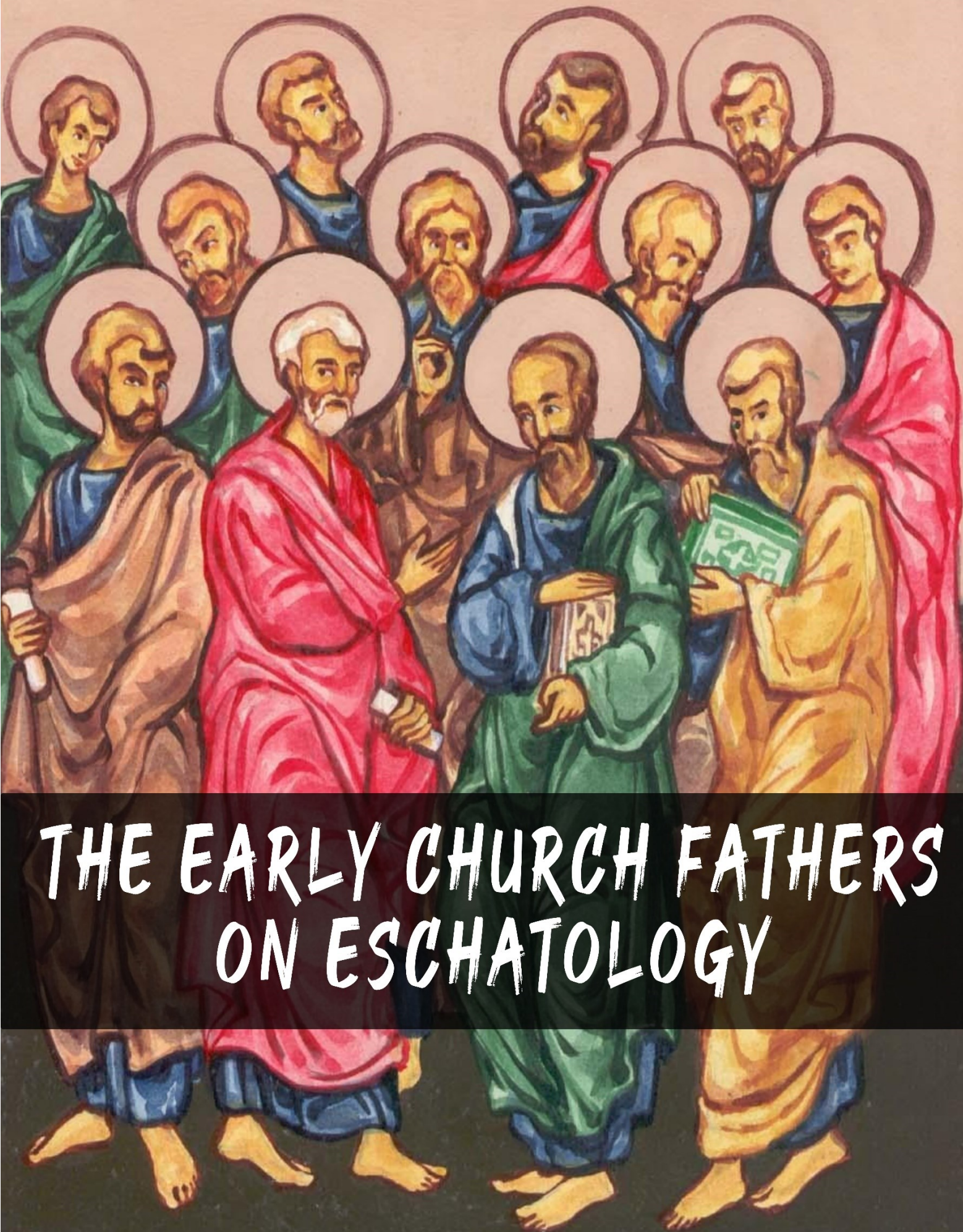
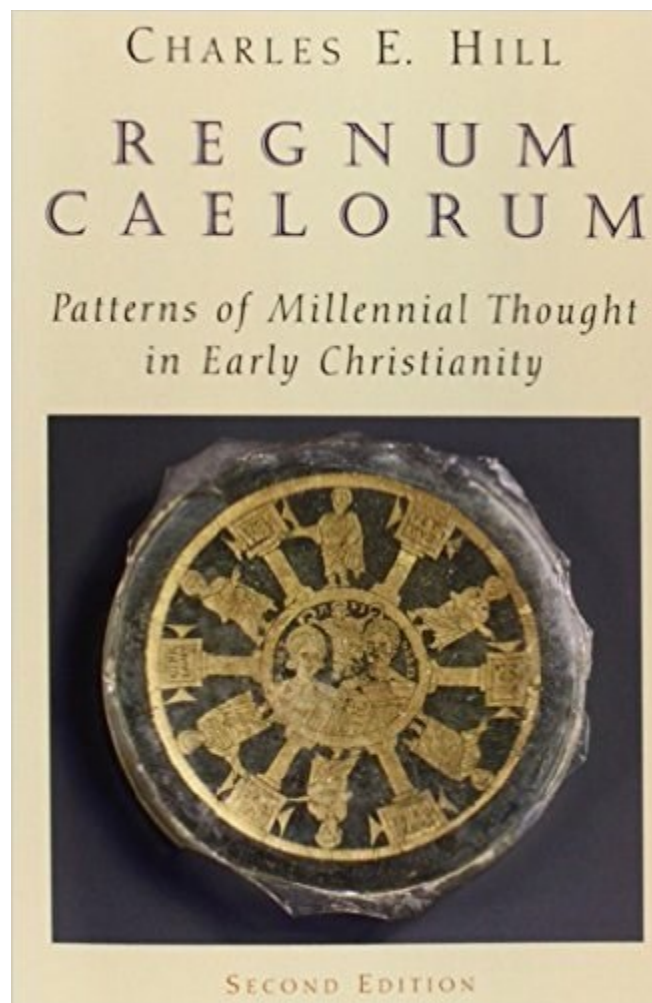


ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ



THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS ON ESCHATOLOGY

The Early Church Fathers on Eschatology (especially the Millennium) With citations from Charles E. Hill's *Regnum Caelorum*



Charles E. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum: Patterns of Millennial Thought in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Pub., 2001).

Alan Patrick Boyd, *A Dispensational Premillennial Analysis of the Eschatology of the Post-apostolic Fathers (until the Death of Justin Martyr)* (DTS dissertation, 1977, unpublished).

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Introduction

It is important to understand the argument of the book and the way Dr. Hill conducts his surveys. He tries to discover first of all what is essential to premillennialism (chiliasm) and furthermore, what is common among the fathers who held to premillennialism. That which unites them is the idea that the souls of Christians after death do not go directly to the arms of the Lord Jesus, but are in Hades or the realm of dead until resurrection in the Millennium. The Millennium, therefore, is the time when these saints come to life again. See the table (on p. 114) which shows who believed in the idea that the souls of the righteous were in some sort of subterranean place until the resurrection or the Millennium.

For a list of citations focusing on the Millennium, therefore, it is weird to see so many citations concerning the fate of the saints at that their death, but this was one of the reasons why for many fathers the idea of a millennium was necessary. Aside from Dr. Hills work, I've made use of Alan Patrick Boyd, *A Dispensational Premillennial Analysis of the Eschatology of the Post-apostolic Fathers (until the Death of Justin Martyr)* to supplement the statements on eschatology (in general).¹

I have chosen to include fuller citations even though the topic or heading under which I have placed it could be established in one sentence from a particular author. I have done this to provide a larger context to establish the point and so that we would not be accused of taking the church fathers out of context.

My personal comments are indicated by the use of this font. Furthermore, any additions to the citations are also indicated by the use of this font (and always between square brackets). Additions within square brackets which are not in this font, are the original editor's.

The various colors which are used are applied to specific subjects:

Kingdom or millennium or intermediate state for believers (non-chiliasm statements or statements from chiliasts about heaven);

statements by chiliasts about a subterranean abode for the believing dead;

renewal of creation or restoration;

general resurrection (of just and wicked);

resurrection of the righteous;

judgment or resurrection of the wicked;

statements about Satan or the Antichrist;

statements about the second coming of Christ.

In Christ,
Simon Wartanian

¹ Found at <https://library-files-of.dts.edu/td/19xx/td.boyd-1977.pdf>

1 Chiliasts

1.1. The Chiliastic scheme

Quoted from Estévaó Bettencourt, who said:

(i) second coming of Christ, in majesty; (ii) the first resurrection, that of the just only; (iii) a general judgment, of the nations as a whole, not of individuals; (iv) a messianic kingdom lasting a thousand years; (v) the second resurrection, that of all men; (vi) last judgment, of all persons individually; (vii) the eternal destiny, reward or punishment.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 5.

1.2. Defining Chiliasm for this work

Chiliasm or millennialism as used here will signify belief in temporary, earthly, Messianic kingdom to be realized sometime in the future: temporary, for although it covers an extended period of time, it is not viewed as the ultimate state of things; earthly, as it takes place on this earth, typically with Jerusalem as its capital; and Messianic, as an individual deliverer(s) plays a central role in it.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 5.

1.3. Heretic: Cerinthus (c. 50 – 100 AD)

1.3.1. Introduction

Cerinthus (c. 50-100 CE) was an early Gnostic, who was prominent as a heresiarch in the view of the early Church Fathers. Contrary to the Church Fathers, he used the Gospel of Cerinthus, and denied that the Supreme God made the physical world. In Cerinthus' interpretation, the Christ descended upon Jesus at baptism and guided him in ministry and the performing of miracles, but left him at the crucifixion. Similarly to the Ebionites, he maintained that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but was a mere man, the biological son of Mary and Joseph.

Early Christian tradition describes Cerinthus as a contemporary to and opponent of John the Evangelist, who may have written the First Epistle of John and the Second Epistle of John to warn the less mature in faith and doctrine about the changes Cerinthus was making to the original gospel. According to early Christian sources, the Apostle John wrote his gospel specifically to refute the teachings of Cerinthus.

All that is known about Cerinthus comes from the writing of his theological opponents.

He taught that Jesus would establish a thousand-year reign of sensuous pleasure after the Second Coming but before the General Resurrection, a view that was declared heretical by the Council of Nicaea. Cerinthus used a version of the gospel of Matthew as scripture.²

According to Boyd and the sources he cites, Cerinthus was the earliest chiliast. See Boyd, *Dispensational Assessment*, p. 17.

1.3.2. Antagonistic to the apostle John

4. But **Polycarp** also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried [on earth] a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned

² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cerinthus>

from the apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic Churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded **Polycarp** down to the present time,—a man who was of much greater weight, and a more steadfast witness of truth, than **Valentinus**, and **Marcion**, and the rest of the heretics. He it was who, coming to Rome in the time of Anicetus **caused many to turn away from the aforesaid heretics to the Church of God**, proclaiming that he had received this one and sole truth from the apostles,—that, namely, which is handed down by the Church. There are also those who heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and perceiving **Cerinthus** within, rushed out of the bath-house without bathing, exclaiming, “Let us fly, lest even the bath-house fall down, because **Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.**” And Polycarp himself replied to **Marcion**, who met him on one occasion, and said, “Dost thou know me?” “I do know thee, the **first-born of Satan.**” Such was the **horror which the apostles and their disciples had against holding even verbal communication with any corrupters of the truth;** as Paul also says, “A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.” There is also a very powerful Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those who choose to do so, and are anxious about their salvation, can learn the character of his faith, and the preaching of the truth. Then, again, the Church in Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.

Irenaeus, Against Heresies. III.3.4.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.ix.iv.iv.html>

1.3.3. The Kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one, sensual in nature

Chapter XXVIII.—*Cerinthus the Heresiarch.*

1. We have understood that at this time Cerinthus, the author of another heresy, made his appearance. Caius, whose words we quoted above, in the Disputation which is ascribed to him, writes as follows concerning this man:

2. “But **Cerinthus also, by means of revelations which he pretends were written by a great apostle**, brings before us marvelous things which he falsely claims were shown him by angels; and he says that **after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be set up on earth**, and that the **flesh dwelling in Jerusalem will again be subject to desires and pleasures**. And being **an enemy of the Scriptures of God**, he asserts, with the purpose of **deceiving men**, that there is to be **a period of a thousand years for marriage festivals.**”

3. And Dionysius, who was bishop of the parish of Alexandria in our day, in the second book of his work On the Promises, where he says some things concerning the Apocalypse of John which he draws from tradition, mentions this same man in the following words:

4. “But (they say that) Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called, after him, the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name. For the doctrine which he taught was this: that the **kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one.**”

5. And as he was himself **devoted to the pleasures of the body and altogether sensual in his nature**, he dreamed that that kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, namely, in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion, that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying, and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims, under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace.”

6. These are the words of Dionysius. But Irenæus, in the first book of his work Against Heresies,⁸⁴⁰ gives some more abominable false doctrines of the same man, and in the third book relates a story which deserves to be recorded. He says, on the authority of Polycarp, that the apostle John once entered a bath to bathe; but, learning that Cerinthus was within, he sprang from the place and rushed out of the door,

for he could not bear to remain under the same roof with him. And he advised those that were with him to do the same, saying, "Let us flee, lest the bath fall; for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within."

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*. III.28.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.viii.xxviii.html>

1.3.3.1 *Gaius wrongly attributed Revelation to Cerinthus*

2. For they say that it is not the work of John, nor is it a revelation, because it is covered thickly and densely by a vail of obscurity. And they affirm that none of the apostles, and none of the saints, nor any one in the Church is its author, but that Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called after him the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*. VII.25.2.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.xii.xxvi.html>

1.3.3.1.1 Dr. Hill's comments on Gaius

The vagaries of the situation, so far, are enough to persuade some that none of Gaius's information about Cerinthus can be trusted. And yet, the charge of chiliasm is repeated by Dionysius of Alexandria, who gives such details as make it likely that he knew of a source for Cerinthus's teaches that did not go to Gaius's extremes.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 69-70.

1.3.4. Gnosticism; two gods; Jewish Millennium

Cerinthus could thus acquiesce to their [Jews] interpretation of prophecy and their expectation of a Messiah and a Messianic kingdom still to come that were not connected to Jesus Christ. This he could do precisely because the Christ who had come (and who had adopted the man, Jesus) had had [sic] nothing to do with the God of the Old Testament Scriptures. The result is that the coming earthly kingdom for the Jews was not at all Cerinthus's religious ideal but was instead a concession to Judaism born of Christian-Jewish polemic about the true Messiah and the nature of his kingdom.

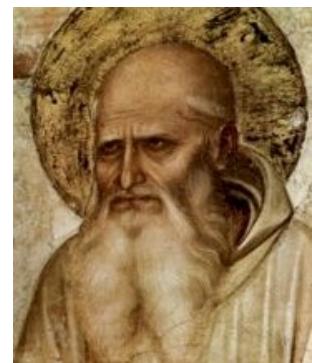
Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 71.

1.4. Papias of Hierapolis (c. 70 – 163 AD)

1.4.1. Introduction

Very little is known of Papias apart from what can be inferred from his own writings. He is described as "an ancient man who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp" by Polycarp's disciple Irenaeus (c. 180).³

According to Boyd, "he was the first orthodox chiliast". See Boyd, *Dispensational Assessment*, p. 52.



1.4.2. First orthodox articulator of Chiliasm

Our attention turn then to an important Asian author who reports what is arguably our first clear example of Christian chiliasm, stemming from the first decades of the second century, Papias of Hierapolis.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 22.

1.4.3. Vines and peace among animals and man (2 Baruch 29), the creation is renovated in the Millennium; according to the testimony of Irenaeus

3. The blessing of Isaac with which he blessed his younger son Jacob has the same meaning, when he says, "Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field which the Lord has blessed." [Gen.

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papias_of_Hierapolis

27:27] But “the field is the world.” [Matt. 13:38] And therefore he added, “God give to thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, plenty of corn and wine. And let the nations serve thee, and kings bow down to thee; and be thou lord over thy brother, and thy father’s sons shall bow down to thee: cursed shall be he who shall curse thee, and blessed shall be he who shall bless thee.” [Gen. 27:28-29] If any one, then, does not accept **these things as referring to the appointed kingdom**, he must fall into much contradiction and contrariety, as is the case with the Jews, who are involved in absolute perplexity. For not only did not the nations in this life serve this Jacob; but even after he had received the blessing, he himself going forth [from his home], served his uncle Laban the Syrian for twenty years; and not only was he not made lord of his brother, but he did himself bow down before his brother Esau, upon his return from Mesopotamia to his father, and offered many gifts to him. Moreover, in what way did he inherit much corn and wine here, he who emigrated to Egypt because of the famine which possessed the land in which he was dwelling, and became subject to Pharaoh, who was then ruling over Egypt? **The predicted blessing, therefore, belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall bear rule upon their rising from the dead**; when also **the creation, having been renovated and set free**, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food, from the dew of heaven, and from the fertility of the earth: **as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach** in regard to these times, and say: The days will come, in which **vines** shall grow, each having **ten thousand branches**, and in each branch **ten thousand twigs**, and in each true twig **ten thousand shoots**, and in each one of the shoots **ten thousand clusters**, and on every one of the clusters **ten thousand grapes**, and every grape when pressed will give **five and twenty metretres of wine**. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, “I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.”⁴ [2 Baruch 29] In like manner [the Lord declared] that a **grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears**, and that every ear should have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds (*quinque bilibres*) of clear, pure, fine flour; and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds and grass, would produce in similar proportions (*secundum congruentiam iis consequentem*); and that **all animals feeding [only] on the productions of the earth**, should [in those days] become **peaceful and harmonious among each other**, and **be in perfect subjection to man**.

4. And these things are borne witness to in writing by **Papias, the hearer of John**, and a **companion of Polycarp**, in his fourth book; for there were five books compiled (συντεταγμένα) by him. And he says in addition, “Now these things are credible to believers.” And he says that, “when the traitor Judas did not give credit to them, and put the question, ‘How then can things about to bring forth so abundantly be wrought by the Lord?’ the Lord declared, ‘They who shall come to these [times] shall see.’” “When **prophesying of these times**, therefore, Esaias says: “**The wolf also shall feed with the lamb, and the leopard shall take his rest with the kid**; the calf also, and the bull, and the lion shall eat together; and a little boy shall lead them. The ox and the bear shall feed together, and their young ones shall agree together; and the lion shall eat straw as well as the ox. And the infant boy shall thrust his hand into the asp’s den, into the nest also of the adder’s brood; and they shall do no harm, nor have power to hurt anything in my holy mountain.” And again he says, in **recapitulation**, “**Wolves and lambs shall then browse together**, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the serpent earth as if it were bread; and they shall neither hurt nor annoy anything in my holy mountain, saith the Lord.” [Isa. 65:25] I am quite aware that some persons endeavour to refer these words to the case of savage men, both of different nations and various habits, who come to believe, and when they have believed, act in harmony with the righteous. But although this is [true] now with regard to some men coming from various nations to the harmony of the faith, nevertheless **in the resurrection of the just [the words shall also apply] to those animals mentioned**. For God is rich in all things. And it is right that **when the creation is restored, all the animals should obey and be in subjection to man**, and revert to the food originally given by God (for they had been originally subjected in obedience to Adam), that is, the productions of the earth. But

⁴ See p. 59 for the source of this statement from 2 Baruch 29.

some other occasion, and not the present, is [to be sought] for showing that the lion shall [then] feed on straw. And this indicates the large size and rich quality of the fruits. For if that animal, the lion, feeds upon straw [at that period], of what a quality must the wheat itself be whose straw shall serve as suitable food for lions?

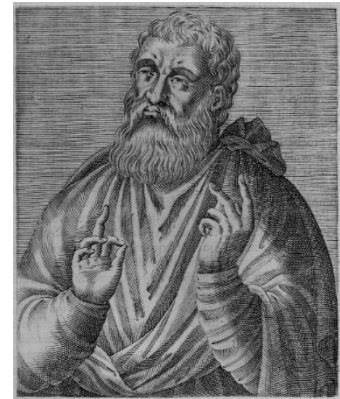
Irenaeus, Against Heresies, V:33:3-4

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.ix.vii.xxxiv.html>

1.5. Justin Martyr (100 – 165 AD)

1.5.1. Introduction

Saint Justin, also known as Justin Martyr, was an early Christian apologist, and is regarded as the foremost interpreter of the theory of the Logos in the 2nd century. He was martyred, alongside some of his students...⁵



1.5.2. Non-Chiliastic expectations

There are some things which may seem inconsistent in Justin's premillennialism and some statements which do not sound premillennial.

See also "Isaiah 65 to support the doctrine of the Millennium; general resurrection and judgment of all men occurs after the Millennium" on p. 22.

1.5.2.1 *Christ will come with heavenly glory and raise all the dead*

Chapter LII.—Certain fulfilment of prophecy.

Since, then, we prove that all things which have already happened had been predicted by the prophets before they came to pass, we must necessarily believe also that those things which are in like manner predicted, but are yet to come to pass, shall certainly happen. For as the things which have already taken place came to pass when foretold, and even though unknown, so shall the things that remain, even though they be unknown and disbelieved, yet come to pass. For **the prophets have proclaimed two advents of His:** the one, that which is already past, when He came as a dishonoured and suffering Man; but **the second, when, according to prophecy, He shall come from heaven with glory, accompanied by His angelic host,** when also **He shall raise the bodies of all men who have lived,** and shall **clothe those of the worthy with immortality,** and shall **send those of the wicked, endued with eternal sensibility, into everlasting fire with the wicked devils.** And that these things also have been foretold as yet to be, we will prove. By Ezekiel the prophet it was said: "Joint shall be joined to joint, and bone to bone, and flesh shall grow again; and every knee shall bow to the Lord, and every tongue shall confess Him." [Ezek. 37:7-8] And in what kind of sensation and punishment the wicked are to be, hear from what was said in like manner with reference to this; it is as follows: "Their worm shall not rest, and their fire shall not be quenched;" [Isa. 66:24] and then shall they repent, when it profits them not. And what the people of the Jews shall say and do, when they see Him coming in glory, has been thus predicted by Zechariah the prophet: "I will command the four winds to gather the scattered children; I will command the north wind to bring them, and the south wind, that it keep not back. And then in Jerusalem there shall be great lamentation, not the lamentation of mouths or of lips, but the lamentation of the heart; and they shall rend not their garments, but their hearts. Tribe by tribe they shall mourn, and then they shall look on Him whom they have pierced; and they shall say, Why, O Lord, hast Thou made us to err from Thy

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justin_Martyr

way? The glory which our fathers blessed, has for us been turned into shame.” [Zech. 12:3-14; Isa. 63:17; 64:11]

First Apology, chapter 52.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.viii.ii.lii.html>

1.5.2.2 Jesus shall come to judge all mankind and reward Christians; Second Advent and Day of Judgment are synchronous

Chapter XXXVI.—He proves that Christ is called Lord of Hosts.

Then he replied, “Let these things be so as you say—namely, that it was foretold Christ would suffer, and be called a stone; and after His first appearance, in which it had been announced He would suffer, would **come in glory**, and **be Judge finally of all**, and eternal King and Priest. Now show if this man be He of whom these prophecies were made.”

And I said, “As you wish, Trypho, I shall come to these proofs which you seek in the fitting place; but now you will permit me first to recount the prophecies, which I wish to do in order to prove that Christ is called both God and Lord of hosts, and Jacob, in parable by the Holy Spirit; and your interpreters, as God says, are foolish, since they say that reference is made to Solomon and not to Christ, when he bore the ark of testimony into the temple which he built. The Psalm of David is this: ‘The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof; the world, and all that dwell therein. He hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods. Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place? He that is clean of hands and pure of heart: who has not received his soul in vain, and has not sworn guilefully to his neighbour: he shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the face of the God of Jacob. Lift up your gates, ye rulers; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty in battle. Lift up your gates, ye rulers; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory.’ [Ps. 24] Accordingly, it is shown that Solomon is not the Lord of hosts; but when our Christ rose from the dead and ascended to heaven, the rulers in heaven, under appointment of God, are commanded to open the gates of heaven, that He who is King of glory may enter in, and having ascended, may sit on the right hand of the Father until He make the enemies His footstool, as has been made manifest by another Psalm. For when the rulers of heaven saw Him of uncomely and dishonoured appearance, and inglorious, not recognising Him, they inquired, ‘Who is this King of glory?’ And the Holy Spirit, either from the person of His Father, or from His own person, answers them, ‘The Lord of hosts, He is this King of glory.’ For every one will confess that not one of those who presided over the gates of the temple at Jerusalem would venture to say concerning Solomon, though he was so glorious a king, or concerning the ark of testimony, ‘Who is this King of glory?’

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 36.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.XXXVI.html>

Chapter XXXIX.—The Jews hate the Christians who believe this. How great the distinction is between both!

“Now it is not surprising,” I continued, “that you hate us who hold these opinions, and convict you of a continual hardness of heart. For indeed Elijah, conversing with God concerning you, speaks thus: ‘Lord, they have slain Thy prophets, and digged down Thine altars: and I am left alone, and they seek my life.’ [1 Kgs. 19:14] And He answers him: ‘I have still seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal.’ [1 Kgs. 19:18] Therefore, just as God did not inflict His anger on account of those seven thousand men, even so He has now neither yet inflicted judgment, nor does inflict it, knowing that daily some [of you] are becoming disciples in the name of Christ, and quitting the path of error; who are also receiving gifts, each as he is worthy, illumined through the name of this Christ. For one receives the spirit of

understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, and another of the fear of God.”

To this Trypho said to me, “I wish you knew that you are beside yourself, talking these sentiments.”

And I said to him, “Listen, O friend, for I am not mad or beside myself; but it was prophesied that, after the ascent of Christ to heaven, He would deliver us from error and give us gifts. The words are these: ‘He ascended up on high; He led captivity captive; He gave gifts to men.’ [Ps. 68:19] Accordingly, we who have received gifts from Christ, who has ascended up on high, prove from the words of prophecy that you, ‘the wise in yourselves, and the men of understanding in your own eyes,’ [Isa. 5:21] are foolish, and honour God and His Christ by lip only. But we, who are instructed in the whole truth, honour Them both in acts, and in knowledge, and in heart, even unto death. But you hesitate to confess that He is Christ, as the Scriptures and the events witnessed and done in His name prove, perhaps for this reason, lest you be persecuted by the rulers, who, **under the influence of the wicked and deceitful spirit, the serpent**, will not cease putting to death and persecuting those who confess the name of **Christ until He come again**, and **destroy them all**, and **render to each his deserts**.”

And Trypho replied, “Now, then, render us the proof that this man who you say was crucified and ascended into heaven is the Christ of God. For you have sufficiently proved by means of the Scriptures previously quoted by you, that it is declared in the Scriptures that Christ must suffer, and come again with glory, and receive the eternal kingdom over all the nations, every kingdom being made subject to Him: now show us that this man is He.”

And I replied, “It has been already proved, sirs, to those who have ears, even from the facts which have been conceded by you; but that you may not think me at a loss, and unable to give proof of what you ask, as I promised, I shall do so at a fitting place. At present, I resume the consideration of the subject which I was discussing.

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 39.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.xxxix.html>

Chapter CXXXII.—How great the power was of the name of Jesus in the Old Testament.

“Yet after this you made a calf, and were very zealous in committing fornication with the daughters of strangers, and in serving idols. And again, when the land was given up to you with so great a display of power, that you witnessed the sun stand still in the heavens by the order of that man whose name was Jesus (Joshua), and not go down for thirty-six hours, as well as all the other miracles which were wrought for you as time served; and of these it seems good to me now to speak of another, for it conduces to your hereby knowing Jesus, whom we also know to have been Christ the Son of God, who was crucified, and rose again, and ascended to heaven, and **will come again to judge all men, even up to Adam himself**. You are aware, then,” I continued, “that when the ark of the testimony was seized by the enemies of Ashdod, and a terrible and incurable malady had broken out among them, they resolved to place it on a cart to which they yoked cows that had recently calved, for the purpose of ascertaining by trial whether or not they had been plagued by God’s power on account of the ark, and if God wished it to be taken back to the place from which it had been carried away. And when they had done this, the cows, led by no man, went not to the place whence the ark had been taken, but to the fields of a certain man whose name was Oshea, the same as his whose name was altered to Jesus (Joshua), as has been previously mentioned, who also led the people into the land and meted it out to them: and when the cows had come into these fields they remained there, showing to you thereby that they were guided by the name of power; just as formerly the people who survived of those that came out of Egypt, were guided into the land by him who had received the name Jesus (Joshua), who before was called Oshea.

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 132.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.CXXXII.html>

Chapter CXXI.—From the fact that the Gentiles believe in Jesus, it is evident that He is Christ.

And as they kept silence, I went on: “[The Scripture], speaking by David about this Christ, my friends, said no longer that ‘in His seed’ the nations should be blessed, but ‘in Him.’ So it is here: ‘His name shall rise up for ever above the sun; and in Him shall all nations be blessed.’ [Ps. 72:17] But if all nations are blessed in Christ, and we of all nations believe in Him, then He is indeed the Christ, and we are those blessed by Him. God formerly gave the sun as an object of worship, as it is written, but no one ever was seen to endure death on account of his faith in the sun; but for the name of Jesus you may see men of every nation who have endured and do endure all sufferings, rather than deny Him. For the word of His truth and wisdom is more ardent and more light-giving than the rays of the sun, and sinks down into the depths of heart and mind. Hence also the Scripture said, ‘His name shall rise up above the sun.’ And again, Zechariah says, ‘His name is the East.’ [Zech. 6:12] And speaking of the same, he says that ‘each tribe shall mourn.’ [Zech. 12:12] But if He so shone forth and was so mighty in His first advent (which was without honour and comeliness, and very contemptible), that in no nation He is unknown, and everywhere men have repented of the old wickedness in each nation’s way of living, so that even demons were subject to His name, and all powers and kingdoms feared His name more than they feared all the dead, shall He not **on His glorious advent destroy by all means all those who hated Him**, and who unrighteously departed from Him, but **give rest to His own, rewarding them with all they have looked for**? To us, therefore, it has been granted to hear, and to understand, and to be saved by this Christ, and to recognise all the [truths revealed] by the Father. Wherefore He said to Him: ‘It is a great thing for Thee to be called my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and turn again the dispersed of Israel. I have appointed Thee for a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mayest be their salvation unto the end of the earth.’

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 121.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.CXXI.html>

1.5.2.3 General resurrection and judgment of all men at the same time

Chapter CXVII.—Malachi’s prophecy concerning the sacrifices of the Christians. It cannot be taken as referring to the prayers of Jews of the dispersion.

“Accordingly, God, anticipating all the sacrifices which we offer through this name, and which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer, i.e., in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup, and which are presented by Christians in all places throughout the world, bears witness that they are well-pleasing to Him. But He utterly rejects those presented by you and by those priests of yours, saying, ‘And I will not accept your sacrifices at your hands; for from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is glorified among the Gentiles (He says); but ye profane it.’ [Mal. 1:10-12] Yet even now, in your love of contention, you assert that God does not accept the sacrifices of those who dwelt then in Jerusalem, and were called Israelites; but says that He is pleased with the prayers of the individuals of that nation then dispersed, and calls their prayers sacrifices. Now, that prayers and giving of thanks, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices to God, I also admit. For such alone Christians have undertaken to offer, and in the remembrance effected by their solid and liquid food, whereby the suffering of the Son of God which He endured is brought to mind, whose name the high priests of your nation and your teachers have caused to be profaned and blasphemed over all the earth. But these filthy garments, which have been put by you on all who have become Christians by the name of Jesus, God shows shall be taken away from us, **when He shall raise all men from the dead**, and **appoint some to be incorruptible, immortal, and free from sorrow in the everlasting and imperishable kingdom**; but shall **send others away to the everlasting punishment of fire**. But as to you and your teachers deceiving yourselves when you interpret what the Scripture says as referring to those of your nation then in

dispersion, and maintain that their prayers and sacrifices offered in every place are pure and well-pleasing, learn that you are speaking falsely, and trying by all means to cheat yourselves: for, first of all, not even now does your nation extend from the rising to the setting of the sun, but there are nations among which none of your race ever dwelt. For there is not one single race of men, whether barbarians, or Greeks, or whatever they may be called, nomads, or vagrants, or herdsmen living in tents, among whom prayers and giving of thanks are not offered through the name of the crucified Jesus. And then, as the Scriptures show, at the time when Malachi wrote this, your dispersion over all the earth, which now exists, had not taken place.

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 117.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.CXVII.html>

1.5.2.4 Death of death and destruction of Satan at the second coming; eternal state

Chapter XLV.—Those who were righteous before and under the law shall be saved by Christ.

And Trypho said, “If I seem to interrupt these matters, which you say must be investigated, yet the question which I mean to put is urgent. Suffer me first.”

And I replied, “Ask whatever you please, as it occurs to you; and I shall endeavour, after questions and answers, to resume and complete the discourse.”

Then he said, “Tell me, then, shall those who lived according to the law given by Moses, live in the same manner with Jacob, Enoch, and Noah, in the resurrection of the dead, or not?”

I replied to him, “When I quoted, sir, the words spoken by Ezekiel, that ‘even if Noah and Daniel and Jacob were to beg sons and daughters, the request would not be granted them,’ [Ezek. 14:20] but that each one, that is to say, shall be saved by his own righteousness, I said also, that those who regulated their lives by the law of Moses would in like manner be saved. For what in the law of Moses is naturally good, and pious, and righteous, and has been prescribed to be done by those who obey it; and what was appointed to be performed by reason of the hardness of the people’s hearts; was similarly recorded, and done also by those who were under the law. Since those who did that which is universally, naturally, and eternally good are pleasing to God, they shall be saved through this Christ in the resurrection equally with those righteous men who were before them, namely Noah, and Enoch, and Jacob, and whoever else there be, along with those who have known this Christ, Son of God, who was before the morning star and the moon, and submitted to become incarnate, and be born of this virgin of the family of David, in order that, by this dispensation, **the serpent that sinned from the beginning, and the angels like him, may be destroyed**, and that **death may be contemned**, and for ever quit, **at the second coming of the Christ Himself**, those who **believe in Him and live acceptably**,—and be no more: when some are **sent to be punished unceasingly into judgment and condemnation of fire**; but **others shall exist in freedom from suffering, from corruption, and from grief, and in immortality**.”

Dialogue with Trypho, chapter 45.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.xlv.html>

1.5.2.5 Joshua, a type of Christ who gives us an eternal inheritance when He returns

Chapter CXIII.—Joshua was a figure of Christ.

