

IRENÆUS' AND AUGUSTINE'S USE OF TYPOLOGY

I. IRENÆUS

1. *The Canon still in statu nascendi*

Whoever speaks of the canon of the Old and the New Testament at the time of Irenaeus should realize that the canon was not yet fixed. Before his time quotations of the NT were rare. The edition of his works, however, contains about 1.800 NT and about 820 OT citations in *Adversus Haereses* (Sources Chrétiennes) alone. As these numbers show, he was not only the first author frequently quoting the NT, but also he cited it more than the OT. There are no references to Philemon, 2 Peter and 3 John; the canon was clearly still in the process of being formed. Blanchard demonstrated that Irenaeus did not yet use the word *testamentum* as a name for the two parts of the Bible. This word means a stage in the history of salvation, the time when Christ appeared. Irenaeus uses *evangelium* only in the singular, except when he refers specifically to the writing of the four Gospels which proclaim the good news throughout the world.¹

To give a clear indication of the situation, we mention some data which may serve as a sample. The Gospel of Peter was accepted at Rhossos (Eusebius, *H.E.* VI,12,3-6); the polemics against John's Gospel remained even during the third century; the attempt to substitute one Gospel compilation for the four Gospels, as was done by Theophilus of Antioch; Tatian made use also of apocryphal Gospels, and his harmony of the Gospels was accepted by the Church in his native Syria.²

Blanchard points out that both the word and the notion of 'canon' which originated in Christian circles, stimulated the Jews also to decide on a closed canon of the OT. In this they had to deal with great problems: Were Ruth, Esther, and the Song of Solomon parts of the canon? Did the Hebrew Bible consist in three parts, and if so, what were their names? In the event, the *Torah* gained the greatest authority, and that remained so

¹ Y.-M. BLANCHARD, *Aux sources du canon, le témoignage d'Irénée*. Paris 1993, 286.

² H. FREIHERR VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel*. Tübingen 1968, 204-207.

until today. One can only speak of a canon when the writings form an entity with a shared authority.

The Christian Bible with the two Testaments was not completed before the fourth century. The Synod of Hippo in 393 decided the question of the canon in the Western Church.³ Though Irenaeus, when quoting from the NT, mentions the names of Paul and John - something not yet done by Justin whose writings he knew - he is thinking in terms of phases of the economy of salvation rather than of a canon. He regards everything as part of the divine economy of salvation, distinguishing four periods: the prophets - Christ - the apostles - the Church (*Demonstratio* 6 and 98). The first three were also found in Ignatius of Antioch (*Philadelph.* 5,1-2).

2. The entire OT is prophetic

Irenaeus appreciated the OT very highly. In it the Logos speaks and the Spirit rules. The whole of the OT is prophetic in nature. The difference between the Armenian and the Latin versions suggests in *Haer.* IV,23,1 that *scripturae*, meaning the OT Scriptures, can be rendered by the Armenian word for "prophets"; in V,17,1 the exact opposite is the case. Interesting, too, are the words quoted by Irenaeus from John 5: 39-40. Jesus speaks there about predictions regarding Himself. Irenaeus explains that the Son of God is inseeded everywhere in the writings of Moses: "Inseminatus est ubique in scripturis eius Filius Dei" (*Haer.* IV,10,1). Irenaeus associates himself closely with the tradition of the apostolic Churches in dividing the Bible into *Prophetica* and *Evangelica*. He does so against the Gnostics: "Universae scripturae et propheticae et evangelicae" (*Haer.* II,27,2). Sometimes he refers to the whole OT as *prophetae* (*Haer.* III,10,6; 19,2). The OT comes for him under the heading of "the prophets" in the sense that his Christian readers recognized it as an earlier mouthpiece of Christ. He argues against the Gnostics that every generation can receive the true *gnosis* from God. One then knows the teaching of the apostles, the ancient organism of the Church that is found throughout the world, the nature of the Body of Christ with the succession of bishops to whom the apostles entrusted the Church in every location, the conservation of the Scriptures until the present day without fictitious stories, and a careful dealing with those Scriptures without any addition or omission.⁴ The

³ BLANCHARD, o.c., 117.

⁴ *Haer.* IV,33,8: "Agnitio vera est Apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus Ecclesiae status in universo mundo, character corporis Christi secundum successiones episcoporum quibus illi eam quae in uniuerso loco est Ecclesiam tradiderunt, quae pervenit usque ad nos custodito sine fictione Scripturarum, plenissima tractatio neque additamentum neque

Church's tradition shows that the entire OT is prophecy. This has implications for Moses as the central person of the OT. In *Exodus* "the reader is encouraged to see Moses both as archetypal priest and archetypal prophet, the model for all who speak in YHWH's name within Israel's worship".⁵

It would be very strange if the prophetic would be entirely divorced from typology, for typology is essentially prophetic. Irenaeus writes what typology means to him: *Typus* and figure sometimes differ in matter and substance from the reality. However, they must preserve their similarity to it by their form and by showing this similarity by means of that which is present and by that which is not (*Haer.* II,23,1).⁶ Moberly describes the usual course of things: "Christian reading of the Old Testament will always have a dimension of interpreting the text as looking beyond itself. Since what is claimed as fulfilment cannot be properly understood apart from the promise of which it is the fulfilment, so the Old Testament retains validity as witness to the divine promise and purpose, and also remains a necessary presupposition for an understanding of the New Testament".⁷ Therefore, it is not surprising that typology is found everywhere in patristic literature.

Elsewhere, Irenaeus refers to typology in more functional terms. The relation between the one and the many is regarded as showing an analogy with the relation between the body and the members.⁸ In this way, the economy of salvation operated in the Bible. That which in prophecy generally is meant by the scheme of promise and fulfilment, is in pictorial prophecy subsumed in the scheme of type and anti-type, speaking of promise and fulfilment in figures.

ablationem recipiens, et lectio sine falsatione, et secundum Scripturas, expositio legitima et diligens et sine periculo et sine blasphemia, et praecipuum dilectionis munus".

⁵ R.W.I. MOBERLY, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament. Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism*. Minneapolis 1992, 31.

⁶ See L. GOPPELT, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Stuttgart 1933, VIII, 249-251 for other interpretations.

⁷ MOBERLY, o.c., 139.

⁸ *Haer.* IV,33,10: "Cum enim et ipsi membra essent Christi, unusquisque eorum secundum quod erat membrum, secundum hoc et prophetationem manifestabat, omnes et multi unum praeformantes et ea quae sunt unius annuntiantes. Quomodo enim per nostra membra operatio quidam universi corporis ostenditur, figura autem totius hominis per unum membrum non ostenditur, sed per omnia, sic prophetae omnes quidem unum praefigurabant".

3. *Typology in Paul*

In the Letter to the Colossians 2:16-17, this relation between the OT and the NT is expressed by the word "skia" (*umbra*). This term functions here in matters of ritual: "Therefore, let no one pass judgment on you in questions of food and drink or with regard to a festival of a new moon or a sabbath. These are only a shadow of what was to come; but the substance belongs to Christ".

