is unknown; the present Via del Quirinale appears to correspond with an ancient *Cliuus Salutis* associated with the site, which would locate the temple beneath the westernmost end of the Quirinal Palace. The Via della Consulta corresponds with the ancient *uicus Salutis*. The cult gave its name to one of the four divisions of the Quirinal hill: *collis Salutaris*, extending from Via della Dataria to the Via delle Quattro Fontane. Cf. S.B. PLANTNER, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London 1929, 125.437.462; E.M. STEINBY, ed., *Lexicon Urbis Romae* IV, Rome 1999, 229-230.

² *Quin etiam id quod sibi credebat, tamen per ministerium inpositi sacerdotii etiam ceteris praedicabat, munus suum ad officium publicae salutis extendens*" (DT 1,14,9-12).

³ Cf. R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*. Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien, Paris 1962, 479.

⁴ Cf. TP 13,4.

extent does Hilary's use of *salus* reflect an already traditional understanding among Latin-speaking Christians? Is there anything novel about the ways he employs the term? What place does it occupy within his theological thought? Is his Christian understanding of *salus* clearly differentiated from the Roman politico-cultic sense of the word? These are among the leading questions our study sets out to answer.

Status Quaestionis

Significant studies of Hilary's theology did not appear until the twentieth century⁵. By now, thorough studies have been made of Hilary's treatment of the great dogmatic themes⁶: Trinity, Christology, Ecclesiology, and Soteriology.

⁵ During the period immediately following Hilary's life, his works were known, discussed, and appreciated among the Latin fathers, notably Augustine, Cassian, Leo the Great, and Jerome. For the theologians of the Middle Ages, however, Augustine was the leading figure among the Fathers. Aquinas refers 380 times to Augustine and only 70 times to Hilary, only two of whose works he cites: DT and *Liber de Synodis*. The citations and references to Hilary have distinct weight and value in the Trinity section of the *Summa*. Many of the citations of Hilary found in Thomas, but not all, are already found in the treatise on the Trinity of Peter Lombard. Lombard made use of our author more abundantly than Thomas, but limited himself to the same 2 works. By contrast the philosopher Boethius is cited more than 100 times by the Angelic Doctor. Bonaventure cites Hilary only twice and indirectly, taking as his sources Peter Lombard and Augustine. Cf. L.F. LADARIA, "Hilario de Poitiers en el Tratado sobre la Trinidad de la Summa de Santo Tomás", *Compostellanum* 98 (1998) 342-359; C. VANSTEENKISTE, "S. Tommaso d'Aquino e S. Ilario di Poitiers" in *San Tommaso. Fonti e riflessi del suo pensiero* (Studi Tomistici 1), Rome 1975, 65-71. Later theologians seemed to forget about Hilary entirely. In 1851, Hilary was proclaimed "Doctor of the Church"; the years following this proclamation saw a slow but steady growth in interest. Cf. L. BRÉSARD, "Hilaire de Poitiers et le mystère de la naissance", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 86/2 (1985) 84-88.

⁶ Cf. F. RAIFER, *Die Soteriologie des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers* (exc. diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1946; P. SMULDERS, *La doctrine trinitaire de S. Hilaire de Poitiers*, (Analecta Gregoriana 32), Rome 1944; L.F. LADARIA, *El Espíritu Santo en San Hilario de Poitiers* (Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia Comillas I 8), Madrid 1977; _____, *La cristología de Hilario de Poitiers* (Analecta Gregoriana 255), Rome 1989; M. FIGURA, *Das Kirchenverständnis des Hilarius von Poitiers* (Freiburger theol. Studien 127), Freiburg 1984.

In 1968, the great Hilary scholar Jean Doignon called for in-depth study of key expressions of the Bishop of Poitiers, asserting that a simple classification of the various meanings of a given word would be insufficient⁷. We have detailed, book-length works on *gloria*⁸, *fides*⁹, and *adsumere/adsumptio*¹⁰, and important articles on *dispensatio*¹¹ and *subiectio*¹², but no study of the crucial word *salus* and related expressions. Three works discuss “salvation” in Hilary¹³, but these do not give anything like a complete analysis of the use of the word *salus* itself. Studies of Hilary’s theological language likewise fail to address our topic¹⁴.

The meaning of *salus* within Roman politico-cultic thought has been thoroughly studied¹⁵. Its place in the Christian Latin of the first four

⁷ Such is the case, he says, with the study of L. MAŁUNOWICZ, *De voce “sacramenti” apud S. Hilarium Pictaviensem*, Lublin 1956. Cf. J. DOIGNON, “Hilaire Ecrivain”, in *Hilaire et son Temps, Actes du colloque de Poitiers, 29 septembre-3 octobre 1968 à l’occasion du XVI centenaire de la mort de saint Hilaire*, Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1969, 267-286, esp. 276-277.

⁸ A. FIERRO, *Sobre la gloria en san Hilario. Una síntesis doctrinal sobre la noción bíblica de “doxa”* (Analecta Gregoriana 144), Roma 1964.

⁹ A. PEÑAMARÍA, *La salvación por la fe. La noción “fides” en Hilario de Poitiers*, Burgos 1981.

¹⁰ G. VACCARI, *La teologia della assunzione in Ilario di Poitiers. Uno studio sui termini “adsumere” e “adsumptio”* (diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1994.

¹¹ L.F. LADARIA, “Dispensatio” en S. Hilario de Poitiers”, *Gregorianum* 66 (1985) 429-455.

¹² G. PELLAND, “La ‘subjectio’ du Christ chez saint Hilaire”, *Gregorianum* 64 (1983) 423-452.