“What I mean is this. Jesus (Joshua), as I have now frequently remarked, who was called Oshea, when he was sent to spy out the land of Canaan, was named by Moses Jesus (Joshua). Why he did this you neither ask, nor are at a loss about it, nor make strict inquiries. Therefore Christ has escaped your notice; and though you read, you understand not; and even now, though you hear that Jesus is our Christ, you consider not that the name was bestowed on Him not purposelessly nor by chance. But you make a theological discussion as to why one ‘α’ was added to Abraham’s first name; and as to why one ‘ρ’ was added to Sarah’s name, you use similar high-sounding disputations. But why do you not similarly investigate the reason why the name of Oshea the son of Nave (Nun), which his father gave him, was

changed to Jesus (Joshua)? But since not only was his name altered, but he was also appointed successor to Moses, being the only one of his contemporaries who came out from Egypt, he led the surviving people into the Holy Land; and as he, not Moses, led the people into the Holy Land, and as he distributed it by lot to those who entered along with him, **so also Jesus the Christ will turn again the dispersion of the people, and will distribute the good land to each one**, though not in the same manner. For the former gave them a temporary inheritance, seeing he was neither Christ who is God, nor the Son of God; but the latter, **after the holy resurrection, shall give us the eternal possession**. The former, after he had been named Jesus (Joshua), and after he had received strength from His Spirit, caused the sun to stand still. **For I have proved that it was Jesus who appeared to and conversed with Moses, and Abraham, and all the other patriarchs without exception**, ministering to the will of the Father; who also, I say, came to be born man by the Virgin Mary, and I live for ever. For the latter is **He after whom and by whom the Father will renew both the heaven and the earth**; this is He who shall shine an eternal light in Jerusalem; this is he who is the king of Salem after the order of Melchizedek, and the eternal Priest of the Most High. The former is said to have circumcised the people a second time with knives of stone (which was a sign of this circumcision with which Jesus Christ Himself has circumcised us from the idols made of stone and of other materials), and to have collected together those who were circumcised from the uncircumcision, i.e., from the error of the world, in every place by the knives of stone, to wit, the words of our Lord Jesus. For I have shown that Christ was proclaimed by the prophets in parables a Stone and a Rock. Accordingly the knives of stone we shall take to mean His words, by means of which so many who were in error have been circumcised from uncircumcision with the circumcision of the heart, with which God by Jesus commanded those from that time to be circumcised who derived their circumcision from Abraham, saying that Jesus (Joshua) would circumcise a second time with knives of stone those who entered into that holy land.

Dialogue with Trypho, chapter 113.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.cxiii.html>

1.5.2.6 Believers inherit everlasting and incorruptible good of the land of Canaan

Chapter CXXXIX.—The blessings, and also the curse, pronounced by Noah were prophecies of the future.

“For another mystery was accomplished and predicted in the days of Noah, of which you are not aware. It is this: in the blessings wherewith Noah blessed his two sons, and in the curse pronounced on his son’s son. For the Spirit of prophecy would not curse the son that had been by God blessed along with [his brothers]. But since the punishment of the sin would cleave to the whole descent of the son that mocked at his father’s nakedness, he made the curse originate with *his* son. Now, in what he said, he foretold that the **descendants of Shem would keep in retention the property and dwellings of Canaan**: and again that the descendants of Japheth would take possession of the property of which Shem’s descendants had dispossessed Canaan’s descendants; and spoil the descendants of Shem, even as they plundered the sons of Canaan. And listen to the way in which it has so come to pass. For you, who have derived your lineage from Shem, invaded the territory of the sons of Canaan by the will of God; and you possessed it. And it is manifest that the sons of Japheth, having invaded you in turn by the judgment of God, have taken your land from you, and have possessed it. Thus it is written: ‘And Noah awoke from the wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him; and he said, Cursed be Canaan, the servant; a servant shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. May the Lord enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the houses of Shem; and let Canaan be his servant.’ [Gen. 9:24-27] Accordingly, as two peoples were blessed,—those from Shem, and those from Japheth,—and as the offspring of Shem were decreed first to possess the dwellings of Canaan, and the **offspring of Japheth were predicted as in turn receiving the same possessions**, and to the two peoples there was the one people of Canaan handed over for servants; so Christ has come according to the power given Him from the Almighty Father, and summoning men to friendship, and blessing, and repentance, and dwelling together, has promised, as has already been proved, that there shall **be a future possession for all the saints in this same land**. And hence all men everywhere, whether bond or free,

who believe in Christ, and recognise the truth in His own words and those of His prophets, **know that they shall be with Him in that land, and inherit everlasting and incorruptible good.**

Dialogue with Trypho, chapter 139.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.cxxxix.html>

1.5.3. Jesus shall raise those who are not yet healed at the Second Advent

Chapter LXIX.—The devil, since he emulates the truth, has invented fables about Bacchus, Hercules, and Æsculapius.

“Be well assured, then, Trypho,” I continued, “that I am established in the knowledge of and faith in the Scriptures by those counterfeits which he who is called the devil is said to have performed among the Greeks; just as some were wrought by the Magi in Egypt, and others by the false prophets in Elijah’s days. For when they tell that Bacchus, son of Jupiter, was begotten by [Jupiter’s] intercourse with Semele, and that he was the discoverer of the vine; and when they relate, that being torn in pieces, and having died, he rose again, and ascended to heaven; and when they introduce wine into his mysteries, do I not perceive that [the devil] has imitated the prophecy announced by the patriarch Jacob, and recorded by Moses? And when they tell that Hercules was strong, and travelled over all the world, and was begotten by Jove of Alcmene, and ascended to heaven when he died, do I not perceive that the Scripture which speaks of Christ, ‘strong as a giant to run his race,’ [Ps. 19:5] has been in like manner imitated? And when he [the devil] brings forward Æsculapius as the raiser of the dead and healer of all diseases, may I not say that in this matter likewise he has imitated the prophecies about Christ? But since I have not quoted to you such Scripture as tells that Christ will do these things, I must necessarily remind you of one such: from which you can understand, how that to those destitute of a knowledge of God, I mean the Gentiles, who, ‘having eyes, saw not, and having a heart, understood not,’ [Jer. 5:21] worshipping the images of wood, [how even to them] Scripture prophesied that they would renounce these [vanities], and hope in this Christ. It is thus written: ‘Rejoice, thirsty wilderness: let the wilderness be glad, and blossom as the lily: the deserts of the Jordan shall both blossom and be glad: and the glory of Lebanon was given to it, and the honour of Carmel. And my people shall see the exaltation of the Lord, and the glory of God. Be strong, ye careless hands and enfeebled knees. Be comforted, ye faint in soul: be strong, fear not. Behold, our God gives, and will give, retributive judgment. He shall come and save us. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear. Then the lame shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be distinct: for water has broken forth in the wilderness, and a valley in the thirsty land; and the parched ground shall become pools, and a spring of water shall [rise up] in the thirsty land.’ [Isa. 35:1-7] The spring of living water which gushed forth from God in the land destitute of the knowledge of God, namely the land of the Gentiles, was this Christ, who also appeared in your nation, and healed those who were maimed, and deaf, and lame in body from their birth, causing them to leap, to hear, and to see, by His word. And **having raised the dead, and causing them to live**, by His deeds He compelled the men who lived at that time to recognise Him. But though they saw such works, they asserted it was magical art. For they dared to call Him a magician, and a deceiver of the people. Yet He wrought such works, and persuaded those who were [destined to] believe on Him; for **even if any one be labouring under a defect of body**, yet be an observer of the doctrines delivered by Him, **He shall raise him up at His second advent perfectly sound**, after He has made him immortal, and incorruptible, and free from grief.

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 69.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.LXIX.html>

1.5.4. Christians shall pass through the tribulation wherein the Antichrist will persecute them

Chapter CX.—A portion of the prophecy already fulfilled in the Christians: the rest shall be fulfilled at the second advent.

And when I had finished these words, I continued: “Now I am aware that your teachers, sirs, admit the whole of the words of this passage to refer to Christ [Mic. 4]; and I am likewise aware that they maintain He has not yet come; or if they say that He has come, they assert that it is not known who He is; but when He shall become manifest and glorious, then it shall be known who He is. And then, they say, the events mentioned in this passage shall happen, just as if there was no fruit as yet from the words of the prophecy. O unreasoning men! understanding not what has been proved by all these passages, that two advents of Christ have been announced: the one, in which He is set forth as suffering, inglorious, dishonoured, and crucified; but the other, in which He shall come from heaven with glory, when **the man of apostasy, who speaks strange things against the Most High, shall venture to do unlawful deeds on the earth against us the Christians**, who, having learned the true worship of God from the law, and the word which went forth from Jerusalem by means of the apostles of Jesus, have fled for safety to the God of Jacob and God of Israel; and we who were filled with war, and mutual slaughter, and every wickedness, have each through the whole earth changed our warlike weapons,— our swords into ploughshares, and our spears into implements of tillage, —and we cultivate piety, righteousness, philanthropy, faith, and hope, which we have from the Father Himself through Him who was crucified; and sitting each under his vine, i.e., each man possessing his own married wife. For you are aware that the prophetic word says, ‘And his wife shall be like a fruitful vine.’ [Ps. 128:3] Now it is evident that no one can terrify or subdue us who have believed in Jesus over all the world. For it is plain that, though beheaded, and crucified, and thrown to wild beasts, and chains, and fire, and all other kinds of torture, we do not give up our confession; but the more such things happen, the more do others and in larger numbers become faithful, and worshippers of God through the name of Jesus. For just as if one should cut away the fruit-bearing parts of a vine, it grows up again, and yields other branches flourishing and fruitful; even so the same thing happens with us. For the vine planted by God and Christ the Saviour is His people. But **the rest of the prophecy shall be fulfilled at His second coming**. For the expression, ‘He that is afflicted [and driven out],’ i.e., from the world, [implies] that, so far as you and all other men have it in your power, each Christian has been driven out not only from his own property, but even from the whole world; for you permit no Christian to live. But you say that the same fate has befallen your own nation. Now, if you have been cast out after defeat in battle, you have suffered such treatment justly indeed, as all the Scriptures bear witness; but we, though we have done no such [evil acts] after we knew the truth of God, are testified to by God, that, together with the most righteous, and only spotless and sinless Christ, we are taken away out of the earth. For Isaiah cries, ‘Behold how the righteous perishes, and no man lays it to heart; and righteous men are taken away, and no man considers it.’

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 110.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.viii.iv.CX.html>

1.5.5. On the Millennium; many true Christians think otherwise

Chapter LXXX.—The opinion of Justin with regard to the reign of a thousand years. Several Catholics reject it.

And Trypho to this replied, “I remarked to you sir, that you are very anxious to be safe in all respects, since you cling to the Scriptures. But tell me, do you really admit that this place, Jerusalem, shall be rebuilt; and do you expect your people to be gathered together, and made joyful with Christ and the patriarchs, and the prophets, both the men of our nation, and other proselytes who joined them before your Christ came? or have you given way, and admitted this in order to have the appearance of worsting us in the controversies?”

Then I answered, “I am not so miserable a fellow, Trypho, as to say one thing and think another. I admitted to you formerly, that **I and many others are of this opinion**, and [believe] that such will take place, as you assuredly are aware; but, on the other hand, I signified to you that **many who belong to**

the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise.⁶ Moreover, I pointed out to you that some who are called Christians, but are godless, impious heretics, teach doctrines that are in every way blasphemous, atheistical, and foolish. But that you may know that I do not say this before you alone, I shall draw up a statement, so far as I can, of all the arguments which have passed between us; in which I shall record myself as admitting the very same things which I admit to you. For I choose to follow not men or men's doctrines, but God and the doctrines [delivered] by Him. For if you have fallen in with some who are called Christians, but who do not admit this [truth], and venture to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; **who say there is no resurrection of the dead**, and that **their souls, when they die, are taken to heaven**;⁷ do not imagine that they are Christians, even as one, if he would rightly consider it, would not admit that the Sadducees, or similar sects of Genistæ, Meristæ, Galilæans, Hellenists, Pharisees, Baptists, are Jews (do not hear me impatiently when I tell you what I think), but are [only] called Jews and children of Abraham, worshipping God with the lips, as God Himself declared, but the heart was far from Him. But I and others, who are **right-minded Christians on all points**, are assured that there will be **a resurrection of the dead**, and **a thousand years in Jerusalem**, which **will then be built, adorned, and enlarged**, [as] the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare.

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 80.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.lxxx.html>

1.5.6. Isaiah 65 to support the doctrine of the Millennium; general resurrection and judgment of all men occurs after the Millennium

Chapter LXXXI.—He [Justin] endeavours to prove this opinion from Isaiah and the Apocalypse.

“For Isaiah spake thus **concerning this space of a thousand years**: ‘For there shall be **the new heaven and the new earth**, and the former shall not be remembered, or come into their heart; but they shall **find joy and gladness in it**, which things I create. For, Behold, **I make Jerusalem a rejoicing, and My people a joy**; and I shall rejoice over Jerusalem, and be glad over My people. And the **voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her**, or the voice of crying. And there shall be no more there a person of immature years, or an old man who shall not fulfil his days. For the young man shall be an hundred years old; but the sinner who dies an hundred years old, he shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and shall themselves inhabit them; and they shall plant vines, and shall themselves eat the produce of them, and drink the wine. They shall not build, and others inhabit; they shall not plant, and others eat. For according to the days of the tree of life shall be the days of my people; the works of their toil shall abound. Mine elect shall not toil fruitlessly, or beget children to be cursed; for they shall be a seed righteous and blessed by the Lord, and their offspring with them. And it shall come to pass, that before they call I will hear; while they are still speaking, I shall say, What is it? Then shall the **wolves and the lambs feed together**, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox; but the serpent [shall eat] earth as bread. **They shall not hurt or maltreat each other on the holy mountain**, saith the Lord.’ [Isa. 65:17-25] Now we have understood that the expression used among these words, ‘According to the days of the tree [of life] shall be the days of my people; the works of their toil shall abound’ [Isa. 65:22] **obscurely predicts a thousand years**. For as Adam was told that in the day he ate of the tree he would die, we know that he did not complete a thousand years. We have perceived, moreover, that the expression, ‘**The day of the Lord is as a thousand years**,’ [2 Pet. 3:8] is connected with this subject. And further, there was a certain man with us, whose name was **John, one of the apostles of Christ**, who prophesied, by a revelation that was made to him, that **those who believed in our Christ would dwell a**

⁶ The very statement which is often used by Premillennialist for the “dominance” of Premillennialism in the Early Church, proves that it was not dominant, but there also was the Amillennial position, which is held by “true Christians.”

⁷ There were those who although rejected the resurrection of the dead, yet did not reject the Intermediate State for the believers and Justin disagrees with them.

thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter the **general, and, in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men** would likewise take place. Just as our Lord also said, ‘They shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but shall be equal to the angels, the children of the God of the resurrection.’ [Luke 20:35-36]

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 81.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.lxxxix.html>

1.5.7. Heaven and the Intermediate State

1.5.7.1 Positive

1.5.7.1.1 Lucius going to the Father

And when Lucius answered, “Most certainly I am,” he again ordered him also to be led away. And he professed his thanks, knowing that he was delivered from such wicked rulers, and **was going to the Father and King of the heavens**. And still a third having come forward, was condemned to be punished.

Second Apology, 2:18-19.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iii.ii.html>

1.5.7.1.2 Martyrdom of Justin; ascending into heaven

Chapter IV.—Rusticus threatens the Christians with death.

The prefect says to Justin, “Hearken, you who are called learned, and think that you know true doctrines; if you are scourged and beheaded, **do you believe you will ascend into heaven?**” Justin said, “I hope that, if I endure these things, I shall have His gifts. For I know that, **to all who have thus lived, there abides the divine favour until the completion of the whole world.**” Rusticus the prefect said, “Do you suppose, then, that you will **ascend into heaven to receive some recompense?**” Justin said, “I do not suppose it, but I know and am fully persuaded of it.” Rusticus the prefect said, “Let us, then, now come to the matter in hand, and which presses. Having come together, offer sacrifice with one accord to the gods.” Justin said, “No right-thinking person falls away from piety to impiety.” Rusticus the prefect said, “Unless ye obey, ye shall be mercilessly punished.” Justin said, “Through prayer we can be saved on account of our Lord Jesus Christ, even when we have been punished, because this shall become to us salvation and confidence at **the more fearful and universal judgment-seat of our Lord and Saviour.**” Thus also said the other martyrs: “Do what you will, for we are Christians, and do not sacrifice to idols.”

Martyrdom of Justin, chapter 4.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.xi.iv.html>

Chapter V.—Sentence pronounced and executed.

Rusticus the prefect pronounced sentence, saying, “Let those who have refused to sacrifice to the gods and to yield to the command of the emperor be scourged, and led away to **suffer the punishment of decapitation**, according to the laws.” The **holy martyrs having glorified God**, and having gone forth to the accustomed place, were **beheaded**, and perfected their testimony in the confession of the Saviour. And some of the faithful having secretly removed their bodies, laid them in a suitable place, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ having wrought along with them, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Martyrdom of Justin, chapter 5.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.xi.v.html>

1.5.7.2 *Negative*

1.5.7.2.1 Reign of Christ for a thousand years in renewed Jerusalem; other orthodox Christians believe otherwise

Chapter LXXX.—The opinion of Justin with regard to the reign of a thousand years. Several Catholics reject it.

...

For if you have fallen in with some who are called Christians, but who do not admit this [truth], and venture to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; **who say there is no resurrection of the dead**, and that **their souls, when they die, are taken to heaven; do not imagine that they are Christians**, even as one, if he would rightly consider it, would not admit that the Sadducees, or similar sects of Genistæ, Meristæ, Galilæans, Hellenists, Pharisees, Baptists, are Jews (do not hear me impatiently when I tell you what I think), but are [only] called Jews and children of Abraham, worshipping God with the lips, as God Himself declared, but the heart was far from Him. But **I and others, who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead**, and **a thousand years in Jerusalem**, which will then **be built, adorned, and enlarged**, [as] the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare.

Dialog with Trypho the Jew, chapter 80.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.iv.lxxx.html>

1.5.7.2.1.1 Dr. Hill comments

...it is most significant that this, also Justin's *only* expression of antipathy towards the doctrine [the soul's immediate ascent to heaven at death], occurs precisely in his defense of chiliasm.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 25.

1.6. Irenaeus (c. 130 – c. 202 AD)

Irenaeus (c. 130 – c. 202 AD) was a Greek bishop noted for his role in guiding and expanding Christian communities in the southern regions of present-day France and, more widely, for the development of Christian theology by combating heresy and defining orthodoxy. Originating from Smyrna, he had seen and heard the preaching of Polycarp who in turn was said to have heard John the Evangelist, and thus was the last known living connection with the Apostles.



Chosen as bishop of Lugdunum, now Lyon, his best-known work is *Against Heresies*, often cited as *Adversus Haereses*, a refutation of gnosticism, in particular that of Valentinus. To counter the doctrines of the gnostic sects claiming secret wisdom, he offered three pillars of orthodoxy: the scriptures, the tradition handed down from the apostles, and the teaching of the apostles' successors. Intrinsic to his writing is that the surest source of Christian guidance is the church of Rome, and he is the earliest surviving witness to regard all four of the now-canonical gospels as essential.⁸

1.6.1. The Intermediate Period, not in the presence of God; some of the orthodox believe in heavenly intermediate state though they get it from heretics; bodily resurrection

Chapter XXXI.—The preservation of our bodies is confirmed by the resurrection and ascension of Christ: the souls of the saints during the intermediate period are in a state of expectation of that time when they shall receive their perfect and consummated glory.

⁸ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irenaeus>

1. Since, again, **some who are reckoned among the orthodox** go beyond the pre-arranged plan for the exaltation of the just, and are ignorant of the methods by which they are disciplined beforehand for incorruption, **they thus entertain heretical opinions**. For the **heretics**, despising the handiwork of God, and **not admitting the salvation of their flesh**, while they also treat the promise of God contemptuously, and pass beyond God altogether in the sentiments they form, **affirm that immediately upon their death they shall pass above the heavens** and the Demiurge, and go to the Mother (Achamoth) or to that Father whom they have feigned. Those persons, therefore, who disallow a resurrection affecting the whole man (*universam reprobant resurrectionem*), and as far as in them lies remove it from the midst [of the Christian scheme], how can they be wondered at, if again they know nothing as to the plan of the resurrection? For they do not choose to understand, that if these things are as they say, the Lord Himself, in whom they profess to believe, did not rise again upon the third day; but immediately upon His expiring on the cross, undoubtedly departed on high, leaving His body to the earth. But the case was, that for three days He dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says concerning Him: “And the Lord remembered His dead saints who slept formerly in the land of sepulture; and He descended to them, to rescue and save them.” And the Lord Himself says, “As Jonas remained three days and three nights in the whale’s belly, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth.” [Matt. 12:40] Then also the apostle says, “But when He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth?” [Eph. 4:9] This, too, David says when prophesying of Him, “And thou hast delivered my soul from the nethermost hell;” [Ps. 86:13] and on His rising again the third day, He said to Mary, who was the first to see and to worship Him, “Touch Me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father, and unto your Father.” [John 20:17]

2. If, then, the **Lord observed the law of the dead**, that He might become the first-begotten from the dead, and tarried until the third day “in the lower parts of the earth;” [Eph. 4:9] then afterwards rising in the flesh, so that He even showed the print of the nails to His disciples, He thus ascended to the Father;— [if all these things occurred, I say], how must **these men** not be put to confusion, who allege that **“the lower parts” refer to this world of ours, but that their inner man, leaving the body here, ascends into the super-celestial place?** For as the Lord “went away in the midst of the shadow of death,” [Ps. 23:4] where the souls of the dead were, yet afterwards arose in the body, and after the resurrection was taken up [into heaven], it is manifest that the souls of His disciples also, upon whose account the Lord underwent these things, shall **go away into the invisible place allotted to them by God**, and **there remain until the resurrection**, awaiting that event; **then receiving their bodies, and rising in their entirety, that is bodily, just as the Lord arose**, they shall come thus into the presence of God. “For no disciple is above the Master, but every one that is perfect shall be as his Master.” [Luke 6:40] As our Master, therefore, did not at once depart, taking flight [to heaven], but awaited the time of His resurrection prescribed by the Father, which had been also shown forth through Jonas, and rising again after three days was taken up [to heaven]; so ought **we also to await the time of our resurrection prescribed by God** and foretold by the prophets, and so, rising, be taken up, as many as the Lord shall account worthy of this [privilege].

Against Heresies V:31

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.ix.vii.xxxii.html>

1.6.2. The purpose of the Millennium for Irenaeus according to Dr. Hill

The millennium for Irenaeus serves the necessary purpose of training and gradually accustoming the righteous to apprehend God and his glory (*paulatim assuescunt capere Deum*, V.32.1; cf. V.35.1-2).

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 19.

See *Against Heresies*, V:32:1 below (see heading 1.6.3) for the reason of “gradually to partake of the divine nature” and “it behoves the righteous first to receive the promise” of the OT and get accustomed to it before the reward in the new heavens and new earth.

1.6.3. Orthodox non-Chiliasts get their doctrine from heretics; Abraham and his seed will get the promises at the resurrection

Chapter XXXII.—In that flesh in which the saints have suffered so many afflictions, they shall receive the fruits of their labours; especially since all creation waits for this, and God promises it to Abraham and his seed.

1. Inasmuch, therefore, as the **opinions of certain [orthodox persons]** are derived from heretical discourses, they are both ignorant of God's dispensations, and of **the mystery of the resurrection of the just**, and of **the [earthly] kingdom which is the commencement of incorruption**, by means of which kingdom those who shall be worthy are accustomed **gradually to partake of the divine nature** (*capere Deum*); and it is necessary to tell them respecting those things, that it behoves the righteous first to receive the promise of the inheritance which God promised to the fathers, and to reign in it, when **they rise again to behold God** in **this creation which is renovated**, and that the **judgment should take place afterwards**. For it is just that in that very creation in which they toiled or were afflicted, being proved in every way by suffering, they should receive the reward of their suffering; and that in the creation in which they were slain because of their love to God, in that they should be revived again; and that in the creation in which they endured servitude, in that they should reign. For God is rich in all things, and all things are His. It is fitting, therefore, that **the creation itself, being restored to its primeval condition**, should **without restraint be under the dominion of the righteous**; and the apostle has made this plain in the Epistle to the Romans, when he thus speaks: "For the expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature has been subjected to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; since the creature itself shall also be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God." [Rom. 8:19-21]

2. Thus, then, **the promise of God, which He gave to Abraham**, remains steadfast. For thus He said: "Lift up thine eyes, and look from this place where now thou art, towards the north and south, and east and west. For all the earth which thou seest, I will give to thee and to thy seed, even for ever." [Gen. 13:13-14] And again He says, "Arise, and go through the length and breadth of the land, since I will give it unto thee;" [Gen. 13:17] and [yet] he did not receive an inheritance in it, not even a footstep, but was always a stranger and a pilgrim therein. And upon the death of Sarah his wife, when the Hittites were willing to bestow upon him a place where he might bury her, he declined it as a gift, but bought the burying-place (giving for it four hundred talents of silver) from Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite. Thus did he await patiently the promise of God, and was unwilling to appear to receive from men, what God had promised to give him, when He said again to him as follows: "I will give this land to thy seed, from the river of Egypt even unto the great river Euphrates." [Gen. 15:18] **If, then, God promised him the inheritance of the land, yet he did not receive it during all the time of his sojourn there, it must be, that together with his seed, that is, those who fear God and believe in Him, he shall receive it at the resurrection of the just.** For **his seed is the Church**, which receives the adoption to God through the Lord, as John the Baptist said: "For God is able from the stones to raise up children to Abraham." [Luke 3:8] Thus also the apostle says in the Epistle to the Galatians: "But ye, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of the promise." [Gal. 4:28] And again, in the same Epistle, he plainly declares that they who have believed in Christ do receive Christ, the promise to Abraham thus saying, "The promises were spoken to Abraham, and to his seed. Now He does not say, And of seeds, as if [He spake] of many, but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ." [Gal. 3:16] And again, confirming his former words, he says, "Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know ye therefore, that they which are of faith are the children of Abraham. But the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, declared to Abraham beforehand, That in thee shall all nations be blessed. So then they which are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham." [Gal. 3:6-9] Thus, then, they who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham, and these are the children of Abraham. Now **God made promise of the earth to Abraham and his seed; yet neither Abraham nor his seed,**

that is, those who are justified by faith, do now receive any inheritance in it; but **they shall receive it at the resurrection of the just**. For God is true and faithful; and on this account He said, “Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.” [Matt. 5:5]

Against Heresies, V:32

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxxiii.html>

- 1.6.4. Earthly Millennium from Christ’s words of drinking vine and the peaceful condition of the Millennium and creation restored; Papias using Isa. 11 and 65 for an earthly Millennium; 2 Baruch 29

Chapter XXXIII.—Further proofs of the same proposition, drawn from the promises made by Christ, when He declared that He would drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples in His Father’s kingdom, while at the same time He promised to reward them an hundred-fold, and to make them partake of banquets. The blessing pronounced by Jacob had pointed out this already, as Papias and the elders have interpreted it.

1. For this reason, when about to undergo His sufferings, that He might declare to Abraham and those with him the glad tidings of the inheritance being thrown open, [Christ], after He had given thanks while holding the cup, and had drunk of it, and given it to the disciples, said to them: “Drink ye all of it: this is My blood of the new covenant, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, **I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of this vine, until that day when I will drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.**” [Matt. 26:27] Thus, then, **He will Himself renew the inheritance of the earth, and will re-organize the mystery of the glory of [His] sons**; as David says, “He who hath renewed the face of the earth.” [Ps. 104:30] He promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples, thus indicating both these points: the inheritance of the earth in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, and the resurrection of His disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which rises again is the same which also received the new cup. And **He cannot by any means be understood as drinking of the fruit of the vine when settled down with his [disciples] above in a super-celestial place; nor, again, are they who drink it devoid of flesh, for to drink of that which flows from the vine pertains to flesh, and not spirit.**

2. And for this reason the Lord declared, “When thou makest a dinner or a supper, do not call thy friends, nor thy neighbours, nor thy kinsfolk, lest they ask thee in return, and so repay thee. But call the lame, the blind, and the poor, and thou shalt be blessed, since they cannot recompense thee, but **a recompense shall be made thee at the resurrection of the just.**” [Luke 14:13-14] And again He says, “Whosoever shall have left lands, or houses, or parents, or brethren, or children because of Me, he shall receive in this world an hundred-fold, and in that to come he shall inherit eternal life.” [Matt. 19:29; Luke 18:29-30] For what are the hundred-fold [rewards] in this word, the entertainments given to the poor, and the suppers for which a return is made? **These are [to take place] in the times of the kingdom, that is, upon the seventh day, which has been sanctified**, in which God rested from all the works which He created, **which is the true Sabbath of the righteous, which they shall not be engaged in any earthly occupation; but shall have a table at hand prepared for them by God, supplying them with all sorts of dishes.**

3. The blessing of Isaac with which he blessed his younger son Jacob has the same meaning, when he says, “Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field which the Lord has blessed.” [Matt. 37:27] But “the field is the world.” [Matt. 13:38] And therefore he added, “God give to thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, plenty of corn and wine. And let the nations serve thee, and kings bow down to thee; and be thou lord over thy brother, and thy father’s sons shall bow down to thee: cursed shall be he who shall curse thee, and blessed shall be he who shall bless thee.” [Gen. 27:28-29] **If any one, then, does not accept these things as referring to the appointed kingdom, he must fall into much contradiction and contrariety, as is the case with the Jews, who are involved in absolute**

perplexity. For not only did not the nations in this life serve this Jacob; but even after he had received the blessing, he himself going forth [from his home], served his uncle Laban the Syrian for twenty years; and not only was he not made lord of his brother, but he did himself bow down before his brother Esau, upon his return from Mesopotamia to his father, and offered many gifts to him. Moreover, in what way did he inherit much corn and wine here, he who emigrated to Egypt because of the famine which possessed the land in which he was dwelling, and became subject to Pharaoh, who was then ruling over Egypt? **The predicted blessing, therefore, belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall bear rule upon their rising from the dead; when also the creation, having been renovated and set free, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food, from the dew of heaven, and from the fertility of the earth:** as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times, and say: The days will come, in which **vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs**, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and **every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretes of wine**. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, **“I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.”**⁹ [2 Baruch 29] In like manner [the Lord declared] that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear should have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds (*quinque bilibres*) of clear, pure, fine flour; and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds and grass, would produce in similar proportions (*secundum congruentiam iis consequentem*); and that **all animals feeding [only] on the productions of the earth, should [in those days] become peaceful and harmonious among each other, and be in perfect subjection to man**.

4. And these things are borne witness to in writing by **Papias, the hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp**, in his fourth book; for there were five books compiled (συντεταγμένα) by him. And he says in addition, “Now these things are credible to believers.” And he says that, “when the traitor Judas did not give credit to them, and put the question, ‘How then can things about to bring forth so abundantly be wrought by the Lord?’ the Lord declared, ‘They who shall come to these [times] shall see.’” **When prophesying of these times, therefore, Esaias says:** “The wolf also shall feed with the lamb, and the leopard shall take his rest with the kid; the calf also, and the bull, and the lion shall eat together; and a little boy shall lead them. The ox and the bear shall feed together, and their young ones shall agree together; and the lion shall eat straw as well as the ox. And the infant boy shall thrust his hand into the asp’s den, into the nest also of the adder’s brood; and they shall do no harm, nor have power to hurt anything in my holy mountain.” [Isa. 11:6-9] And again he says, in recapitulation, “Wolves and lambs shall then browse together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the serpent earth as if it were bread; and they shall neither hurt nor annoy anything in my holy mountain, saith the Lord.” [Isa. 65:25] I am quite aware that **some persons endeavour to refer these words to the case of savage men, both of different nations and various habits, who come to believe, and when they have believed, act in harmony with the righteous**. But although this is [true] now with regard to some men coming from various nations to the harmony of the faith, nevertheless **in the resurrection of the just [the words shall also apply] to those animals mentioned**. For God is rich in all things. And it is right that **when the creation is restored, all the animals should obey and be in subjection to man**, and revert to the food originally given by God (for they had been originally subjected in obedience to Adam), that is, the productions of the earth. But some other occasion, and not the present, is [to be sought] for showing that the lion shall [then] feed on straw. And this indicates the large size and rich quality of the fruits. For if

⁹ The origin of this is 2 Baruch 29, see p. 59 for that.

that animal, the lion, feeds upon straw [at that period], of what a quality must the wheat itself be whose straw shall serve as suitable food for lions?

Against Heresies, V:33.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxxiv.html>

1.6.5. Heaven contains only Christ and those translated there

Chapter V.—The prolonged life of the ancients, the translation of Elijah and of Enoch in their own bodies, as well as the preservation of Jonah, of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in the midst of extreme peril, are clear demonstrations that God can raise up our bodies to life eternal.

1. [In order to learn] that bodies did continue in existence for a lengthened period, as long as it was God's good pleasure that they should flourish, **let [these heretics] read the Scriptures**, and they will find that **our predecessors advanced beyond seven hundred, eight hundred, and nine hundred years of age**; and that their bodies kept pace with the protracted length of their days, and participated in life as long as God willed that they should live. But why do I refer to these men? For **Enoch, when he pleased God, was translated in the same body** in which he did please Him, thus **pointing out by anticipation the translation of the just**. **Elijah**, too, was caught up [when he was yet] in the substance of the [natural] form; thus **exhibiting in prophecy the assumption of those who are spiritual**, and that nothing stood in the way of their body being translated and caught up. For by means of the very same hands through which they were moulded at the beginning, did they receive this translation and assumption. For in Adam the hands of God had become accustomed to set in order, to rule, and to sustain His own workmanship, and to bring it and place it where they pleased. **Where, then, was the first man placed? In paradise certainly**, as the Scripture declares "And God planted a garden [*paradisum*] eastward in Eden, and there He placed the man whom He had formed." [Gen. 2:8] And then afterwards **when [man] proved disobedient, he was cast out thence into this world**. Wherefore also the **elders who were disciples of the apostles** tell us that **those who were translated were transferred to that place** (for paradise has been prepared for righteous men, such as have the Spirit; **in which place also Paul the apostle, when he was caught up**, heard words which are unspeakable as regards us in our present condition), and that there shall **they who have been translated remain until the consummation** [of all things], as a prelude to immortality.

2. If, however, any one imagine it impossible that men should survive for such a length of time, and that Elias was not caught up in the flesh, but that his flesh was consumed in the fiery chariot, let him consider that Jonah, when he had been cast into the deep, and swallowed down into the whale's belly, was by the command of God again thrown out safe upon the land. And then, again, when Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael were cast into the furnace of fire sevenfold heated, they sustained no harm whatever, neither was the smell of fire perceived upon them. As, therefore, the hand of God was present with them, working out marvellous things in their case—[things] impossible [to be accomplished] by man's nature—what wonder was it, if also in the case of those who were translated it performed something wonderful, working in obedience to the will of God, even the Father? Now this is the Son of God, as the Scripture represents Nebuchadnezzar the king as having said, "Did not we cast three men bound into the furnace? and, lo, I do see four walking in the midst of the fire, and the fourth is like the Son of God." [Dan. 3:24] Neither the nature of any created thing, therefore, nor the weakness of the flesh, can prevail against the will of God. For God is not subject to created things, but created things to God; and all things yield obedience to His will. Wherefore also the Lord declares, "The things which are impossible with men, are possible with God." [Luke 18:27] As, therefore, it might seem to the men of the present day, who are ignorant of God's appointment, to be a thing incredible and impossible that any man could live for such a number of years, yet those who were before us did live [to such an age], and **those who were translated do live as an earnest of the future length of days**; and [as it might also appear impossible] that from the whale's belly and from the fiery furnace men issued forth unhurt, yet they nevertheless did so, led forth as it were by the hand of God, for the purpose of declaring His power: so also now, although

some, not knowing the power and promise of God, may **oppose their own salvation, deeming it impossible for God, who raises up the dead**; to have power to confer upon them eternal duration, yet the scepticism of men of this stamp shall not render the faithfulness of God of none effect.