Paul gives the word "tupos" a hermeneutic sense, which allows the Bible to be read in the light of the coming Messiah and the Church.⁹ Think for example of Rom 5:14 and 1 Cor 10:6 (see Irenaeus, *Haer.* II-I,18,1-7). He, or his Latin translator, used the term in Latin: "Unde et a Paulo [Adam] typus futuri dictus est" (*Haer.* III,22,3). Typology was for Paul a matter of forming parallels.¹⁰ The first and the second Adam, Israel and the Church are such parallels. In other words: the provisional beside the abiding; the imperfect beside the perfect; prophecy and proclamation beside the fulfilment. The latter shows that with this sort of typology the NT is interpreted by the OT; the OT contains a foreshadowing of the NT.

By this method Paul had created order in the various forms of hermeneutics used by Christians with regard to the OT. Moberly comments: "Probably the two most common strategies are the model of promise and fulfilment, and the model of typology".¹¹ I cannot agree with him. Firstly, because typology comes under the category of prophecy. It is pictorial prophecy. And secondly, because there is a difference between two sorts of typology (as we shall see later), and both sorts come under the heading of prophecy. Moberly has written a fine book, but I do not endorse his statement that "Certain portions of prophecy have been seen as fundamental to promise and fulfilment, and certain portions of narrative and psalm have been typologically significant, but in principle they are both applicable to the OT as a whole".¹² This does not apply to Irenaeus, for to him the OT is in its entirety prophecy, but not entirely typological.

Moreover, we must distinguish between two sorts of typology. The first sort is practiced by Irenaeus not only in quotations from Paul, but also in new applications. Its most striking example seems to me to be his state-

⁹ A.-G. HAMMAN, *La typologie biblique et sa formulation chez Tertullien*, in: *Eulogia, Mélanges offerts à A.A.R. Bastiaensen*, éd. G.J.M. Bartelink, A. Hilhorst, C.H. Kneepkens (*Instrumenta Patristica* 24). Steenbrugge 1991, 138.

¹⁰ HAMMAN, *o.c.*, 138.

¹¹ MOBERLY, *o.c.*, 138.

¹² MOBERLY, *o.c.*, 139.

ment about Eve. Eve was disobedient; consequently, man fell and died. Christ is a second and new Adam. Mary is a new Eve. As second virgin she pleads for the first, and she undoes the disobedience of Eve. In a similar way, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, being wood, is the antithesis of the Cross of Golgotha. This wood manifests that disobedience to God is evil, and obedience to God good (*Dem.* 33. See also *Haer.* II-I,32,1. V, 19,1). We find here an expansion of the parallel of the first and the second Adam in 1 Cor 15:45: "The first Adam became a living being; the last Adam became a life-giving Spirit". In the two Adams and two Eves the emphasis is on the foreshadowing function of the OT; we can follow the line: Paul - the author of Hebrews (10:1) - Irenaeus.

No matter whether the words referred to in *Haer* IV,2,3 are Christ's¹³ or Moses',¹⁴ Moses and Christ stand here again as counterparts and parallels; "Moysi litterae verba sunt Christi". Through Moses the words of other prophets are prophetic, either directly or indirectly. The patriarch Abraham is seen as a parallel with God the Father. In his commentary on the sacrifice of Isaac, Irenaeus says that Abraham, according to his faith, followed the command of the Word of God, and with a ready mind delivered up, as a sacrifice to God, his only-begotten and beloved son, in order that God also might deign to offer up for all his offspring, His only begotten Son as a sacrifice for our redemption: "ut et Deus beneplacitum habeat pro universo semine ejus dilectum et unigenitum Filium suum praestare sacrificium in nostram redemptionem" (*Haer.* IV,5,4)¹⁵. The words "in order that God also" make Abraham function here in a pictorial prophecy of the first sort of typology, although the second sort, as we shall see, is also present. Patriarchs and prophets are cited as those who predict and prefigure the future. The patriarchs function as prophets: "Christus qui tunc quidem per patriarchas suos et prophetas etiam praefigurans et prae-nuntians futura" (*Haer.* IV,21,3). In Abraham's case we must regard everything as figurative: "Nihil enim vacuum neque sine signo apud eum" (*ib.*).

The difference between the two sorts of prophecy is sometimes unclear, insofar as it is not obvious whether Irenaeus is following one procedure or the other. I mention here his words on the tabernacle in the days of Moses. Moses caused by this tabernacle heavenly and invisible realities to be present on earth. He also made prophetic representations of

¹³ BLANCHARD, o.c., 134, note 3.

¹⁴ A. ROUSSEAU, *Contre les hérésies*, Livre IV, t. II, SC 100, Paris 1965, 401.

¹⁵ J. ROLDANUS, *L'héritage d'Abraham d'après Irénée*, in: *Text and Testimony. Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.E.J. Klijn*. Edited by T. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G.P. Luttikhuisen, S. van der Woude. Kampen 1985, 116.

future things, such as the implements for use in the cult and the appropriate rites (*Dem.* 26). This concerns, according to Irenaeus, the cult "in God's temple", but the reference to the temple is vague. Froidevaux justifiably wonders if Irenaeus is thinking of a temple in general, or of the Jerusalem Temple, or of God's Church.¹⁶ If he means a temple in general, the parallel has no bearing on the relation between the OT and the NT. In the other cases, we would be dealing with a typological parallel. The parallels mark off the first sort of typology from the second which is characterized by symbolism. The possible reference to a temple in general, reminds us that beside the Christian usage there are other usages of *typus*.¹⁷

Irenaeus repeatedly mentions prefiguration by prophets: "Ut per eos praefiguraret et praemonstraret futura" (*Haer.* IV,20,12). The life of the prophet Hosea is here a good example. He married a prostitute to show that people prostituted themselves by separating from God. God, however, loved those people, and His Church would be sanctified by union with the Son of God. The woman was sanctified similarly by the union with the prophet: "Beneplacitum habebit Deus assumere Ecclesiam, sanctificandam communicatione Filii ejus, sicut et illa" (*Haer.* IV,20,12). The patriarchs stand in the ranks of the prophets, for they, too, prefigured our faith and disseminated the coming of the Son of God: "Manifestum est quia patriarchae et prophetae, qui etiam praefiguraverunt nostram fidem et disseminaverunt in terra adventum Filii Dei" (*Haer.* IV,23,1).

4. Typology formed by symbolism

In this case, the NT and the Church interpret the OT retrospectively. Prophecy in the OT finds fulfilment in the NT and the Church, but conversely this fulfilment recognizes in the symbolism of the OT hidden prophecy. This second sort of typology passed from the Greek Apologists through Justin to Irenaeus. In his *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, Justin discusses Jesus' baptism by John the Baptist (Mt 3:13-17, and par.). However, in retelling the story Justin says nothing about the heavenly voice (*Dial.* 88,3). Only later in 88,8, he mentions Ps 2:7: "He said to me, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you'". The quotation is mixed up with fragments from two other psalms, and attributed to Jeremiah, but even so, whether through Jeremiah or David, God the Father is speaking here about the Son. This is typology of the second sort. The NT interprets the OT,

¹⁶ L.M. FROIDEVAUX, Irénée de Lyon, Démonstration de la prédication apostolique. (SC 68). Paris 1971, 75, note 9.