¹³ A. ORAZZO, *La salvezza in Ilario di Poitiers. Cristo salvatore dell’uomo nei Tractatus super Psalmos*, Naples 1986; PEÑAMARÍA, *op. cit.*; F. RAIFER, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Cf. R. IACOANGELI, “Il linguaggio soteriologico di Ilario di Poitiers”, in *Cristologia e catechesi patristica* (Biblioteca di scienze religiose 31), Rome 1980, 121-148; R.J. KINNAVEY, *The Vocabulary of St. Hilary of Poitiers as Contained in “Commentarius in Matthaeum”, Liber I ad Constantium”, and “De Trinitate”* (Patristic Studies of the Catholic University of America 47), Washington 1935; L. LONGOBARDO, *Il linguaggio negativo della trascendenza di Dio in Ilario di Poitiers*, Naples 1982; C. MORESCHINI, “Il linguaggio teologico di Ilario di Poitiers”, *Scuola Cattolica* 103 (1975) 339-375.

¹⁵ For bibliographical indications, cf. L. WINKLER, *Salus. Vom Staatskult zur politischen Idee* (Archäologie und Geschichte 4), Heidelberg 1995, 9-10, and the textual apparatus.

centuries after Christ has been considered by various scholars, but not as completely as has the pagan sense¹⁶.

Method and Scope of the Present Study

The answers to the questions posed in the first paragraph of this Introduction will be found, above all, in Hilary's three great dogmatic and exegetical works. In order of composition, they are: the *Commentarius in Matthaëum*, the twelve books known as *De Trinitate*, and the *Tractatus super Psalmos*. To each of these fundamental works we dedicate one chapter. Thus we proceed in diachronic fashion, according to a genetic method that enables us to trace the evolution of our author's thought, identifying along the way what remains constant, what changes, and what is new entirely. When relevant material exists, we have taken into account that portion of the Treatise on the Mysteries (TM) that has come down to us, as well as the controversial and historical works. The two hymns attributed to Hilary contain nothing relevant to our topic.

¹⁶ As may be seen by a perusal of G. SANDERS and M. VAN UYTFANGHE, *Bibliographie signalétique du latin des chrétiens* (Corpus Christianorum Lingua Patrum 1), Turnhout 1989. General works on Christian Latin that address the topic include: W. MATZKOW, *De vocabulis quibusdam Italae et Vulgatae christianis quaestiones lexicographae*, Berlin 1933; I.M. MIR, "Latinitas Christianorum propria I", *Latinitas* 19 (1971) 233-248; ____, "Latinitas Christianorum propria II", *Latinitas* 20 (1972) 10-20. C. MOHRMANN, *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens* (Edizioni di storia e letteratura 65, 87, 103, 143), 4 vols., Rome 1958 - 1977, hereafter abbreviated ELC I-IV. On *salus* in particular, cf. C. ANDRESEN, "Erlösung", *RAC* 6, 1966, 147-163; R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*, esp. 476-545; N. BROX, "Σωτηρία und Salus. Heilsvorstellungen in der Alten Kirche", *Evangelische Theologie* 33 (1973) 253-279; H. FRANKE, "Salus publica", *Liturgische Zeitschrift* 5 (1932/33) 145-160 (this article looks only at the vocabulary of St. Ambrose); H.U. INSTINSKY, *Die alte Kirche und des Heil des Staates*, Munich 1963; P. DE LABRIOLLE, "Saluator", *Archivium Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 14 (1939) 23-36; B. STUDER, "Die Soteriologie Cyprians von Karthago", *Augustinianum* 16 (1976) 427-450. Also helpful is H. BÜSSE, "Salus" in der Römischen Liturgie. Ein Beitrag zur Sprache und Theologie liturgischer Gebetstexte (exc. diss. Pont. Univ. Gregoriana), Rome 1960. Despite its title, the work of J. BAUR does not deal with our theme (*Salus Christiana. Die Rechtfertigungslehre in der Geschichte des christlichen Heilsverständnisses*, vol. 1, Gütersloh 1968).

Throughout we have identified every occurrence of the words *salus*, *saluus*, *salutare*, *salutaris*, *saluare*, *saluificare*, *saluator*, and their inflected forms. Hilary uses the word *salus* in combination with other words to form certain key phrases such as *salus gentium*, *sacramentum salutis* and *salutaris confessio*. Each of these word groups is examined to reveal the meaning or meanings intended by Hilary. Occasionally a *salus*-word occurs merely in passing in a quotation from Sacred Scripture, in which case it is not mentioned in this study. Very rarely a *salus*-word will have a completely neutral meaning, referring solely to physical health or safety; these cases are noted.

The present work is not a study of the soteriology of St. Hilary; such an attempt would merely duplicate work already carried out by others. Yet inevitably it will happen that, in considering our doctor's use of *salus* and related words, we will encounter soteriological themes, and in some cases reach definite conclusions about Hilary's soteriology, and these conclusions will not always agree with the findings contained in previous studies of this theme. Nor, despite its title, is our work purely an essay in Hilary's *salutology*, to use a word invented by C. Andresen. While soteriology denotes the development and interpretation of what the New Testament calls σωτηρία in its strictly religious sense, salutology considers how Christians confronted the pre-existent Roman politico-cultic notion of *salus* during the first centuries of the Christian era, and what synthesis arose out of that confrontation¹⁷. We intend to show that, while Hilary sometimes employs phrases originating within the Roman *salus*-ideology, his conception of *salus* is both thoroughly Christian and highly original.

The "first doctor of the Latin church"¹⁸ was also one of the first truly great theologians to write in Latin rather than Greek. To him is owed the first commentary in Latin on an entire Gospel (CM). In the middle of the fourth century, Latin-speaking Christians were still developing a technical vocabulary for talking about Christian faith and practice.

¹⁷ Cf. C. ANDRESEN, "Erlösung", RAC 6, 1966, 163-187; N. Brox, "Σωτηρία und Salus. Heilsvorstellungen in der Alten Kirche", *Evangelische Theologie* 33 (1973) 273-279.

¹⁸ P. GALTIER accords this title to St. Hilary; *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers. Le premier docteur de l'Église latine*, Paris, 1962, 5.