Against Heresies, V:5.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.ix.vii.vi.html>

1.6.5.1 Comments by Dr. Hill

As will become clearer as our study proceed, this view of the inhabitants is indeed but to correlative of Irenaeus's understanding of the intermediate state: there is a "law of the dead" according to which the souls of all the dead descend to Hades, there to await the resurrection. It is therefore only those who have been preserved from death, such as Elijah, who was caught up to heaven in a fiery chariot, who may reside in the otherworldly paradise until the return of Christ.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 23.

1.6.5.2 Irenaeus got it from Papias

Now, Irenaeus twice expressly tells us (*AH* V.5.1; 36.1) that he got his doctrine of paradise from "the elders who were disciples of the apostles," and this naturally leads to the assumption that the channel of this paradise tradition was none other than Papias.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 23.

1.6.6. Irenaeus on the transformation (against Paul)

'For Irenaeus, (a) those alive at Christ's coming do not undergo transformation to a final, glorified, incorruptible state; rather, "those that are left shall multiply upon the earth" (*AH* V.35.I, explaining Isa. 45:21). (b) The period following the resurrection of the just is still a period of training for incorruption (V.35.2).

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 65.

Irenaeus understands Romans 8:18-25 to be speaking about the Millennium.

1.6.6.1 Irenaeus on living believers at the Parousia are not transformed; believers suffering tribulation from Antichrist

Chapter XXXV.—He contends that these testimonies already alleged cannot be understood allegorically of celestial blessings, but that they shall have their fulfilment after the coming of Antichrist, and the resurrection, in the terrestrial Jerusalem. To the former prophecies he subjoins others drawn from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Apocalypse of John.

1. If, however, any shall endeavour to allegorize [prophecies] of this kind, they shall not be found consistent with themselves in all points, and shall be confuted by the teaching of the very expressions [in question]. For example: "When the cities" of the Gentiles "shall be desolate, so that they be not inhabited, and the houses so that there shall be no men in them and the land shall be left desolate." [Isa. 6:11] "For, behold," says Isaiah, "**the day of the Lord cometh past remedy, full of fury and wrath, to lay waste the city of the earth, and to root sinners out of it.**" [Isa. 13:9] And again he says, "Let him be taken away, that he behold not the glory of God." [Isa. 26:10] And when these things are done, he says, "God will remove men far away, and those that are left shall multiply in the earth." [Isa. 6:12] "And they shall build houses, and shall inhabit them themselves: and plant vineyards, and eat of them themselves." [Isa. 65:21] For **all these and other words were unquestionably spoken in reference to the resurrection of the just**, which takes place **after the coming of Antichrist**, and the **destruction of all nations under his rule**; in [the times of] which [resurrection] **the righteous shall reign in the earth**, waxing stronger by the sight of the Lord: and through Him they shall become accustomed to partake in the glory of God the Father, and shall enjoy in the kingdom intercourse and communion with the holy angels, and union with spiritual beings; and [with respect to] **those whom the Lord shall find in the**

flesh, awaiting Him from heaven, and who **have suffered tribulation**, as well as escaped the hands of the Wicked one. **For it is in reference to them that the prophet says: “And those that are left shall multiply upon the earth,”** And Jeremiah the prophet¹⁰ has pointed out, that as many believers as God has prepared for this purpose, **to multiply those left upon earth**, should both be **under the rule of the saints to minister to this Jerusalem**, and that [His] kingdom shall be in it, saying, “Look around Jerusalem towards the east, and behold the joy which comes to thee from God Himself. Behold, thy sons shall come whom thou hast sent forth: they shall come in a band from the east even unto the west, by the word of that Holy One, rejoicing in that splendour which is from thy God. O Jerusalem, put off thy robe of mourning and of affliction, and put on that beauty of eternal splendour from thy God. Gird thyself with the double garment of that righteousness proceeding from thy God; place the mitre of eternal glory upon thine head. For God will show thy glory to the whole earth under heaven. For thy name shall for ever be called by God Himself, the peace of righteousness and glory to him that worships God. Arise, Jerusalem, stand on high, and look towards the east, and behold thy sons from the rising of the sun, even to the west, by the Word of that Holy One, rejoicing in the very remembrance of God. For the footmen have gone forth from thee, while they were drawn away by the enemy. God shall bring them in to thee, being borne with glory as the throne of a kingdom. For God has decreed that every high mountain shall be brought low, and the eternal hills, and that the valleys be filled, so that the surface of the earth be rendered smooth, that Israel, the glory of God, may walk in safety. The woods, too, shall make shady places, and every sweet-smelling tree shall be for Israel itself by the command of God. For God shall go before with joy in the light of His splendour, with the pity and righteousness which proceeds from Him.” [Baruch 4:36-5:9]

Against Heresies, V:35:1.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxxvi.html>

1.6.6.2 Jerusalem rebuilt; the new Jerusalem; commenting on Rev. 20-21

Chapter XXXV.—He contends that these testimonies already alleged cannot be understood allegorically of celestial blessings, but that they shall have their fulfilment after the coming of Antichrist, and the resurrection, in the terrestrial Jerusalem. To the former prophecies he subjoins others drawn from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Apocalypse of John.

2. Now all these things being such as they are, cannot be understood in reference to super-celestial matters; “for God,” it is said, “will show to the whole earth that is under heaven thy glory.” But in the times of the kingdom, the earth has been called again by Christ [to its pristine condition], and **Jerusalem rebuilt after the pattern of the Jerusalem above**, of which the prophet Isaiah says, “Behold, I have depicted thy walls upon my hands, and thou art always in my sight.” [Isa. 49:16] And the apostle, too, writing to the Galatians, says in like manner, “But the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.” [Gal. 4:26] He does not say this with any thought of an erratic Æon, or of any other power which departed from the Pleroma, or of Prunicus, but of the Jerusalem which has been delineated on [God’s] hands. And in the Apocalypse John saw this new [Jerusalem] descending upon the new earth. For after the times of the kingdom, he says, “I saw a great white throne, and Him who sat upon it, from whose face the earth fled away, and the heavens; and there was no more place for them.” [Rev. 21:2] And he sets forth, too, the things connected with the general resurrection and the judgment, mentioning “the dead, great and small.” “The sea,” he says, “gave up the dead which it had in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead that they contained; and the books were opened. Moreover,” he says, “the book of life was opened, and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works; and death and hell were sent into the lake of fire, the second death.” [Rev. 20:11-14] Now this is what is called Gehenna, which the Lord styled eternal fire. “And if any one,” it is said, “was not found written in the book of life, he was sent into the lake of fire.” [Rev. 20:15] And after this, he says, “I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and earth have passed away; also there was no more sea. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven, as a

¹⁰ It is not from Jeremiah but Baruch 4:36 and chapter 5!

bride adorned for her husband.” [Rev. 21:1-2] “And I heard,” it is said, “a great voice from the throne, saying, **Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them; and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them as their God. And He will wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, because the former things have passed away.**” [Rev. 21:3-4] **Isaiah also declares the very same:** “For there shall be a new heaven and a new earth; and there shall be no remembrance of the former, neither shall the heart think about them, but they shall find in it joy and exultation.” [Isa. 65:17] Now this is what has been said by the apostle: “For the fashion of this world passeth away.” [1 Cor. 7:31] To the same purpose did the Lord also declare, “Heaven and earth shall pass away.” [Matt. 24:35] When these things, therefore, pass away above the earth, John, the Lord’s disciple, says that the new Jerusalem above shall [then] descend, as a bride adorned for her husband; and that this is the tabernacle of God, in which God will dwell with men. Of this Jerusalem the former one is an image—that **Jerusalem of the former earth in which the righteous are disciplined beforehand for incorruption and prepared for salvation.** And of this tabernacle Moses received the pattern in the mount; and nothing is capable of being allegorized, but all things are steadfast, and true, and substantial, having been made by God for righteous men’s enjoyment. For as it is God truly who raises up man, so also does man truly rise from the dead, and not allegorically, as I have shown repeatedly. And as he rises actually, so also shall he be actually disciplined beforehand for incorruption, and shall go forwards and flourish in the times of the kingdom, in order that he may be capable of receiving the glory of the Father. Then, when all things are made new, he shall truly dwell in the city of God. For it is said, “He that sitteth on the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And the Lord says, Write all this; for these words are faithful and true. And He said to me, They are done.” [Rev. 21:5] And this is the truth of the matter.

Against Heresies, V:35:2.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxxvi.html>

1.6.7. The general judgment of all men at the second coming of Christ

Chapter XXVII.—The future judgment by Christ. Communion with and separation from the divine being. The eternal punishment of unbelievers.

1. If the Father, then, does not exercise judgment, [it follows] that judgment does not belong to Him, or that He consents to all those actions which take place; and if He does not judge, all persons will be equal, and accounted in the same condition. **The advent of Christ** will therefore be without an object, yea, absurd, inasmuch as [in that case] He exercises no judicial power. For “He came to divide a man against his father, and the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law;” [Matt. 10:25] and when two are in one bed, to take the one, and to leave the other; and of two women grinding at the mill, to take one and leave the other: [also] **at the time of the end**, to order the reapers to **collect first the tares together, and bind them in bundles, and burn them with unquenchable fire**, but to **gather up the wheat into the barn; and to call the lambs into the kingdom prepared for them**, but to send the goats into everlasting fire, which has been prepared by His Father for the devil and his angels. And why is this? Has the Word come for the ruin and for the resurrection of many? For **the ruin, certainly, of those who do not believe Him, to whom also He has threatened a greater damnation in the judgment-day than that of Sodom and Gomorrah**; but **for the resurrection of believers, and those who do the will of His Father in heaven**. If then **the advent of the Son comes indeed alike to all**, but is for **the purpose of judging, and separating the believing from the unbelieving**, since, as those who believe do His will agreeably to their own choice, and as, [also] agreeably to their own choice, the disobedient do not consent to His doctrine; it is manifest that His Father has made all in a like condition, each person having a choice of his own, and a free understanding; and that He has regard to all things, and exercises a providence over all, “making His sun to rise upon the evil and on the good, and sending rain upon the just and unjust.” [Matt. 5:45]

Against Heresies, V:27:1.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxviii.html>

1.6.8. Tribulation is necessary for the saints to be fitted for the royal banquet

4. And therefore throughout all time, man, having been moulded at the beginning by the hands of God, that is, of the Son and of the Spirit, is made after the image and likeness of God: **the chaff, indeed, which is the apostasy, being cast away**; but the wheat, that is, those who bring forth fruit to God in faith, being gathered into the barn. And **for this cause tribulation is necessary for those who are saved, that having been after a manner broken up, and rendered fine, and sprinkled over by the patience of the Word of God, and set on fire [for purification], they may be fitted for the royal banquet**. As a certain man of ours said, when he was condemned to the wild beasts because of his testimony with respect to God: “I am the wheat of Christ, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of God.”

Against Heresies, V:28:4.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxix.html>

1.6.9. On Antichrist and the saints will pass through the tribulation; 2 Thess. 2 speaks of a temple in Jerusalem; Matt. 24 and Dan. 7; 70th week of Daniel speaks of the reign of Antichrist

Chapter XXV.—The fraud, pride, and tyrannical kingdom of Antichrist, as described by Daniel and Paul.

1. And not only by the particulars already mentioned, but also by means of the events which shall occur **in the time of Antichrist is it shown that he, being an apostate and a robber, is anxious to be adored as God; and that, although a mere slave, he wishes himself to be proclaimed as a king**. For he (Antichrist) being endued with all the power of the devil, shall come, not as a righteous king, nor as a legitimate king, [i.e., one] in subjection to God, but **an impious, unjust, and lawless one; as an apostate, iniquitous and murderous; as a robber, concentrating in himself [all] satanic apostasy, and setting aside idols to persuade [men] that he himself is God**, raising up himself as the only idol, having in himself the multifarious errors of the other idols. This he does, in order that they who do [now] worship the devil by means of many abominations, may serve himself by this one idol, of whom the apostle thus speaks in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: “Unless there shall come a failing away first, and the man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God.” [2 Thess. 2:3-4] The apostle therefore clearly points out his apostasy, and that he is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped—that is, above every idol—for these are indeed so called by men, but are not [really] gods; and that he will endeavour in a tyrannical manner to set himself forth as God.

2. Moreover, he (the apostle) has also pointed out this which I have shown in many ways, that **the temple in Jerusalem was made by the direction of the true God**. For the apostle himself, speaking in his own person, **distinctly called it the temple of God**. Now I have shown in the third book, that no one is termed God by the apostles when speaking for themselves, except Him who truly is God, the Father of our Lord, by whose directions the temple which is at Jerusalem was constructed for those purposes which I have already mentioned; **in which [temple] the enemy shall sit, endeavouring to show himself as Christ**, as the Lord also declares: “But when ye shall see **the abomination of desolation**, which has been spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then let those who are in Judea flee into the mountains; and he who is upon the house-top, let him not come down to take anything out of his house: for there shall then be great hardship, such as has not been from the beginning of the world until now, nor ever shall be.” [Matt. 24:15, 21]

3. Daniel too, looking forward to the end of the last kingdom, i.e., the ten last kings, amongst whom the kingdom of those men shall be partitioned, and upon whom the son of perdition shall come, declares that ten horns shall spring from the beast, and that **another little horn shall arise in the midst of them**, and that three of the former shall be rooted up before his face. He says: "And, behold, eyes were in this horn as the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and his look was more stout than his fellows. I was looking, and this horn made war against the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of days came and gave judgment to the saints of the most high God, and the time came, and the saints obtained the kingdom." [Dan. 7:8, 21-22] Then, further on, in the interpretation of the vision, there was said to him: "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall excel all other kingdoms, and devour the whole earth, and tread it down, and cut it in pieces. And its ten horns are ten kings which shall arise; and after them shall arise another, who shall surpass in evil deeds all that were before him, and shall overthrow three kings; and he shall speak words against the most high God, and wear out the saints of the most high God, and shall purpose to change times and laws; and [everything] shall be given into his hand until a time of times and a half time," [Dan. 7:23-25] that is, **for three years and six months, during which time, when he comes, he shall reign over the earth**. Of whom also the Apostle Paul again, speaking in the second [Epistle] to the Thessalonians, and at the same time proclaiming the cause of his advent, thus says: "And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy by the presence of His coming; whose coming [i.e., the wicked one's] is after the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and portents of lies, and with all deceivableness of wickedness for those who perish; because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them the working of error, that they may believe a lie; that they all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but gave consent to iniquity," [2 Thess. 2:8-10]

4. The Lord also spoke as follows to those who did not believe in Him: "I have come in my Father's name, and ye have not received Me: when another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive," [John 5:43] calling Antichrist "the other," because he is alienated from the Lord. This is also the unjust judge, whom the Lord mentioned as one "who feared not God, neither regarded man," [Luke 18:2] to whom the widow fled in her forgetfulness of God,—that is, the earthly Jerusalem,—to be avenged of her adversary. Which also he shall do in the time of his kingdom: **he shall remove his kingdom into that [city], and shall sit in the temple of God, leading astray those who worship him, as if he were Christ**. To this purpose Daniel says again: "And he shall desolate the holy place; and sin has been given for a sacrifice, and righteousness been cast away in the earth, and he has been active (*fecit*), and gone on prosperously." [Dan. 8:12] And the angel Gabriel, when explaining his vision, states with regard to this person: "And towards the end of their kingdom a king of a most fierce countenance shall arise, one understanding [dark] questions, and exceedingly powerful, full of wonders; and he shall corrupt, direct, influence (*faciet*), and put strong men down, the holy people likewise; and his yoke shall be directed as a wreath [round their neck]; deceit shall be in his hand, and he shall be lifted up in his heart: he shall also ruin many by deceit, and lead many to perdition, bruising them in his hand like eggs." [Dan. 8:23-25] And **then he points out the time that his tyranny shall last, during which the saints shall be put to flight, they who offer a pure sacrifice unto God: "And in the midst of the week," he says, "the sacrifice and the libation shall be taken away**, and the abomination of desolation [shall be brought] into the temple: even unto the consummation of the time shall the desolation be complete." [Dan. 9:27] Now three years and six months constitute the half-week.

5. From all these passages are revealed to us, not merely the particulars of the apostasy, and [the doings] of him who concentrates in himself every satanic error, but also, that there is one and the same God the Father, who was declared by the prophets, but made manifest by Christ. For if what Daniel prophesied concerning the end has been confirmed by the Lord, when He said, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which has been spoken of by Daniel the prophet" [Matt. 24:15] (and the angel Gabriel gave the interpretation of the visions to Daniel, and he is the archangel of the Creator (*Demiurgi*), who also proclaimed to Mary the visible coming and the incarnation of Christ), then one and the same God

is most manifestly pointed out, who sent the prophets, and made promise of the Son, and called us into His knowledge.

Against Heresies, V:25.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxvi.html>

1.6.10. Antichrist in the temple in Jerusalem for 3,5 years, 666; the Antichrist coming from the tribe of Dan; cosmic-week theory, seventh day; the promised inheritance to Abraham

Chapter XXX.—Although certain as to the number of the name of Antichrist, yet we should come to no rash conclusions as to the name itself, because this number is capable of being fitted to many names. Reasons for this point being reserved by the Holy Spirit. Antichrist's reign and death.

1. Such, then, being the state of the case, and this number being found in all the most approved and ancient copies [of the Apocalypse], and those men who saw John face to face bearing their testimony [to it]; while reason also leads us to conclude that the number of the name of the beast, [if reckoned] according to the Greek mode of calculation by the [value of] the letters contained in it, will amount to six hundred and sixty and six; that is, the number of tens shall be equal to that of the hundreds, and the number of hundreds equal to that of the units (for that number which [expresses] the digit six being adhered to throughout, indicates the recapitulations of that apostasy, taken in its full extent, which occurred at the beginning, during the intermediate periods, and which shall take place at the end),—I do not know how it is that some have erred following the ordinary mode of speech, and have vitiated the middle number in the name, deducting the amount of fifty from it, so that instead of six decads they will have it that there is but one. [I am inclined to think that this occurred through the fault of the copyists, as is wont to happen, since numbers also are expressed by letters; so that the Greek letter which expresses the number sixty was easily expanded into the letter Iota of the Greeks.] Others then received this reading without examination; some in their simplicity, and upon their own responsibility, making use of this number expressing one decad; while some, in their inexperience, have ventured to seek out a name which should contain the erroneous and spurious number. Now, as regards those who have done this in simplicity, and without evil intent, we are at liberty to assume that pardon will be granted them by God. But as for those who, for the sake of vainglory, lay it down for certain that names containing the spurious number are to be accepted, and affirm that this name, hit upon by themselves, is that of him who is to come; such persons shall not come forth without loss, because they have led into error both themselves and those who confided in them. Now, in the first place, it is loss to wander from the truth, and to imagine that as being the case which is not; then again, as there shall be no light punishment [inflicted] upon him who either adds or subtracts anything from the Scripture, under that such a person must necessarily fall. Moreover, another danger, by no means trifling, shall overtake **those who falsely presume that they know the name of Antichrist**. For if these men assume one [number], when this [Antichrist] shall come having another, they will be easily led away by him, as supposing him not to be the expected one, who must be guarded against.

2. These men, therefore, ought to learn [what really is the state of the case], and go back to the true number of the name, that they be not reckoned among false prophets. But, knowing the sure number declared by Scripture, that is, six hundred sixty and six, let them await, in the first place, the **division of the kingdom into ten**; then, in the next place, when these kings are reigning, and beginning to set their affairs in order, and advance their kingdom, [let them learn] to acknowledge that he who shall come claiming the kingdom for himself, and shall terrify those men of whom we have been speaking, having **a name containing the aforesaid number, is truly the abomination of desolation**. This, too, the apostle affirms: “When they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction shall come upon them.” [1 Thess. 5:3] And Jeremiah does not merely point out his sudden coming, but he even **indicates the tribe from which he shall come, where he says, “We shall hear the voice of his swift horses from Dan**; the whole earth shall be moved by the voice of the neighing of his galloping horses: he shall also come

and devour the earth, and the fulness thereof, the city also, and they that dwell therein.” [Jer. 8:16] This, too, is the **reason that this tribe is not reckoned in the Apocalypse along with those which are saved.**

3. It is therefore **more certain, and less hazardous, to await the fulfilment of the prophecy, than to be making surmises, and casting about for any names that may present themselves**, inasmuch as many names can be found possessing the number mentioned; and the same question will, after all, remain unsolved. For if there are many names found possessing this number, it will be asked which among them shall the coming man bear. It is not through a want of names containing the number of that name that I say this, but on account of the fear of God, and zeal for the truth: for the name *Evanthas* (ΕΥΑΝΘΑΣ) contains the required number, but I make no allegation regarding it. Then also *Lateinos* (ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ) has the number six hundred and sixty-six; and it is a very probable [solution], this being the name of the last kingdom [of the four seen by Daniel]. For the Latins are they who at present bear rule: I will not, however, make any boast over this [coincidence]. *Teitan* too, (ΤΕΙΤΑΝ, the first syllable being written with the two Greek vowels ε and ι, among all the names which are found among us, is rather worthy of credit. For it has in itself the predicted number, and is composed of six letters, each syllable containing three letters; and [the word itself] is ancient, and removed from ordinary use; for among our kings we find none bearing this name Titan, nor have any of the idols which are worshipped in public among the Greeks and barbarians this appellation. Among many persons, too, this name is accounted divine, so that even the sun is termed “Titan” by those who do now possess [the rule]. This word, too, contains a certain outward appearance of vengeance, and of one inflicting merited punishment because he (Antichrist) pretends that he vindicates the oppressed. And besides this, it is an ancient name, one worthy of credit, of royal dignity, and still further, a name belonging to a tyrant. Inasmuch, then, as this name “Titan” has so much to recommend it, there is a strong degree of probability, that from among the many [names suggested], we infer, that **perchance he who is to come shall be called “Titan.”** We will not, however, **incur the risk of pronouncing positively as to the name of Antichrist; for if it were necessary that his name should be distinctly revealed in this present time**, it would have been announced by him who beheld the apocalyptic vision. For **that was seen no very long time** since, but **almost in our day, towards the end of Domitian’s reign.**

4. But he indicates the number of the name now, that when this man comes we may avoid him, being aware who he is: the name, however, is suppressed, because it is not worthy of being proclaimed by the Holy Spirit. For if it had been declared by Him, he (Antichrist) might perhaps continue for a long period. But now as “he was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss, and goes into perdition,” [Rev. 17:8] as one who has no existence; so neither has his name been declared, for the name of that which does not exist is not proclaimed. But **when this Antichrist shall have devastated all things in this world, he will reign for three years and six months, and sit in the temple at Jerusalem; and then the Lord will come from heaven in the clouds**, in the glory of the Father, **sending this man and those who follow him into the lake of fire**; but **bringing in for the righteous the times of the kingdom, that is, the rest, the hallowed seventh day**; and **restoring to Abraham the promised inheritance**, in which kingdom the Lord declared, that “many coming from the east and from the west should sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.” [Matt. 8:11]

Against Heresies, V:30

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.ix.vii.xxxi.html>

1.6.11. The righteous shall be caught up in the end (Matt. 24:21); Antichrist and 666

Chapter XXIX.—All things have been created for the service of man. The deceits, wickedness, and apostate power of Antichrist. This was prefigured at the deluge, as afterwards by the persecution of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

1. In the previous books I have set forth the causes for which God permitted these things to be made, and have pointed out that all such have been created for the benefit of that human nature which is saved,

ripening for immortality that which is [possessed] of its own free will and its own power, and preparing and rendering it more adapted for eternal subjection to God. And therefore the creation is suited to [the wants of] man; for man was not made for its sake, but creation for the sake of man. Those nations, however, who did not of themselves raise up their eyes unto heaven, nor returned thanks to their Maker, nor wished to behold the light of truth, but who were like blind mice concealed in the depths of ignorance, the word justly reckons “as waste water from a sink, and as the turning-weight of a balance—in fact, as nothing;” [Isa. 40:5] so far useful and serviceable to the just, as stubble conduces towards the growth of the wheat, and its straw, by means of combustion, serves for working gold. And therefore, **when in the end the Church shall be suddenly caught up from this, it is said, “There shall be tribulation such as has not been since the beginning, neither shall be.”** [Matt. 24:21] For this is the last contest of the righteous, in which, when they overcome they are crowned with incorruption.

2. And there is therefore in **this beast, when he comes, a recapitulation made of all sorts of iniquity and of every deceit, in order that all apostate power, flowing into and being shut up in him, may be sent into the furnace of fire.** Fittingly, therefore, shall his name possess the number **six hundred and sixty-six, since he sums up in his own person all the commixture of wickedness which took place previous to the deluge, due to the apostasy of the angels.** For Noah was six hundred years old when the deluge came upon the earth, sweeping away the rebellious world, for the sake of that most infamous generation which lived in the times of Noah. And [Antichrist] also sums up every error of devised idols since the flood, together with the slaying of the prophets and the cutting off of the just. For that image which was set up by Nebuchadnezzar had indeed a height of sixty cubits, while the breadth was six cubits; on account of which Ananias, Azarias, and Mishael, when they did not worship it, were cast into a furnace of fire, pointing out prophetically, by what happened to them, the wrath against the righteous which shall arise towards the [time of the] end. For that image, taken as a whole, was a pre-figuring of this man’s coming, decreeing that he should undoubtedly himself alone be worshipped by all men. Thus, then, the six hundred years of Noah, in whose time the deluge occurred because of the apostasy, and the number of the cubits of the image for which these just men were sent into the fiery furnace, do indicate the number of the name of that man in whom is **concentrated the whole apostasy of six thousand years, and unrighteousness, and wickedness,** and false prophecy, and deception; for which things’ sake a cataclysm of fire shall also come [upon the earth].

Against Heresies, V:29.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.ix.vii.xxx.html>

1.7. Tertullian (c. 155 – c. 240 AD)

1.7.1. Introduction

Tertullian, full name Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, c. 155 – c. 240 AD, was a prolific early Christian author from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa. Of Berber origin, he was the first Christian author to produce an extensive corpus of Latin Christian literature. He also was a notable early Christian apologist and a polemicist against heresy, including contemporary Christian Gnosticism. Tertullian has been called “the father of Latin Christianity” and “the founder of Western theology.”¹¹



¹¹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tertullian>

1.7.2. Tertullian on Hades; every soul is detained in paradise until the Day of the Lord; only martyrs directly go to Paradise

Chapter LV.—The Christian Idea of the Position of Hades; The Blessedness of Paradise Immediately After Death. The Privilege of the Martyrs.

By ourselves the **lower regions (of Hades)** are not supposed to be a bare cavity, nor some subterranean sewer of the world, but **a vast deep space in the interior of the earth**, and a concealed recess in its very bowels; inasmuch as we read that **Christ in His death spent three days in the heart of the earth**, that is, in the **secret inner recess which is hidden in the earth**, and enclosed by the earth, and superimposed on the abysmal depths which lie still lower down. Now although Christ is God, yet, being also man, “He died according to the Scriptures,” and “according to the same Scriptures was buried.” [1 Cor. 15:3-4] With the same law of His being He fully complied, by **remaining in Hades in the form and condition of a dead man**; nor did He ascend into the heights of heaven before descending into the lower parts of the earth, that **He might there make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of Himself**. (This being the case), you must suppose **Hades to be a subterranean region**, and keep at arm’s length those who are too proud to believe that **the souls of the faithful deserve a place in the lower regions**. These persons, who are “servants above their Lord, and disciples above their Master,” [Matt. 10:24] would no doubt spurn to receive the comfort of the resurrection, if they must expect it in Abraham’s bosom. But it was for this purpose, say they, that Christ descended into hell, that we might not ourselves have to descend thither. Well, then, what difference is there between heathens and Christians, if the same prison awaits them all when dead? How, indeed, shall the soul mount up to heaven, where Christ is already sitting at the Father’s right hand, when as yet the archangel’s trumpet has not been heard by the command of God,—when as yet those whom the coming of the Lord is to find on the earth, have not been caught up into the air to meet Him at His coming, in company with the dead in Christ, who shall be the first to arise? **To no one is heaven opened**; the earth is still safe for him, I would not say it is shut against him. **When the world, indeed, shall pass away, then the kingdom of heaven shall be opened**. Shall we then have to sleep high up in ether, with the boy-loving worthies of Plato; or in the air with Arius; or around the moon with the Endymions of the Stoics? No, but in Paradise, you tell me, whither already the patriarchs and prophets have removed from Hades in the retinue of the Lord’s resurrection. How is it, then, that **the region of Paradise, which as revealed to John in the Spirit lay under the altar, displays no other souls as in it besides the souls of the martyrs**? How is it that the most heroic martyr Perpetua on the day of her passion saw only her fellow-martyrs there, in the revelation which she received of Paradise, if it were not that the sword which guarded the entrance permitted none to go in thereat, except those who had died in Christ and not in Adam? A new death for God, even the extraordinary one for Christ, is admitted into the reception-room of mortality, specially altered and adapted to receive the new-comer. Observe, then, the difference between a heathen and a Christian in their death: if you have to lay down your life for God, as the Comforter counsels, it is not in gentle fevers and on soft beds, but in the sharp pains of martyrdom: you must take up the cross and bear it after your Master, as He has Himself instructed you. **The sole key to unlock Paradise is your own life’s blood**. You have a treatise by us, (on Paradise), in which we have established the position that **every soul is detained in safe keeping in Hades until the day of the Lord**.

A Treatise on the Soul. Chapter 55.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03.iv.xi.lv.html>

1.7.2.1 *All souls go to Hades, comments by Dr. Hill*

In *De anima*, however, Tertullian’s ardor would surely have barred the gates of heaven from everyone but Christ. His unrestrained statements may be cited: “To no one is heaven opened” (*An.* 55.3); “Hades is not in any case opened for (the escape of) any soul” (*An.* 57.11); and “All souls, therefore, are shut up within Hades” (*An.* 58.1; cf. *Res.* 42.3).

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 30.

1.7.3. Subterranean place because of Valentinianism and Marcionism, Dr. Hill comments

Heinz Finé has shown that the battle with Valentinianism and Marcionism was decisive for Tertullian's acceptance and defense of an infernal intermediate state; Jean Daniélou rightly sees this concern in Justin and Irenaeus as well.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 67-68.

1.7.4. Saints shall pass through the tribulation and be perfected; exposition of 2 Cor. 5 and 1 Cor. 15

Chapter XII.—The Eternal Home in Heaven. Beautiful Exposition by Tertullian of the Apostle's Consolatory Teaching Against the Fear of Death, So Apt to Arise Under Anti-Christian Oppression. The Judgment-Seat of Christ—The Idea, Anti-Marcionite. Paradise. Judicial Characteristics of Christ Which are Inconsistent with the Heretical Views About Him; The Apostle's Sharpness, or Severity, Shows Him to Be a Fit Preacher of the Creator's Christ.

As to the house of this our earthly dwelling-place, when he says that “we have an eternal home in heaven, not made with hands,” [2 Cor. 5:1] he by no means would imply that, because it was built by the Creator's hand, it must perish in a perpetual dissolution after death. He treats of this subject in order to offer consolation against the fear of death and the dread of this very dissolution, as is even more manifest from what follows, when he adds, that “in this tabernacle of our earthly body we do groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with the vesture which is from heaven, if so be, that having been unclothed, we shall not be found naked;” [2 Cor. 5:2-3] in other words, shall regain that of which we have been divested, even our body. And again he says: “We that are in this tabernacle do groan, not as if we were oppressed with an unwillingness to be unclothed, but (we wish) to be clothed upon.” [2 Cor. 5:4] He here says expressly, what he touched but lightly in his first epistle, where he wrote:) “The dead shall be raised incorruptible” (meaning those who had undergone mortality), “and we shall be changed” [1 Cor. 15:52] (whom God shall find to be yet in the flesh). Both *those* shall be raised incorruptible, because **they shall regain their body—and that a renewed one, from which shall come their incorruptibility; and these also shall, in the crisis of the last moment, and from their instantaneous death, whilst encountering the oppressions of anti-christ, undergo a change, obtaining therein not so much a divestiture of body as “a clothing upon” with the vesture which is from heaven.** So that whilst these shall put on over their (changed) body this, heavenly raiment, the dead also shall for their part recover their body, over which they too have a supervesture to put on, even the incorruption of heaven; because of these it was that he said: “This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.” [1 Cor. 15:53] The one put on this (heavenly) apparel, when they recover their bodies; the others put it on as a supervesture, when they indeed hardly lose them (in the suddenness of their change). It was accordingly not without good reason that he described them as “not wishing indeed to be unclothed,” but (rather as wanting) “to be clothed upon;” [2 Cor. 5:4] in other words, as wishing not to undergo death, but to be surprised into life, “that this mortal (body) might be swallowed up of life,” [2 Cor. 5:4] by being rescued from death in the supervesture of its changed state. This is why he shows us how much better it is for us not to be sorry, if we should be surprised by death, and tells us that we even hold of God “the earnest of His Spirit” [2 Cor. 5:5] (pledged as it were thereby to have “the clothing upon,” which is the object of our hope), and that “so long as we are in the flesh, we are absent from the Lord;” [2 Cor. 5:6] moreover, that we ought on this account to prefer “rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord,” [2 Cor. 5:8] and so to be ready to meet even death with joy. In this view it is that he informs us how “we must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according as he hath done either good or bad.” [2 Cor. 5:10] Since, however, **there is then to be a retribution according to men's merits**, how will any be able to reckon with God? But by mentioning both the judgment-seat and the distinction between works good and bad, he sets before us a Judge who is to award both sentences, and has thereby affirmed that all will have to be present at the tribunal in their bodies. For it will be impossible to pass sentence except

on the body, for what has been done in the body. God would be unjust, if any one were not punished or else rewarded in that very condition, wherein the merit was itself achieved. “If therefore any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new;” [2 Cor. 5:17] and so is accomplished the prophecy of Isaiah. When also he (in a later passage) enjoins us “to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and blood” [Isa. 43:19] (since this substance enters not the kingdom of God); when, again, he “espouses the church as a chaste virgin to Christ,” [2 Cor. 11:2] a spouse to a spouse in very deed, an image cannot be combined and compared with what is opposed to the real nature of the thing (with which it is compared). So when he designates “false apostles, deceitful workers transforming themselves” [2 Cor. 11:13] into likenesses of himself, of course by their hypocrisy, he charges them with the guilt of disorderly conversation, rather than of false doctrine. The contrariety, therefore, was one of conduct, not of gods. If “Satan himself, too, is transformed into an angel of light,” [2 Cor 11:14] such an assertion must not be used to the prejudice of the Creator. The Creator is not an angel, but God. Into a god of light, and not an angel of light, must Satan then have been said to be transformed, if he did not mean to call him “the angel,” which both we and Marcion know him to be. *On Paradise* is the title of a treatise of ours, in which is discussed all that the subject admits of. I shall here simply wonder, in connection with this matter, whether a god who has no dispensation of any kind on earth could possibly have a paradise to call his own—without perchance availing himself of the paradise of the Creator, to use it as he does His world—much in the character of a mendicant. And yet of **the removal of a man from earth to heaven we have an instance afforded us by the Creator in Elijah**. But what will excite my surprise still more is the case (next supposed by Marcion), that a God so good and gracious, and so averse to blows and cruelty, should have suborned the angel Satan—not his own either, but the Creator’s—“to buffet” the apostle [2 Cor. 12:7-8], and then to have refused his request, when thrice entreated to liberate him! It would seem, therefore, that Marcion’s god imitates the Creator’s conduct, who is an enemy to the proud, even “putting down the mighty from their seats.” [1 Sam. 2:7-8; Luke 1:52] Is he then the same God as He who gave Satan power over the person of Job that his “strength might be made perfect in weakness?” [2 Cor. 12:9] How is it that the censurer of the Galatians still retains the very formula of the law: “In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established?” [2 Cor. 13:1] How again is it that he threatens sinners “that he will not spare” [2 Cor. 13:2] them—he, the preacher of a most gentle god? Yea, he even declares that “the Lord hath given to him the power of using sharpness in their presence!” [2 Cor. 13:10] Deny now, O heretic, (at your cost,) that your god is an object to be feared, when his apostle was for making himself so formidable!