¹⁷ L. GOPPELT, a.c., Theol. Wörterbuch z. Neuen Testament VIII,246.

which leads to the discovery of hidden prophecy. David or Jeremiah did not know how great a prophecy they uttered.

In his *Demonstratio*, Irenaeus regards the entire Pentateuch as eminently suited to retrospective prophecy. He sees in the Exodus from Egypt how God shows in a mystery the passion of Christ. This is done in the sacrifice of a spotless lamb, the blood of which had to be put on the doorposts of the Hebrews. They would thereby get immunity during the worst of the disasters to strike the Egyptians (*Dem.* 25). Froidevaux rightly points out that the apostle Paul uses *mysterion* where one would expect *typos*. Paul, however, is speaking in terms of a plan of God to save the world, that was hidden until the Incarnation.¹⁸ Before Irenaeus, Justin had already seen the typology of the paschal lamb as a foreshadowing, a retrospective of Christ (*Dial.* 40,1). Moses gave the people the book of Deuteronomy (*Dem.* 29), which, according to Irenaeus, contains many prophecies concerning Jesus Christ. Though he does not speak here of typology, he must be referring to prophetic typology. The book of Josua is treated in the same way as the Pentateuch. The name "Josua" is translated into Greek by the name "Jesus". Moses sent him in the power of that name (*Dem.* 27). This makes Moses' successor suitable for typology (of the second sort).

Speaking of Abraham in *Dem.* 35 Irenaeus does not use the word *typus*, but he uses the substance of symbolic typology. He points out that Abraham was justified by faith, and that the Law was not meant for the just. We, too, are not justified by the Law, but by faith. Abraham is a type of the New Testament faithful. The people of the Church look back to the OT. The disciples who left their father and their boat (Mt 4:22) are recognized in Abraham who left his country to live the rest of his life with the *Verbum Dei*. Doing this we take up our cross, as Isaac took the wood on his back (Gen 22:6). Christianity and Church thus find their type in Isaac¹⁹. Irenaeus calls Moses the first prophet, but adds "Moses says in Hebrew ..." (*Dem.* 43), probably because Moses was the first Jewish prophet in the ranks of those who were called prophets, whereas Abraham had only given hidden prophecy. Abraham is important for what he did, not for what he said: "In Abraham praefigurabatur fides nostra ... patriarcha nostrae fidei et velut propheta fuit ... una et eadem illius et nostra sit fides"

¹⁸ *Haer.* III,12,9: "Hoc est mysterium quod dicit per revelationem manifestatum sibi quoniam qui passus est sub Pontio Pilato hic Dominus est omnium et Rex et Deus et Judex".

¹⁹ *Haer.* IV,5,4: "Juste autem et Apostoli, ex Abraham genus habentes, derelinquentes naviculam et patrem, sequebantur Verbum Dei. Juste autem et nos, eandem fidem accipientes quam habuit Abraham, tollentes crucem quemadmodum ligna Isaac, sequimur eum".

(*Haer.* IV,21,1). Abraham was a "passive" prophet; prophecy happened to him. In the text just quoted, Abraham is described "like" a prophet, but in other passages Irenaeus calls him a prophet, who through the Spirit saw the coming of the Lord: "Propheta ergo cum esset Abraham et videret in Spiritu diem adventus Domini" (*Haer.* IV,5,5).

The twelve tribes of Israel were born on foreign soil because Christ was to produce twelve pillars for the Church on foreign soil: "quoniam et Christus peregre incipiebat duodecastylum firmamentum Ecclesiae generare" (*Haer.* IV,21,3). Irenaeus continues telling how Jacob got as wages a variety of sheep. The reward of Christ also came from a variety of nations who were gathered into one sheepfold. The words "et Christi merces" form the link in this comparison. Thus the OT is full of prophecies concerning the Church. He who studies the acts of Jacob will learn (*addiscat*) that they are not meaningless but are full of God's planning: "non inanes, sed plenos dispositionum" (*ib.*). Close study of the OT discloses its symbolism.

When Moses hears the voice of Christ from the burning bush, telling him that He has come on earth to save his people, this means that He has come to save us from the power of the Egyptians, that is, from idolatry and godlessness, and to rescue us from the murderous tide of the pagans and the bitter agitation of their defamation, for that is our Red Sea (*Dem.* 46). In the form of retrospective typology, Christ is saying this (*Haer.* IV,23,1). The way in which Moses in *Haer.* III,21,8 is taken up in the second, symbolic form of typology is curious: "Propter hoc autem et Moyses ostendens typum proiecit virgam in terram, uti ea incarnata ...". The casting down of his rod is a type of Christ's Incarnation. In Ex 7:9-10, however, it is not Moses, but his brother Aaron who casts down his rod before Pharaoh, and the rod is changed into a snake, but Irenaeus speaks only of the Incarnation. He who reads the Scriptures in the proper manner, will find the treasure hidden in a field. Only after their fulfilment could those prophecies be understood: "Si quis igitur intentus legat Scripturas, inveniet in eisdem de Christo sermonem" (*Haer.* IV,26,1).

5. Bultmann's definition of typology

Bultmann defines the second, symbol forming, typology as follows: "By typology as a hermeneutic method we mean the interpretation of the Old Testament, practiced in the Church from the New testament onward, which uncovers in persons, events and institutions of the time of salvation which started with the coming of Jesus Christ. The Old Testament *typus* corresponds with *antitypus* of the Christian era, e.g. 1 Pet 3:21; Hebr

9:24".²⁰ This is a good definition, but we wish to nuance it by four additional remarks: a) we are dealing with prophetic secrets, and this typology also is part of prophecy; b) this typology is symbolic, for OT data appear to be figures of NT data, with an intimate, mystical bond between *typus* and *antitypus*; c) the theological background of symbol forming typology is not only the *Verbum Dei*, but also Christ and the Holy Spirit; d) the origin of this kind of typology lies in the historic background as practiced by the Greek Apologists. These remarks add nuances, from the viewpoint of Irenaeus, to Bultmann's definition.

Bultmann's definition of the first, parallel forming, sort of typology runs as follows: "Related with the typological method is the exegetical method, by which sayings from the OT are regarded as predictions which have found the fulfilment in the time of salvation, or will still do so. However, the two methods must be strictly separated. The proof from prediction springs from the OT notion of a divine plan that proceeds teleologically, and a saving history which heads for its consummation".²¹ Again, we wish to put forward four remarks: a) we prefer a different classification, for this method is also typology, and prophecy; b) the expression "parallel forming typology" is to be preferred, for it deals with two data which are parallel as each other's counterparts, one belonging to the imperfect, and the other to the perfect; c) we are here dealing with the opposite of the symbolic typology, for now the OT interprets the NT; d) in this case, the historic background lies in Paul who operated with the foreshadowing of the NT in the OT.