Hilary's theological formation was thoroughly Latin; moreover, his writings demonstrate a thorough grounding in the classics of Latin rhetoric. In working out a theological vocabulary, he takes advantage of his superior education, drawing from such classic authors as Sallust, Livy, Seneca, Pliny, Caesar, and Tacitus, but especially Cicero. Jerome's assertion that Quintilian served Hilary as a model of style is confirmed by modern research, at least in the case of the DT¹⁹. His thought is often framed in Latin rhetorical categories, and he freely employs political and juridical *termini technici*²⁰. Given the political and religious meanings of *salus* in the Roman empire, this last-named fact will prove to be of no little importance for our study. In his exegesis of the Scriptures and in his grappling with such deep abstract concepts as eternity, Hilary employs the vocabulary of Stoic philosophers and Roman jurists. In his theological, controversial, and historical writings, he labors to find proper Latin equivalents for Greek words, both those found in Scripture and those arising from theological debate, such as ὁμοούσιος. At the same time, the translations of the Scriptures extant in his day predetermine his religious vocabulary to a considerable extent. A large part of the originality of Hilary's thought, as well as some of the difficulty experienced in trying to understand it, is due to his choice of words and the way he uses them²¹.

¹⁹ Cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 520.

²⁰ Cf. DOIGNON, *op. cit.*, 525; SC 254, 34-35, as well as the textual apparatus of both SC 254 and SC 258. See also DOIGNON, "De l'absence à la présence d'Origène", *Origeniana Sexta*, 694; _____, "Hilaire écrivain", in *Hilaire et son temps*, 267-286. In Hilary's use of *adsumere* to denote the taking up of the whole of mankind in the incarnation, BURNS sees the influence of "the social use of the word *corpus* in secular Latin traditions", *op. cit.*, 135. For details on Hilary's secular education and philosophical knowledge, cf. A.L. FEDER, "Kulturgeschichtliches in den Werken des hl. Hilarius von Poitiers," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 81 (1911) 30-45, esp. 37-41; J-R. PALANQUE, "La Gaule chrétienne au temps de saint Hilaire", in *Hilaire et son temps*, Paris 1969, 11-17. Cf. also G. BARDY, "Un humaniste chrétien: saint Hilaire de Poitiers", *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 27 (1941) 5-25.

²¹ "Hilary is also difficult to understand because he uses the same words to convey different meanings and one must often puzzle over them for a long time before determining their significance in a particular context. His frequent use of involved periods does not make for easy reading, and in many places he compresses his thought in a few words when a longer explanation would clarify his meaning". S. MCKENNA,

1. *Salus* and related words in pre-Christian Latin

salus

The origins of the word go back to the very beginnings of the Latin language. At first it meant the power to preserve the physical integrity of persons or things, to make or maintain *saluus*; i.e., whole, intact, safe and sound. From the beginning it was a religious word. The goddess *Salus*, identified with the Greek Hygeia, was considered a protector both of the public welfare of the Roman people and of personal health. In everyday speech the word quickly acquired profane status, designating a state of well-being, physical health, safety²². In addition, *salus*, in the vocabulary of Roman religion and politics, was synonymous with protection and deliverance²³.

For our purposes, the political meaning and usage of *salus* is of great interest. One of the foremost political concerns of ancient Rome was the *salus* of the Roman people, the *salus publica*²⁴. In republican Rome, an

Saint Hilary of Poitiers. The Trinity, New York 1954, xiv-xv. The time needed to puzzle over Hilary's words has been judged a worthwhile investment: "Hilaire se découvre difficilement; ceux qui le découvrent ne le quittent plus", A. G. HAMMAN, *Dictionnaire des Pères de l'Église*, Paris 1977, 144.

²² Cf. BRAUN, 478. Plautus plays with the word, employing both the proper noun and the common meaning: "Nec Salus nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, potest" (*Mostellaria* 351, ed. A. ERNOUT, Paris 1938).

²³ Cf. MARTIAL, *Epigrams*, Book V, 1, addressing Caesar: "seu placet Aeneae nutrix seu filia Solis / siue salutiferis candidus Anxur aquis, / mittimus, o rerum felix tutela salusque, / sospite quo gratum credimus esse louem". Ed. H.J. IZAAC, Paris 1930.

²⁴ "Die *Salus Publica* ist [...] eine spezifisch italisch-römische Gottheit, ihr Kult spezifisch römischer. In diesem Kulte lebte das universale Gemeinschaftsgefühl der römischen Imperiums, der Sinn für das große Gemeinwohl der Menschheit. *Salus publica* war die Personifikation des allgemeinen Heiles, des Wohlbefindens, des Glückes, der Wohlfahrt und Gesundheit aller, die unter dem Schutze des weiten Imperiums lebten. Alles, was der Römer den unterworfenen Völkern zu bringen hatte, faßte er in diesem Begriffe zusammen. So wurde *Salus publica* zu einer wesentlichen Verkörperung der universalen Sendung des Römertums in der damaligen Welt. Wohlfahrt und Unversehrtheit waren aber ursprünglich nur im rein irdisch-naturhaften Sinne zu verstehen. Erst in der späteren Zeit, als der Kaiserkult sich ausbreitete, begann auch im Kult der *Salus publica* ein religiöser Ton mitzuschwingen. In Rom der Kaiserzeit verkörperte der Kaiser die öffentliche Wohlfahrt: 'Auf seiner Unversehrtheit

augurium salutis was offered each year to beg for the *salus publica*; because the sacrifice could be offered only in times of peace, the practice fell into desuetude for a time but was later revived by Augustus.

In imperial Rome, the *salus publica* was thought to depend on the *salus* of the emperor; the *salus* in question was purely earthly, equivalent to *incolumitas*²⁵. The annual New Year's *uota pro salute rei publicae* was reconfigured into a *uota* for the *salus* of the emperor²⁶. It is clear that religious concern for the *salus* of the state was distinct from the search for the "salvation" offered by the mystery relations of the time; it was natural, earthly *salus* that the Romans sought in their state-cult²⁷. The emperor, in steering the "ship of state", directed the course of *publica salus*, in the sense that his governance was carried out on behalf of the *utilitas omnium*²⁸. Unlike the Hellenistic concept of the ruler as divine σωτήρ, the Roman emperor cult was pragmatic, identifying the *salus mundi* with the safety of the worldwide *orbis Romanus*. This is seen in such imperial coin inscriptions as: SECVRITAS, FELICITAS TEMPORUM, etc.²⁹.

beruht das Heil aller'. Der Kaiser bringt das Heil, ist für das ganze Volk der Heiland. Weil man sich die Person des Kaisers göttlich dachte, glaubte man an seine Unversehrtheit, kraft deren er das Heil aller Welt zu werden vermochte". H. FRANKE, "Salus Publica", *Liturgische Zeitschrift* 5 (1932/33) 148.