Against Marcion, book V:12.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03.v.iv.vi.xii.html>

1.7.5. Resurrection and rapture at the second coming; 1 Thess. 4

Chapter XLI.—The Dissolution of Our Tabernacle Consistent with the Resurrection of Our Bodies.

It is still the same sentiment which he follows up in the passage in which he puts the recompense above the sufferings: “for we know;” he says, “that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;” [2 Cor. 5:1] in other words, **owing to the fact that our flesh is undergoing dissolution through its sufferings, we shall be provided with a home in heaven**. He remembered the award (which the Lord assigns) in the Gospel: “Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” [Matt. 5:10] Yet, when he thus contrasted the recompense of the reward, he did not deny the flesh’s restoration; since the recompense is due to the same substance to which the dissolution is attributed,—that is, of course, the flesh. Because, however, he had called the flesh *a house*, he wished elegantly to use the same term in his comparison of the ultimate reward; promising to the very house, which undergoes dissolution through suffering, **a better house through the resurrection**. Just as the Lord also promises us many mansions as of a house in His Father’s home; although this may possibly be understood of the domicile of this

world, on the dissolution of whose fabric an eternal abode is promised in heaven, inasmuch as the following context, having a manifest reference to the flesh, seems to show that these preceding words have no such reference. For the apostle makes a distinction, when he goes on to say, “For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven, if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked;” [2 Cor. 5:2-3] which means, **before we put off the garment of the flesh, we wish to be clothed with the celestial glory of immortality**. Now **the privilege of this favour awaits those who shall at the coming of the Lord be found in the flesh**, and who shall, **owing to the oppressions of the time of Antichrist**, deserve by an instantaneous death, which is **accomplished by a sudden change**, to become qualified to **join the rising saints**; as he writes to the Thessalonians: “For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we too shall ourselves be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.” [1 Thess. 4:15-17]

On The Resurrection of the Flesh, 41.

https://ccel.org/ccel/tertullian/resurrection_flesh/anf03.v.viii.XLI.html

1.8. Commodianus (c. 250 – ?)

1.8.1. Introduction

Commodianus was a Christian Latin poet, who flourished about AD 250. The only ancient writers who mention him are Gennadius, presbyter of Massilia (end of 5th century), in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, and Pope Gelasius in *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, in which his works are classed as Apocryphi, probably on account of certain heterodox statements contained in them. Commodianus is supposed to have been from Roman Africa, partly on the ground of his similarity to Cyprian, partly because the African school was the chief center of Christian Latinity in the third century; a Syrian origin has also been suggested.

As he himself tells us, he was originally a heathen, but was converted to Christianity when advanced in years, and felt called upon to instruct the ignorant in the truth. He was the author of two extant Latin poems, *Instructiones* and *Carmen apologeticum* (first published in 1852 by J. B. Pitra in the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, from an MS. in the Middlehill collection, now at Cheltenham, supposed to have been brought from the monastery of Bobbio).¹²

1.8.2. The wicked judged for a thousand years then turned to Gehenna

XLIII.—Of the End of This Age.

The **trumpet gives the sign in heaven**, the lion being taken away, and suddenly there is darkness with the din of heaven. The Lord casts down His eyes, so that the earth trembles. He cries out, so that all may hear throughout the world: Behold, long have I been silent while I bore your doings in such a time. They cry out together, complaining and groaning too late. They howl, they bewail; nor is there room found for the wicked. What shall the mother do for the sucking child, when she herself is burnt up? **In the flame of fire the Lord will judge the wicked**. But the **fire shall not touch the just**, but shall by all means lick them up. In one place they delay, but a part has wept at the judgment. Such will be the heat, that the stones themselves shall melt. The winds assemble into lightnings, **the heavenly wrath rages**; and wherever the wicked man fleeth, he is seized upon by this fire. There will be no succour nor ship of the sea. Amen **flames on the nations, and the Medes and Parthians burn for a thousand years**, as the **hidden words of John declare**. For then **after a thousand years they are delivered over to Gehenna**; and he whose work they were, with them are burnt up.

¹² <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/commodian.html>

Instructions of Commodianus, chapter 43.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.v.ii.xliv.html>

- 1.8.3. On the first resurrection in which the New Jerusalem shall descent from heaven; the righteous marrying and procreating; the earth will be renewed in the Millennium

XLIV.—Of the First Resurrection.

From **heaven will descend the city in the first resurrection**; this is what we may tell of such a celestial fabric. **We shall arise again to Him**, who have been devoted to Him. And **they shall be incorruptible, even already living without death**. And **neither will there be any grief nor any groaning in that city**. They shall come also who **overcame cruel martyrdom under Antichrist**, and **they themselves live for the whole time**, and receive blessings because they have suffered evil things; and **they themselves marrying, beget for a thousand years**. There are prepared all the revenues of the earth, because the **earth renewed without end pours forth abundantly**. Therein are no rains; no cold comes into the golden camp. No sieges as now, nor rapines, nor does that city crave the light of a lamp. It shines from its Founder. Moreover, Him it obeys; in breadth 12,000 furlongs and length and depth. It levels its foundation in the earth, but it raises its head to heaven. In the city before the doors, moreover, sun and moon shall shine; **he who is evil is hedged up in torment**, for the sake of the nourishment of the righteous. But **from the thousand years God will destroy all those evils**.

The Instructions of Commodianus, chapter 44.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf04.v.ii.xlv.html>

- 1.8.4. Subterranean Intermediate State, comments by Dr. Hill

Marcel Richard then is justified in listing Commodianus as an exponent of a subterranean intermediate state for the righteous. Being also a defender of chiliasm, Commodianus joins Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and most probably Papias as a witness to the conjunction of these two eschatological doctrines.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 35.

1.9. Victorinus of Pettau (250 – 303 AD)

1.9.1. Introduction

Saint Victorinus of Pettau or of Poetovio (died 303 or 304) was an Early Christian ecclesiastical writer who flourished about 270, and who was martyred during the persecutions of Emperor Diocletian. A Bishop of Poetovio (modern Ptuj in Slovenia; German: Pettau) in Pannonia, Victorinus is also known as Victorinus Petavionensis, Poetovionensis or Victorinus of Ptuj.



Victorinus wrote a commentary on the Book of Revelation that was later republished in a redacted form by Saint Jerome in the 5th century AD. An original unredacted manuscript was found in 1918, however. The commentary was composed not long after the Valerian Persecution, about 260. According to Claudio Moreschini, “The interpretation is primarily allegorical, with a marked interest in arithmology.” Johannes Quasten writes that “It seems that he did not give a running commentary on the entire text but contented himself with a paraphrase of selected passages.”

The book is interesting to modern scholars as an example of how people in antiquity interpreted the book of Revelation. Victorinus sees the four animals singing praise to God as the Gospels, and the 24 elders seated on thrones in Revelation 4 are the 12 patriarchs of the 12 tribes of Israel and the 12 apostles. He also agrees with views that the Whore of Babylon “drunk with the blood of martyrs and saints” represents the City of Rome and its persecutions of Christians, and that The Beast described in chapter 13 represents Emperor Nero. As Nero was already dead during Victorinus's time, he believed that the

later passages referred to Nero Redivivus, a monstrous revived Nero who would attack from the East with the aid of the Jews.¹³

What must be noted in the citations from his commentary on the Apocalypse is that this is the edition which was published by Jerome, and which may be sifted through him and thus not 100% reflect Victorinus' views. Although his premillennialism is still seen.

1.9.2. Chiliasm and subterranean state, comments by Dr. Hill

Nowhere is the native alliance of the doctrines of chiliasm and the subterranean intermediate state set in sharper relief than in a few statements from the third-century author, Victorinus of Pettau.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 35

1.9.3. His views on Revelation

Summarized from Dr. Hill's survey:

- Like Commodianus, he believed the Antichrist would be Nero returned from the dead.
 - The 144,000 are Jews converted by the ministry of Elijah prior to Antichrist's advent.
- These will be slaughtered for they will rise in the First Resurrection.
- The Millennium will be in Judea "in the seventh millenary of years".
- In the Millennium the godly will reign over all the Gentiles.
- Paul's word in 1 Cor. 15:52 relate to the close of the Millennium.
- The two witnesses are Elijah and Jeremiah, because nothing is said of the latter's death and he is said to be a prophet to the nations (Jer. 1:5). For the other candidates, namely, Moses and Elisha, have died. Elijah and Jeremiah on the other hand are in paradise.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 36-39.

Commentary is found at: <https://ccel.org/ccel/victorinus/apocalypse/anf07.vi.ii.i.html>

1.9.4. The Millennium and the true Sabbath will be in the seventh millenary of years when Christ shall reign with His elect; cosmic-week theory; the eighth day is the future judgment

And thus in the sixth Psalm for the eighth day, David asks the Lord that He would not rebuke him in His anger, nor judge him in His fury; for this is indeed **the eighth day of that future judgment**, which will pass beyond the order of the **sevenfold arrangement**. Jesus also, the son of Nave, the successor of Moses, himself broke the Sabbath-day; for on the Sabbath-day he commanded the children of Israel to go round the walls of the city of Jericho with trumpets, and declare war against the aliens. Matthias also, prince of Judah, broke the Sabbath; for he slew the prefect of Antiochus the king of Syria on the Sabbath, and subdued the foreigners by pursuing them. And in Matthew we read, that it is written Isaiah also and the rest of his colleagues broke the Sabbath—that **that true and just Sabbath should be observed in the seventh millenary of years**. Wherefore **to those seven days the Lord attributed to each a thousand years**; for thus went the warning: "In Thine eyes, O Lord, a thousand years are as one day." [Ps. 90:4] Therefore in the eyes of the Lord each thousand of years is ordained, for I find that the Lord's eyes are seven. Wherefore, as I have narrated, that **true Sabbath will be in the seventh millenary of years**, when **Christ with His elect shall reign**. Moreover, the seven heavens agree with those days; for thus we are warned: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the powers of them by the spirit of His mouth." [Ps. 33:6] There are seven spirits. Their names are the spirits which abode on the Christ of God, as was intimated in Isaiah the prophet: "And there rests upon Him the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of wisdom and of piety, and the spirit of God's fear hath filled Him." [Isa. 11:2-3] Therefore the highest heaven is the heaven of wisdom; the

¹³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Victorinus_of_Pettau

second, of understanding; the third, of counsel; the fourth, of might; the fifth, of knowledge; the sixth, of piety; the seventh, of God's fear. From this, therefore, the thunders bellow, the lightnings are kindled, the fires are heaped together; fiery darts appear, stars gleam, the anxiety caused by the dreadful comet is aroused. Sometimes it happens that the sun and moon approach one another, and cause those more than frightful appearances, radiating with light in the field of their aspect. But the author of the whole creation is Jesus. His name is the Word; for thus His Father says: "My heart hath emitted a good word." [Ps. 45:1] John the evangelist thus says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made that was made." [John 1:1-2] Therefore, first, was made the creation; secondly, man, the lord of the human race, as says the apostle. Therefore this Word, when it made light, is called Wisdom; when it made the sky, Understanding; when it made land and sea, Counsel; when it made sun and moon and other bright things, Power; when it calls forth land and sea, Knowledge; when it formed man, Piety; when it blesses and sanctifies man, it has the name of God's fear.

On The Creation Of The World, par. 5.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07/anf07.vi.i.html>

1.9.5. The thousand years are the whole time between Christ's first and second coming; devil is cast out of the hearts of believers; cosmic-week theory (Rev. 20:1-3)

[Rev. 20:]1-3. "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand. And he held the dragon, that old serpent, which is called the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and cast him into the abyss, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be finished: after this he must be loosed a little season." Those years wherein Satan is bound **are in the first advent of Christ, even to the end of the age**; and they are called a thousand, according to that mode of speaking, wherein a part is signified by the whole, just as is that passage, "the word which He commanded for a thousand generations," [Ps. 105:8] although they are not a thousand. Moreover that he says, "and he cast him into the abyss," he says this, **because the devil, excluded from the hearts of believers, began to take possession of the wicked**, in whose hearts, blinded day by day, he is shut up as if in a profound abyss. And he shut him up, says he, and put a seal upon him, that he should not deceive the nations until the thousand years should be finished. "He shut the door upon him," it is said, that is, **he forbade and restrained his seducing those who belong to Christ**. Moreover, he put a seal upon him, because it is hidden who belong to the side of the devil, and who to that of Christ. For we know not of those who seem to stand whether they shall not fall, and of those who are down it is uncertain whether they may rise. Moreover, that he says that he is bound and shut up, that he may not seduce the nations, **the nations signify the Church**, seeing that of them it itself is formed, and which being seduced, he previously held **until, he says, the thousand years should be completed, that is, what is left of the sixth day, to wit, of the sixth age, which subsists for a thousand years**; after this he must be loosed for a little season. The **little season signifies three years and six months, in which with all his power the devil will avenge himself under Antichrist against the Church**. Finally, he says, after that the devil shall be loosed, and will seduce the nations in the whole world, and will entice war against the Church, the number of whose foes shall be as the sand of the sea.

1.9.6. The first resurrection is the spiritual resurrection now of souls by faith (Rev. 2:28; 20:4-5)

[Rev. 2:]28. "And I will give him the morning star." To wit, **the first resurrection**. He promised the morning star, which drives away the night, and announces the light, that is, the beginning of day.

...

[Rev 20:]4, 5. "And I saw thrones, and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and *I saw* the souls of them that were slain on account of the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of

God, and which had not worshipped the beast nor his image, nor have received his writing on their forehead or in their hand; and they reigned with Christ for a thousand years: the rest of them lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.”] There are two resurrections. But **the first resurrection is now of the souls that are by the faith**, which does not permit men to pass over to the second death. Of this resurrection the apostle says: “If ye have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above.” [Col. 3:1]

1.9.7. The symbolism of the thousand years; the devil is bound in the case of those who are faithful to Christ (Rev. 20:6)

[Rev. 20:]6. “Blessed and holy is he who has part in this resurrection: on them the second death shall have no power, but they shall be priests of God and Christ, and they shall reign with Him a thousand years.”] **I do not think the reign of a thousand years is eternal**; or if it is thus to be thought of, they cease to reign when the thousand years are finished. But I will put forward what my capacity enables me to judge. The **tenfold number signifies the decalogue**, and the **hundredfold sets forth the crown of virginity**: for he who shall have kept the undertaking of virginity completely, and shall have faithfully fulfilled the precepts of the decalogue, and shall have **destroyed the untrained nature or impure thoughts within the retirement of the heart, that they may not rule over him, this is the true priest of Christ**, and **accomplishing the millenary number thoroughly, is thought to reign with Christ; and truly in his case the devil is bound**. But **he who is entangled in the vices and the dogmas of heretics, in his case the devil is loosed**. But that it says that when the thousand years are finished he is loosed, so the number of the perfect saints being completed, in whom there is the glory of virginity in body and mind, by the approaching advent of the kingdom of the hateful one, many, seduced by that love of earthly things, shall be overthrown, and together with him shall enter the lake of fire.

1.9.8. We will worship the Lord in Judea where His feet first stood (Rev. 1:15)

[Rev. 1:]15. “His feet were like unto yellow brass, as if burned in a furnace.”] He calls the apostles His feet, who, being wrought by suffering, preached His word in the whole world; for He rightly named those by whose means the preaching went forth, feet. Whence also the prophet anticipated this, and said: **“We will worship in the place where His feet have stood.”** [Ps. 132:7] **Because where they first of all stood and confirmed the Church, that is, in Judea**, all the saints shall assemble together, and **will worship their Lord**.

1.9.9. The 144,000 are Jews converted by the ministry of Elijah, who is the angel (Rev. 7:2)

[Rev. 7:]2. “And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God.”] He speaks of **Elias the prophet**, who is the **precursor of the times of Antichrist**, for the restoration and establishment of the churches from the great and intolerable persecution. We read that these things are predicted in the opening of the Old and New Testament; for He says by Malachi: “Lo, I will send to you Elias the Tishbite, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, according to the time of calling, to recall the Jews to the faith of the people that succeed them.” [Mal. 4:5-6] And to that end He shows, as we have said, that **the number of those that shall believe, of the Jews and of the nations, is a great multitude which no man was able to number**. Moreover, we read in the Gospel that the prayers of the Church are sent from heaven by an angel, and that they are received against wrath, and that the kingdom of Antichrist is cast out and extinguished by holy angels; for He says: “Pray that ye enter not into temptation: for there shall be a great affliction, such as has not been from the beginning of the world; and except the Lord had shortened those days, no flesh should be saved.” [Mark 13:18-20] Therefore He shall send these seven great archangels to smite the kingdom of Antichrist; for He Himself also thus said: “Then the Son of man shall send His messengers; and they shall gather together His elect from the four corners of the wind, from the one end of heaven even to the other end thereof.” [Mark 13:27] For, moreover, He previously says by the prophet: “Then shall there be peace for our land, when there shall arise in it seven shepherds and eight attacks of men; and **they shall encircle Assur,” that is, Antichrist**,

“in the trench of Nimrod,” [Mic. 5:5-6] that is, in the nation of the devil, by the spirit of the Church. Similarly when the keepers of the house shall be moved. Moreover, the Lord Himself, in the parable to the apostles, when the labourers had come to Him and said, “Lord, did not we sow good seed in Thy field? whence, then, hath it tares? answered them, An enemy hath done this. And they said to Him, Lord, wilt Thou, then, that we go and root them up? And He said, Nay, but let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers, that they gather the tares and make bundles of them, and burn them with fire everlasting, but that they gather the wheat into my barns.” [Matt. 13:27-30] The Apocalypse here shows, therefore, that **these reapers, and shepherds, and labourers, are the angels**. And the trumpet is the word of power. And although the same thing recurs in the phials, still it is not said as if it occurred twice, but because what is decreed by the Lord to happen shall be once for all; for this cause it is said twice. What, therefore, He said too little in the trumpets, is here found in the phials. We must not regard the order of what is said, because frequently **the Holy Spirit, when He has traversed even to the end of the last times, returns again to the same times, and fills up what He had before failed to say**.¹⁴ Nor must we look for order in the Apocalypse; but we must follow the meaning of those things which are prophesied. Therefore in the trumpets and phials is signified either the desolation of the plagues that are sent upon the earth, or the madness of **Antichrist** himself, or the cutting off of the peoples, or the diversity of the plagues, or the hope in the kingdom of the saints, or the ruin of states, or the great overthrow of Babylon, that is, the Roman state.

1.9.9.1 *The 144,000 are those who will be saved by Elijah's ministry (Rev. 12:6)*

[Rev. 12:]6. “But the woman fled into the wilderness, and there were given to her two great eagle’s wings.”] The aid of the great eagle’s wings—to wit, the gift of prophets—was given to that Catholic Church, whence **in the last times a hundred and forty-four thousands of men should believe on the preaching of Elias**; but, moreover, he here says that the rest of the people should be found alive on the coming of the Lord. And the Lord says in the Gospel: “Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains;” [Luke 21:21] that is, as many as should be gathered together in Judea, let them go to that place which they have ready, and let them be supported there for three years and six months from the presence of the devil.

1.9.9.2 *Elijah is the angel flying through the midst of heaven (Rev. 14:6)*

6. “And I saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven.”] The angel flying through the midst of heaven, whom he says that he saw, we have already treated of above, as being the same Elias who anticipates the kingdom of Antichrist in his prophecy.

1.9.10. On the number of the beast (Rev. 13:18)

[Rev. 13:]18. “His number is the name of a man, and his number is Six hundred threescore and six.”] As they have it reckoned from the Greek characters, they thus find it among many to be τετραν, for τετραν has this number, which the Gentiles call Sol and Phœbus; and it is reckoned in Greek thus: τ three hundred, ε five, ι ten, τ three hundred, α one, ν fifty,—which taken together become six hundred and sixty-six. For as far as belongs to the Greek letters, they fill up this number and name; which name if you wish to turn into Latin, it is understood by the antiphrase DICLUX, which letters are reckoned in this manner: since D figures five hundred, I one, C a hundred, L fifty, V five, X ten,—which by the reckoning up of the letters makes similarly six hundred and sixty-six, that is, **what in Greek gives τετραν, to wit, what in Latin is called DICLUX; by which name, expressed by antiphrases, we understand Antichrist**, who, although he be cut off from the supernal light, and deprived thereof, yet transforms himself into an angel of light, daring to call himself light. Moreover, we find in a certain Greek codex αντεμος, which letters being reckoned up, you will find to give the number as above: α one, ν fifty, τ three hundred, ε five, μ forty, ο seventy, ς two hundred,—which together makes six hundred and sixty-six, according to the Greeks. Moreover, there is another name in Gothic of him, which will be evident of itself, that is, γενσήρικος, which in the same way you will reckon in Greek

¹⁴ Here, he seems to be speaking of the idea of recapitulation which many idealist amillennialists speak about.

letters: γ three, ε five, ν fifty, σ two hundred, η eight, ρ a hundred, ι ten, κ twenty, ο seventy, ζ also two hundred, which, as has been said above, make six hundred and sixty-six.

1.9.11. The antichrist is Nero revivendus (Rev. 17:1, 16)

[Rev. 17:]11. “And the beast which thou sawest is of the seven.”] Since before those kings **Nero** reigned. “And he is the eighth.”] He says only when this beast shall come, reckon it the eighth place, since in that is the completion. He added:—

“And shall go into perdition.”] For that ten kings received royal power when he shall move from the east, he says. **He shall be sent from the city of Rome with his armies.** And Daniel sets forth the ten horns and the ten diadems. And that these are eradicated from the former ones,—that is, that three of the principal leaders are killed by **Antichrist**: that the other seven give him honour and wisdom and power, of whom he says:—

[Rev. 17:]16. “These shall hate the whore, to wit, the city, and shall burn her flesh with fire.”] **Now that one of the heads was, as it were, slain to death, and that the stroke of his death was directed, he speaks of Nero.** For it is plain that when the cavalry sent by the senate was pursuing him, he himself cut his throat. **Him therefore, when raised up,** God will send as a worthy king, but worthy in such a way as the Jews merited. And since he is to have another name, He shall also appoint another name, that so the Jews may receive him as if he were the Christ. Says Daniel: “He shall not know the lust of women, although before he was most impure, and he shall know no God of his fathers: for he will not be able to seduce the people of the circumcision, unless he is a judge of the law.” [Dan. 11:37] Finally, also, he will recall the saints, not to the worship of idols, but to undertake circumcision, and, if he is able, to seduce any; for he shall so conduct himself as to be called Christ by them. But that he rises again from hell, we have said above in the word of Isaiah: “Water shall nourish him, and hell hath increased him;” [Isa. 5:14] who, however, must come with name unchanged, and doings unchanged, as says the Spirit.

1.9.12. The woman is the ancient church of the fathers, prophets, saints, and apostles (Rev. 12:1)

[Rev. 12:]1. “And there was seen a great sign in heaven. A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. And being with child, she cried out travailing, and bearing torments that she might bring forth.”] The woman clothed with the sun, and having the moon under her feet, and wearing a crown of twelve stars upon her head, and travailing in her pains, is **the ancient Church of fathers, and prophets, and saints, and apostles**, which had the groans and torments of its longing until it saw that **Christ, the fruit of its people according to the flesh long promised to it, had taken flesh out of the selfsame people.** Moreover, being clothed with the sun intimates the hope of resurrection and the glory of the promise. And the moon intimates the fall of the bodies of the saints under the obligation of death, which never can fail. For even as life is diminished, so also it is increased. Nor is the hope of those that sleep extinguished absolutely, as some think, but they have in their darkness a light such as the moon. And the crown of twelve stars signifies the choir of fathers, according to the fleshly birth, of whom Christ was to take flesh.

1.9.13. Antichrist will set up his image in the Jerusalem temple (Rev. 13:13)

[Rev. 13:]13. “And he shall make fire come down from heaven in the sight of men.”] Yes (as I also have said), in the sight of men. Magicians do these things, by the aid of the apostate angels, even to this day. He shall cause also that **a golden image of Antichrist shall be placed in the temple at Jerusalem**, and that **the apostate angel** should enter, and thence utter voices and oracles. Moreover, he himself shall contrive that **his servants and children should receive as a mark on their foreheads**, or on their right hands, the number of his name, lest any one should buy or sell them. Daniel had previously predicted his contempt and provocation of God. “And he shall place,” says he, “his temple within Samaria, upon

the illustrious and holy mountain that is at Jerusalem, an image such as Nebuchadnezzar had made.” [Dan. 11:45] Thence here he places, and by and by here he renews, that of which the Lord, admonishing His churches concerning the last times and their dangers, says: “But when ye shall see **the contempt which is spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place**, let him who readeth understand.” [Matt. 24:15; Dan. 9:27] It is called a contempt when God is provoked, because idols are worshipped instead of God, or when the dogma of heretics is introduced in the churches. But it is a turning away because steadfast men, seduced by false signs and portents, are turned away from their salvation.

1.9.14. Contra Cerinthus’ earthly millennium; the kingdom of Christ is now eternal in the saints (Rev. 21-22)

In that he says there are three gates placed on each of the four sides, of single pearls, I think that these are the four virtues, to wit, prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance, which are associated with one another. And, being involved together, they make the number twelve. But the twelve gates we believe to be the number of the apostles, who, shining in the four virtues as precious stones, manifesting the light of their doctrine among the saints, cause it to enter the celestial city, that by intercourse with them the choir of angels may be gladdened. And that the gates cannot be shut, it is evidently shown that the doctrine of the apostles can be separated from rectitude by no tempest of contradiction. Even though the floods of the nations and the vain superstitions of heretics should revolt against their true faith, they are overcome, and shall be dissolved as the foam, because Christ is the Rock by which, and on which, the Church is founded. And thus it is overcome by no traces of maddened men. Therefore **they are not to be heard who assure themselves that there is to be an earthly reign of a thousand years; who think, that is to say, with the heretic Cerinthus.** For **the kingdom of Christ is now eternal in the saints**, although **the glory of the saints shall be manifested after the resurrection.**

1.10. Methodius of Olympus (c. 270 – 311 AD)

1.10.1. Introduction

The Church Father and Saint Methodius of Olympus (died c. 311) was a Christian bishop, ecclesiastical author, and martyr.¹⁵

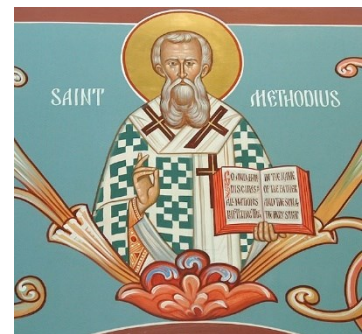
1.10.2. The first Chiliast and believer in heavenly Intermediate State

It is not until “the dawn of the fourth century” that we find in Methodius of Olympus the first clear disruption of the pattern that we have been observing – or so it seems at first sight.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 39.

1.10.3. Comments on 2 Corinthians 5:1; our souls will be with God until we are resurrected

V. Now the **followers of Origen** bring forward this passage, “For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved,” [2 Cor. 5:1] and so forth, to disprove the resurrection of the body, saying that the “tabernacle” is the body, and the “house not made with hands” “in the heavens” is our spiritual clothing. Therefore, **says the holy Methodius**, by this **earthly house** must metaphorically be understood **our short-lived existence here**, and not this tabernacle; for if you decide to consider the body as being the earthly house which is dissolved, tell us what is the tabernacle whose house is dissolved? For the tabernacle is one thing, and the house of the tabernacle another, and still another we who have the tabernacle. “For,” he says, “if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved”—by which he points out that the souls are ourselves, that the body is a tabernacle, and that **the house of the tabernacle figuratively represents the enjoyment of the flesh in the present life**. If, then, this present life of the



¹⁵ <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/methodius.html>

body be dissolved like a house, we shall have that which is not made with hands in the heavens. **“Not made with hands,”** he says, to point out the difference; because this life may be said to be made with hands, seeing that all the employments and pursuits of life are carried on by the hands of men. For **the body, being the workmanship of God, is not said to be made with hands**, inasmuch as it is not formed by the arts of men. But if they shall say that it is made with hands, because it was the workmanship of God, then our souls also, and the angels, and the spiritual clothing in the heavens, are made with hands; for all these things, also, are the workmanship of God. What, then, is the house which is made with hands? It is, as I have said, the **short-lived existence which is sustained by human hands**. For God said, “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread;” [Gen. 3:19] and **when that life is dissolved, we have the life which is not made with hands**. As also the Lord showed, when He said: **“Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness;** that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.” [Luke 16:9] For **what the Lord then called “habitations,” the apostle here calls “clothing.”** And what He there calls “friends” “of unrighteousness,” the apostle here calls “houses” “dissolved.” As then, when the days of our present life shall fail, those good deeds of beneficence to which we have attained in this unrighteous life, and in this “world” which “lieth in wickedness,” **will receive our souls;** so **when this perishable life shall be dissolved**, we shall have the **habitation which is before the resurrection—that is, our souls shall be with God, until we shall receive the new house which is prepared for us**, and which shall never fall. Whence also “we groan,” “not for that we would be unclothed,” as to the body, “but clothed upon” by it in the other life [2 Cor. 5:2-3]. For the “house in heaven,” with which we desire to be “clothed,” is immortality; with which, when we are clothed, every weakness and mortality will be entirely “swallowed up” in it, being consumed by endless life. “For we walk by faith, not by sight;” [2 Cor. 5:7] that is, for we still go forward by faith, viewing the things which are beyond with a darkened understanding, and not clearly, so that we may see these things, and enjoy them, and be in them. “Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.” [1 Cor. 15:50] By flesh, he did not mean flesh itself, but the irrational impulse towards the lascivious pleasures of the soul. And therefore when he says, “Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God,” he adds the explanation, “Neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.” [1 Cor. 15:50] Now corruption is not the thing which is corrupted, but the thing which corrupts. For when death prevails the body sinks into corruption; but when life still remains in it, it stands uncorrupted. Therefore, since the flesh is the boundary between corruption and incorruption, not being either corruption or incorruption, it was vanquished by corruption on account of pleasure, although it was the work and the possession of incorruption. Therefore it became subject to corruption. When, then, it had been overcome by corruption, and was given over to death for chastisement, He did not leave it to be vanquished and given over as an inheritance to corruption; but again **conquering death by the resurrection**, He restored it to incorruption, that corruption might not inherit incorruption, but incorruption that which is corruptible. And therefore the apostle answers, “This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.” [1 Cor. 15:53] But the corruptible and mortal putting on incorruption and immortality, what else is this, but that which is sown in corruption rising in incorruption? For, “as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.” [1 Cor. 15:49] For the “image of the earthly” which we have borne refers to the saying, “Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return.” [Gen. 3:19] And the “image of the heavenly is the resurrection from the dead and incorruption.”

Methodius, Second Discourse on the Resurrection. Section V.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.xi.v.iii.ii.html>

1.10.4. No begetting and virginity, in the seventh thousand of years resuming again immortal, cosmic-week theory; the new and indissoluble creation

Discourse IX.—Tusiane.

Chapter I.—Chastity the Chief Ornament of the True Tabernacle; Seven Days Appointed to the Jews for Celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles: What They Signify; The Sum of This Septenary

Uncertain; Not Clear to Any One When the Consummation of the World Will Be; Even Now the Fabric of the World Completed.

O Arete, thou dearest boast to the lovers of virginity, I also implore thee to afford me thine aid, lest I should be wanting in words, the subject having been so largely and variously handled. Wherefore I ask to be excused exordium and introductions, lest, whilst I delay in embellishments suitable to them, I depart from the subject: **so glorious, and honourable, and renowned a thing is virginity.**

God, when He appointed to **the true Israelites the legal rite of the true feast of the tabernacles**, directed, in Leviticus, how they should keep and do honour to the feast; above all things, saying that each one should adorn his tabernacle with chastity. I will add the words themselves of Scripture, from which, without any doubt, **it will be shown how agreeable to God, and acceptable to Him, is this ordinance of virginity**: “In the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days: on the first day shall be a Sabbath, and on the eighth day shall be a Sabbath. And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days. And ye shall keep it a feast unto the Lord seven days in the year. It shall be a statute for ever in your generations; ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month. Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths; that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of Egypt: I am the Lord your God.”

Here the Jews, **fluttering about the bare letter of Scripture**, like drones about the leaves of herbs, but not about flowers and fruits as the bee, fully believe that these words and ordinances were spoken concerning such a tabernacle as they erect; as if God delighted in those trivial adornments which they, preparing, fabricate from trees, not perceiving the wealth of good things to come; whereas **these things, being like air and phantom shadows, foretell the resurrection and the putting up of our tabernacle that had fallen upon the earth**, which at length, **in the seventh thousand of years**, resuming again immortal, **we shall celebrate the great feast of true tabernacles in the new and indissoluble creation**, the **fruits of the earth having been gathered in**, and **men no longer begetting and begotten**, but God resting from the works of creation.