6. The way to an enlarged definition of typology

The world of the Greek Apologists

In connection with our definition of symbol forming typology, it is important to take into account the background of the Greek Apologists. A. Charity writes: "The Epistle of Barnabas' discovery of a prefiguration of Christ's crucifixion in Exod. 17: 8-11, where it tells how, when Israel fought the Amalekites, Moses stretched out his arms - 'and whenever Moses held out his arms, Israel prevailed' (*Barnabas* 12,2-5) -; and the no less amazing and no less traditional interpretation of the harlot Rahab's scarlet cord, which, having originally guaranteed the safety of her house-

²⁰ R. BULTMANN, *Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutischer Methode*, in: J.W. Kooiman en J. van Veen, *Pro regno, pro sanctuario. Bij de zestigste verjaardag van prof. dr. G. van der Leeuw*. Nijkerk 1950, 89.

²¹ BULTMANN, a.c., 89.

hold at the fall of Jericho, represents already in 1 Clement (early in the second century) the blood of Christ which ensures salvation to the Church (1 Clement 12,7; cf. Josh. 2:18)".²² Irenaeus tells that Clement had in Rome known the apostles, and that he was the fourth bishop of Rome. He relates that Clement's letter to the Corinthians was written at that time (*Haer.* III,3,3). Thus Irenaeus knew this author. Barnabas was a popular author in the Christian Church. He thought that the OT would gain its full significance if it was regarded as a document in which God spoke to the Christians (*Barn.* II,9; III,3,6).²³

The element of surprise in symbol forming typology

The element of surprise consists in the fact that a hidden mystery has been discovered. This is in striking contrast with the medieval exegesis, which made symbolism an obligatory item in the repertoire. With respect to this, Charity says: "*Allegoria quid credas docet*, the typological meaning, that is to say, teaches you what to believe - what you must do is the province of the *sensus moralis*, a form of allegory often essentially similar to that met within Philo".²⁴ Charity thinks that Irenaeus, in combating Marcion, came in *Haer.* IV,14,2 perilously close to this medieval exegesis. He regards it as a mitigating circumstance that here typology is merely implied: "Its effectiveness depends upon real historical parallels between the two Testaments".²⁵ Moreover, Irenaeus had used the text of the Jews, and added nothing that the Jews themselves had not found there. The words: "... et non videntibus in Aegypto a semetipso dans ducationem ... et his qui convertuntur ad Patrem saginatum occidens vitulum et primam stolam donans, multis modis componens humanum genus ad consonantiam salutis (cf. Lc 15:22-26)" are characteristic of the passage to which Charity takes objection.

Terminology

Charity recognizes the two sorts of typology, but calls them by other names: "Typology in the first of these senses, may be defined as either the broad study, or any particular presentation, of the quasi-symbolic relations which one event may appear to bear to another - especially, but not exclusively, when these relations are the analogical ones existing between events which are taken to be one another's 'prefiguration' and 'ful-

²² A.C. CHARITY, *Events and their Afterlife. The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible*. Cambridge 1966, 2.

²³ A.F.J. KLIJN, *Apostolische Vaders 2*. Kampen 1983, 7.

²⁴ CHARITY, o.c., 90.

²⁵ CHARITY, o.c., 89, concerning the text: "Populum vero praeformabat, docens indocibilem sequi Deum" (*Haer.* IV,14,2).

filment".²⁶ Charity uses here the terms "analogical" and "quasi-symbolical" so as to allow a wide application in literature in general. They cannot be used with specific application to Irenaeus. "Analogical" does not sufficiently point out the difference between the world of the prophesying and the fulfilling, the imperfect and the perfect. And "quasi-symbolic" implies too much of a value judgement. Of course, the attribution of a symbolic value always contains a subjective element, but Irenaeus does not set out to indicate a quasi-symbolism. He perceives certain things as being symbolic. Therefore, I prefer to speak of parallel forming typology on the one hand and symbol forming typology on the other.

The singularity of Irenaeus

This appears clearly if one compares him with his younger contemporary Tertullian. The latter never uses the word *prophetia* in the context of typology, but only for the prophetic message as such. In typological contexts, Tertullian uses *praedicatio*, *praefatio*, *praefiguratio*, *praestructio*.²⁷ Irenaeus had too keen a sense of the apostolic character of the word *kerygma* to use it for the Christological announcements in the OT. Tertullian had no such scruples. He frequently uses *praedicatio* to mean *prophetia*, *praedicare* to mean *prophetare*, and he does not use *prophetizare* at all. The same is true of *praedicere*, *praenuntiare*, *praecanere*, *canere*.²⁸ The shift of meaning developed as follows. Initially, these words referred to the proclamation of religious truth by the apostles, but Tertullian gave them meanings that did not refer to the apostles. He considered the *kerygma* of God's revelation as having begun right away with the OT. Thus Moses and his successors were able to *praedicare*, that is, to proclaim the monotheistic doctrine.²⁹ Another reason of Tertullian's use of *praedicare* referring to a revealed doctrine is possibly to be sought in the New Prophecy's influence on Tertullian. In this movement, the Great Three, Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla, occupied a tremendous position as prophets. Maximilla died in 179.³⁰ Her prediction concerning the period after her death is im-

²⁶ CHARITY, o.c., 1.

²⁷ HAMMAN, a.c., 143.

²⁸ R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum. Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien*. Paris 1977, 2e éd., 432. *Praedicatio*: *Iud.* 7,1;10,5; *Bapt.* 9,1; *Marc.* III,3,4 in the usual sense, but meaning *prophetia* on 23 loci. Idem *praedicare* meaning *prophetare*: *Marc.* II,4,6; IV,39,19. *Praenuntiare*: *Marc.* I,21,1; III,20,1. *Canere*: *Marc.* V,9,7 and 18,5.

²⁹ *Apol.* 18,2: "A primordio in saeculum misit [Deus] spiritu divino inundatos, quo praedicae Deum unicum esse, qui universa condiderit".

³⁰ D. POWELL, *Tertullianists and Cataphrygians*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 29(1975) 42.

portant: "After me there will be no more prophets, but the *suntheleia*".³¹ Perhaps this pushed Tertullian in a direction other than that of Irenaeus regarding typology.

The pictorial character in the definition of typology

It is important to include this element, because "the word *tupos* in the Bible usually means 'example' or 'pattern' (12 times); and the occasional meanings 'mark' (John 20:25, twice), 'image' (Amos 5:26; Acts 7:43) and 'to this effect' (Acts 3:25) are closely related in meaning. Its cognates also relate in every case to the meaning 'example' or 'pattern'". *Tupos* and its derivatives are not used as technical terms in the Bible.³² Because of this background it is fitting to speak of pictorial exegesis in Irenaeus. He speaks of visual images which he saw. In the Middle Ages, this has led to the introduction of two parallel pictures, one from the OT and one from the NT. Irenaeus' pictorial exegesis makes him immune to those modern scholars who think that typology is neither exegesis nor prophecy nor symbolism. The governing idea of their views is that "the biblical text has only one meaning, its literal meaning, and this is to be found by means of grammatico-historical study. If the author intended a typical significance it will be clear in the text".³³ Here we have to do with an experience different from that of Irenaeus.