²⁵ Pliny the Younger writes to Trajan, "Sollemnia uota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur, et suscepimus [...] et soluimus"; Trajan's response acknowledges, "uota pro mea salute et incolumitate" [...] (Letters 35 & 36, ed. M. DURRY, Paris 1959). The traditional Roman phrasing survives to this day in the First Eucharistic Prayer or *Canon Romanum* of the Mass: "pro se suisque omnibus [...] pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suae". Cf. FRANKE, 152.

²⁶ Cf. WINKLER, 46-62, esp. 61.

²⁷ H.U. INSTINSKY, *Die alte Kirche und des Heil des Staates*, Munich 1963, 22.

²⁸ Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus Traiani* (100 A.D.) employs this image: "Si tamen haec sola erat ratio quae te publicae salutis gubernaculo admouerit [...] (6,2). The words of the *uota* offered for the emperor are revealing: "Nuncupare uota et pro aeternitate imperii et pro salute principum, immo pro salute principum ac propter illis pro aeternitate imperii solebamus. Haec pro imperatore nostro in quae sint uerba suscepta operae pretium est adnotare: 'Si bene rem publicam et ex utilitate omnium rexerit'" (67,3-4). Ed. M. DURRY, Paris 1959.

²⁹ C. ANDRESEN, "Erlösung", *RAC* 6, 148.

salutaris

This adjective, derived from *salus*, was present early in the Latin language. It means “that which brings *salus*, salutary, beneficial”³⁰. In a legal context, the idea of liberation from imprisonment or punishment was also present; the first letter of the alphabet was called the *salutaris littera: A=absoluo*³¹. During the first centuries of the empire, under the influence of the Greek θεός σωτήρ, the adjective *salutaris* became an epithet applied to certain divinities; e.g. Jupiter, Apollo, Juno, Isis, Hercules, Cybele, Aesclepius, Hygeia, Fortuna, etc. The idea conveyed was one of protection, conservation, and liberation³².

verb forms

Classical Latin had a verb *saluere*, to be well, whence the imperative *salue*, but no causative verb derived from *salus* meaning “to make well”. To express the idea found in the Greek σωζειν, the Romans usually said (*con*)*seruare*³³. Otherwise, use was made of various periphrastic constructions; e.g., *salutem dare*, (*ad*)*ferre*, *conseruare*, *accipere*, *adipisci*³⁴.

nomen agentis

Pre-Christian Latin did not have the convenient term *saluator* to render the classical Greek word σωτήρ. In the political sphere, this title was bestowed upon men who had rendered extraordinary services to their contemporaries, such as Ptolemy I, Antiochus IV, and certain Roman emperors. In these cases, it is hard to tell to what extent the term was

³⁰ Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Traiani Panegyricus*: “Vtile est, Caesar, et salutare” [...] (70,4, ed. M. DURRY, Paris 1959).

³¹ The letter “C” was the *tristis littera: C=condemno*; cf. C.T. LEWIS, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879, 2.257.

³² For example, Hercules was called *Salutaris*, *Conseruator*, *Tutor*, *Defensor*. Jupiter was invoked as *Conseruator*, *Custos*, *Seruator*, *Sospitator*, *Tutator*. Aesclepius is called *Salutaris* in an inscription, but it appears that he was never called *Conseruator*. Cf. ELC III,137; BRAUN, 483-484.

³³ Cf. INSTINSKY, 28.

³⁴ Cf. ELC I,387; II,16; III,83; IV,203; BRAUN, 479, 492-493.

considered religious. Within the language of Greek and Roman religion, the god-savior offered assistance to men in difficult circumstances, but always on the level of earthly realities. The Epicureans and Stoics applied the term to certain philosophers, for example Epicurus, with a spiritual meaning. It was especially in the Eastern mystery religions that σωτήρ and σωτηρία became developed religious terms with a spiritual meaning³⁵.

Pre-Christian Latin authors never attempted to invent a new Latin word to express σωτήρ, but looked for a ready-to-hand substitute. Cicero sarcastically says that σωτήρ is such a lofty title that it can't be expressed with one Latin word, and so he resorts to a paraphrase: *soter qui salutem dedit* (*actio in Verrem II*, 2, 63, 154). Elsewhere he renders σωτήρ by *seruator* (*pro domo* 101; *pro Plancio* 36, 49), as does Livy (36, 50, 9). Tacitus (*Ann.* 15, 71) and Pliny (*Paneg.* 1) use *conseruator*, a word also found in inscriptions. As noted above, the adjective *salutaris* can also serve as a *nomen agentis*.

Sometimes the word *salus* itself acts as the *nomen agentis*. Thus Cicero calls the consul P. Lentulus *parens, deus, salus, nostrae uitae, fortunae, memoriae, nominis*³⁶. Verres tells of a lady calling a man her "savior", *me suam salutem appellans*, in imitation of the Gk. σωτήρ³⁷, and rather like the English expression "my hero"! As the *salus* of the republic was more and more understood to be bound up with that of the emperor himself, it began to happen that the emperor was directly called "*salus*". In 87 A.D., *uota* were offered "pro salute et incolumitate imp(eratoris) [...] imp(erator) Domitianus, ex cuius incolumitate uniuersorum salus constat"³⁸. Accordingly, Martial personified Domitian as "rerum certa salus, rerum felix tutela salusque", and "rerum prima salus et una"³⁹. Some imperial coins honored the Emperor with the inscription SALVS GENERIS HVMANI in place of the more usual

³⁵ Cf. ELC III, 135-136; IV, 204.