For since in six days God made the heaven and the earth, and finished the whole world, and rested on the seventh day from all His works which He had made, and blessed the **seventh day** and sanctified it, so by a figure in the **seventh month**, when the fruits of the earth have been gathered in, we are commanded to keep the feast to the Lord, which signifies that, when **this world shall be terminated at the seventh thousand years**, when God shall have completed the world, He shall rejoice in us. For now to this time all things are created by His all-sufficient will and inconceivable power; the earth still yielding its fruits, and the waters being gathered together in their receptacles; and the light still severed from darkness, and the allotted number of men not yet being complete; and the sun arising to rule the day, and the moon the night; and four-footed creatures, and beasts, and creeping things arising from the earth, and winged creatures, and creatures that swim, from the water. Then, when the appointed times shall have been accomplished, and **God shall have ceased to form this creation, in the seventh month, the great resurrection-day**, it is commanded that the Feast of our Tabernacles shall be celebrated to the Lord, of which the things said in Leviticus are symbols and figures, which things, carefully investigating, we should consider the naked truth itself, for He saith, “A wise man will hear, and will increase learning; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels: to understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings.” [Prov. 1:5-6]

Wherefore let it **shame the Jews that they do not perceive the deep things of the Scriptures**, thinking that nothing else than outward things are contained in the law and the prophets; for they, intent upon things earthly, have in greater esteem the riches of the world than the wealth which is of the soul. For since the Scriptures are in this way divided that some of them give the likeness of past events, some of

them a type of the future, the miserable men, going back, deal with the figures of the future as if they were already things of the past. As in the instance of the immolation of the Lamb, the mystery of which they regard as solely in remembrance of the deliverance of their fathers from Egypt, when, although the first-born of Egypt were smitten, they themselves were preserved by marking the door-posts of their houses with blood. Nor do they understand that by it also the death of Christ is personified, by whose blood souls made safe and sealed shall be preserved from wrath in the burning of the world; whilst the first-born, the sons of Satan, shall be destroyed with an utter destruction by the avenging angels, who shall reverence the seal of the Blood impressed upon the former.

Symposium aka The Banquet of the Ten Virgins; or Concerning Chastity. Discourse 9, chapter 1. (Tusiane)

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.xi.iii.x.i.html>

1.10.5. New and indissoluble creation; Millennial rest with Christ; first day of the resurrection which is the day of judgment

Chapter V.—The Mystery of the Tabernacles.

Wherefore, above all other things, I say to those who love contests, and who are strong-minded, that without delay they **should honour chastity, as a thing the most useful and glorious**. For in **the new and indissoluble creation**, whoever shall not be found decorated with the boughs of chastity, shall neither obtain rest, because he has not fulfilled the command of God according to the law, nor shall he enter into **the land of promise**, because he has not previously celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles. For they only who have celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles come to the Holy Land, setting out from those dwellings which are called tabernacles, until they come to enter into the temple and city of God, advancing to a greater and more glorious joy, as the Jewish types indicate. For like as the Israelites, having left the borders of Egypt, first came to the Tabernacles, and from hence, having again set forth, came into the land of promise, so also do we. For I also, taking my journey, and going forth from the Egypt of this life, **came first to the resurrection, which is the true Feast of the Tabernacles**, and there having set up my tabernacle, adorned with the fruits of virtue, **on the first day of the resurrection, which is the day of judgment, celebrate with Christ the millennium of rest**, which is called **the seventh day, even the true Sabbath**. Then again from thence I, a follower of Jesus, “who hath entered into the heavens,” [Heb. 4:14] as they also, after the rest of the Feast of Tabernacles, came into the land of promise, come into the heavens, **not continuing to remain in tabernacles—that is, my body not remaining as it was before**, but, **after the space of a thousand years, changed from a human and corruptible form into angelic size and beauty**, where at last we virgins, when **the festival of the resurrection** is consummated, shall pass from the wonderful place of the tabernacle to greater and better things, ascending into the very house of God above the heavens, as, says the Psalmist, “in the voice of praise and thanksgiving, among such as keep holy day.” [Ps. 42:4] I, O Arete, my mistress, offer as a gift to thee this robe, adorned according to my ability.

Euboulios. I am much moved, O Gregorion, considering within myself in how great anxiety of mind Domnina must be from the character of the discourses, perplexed in heart as she is, and with good cause, fearing lest she should be at a loss for words, and should speak more feebly than the rest of the virgins, since they have spoken on the subject with such ability and variety. If, therefore, she was evidently moved, come and complete this too; for I wonder if she had anything to say, being the last speaker.

Gregorion. Theopatra told me, Euboulios, that she was greatly moved, but she was not perplexed from want of words. After, therefore, Tusiane had ceased, Arete looked at her and said, Come, my daughter, do thou also deliver a discourse, that our banquet may be quite complete. At this Domnina, blushing, and after a long delay, scarcely looking up, rose to pray, and turning round, invoked Wisdom to be her

present helper. And when she had prayed, Theopatra said that suddenly courage came to her, and a certain divine confidence possessed her, and she said:—

Symposium aka The Banquet of the Ten Virgins; or Concerning Chastity. Discourse 9, chapter 5. (Tusiane)

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf06.xi.iii.x.v.html>

1.11. Lactantius (c. 250 – c. 325)

1.11.1. Introduction

Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius was an early Christian author (c. 250 – c. 325) who became an advisor to the first Christian Roman emperor, Constantine I, guiding his religious policy as it developed, and a tutor to his son.



1.11.1.1 Prophetic exegesis

Like many writers in the first few centuries of the early church, Lactantius took a premillennialist view, holding that the second coming of Christ will precede a millennium or a thousand-year reign of Christ on earth. According to Charles E. Hill, “With Lactantius in the early fourth century we see a determined attempt to revive a more “genuine” form of chiliasm.” Lactantius quoted the Sibyls extensively. Book VII of *The Divine Institutes* indicates a familiarity with Jewish, Christian, Egyptian and Iranian apocalyptic material.

None of the fathers thus far had been more verbose on the subject of the millennial kingdom than Lactantius or more particular in describing the times and events preceding and following. He held to the literalist interpretation of the millennium, that the millennium originates with the second advent of Christ and marks the destruction of the wicked, the binding of the devil and the raising of the righteous dead.

He depicted Jesus reigning with the resurrected righteous on this earth during the seventh thousand years prior to the general judgment. In the end, the devil, having been bound during the thousand years, is loosed; the enslaved nations rebel against the righteous, who hide underground until the hosts, attacking the Holy City, are overwhelmed by fire and brimstone and mutual slaughter and buried altogether by an earthquake: rather unnecessarily, it would seem, since the wicked are thereupon raised again to be sent into eternal punishment. Next, God renews the earth, after the punishment of the wicked, and the Lord alone is thenceforth worshiped in the renovated earth.

Lactantius confidently stated that the beginning of the end would be the fall, or breakup, of the Roman Empire. However, this view fell out of favor with the conversion of Constantine and the improved lot of Christians: “Many Christians felt that any expectation of the downfall of the empire was as disloyal to God as it was to Rome.”¹⁶

1.11.2. The Son will rule with the righteous after judging the souls of the quick and the dead, destroyed unrighteousness; procreation; renewed world

CHAP. XXIV.—OF THE RENEWED WORLD.

Now I will subjoin the rest. Therefore the Son of the most high and mighty God shall **come to judge the quick and the dead**, as the Sibyl testifies and says:—

“For then there shall be confusion of mortals throughout the whole earth, when the Almighty Himself shall come on **His judgment-seat to judge the souls of the quick and dead, and all the world.**”

But He, when He shall have **destroyed unrighteousness**, and executed His great judgment, and shall have **recalled to life the righteous, who have lived from the beginning**, will be **engaged among men**

¹⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lactantius>

a thousand years, and will rule them with most just command. Which the Sibyl proclaims in another place, as she utters her inspired predictions:—

“Hear me, ye mortals; an everlasting King reigns.”

Then they who shall be alive in **their bodies shall not die**, but **during those thousand years shall produce an infinite multitude**, and their offspring shall be holy, and beloved by God; but **they who shall be raised from the dead shall preside over the living as judges**. But the **nations shall not be entirely extinguished**, but some shall be left as a victory for God, that they may be the occasion of triumph to the righteous, and may be **subjected to perpetual slavery**. About the same time also the **prince of the devils, who is the contriver of all evils, shall be bound with chains, and shall be imprisoned** during the **thousand years of the heavenly rule in which righteousness shall reign in the world**, so that **he may contrive no evil against the people of God**. **After His coming** the righteous shall be collected from all the earth, and the **judgment being completed**, the **sacred city shall be planted in the middle of the earth**, in which God Himself the builder may dwell together with the righteous, bearing rule in it. And the Sibyl marks out this city when she says:—

“And the city which God made, this He made more brilliant than the stars, and sun, and moon.”

Then that darkness will be taken away from the world with which the heaven will be overspread and darkened, and the moon will receive the brightness of the sun, nor will it be further diminished: but the sun will become seven times brighter than it now is; and the **earth will open its fruitfulness**, and bring forth **most abundant fruits of its own accord**; the rocky mountains shall drop with honey; streams of wine shall run down, and rivers flow with milk: in short, the **world itself shall rejoice**, and all nature exult, being **rescued and set free from the dominion of evil and impiety, and guilt and error**. Throughout this time **beasts shall not be nourished by blood**, nor birds by prey; but **all things shall be peaceful and tranquil**. **Lions and calves** shall stand together at the manger, the wolf shall not carry off the sheep, the hound shall not hunt for prey; hawks and eagles shall not injure; the infant shall play with serpents. In short, those things shall then come to pass which the poets spoke of as being done in the reign of Saturnus. Whose error arose from this source,—that the prophets bring forward and speak of many future events as already accomplished. For visions were brought before their eyes by the divine Spirit, and they saw these things, as it were, done and completed in their own sight. And when fame had gradually spread abroad their predictions, since those who were uninstructed in the mysteries of religion did not know why they were spoken, they thought that all those things were already fulfilled in the ancient ages, which evidently could not be accomplished and fulfilled under the reign of a man. But when, **after the destruction of impious religions and the suppression of guilt**, the **earth shall be subject to God**,—

“The sailor himself also shall renounce the sea, nor shall the naval pine
Barter merchandise; all lands shall produce all things.
The ground shall not endure the harrow, nor the vineyard the pruning hook;
The sturdy ploughman also shall loose the bulls from the yoke.
The plain shall by degrees grow yellow with soft ears of corn,
The blushing grape shall hang on the uncultivated brambles,
And hard oaks shall distil the dewy honey.
Nor shall the wool learn to counterfeit various colours;
But the ram himself in the meadows shall change his fleece,
Now for a sweetly blushing purple, now for saffron dye;
Scarlet of its own accord shall cover the lambs as they feed.
The goats of themselves shall bring back home their udders distended with milk;
Nor shall the herds dread huge lions.”

Which things the poet foretold according to the verses of the Cumæan Sibyl. But the Erythræan thus speaks:—

“But **wolves shall not contend with lambs on the mountains**, and lynxes shall eat grass with kids; boars shall feed with calves, and with all flocks; and the carnivorous lion shall eat chaff at the manger, and serpents shall sleep with infants deprived of their mothers.”

And in another place, speaking of the fruitfulness of all things:—

“And then shall God give great joy to men; for the earth, and the trees, and the numberless flocks of the earth shall give to men the true fruit of the vine, and sweet honey, and white milk, and corn, which is the best of all things to mortals.”

And another in the same manner:—

“The sacred land of the pious only will produce all these things, the stream of honey from the rock and from the fountain, and the milk of ambrosia will flow for all the just.”

Therefore **men will live a most tranquil life**, abounding with resources, and **will reign together with God**; and the **kings of the nations shall come from the ends of the earth with gifts and offerings**, to **adore and honour the great King, whose name shall be renowned and venerated by all the nations** which shall be under heaven, and by the kings who shall rule on earth.

The Divine Institutes. Book VII, chapter 24.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.iii.ii.vii.xxiv.html>

1.11.3. Multitude of the wicked destroyed, Satan bound, world peace, a great judgment of the living and the dead before the Millennium; all nations subject to the righteous; after the Millennium the final judgment; general resurrection

CHAP. LXXII.—OF CHRIST DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN TO THE GENERAL JUDGMENT, AND OF THE MILLENARIAN REIGN.

Then the heaven shall be opened in a tempest, and **Christ shall descend with great power**, and there shall go before Him a fiery brightness and a countless host of angels, and **all that multitude of the wicked shall be destroyed**, and torrents of blood shall flow, and the **leader himself shall escape, and having often renewed his army, shall for the fourth time engage in battle**, in which, being taken, with all the other tyrants, he shall be delivered up to be burnt. But **the prince also of the demons himself, the author and contriver of evils, being bound with fiery chains, shall be imprisoned**, that the **world may receive peace, and the earth, harassed through so many years, may rest**. Therefore peace being made, and **every evil suppressed**, that righteous King and Conqueror will institute a **great judgment on the earth respecting the living and the dead**, and will **deliver all the nations into subjection to the righteous who are alive**, and will **raise the righteous dead to eternal life**, and will **Himself reign with them on the earth**, and will build the holy city, and **this kingdom of the righteous shall be for a thousand years**. Throughout that time the stars shall be more brilliant, and the brightness of the sun shall be increased, and the moon shall not be subject to decrease. Then the rain of blessing shall descend from God at morning and evening, and the **earth shall bring forth all her fruit without the labour of men**. Honey shall drop from rocks, fountains of milk and wine shall abound. The **beasts shall lay aside their ferocity and become mild**, the wolf shall roam among the flocks without doing harm, the calf shall feed with the lion, the dove shall be united with the hawk, the serpent shall have no poison; no animal shall live by bloodshed. For God shall supply to all abundant and harmless food. But when **the thousand years shall be fulfilled**, and the **prince of the demons loosed**, the **nations will rebel against the righteous**, and an innumerable multitude will come to storm the city of the saints. Then **the last judgment of God will come to pass against the nations**. For He will shake the earth from its foundations, and the cities shall be overthrown, and He shall rain upon the wicked fire with

brimstone and hail, and they shall be on fire, and slay each other. But the **righteous shall for a little space be concealed under the earth, until the destruction of the nations is accomplished**, and after the **third day they shall come forth**, and see the plains covered with carcasses. Then there shall be an earthquake, and the mountains shall be rent, and valleys shall sink down to a profound depth, and into this the bodies of the dead shall be heaped together, and its name shall be called Polyandriion. After these things **God will renew the world**, and transform the righteous into the forms of angels, that, being presented with the garment of immortality, they may serve God for ever; and this will be the kingdom of God, which shall have no end. Then also the **wicked shall rise again, not to life but to punishment**; for God shall raise these also, when the second resurrection takes place, that, being **condemned to eternal torments and delivered to eternal fires**, they may suffer the punishments which they deserve for their crimes.

The Divine Institutes. The Epitome of the Divine Institutes. Chapter 72.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.iii.ii.viii.lxviii.html>

1.11.4. Subterranean place for the souls which the heathen philosophers also believed

CHAP. VII.—OF THE VARIETY OF PHILOSOPHERS, AND THEIR TRUTH.

....

Pherecydes and **Plato** contended that souls were immortal; but **this is a peculiar doctrine in our religion**. Therefore Dicæarchus was mistaken, together with Democritus, who argued that souls perished with the body and were dissolved, **Zeno the Stoic** taught that there were **infernal regions**, and that the **abodes of the good** were **separated from the wicked**; and that the former enjoyed **peaceful and delightful regions**, but that the latter **suffered punishment in dark places**, and in dreadful abysses of mire: **the prophets show the same thing**. Therefore Epicurus was mistaken, who thought that that was an invention of the poets, and explained those **punishments of the infernal regions**, which are spoken of, as happening in this life. Therefore the **philosophers touched upon the whole truth, and every secret of our holy religion**; but when others denied it, they were unable to defend that which they had found, because the system did not agree with the particulars; nor were they able to reduce to a summary those things which they had perceived to be true, as we have done above.

The Divine Institutes. Book VII, chapter 7.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf07.iii.ii.vii.vii.html>

1.12. Summary

Aside from Methodius, all the other chiliasts rejected an intermediate state in heaven for the righteous, but rather they believed that all souls go to a subterranean place, whether to judgment or bliss.

Justin Martyr, Irenaeus and Tertullian allowed the souls of the martyrs to go to Paradise as well as those who were translated there (the Lord Christ, Elijah, Enoch). While the others, (Commodianus, Victorinus and Lactantius) made no such concession. Papias probably held a similar view to Irenaeus on this issue.

2 The “Pharisaic-Apocalyptic” Sources

2.1. Purpose

The purpose of this section is to see if we can locate the sources of the phenomenon observed above in the Christian chiliasts, the conjunction of the subterranean intermediate state with the chiliastic view of future history. Even under the limitations imposed by our present study I believe we may determine that the matrix of this doctrinal conjunction is in all probability the very womb of chiliasm itself, that is, a strand of Jewish piety that probably owes its definitive form to the fall of Jerusalem, which (for reasons given below) might very casually be styled “Pharisaic-Apocalyptic,” and which comes to expression most clearly in the contemporary apocalypses *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 45.

...

2 Baruch was probably written in A.D. 95-96, while *4 Ezra* in or very close to A.D. 100.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 45, n. 2.

Dr. Hill wants to show:

1. The same conjunction (the subterranean intermediate state with the chiliastic view of future history) of eschatological doctrine is to be found in these two works;
2. Outside these works this conjunction is rare or nonexistent;
3. These works and the like were known and used by Christian chiliasts.

2.2. 1 Enoch (2nd – 1st century BC)

2.2.1. Introduction

The Book of Enoch (also 1 Enoch) is an ancient Hebrew apocalyptic religious text, ascribed by tradition to Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah. Enoch contains unique material on the origins of demons and Nephilim, why some angels fell from heaven, an explanation of why the Genesis flood was morally necessary, and prophetic exposition of the thousand-year reign of the Messiah.

The older sections (mainly in the Book of the Watchers) of the text are estimated to date from about 300–200 BC, and the latest part (Book of Parables) probably to 100 BC.

Various Aramaic fragments found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as Koine Greek and Latin fragments, are proof that the Book of Enoch was known by Jews and early Near Eastern Christians. This book was also quoted by some 1st and 2nd century authors as in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Authors of the New Testament were also familiar with some content of the story. A short section of 1 Enoch (1:9) is cited in the New Testament Epistle of Jude, Jude 1:14–15, and is attributed there to “Enoch the Seventh from Adam” (1 Enoch 60:8), although this section of 1 Enoch is a midrash on Deuteronomy 33:2. Several copies of the earlier sections of 1 Enoch were preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The first part of the Book of Enoch describes the fall of the Watchers, the angels who fathered the angel-human hybrids called Nephilim. The remainder of the book describes Enoch's revelations and his visits to heaven in the form of travels, visions, and dreams.

The book consists of five quite distinct major sections (see each section for details):

1. The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)
2. The Book of Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37–71) (also called the Similitudes of Enoch)

3. The Astronomical Book (1 Enoch 72–82) (also called the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries or Book of Luminaries)
4. The Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83–90) (also called the Book of Dreams)
5. The Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–108)

Most scholars believe that these five sections were originally independent works (with different dates of composition), themselves a product of much editorial arrangement, and were only later redacted into what is now called 1 Enoch.¹⁷

2.2.2. The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36)

Usually dated from the pre-Maccabean period.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 46, n. 6.

1 Enoch 1-36 (The book of Watchers) is given a date of a late second century, while the *Book of Parables* or *Similitudes* (chs. 37-71) is dated to the first century BC.

2.2.2.1 No Messiah, not temporary

1 Enoch 1-36, cannot properly be called chiliastic. Its “golden age” seems to lack a Messianic deliverer and would appear to be everlasting and not temporary.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 46.

2.2.2.2 The place for the righteous dead (1 Enoch 22)

^{OTP} **1 Enoch 22:1-14** And thence I went to another place, and he mountain [and] of hard rock. 2 And there was in it **four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth**. How smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at 3 Then **Raphael** answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: ‘These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the **spirits of the souls of the dead should 4 assemble therein**, yea that **all the souls of the children of men should assemble here**. And **these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement** and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.’ I saw (the spirit of) a dead man making suit, 5 and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was 6 with me, and I said unto him: ‘This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven’ 7 And he answered me saying: ‘This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.’ 8 Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the **hollow places**: ‘**Why is one separated from the other**’ 9 And he answered me and said unto me: ‘These three have been made that the spirits of the **dead might be separated**. And such a **division has been made (for) the spirits of the righteous**, in which there is the bright spring of 10 water. And **such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their 11 lifetime**. Here their **spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits**. There 12 He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days 13 of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but **their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence**.’ 14 The I blessed the Lord of glory and said: ‘Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.’

<http://wesley.nnu.edu/index.php?id=2126>

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Book_of_Enoch

2.2.3. The Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71)

2.2.3.1 *Righteous dead in the presence of the Messiah; angels and Lord (1 Enoch 39:1-14)*

^{OTP} **1 Enoch 39:1-14** [[And it shall come to pass in those days that **elect and holy children will descend from the high heaven, and their seed will become one with the children of men.** ² And in those days Enoch received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]] And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits. ³ And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, And set me down at **the end of the heavens.** ⁴ And there I saw another vision, the **dwelling-places of the holy, And the resting-places of the righteous.** ⁵ Here mine eyes saw their dwellings **with His righteous angels,** And their resting-places with the holy. And they **petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,** And righteousness flowed before them as water, And mercy like dew upon the earth: Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever. ⁶ And in that place mine eyes saw **the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,** ⁷ And I saw **his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.** ⁶ And righteousness shall prevail in his days, And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever. ⁷ And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be strong as fiery lights, And their mouth shall be full of blessing, And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits, And righteousness before Him shall never fail, [[And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]] ⁸ There I wished to dwell, And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place: And there heretofore hath been my portion, For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits. ⁹ In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises, because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits. ¹⁰ For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: ‘Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. ¹¹ And before Him there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation unto generation. ¹² Those who sleep not bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: “Holy, holy; holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits.”’ ¹³ And here **my eyes saw all those who sleep not:** they stand before Him and bless and say: ‘Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.’ ¹⁴ And my face was changed; for I could no longer behold.

2.2.3.2 *Dwelling in the Garden of Life (1 Enoch 61:12)*

1 Enoch 61:12 All who **sleep not above in heaven** shall bless Him: All the **holy ones who are in heaven** shall bless Him. And all the **elect who dwell in the garden of life:** And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name, And **all flesh** shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.

2.2.3.3 *No trace of temporal earthly Kingdom, comments by Dr. Hill*

“We must emphasize that in this book there is no trace of an expected earthly kingdom of limited duration; it is only after the resurrection and forensic last judgment that the elect inherit a transformed earth (45.4-6; 51.1-5).”

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 55.

2.3. 2 Baruch (1st – 2nd century BC)

2.3.1. Introduction

2 Baruch is a Jewish pseudepigraphical text thought to have been written in the late 1st century AD or early 2nd century AD, after the destruction of the Temple in AD 70. It is attributed to the biblical Baruch and so is associated with the Old Testament, but not regarded as scripture by Jews or by most Christian groups. It is included in some editions of the Peshitta, and is part of the Bible in the Syriac Orthodox tradition. It has 87 sections (chapters).

2 Baruch is also known as the **Apocalypse of Baruch** or the **Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch** (used to distinguish it from the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch). The Apocalypse proper occupies the first 77 chapters of the book. Chapters 78–87 are usually referred to as the **Letter of Baruch to the Nine and a Half Tribes**.

Although the canonical Book of Jeremiah portrays Baruch as Jeremiah's scribe, 2 Baruch portrays him as a prophet in his own right. It has a style similar to the writings attributed to Jeremiah: a mix of prayer, lamentation, and visions. Although Baruch writes of Nebuchadnezzar's sack of Jerusalem in 586 BC, the book is currently believed to have been written in reaction to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, but written before 135 AD.¹⁸

2.3.2. Temporary Messianic Kingdom

2.3.2.1 *Messiah begin to be revealed, ten thousandfold vines, return of the Messiah, resurrection, judgment*

OTP **2 Baruch 29:1-8** And He answered and said unto me: ‘Whatever will **then befall (will befall) the whole earth**; therefore all who live will experience (them).² For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those self-same days in this land.³ And it shall come to pass **when all is accomplished** that was to come to pass in those parts, that **the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed**.⁴ And **Behemoth shall be revealed from his place** and **Leviathan shall ascend from the sea**, those **two great monsters which I created** on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left.⁵ The earth also shall **yield its fruit ten thousandfold** and on each (?)vine there shall be a **thousand branches**, and each branch shall produce a **thousand clusters**, and each cluster produce a **thousand grapes**, and each grape produce a **cor of wine**.⁶ And those who have hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day.⁷ For winds shall go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health.⁸ And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because **these are they who have come to the consummation of time**.’

OTP **2 Baruch 30:1-5** ‘And it shall come to pass after these things, **when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, that He shall return in glory**.² Then **all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again**. And it shall come to pass at that time that the **treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous**, and they shall come forth, and a multitude of souls shall be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first shall rejoice and the last shall not be grieved.³ For they know that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the **consummation of the times**.⁴ But the **souls of the wicked**, when they behold all these things, shall then waste away the more.⁵ For they shall know that **their torment has come and their perdition has arrived**.’

2.3.2.2 *Messiah revealed when the fourth kingdom is destroyed, the leader will be brought before the Messiah*

OTP **2 Baruch 39:1-8** And He answered and said unto me: ‘Baruch, this is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen.² As thou hast seen the great forest which lofty and rugged mountains surrounded, this is the word.³ Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it.⁴ Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be destroyed.⁵ And after these things a **fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it**, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it will hold fast for times, and will exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon.⁶ And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and creep into

¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2_Baruch

the forest. ⁷ And it will come to pass when the **time of its consummation that it should fall has approached**, then **the principate of My Messiah will be revealed**, which is like the fountain and the vine, and **when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of its host**. ⁸ And as touching that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and the fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.’

OTP **2 Baruch 40:1-4** ‘**The last leader of that time** will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword, and **he will be bound**, and **they will take him up to Mount Zion**, and **My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties**, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. ² And afterwards **he will put him to death**, and **protect the rest of My people** which shall be found in the place which I have chosen. ³ And **his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end**, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. ⁴ This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation.’

2.3.2.3 *Time of the Messiah; sparing some and slaying others in relation to Israel, joy, rest, no sickness, no untimely death*

OTP **2 Baruch 72:1-6** ‘Hear now also regarding the bright lightning which is to come at the consummation after these black (waters): this is the word. ² After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when the nations become turbulent, and **the time of My Messiah is come**, **he shall both summon all the nations**, and **some of them he shall spare**, and **some of them he shall slay**. ³ These things therefore shall come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. ⁴ Every nation, which **knows not Israel and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared**. ⁵ And this because **some out of every nation shall be subjected to thy people**. ⁶ But **all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword**.

OTP **2 Baruch 73:1-7** ‘And it shall come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, And has **sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom**, That **joy shall then be revealed, And rest shall appear**. ² And then healing shall descend in dew, And disease shall withdraw, And **anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men**, And **gladness proceed through the whole earth**. ³ And **no one shall again die untimely**, Nor shall any adversity suddenly befall. ⁴ And judgements, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges, And blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred, And whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed. ⁵ For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils, And on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled. ⁶ And **wild beasts shall come from the forest and minister unto men**, And asps and dragons shall come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child. ⁷ And **women shall no longer then have pain when they bear**, Nor shall they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

2.4. 4 Ezra/2 Esdras (c. 100 AD)

2.4.1. Introduction

Because it was written about the same time as the book of Revelation, 4 Ezra is one of the more important apocalyptic books. The Jewish apocalypse (chapters 3-14) was probably written about A.D. 100 based on the opening verse which states the book was written thirty years after Jerusalem was destroyed. This verse claims to be the words of the main character in the story, Ezra, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Since the book discusses the problem of the fall of Jerusalem it is applicable to either A.D. 70 or 135.

Metzger finds it unlikely a Jewish book would find popularity in the post-Bar Kokhba world, so probably the central section was not written after even A.D. 120 (OTP 1:520. Charles 2:552 concurs with this date, although he tries to separate various sources in the text in order to date them earlier. Michael Stone

dates the book to the last decade of the first century, see “Esdras, Second Book of,” in *ABD* 2:611-614).¹⁹

4 Ezra consists of seven visions of Ezra the scribe. The first vision takes place as Ezra is still in Babylon. He asks God how Israel can be kept in misery if God is just. The archangel Uriel is sent to answer the question, responding that God's ways cannot be understood by the human mind. Soon, however, the end would come, and God's justice would be made manifest. Similarly, in the second vision, Ezra asks why Israel was delivered up to the Babylonians, and is again told that man cannot understand this and that the end is near. In the third vision Ezra asks why Israel does not possess the world. Uriel responds that the current state is a period of transition. Here follows a description of the fate of evil-doers and the righteous. Ezra asks whether the righteous may intercede for the unrighteous on Judgment Day, but is told that “Judgment Day is final”.

The next three visions are more symbolic in nature. The fourth is of a woman mourning for her only son. She is transformed into a city when she hears of the desolation of Zion. Uriel says that the woman is a symbol of Zion. The fifth vision concerns an eagle with three heads and twenty wings (twelve large wings and eight smaller wings “over against them”). The eagle is rebuked by a lion and then burned. The explanation of this vision is that the eagle refers to the fourth kingdom of the vision of Daniel, with the wings and heads as rulers. The final scene is the triumph of the Messiah over the empire. The sixth vision is of a man, representing the Messiah, who breathes fire on a crowd that is attacking him. This man then turns to another peaceful multitude, which accepts him.

Finally, there is a vision of the restoration of scripture. God appears to Ezra in a bush and commands him to restore the Law. Ezra gathers five scribes and begins to dictate. After forty days, he has produced ninety-four books: the twenty-four books of the Tanakh and seventy secret works:

Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first, and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people. (2 Esdras 14:45–46 RSV; 4 Ezra 12:45–46)²⁰

2.4.2. Subterranean place for the souls of the righteous

^{OTP} **4 Ezra 4:41-43** Then said I: No, Lord, it cannot. And he said to me: The **underworld and the chambers** of ⁴² souls are like the womb: for just as she who is in travail makes haste to escape the anguish of the ⁴³ travail; even so do **these places hasten to deliver what has been entrusted to them from the beginning**. Then to thee it shall be showed concerning those things that thou desirest to see.

2.4.3. My Son the Messiah shall die; resurrection; subterranean place for souls

^{OTP} **4 Ezra 4:29-43** And it shall be, after these years, that **my Son the Messiah shall die**, and **all in whom there is human breath**. ³⁰ Then shall the **world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days**, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left. ³¹ And it shall be after seven days that **the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused**, and **that which is corruptible shall perish**. ³² And the **earth shall restore those that sleep in her**, and the **dust those that are at rest therein**, [[and the **chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them**]]. ³³ And the **Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement**: (and then cometh the End) and compassion shall pass away, (and pity be far off,) and longsuffering withdrawn; ³⁴ But judgement alone shall remain, truth shall stand, and faithfulness triumph. ³⁵ And recompense shall follow, and the reward be made manifest; **Deeds of righteousness shall awake**, and **deeds of iniquity shall not sleep**. ³⁶ And then shall the **pit of torment** appear, and over against it the **place of refreshment**; The **furnace of Gehenna** shall be made manifest, and over against it the **Paradise of delight**. ³⁷ And then shall the Most High say to **the nations that**

¹⁹ <https://readingacts.com/2016/08/23/a-christian-introduction-to-4-ezra/>

²⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2_Esdras#4_Ezra

have been raised [[from the dead]]: Look now and consider whom ye have denied, whom ye have not served, whose commandments ye have despised. ³⁸ Look, now, before [[you]] : here delight and refreshment, there fire and torments! Thus shall he speak unto them in the Day of Judgement, ³⁹ For thus shall the Day of Judgement be : [[A day]] whereon is neither sun , nor moon, nor stars; ⁴⁰ neither clouds, nor thunder, nor lightning ; neither wind, nor rain-storm, nor cloud-rack ; neither darkness, nor evening, nor morning; ⁴¹ neither summer, nor autumn, nor winter; neither heat, nor frost, nor cold ; neither hail, nor rain, nor dew; ⁴² neither noon, nor night, nor dawn ; neither shining, nor brightness, nor light, save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined (for them). ⁴³ And **its duration shall be as it were a week of years**. Such is my Judgement and its prescribed order : to thee only have I showed these things.

2.4.4. Direct punishment of the wicked after death

^{OTP} **4 Ezra 4:78-80** And concerning death the teaching is: When the decisive decree has gone forth from the Most High that the man should die, as **the soul from the body departs** that it may return to him who gave it, ⁷⁹ to adore the glory of the Most High, first of all: if it be one of those that have **scorned and have not kept the ways of the Most High**, that have **despised his law**, and that **hate those who fear God** – ⁸⁰ Such souls shall not enter into habitations, but shall **wander about henceforth in torture, ever grieving and sad, in seven ways**.

2.5. Pseudo-Philo (post 70 AD)

Same view on Sheol as 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra:

- The souls of the righteous are peacefully stored until the resurrection.
- The souls of the wicked suffer torment

See Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 50.

2.6. Josephus and the Pharisees

- Believe in the incorruptibility of the soul.
- Only the righteous will be bodily raised.
- The wicked will suffer eternal torment in their souls.
- Souls survive death and there are rewards and punishments under the earth.
- This was the common view of the Pharisees in the first century.

See Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 50-51.

2.7. Sadducees and Essenes

- The Sadducees believed that the soul perished at death. Neither the just nor the unjust have an existence after death.
- The Essences believed in the immortality and preexistence of the soul.
 - The wicked receive never-ending punishment, while the righteous rejoice and are at peace.

See Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 51-52.

2.8. Hellenistic Judaism

- “Philo’s eschatology is wholly expressed in terms of a Platonic immortality of the soul.” p. 57.
- For Philo the soul is immortal and preexistent.
- “The doctrines of bodily resurrection and last judgment are absent, or, perhaps more accurately, reinterpreted.” Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 57.
- No clear presentation in Philo about the afterlife, rewards and punishments, heaven and hell. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 58.

2.9. Parallels between the Chiliast and Jewish Sources

Just as in Pseudo-Philo, *2 Baruch*, and *4 Ezra*, paradise, for the elders, Papias, Irenaeus, Victorinus (*CA* 11.3-4; see above, §I.2.6), and the (Ebionite?) author of one stratum of the *Recognitions* (I.52.4-5), is throughout this age home for only the translated (and the Messiah), who are preserved there for the last days. The striking correspondences noted here, not merely in the doctrine itself but even in certain details of its expression, point to very close intercourse at some point between these two lines of tradition, one Jewish, one Christian, both chiliastic.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 66-67.

3 Non-Chiliasm

3.1. Immediate entry into Heaven and no Chiliasm

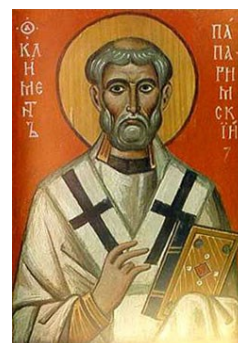
The authors whose views are represented in this present chapter hold, in my judgment, to one form or another of the expectation of an immediate entry into heaven for the righteous at death. None of them, so it will be shown, can be credited with positive chiliastic views...

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 75.