Typology as a sort of prophecy

Irenaeus regards typology as a sort of prophecy. His use of typology need not have arisen solely from embarrassment with the OT as is often said by commentators: "S. Irenaeus had some actual knowledge of Paul's life, and of its background. Above all he lived in a community which still spoke the religious language of the Apostle. He therefore had no difficulty in 'making sense of' most parts of Paul's writings. Irenaeus had not, and in his days could not have had, any adequate historical knowledge of the religious or social background of their lives, nor of the religious issues of their day".³⁴ Against this overly one-sided statement, based on the viewpoint of historical exegesis, it must be said that this prophecy was for Irenaeus precisely the entrance gate to the OT. Moreover, Paul had preceded him in using typology. The apostle who had sat at the feet of Gamaliel was well-versed in the Jewish religion.

³¹ *Saying* 12. See POWELL, a.c., 43.

³² D.L. BAKER, *Two Testaments, One Bible. A Study of some Modern Solutions to the Theological Problem of the Relations between the Old and New Testaments*. Manchester 1976, 239.

³³ BAKER, o.c., 252.

³⁴ J. LAWSON, *The Biblical Theology of Saint Irenaeus*. London 1948, 85.

7. *Short characteristic of Irenaeus' use of typology*

Arising from a hermeneutics of salvation history, Irenaeus uses two sorts of typology, one based on parallels, the other on symbols. The parallel forming typology regards some OT data as foreshadowing data of the NT and the Church. These data are considered as running parallel. The second, a symbol forming sort of typology, is a hermeneutic method which sees some data of the emerging OT as hidden prophecy regarding the emerging NT and the Church. By this pictorial exegesis those hidden truths are recognized as symbols. The theological background of this symbol forming typology lies in the starting point that in the OT not only the *Verbum Dei* operates but also Christ and the Holy Spirit.

II. AUGUSTINE

A. *Comparison with Irenaeus*

In order to examine Augustine's use of typology in the Bible with reference to the Church on earth, it may be helpful to compare his treatment of typology with that of Irenaeus. Irenaeus used typology mainly with the aim of creating harmony between the two Testaments of the canon. He identifies figures in the one Testament which have their antitype in the other. An Old Testament figure elucidates a parallel in the New. And conversely, a New Testament datum might be found in the Old Testament hidden in a symbol.

This inner-biblical system is also found in the writings of Augustine, but, in addition to this, there appears another system. This system consists in finding figures in the Old and the New Testament which have their counterpart, their antitype, in his own time. The reference is generally to the Church in the present. The rise of this new sort of typology can be explained by the different times at which Irenaeus and Augustine lived.

Just as in the old sort of typology, we find in this new sort both parallel forming as well as symbol forming typology. In the case of parallel forming, the Bible contains what is regarded as a parallel of something in the present or in history; in the case of symbol forming, something in history or in the present is found in the Bible in symbolic form, in other words, an event or a person in the Bible is interpreted as a symbol of something or someone in the present or the recent past.

We will have a look at Augustine's use of this biblical typology with reference to the terrestrial Church from a number of examples in the

Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium. This does not necessarily produce a one-sided view of the subject, as this work belongs to the time of his maturity. The *Tractatus* are linked to the earlier writings of Augustine. The *Tractatus* are generally directed to the same audience as his other *Sermones*. In short, we cannot expect ideas completely different from those in his other works. This is made clear by Berrouard's commentary. We notice only that our author's choice of words varies in his use of typology. *Esse* sometimes means *significare*. Elliptic constructions are not rare.

B. A list of 43 examples

We will now review 43 examples of biblical typology with reference to the history of the Church on earth, taken from the *Tractatus* I-LXI. It will become apparent that symbol forming typology is noticeably more frequent than the parallel forming. The list also contains a few examples in which the typology refers to the associated theme of eschatology. After the list of examples, we will try to formulate a definition.

1) In the exegesis of the text 'Let the mountains bear prosperity for the people, and the hills, in righteousness' (Vulgate, Ps. 71:3), Augustine interprets the mountains as figures of eminent Christians, and the hills as a figure of the little ones among the Christians: "Montes, excelsae animae sunt, colles parvulae animae sunt" (*Tract.* I,2). Augustine nearly always interprets *montes* as outstanding people.³⁵

2) Another example consists in the idea that Christ offered in John the Baptist a prefiguration of the returning Elijah, who will be the herald of Christ's return, in order to judge: "Quia enim in eo Dominus Jesus Christus praefigurare voluit futurum adventum suum, et hoc dicere quia in spiritu Eliae erat Johannes" (*Tract.* V,5). We can regard this as referring to Augustine's own time for the following reason. In *De civitate Dei*, it is stated that Christians maintain that Elijah will appear at the end of time to teach the Jews to spiritually understand the Law: "Celeberrimum est in sermonibus cordibusque fidelium" (*De civ. Dei* XX,29). Thus the New Testament formed a parallel.

3) The apostles were sent out to baptize all the nations, not only the nations of Africa. The Holy Spirit prefigured this at Pentecost by dividing Himself into tongues: "Hoc significavit Spiritus sanctus in linguis,

³⁵ M.-F. BERROUARD, *Homélies sur l'Évangile de Saint Jean. I-XVI*. Bibliothèque augustinienne 71. Paris 1969, p. 838. A. LAURAS, *Deux images du Christ et de l'Eglise dans la prédication augustinienne*, dans: *Augustinus Magister* II. Paris 1954, pp. 667-675.

unitas in columba" (*Tract.* VI,10). This passage is interrupted a few times by the words *Deo gratias*. These two words were the motto of the Catholics over against the *Deo laudes* of the Donatists, which was the war cry of the Circumcelliones, the combat troops of the Donatists.³⁶ The dissemination of the Christian faith throughout the world was a burning issue between Catholics and Donatists.

4) In the conflict with the Donatists, Augustine writes that the dove as a symbol of the Church, brought into the Ark of Noah an olive branch which had been baptized elsewhere. This branch bore fruit, as a sign that the Church accepts only loving people: "Olivæ fructus caritatem significat" (*Tract.* VI,19-20).³⁷ Mentioning the same idea elsewhere, Augustine emphasizes that the dove returned in the evening, that is, at a later time: "Postiore tempore quasi vespere" (*Contra Faustum* XII,20).

5) Israel now knows Christ through the apostles, as Nathanael knew Christ through Philip. Just as Nathanael had been seen beforehand by Christ, so has Israel been seen. The nation was then still subjected to sin: "Sed misericordia sua ante te vidit, cum sub peccato iaceres" (*Tract.* VI,21). Thus Augustine sees here a typological parallel of the Old and the New Testament. However, elsewhere he extends the typology of Nathanael in John 1:49 to refer to his own life. In Milan, he prays in tears to God under a fig tree: "Ego sub quadam fici arbore stravi me nescio quomodo" (*Conf.* VIII,12,8). This has now become a parallel both of Bible and Church. After having sinned, Augustine says, Adam and Eve made themselves aprons of fig leaves (Gen. 3:7). Therefore, fig leaves must refer to sins: "Folia ergo ficulnea intelleguntur peccata" (*Tract.* VII,21).

6) At a wedding feast at Cana, Jesus changed water into wine. In John 2:10 the groom is told: "Everyone serves the good wine first; and when people have drunk freely, then the poor wine, but you have kept the good wine until now". Augustine sees in the bridegroom a representation of Christ, who has kept his best wine, that is, his gospel, until then: "Sponsus personam Domini figurabat" (*Tract.* IX,2). The Church's Bridegroom finds his type in the bridegroom of Cana. There Christ himself manifested the mystery of marriage: "Et ostenderetur sacramentum nuptiarum". Augustine discovers in these words the motive that led Jesus to Cana.