³⁶ *Quir.* 11. *Salus* has the same force in APULEIUS, *Mund.* 24, "Deumque ipsum salutem esse et perseuerantiam earum quas effecerit rerum". Cited in BRAUN, 479.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ WINKLER, 116.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

*conseruator*⁴⁰ or *restitutor*⁴¹. The idea was that the Emperor had saved humanity by restoring civil liberty, peace, law, and order⁴².

2. Origins and characteristics of Christian Latin

In the first days of the Christian community at Rome, Greek was the language both of everyday communication and of worship. By the middle of the second century, the process of Latinization was underway, though Greek was retained in the liturgy for some time even after it had ceased to be the language of communication. It was also during the second century that translators began producing Latin versions of the Bible, beginning in Northern Africa. Many new expressions are owed to the scrupulous literalism of the translators striving to render Greek expressions from both Testaments⁴³. The Greek language was the single dominant influence on the formation of Christian Latin during its first phase of development⁴⁴.

A specialized Christian Latin vocabulary developed in three ways: (1) words borrowed from Greek and Hebrew, e.g., *baptisma*, *messias*; (2) neologisms derived from already existing Latin words to translate Greek expressions, e.g., *saluare* from *salus* to render *σωζειν*; (3) existing words used with a new, specifically Christian meaning, e.g., *salus*, originally physical health, or the health of the republic, becomes spiritual well-being, health of the soul, beatitude⁴⁵. Mohrmann calls this last-

⁴⁰ Cf. BRAUN, 479.

⁴¹ Cf. M. PEACHIN, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235-284*, Amsterdam 1990, 300.

⁴² The Emperor Galba (68-69 A.D.) wished to portray himself as a restorer of the ancient Roman liberties after the death of Nero. Suetonius tells that Galba was incited to taking the *imperium* by Gaius Iulius Vindex in the words, *humano generi adsertorem, ducemque se adcommoaret* (Ch. 9). The primary meaning of *adsertor* is "restorer of liberty". During Galba's reign, coins were minted with the legends SALVS GENERIS HVMANI, LIBERTAS RESTITVTA, and LIBERTAS PVBLICA. Cf. I. ECKHEL, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, Vienna 1828, VI,297.

⁴³ Cf. ELC I,95-98.

⁴⁴ Cf. ELC I,23; IV,14.

⁴⁵ Cf. D. SHEERIN, "Christian and Biblical Latin", in F.A.C. MANTELLO and A.G. RIGG, ed., *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, Washington 1996, 143-145.

named phenomenon *polysemia*; it will be of primary importance for our study⁴⁶.

On the subject of neologisms, it is interesting to observe that when Cicero created a Latin terminology for expressing abstract thoughts, on the Greek model, he used pre-existing Latin words. Christians, by contrast, often created new Latin words to express abstract concepts. This is especially noticeable with regard to words that speak of salvation and redemption⁴⁷. An existing word used with a new sense by the Christians may be called a "semasiological neologism"⁴⁸. Sometimes common words take on a new, Christian significance when used in combination; e.g., *remissio peccatorum*, *signum crucis*, *salus aeterna*⁴⁹.

Early Christian Latin may be divided into two categories: the vulgar tongue, the spoken language of the ordinary, uneducated masses, and a literary Latin, the written style of cultured individuals. Among educated Christians this second kind of Latinity existed before the second century, and became firmly established in the fourth and fifth Christian centuries⁵⁰. Hilary's Latinity, while highly literary, is influenced by the "vulgar" vocabulary of the Latin versions of the Bible he used.

2.1 *salus* and related words in Christian Latin

salus

In translations of Scripture, *salus* translates the Greek σωτηρία, both in its profane sense of "deliverance, safety, protection, bodily health" and its specifically religious sense⁵¹. The early Latin version of the first Letter of Clement (2nd century A.D.) uses *salus* to render, not only σωτηρία and σωτήριον, but also λύτρωσις⁵².

⁴⁶ Cf. ELC I,88; II,29; III,331; IV,17.95.

⁴⁷ I.M. MIR, "Latinitatis Christianorum propria I", *Latinitas* 19 (1971) 238.

⁴⁸ Cf. MIR, *op. cit.*, 244.

⁴⁹ Cf. SHEERIN, 145.

⁵⁰ Cf. I.M. MIR, *art. cit.*, 236.

⁵¹ Cf. BRAUN, 480. On the biblical expression, cf. G. FRIEDRICH, ed., trans. and ed. by G. BROMILEY, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* VII, Grand Rapids 1971, 970ff.; J.T. ROSS, *The Conception of σωτηρία in the New Testament*, Chicago 1947.

⁵² Cf. BRAUN, 480.

While *salus* took on a special meaning for the Christians, it did not totally lose its common meaning. The Christians were conscious of this polysemia, so that plays on words, using both the common and the Christian meaning of a term, reinforced the community's sense of solidarity⁵³. The *Passion of Ss. Felicity and Perpetua* furnishes an early example:

[A martyr is thrown to the wild beasts] et statim in fine spectaculo leopardo obiectus de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus reuertenti illi secundi baptismatis [=the baptism of blood] testimonium reclamauerit: saluum lotum, saluum lotum. Plane utique saluus erat qui hoc modo lauerat (21,2-3; quoted in ELC I,90).

In common speech, *saluum lotum* means “well-washed”, but the author of the *Passion* repeats the word *saluus* – barely disguising his satisfaction – this time using it in accord with Christian usage: “saved”, with a spiritual meaning⁵⁴.

Preachers were still exploiting polysemia during Augustine's day. The Bishop of Hippo tells his flock to share their food with the hungry and so neglect their physical well-being in order to have spiritual salvation: “non tibi dicetur, *Frange esurienti* [...] Salutem quaeris? Contemne et habebis” (Sermo ed. M. Den. 16,17).

salutaris/e

The Greek adjective σωτήριος is very rare in the Scripture and the works of the first Christian writers. Consequently, and in contrast to classical usage, *salutaris* rarely functions as an adjective in the earliest Christian literature. In the first Latin versions of Scripture, *salutaris* is a noun, the equivalent of σωτήρ, a title for God or Christ⁵⁵. This soon changes under the influence of *salus*, and Lactantius and Tertullian use the adjective frequently⁵⁶.