3.2. Clement of Rome (c. 35 – 101 AD)

3.2.1. Introduction

The letter [First Epistle of Clement] was composed at some time between AD 80 and AD 140, and ranks with Didache as one of the earliest—if not the earliest—of extant Christian documents outside the canonical New Testament.²¹



3.2.2. Dead elect have a place among the godly; revelation of the Kingdom

^{APE} **1 Clement 50:3-7** All the generations from Adam even unto this day have passed away; but those who, through the grace of God, have been made perfect in love, **now possess a place among the godly**, and shall be made manifest **at the revelation of the kingdom of Christ**.⁴ For it is written, “Enter into thy secret chambers for a little time, until my wrath and fury pass away; and I will remember a propitious day, and **will raise you up out of your graves**.” [Isa. 26:20]⁵ Blessed are we, beloved, if we keep the commandments of God in the harmony of love; that so through love our sins may be forgiven us.⁶ For it is written, “Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not impute to him, and in whose mouth there is no guile.” [Ps. 32:1-2]⁷ This blessedness cometh upon those who have been chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

3.2.3. Christ reigning now; Psalms 2, 110

^{APE} **1 Clement 36:1-6** This is the way, beloved, in which we find our Savior, even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity.² By Him we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him we behold, as in a glass, **His immaculate and most excellent visage**. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew towards His marvelous light. By Him the Lord has willed that we should **taste of immortal knowledge**, who, being the brightness of His majesty, is by so much greater than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.³ For it is thus written, “Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.” [Ps. 104:4; Heb. 1:7]⁴ But concerning His Son the Lord spoke thus: “Thou art my Son, today have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and **I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession**.” [Ps. 2:7-8; Heb. 1:5]⁵ And again He saith to Him, “**Sit Thou at My right hand**, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.” [Ps. 110:1]⁶ But who are His enemies? All the wicked, and those who set themselves to oppose the will of God.

3.2.4. The Lord comes to judge and reward

^{APE} **1 Clement 34:1-8** The good servant receives the bread of his labor with confidence; the lazy and slothful cannot look his employer in the face.² It is requisite, therefore, that we be prompt in the practice

²¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Epistle_of_Clement

of well-doing; for of Him are all things. ³ And thus He forewarns us: “Behold, **the Lord cometh**, and His reward is before His face, **to render to every man according to his work**.” [Isa 40:10; Rev. 22:12] ⁴ He exhorts us, therefore, with our whole heart to attend to this, that we be not lazy or slothful in any good work. ⁵ Let our boasting and our confidence be in Him. Let us submit ourselves to His will. Let us consider the whole multitude of His angels, how they stand ever ready to minister to His will. ⁶ For the Scripture saith, “Ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him,” [Dan. 7:10] and cried, “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Sabaoth; the whole creation is full of His glory.” [Isa. 6:3] ⁷ And let us therefore, conscientiously gathering together in harmony, cry to Him earnestly, as with one mouth, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. ⁸ For the Scripture saith, “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which He hath prepared for them that wait for Him.” [1 Cor. 2:9]

3.2.5. The coming of the Lord and the day of judgment are the same

^{APE} **2 Clement 17:1-7** Let us therefore repent from the whole heart, that no one of us perish by the way. For if we have commandments that we should also practice this, to draw away men from idols and instruct them, how much more ought a soul already knowing God not to perish! ² Let us therefore assist one another that we may also lead up those weak as to what is good, in order that all may be saved; and let us convert and admonish one another. ³ And let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the presbyters, but also when we have returned home, remembering the commandments of the Lord; and let us not be dragged away by worldly lusts, but coming more frequently let us attempt to make advances in the commandments of the Lord, that all being of the same mind we may be gathered together unto life. ⁴ For the Lord said, “**I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and tongues**.” [Isa. 66:18] This He speaketh of **the day of His appearing, when He shall come and redeem us**, each one according to his works. ⁵ And **the unbelievers "shall see His glory,"** and strength; and they shall think it strange when they see the sovereignty of the world in Jesus, saying, Woe unto us, Thou wast He, and we did not know and did not believe, and we did not obey the presbyters when they declared unto us concerning our salvation. And “their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.” [Isa. 66:24] ⁶ **He speaketh of that day of judgment**, when they shall see those among us that have been ungodly and acted deceitfully with the commandments of Jesus Christ. ⁷ But the righteous who have done well and endured torments and hated the enjoyments of the soul, when they shall behold **those that have gone astray and denied Jesus through their words or through their works, how that they are punished with grievous torments in unquenchable fire**, shall be giving glory to God, saying, There will be hope for him that hath served God with his whole heart.

3.2.6. The wicked go to Hades

3.2.6.1 These are the only two places where the word Hades is used in 1 Clement.

^{APE} **1 Clement 4:12-13** Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram **alive to Hades**, through the sedition which they excited against God’s servant Moses. ¹³ Through envy, David underwent the hatred not only of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.

^{APE} **1 Clement 51:1-5** Let us therefore implore forgiveness for all those transgressions which through any suggestion of the adversary we have committed. And those who have been the leaders of sedition and disagreement ought to have respect to the common hope. ² For such as live in fear and love would rather that they themselves than their neighbors should be involved in suffering. And they prefer to bear blame themselves, rather than that the concord which has been well and piously handed down to us should suffer. ³ For it is better that a man should acknowledge his transgressions than that he should harden his heart, as the **hearts of those were hardened** who stirred up sedition against Moses the servant of God, and whose condemnation was made manifest unto all. ⁴ For **they went down alive into Hades**, and death swallowed them up. ⁵ Pharaoh with his army and all the princes of Egypt, and the chariots with their riders, were sunk in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished, for no other reason than that their

foolish hearts were hardened, after so many signs and wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by Moses the servant of God.

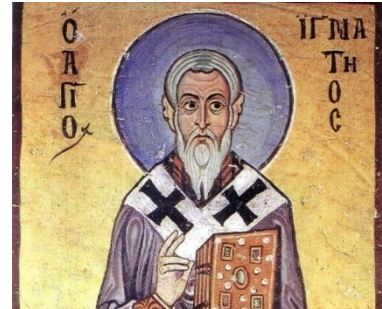
3.2.7. Peter and Paul going to the place of glory

^{APE} **1 Clement 5:1-7** But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the **most recent spiritual heroes**. Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation. ² Through envy and jealousy, the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church have been persecuted and put to death. ³ Let us set before our eyes the **illustrious apostles**. ⁴ **Peter**, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labors, and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, **departed to the place of glory due to him**. ⁵ Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, ⁶ after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, ⁷ having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the west, and suffered martyrdom under the prefects. Thus was he removed from the world, and **went into the holy place**, having proved himself a striking example of patience.

3.3. Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35 – c. 108 AD)

3.3.1. Introduction

Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35 – c. 108), also known as Ignatius Theophorus (Ιγνάτιος ὁ Θεοφόρος, Ignátios ho Theophóros, lit. “the God-bearing”), Ignatius Nurono (lit. “The fire-bearer”) was an early Christian writer and bishop of Antioch. En route to Rome, where he met his martyrdom, Ignatius wrote a series of letters. This correspondence now forms a central part of the later collection known as the Apostolic Fathers. His letters also serve as an example of early Christian theology. Important topics they address include ecclesiology, the sacraments, and the role of bishops. In speaking of the authority of the church, he coined the phrase “catholic church”, still in use to this day.



3.3.2. Heaven and with God for the Christians after death

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 85-89.

He speaks a lot of “attaining to God” about himself as well as others.

In his letter to the Smyrnaeans, in chapter 4 he says:

But, [in fact,] he who is near to the **sword is near to God**; he that is among the **wild beasts is in company with God**; provided only he be so in the name of Jesus Christ. I undergo all these things that I may suffer together with Him, He who became a perfect man inwardly strengthening me.

Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans, chapter 4.

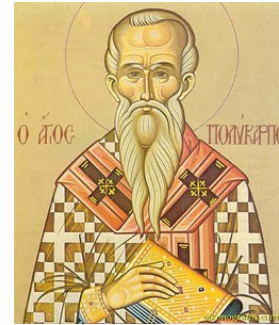
<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.v.vii.iv.html>

3.4. Polycarp of Smyrna (c. 69 – 156 AD)

See also p. 78 below.

3.4.1. Introduction

Polycarp (AD 69 – 155) was a 2nd-century Christian bishop of Smyrna. According to the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* he died a martyr, bound and burned at the stake, then stabbed when the fire failed to touch him. Polycarp is regarded as a saint and Church Father in the Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran churches. His name ‘Polycarp’ means ‘much fruit’ in Greek.²²



3.4.2. Martyrs are with the Lord

Chapter IX.—Patience inculcated.

I exhort you all, therefore, to yield obedience to the word of righteousness, and to exercise all patience, such as ye have seen [set] before your eyes, not only in the case of the blessed **Ignatius**, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in **Paul** himself, and the **rest of the apostles**. [This do] in the assurance that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that **they are [now] in their due place in the presence of the Lord**, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world, but Him who died for us, and for our sakes was raised again by God from the dead.

Epistle to the Philippians, chapter 9.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.iv.ii.ix.html>

3.4.2.1 Polycarp was influenced by Paul, Clement, and Ignatius

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 91.

The phrase “due place” occurs in 1 Clement 5.7, but Polycarp fills it with “due place *in the presence of the Lord*” (Phil. 5).

Paul says to the Philippians, to whom now Polycarp is also writing, that “to depart and be with Christ” is better (Phil 1:23), which is reflected back in Polycarp describing the afterlife as being one with the Lord.

3.4.3. Whoever denies the resurrection or the judgment is of Satan

Chapter VII.—Avoid the Docetæ, and persevere in fasting and prayer.

“For whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is antichrist;” [1 John 4:3] and whosoever does not confess the testimony of the cross, is of the devil; and whosoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and **says that there is neither a resurrection nor a judgment, he is the first-born of Satan**. Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us return to the word which has been handed down to us from the beginning; “watching unto prayer,” [1 Pet. 4:7] and persevering in fasting; beseeching in our supplications the all-seeing God “not to lead us into temptation,” [Matt. 6:13] as the Lord has said: “The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak.” [Matt. 26:41]

Epistle to the Philippians, chapter 7.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.iv.ii.vii.html>

3.4.4. Entrance to the Kingdom is after the resurrection

Knowing, then, that “God is not mocked,” [Gal. 6:7] we ought to walk worthy of His commandment and glory. In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of His righteousness, as being the

²² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polycarp>

servants of God and Christ, and not of men. They must not be slanderers, double-tongued, or lovers of money, but temperate in all things, compassionate, industrious, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the servant of all. **If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world**, according as He has promised to us that **He will raise us again from the dead**, and that if we live worthily of Him, **“we shall also reign together with Him,”** [2 Tim. 2:12] provided only we believe. In like manner, let the young men also be blameless in all things, being especially careful to preserve purity, and keeping themselves in, as with a bridle, from every kind of evil. For it is well that they should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since “every lust warreth against the spirit;” [1 Pet. 2:11] and “neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,” [1 Cor. 6:9-10] nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming. Wherefore, it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ. The virgins also must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

Epistle to the Philippians, chapter 5.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.iv.ii.v.html>

3.4.5. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead

“Wherefore, girding up your loins,” [1 Pet. 1:13; Eph. 6:14] “serve the Lord in fear” [Ps. 2:11] and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and error of the multitude, and “believed in Him who raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory,” [1 Pet. 1:21] and a throne at His right hand. To Him all things in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. **He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead.** His blood will God require of those who do not believe in Him. But He who raised Him up from the dead will raise up us also, if we do His will, and walk in His commandments, and love what He loved, keeping ourselves from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness; “not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing,” [1 Pet. 3:19] or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing, but being mindful of what the Lord said in His teaching: “Judge not, that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;” [Matt. 7:1-2; 6:12, 14; Luke 6:36, 38] and once more, “Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.” [Matt. 5:3, 10]

3.5. Didache (c. 90 – 140)

3.5.1. Introduction

The Didache (lit. “Teaching”), also known as The Lord’s Teaching Through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations, is a brief anonymous early Christian treatise written in Koine Greek, dated by modern scholars to the first[2] or (less commonly) second century AD. The first line of this treatise is “The teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles (or Nations) by the twelve apostles”. The text, parts of which constitute the oldest extant written catechism, has three main sections dealing with Christian ethics, rituals such as baptism and Eucharist, and Church organization. The opening chapters describe the virtuous Way of Life and the wicked Way of Death. The Lord’s Prayer is included in full. Baptism is by immersion, or by affusion if immersion is not practical. Fasting is ordered for Wednesdays and Fridays. Two primitive Eucharistic prayers are given. Church organization was at an early stage of development. Itinerant apostles and prophets are important, serving as “chief priests” and possibly celebrating the Eucharist. Meanwhile, local bishops and deacons also have authority and seem to be taking the place of the itinerant ministry.²³

²³ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Didache>

3.5.2. Resurrection is after the Great Tribulation and before the Second Advent; Antichrist; it is not the resurrection of all the dead

^{APE} **Didache 16:1-8** Watch for your life's sake. Let not your lamps be quenched, nor your loins unloosed; but be ye ready, for **ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh**. ² But often shall ye come together, seeking the things which are befitting to your souls: for the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if ye be not made perfect in the last time. ³ For **in the last days false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate**; ⁴ for when lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate and persecute and betray one another, and then shall appear **the world-deceiver as Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands**, and he shall do iniquitous things which have never yet come to pass since the beginning. ⁵ Then shall the creation of men come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish; but **they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under the curse itself**. ⁶ And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, the sign of an out-spreading in heaven; then the sign of **the sound of the trumpet**; and the third, **the resurrection of the dead**; ⁷ **yet not of all, but as it is said: The Lord shall come and all His saints with Him**. ⁸ Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

3.5.2.1 Comments

There is no indication that the author was a chiliast, although the statement in 16:6-7 sounds weird because it speaks of a resurrection only of the righteous. It could perhaps merely be singling out the resurrection of just as a different kind, or saying that the resurrection of the wicked is after the Lord has come back to earth. Either way, there is no clear chiliast statement.

W. J. Grier, in his *The Momentous Event* (The Banner of Truth Trust: 1976, p. 21), observes:

It is urged, however, that there is a distinction between the resurrection of the saints and that of sinners, and pre-millenarians are quick to insert their thousand years between the two. They have missed the point. The point is that the resurrection of the saints is the final sign preceding the Lord's coming. To this form of expression other than pre-millenarians can consent. Geerhardus Vos, a non-millenarian, in his book on *Pauline Eschatology*, says (on 1 Cor. 15:23, 24) that 'a brief interval in logical conception at least must be assumed' between the resurrection of believers and 'then end'; but Dr Vos goes on immediately to insist that this by no means opens the door to a rounded-off period of a thousand years.

3.6. 2 Clement (c. 95 – 140 AD)

3.6.1. Introduction

The Second Epistle of Clement often referred to as 2 Clement or Second Clement, is an early Christian writing. 2 Clement was not accepted in the canonical New Testament, but was included in the Apostolic Fathers collection.

2 Clement was traditionally believed to have been epistle to the Christian Church in Corinth written by Clement of Rome sometime in the late 1st century. However, 4th-century bishop Eusebius, in his historical work, says that there is one "extant an epistle of this Clement", so doubts about this work belonging to Clement of Rome are not new. Modern scholars believe that Second Clement is actually a sermon written around 95-140 CE by an anonymous author, one who was neither the author of 1 Clement nor Clement of Rome.

The earliest external reference to 2 Clement is found in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* written in the early 4th century:

But it must be observed also that there is said to be a second epistle of Clement. But we do not know that this is recognized like the former, for we do not find that the ancients have made any

use of it. And certain men have lately brought forward other wordy and lengthy writings under his name, containing dialogues of Peter and Apion. But no mention has been made of these by the ancients; for they do not even preserve the pure stamp of apostolic orthodoxy.²⁴

3.6.2. Expecting the Kingdom of God and the day of the appearing of God

^{APE} **2 Clement 12:1-6** Let us expect, therefore, hour by hour, the **kingdom of God in love and righteousness**, since we know not **the day of the appearing of God**.² For the Lord Himself, being asked by one **when His kingdom would come**, replied, “When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.”³ Now, two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is unfeignedly one soul in two bodies.⁴ And “that which is without as that which is within” meaneth this: He calls the soul “that which is within,” and the body “that which is without.” As, then, thy body is visible to sight, so also let thy soul be manifest by good works.⁵ And “the male with the female, neither male nor female,” this meaneth, that a brother seeing a sister should think nothing about her as of a female, nor she think anything about him as of a male.⁶ If ye do these things, saith He, the **kingdom of my Father shall come**.

3.6.3. The Day of Judgment when Christ comes

^{APE} **2 Clement 16:1** Wherefore, brethren, having received no small occasion for repentance, while we have the opportunity, let us turn unto God that called us, while we still have Him as One that receiveth us.² For if we renounce these enjoyments and conquer our soul in not doing these its evil desires, we shall partake of the mercy of Jesus.³ But ye know that **the day of judgment even now “cometh as a burning oven,”** [Mal. 4:1] and some “of the heavens shall melt,” [2 Pet. 3:7, 10] and all the earth shall be as lead melting on the fire, and then **the hidden and open works of men shall appear**.⁴ Almsgiving therefore is a good thing, as repentance from sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both; “but love covereth a multitude of sins.” [1 Pet. 4:8] But prayer out of a good conscience delivereth from death. Blessed is every one that is found full of these; for alms-giving lighteneth the burden of sin. (2Cl 16:1-4 APE)

^{APE} **2 Clement 17:1-7** Let us therefore repent from the whole heart, that no one of us perish by the way. For if we have commandments that we should also practice this, to draw away men from idols and instruct them, how much more ought a soul already knowing God not to perish!² Let us therefore assist one another that we may also lead up those weak as to what is good, in order that all may be saved; and let us convert and admonish one another.³ And let us not think to give heed and believe now only, while we are admonished by the presbyters, but also when we have returned home, remembering the commandments of the Lord; and let us not be dragged away by worldly lusts, but coming more frequently let us attempt to make advances in the commandments of the Lord, that all being of the same mind we may be gathered together unto life.⁴ For the Lord said, “**I come to gather together all the nations, tribes, and tongues.**” [Isa. 66:18] This He speaketh of **the day of His appearing**, when **He shall come and redeem us**, each one **according to his works**.⁵ And the unbelievers “shall see His glory,” and strength; and they shall think it strange when they see the sovereignty of the world in Jesus, saying, Woe unto us, Thou wast He, and we did not know and did not believe, and we did not obey the presbyters when they declared unto us concerning our salvation. And “**their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle unto all flesh.**” [Isa. 66:24]⁶ He speaketh of that **day of judgment**, when they shall see those among us that have been ungodly and acted deceitfully with the commandments of Jesus Christ.⁷ But the righteous who have done well and endured torments and hated the enjoyments of the soul, when they shall behold those that have gone astray and denied Jesus through their words or through their works, how that they are punished with grievous torments in unquenchable

²⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Epistle_of_Clement

fire, shall be giving glory to God, saying, There will be hope for him that hath served God with his whole heart.

3.6.4. Intermediate State; the believer living above with the fathers

^{APE} **2 Clement 19:1-4** Wherefore, brethren and sisters, after the God of truth hath been heard, I read to you an entreaty that ye may give heed to the things that are written, in order that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth among you. For as a reward I ask of you that ye repent with the whole heart, thus giving to yourselves salvation and life. For by doing this we shall set a goal for all the young who are minded to labor on behalf of piety and the goodness of God. ² And let us not, unwise ones that we are, be affronted and sore displeased, whenever some one admonisheth and turneth us from iniquity unto righteousness. For sometimes while we are practicing evil things we do not perceive it on account of the double-mindedness and unbelief that is in our breasts, and we are “darkened in our understanding” by our vain lusts. ³ Let us then practice righteousness that we may be saved unto the end. Blessed are they that obey these ordinances. Even if for a **little time they suffer evil in the world**, they **shall enjoy the immortal fruit of the resurrection**. ⁴ Let not then the godly man be grieved, if he be wretched in the times that now are; a blessed time waits for him. He, **living again above with the fathers**, shall be **joyful for an eternity without grief**.

3.6.5. The rest in the Kingdom to Come

^{APE} **2 Clement 5:1-7** Wherefore, brethren, leaving willingly **our sojourn in this present world**, let us do the will of Him that called us, and not fear to depart out of this world. ² For the Lord saith, “Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.” [Matt. 5:16] ³ And Peter answered and said unto Him, “What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?” ⁴ Jesus said unto Peter, “The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves; and in like manner, fear not ye them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire.” ⁵ And consider, brethren, that the **sojourning in the flesh in this world** is but brief and transient, but the **promise of Christ is great and wonderful**, even **the rest of the kingdom to come**, and of **life everlasting**. ⁶ By what course of conduct, then, shall we attain these things, but by leading a holy and righteous life, and by deeming these worldly things as not belonging to us, and not fixing our desires upon them? ⁷ For if we desire to possess them, we fall away from the path of righteousness.

3.6.6. This very flesh shall be judged and rise again

^{APE} **2 Clement 9:1-11** And let no one of you say that **this very flesh shall not be judged**, nor **rise again**. ² Consider ye in what state ye were saved, in what ye received sight, if not while ye were in this flesh. ³ We must therefore preserve the flesh as the temple of God. ⁴ For as ye were called in the flesh, **ye shall also come to be judged in the flesh**. ⁵ As Christ the Lord who saved us, though He was first a Spirit, became flesh, and thus called us, so **shall we also receive the reward in this flesh**. ⁶ Let us therefore love one another, that we may all **attain to the kingdom of God**. ⁷ While we have an opportunity of being healed, let us yield ourselves to God that healeth us, and give to Him a recompense. ⁸ Of what sort? Repentance out of a sincere heart; ⁹ for He knows all things beforehand, and is acquainted with what is in our hearts. ¹⁰ Let us therefore give Him praise, not with the mouth only, but also with the heart, that He may accept us as sons. ¹¹ For the Lord has said, “Those are My brethren who do the will of My Father.”

3.6.7. Vague reference to a spirit in chains (binding of Satan?)

^{APE} **2 Clement 20:1-5** But neither let it trouble your understanding, that we see the unrighteous having riches and the servants of God straitened. ² Let us therefore, brethren and sisters, be believing: we are striving in the contest of the living God, **we are exercised by the present life**, in order that we may be **crowned by that to come**. ³ No one of the righteous received fruit speedily, but awaiteth it. ⁴ For if God gave shortly the recompense of the righteous, straightway we would be exercising ourselves in business,

not in godliness; for we would seem to be righteous, while pursuing not what is godly but what is gainful. And on this account **Divine judgment surprised a spirit that was not righteous**, and **loaded it with chains**.⁵ To the only God invisible, the Father of truth, who sent forth to us the Savior and Prince of incorruption, through whom also He manifested to us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

3.7. Epistle of Barnabas (c. 100 AD)

3.7.1. Introduction

The Epistle of Barnabas (Greek: Βαρνάβα Ἐπιστολή) is a Greek epistle written between AD 70 and 132. The complete text is preserved in the 4th-century Codex Sinaiticus, where it appears immediately after the New Testament and before the Shepherd of Hermas. For several centuries it was one of the “antilegomena” writings that some Christians looked on as sacred scripture, while others excluded them.²⁵

Text: <https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01/anf01.vi.ii.v.html>

3.7.2. Sabbath and cosmic-week theory; when Jesus comes He will destroy the Antichrist and judge the ungodly

^{APE} **Epistle of Barnabas 15:1-9** Further, also, it is written concerning the Sabbath in the Decalogue which the Lord spoke, face to face, to Moses on Mount Sinai, “And sanctify ye the Sabbath of the Lord with clean hands and a pure heart.” [Ex. 20:8; Ps. 24:4]² And He says in another place, “If my sons keep the Sabbath, then will I cause my mercy to rest upon them.” [Jer. 17:24-25]³ The Sabbath is mentioned at the beginning of the creation thus: “And God made in six days the works of His hands, and made an end on the seventh day, and rested on it, and sanctified it.” [Gen. 2:2]⁴ Attend, my children, to the meaning of this expression, “He finished in six days.” This implieth that **the Lord will finish all things in six thousand years**, for a day is with Him a thousand years. And He Himself testifieth, saying, “Behold, to-day will be as a thousand years.” [Ps. 90:4; 2 Pet. 3:8] Therefore, my children, in six days, that is, **in six thousand years, all things will be finished**.⁵ “And He rested on the seventh day.” This meaneth: when **His Son, coming again**, shall **destroy the time of the wicked man, and judge the ungodly**, and change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then **shall He truly rest on the seventh day**.⁶ Moreover, He says, “Thou shalt sanctify it with pure hands and a pure heart.” If, therefore, any one can now sanctify the day which God hath sanctified, except he is pure in heart in all things, we are deceived.⁷ Behold, therefore: certainly then one properly resting sanctifies it, **when we ourselves, having received the promise, wickedness no longer existing, and all things having been made new by the Lord**, shall be able to work righteousness. Then we shall be able to sanctify it, having been first sanctified ourselves.⁸ Further, He says to them, “Your new moons and your Sabbath I cannot endure.” [Isa. 1:13] Ye perceive how He speaks: Your present Sabbaths are not acceptable to Me, but that is which I have made, namely this, when, **giving rest to all things, I shall make a beginning of the eighth day, that is, a beginning of another world**.⁹ Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day also on which Jesus rose again from the dead. And when He had manifested Himself, He ascended into the heavens.

3.7.2.1 Does Barnabas 15 teach a millennium?

See Boyd, *Dispensational Analysis*, pp. 101-106, for a negative answer from a premillennial dispensationalist.

3.7.3. Resurrection and judgment are at the coming of the Lord

^{APE} **Epistle of Barnabas 5:6-7** The prophets, having obtained grace from Him, prophesied concerning Him. And He (since it behooved Him to appear in flesh), that He might abolish death, and reveal the resurrection from the dead, endured what and as He did,⁷ in order that He might fulfill the promise made

²⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Epistle_of_Barnabas

3.8 - Jude's grandsons (with Hegesippus) (c. 106 AD)

unto the fathers, and by preparing a new people for Himself, might show, while He dwelt on earth, that He, **when He has raised mankind, will also judge them.**

See also Barnabas 15:5.

3.7.4. The Lord comes to destroy the Antichrist and the godless

^{APE} **Epistle of Barnabas 15:5** "And He rested on the seventh day." This meaneth: when His Son, coming again, shall **destroy the time of the wicked man, and judge the ungodly**, and change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then shall He truly rest on the seventh day.

3.7.5. There will be judgment and reward when the Lord comes

^{APE} **Epistle of Barnabas 21:1-3** It is well, therefore, that he who has learned **the judgments of the Lord**, as many as have been written, should walk in them. For he who keepeth these shall be **glorified in the kingdom of God**; but he who chooseth other things shall be destroyed with his works. On this account **there will be a resurrection, on this account a retribution.** ² I beseech you who are superiors, if you will receive any counsel of my good-will, have among yourselves those to whom you may show kindness: do not forsake them. ³ For **the day is at hand on which all things shall perish with the evil one.** The Lord is near, and His reward.

3.8. Jude's grandsons (with Hegesippus) (c. 106 AD)

3.8.1. Introduction

This account took place around 106-7 A.D. They were probably prominent leaders in the Jerusalem church and they're totally non-chiliasitic in their outlook to the future. Their names were Zoker and James

3.8.2. Not a temporal, heavenly, at the end of the world; Christ comes to judge the living and the dead

Chapter XX.—*The Relatives of our Saviour.*

1. "Of the family of the Lord there were still living the grandchildren of Jude, who is said to have been the Lord's brother according to the flesh. 2. Information was given that they belonged to the **family of David**, and they were brought to the **Emperor Domitian** by the Evocatus. For Domitian feared the coming of Christ as Herod also had feared it. And he asked them if they were descendants of David, and they confessed that they were. Then he asked them how much property they had, or how much money they owned. And both of them answered that they had only nine thousand denarii, half of which belonged to each of them;²⁶ 4. and this property did not consist of silver, but of a piece of land which contained only thirty-nine acres, and from which they raised their taxes and supported themselves by their own labor."

5. Then they showed their hands, exhibiting the hardness of their bodies and the callousness produced upon their hands by continuous toil as evidence of their own labor. 6. And when they were asked concerning **Christ and his kingdom**, of what sort it was and where and when it was to appear, they answered that it was **not a temporal nor an earthly kingdom**, but a **heavenly and angelic one**, which would **appear at the end of the world, when he should come in glory to judge the quick and the dead**, and to give unto every one according to his works. 7. Upon hearing this, Domitian did not pass judgment against them, but, despising them as of no account, he let them go, and by a decree put a stop to the persecution of the Church. 8. But when they were released they ruled the churches because they were witnesses and were also relatives of the Lord. And peace being established, they lived until the time of Trajan. These things are **related by Hegesippus**. 9. Tertullian also has mentioned Domitian in

²⁶ There is no omission here, the text jumps from 2 to 4.

the following words: "Domitian also, who possessed a share of Nero's cruelty, attempted once to do the same thing that the latter did. But because he had, I suppose, some intelligence, he very soon ceased, and even recalled those whom he had banished."

10. But after Domitian had reigned fifteen years, and Nerva had succeeded to the empire, the Roman Senate, according to the writers that record the history of those days, voted that Domitian's honors should be cancelled, and that those who had been unjustly banished should return to their homes and have their property restored to them. 11. It was at this time that the apostle John returned from his banishment in the island and took up his abode at Ephesus, according to an ancient Christian tradition.

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, III:20.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.viii.xx.html>

3.8.2.1 Possible biblical passages in mind

John 18:36 Jesus answered, "My kingdom is **not of this world**. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would have been fighting, that I might not be delivered over to the Jews. But my kingdom is not from the world."

2 Timothy 4:18 The Lord will rescue me from every evil deed and bring me safely into his **heavenly kingdom**. To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

3.9. Epistle to Diognetus (c. 130 – 200 AD)

3.9.1. Introduction

The Epistle of Mathetes to Diognetus (Greek: Πρὸς Διόγνητον Ἐπιστολή) is an example of Christian apologetics, writings defending Christianity from its accusers. The Greek writer and recipient are not otherwise known; estimates of dating based on the language and other textual evidence have ranged from AD 130 (which would make it one of the earliest examples of apologetic literature), to the late 2nd century, with the latter often preferred in modern scholarship.

3.9.2. Christians are sojourners here and citizens of heaven

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 5:5** They dwell in their own countries, but simply as **sojourners**. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet **endure all things as if foreigners**. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a **land of strangers**.

...

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 5:9** They pass their days on earth, but they are **citizens of heaven**.

3.9.3. The Soul and the Christian; incorruptible dwelling in the heavens

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 6:1-10** To sum up all in one word — what the **soul is in the body**, that are **Christians in the world**.² The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world.³ The soul dwells in the body, yet is not of the body; and **Christians dwell in the world, yet are not of the world**.⁴ The invisible soul is guarded by the visible body, and Christians are known indeed to be in the world, but their godliness remains invisible.⁵ The flesh hates the soul, and wars against it, though itself suffering no injury, because it is prevented from enjoying pleasures; the world also hates the Christians, though in nowise injured, because they abjure pleasures.⁶ The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and loves also the members; **Christians likewise love those that hate them**.⁷ The soul is imprisoned in the body, yet preserves that very body; and **Christians are confined in the world as in a prison**, and yet **they are the preservers of the world**.⁸ The immortal soul dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and **Christians dwell as sojourners** in corruptible bodies, **looking for an incorruptible dwelling in the heavens**.⁹ The soul, when but ill-provided with food and drink, becomes better; in like manner, the Christians, though subjected day by day to punishment, increase the

more in number. ¹⁰ God has assigned them this illustrious position, which it were unlawful for them to forsake.

3.9.4. Entering the Kingdom of God and attaining life

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 9:1** As long then as the former time endured, He permitted us to be borne along by unruly impulses, being drawn away by the desire of pleasure and various lusts. This was not that He at all delighted in our sins, but that He simply endured them; nor that He approved the time of working iniquity which then was, but that He sought to form a mind conscious of righteousness, so that being convinced in that time of our unworthiness of **attaining life** through our own works, it should now, through the kindness of God, be vouchsafed to us; and having made it manifest that in ourselves we were unable to **enter into the kingdom of God**, we might through the power of God be made able.

3.9.5. God had promised man a Kingdom in heaven

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 10:1-2** If you also desire to possess this faith, you likewise shall receive first of all the knowledge of the Father. ² For God has loved mankind, on whose account He made the world, to whom He rendered subject all the things that are in it, to whom He gave reason and understanding, to whom alone He imparted the privilege of looking upwards to Himself, whom He formed after His own image, to whom He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He has **promised a kingdom in heaven**, and will give it to those who have loved Him.

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 10:7** Then thou shalt see, while still on earth, that God in the heavens rules over the universe; then thou shalt begin to speak the mysteries of God; then shalt thou both love and admire those that suffer punishment because they will not deny God; then shalt thou condemn the deceit and error of the world when thou shalt know **what it is to live truly in heaven**, when thou shalt despise that which is here esteemed to be death, when thou shalt fear what is truly death, which is reserved for those who shall be condemned to the eternal fire, which shall afflict those even to the end that are committed to it.

3.9.6. Christ shall come back as judge

^{APE} **Epistle to Diognetus 7:5-6** As calling us He sent Him, not as vengefully pursuing us; as loving us He sent Him, not as judging us. ⁶ For **He will yet send Him to judge us**, and who shall endure **His appearing**?

3.10. Athenagoras of Athens (c. 133 – c. 190 AD)

3.10.1. Introduction

Athenagoras (c. 133 – c. 190 AD) was a Father of the Church, an Ante-Nicene Christian apologist who lived during the second half of the 2nd century of whom little is known for certain, besides that he was Athenian (though possibly not originally from Athens), a philosopher, and a convert to Christianity. In his writings he styles himself as “Athenagoras, the Athenian, Philosopher, and Christian”. There is some evidence that he was a Platonist before his conversion, but this is not certain.²⁷



He wrote a book titled *On the Resurrection of the Dead* which can be found at:

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.v.iii.html>

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athenagoras_of_Athens

3.10.2. Present life in flesh, next life heavenly and we exist as heavenly spirit

CHAPTER XXXI.—CONFUTATION OF THE OTHER CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

But they have further also made up stories against us of impious feasts and forbidden intercourse between the sexes, both that they may appear to themselves to have rational grounds of hatred, and because they think either by fear to lead us away from our way of life, or to render the rulers harsh and inexorable by the magnitude of the charges they bring. But they lose their labour with those who know that from of old it has been the custom, and not in our time only, for vice to make war on virtue. Thus Pythagoras, with three hundred others, was burnt to death; Heraclitus and Democritus were banished, the one from the city of the Ephesians, the other from Abdera, because he was charged with being mad; and the Athenians condemned Socrates to death. But as they were none the worse in respect of virtue because of the opinion of the multitude, so neither does the indiscriminating calumny of some persons cast any shade upon us as regards rectitude of life, for with God we stand in good repute. Nevertheless, I will meet these charges also, although I am well assured that by what has been already said I have cleared myself to you. For as you excel all men in intelligence, you know that those whose life is directed towards God as its rule, so that each one among us may be blameless and irreproachable before Him, will not entertain even the thought of the slightest sin. For **if we believed that we should live only the present life**, then we might be suspected of sinning, through being enslaved to flesh and blood, or overmastered by gain or carnal desire; but since we know that God is witness to what we think and what we say both by night and by day, and that He, being Himself light, sees all things in our heart, we are persuaded that **when we are removed from the present life we shall live another life, better** than the present one, and **heavenly**, not earthly (since we shall **abide near God, and with God**, free from all change or suffering in the soul, not as flesh, **even though we shall have flesh, but as heavenly spirit**), or, falling with the **rest, a worse one and in fire**; for God has not made us as sheep or beasts of burden, a mere by-work, and that we should perish and be annihilated. On these grounds it is not likely that we should wish to do evil, or deliver ourselves over to the great Judge to be punished.