7) The water of prophecy becomes wine as soon as one recognizes Christ in it. For Augustine, this is the message of the wedding at Cana. In a certain sense, water has the meaning of life. The prophetic wine without

³⁶ BERROUARD, p. 362, note 1.

³⁷ BERROUARD, p. 391, note 2.

that revelation³⁸ remains water: "Illa prophetia, quando in illa Christus non intellegebatur, aqua erat" (*Tract.* IX,3). Origen had already written along the same lines that before the coming of Jesus the Scripture had truly been water, but since Jesus came, the Scripture had become wine.³⁹ Berrouard points out that Augustine argues against the Manichees by insisting that Christ is to be found everywhere in the Old Testament, and Augustine claims that everywhere in these books Christ meets and renews him (*C. Faustum* XII,27. PL 42,269).⁴⁰

8) Jesus worked the miracle of Cana by having six jars filled with water (John 2:6-7). According to Augustine, these stone jars represent the six periods of world history. These periods would have remained empty if Christ had not been proclaimed. The full jars are the fulfilment of the prophecies. Christ must be recognized in all prophecies: "Sex ergo illae hydriae sex aetates significant, quibus non defuit prophetia" (*Tract.* IX,6).

9) Each of those six jars contained two or three firkins (John 2:6). Speaking of two firkins, the evangelist, according to Augustine, refers to the Father and the Son, but includes implicitly the Spirit of the Father and the Son. Three firkins points more clearly to the Trinity: "Quando dico binas, etiam Spiritum Patris et Filii cum his intellegi volo, et quando dico ternas ipsam Trinitatem manifestius enuntio" (*Tract.* IX,7). The end of IX,8 repeats this exegesis. Berrouard notices that according to *Tract.* XXXIX,4 there is actually no number in God. But the number three calls immediately to mind the three persons of the Trinity (*Tract.* XXXVI,10 and CXXII,8).⁴¹

10) After the death of Christ his side was pierced by a spear (John 19:34), so that this will give birth to the sacraments which constitute the Church. This fact from the past prefigures the future. Here lies also a parallel with Adam; he slept so that Eve could be born (Gen. 2:21-22); Christ died so that the Church should be born. Did not Paul already declare that Adam was the type of the One who was to come (Rom. 5:14)? Everything had been mysteriously prefigured beforehand. Similarly *Tract.* XV,8. "Cui non appareat quia in illis tunc factis futura figurata sunt. Praefigurabantur omnia mystice" (*Tract.* IX,10). Augustine refers frequently to the theme of the connection between the death of Christ and the foundati-

³⁸ A. DE VEER, *Revelare, Revelatio. Eléments d'une étude sur l'emploi du mot et sur sa signification chez saint Augustin*, dans: *Recherches augustiniennes* II, Paris 1962, pp. 331-357.

³⁹ BERROUARD, p. 511, note 8. ORIGEN, *Comm. in Jo.* 13,60. PG 14,517.

⁴⁰ BERROUARD, p. 512, note 1.

⁴¹ BERROUARD, p. 520, note 2.

on of the Church⁴², e.g. during the controversy with the Manichees, which gave him full scope for his gifts as a theologian (*C. Faustum* XII,8; 16; 20; 39).

11) In the context of his controversy with the Donatists, Augustine proposes another interpretation of the two or three firkins of John 2:6. This time the two firkins point to the circumcised and the uncircumcised. But three firkins refer also to the whole human race, as all humankind was reborn through the three sons of Noah. The Donatists, however, are not spread throughout all the nations. The number three emphasizes this symbolism, Augustine says: "Quas dixerat ternas, ad commendandum scilicet sacramentum" (*Tract.* IX,17). This prophecy is related to all six periods of world history: "Sex sunt aetates temporum, capientes prophetiam pertinentem ad omnes gentes, sive in duobus gentibus hominum, id est Iudaeis et Graecis ... sive in tribus, propter Noe tres filios" (*Tract.* IX,17).

12) In the Psalms we find David's prayer against his enemies: 'But at my stumbling they gathered in glee, they gathered together against me, cripples, whom I knew not, slandered me without ceasing' (Vulgate, Ps 34:15). Augustine finds in this Psalm the lips of Christ who was scourged, first by the Jews, and later by the Donatists: "Flagellatus est flagellis Iudaeorum, flagellatur blasphemiis falsorum christianorum" (*Tract.* X,4). Notice the present tense of *flagellatur*. The Donatists are persisting with their blasphemies. (The attack on the Donatists goes on in X,5).

13) Augustine asks the question: who are the people in the story of the cleansing of the temple (John 2:14); who are selling oxen, sheep, and pigeons? "In figura quaeramus mysterium facti" (*Tract.* X,6). They are a figure of those in the Church, who seek their own interest, and not Christ's: "Qui sua quaerunt in ecclesia, non quae Jesu Christi" (Phil. 2:21). The conflict of interests is here especially applied to the Donatists.

14) David exclaims: 'They impiously mocked more and more, gnashing at me with their teeth' (Vulgate, Ps. 34:16). Augustine sees here another image of the Donatists, considering David as Christ: "Discissi sunt, nec compuncti sunt" (*Tract.* X,6). "Videtis discissos, et non videtis compunctos. Ecce praeter ecclesiam sunt, et non eos paenitet ut rideant unde discissi sunt" (*Enarr. in Ps.* 57,20) is a parallel text.⁴³

15) The oxen sold in the temple (John 2:15) are the apostles and prophets who are being sold by the Donatists: "Boves erant apostoli, boves erant prophetae" (*Tract.* X,7).

16) The sheep which they sell are the peoples and communities of

⁴² BERROUARD, p. 904 f.

⁴³ BERROUARD, p. 564, note 2.

believers which they deceive: "vendunt et oves, id est ipsas plebes" (*Tract.* X,8).

17) The first letters of the four winds (Anatolè, Dusis, Arctos, Mesèmbria) in Greek constitute the name of Adam. From those four directions Christ will gather his elect at his parousia: "Unde dicit Dominus a quattuor ventis collecturum se electos suos, cum venerit ad iudicium" (*Tract.* X,12).

18) Augustine tells the catechumens that baptism is an antitype to the crossing of the Red Sea by the Hebrews at the Exodus. The Hebrews reached a new life on the other side, and the Egyptians perished. Now our enemies, that is, the sins, perish, and the faithful reach where the new life is, that is, on the other side: "Quo traicit per baptismum Iesus cuius figuram tunc gerebat Moyses, qui per mare traiciebat?" Moses and Jesus form a parallel (*Tract.* XI,4. Cf. *De catechizandis rudibus* 20,34).

19) Noah and his sons who are saved from the flood, are a parallel of the Church, for the wood carries them, just as the wood of the Cross: "In quo et in filiis eius figurata est ecclesia. Ligno portante evadunt diluvium" (*Tract.* XI,7).