While σωτήριος is rare, the neuter noun σωτήριον occurs quite frequently in the Bible, which accounts for the Christian neologism

⁵³ Cf. ELC IV,95.

⁵⁴ ELC I,91.

⁵⁵ Cf. ELC I,387; II,53.

⁵⁶ Cf. ELC III,53 (Lactantius); BRAUN, 484-485 (Tertullian).

salutare, found in Christian Latin texts since the Itala. An example of a general tendency to transform adjectives into nouns, it signifies "means of salvation" or functions as a synonym of *salus*⁵⁷.

saluare, saluificare, saluum facere

Three Latin expressions resulted from the need to translate the Greek causative verb σωζέιν: the periphrase *saluum facere*, and the neologisms *saluare* and *saluificare*, both based on the noun *salus*⁵⁸. Of the three, *saluum facere* and *saluare* are the most frequently met with; in some authors, they are found alongside each other. In addition to the rare *saluificare*, *liberare* is sometimes found as a rendering of σωζέιν⁵⁹.

saluator

Like the pagan Romans, the Christians needed time to work out a convenient Latin equivalent for σωτήρ. The difference was that the Christians invented a new word, *saluator*, as soon as they began to translate the Scriptures. Σωτήρ is found 20 times in the LXX to designate God⁶⁰. It appears 24 times in the NT, where it most often means Christ, and rarely God (Matthew and Mark do not use the word at all). In turning the word into Latin, the first translators of the Bible did not use the more usual term *conseruator*, opting instead for either *salutaris* (rare) or the new word *saluator*, these words being found side

⁵⁷ Cf. BRAUN, 485; MIR, 239; ELC I,23-24.

⁵⁸ Christian Latin shows a remarkable preference for verbs of the first conjugation in general, and in particular for creating new causative verbs ending in *-ficare*, built on pre-existing adjectives and nouns. This is probably due to the need to translate a large number of Greek causative verbs which had no Latin equivalents; in addition to *saluificare*, so were produced *glorificare* for δοξάζω and *magnificare* for μεγαλύνω. Cf. ELC I,34.92-93.119-120; II,16; III,104.113.

⁵⁹ Cf. ELC III,137-138.

⁶⁰ "C'est Yahvé qui est le σωτήρ de l'homme individuel et, parfois, d'Israël. Le Psalmiste parle à maintes reprises de ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν et au nom du peuple d'Israël il dit: ἐπάχουσιν ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν (Ps 64,4). Et Isaïe: ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σωτήρ" (Is 45,15). ELC IV,203.

by side⁶¹. Nevertheless it took some time for the neologism to be fully accepted⁶².

2.2 *The acceptance of saluator*

The translator of *Clement* uses *saluator* (59,3). The rhetor Lactantius notes that both *salutaris* and *saluator* were to be found in the Latin Bibles of his day as equivalents for Σωτήρ: “Emmanuel autem numquam uocitatus est, sed Iesus, qui latine dicitur salutaris siue saluator, quia cunctis gentibus salutifer uenit [...] (*divin. inst.* 4,12,6; SC 377). Mohrmann sees this as evidence of Lactantius’ hesitating to employ the neologism, but acknowledges that he says *saluator* without hesitation in two other passages⁶³. Similarly, Mohrmann says that Cyprian seems to avoid using *saluator*⁶⁴, but in fact it can be found five times in his writings, although all five occurrences are found in *Testimonia ad Quirinum*, and only one out of the five is not a quotation from Scripture⁶⁵. Tertullian uses *saluator* three times, but six times gives his own invention, *salutificator*, which never caught on with other authors⁶⁶. Arnobius gives two classical words that had been applied to Jupiter: *conseruator* (2,63) and *sospitator* (1,53; 2,74). The poet Iuvenus gives *saluator* several times (Ev. 1,769; 2,247; 3,192; 4,51.537), but also employs the older classical word *seruator* (*seruator Iesus*: Ev 2,243.327.382; cf. Ev. 2,256; 3,17.195). Hilary’s contemporary, the great rhetor Marius Victorinus, uses *saluator* at least forty-one times, without hesitation, to name Christ who is God and Savior⁶⁷.

⁶¹ Cf. ELC III,137.

⁶² Cf. ELC I,90.119.

⁶³ *Divin. inst.* 4,12,9 and *inst. epit.* 37,9; cf. ELC III,53.139.

⁶⁴ Cf. ELC IV, 205.

⁶⁵ Quod Christus Deus uenturus esset inluminator et saluator generis humani, 2,7,1; cf. 2,6,9; 2,17,17; 2,7,30; 3,11,40. R. BRAUN even states, “Ni Minucius Felix ni Cyprien ni Novatien n’emploient *saluator* ni aucun équivalent de Σωτήρ” (495).

⁶⁶ The references for *salutificator* will be found in R. BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 488. Cf. ELC I,387; III,138.

⁶⁷ Cf. *adu. Arium* 1,2; 1,5; 1,10; 1,17; 1,24; 1,27; 1,43; 1,44; 1,46; 1,47 (twice); 1,55; 1,64; 2,10; 3,3 (twice); 3,6; 4,7; 4,8; 4,10; in *Ep. ad Ephesios* 1,1 (twice); 1,2 (four times); 1,3 (twice); 2,4 (twice); 2,5 (twice); *de gen. diuina* 11.

Mohrmann repeatedly states that the neologism *saluator* was not firmly established in Christian Latin until Augustine⁶⁸. Our research indicates that she overstates her case. It has been seen how authors prior to Augustine experimented with pre-existing words such as *conservator*. Augustine, too, explored alternatives to *saluator*. Once converted to the Catholic faith, the rhetor had to familiarize himself with the Latin of the Christians. He was not immediately comfortable with certain neologisms of Christian Latin and it took time for him to accept some of them. Mohrmann singles out *saluator* as the best example of this "antipathy"⁶⁹. At first Augustine employed *liberator*, a typically pagan classical term, sometimes applied to Jupiter (*De vita beata*, 36; *Contra Fortunatum* 2). In 393, one year after the meeting with Fortunatus, Augustine addressed the African bishops met in council at Hippo, and used another pagan term, this time *reparator*. Augustine was conscious of the newness of the term and undertook to defend and define it, also explaining its derivation:

Christus inquit Iesus, id est Christus saluator. Hoc est enim latine Iesus. Nec quaerant grammatici quam sit latinum, sed christiani quam uerum. Salus enim latinum nomen est. Saluare et saluator non fuerunt haec latina antequam ueniret saluator: quando ad latinos uenit, et haec latina fecit (*Sermo* 299,6).