Athenagoras, A Plea for the Christians. Chapter 31.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02.v.ii.xxxi.html>

3.10.2.1 Comments

The statement “**even though we shall have flesh**” refers to the future resurrection, but the current existence in the Intermediate State is “as **heavenly spirit**”.

This is similar to what the grandsons of Jude say:

6. And when they were asked concerning **Christ and his kingdom**, of what sort it was and where and when it was to appear, they answered that it was **not a temporal nor an earthly kingdom**, but a **heavenly and angelic one**, which would **appear at the end of the world, when he should come in glory to judge the quick and the dead**, and to give unto every one according to his works.²⁸

3.11. The Shepard of Hermas (c. 140 AD)

3.11.1. Introduction

The Shepherd of Hermas was completed around 140 A.D. The text may be found at:

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf02/anf02.ii.ii.html>

²⁸ See p. 73.

3.11.2. Great Tribulation; Christians enduring it

^{APE} **Hermas Vision 2 2:7** Stand steadfast, therefore, ye who work righteousness, and doubt not, that your passage may be with the holy angels. Happy ye who endure the **great tribulation** that is coming on, and happy they who shall not deny their own life.

^{APE} **Hermas Vision 4 2:5** Go, therefore, and tell the elect of the Lord His mighty deeds, and say to them that **this beast is a type of the great tribulation that is coming**. If then ye prepare yourselves, and repent with all your heart, and turn to the Lord, it will be possible for you to escape it, if your heart be pure and spotless, and ye spend the rest of the days of your life in serving the Lord blamelessly. Cast your cares upon the Lord, and He will direct them.

3.11.3. World to come; resurrection and judgment language

^{APE} **Hermas Similitude 4 1:1-8** He showed me again **many trees**, some **budding**, and others **withered**. And he said to me, "Do you see these trees?" "I see, sir," I replied, "some putting forth buds, and others withered." ² "Those," he said, "which are **budding are the righteous** who are to **live in the world to come**; for the **coming world is the summer of the righteous**, but the **winter of sinners**. When, therefore, the mercy of the Lord shines forth, then **shall they be made manifest who are the servants of God**, and **all men shall be made manifest**. ³ For as in summer the fruits of each individual tree appear, and it is ascertained of what sort they are, so also the **fruits of the righteous shall be manifest**, and all who have been fruitful in that world shall be made known. ⁴ But the **heathen and sinners**, like the **withered trees** which you saw, will be found to be those who have been withered and unfruitful in that world, and **shall be burnt as wood**, and so made manifest, because their actions were **evil during their lives**. For the sinners shall be **consumed** because they sinned and did not repent, and the heathen shall be burned because they knew not Him who created them. ⁵ Do you therefore bear fruit, that in that summer your fruit may be known. And refrain from much business, and you will never sin: for they who are occupied with much business commit also many sins, being distracted about their affairs, and not at all serving their Lord. ⁶ How, then," he continued, "can such a one ask and obtain anything from the Lord, if he serve Him not? They who serve Him shall obtain their requests, but they who serve Him not shall receive nothing. ⁷ And in the performance even of a single action a man can serve the Lord; for his mind will not be perverted from the Lord, but he will serve Him, having a pure mind. ⁸ If, therefore, you do these things, you shall be able to bear fruit for the life to come. And every one who will do these things shall bear fruit."

3.11.4. Decidedly non-Chiliasm, Dr. Hill comments

Hermas thus allows us at the outset to say what we could not say at the outset for our studies of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, namely, that his general eschatology shows itself to be decidedly non-chiliasm. The age of the Church is the last age; the coming tribulation ushers in the return of Christ and the great judgment.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 94.

3.11.5. Saints have another city and are strangers here

^{APE} **Hermas Similitude 1 1:1** HE says to me, "You know that you who are **the servants of God dwell in a strange land**; for **your city is far away from this one**. If, then," he continues, "you know your city in which you are to dwell, why do ye here provide lands, and make expensive preparations, and accumulate dwellings and useless buildings?"

^{APE} **Hermas Similitude 1 1:6** Have a care, therefore: as one living in a **foreign land**, make no further preparations for thyself than such merely as may be sufficient; and be ready, when the **master of this city** shall come to cast thee out for **disobeying his law**, to leave **his city**, and to **depart to thine own**, and to obey thine own law without being exposed to annoyance, but in great joy.

^{APE} **Hermas Similitude 1 1:10** This is a noble and sacred expenditure, attended neither with sorrow nor fear, but with joy. Do not practice the expenditure of the heathen, for it is injurious to you who are the servants of God;

3.11.5.1 *Comments by Dr. Hill*

It should be concluded then that the first similitude assumes and teaches an immediate removal to the heavenly city for the Christian who has kept its laws while here on earth.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 95.

3.11.6. All Christians on the right and left hand with more glory to martyrs

^{APE} **Hermas Vision 3 1:9** “Do what I bid you,” said she; “sit down.” When I would have **sat down on her right**, she did not permit me, but with her hand beckoned to me to sit down on the left. While I was thinking about this, and feeling vexed that she did not let me sit on the right, she said, “Are you vexed, Hermas? The **place to the right is for others who have already pleased God, and have suffered for His name’s sake**; and you have yet much to accomplish before you can sit with them. But abide as you now do in your simplicity, and you will sit with them, and with all who do their deeds and bear what they have borne.”

^{APE} **Hermas Vision 3 2:1** “What have they borne?” said I. “Listen,” said she: “scourges, prisons, great tribulations, crosses, wild beasts, for God’s name’s sake. On this account is assigned to them the **division of sanctification on the right hand**, and to every one who shall suffer for God’s name: to the **rest is assigned the division on the left**. But both for those who sit on the right, and those who sit on the left, **there are the same gifts and promises**; only those sit on the right, and **have some glory**.”

3.11.7. Passage with the angels; enduring the great tribulation that is coming on

^{APE} **Hermas Vision 2 2:6-7** You will tell, therefore, those who preside over the Church, to direct their ways in righteousness, that they may **receive in full the promises with great glory**. ⁷ Stand steadfast, therefore, ye who work righteousness, and doubt not, that **your passage may be with the holy angels**. Happy ye who **endure the great tribulation that is coming on**, and happy they who shall not deny their own life.

^{APE} **Hermas Similitude 9 25:1-2** “And they who believed from the eighth mountain, where were the many fountains, and where all the creatures of God drank of the fountains, were the following: ² **apostles, and teachers, who preached to the whole world**, and who taught solemnly and purely the word of the Lord, and did not at all fall into evil desires, but **walked always in righteousness and truth**, according as they had received the Holy Spirit. Such persons, therefore, **shall enter in with the angels**.”

3.12. Martyrdom of Polycarp (post c. 155)

See also p. 67 above.

3.12.1. Righteous live before Thee; resurrection, incorruption

Chapter XIV.—The prayer of Polycarp.

They did not nail him then, but simply bound him. And he, placing his hands behind him, and being bound like a distinguished ram [taken] out of a great flock for sacrifice, and prepared to be an acceptable burnt-offering unto God, looked up to heaven, and said, “O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of **the whole race of the righteous who live before thee**, I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the **resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body**, through **the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost**. Among whom may I be accepted this day before Thee as a fat and acceptable sacrifice, according as Thou, the ever-truthful God, hast

foreordained, hast revealed beforehand to me, and now hast fulfilled. Wherefore also I praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, along with the everlasting and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all coming ages. Amen.”

The Martyrdom of Polycarp. Chapter 14.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.iv.iv.xiv.html>

3.12.2. Polycarp has received immortality and his reward

Chapter XVII.—The Christians are refused Polycarp’s body.

But when the adversary of the race of the righteous, the envious, malicious, and wicked one, perceived the impressive nature of his martyrdom, and [considered] the blameless life he had led from the beginning, and how he was **now crowned with the wreath of immortality**, having beyond dispute **received his reward**, he did his utmost that not the least memorial of him should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this, and to become possessors of his holy flesh. For this end he suggested it to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to go and entreat the governor not to give up his body to be buried, “lest,” said he, “forsaking Him that was crucified, they begin to worship this one.” This he said at the suggestion and urgent persuasion of the Jews, who also watched us, as we sought to take him out of the fire, being ignorant of this, that it is neither possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of such as shall be saved throughout the whole world (the blameless one for sinners), nor to worship any other. For Him indeed, as being the Son of God, we adore; but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we worthily love on account of their extraordinary affection towards their own King and Master, of whom may we also be made companions and fellow-disciples!

The Martyrdom of Polycarp. Chapter 17.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.iv.iv.xvii.html>

3.12.3. Polycarp is now with the Apostles and Righteous

Chapter XIX.—Praise of the martyr Polycarp.

This, then, is the account of the blessed Polycarp, who, being the twelfth that was martyred in Smyrna (reckoning those also of Philadelphia), yet occupies a place of his own in the memory of all men, inasmuch that he is everywhere spoken of by the heathen themselves. He was not merely an illustrious teacher, but also a pre-eminent martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, as having been altogether consistent with the Gospel of Christ. For, having through patience overcome the unjust governor, and thus **acquired the crown of immortality, he now, with the apostles and all the righteous** [in heaven], rejoicingly glorifies God, even the Father, and blesses our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, the Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

The Martyrdom of Polycarp. Chapter 19.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.iv.iv.xix.html>

3.12.4. The coming judgment and eternal punishment

Chapter XI.—No threats have any effect on Polycarp.

The proconsul then said to him, “I have wild beasts at hand; to these will I cast thee, except thou repent.” But he answered, “Call them then, for we are not accustomed to repent of what is good in order to adopt that which is evil; and it is well for me to be changed from what is evil to what is righteous.” But again the proconsul said to him, “I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, if thou wilt not repent.” But Polycarp said, “Thou threatenest me with fire which burneth for an hour, and after a little is extinguished, but art ignorant of **the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly**. But why tarriest thou? Bring forth what thou wilt.”

The Martyrdom of Polycarp. Chapter 11.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.iv.iv.xi.html>

3.13. Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170 – 235 AD)

3.13.1. Introduction

Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170 – c. 235 AD) was one of the most important second-third century Christian theologians, whose provenance, identity and corpus remain elusive to scholars and historians. Suggested communities include Palestine, Egypt, Anatolia, Rome and regions of the mid-east. The best historians of literature in the ancient church, including Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome, openly confess they cannot name where Hippolytus the biblical commentator and theologian served in leadership. They had read his works but did not possess evidence of his community. Photios I of Constantinople describes him in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 121) as a disciple of Irenaeus, who was said to be a disciple of Polycarp, and from the context of this passage it is supposed that he suggested that Hippolytus so styled himself. This assertion is doubtful. One older theory asserts he came into conflict with the popes of his time and seems to have headed a schismatic group as a rival to the bishop of Rome, thus becoming an antipope. In this view, he opposed the Roman Popes who softened the penitential system to accommodate the large number of new pagan converts. However, he was reconciled to the Church before he died as a martyr.²⁹



Important works which he wrote and in which he wrote about eschatology include *The Refutation of All Heresies*, *Commentary on Daniel*,³⁰ *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*.

3.13.2. Cosmic-week theory

3.13.2.1 *Christ was born in 5500 after Adam*

4. But that we may not leave our subject at this point undemonstrated, we are obliged to discuss the matter of the times, of which a man should not speak hastily, because they are a light to him. For as the times are noted from the foundation of the world, and reckoned from Adam, they set clearly before us the matter with which our inquiry deals. For the **first appearance of our Lord in the flesh took place in Bethlehem, under Augustus, in the year 5500**; and He suffered in the thirty-third year. And **6,000 years must needs be accomplished, in order that the Sabbath may come**, the rest, the holy day “on which God rested from all His works.” [Gen. 2:3] For the Sabbath is the type and emblem of the future kingdom of the saints, when they “**shall reign with Christ**,” [Rev. 20:4] **when He comes from heaven**, as John says in his Apocalypse: for “a day with the Lord is as a thousand years.” [Ps. 90:4; 2 Pet. 3:8] Since, then, in six days God made all things, it follows that **6,000 years must be fulfilled**. And they are not yet fulfilled, as John says: “five are fallen; one is,” that is, the sixth; “the other is not yet come.” [Rev. 17:10]

5. In mentioning the “other,” moreover, he specifies the seventh, in which there is rest. But some one may be ready to say, How will you prove to me that the Saviour was born in the year 5500? Learn that easily, O man; for the things that took place of old in the wilderness, under Moses, in the case of the tabernacle, were constituted types and emblems of spiritual mysteries, in order that, when the truth came in Christ in these last days, you might be able to perceive that these things were fulfilled. For He says to him, “And thou shalt make the ark of imperishable wood, and shalt overlay it with pure gold within and without; and thou shalt make the length of it two cubits and a half, and the breadth thereof one cubit

²⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hippolytus_of_Rome

³⁰ A version of this commentary can be found at https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

and a half, and a cubit and a half the height;” [Ex. 25:10] **which measures, when summed up together, make five cubits and a half, so that the 5500 years might be signified thereby.**

6. At that time, then, the Saviour appeared and showed His own body to the world, (born) of the Virgin, who was the “ark overlaid with pure gold,” with the Word within and the Holy Spirit without; so that the truth is demonstrated, and the “ark” made manifest. **From the birth of Christ, then, we must reckon the 500 years that remain to make up the 6000, and thus the end shall be.** And that the Saviour appeared in the world, bearing the imperishable ark, His own body, at a time which was the fifth and half, John declares: “Now it was the sixth hour,” [John 19:14] he says, intimating by that, one-half of the day. **But a day with the Lord is 1000 years; and the half of that, therefore, is 500 years.** For it was not meet that He should appear earlier, for the burden of the law still endured, nor yet when the sixth day was fulfilled (for the baptism is changed), but on the fifth and half, in order that in the remaining half time the gospel might be preached to the whole world, and that when the sixth day was completed He might end the present life.

Commentary on Daniel. Book 4:4-6 (or IV:23-24)

<https://ccel.org/ccel/hippolytus/fragments/anf05.iii.iv.i.x.ii.html>

3.13.2.2 Dr. Hill’s and Jean Daniélou’s comments

Regarding the first factor, it must at least be admitted that not every form of a cosmic-week chronology may be equated with chiliasm. Even Jean Daniélou, who classifies Hippolytus as a chiliast, says,

There is a whole tradition, to which Origen in particular is a witness, which understands the sabbath as signifying eternal life (*Hom. Num. XXIII, 3*). All that is involved here is a typology of the week in which the six days of creation represent the time of this world, and the seventh day the world to come. This belongs to Jewish tradition, and was adapted by Philo.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 162.

3.13.3. Comments on the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of the Saints

3.13.3.1 The saints have entered their rest in the kingdom of Christ, commenting on Rev. 12:5

59. But we who hope for the Son of God are persecuted and trodden down by those unbelievers. For the *wings of the vessels* are the churches; and the sea is the world, in which the Church is set, like a ship tossed in the deep, but not destroyed; for she has with her the skilled Pilot, Christ. And she bears in her midst also the trophy (which is erected) over death; for she carries with her the cross of the Lord. For her prow is the east, and her stern is the west, and her hold is the south, and her tillers are the two Testaments; and the ropes that stretch around her are the love of Christ, which binds the Church; and the net which she bears with her is the laver of the regeneration which renews the believing, whence too are these glories. As the wind the Spirit from heaven is present, by whom those who believe are sealed: she has also anchors of iron accompanying her, viz., the holy commandments of Christ Himself, which are strong as iron. She has also mariners on the right and on the left, assessors like the holy angels, by whom the Church is always governed and defended. The ladder in her leading up to the sailyard is an emblem of the passion of Christ, which brings the faithful to the ascent of heaven. And the top-sails aloft upon the yard are **the company of prophets, martyrs, and apostles, who have entered into their rest in the kingdom of Christ.**

Treatise on Christ and Antichrist, pars. 59.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05.iii.iv.ii.i.html>

3.13.3.2 The resurrection of saints and the wicked, and kingdom of the saints with reference to Rev. 20:6

65. Moreover, concerning **the resurrection** and the **kingdom of the saints**, Daniel says, “And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, (and **some to shame and everlasting contempt**).” [Dan. 12:2] Esaias says, “The dead men shall arise, and they that are in their

tombs shall awake; for the dew from thee is healing to them.” [Isa. 26:19] The Lord says, “Many in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.” [John 5:25] And the prophet says, “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.” [Eph. 4:14] And **John says, “Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power.”** [Rev. 20:6] For the second death is the lake of fire that burneth. And again the Lord says, “Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun shineth in his glory.” [Matt. 13:43] And to the saints He will say, “Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” [Matt. 25:34] But what saith He to **the wicked? “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, which my Father hath prepared.”** [Matt. 25:41] And John says, “**Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whore-mongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie; for your part is in the hell of fire.**” [Rev. 22:15] And in like manner also Esaias: “And they shall go forth and look upon the **carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me.** And their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.” [Isa. 66:24]

66. Concerning **the resurrection of the righteous**, Paul also speaks thus in writing to the Thessalonians: “We would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive (and) remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice and trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive (and) remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.” [1 Thess. 4:13-17]

Treatise on Christ and Antichrist, pars. 65-66.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05.iii.iv.ii.i.html>

3.13.3.3 *Commenting on Daniel 7:13-14 and the eternal kingdom presently given to Christ*

11.3. The Son of Man was brought to him, being borne by a cloud and being carried by archangels, so that he may receive from him every rule and authority and power and kingdom, so that all peoples, tribes, and tongues may serve him. **11.4.** And so that **one may not understand that his kingdom, which was given to him by the Father, was temporary or earthly**, the prophet says, “His authority is an eternal authority, which shall not pass away and his kingdom shall not be destroyed.”

11.5. And so the Father, having **subjected all things to his own Son**, the things in the heavens and the things of the earth and the things under the earth, through all of them he exhibited him as being firstborn in all things, firstborn from God so that the Son of God, being second after the Father, may be displayed, firstborn before angels, so that also he may be shown as Lord of angels, firstborn from a virgin, so that he may be shown as reforming first-formed Adam in himself, firstborn also from the dead so that he himself may be the first fruits of our resurrection.

Commentary on Daniel. Book IV:11.3-4

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.13.3.4 *The kingdom of the saints comes after the general resurrection*

58.1. After these things were spoken in this way, the prophet, wishing to more precisely investigate **what would be the kind of things which would happen after the resurrection**, he answered him and said, “‘Lord what will be the end of these?’ And he said, ‘Come Daniel. because these words are closed and sealed until the end of time, until many are chosen and are made white and are tried with fire and the lawless shall be lawless and the wise shall understand and you, come and rest. For there are still **many days to the fulfillment of the consummation and to the resurrection**, to **your inheritance at the consummation of days.**’” [Dan. 12:8-10] **58.2.** For since what God prepared for the saints a man is now not able to describe, for neither his eye sees, nor his ear hears, nor the heart of a man ascends to it, for which even the angels desire to glimpse, he spoke in this way to him, “These words are sealed until

the end of time until many are chosen and are made white and are tried with fire.” [Dan. 12:9] **58.3.** But who are the chosen, but they who are found worthy of the kingdom? **58.4.** And who is whitened, but they who believe the word of truth so that they are whitened through it and casting off the filth of sins they are clothed with purity from heaven and the radiant Holy Spirit, so that when the cloud is present they may immediately enter with him? **58.5.** And who are they who are tried with fire except they who pass through fire and water through the washing of rebirth of the Spirit and do the will of the Father through many fiery trials and afflictions. **58.6.** “And the lawless shall be lawless and the wise shall understand.” They who are lawless are that way through their own choice and the wise again, through their own choice, are satisfied.

Commentary on Daniel. Book IV:58

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.13.3.5 *The kingdom of Christ distinguished from the kingdom of the world, which is the Roman*

9.1. But since a certain thought gnaws at the heart, we shall not abandon the indescribable itself, which is able to aid a soul. **9.2.** For when in the forty-second year of Caesar Augustus the Lord was born, when the **kingdom of the Romans** flourished, the Lord, through the apostles, summoned all nations and all tongues and made a nation of Christians who believe in the Lord and who carry a new name in heart, in the same manner **this kingdom now** is counterfeited by that which rules according to the operation of Satan, but similarly **this kingdom also collects those born from all nations and prepares those who are called Romans for war.** **9.3.** And on account of this also the first census happened under Augustus, when the Lord was born in Bethlehem, so that the **men of this world, being registered in the earthly kingdom, were called Romans**, but **those who believe in the heavenly kingdom were named Christians, who on their forehead carry the trophy against death to the front line.**

Commentary on Daniel. Book IV:9

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.13.4. When Christ comes He will judge the righteous and unrighteous alike

3. For all, **the righteous and the unrighteous alike, shall be brought before God the Word.** For the Father hath committed all judgment to Him; and in fulfilment of the Father’s counsel, **He cometh as Judge whom we call Christ.** For it is not Minos and Rhadamanthys that are to judge (the world), as ye fancy, O Greeks, but He whom God the Father hath glorified, of whom we have spoken elsewhere more in particular, for the profit of those who seek the truth. He, in administering the righteous judgment of the Father to all, **assigns to each what is righteous according to his works.** And being present at His judicial decision, **all, both men and angels and demons,** shall utter one voice, saying, “Righteous is Thy judgment.” [Ps. 119:137] Of which voice the justification will be seen in the awarding to each that which is just; since to those who have done well shall be **assigned righteously eternal bliss**, and to the **lovers of iniquity shall be given eternal punishment.** And the fire which is unquenchable and without end awaits these latter, and a certain fiery worm which dieth not, and which does not waste the body, but continues bursting forth from the body with unending pain. No sleep will give them rest; no night will soothe them; no death will deliver them from punishment; no voice of interceding friends will profit them. For neither are the righteous seen by them any longer, nor are they worthy of remembrance. But the righteous will remember only the righteous deeds by which they reached the heavenly kingdom, in which there is neither sleep, nor pain, nor corruption, nor care, nor night, nor day measured by time; nor sun traversing in necessary course the circle of heaven, which marks the limits of seasons, or the points measured out for the life of man so easily read; nor moon waning or waxing, or inducing the changes of seasons, or moistening the earth; no burning sun, no changeful Bear, no Orion coming forth, no numerous wandering of stars, no painfully-trodden earth, no abode of paradise hard to find; no furious roaring of the sea, forbidding one to touch or traverse it; but this too will be readily passable for the righteous, although it lacks no water. There will be no heaven inaccessible to men, nor will the way of its ascent be one impossible to find; and there will be no earth unwrought, or toilsome for men, but one producing

fruit spontaneously in beauty and order; nor will there be generation of wild beasts again, nor the bursting substance of other creatures. **Neither with man will there be generation again, but the number of the righteous remains indefectible with the righteous angels and spirits.** Ye who believe these words, O men, will be partakers with the righteous, and will have part in these future blessings, which “eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.” [1 Cor. 2:9] To Him be the glory and the power, for ever and ever. Amen.

Against Plato, on the Cause of the Universe, 9.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iii.iv.ii.iii.html>

3.13.5. When Christ comes back He will come to render to each according to his works; remove the kingdoms of the world and give the kingdom to the saints

10.2. And so it is necessary for the three beasts to have already passed away and to have ceased, just as was shown above, and while one beast is yet beginning to culminate, if this also is removed, **the remaining earthly things cease**, but the heavenly things begin, so that **the perpetual and eternal kingdom of the saints may be shown and the heavenly kingdom may be clearly displayed to all**, neither through a form as seen on the mountain of Sinai, nor in a pillar of cloud as revealed on the mountain peak, but with powers and armies of angels, incarnate God and man, son of God and of Man, **the judge who is coming from the heavens into the world.** **10.3.** Who shall **remove all kingdoms which are in this world and shall thresh and shall winnow and shall scatter them as chaff from the summer threshing floor.** And shall **give the kingdom to the saints of the Most High** as he collects grain for his barn, but the chaff heap he burns with unquenchable fire, though now he is despised by the godless and impious, and blasphemed by the unbelievers, who do not consider what is written, nor consider the authority of judgment laid upon them. **10.4.** For though he now also delays for a time, not wishing to bear judgment to the world, and so fulfills the prescription of his Father, but **when he comes he will come with his armies and render to each according to his works.**

Commentary on Daniel. Book IV:10.2-4

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.13.6. When Christ comes back He will punish all sinners

18.6. For in this way his second advent will not be like his first. Before, as a simple man only he appeared, but now **as a judge of all the world he arrives.** And then, he arrived to save man, but now **he arrives to punish all who trespass and who commit sacrilege against him.**

Commentary on Daniel. Book IV:18.6.

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.13.7. Christ has already bound the strong man (Matt. 12:29)

33.1. And on account of this he says, “And to seal vision and prophecy.” [Dan. 9:24] **33.2.** For after the fullness of the law and the prophets he himself has come, for the law and the prophets were until John, it is necessary that the things which were spoken by them be sealed, so that at the advent of the Lord all things which have been loosed and all things which have been sealed, may be brought to light, and what was not able to be made known may easily be perceived, and that which was bound long ago now may be loosed by him.

33.3. As the Lord himself has said to the chiefs of the people, when they were angry at him when they saw him commanding powers on the day of the Sabbath and healing every disease and every sickness. But he said to them, “Hypocrites, each of you, looses the ox and the donkey from the stall and leads it away and gives it water. But this daughter, who is of Abraham, whom Satan has bound ten and eight years, is it not necessary for her to be loosed on the day of the Sabbath?” [Luke 13:15-16] **33.4.** And so

as many as Satan has bound and ensnared, **when the Lord comes** he shall loose them from the bonds of death, **having bound the strong man who was against us**, and having freed humanity. As Isaiah also says, “Then he will speak to those in bonds, ‘Freedom’ and to those in darkness, ‘Be illuminated.’” [Isa. 49:9] **33.5.** But on account of all which was spoken long ago through the law and the prophets, which has been sealed and which was unknown to men, Isaiah says, “And they will give the sealed book to a man skilled in letters and they will say to him, ‘Read this,’ and he will say ‘I am not able to read it, for it is sealed.’” [Isa. 29:11] **33.6.** For it is absolutely necessary that what was spoken long ago through the prophets to the unbelieving Pharisees, who pretended to know the letters of law, that it was sealed, but to those who believe all things, it was opened.

Commentary on Daniel. Book IV:33.

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.13.8. The one who dies and goes to the Lord shares in the first resurrection (Rev. 20:6)

37.1. But what is better for you O man, having testified **to depart from this world in glory**, or having been rescued here and waiting patiently to keep sinning? **37.2.** For we have seen many who have confessed before the tribunal who were, through some pretext against the design of God, destroyed, and we have seen they who lived a sufficient time and being found in transgressions, also were destroyed. **37.3.** How does a confession to God aid them? For it is better for them rather that they are taken from this world as pure, **having a heavenly crown**, then remaining here to heap up sins for themselves concerning which they have to render an account. **37.4.** Therefore let the one who is brought forth on account of the Name pray that at some time having testified in such a way, to depart. For this one will never in any way be judged, but **he will judge “having his own share in the first resurrection.”** [Rev. 20:6]

Commentary on Daniel. Book II:37.1-4.

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

31.1. Then Darius wrote to all peoples, tribes and tongues, to those who dwell in all the earth, declaring peace to all and then through what was published by his decree, compelled them to worship God just as it says, “The decree which was set from my face in every realm of my kingdom that all should tremble and fear before the face of the God of Daniel because he himself is the living God, who endures forever and his kingdom shall not be destroyed and his dominion is forever. He assists and rescues and works wonders and signs in heaven and on the earth, who took Daniel from the mouth¹ of the lions.” [Dan. 6:26-27]

31.2. You see, today Babylon is the world, the satraps are its authorities, Darius is their king, the den is Hades, the lions are punishing angels. **31.3.** And so imitate the blessed Daniel who did not fear the satraps and do not obey a human decree, so that after being cast into the den of lions you may be guarded by the angel, and you may tame beasts, and you may be worshipped by them as a slave of God and no destruction may be found in you, but being alive you may be brought up from the den and may be found as a **sharer of the resurrection and you may rule over your enemies** and you may always give thanks to the living God. **31.4.** For to him be glory and might unto the endless age of ages. Amen.

Commentary on Daniel. Book III:31.

https://www.pergrazia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/0205_hippolytus_commentary-on-daniel_2010.pdf

3.14. Martyrdom of Vienna and Lyons (c. 177 AD)

3.14.1. Introduction

The authors certainly know the book of Revelation and they cite and allude to it. See Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 138.

3.14.2. Departed to God

Chapter II.—*The Martyrs, beloved of God, kindly ministered unto those who fell in the Persecution.*

1. Such things happened to the churches of Christ under the above-mentioned emperor, from which we may reasonably conjecture the occurrences in the other provinces. It is proper to add other selections from the same letter, in which the moderation and compassion of these witnesses is recorded in the following words:

2. “They were also so zealous in their imitation of Christ,—‘who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God,’—that, though they had attained such honor, and had borne witness, not once or twice, but many times,—having been brought back to prison from the wild beasts, covered with burns and scars and wounds,—yet they did not proclaim themselves witnesses, nor did they suffer us to address them by this name. If any one of us, in letter or conversation, spoke of them as witnesses, they rebuked him sharply.

3. For they conceded cheerfully the appellation of Witness to Christ ‘the faithful and true Witness,’ and ‘firstborn of the dead,’ and prince of the life of God; and they reminded us of the witnesses who had already departed, and said, ‘They are already witnesses whom Christ has deemed **worthy to be taken up** in their confession, having **sealed their testimony by their departure**; but we are lowly and humble confessors.’ And they besought the brethren with tears that earnest prayers should be offered that they might be made perfect.

4. They showed in their deeds the power of ‘testimony,’ manifesting great boldness toward all the brethren, and they made plain their nobility through patience and fearlessness and courage, but they refused the title of Witnesses as distinguishing them from their brethren, being filled with the fear of God.”

5. A little further on they say: “They humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now greatly exalted. They defended all, but accused none. They absolved all, but bound none. And they prayed for those who had inflicted cruelties upon them, even as Stephen, the perfect witness, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ But if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren!”

6. And again after mentioning other matters, they say:

“For, through the genuineness of their love, **their greatest contest with him was that the Beast**, being choked, might cast out alive those whom he supposed he had swallowed. For they did not boast over the fallen, but helped them in their need with those things in which they themselves abounded, having the compassion of a mother, and shedding many tears on their account before the Father.

7. They asked for life, and he gave it to them, and they shared it with their neighbors. Victorious over everything, **they departed to God**. Having always loved peace, and having commended peace to us **they went in peace to God**, leaving no sorrow to their mother, nor division or strife to the brethren, but joy and peace and concord and love.”

8. This record of the affection of those blessed ones toward the brethren that had fallen may be profitably added on account of the inhuman and unmerciful disposition of those who, after these events, acted unsparingly toward the members of Christ.

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. Book V, ch. 2.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.x.iii.html>

3.14.3. Incorruptible crowns

36. After certain other words they continue:

“After these things, finally, their martyrdoms were divided into every form. For plaiting a crown of various colors and of all kinds of flowers, they presented it to the Father. It was proper therefore that the

3.15 - Melito of Sardis (death c. 180 AD)

noble athletes, having endured a manifold strife, and conquered grandly, should **receive the crown, great and incorruptible**.

37. “Maturus, therefore, and Sanctus and Blandina and Attalus were led to the amphitheater to be exposed to the wild beasts, and to give to the heathen public a spectacle of cruelty, a day for fighting with wild beasts being specially appointed on account of our people.

38. Both Maturus and Sanctus passed again through every torment in the amphitheater, as if they had suffered nothing before, or rather, as if, having already conquered their antagonist in many contests, they were now **striving for the crown itself**. They endured again the customary running of the gauntlet and the violence of the wild beasts, and everything which the furious people called for or desired, and at last, the iron chair in which their bodies being roasted, tormented them with the fumes.

39. And not with this did the persecutors cease, but were yet more mad against them, determined to overcome their patience. But even thus they did not hear a word from Sanctus except the confession which he had uttered from the beginning.

40. These, then, after their life had continued for a long time through the great conflict, **were at last sacrificed**, having been made throughout that day a spectacle to the world, in place of the usual variety of combats.

41. “But Blandina was suspended on a stake, and exposed to be devoured by the wild beasts who should attack her. And because she appeared as if hanging on a cross, and because of her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants with great zeal. For they looked on her in her conflict, and beheld with their outward eyes, in the form of their sister, him who was crucified for them, that he might persuade those who believe on him, that **every one who suffers for the glory of Christ has fellowship always with the living God**.

42. As none of the wild beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the stake, and cast again into prison. She was preserved thus for another contest, that, being victorious in more conflicts, she might make the punishment of the crooked serpent irrevocable; and, though small and weak and despised, yet clothed with Christ the mighty and conquering Athlete, she might arouse the zeal of the brethren, and, having overcome the adversary many times might receive, through her conflict, the crown incorruptible.

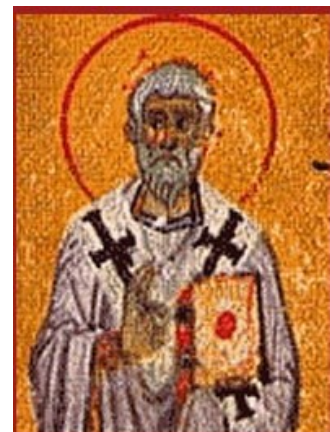
Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. Book V, ch 1.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201.iii.x.ii.html>

3.15. Melito of Sardis (death c. 180 AD)

3.15.1. Introduction

Melito of Sardis (died c. 180) was the bishop of Sardis near Smyrna in western Anatolia, and a great authority in early Christianity. Melito held a foremost place in terms of Bishops in Asia due to his personal influence on Christianity and his literary works, most of which have been lost but of what has been recovered has provided a great insight into Christianity during the second century. Jerome, speaking of the Old Testament canon established by Melito, quotes Tertullian to the effect that he was esteemed as a prophet by many of the faithful. This work by Tertullian has been lost but pieces regarding Melito are quoted by Jerome as to the high regard that Melito was considered at the time. Melito is remembered for his work on developing the first Old Testament Canon. Though it cannot be determined what date he was elevated to episcopacy, it is probable that he was bishop during the arising controversy at Laodicea in regard to



the observance of Easter, which resulted in him writing his most famous work, an Apology for Christianity to Marcus Aurelius. Little is known of his life outside of what works are quoted or read by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius. A letter of Polycrates of Ephesus to Pope Victor about 194 (Eusebius, Church History V.24) states that “Melito the eunuch [this is interpreted “the virgin” by Rufinus in his translation of Eusebius], whose whole walk was in the Holy Spirit”, was buried at Sardis.³¹

- Melito wrote a lost work entitled “On the Devil and the Revelation of John”
- His name is sometimes confused with the Melitans, who were followers of Meletius of Lycopolis. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 104.