20) This is a case of parallel forming typology. He who is born from the Catholic Church is, so to speak, born from Sarah, the free woman; but he who is born from heresy, is born from a slave. The parallel which concerns us, lies between the Old Testament and the present: "Qui nascitur de ecclesia catholica tanquam de Sara nascitur, de libera nascitur; qui nascitur de haeresi tanquam de ancilla nascitur, sed ex semine Abraham" (*Tract.* XI,7). Cf. "Ipsa (ecclesia) generat, et per uterum suum, et per uteros ancillarum, ex eiusdem sacramentis, tanquam ex viri sui semine" (*De baptismo* I,10,14; I,15,23).⁴⁴

21) Two sons struggled in Rebekah's womb, that is, two nations (*Gen.* 25:23). A good nation and a wicked nation come from the same womb. Similarly the Church contains many wicked ones, who will not be separated from the good ones until the end of time: "Declaratur nativitas quae hic in sacramento figuratur tunc apparebit: Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui" (*Tract.* XI,10). "Audite et videte in ipsis veteribus factis omnia futurarum rerum signa et indicia" (*Tract.* XI,13). The whole passage is aimed at the Donatists who are symbolized in Esau.

22) The conversation between Christ and Nicodemus (*John* 3) yields a parallel forming image. Just as a terrestrial body can come forth only once from the mother's body, so does the Church produce only once a baptism for a spiritual human being: "Valent viscera ecclesiae ut semel

⁴⁴ BERROUARD, p. 600, note 2.

quisque baptizetur" (*Tract. XII,2*). The image is here used against the Donatists, for they want to baptize again when admitting former Catholics.

23) The fact that the Psalms are sung sometimes by many who then become one, and sometimes by one who shows how many can grow together, has an important reason (cf. *Enarr. in Ps. 123,1*).⁴⁵ The same reason lies behind the fact that all the patients present went down into the water of Bethesda, but only one of them was healed (John 5:2-9). The reason is that the unity of the Church must be shown by the one singer or the one healed patient who stands for all (*Enarr. in ps. 132,6*)⁴⁶: "Ecce iste unus commendat unitatem ecclesiae" (*Tract. XII,9*). Both parallel forming images are directed against the Donatists.

24) As the Israelites were set free from the Egyptians at their arrival at the Red Sea, so also is any human being set free from the burden of his sins only when he arrives at the baptismal font. By this parallel forming image Augustine points to the Church: "Sic pressura peccatorum nemo caret nisi cum ad fontem baptismi venerit" (*Tract. XIII,7*. Cf. *ib. IV,13* and *XI,1*).

25) The tunic of Jesus was without seam, woven in one piece (John 19:23-24). The soldiers under the Cross have not torn that into four shares, like the other garments, but raffled it among themselves. All this had been foretold in Psalm 22:19 (John 19:24). Augustine sees in the tunic a type of the unity of the Church: "Desuper texta tunica quid significat nisi unitatem?" (*Tract. XIII,13*). This is a symbol forming typology.

26) The preceding passage is immediately followed by parallel forming typology. The henchmen did not tear the tunic, but the Donatists are tearing it to pieces: "Vestem persecutores non considerunt; christiani ecclesiam dividunt" (*Tract. XIII,13*). The same complaint is made in *Enarr. in ps. 145,16*⁴⁷, where we find also both sorts of typology. In both loci a parallel forming typology can be used with regard to one point, viz. the treatment of the seamless tunic as such; this is reminiscent of the biblical parables, of which the same often holds good. It is also reminiscent of the *tertium comparationis* of the Romans, who thought that only one third of a comparison really worked.

27) Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan woman took place after Jesus sat down by Jacob's well about the sixth hour (John 4:6). For Augustine, this signifies the sixth period of world history, which had begun with Jesus' baptism by John (*Tract. XV,9*).

⁴⁵ BERROUARD, p. 650, note 4.

⁴⁶ BERROUARD, p. 650, note 6.

⁴⁷ BERROUARD, p. 703, note 6.

28) The Samaritan woman came to draw water. She is the type of the Church that has not yet been justified, but soon will be so: "Et venit mulier. Forma ecclesiae, non iam iustificatae ... Quae typum gerebat ecclesiae" (*Tract. XV*,10). Being a non-Jewish woman she is a symbol of the Church of the gentiles: "ecclesia de gentibus ... Illa enim figura erat" (*ib.*).

29) After the conversation with the woman, the Samaritans ask Jesus to stay with them, and He does so for two days (John 4:41). 'They said to the woman: It is no longer because of your words that we believe, for we have heard Him ourselves, and we know that He is indeed the Saviour of the world' (John 4:42). Augustine sees here parallel typology with the present time. The Samaritan woman is the image of the Church. People who knew about Christ from hearsay, now got to know Him; and He stayed with them for two days, that is, He gave them the two commandments of love: "Tanquam illa muliere, hoc est ecclesia annuntiante, ad Christum veniunt, credunt per istam famam; et manet apud eos biduo, hoc est dat illis duo praecepta caritatis" (*Tract. XV*,33. Cf. *ib. XVI*,3 and *XVII*,6).

30) The difference between the Samaritans who reacted to the preaching with faith, and the Galileans who wanted miracles and even then not many of them believed in Jesus (John 4), offers a parallel typology with reference to Christians and Jews: "Iudaei fuerunt vel sunt similes Galilaeis; nos similes illis Samaritanis. Evangelium audivimus, evangelio consensimus" (*Tract. XVI*,3).

31) The story of the pool at Bethesda (John 5,2 ff) gives the opportunity to contest the Donatists. The one patient who can be cured when the water becomes moving, signifies the unity of the Church. Whoever comes later is outside that unity: "Quisquis praeter unitatem fuerit sanari non poterit" (*Tract. XVII*,3. Cf. *ib. XII*,9. *Enarr. in ps. 132*,6; in *ps. 70*, s. 1,19; in *ps. 83*,10; in *ps. 102*,15. *Sermo 124*,3. *Sermo 125*,6).⁴⁸ The late-comers are a symbol of the Donatists.

32) The Arians refuse to believe that Christ was born of the substance of the Father: "natus de substantia Patris". Parallel forming typology calls them murderers of Christ: "interfectores Christi" (*Tract. XVII*,16).

33) The story of Jesus walking on the lake mentions the ship in which the disciples were sailing (John 6:16-21). Augustine sees in that ship a symbol of the Church: "Navicula illa ecclesiam praesignabat" (*Tract. XXV*,5). The ship is the Church, and the sea is the world, according to

⁴⁸ M.-F. BERROUARD, *Homélies sur l'Evangile de Saint Jean XVII-XXXIII*. Bibliothèque augustinienne 72. Paris 1977, p. 79, note 26.

Augustine in *Ennar. in ps.* 92,7.⁴⁹ Berrouard elucidates that the darkness is the symbol of the troubles which the Church faces during her pilgrimage on earth, until the Kingdom of God appears.

34) 'This is the bread which came down from heaven' (John 6:50). Augustine notes that this bread had been prefigured by the manna. In this sense, it is an inner-biblical typology, but it is followed by symbol forming typology with reference to the Church. For this bread was prefigured by God's altar: "Hunc panem significat altare Dei" (*Tract.* XXVI,12). This typology is made possible by the term *altare Dei* which is used also for the altar in a Christian church where the Eucharist is celebrated.⁵⁰ The bread on the altar in a church is prefigured by the bread on God's celestial altar.