Later Augustine writes: "qui est hebraice Iesus, graece soter, nostra autem locutione saluator: quod uerbum latina lingua antea non habebat, sed habere poterat, sicut potuit, quando uoluit" (*de trin.* 13,10,34).

"Il semble qu'on ait dû surmonter certaines difficultés d'ordre psychologique et stylistique avant que salvator devienne, à la fin du IV siècle, un terme vraiment courant"⁷⁰. Mohrmann based this conclusion on a survey of Latin authors up to Augustine (she names Tertullian, Cyprian⁷¹, Arnobius, Iuuenius, Lactantius, Augustine: III, 135-139), but did not include Marius Victorinus, or – unaccountably – Hilary. She

⁶⁸ "ce n'est qu'avec saint Augustine que le substantif nouveau *saluator* s'est vraiment consolidé" [...]; I,120; cf. IV,205.

⁶⁹ Cf. I,383-402; II,249.387f.; III.139.

⁷⁰ Cf. I,387.

⁷¹ Braun erroneously states that Cyprian never used the word *saluator* (495, n. 1), but Studer notes that Cyprian hardly avoided the word, citing *Testim.* 2,7: Quod Christus Deus uenturus esset inluminator et saluator generis humani; cf. STUDER, 439.

appears to be projecting onto early Christian Latin authors in general a difficulty felt most strongly by Augustine. In the end, pre-existent Latin words such as *seruator* could not hold up against the presence of *salus*, *saluus*, *saluare*; it seemed more natural simply to say *saluator* and thereby indicate the link between agent and action⁷².

What words does Hilary use for σωτήρ? He uses *saluator* freely and without hesitation; rarely *salus* functions as the *nomen agentis*. In TP, Hilary sometimes uses *salutaris* as equivalent to *saluator*; this he does out of deference to his Latin Bible⁷³. The single occurrence of *saluifactor* in his works is likely a direct quotation from a Latin version of the New Testament⁷⁴. Hilary is not unaware of the difficulties of finding exact Latin equivalents for Greek technical terms, and he points out some specific inadequacies in existing Latin translations⁷⁵. Yet he never raises an objection to *saluator*; he does not use *conseruator* or *liberator*; nor does he offer a paraphrase in order to avoid the neologism *saluator*. His thorough cultural formation posed no obstacle to accepting the vocabulary of the Latin translations of Sacred Scripture used in his day.

3. Salus in Christian Latin authors before Hilary

C. Mohrmann reminds us that, once a word is established in the Christian vocabulary, the history of its development has not come to an end, but only begun:

When once a word, whether it be a lexicological or semasiological neologism, has been borrowed, has entered into the special idiom of the Christians, its life begins. Its meaning is not stable, but evolving, along with the history of ideas [...]. Every word has its own history, which reflects the history of Christian thought⁷⁶.

⁷² Cf. BRAUN, 490; ELC I,24; III,182f.; IV,149.

⁷³ Cf. ELC III,188.

⁷⁴ secundum apostolum de caelis saluificatorem nostrum expectamus [...] (TP 131,25; cf. Ph 3,20). *Saluifactor* is derived from *saluificare*, equivalent to *saluare*, *saluum facere*; the fondness of the early Latin-speaking Christians for verbs ending in *-ficare* has already been noted. Cf. BRAUN, 495, n.3.

⁷⁵ Cf. J. DOIGNON, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 531-543.

⁷⁶ ELC I,93.

This evolution is verified in the case of *salus* and related words. To give some background to our study of how these words evolved along with the thought of Hilary, we should first consider their history, as found in the work of some of his Latin-speaking predecessors. Our author mentions both Tertullian and Cyprian by name. Here we take a brief look at *salus* and related words in these two pioneers of Christian theology in the Latin language.

3.1 Tertullian (fl. ca. 197 - ca. 220)

The theological vocabulary of Tertullian has been thoroughly studied by R. Braun⁷⁷. By the time Tertullian was writing, the word *salus* had already been fully accepted by the Latin-speaking Christians. In his works addressed to pagans, the ordinary natural sense of the word is operative, as when he speaks of the *salus* of the Emperor. Even when he addresses himself to his fellow Christians, *salus* sometimes has a profane sense; e.g., the preservation of one's physical life⁷⁸. Sometimes he specifies that he is using the word in its specifically Christian sense in opposition to *perditio*, or by adding the adjective *aeterna*. Most of the time, however, it is clear that *salus* is the state of someone who is saved by faith in Christ and by obeying his law⁷⁹. Christ commands us to love God "ad omnem salutem et utramque uitam", for obtaining "complete" *salus*, or "every kind of" *salus*, and "both lives"; i.e., both earthly and eternal life⁸⁰. In speaking of Christian salvation, Tertullian never uses such synonyms for *salus/saluus* as *incolumis*, *incolumitas*, and *sospes*⁸¹.

⁷⁷ Cf. his *Deus Christianorum*, the bibliographical information on which will be found above, footnote 3.

⁷⁸ Cf. BRAUN, 480.

⁷⁹ Cf. BRAUN, 481.

⁸⁰ Sed quia et mortui iam suscitabantur a Christo, et suscitatus ad spem aeternae uitae per exempla reciduae ne plus aliquid obseruationis exigeret sublimior spes, idcirco consuluit de aeternae uitae consecutione. Itaque dominus, ut nec ipse alius nec aliud nouum inferens praeceptum, quam quod principaliter ad omnem salutem et utramque uitam facit, ipsum caput et legis opponit (cf. Lk 10,25-28), omnifariam diligendi dominum Deum suum (*adu. Marc.* 4,25,15; CCSL 1, 614).