35) Sabellius is described as a heretic teaching that the Father and the Son are two names for the same subject (*Tract.* XXIX,7). Such a heretic speaks for himself and seeks his own glory. In this connection Augustine refers to John 7,18, and calls him an Antichrist, "elevating himself above all that is called God" (2 Thess. 2,4). The Antichrist of 1 John 2,18 and 22; 4,3; 2 John 7 has thereby become a symbol for Sabellius: "Hoc erit ille qui vocatur Antichristus, extollens se, sicut Apostolus ait, supra omnia quod dicitur Deus" (*Tract.* XXIX,8).

36) The woman of Matt. 9:20 who suffered from a haemorrhage, touched the fringes of Jesus' garments from behind. She remained unseen, and, remaining unknown, she was healed. For Augustine she is an image that serves as a symbol of the Church coming from the gentiles. Augustine considers Jesus' question "Who touched me?" (Luke 8,45) as symbolically significant. Thus Jesus sought to highlight the symbolic significance of this woman as representing the gentiles, of whom the prophet had spoken as a nation which the Lord did not know: "Illius enim ecclesiae venturae de gentibus typum gerebat mulier quae fluxum sanguinis patiebatur; tangebatur et non videbatur" (*Tract.* XXXI,11). The relevant psalm-text says: "A people I did not know has served me; it has listened and obeyed me" (Ps. 17/18: 43-45. Cf. Is. 55:5).

37) The Holy Spirit made the first Christians speak in all tongues. This is an image of the later Church that is spread throughout the territories of all languages; this in contrast with the Donatists. The typology here is parallel forming: "Loquendo linguis omnium, significabat futurum ut

⁴⁹ BERROUARD, B.A. 72, p. 433. Cf. *Enarr. in ps.* 106,7 and 12; *Sermo Guelf.* 15,1; *Sermo Wilmar* 13,2.

⁵⁰ BERROUARD, B.A. 72, p. 810. *Altare Dei*, cf. *Tract.* 45,9. *Sermo* 57,7,7; *Sermo* 58,4,5 and *passim*.

crescendo per gentes loqueretur linguis omnium" (*Tract. XXXII,7*).

38) The inn where the Good Samaritan left the victim of a robbery to be cared for, is an image of the Church, in which people are cared for: "Ecclesia hoc tempore in qua saucius sanatur stabulum est viatoris" (*Tract. XLI,13*; cf. *Sermo Wilmart 2,7*).⁵¹

39) Thinking of the sheepfold of Christ, the Good Shepherd, Augustine discovers a symbol in the text: "A stranger they will not follow, but they will flee from him, for they do not know the voice of strangers" (John 10:5). These words refer to the many Donatists who in 411, after the Council at Carthage, returned to the Catholics⁵²: "Deinde modo multi colliguntur ad ovile Christi et ex haereticis fiunt catholici; a furibus tolluntur, pastori redduntur" (*Tract. XLV,11*).

40) Sometimes the typology is elliptic, and the comparison is not put into words. Thus, for example, in the commentary on the text: "Jesus therefore no longer went about openly among the Jews, but went from there to the country near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim; and there he stayed with the disciples" (John 11:54). Jesus thereby gave an example to his disciples, Augustine says, namely, that trying to escape from persecution is not a sin for Christians; in this case, Jesus and his disciples tried to do so. This interpretation contradicts the opinion of the Donatists, although they are not mentioned in this passage. This is an ellipsis. The same drift is found in *Tract. XXVIII,2*. "Sed in hominis infirmitate vivendi exemplum discipulis demonstrabat, in quo appareret non esse peccatum si fideles eius qui sunt membra eius oculis persequentium se subtraherent et furorem sceleratorum latendo potius deviarent" (*Tract. XLIX,28*). The disciples are here a symbol of the Catholic Christians.

41) The fact that there was a traitor among the twelve disciples, a wicked character as Judas was, brings Augustine to another case of elliptic typology. In opposition to the unnamed Donatists, he points out that the Church must tolerate wicked people in her midst for the sake of her catholicity. The twelve apostles symbolize the Church. "Quid ergo voluit Dominus noster Iesus Christus, fratres mei, admonere ecclesiam suam quando unum perditum inter duodecim habere voluit, nisi ut malos toleremus nec corpus Christi dividamus?" (*Tract. L,10*). This theme is elaborated further in chapter 11.

42) Peter who has the power of the keys is a symbol of the good

⁵¹ M.-F. BERROUARD, *Homélie sur l'Evangile de Saint Jean XXXIV-XLIII*. Bibliothèque augustinienne 73A. Paris 1988, p. 379, note 150.

⁵² M.-F. BERROUARD, *Homélie sur l'Evangile de Saint Jean XLIV-LIV*. Bibliothèque augustinienne 73B. Paris 1989, p. 70, note 80. Cf. *Sermo* 359, 7-8. *Epist.* 209,2.

members of the Church, and Judas of the bad ones: "Si in Petri persona significati sunt in ecclesia boni, in Iudae persona significati sunt in ecclesia mali" (*Tract.* L,13).

43) Jesus is troubled in spirit when Judas leaves the Last Supper to betray Him. In this Jesus is a type of the Church, which also tolerates bad characters within her fellowship, but in urgent cases finds herself compelled to expel schismatics or heretics, even before the time of the final harvest. "Etiam hoc nobis Dominus significare sua perturbatione dignatus est quod scilicet falsos fratres et dominici agri illa zizania ita necesse est usque ad messis tempus inter frumenta tolerari ... urgens causa compellit" (*Tract.* LXI,1). Jesus is here a symbol of the good people in the Church, who are the wheat of the harvest. The emotion of Jesus is mentioned in John 13:21.

3. Definition of Augustine's use of biblical typology with reference to the Church on earth.

We must admit that Augustine's exegesis is not always original, and sometimes goes back to the tradition before him. But after a list of 43 examples regarding biblical typology with reference to the Church on earth - including a few cases in which history was replaced by a related and adjoining theme, namely eschatology - we will attempt to formulate a definition. Augustine's commentary on the Gospel of John, with its numerous references to other writings and biblical passages, allows us to arrive at a definition which can be applied to the whole of Augustine's works.

The situation around the year 400 required the use of this sort of typology in exegesis. In Irenaeus' writings, typology functioned on behalf of the harmony between the Old and the New Testament. Augustine continued with this method, but he worked also with the relationship between the Bible and the Church. This kind of typology seems to me to demand the following definition: By biblical typology with reference to the history of the Church on earth, Augustine attempts to arrive at a pictorial harmony in salvation history between the Bible and the Church by means of parallels or symbols.

The parallel forming typology regards some biblical data as foreshadowing those in the Church. These data are considered as running parallel. They are each other's counterparts. On the other hand, the symbol forming kind of typology is a hermeneutic method that regards some data of the Bible as hidden prophecies concerning the Church. By this pictorial exegesis these hidden truths are recognized as symbols.