⁸¹ Cf. BRAUN, 493, n.1.

As noted above, Tertullian called Christ *saluator* and *salutificator*. He preferred the latter word, his own invention, over the more common *saluator*, apparently because the Marcionites used that word to designate, not the God of the Old Testament, but the “unknown god” who was manifested in Christ⁸². Tertullian seems to have considered the word *saluator* to be tainted by heretical misuse⁸³. Three times he employs paraphrase with the word *salus* to name Christ: *dominus salutis*⁸⁴, *salutis pontifex*⁸⁵, *salutis artifex*⁸⁶.

3.2 Cyprian (ca. 200-258)

The Bishop of Carthage is famous for having said *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. Studer has shown that this saying, the fundamental idea of Cyprian’s ecclesiology, is an example of a Christian application of the classic Roman *Salus*-terminology⁸⁷. Cyprian uses his training in Roman rhetoric to come up with ways of expressing the saving function of the Church, and especially to talk about Penance. The whole Christian life is described as *via salutaris*, *salutares uiae Domini*, or *salutaria opera* and *securitatis nostrae salubre praesidium*⁸⁸. Christ is the *auctor salutis*, the *salutis nostrae uia*. He taught his *populus* the way of life that leads to salvation, “inter salutaria sua monita et praecepta diuina, quibus populo suo consuluit ad salutem” [...] ⁸⁹.

The Church is the instrument of salvation, and her role becomes visible in the bishops. The bishop announces the *praecepta salutaria* of the *sententia fidei salutaris*. He performs his office with *salubris moderatio*. The institutions of the Church have an *utilitas salutaris*.

⁸² He describes their heretical beliefs thus: Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus a deo quodam ignoto reuelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium [...] (*adu. Marc.* 4,6,3; CCL 1, 552). Cf. BRAUN, 494.

⁸³ Cf. BRAUN, 495.

⁸⁴ *Vx* 1,7,1; but see the alternative reading in BRAUN, 482, n. 4.

⁸⁵ *Carn.* 5,10. He is opposing Christ, who brought salvation to man by his sacrifice, to Marcion, the “actor in a show” (*spectaculi artificem*); cf. BRAUN, 482.

⁸⁶ *Carn.* 14,3. He uses this title as an equivalent of *salutificator*; cf. BRAUN, 482.

⁸⁷ STUDER, 436.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 436.

⁸⁹ *Orat.* 2,267; cf. STUDER, 439.

Baptism is *aqua ecclesiae fidelis et salutaris et sancta*, which guarantees the *bona salutaria*. It is a "saving" bath because the baptized are renewed by the Holy Spirit, washed of the stains of the "ancient sickness" and purged by a second birth: "omnes quidem qui ad diuinum munus et patrium baptismi sanctificatione perueniunt, hominem illic ueterem gratia lauacri salutaris exponunt et innouati Spiritu sancto a sordibus contagionis antiquae iterata natiuitate purgantur"⁹⁰. The Eucharist is *cibus salutis*. Above all, Penance is *indulgentia salutaris*. Anticipating that even the baptized would not be able to remain free of sin, the *diuina clementia* established the *remedia salutaria* for healing fresh wounds inflicted by post-baptismal sin⁹¹. God shows his *miser cordia* and *pietas* in opening up another way to wash away the stains of actual sin; namely, almsgiving, which is a way of protecting one's *salus*⁹².

Cyprian's usages become easier to understand when we consider what was the political idea of *salus* around 250 A.D. It was still the leading idea of the Roman conception of the life of the state. The expansion of the empire, however, led to a corresponding broadening of the *salus*-concept. In the imperial era, the *salus populi* became more and more the *salus generis humani*. In the well-being of the *Res publica* was included the well-being of the whole *orbis romanus*, with all its inhabitants⁹³.

Christians must have felt it natural to express the meaning of their own corporate identity using the *salus*-concept and the other political concepts associated with it, such as *securitas*, *pax*, *concordia*, *pietas*, etc. This was a way of expressing the universal character of *salus*. This helps one understand why Cyprian, when speaking explicitly about the necessity of the Church for salvation, speaks of the *salus multorum*⁹⁴.

⁹⁰ *Habit. uirg.* 23; quoted in STUDER, 433.

⁹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 437.

⁹² multa haec sunt et magna diuinae misericordiae munera, sed adhuc qualis prouidentia illa et quanta clementia est, quod nobis salutari ratione prospicitur, ut homini qui redemptus est reseruando plenius consulatur [...] nec haberet quid fragilitatis humanae infirmitas adque inbecillitas faceret, nisi iterum pietas diuina subueniens iustitiae et misericordiae operibus ostensis uiam quandam tuendae salutis aperiret, ut sordes postmodum quascumque contrahimus eleemosynis ablueremus (*op. eleem.* 1).

⁹³ Cf. H.U. INSTINSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁹⁴ References in C. ANDRESEN, *Erlösung*, p. 158f.

At the same time, Christians had to face the challenge of distinguishing the *salus* offered by faith in Christ from the Roman concept of a purely earthly *salus*. This need became especially pressing when the Christians were ordered by the emperor Decius to offer sacrifice for the *salus* of the empire. Thus Cyprian reminds his flock that they await *securitas perpetua*, and care little for *securitas* in this world. After persecution, Cyprian expects Christ to accomplish the *redintegratio ecclesiae suae* and the *securitas salutis nostrae*⁹⁵. Christians should set all their hope on “*praemium uitae et gaudium salutis aeternae et perpetua laetitia et possessio paradisi nuper amissa mundo transeunte*”⁹⁶. Christ the just judge gives an eternal, saving reward to those who confess him: “*nonne et negantibus aeterna supplicia et salutaria confitentibus praemia ante constituit*”⁹⁷.

⁹⁵ STUDER, 439.

⁹⁶ *Mortalit.* 2; quoted in STUDER, 439.

⁹⁷ *Lapsis* 7; quoted in STUDER, 448.