3.15.2. Souls of the pre-Christian dead were locked up in Hades

55. Therefore, all flesh fell under the power of sin, and every body under the dominion of death, for **every soul was driven out from its house of flesh**. Indeed, **that which had been taken from the earth was dissolved again into earth**, and that which had been given from God was **locked up in Hades**. And that beautiful ordered arrangement was dissolved, when the beautiful body was separated (from the soul). 56. Yes, **man was divided up into parts by death**. Yes, an extraordinary misfortune and captivity enveloped him: he was **dragged away captive under the shadow of death**, and the image of the Father remained there desolate. For this reason, therefore, the mystery of the passover has been completed in the body of the Lord.

On the Passover, 55-56

<http://www.kerux.com/doc/0401A1.asp>

3.15.3. Christ carried the souls of the elect from Hades; bound the strong one (Matt 12:29)

102. Who is my opponent? I, he says, am the Christ. I am the one who **destroyed death**, and **triumphed over the enemy**, and **trampled Hades under foot**, and **bound the strong one**, and **carried off man to the heights of heaven**, I, he says, am the Christ.

On the Passover, 102

<http://www.kerux.com/doc/0401A1.asp>

3.15.4. By the cross the gates of paradise are opened

by the cross death is destroy
and by the cross salvation shines;
by the cross the **gates of hell are burst**,
and by the cross the **gates of paradise are opened**.

The cross has become the way of saints and martyrs;
the cross has become the chain of the apostles
and the shield of faith of prophets.

New Fragment III.5 (lines 24-30). *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 106.

The cross is the **guide of the faithful robber**;
the cross is the **destroyer of hell**.

New Fragment III.5 (lines 35-36). *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 106.

³¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melito_of_Sardis

3.15.4.1 Comments

The gates of paradise were opened by the cross, which implies that before the cross they were closed. This means that the patriarchs were shut up in Hades until the death of Christ.

The “faithful robber” is the thief on the cross who was assured to be with Christ in Paradise (Luke 23:43).

Since the cross is the Paradise-opener, this implies that Christians living on the side of history were the cross is a fact, do directly go to Paradise at death to be with Christ.

3.16. Origen (c. 185 – 254)

3.16.1. Introduction

Born of a Christian family (most likely in Alexandria), the oldest of seven children, Origen was initially trained in both secular and religious literature by his father Leonides (who was exceedingly proud of his son's learning). Very early Origen developed a passion for martyrdom, but he was restrained by his mother when he attempted to join his father in martyrdom. The burden of caring for the family fell upon Origen at the age of seventeen, so he began to teach. His classes proved so popular that he had to divide them, leaving beginners to an assistant, reserving the more advanced for himself.



Origen lived in extreme austerity. Eusebius related that in his rashness he castrated himself, but that account may not be accurate. He was bold in his admiration for martyrs, and many of his students suffered in the persecutions. Despite his lack of care for his own life, he was spared because many pagan philosophers and Christian heretics came to him for instruction. (The Neoplatonist Porphyry was an early acquaintance.) Origen was apparently free to travel, for he visited Rome, Palestine, and Arabia briefly, where he gained approval from many foreign bishops.

His range of learning was vast. In addition to his father's instruction, Origen also studied under Ammonius Saccas and Clement of Alexandria. For the sake of biblical exegesis, he learned Hebrew. His knowledge of the philosophies of the day, especially Platonism, was profound. While still living in Alexandria, he began to write and compile books. One of the earliest and most significant was *De principiis*, one of the first efforts toward a systematic theology. Another work was his *Hexapla*, an enormous edition of the Bible arranged in six columns. It contained the Hebrew text, a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Greek versions by Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion. The *Hexapla* was a great aid in the study of the Scriptures.³²

3.16.2. Answering chiliasm

His answer to chiliasm comes in his *The Principles*, bk. II, ch. 11.

3.16.2.1 *Some people looking to the letter of the law expect the promises to be fulfilled in bodily pleasure and luxury; explaining the expectation of the chiliasts*

2. Certain persons, then, refusing the labour of thinking, and adopting a **superficial view of the letter of the law**, and yielding rather in some measure to the **indulgence of their own desires and lusts**, being disciples of the letter alone, are of opinion that the **fulfilment of the promises of the future are to be looked for in bodily pleasure and luxury**; and therefore they especially desire to have again, **after the resurrection, such bodily structures as may never be without the power of eating, and drinking, and performing all the functions of flesh and blood**, not following the opinion of the Apostle Paul regarding the resurrection of a spiritual body. And consequently **they say, that after the resurrection there will be marriages, and the begetting of children, imagining to themselves that the earthly city of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt**, its foundations laid in precious stones, and its walls constructed of jasper, and its battlements of crystal; that it is to have a wall composed of many precious stones, as

³² <https://ccel.org/ccel/origen>

jasper, and sapphire, and chalcedony, and emerald, and sardonyx, and onyx, and chrysolite, and chrysoprase, and jacinth, and amethyst. Moreover, they think that the natives of other countries are to be given them as the ministers of their pleasures, whom they are to employ either as tillers of the field or builders of walls, and by whom their ruined and fallen city is again to be raised up; and **they think that they are to receive the wealth of the nations** to live on, and that they will have control over their riches; that even the camels of Midian and Kedar will come, and bring to them gold, and incense, and precious stones. And these views they think to establish on the authority of the prophets by those promises which are written regarding Jerusalem; and by those passages also where it is said, that they who serve the Lord shall eat and drink, but that **sinners shall hunger and thirst; that the righteous shall be joyful**, but that sorrow shall possess the wicked. And from the New Testament also they quote the saying of the Saviour, in which He makes a promise to His disciples concerning the joy of wine, saying, "Henceforth I shall not drink of this cup, until I drink it with you new in My Father's kingdom." [Matt. 26:29] They add, moreover, that declaration, in which the Saviour calls those blessed who now hunger and thirst, promising them that they shall be satisfied; and many other scriptural illustrations are adduced by them, the meaning of which they do not perceive is to be taken figuratively. Then, again, agreeably to the form of things in this life, and according to the gradations of the dignities or ranks in this world, or the greatness of their powers, they think they are to be kings and princes, like those earthly monarchs who now exist; chiefly, as it appears, on account of that expression in the Gospel: "Have thou power over five cities." [Luke 19:17] And to **speak shortly, according to the manner of things in this life in all similar matters, do they desire the fulfilment of all things looked for in the promises, viz., that what now is should exist again.** Such are the views of those who, while believing in Christ, **understand the divine Scriptures in a sort of Jewish sense, drawing from them nothing worthy of the divine promises.**

3. Those, however, who receive the representations of Scripture according to the understanding of the apostles, entertain the hope that the saints will eat indeed, but that it will be the bread of life, which may nourish the soul with the food of truth and wisdom, and enlighten the mind, and cause it to drink from the cup of divine wisdom, according to the declaration of holy Scripture: "Wisdom has prepared her table, she has killed her beasts, she has mingled her wine in her cup, and she cries with a loud voice, Come to me, eat the bread which I have prepared for you, and drink the wine which I have mingled." [Prov. 9:1-5] By this food of wisdom, the understanding, being nourished to an entire and perfect condition like that in which man was made at the beginning, is restored to the image and likeness of God; so that, although an individual may depart from this life less perfectly instructed, but who has done works that are approved of, he will be capable of receiving instruction in that Jerusalem, the city of the saints, i.e., he will be educated and moulded, and made a living stone, a stone elect and precious, because he has undergone with firmness and constancy the struggles of life and the trials of piety; and will there come to a truer and clearer knowledge of that which here has been already predicted, viz., that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God." [Matt. 4:6] And they also are to be understood to be the princes and rulers who both govern those of lower rank, and instruct them, and teach them, and train them to divine things.

The Principles, book II:11.2-3.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/origen/works/anf04.vi.v.iii.xi.html>

3.16.2.2 *Judea and Jerusalem are a shadow of the heavenly Jerusalem*

After thus misrepresenting our views of the nature of God, Celsus goes on to ask of us "where we hope to go after death;" and he makes our answer to be, "to another land better than this." On this he comments as follows: "The divine men of a former age have spoken of a happy life reserved for the souls of the blessed. Some designated it 'the isles of the blest,' and others 'the Elysian plain,' so called because they were there to be delivered from their present evils. Thus Homer says: 'But the gods shall send thee to the Elysian plain, on the borders of the earth, where they lead a most quiet life.' Plato also, who believed in the immortality of the soul, distinctly gives the name 'land' to the place where it is sent. 'The extent

of it,' says he, 'is immense, and we only occupy a small portion of it, from the Phasis to the Pillars of Hercules, where we dwell along the shores of the sea, as grasshoppers and frogs beside a marsh. But there are many other places inhabited in like manner by other men. For there are in different parts of the earth cavities, varying in form and in magnitude, into which run water, and clouds, and air. But that land which is pure lies in the pure region of heaven.'" Celsus therefore supposes that what we say of a land which is much better and more excellent than this, has been borrowed from certain ancient writers whom he styles "divine," and chiefly from Plato, who in his *Phædon* discourses on the pure land lying in a pure heaven. But he does not see that **Moses, who is much older than the Greek literature, introduces God as promising to those who lived according to His law the holy land, which is "a good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey;"** [Ex. 3:8] which promise is **not to be understood to refer, as some suppose,³³ to that part of the earth which we call Judea;** for it, however good it may be, still forms part of the earth, which was originally cursed for the transgression of Adam. For these words, "Cursed shall the ground be for what thou hast done; with grief, that is, with labour, shalt thou eat of the fruit of it all the days of thy life," [Gen. 3:17] were spoken of the whole earth, the fruit of which every man who died in Adam eats with sorrow or labour all the days of his life. And as all the earth has been cursed, it brings forth thorns and briers all the days of the life of those who in Adam were driven out of paradise; and in the sweat of his face every man eats bread until he returns to the ground from which he was taken. For the full exposition of all that is contained in this passage much might be said; but we have confined ourselves to these few words at present, which are intended to remove the idea, that what is said of the good land promised by God to the righteous, refers to the land of Judea.

If, then, the whole earth has been cursed in the deeds of Adam and of those who died in him, it is plain that all parts of the earth share in the curse, and among others the land of Judea; so that the words, "a good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey," cannot apply to it, although we may say of it, that both **Judea and Jerusalem were the shadow and figure of that pure land, goodly and large, in the pure region of heaven, in which is the heavenly Jerusalem.** And it is in reference to this Jerusalem that the apostle spoke, as one who, "being risen with Christ, and seeking those things which are above," had found a truth which formed **no part of the Jewish mythology.** "Ye are come," says he, "unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels." [Heb. 12:22] And in order to be assured that our explanation of "the good and large land" of Moses is not contrary to the intention of the Divine Spirit, we have only to read in all the prophets what they say of those who, after having left Jerusalem, and wandered astray from it, should afterwards return and be settled in the place which is called the habitation and city of God, as in the words, "His dwelling is in the holy place;" [Ps. 76:2] and, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of His holiness, beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth." [Ps. 48:1-2] It is enough at present to quote the words of the thirty-seventh Psalm, which speaks thus of the land of the righteous, "Those that wait upon the Lord they shall inherit the earth;" and a little after, "But the meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace;" and again, "Those who bless Him shall inherit the earth;" and, "The righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever." [Ps. 37:9, 11, 22, 29, 34] And consider whether it is not evident to intelligent readers that the following words from **this same Psalm refer to the pure land in the pure heaven:** "Wait on the Lord, and keep His way; and He shall exalt thee to inherit the land."

Contra Celsus. Book VII:28-29.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/origen/works/anf04.vi.ix.vii.xxix.html>

3.16.2.3 Offhanded dismissal of the millennium

But it will be said that the word epiousion, needful, is formed from epienai, to go on, so that we are bidden to ask for the bread proper to the coming age, in order that God may take it in advance and bestow it on us now. Thus what was to be given as it were tomorrow would be given us today, today

³³ Probably referring to chiliasts and Jews.

being taken to mean the present age, tomorrow the coming. Since, however, as far as I can judge, the preceding interpretation is better, let us go on to consider the added reference to today in Matthew or the expression daily written in Luke.

To call the whole present age today is a usage frequent in the Scriptures, as in the passages: He is father of the Moabites until today, and He is father of the Ammonites until today, and this account has been reported among Jews until today, and in the Psalms, Today if you hear His voice harden not your hearts. In Joshua, this is expressed very clearly: Turn not away from the Lord in the days of today. And if today means the whole present age, yesterday is probably the bygone age. That I have understood to be its meaning in Psalms and in Paul in the Epistle to Hebrews.

In Psalms it is thus: A thousand years are in thine eyes as a yesterday that had passed—**whatever the much talked of millennium means, it is likened to yesterday as opposed to today**; and in the apostle it is written, Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and unto the ages. No wonder that the whole of an age counts with God as the space of a single day with us, aye and less as I think. We may also consider whether the accounts of feasts or assemblies recorded in terms of days or months or seasons or years have symbolical references to ages. For if the law contains a shadow of coming things, its many Sabbaths must be a shadow of many days and its moons come round in the course of intervals of time, completed by some manner of a moon's conjunction with some sun.

On Prayer, ch. 17.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/origen/prayer/prayer.xviii.html>

3.16.3. The first resurrection is connected to baptism of the Holy Spirit which comes after death

3. On this account, Jesus—now perhaps I discover the reason—baptizes *in the Holy Spirit and in fire*, not the same man *in the Holy Spirit and in fire*, but the holy man *in the Holy Spirit*, while another man, after he has believed, after he has been deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit, after he has sinned again, Jesus washes in fire, so that it is not the same man who is baptized by Jesus in the Holy Spirit and in fire.

(2) Blessed, then, is the one who is baptized in the Holy Spirit and does not need the baptism by fire, but three times unhappy is that man who has need to be baptized in fire, though Jesus takes care of both of them. For *a shoot from the stump of Jesse will come forth, and a branch will grow out of the root*, a shoot for those who are punished, a branch for the righteous. So God is a consuming fire and God is light, a consuming fire to sinners, a light to the just and holy ones.

(3) And **blessed is he who shares in the first resurrection, he who has kept the baptism of the Holy Spirit**. Who is he who is saved in another resurrection? He who needs the baptism from fire, when he comes before that fire and the fire tests him, and when that fire finds wood, hay and stubble to burn.

Homilies on Jeremiah, 2:3. (pp. 26-27)

<https://dokumen.pub/origen-homilies-on-jeremiah-and-i-kings-28-978-0813227641.html>

3.16.3.1 Commentary by Dr. Hill

The aorist subjunctive participle ὁ τηρῆσας (the one who has kept) does not invite a progressive interpretation of the “first resurrection” but indicates instead that participation in this resurrection comes only at the end of one's life, after the baptism of the Holy Spirit may be said to have been *kept*.

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 182.

3.16.3.2 Baptism with the Holy Spirit is when one departs from this life

This statement also supports his understanding that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is after death.

The people received John, who was less than Christ. They reflected and thought, “Perhaps he is the Christ.” But they did not receive him who had come, who was greater than John. Do you want to know the reason? Recognize this: John’s baptism could be seen; **the Baptism of Christ was invisible**. John said, “For I baptize you in water, but he who comes after me is greater than I. He will baptize you in the Holy Spirit and in fire.” [Luke 3:16] When does Jesus baptize “**with the Holy Spirit**”? And again, when does he baptize “with fire”? Does he baptize at one and the same time “with Spirit and fire,” or at distinct and different times? He says, “But you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence.” **After his ascension into heaven, the apostles were baptized “with the Holy Spirit.”** [Acts 1:5] But Scripture does not record that they were baptized “with fire.”

2. At the Jordan river, John awaited those who came for baptism. Some he rejected, saying, “generation of vipers,” [Luke 3:7] and so on. But those who confessed their faults and sins he received. In the same way, the Lord Jesus Christ will stand in the river of fire near the “flaming sword.” [Gen. 3:24] If anyone desires to **pass over to paradise after departing this life, and needs cleansing**, Christ will baptize him in this river and send him across to the place he longs for. But whoever does not have the sign of earlier baptisms, him Christ will not baptize in the fiery bath. For, it is fitting that **one should be baptized first in “water and the Spirit.”** [John 3:5] **Then, when he comes to the fiery river, he can show that he preserved the bathing in water and the Spirit. Then he will deserve to receive in addition the baptism in Christ Jesus**, to whom is glory and power for ages of ages. Amen.

Homilies on Luke, 24.

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=sUCQS0X1BLMC&lpg=PP1&pg=PA103#v=onepage&q&f=false>

<https://dokumen.pub/qdownload/homilies-on-luke-978-0813217444.html>

3.16.4. Statements on the binding of Satan

3.16.4.1 *The abyss is where the devil and his angels will be*

But now the text says: "Darkness was upon the abyss." [Gen. 1:2] What is "the abyss"? That place, of course, where "the devil and his angels" [Rev. 12:9; 20:3; Matt. 25:41] will be. This indeed is most clearly designated also in the Gospel when it is said of the Savior: "And the demons which he was casting out were asking him that he not command them to go into the abyss." [Luke 8:31]

Homilies on Genesis, Homily 1.

https://kupdf.net/download/origen-homilies-on-genesis-and-exoduspdf_5af59a2de2b6f5f4181aac39_pdf

3.16.4.2 *Commenting on Matt. 12:29*

(11) In order that this might be perceived still more clearly, we shall again make use of this kind of parable. Let us imagine an upright and noble king who wants to wage a war against some unjust tyrant, but in such a way that he should not seem to conquer by means of a violent and bloody conflict; for even the soldiers serving under the tyrant were his own men whom he was not desiring to destroy but to liberate. Therefore under a better plan he assumes the dress of those who were under the tyrant, and in appearance he becomes like them in every way until, while placed under the tyrant’s sphere of rule, he persuades at least those who were serving him to leave off and turn back to the rightful kingdom. Then **at the opportune time he binds the strong man and despoils his powers and principalities and leads away the captives which had been seized and were being held by the tyrant.**

Commentary on Romans. Book 5:10.11.

<https://books.google.nl/books?id=vn6qEg2MwX0C&lpg=PP1&pg=PA373#v=onepage&q&f=false>

3.17. Dionysius of Alexandria (c. 190 – 265)

3.17.1. Introduction

Pope Dionysius of Alexandria, named “the Great,” was the Pope of Alexandria from 248 until his death on November 17, 265 after seventeen years as a bishop. He was the first Pope to hold the title “the Great” (before a Bishop of Rome even). We have information on Dionysius because during his lifetime, Dionysius wrote many correspondence letters. Only one original letter survives to this day; the remaining letters are found re-written in the works of Eusebius.³⁴

3.17.2. Dionysius against Nepos, who wrote a book against a-chiliasts (testimony of Eusebius)

Chapter XXIV.—*Nepos and his Schism.*

1. Besides all these the two books on the Promises were prepared by him. The occasion of these was **Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, who taught that the promises to the holy men in the Divine Scriptures should be understood in a more Jewish manner, and that there would be a certain millennium of bodily luxury upon this earth.**

2. As he thought that he could establish his private opinion by the Revelation of John, he wrote a book on this subject, entitled Refutation of Allegorists.

3. **Dionysius opposes this in his books on the Promises.** In the first he gives his own opinion of the dogma; and in the second he treats of the Revelation of John, and mentioning Nepos at the beginning, writes of him in this manner:

4. “But since they bring forward a certain work of Nepos, on which they rely confidently, as if it proved beyond dispute that there will be a reign of Christ upon earth, I confess that **in many other respects I approve and love Nepos, for his faith and industry and diligence in the Scriptures,** and for his extensive psalmody, with which many of the brethren are still delighted; and I hold him in the more reverence because he has gone to rest before us. But the truth should be loved and honored most of all. And while we should praise and approve ungrudgingly what is said aright, we ought to examine and correct what does not seem to have been written soundly.

5. Were he present to state his opinion orally, mere unwritten discussion, persuading and reconciling those who are opposed by question and answer, would be sufficient. But as some think his work very plausible, and as certain teachers regard the law and prophets as of no consequence, and do not follow the Gospels, and treat lightly the apostolic epistles, while they make promises as to the teaching of this work as if it were some great hidden mystery, and do not permit our simpler brethren to have any sublime and lofty thoughts concerning **the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord,** and **our resurrection from the dead, and our being gathered together unto him, and made like him,** but on the contrary lead them to **hope for small and mortal things in the kingdom of God, and for things such as exist now,**—since this is the case, it is necessary that we should dispute with our brother Nepos as if he were present.” Farther on he says:

6. “When I was in the district of Arsinoë, where, as you know, this doctrine has prevailed for a long time, so that schisms and apostasies of entire churches have resulted, I called together the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages,—such brethren as wished being also present,—and I exhorted them to make a public examination of this question.

7. Accordingly when they brought me this book, as if it were a weapon and fortress impregnable, sitting with them from morning till evening for three successive days, I endeavored to correct what was written in it.

³⁴ https://www.ccel.org/ccel/dionysius_gr

8. And I rejoiced over the constancy, sincerity, docility, and intelligence of the brethren, as we considered in order and with moderation the questions and the difficulties and the points of agreement. **And we abstained from defending in every manner and contentiously the opinions which we had once held, unless they appeared to be correct.** Nor did we evade objections, but we endeavored as far as possible to hold to and confirm the things which lay before us, and if the reason given satisfied us, we were not ashamed to change our opinions and agree with others; but on the contrary, conscientiously and sincerely, and with hearts laid open before God, **we accepted whatever was established by the proofs and teachings of the Holy Scriptures.**

9. And finally the author and mover of this teaching, who was called Coracion, in the hearing of all the brethren that were present, acknowledged and testified to us that he would no longer hold this opinion, nor discuss it, nor mention nor teach it, as he was fully convinced by the arguments against it. And some of the other brethren expressed their gratification at the conference, and at the spirit of conciliation and harmony which all had manifested.”

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. Book II, ch. 24.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.xii.xxv.html>

3.17.3. Dionysius on the Revelation of John and impossible of it being literal; some people rejecting it and attributing it to Cerinthus; author was not John son of Zebedee

Chapter XXV.—*The Apocalypse of John.*

1. Afterward he speaks in this manner of the Apocalypse of John.

“**Some before us have set aside and rejected the book altogether**, criticising it chapter by chapter, and pronouncing it without sense or argument, and maintaining that the title is fraudulent.

2. For they say that it is not the work of John, nor is it a revelation, because it is covered thickly and densely by a vail of obscurity. And **they affirm that none of the apostles, and none of the saints, nor any one in the Church is its author, but that Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called after him the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name.**

3. For the doctrine which he taught was this: that **the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one.** And as he was himself devoted to the pleasures of the body and altogether sensual in his nature, **he dreamed that that kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, namely, in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion;** that is to say, **in eating and drinking and marrying, and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims**, under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace.

4. “But I could not venture to reject the book, as many brethren hold it in high esteem. But I suppose that it is beyond my comprehension, and that there is a certain concealed and more wonderful meaning in every part. For if I do not understand I suspect that a deeper sense lies beneath the words.

5. I do not measure and judge them by my own reason, but leaving the more to faith I regard them as too high for me to grasp. And **I do not reject what I cannot comprehend, but rather wonder because I do not understand it.**”

6. After this he examines the entire Book of Revelation, and having proved that it is **impossible to understand it according to the literal sense**, proceeds as follows:

“Having finished all the prophecy, so to speak, the prophet pronounces those blessed who shall observe it, and also himself. For he says, ‘Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who saw and heard these things.’ [Rev. 22:7-8]

7. Therefore that he was called John, and that this book is the work of one John, I do not deny. And I agree also that it is the work of a holy and inspired man. But **I cannot readily admit that he was the apostle, the son of Zebedee**, the brother of James, by whom the Gospel of John and the Catholic Epistle were written.

8. For I judge from the character of both, and the forms of expression, and the entire execution of the book, that it is not his. For the evangelist nowhere gives his name, or proclaims himself, either in the Gospel or Epistle.”

9. Farther on he adds:

“But John never speaks as if referring to himself, or as if referring to another person. But the author of the Apocalypse introduces himself at the very beginning: ‘The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave him to show unto his servants quickly; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bare witness of the word of God and of his testimony, even of all things that he saw.’ [Rev. 1:1-2]

10. Then he writes also an epistle: ‘John to the seven churches which are in Asia, grace be with you, and peace.’ [Rev. 1:4] But the evangelist did not prefix his name even to the Catholic Epistle; but without introduction he begins with the mystery of the divine revelation itself: ‘That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes.’ [1 John 1:1] For because of such a revelation the Lord also blessed Peter, saying, ‘Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my heavenly Father.’ [Matt. 16:17]

11. But neither in **the reputed second or third epistle of John, though they are very short, does the name John appear**; but there is written the anonymous phrase, ‘the elder.’ [2 John 1; 3 John 1] But this author did not consider it sufficient to give his name once and to proceed with his work; but he takes it up again: ‘I, John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and in the patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus.’ [Rev. 1:9] And toward the close he speaks thus: ‘Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who saw and heard these things.’ [Rev. 22:7-8]

12. “But that **he who wrote these things was called John must be believed, as he says it; but who he was does not appear**. For he did not say, as often in the Gospel, that he was the beloved disciple of the Lord, or the one who lay on his breast, or the brother of James, or the eyewitness and hearer of the Lord.

13. For he would have spoken of these things if he had wished to show himself plainly. But he says none of them; but speaks of himself as our brother and companion, and a witness of Jesus, and blessed because he had seen and heard the revelations.

14. But I am of the opinion that there were many with the same name as the apostle John, who, on account of their love for him, and because they admired and emulated him, and desired to be loved by the Lord as he was, took to themselves the same surname, as many of the children of the faithful are called Paul or Peter.

15. For example, there is also another John, surnamed Mark, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Barnabas and Paul took with them; of whom also it is said, ‘And they had also John as their attendant.’ [Acts 13:5] But that it is he who wrote this, I would not say. For it not written that he went with them into Asia, but, ‘Now when Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem.’ [Acts 13:13]

16. But I think that he was some other one of those in Asia; as they say that there are two monuments in Ephesus, each bearing the name of John.

17. “And from the ideas, and from the words and their arrangement, it may be reasonably conjectured that this one is different from that one.

18. For the Gospel and Epistle agree with each other and begin in the same manner. The one says, ‘In the beginning was the Word’ [John 1:1]; the other, ‘That which was from the beginning.’ [1 John 1:1] The one: ‘And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father’ [John 1:14]; the other says the same things slightly altered: ‘Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes; which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the Word of life,—and the life was manifested.’ [1 John 1:1-2]

19. For he introduces these things at the beginning, maintaining them, as is evident from what follows, in opposition to those who said that the Lord had not come in the flesh. Wherefore also he carefully adds, ‘And we have seen and bear witness, and declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also.’ [1 John 1:2-3]

20. He holds to this and does not digress from his subject, but discusses every thing under the same heads and names some of which we will briefly mention.

21. Any one who examines carefully will find the phrases, ‘the life,’ ‘the light,’ ‘turning from darkness,’ frequently occurring in both; also continually, ‘truth,’ ‘grace,’ ‘joy,’ ‘the flesh and blood of the Lord,’ ‘the judgment,’ ‘the forgiveness of sins,’ ‘the love of God toward us,’ the ‘commandment that we love one another,’ that we should ‘keep all the commandments’; the ‘conviction of the world, of the Devil, of Anti-Christ,’ the ‘promise of the Holy Spirit,’ the ‘adoption of God,’ the ‘faith continually required of us,’ ‘the Father and the Son,’ occur everywhere. In fact, it is plainly to be seen that one and the same character marks the Gospel and the Epistle throughout.

22. But **the Apocalypse is different from these writings and foreign to them**; not touching, nor in the least bordering upon them; almost, so to speak, without even a syllable in common with them.

23. Nay more, the Epistle—for I pass by the Gospel—does not mention nor does it contain any intimation of the Apocalypse, nor does the Apocalypse of the Epistle. But Paul, in his epistles, gives some indication of his revelations, though he has not written them out by themselves.

24. “Moreover, it can also be shown that **the diction of the Gospel and Epistle differs from that of the Apocalypse.**

25. For **they were written not only without error as regards the Greek language**, but also with elegance in their expression, in their reasonings, and in their entire structure. They are far indeed from betraying any barbarism or solecism, or any vulgarism whatever. For the writer had, as it seems, both the requisites of discourse,—that is, the gift of knowledge and the gift of expression,—as the Lord had bestowed them both upon him.

26. **I do not deny that the other writer saw a revelation and received knowledge and prophecy.** I perceive, however, that **his dialect and language are not accurate Greek, but that he uses barbarous idioms, and, in some places, solecisms.**

27. It is unnecessary to point these out here, for **I would not have any one think that I have said these things in a spirit of ridicule, for I have said what I have only with the purpose of showing clearly the difference between the writings.”**

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. Book II, ch. 25.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.xii.xxvi.html>

3.17.4. The martyrs are partakers of Christ's kingdom and are judges with Him

Chapter XLII.—*Others of whom Dionysius gives an Account.*

1. "Many others, in cities and villages, were torn asunder by the heathen, of whom I will mention one as an illustration. Ischyrius was employed as a steward by one of the rulers. His employer commanded him to sacrifice, and on his refusal insulted him, and as he remained firm, abused him. And as he still held out he seized a long staff and thrust it through his bowels and slew him.
2. "Why need I speak of the multitude that wandered in the deserts and mountains, and perished by hunger, and thirst, and cold, and sickness, and robbers, and wild beasts? Those of them who survived are witnesses of their election and victory.
3. But I will relate one occurrence as an example. Chæremon, who was very old, was bishop of the city called Nilus. He fled with his wife to the Arabian mountain and did not return. And though the brethren searched diligently they could not find either them or their bodies.
4. And many who fled to the same Arabian mountain were carried into slavery by the barbarian Saracens. Some of them were ransomed with difficulty and at a large price; others have not been to the present time. I have related these things, my brother, not without an object, but that you may understand how many and great distresses came upon us. Those indeed will understand them the best who have had the largest experience of them."
5. A little further on he adds: "**These divine martyrs among us, who now are seated with Christ, and are sharers in his kingdom, partakers of his judgment and judges with him,** received some of the brethren who had fallen away and become chargeable with the guilt of sacrificing. When they perceived that their conversion and repentance were sufficient to be acceptable with him who by no means desires the death of the sinner, but his repentance, having proved them they received them back and brought them together, and met with them and had fellowship with them in prayers and feasts.
6. What counsel then, brethren, do you give us concerning such persons? What should we do? Shall we have the same judgment and rule as theirs, and observe their decision and charity, and show mercy to those whom they pitied? Or, shall we declare their decision unrighteous, and set ourselves as judges of their opinion, and grieve mercy and overturn order?" These words Dionysius very properly added when making mention of those who had been weak in the time of persecution.

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. Book VI, ch. 42.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.xi.XLII.html>

3.17.5. Applying Rev. 13 to his time and the persecution of Valerian

Chapter X.—*Valerian and the Persecution under him.*

1. Gallus and the other rulers, having held the government less than two years, were overthrown, and Valerian, with his son Gallienus, received the empire. The circumstances which Dionysius relates of him we may learn from his epistle to Hermammon, in which he gives the following account:
2. "And in like manner it is revealed to John; **'For there was given to him,' he says, 'a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy; and there was given unto him authority and forty and two months.'** [Rev. 13:5]
3. It is wonderful that **both of these things occurred under Valerian**; and it is the more remarkable in this case when we consider his previous conduct, for he had been mild and friendly toward the men of God, for none of the emperors before him had treated them so kindly and favorably; and not even those who were said openly to be Christians received them with such manifest hospitality and friendliness as

he did at the beginning of his reign. For **his entire house was filled with pious persons and was a church of God.**

4. But the teacher and ruler of the synagogue of the Magi from Egypt persuaded him to change his course, urging him to slay and persecute pure and holy men because they opposed and hindered the corrupt and abominable incantations. For there are and there were men who, being present and being seen, though they only breathed and spoke, were able to scatter the counsels of the sinful demons. And he induced him to practice initiations and abominable sorceries and to offer unacceptable sacrifices; to slay innumerable children and to sacrifice the offspring of unhappy fathers; to divide the bowels of newborn babes and to mutilate and cut to pieces the creatures of God, as if by such practices they could attain happiness.”

5. He adds to this the following: “Splendid indeed were the thank-offerings which Macrianus brought them for the empire which was the object of his hopes. He is said to have been formerly the emperor’s general finance minister; yet he did nothing praiseworthy or of general benefit, but fell under the prophetic saying,

6. ‘Woe unto those who prophesy from their own heart and do not consider the general good.’ [Ezek. 13:3] For he did not perceive the general Providence, nor did he look for the judgment of Him who is before all, and through all, and over all. Wherefore he became an enemy of his Catholic Church, and alienated and estranged himself from the compassion of God, and fled as far as possible from his salvation. In this he showed the truth of his own name.”

7. And again, farther on he says: “For Valerian, being instigated to such acts by this man, was given over to insults and reproaches, according to what was said by Isaiah: ‘They have chosen their own ways and their abominations in which their soul delighted; I also will choose their delusions and will render unto them their sins.’ [Isa. 66:3-4]

8. But this man [Macrianus] madly desired the kingdom though unworthy of it, and being unable to put the royal garment on his crippled body, set forward his two sons to bear their father’s sins. For concerning them the declaration which God spoke was plain, ‘Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.’ [Ex. 20:5]

9. For heaping on the heads of his sons his own evil desires, in which he had met with success, he wiped off upon them his own wickedness and hatred toward God.”

Dionysius relates these things concerning Valerian.

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History. Book VII, ch. 10.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf201/npnf201.iii.xi.XLII.html>

3.18. Cyprian (c. 210 – 258)

3.18.1. Introduction

Cyprian (Latin: Thascus Caecilius Cyprianus; c. 210 – September 14, 258 AD) was a bishop of Carthage and a notable early Christian writer of Berber descent, many of whose Latin works are extant. He is recognized as a saint in the Western and Eastern churches.

He was born around the beginning of the 3rd century in North Africa, perhaps at Carthage, where he received a classical education. Soon after converting to Christianity, he became a bishop in 249. A controversial figure during his lifetime, his strong pastoral skills, firm conduct during the Novatianist heresy and outbreak of the Plague of Cyprian (named after him due



to his description of it), and eventual martyrdom at Carthage established his reputation and proved his sanctity in the eyes of the Church.

His skillful Latin rhetoric led to his being considered the pre-eminent Latin writer of Western Christianity until Jerome and Augustine.³⁵

Cyprian clearly believed in the intermediate state of believers in the presence of Christ. The quotations are too numerous.

3.18.2. Cosmic-week theory

2. But what more fitly or more fully agrees with my own care and solicitude, than to prepare the people divinely entrusted to me, and an army established in the heavenly camp, by assiduous exhortations against the darts and weapons of the devil? For he cannot be a soldier fitted for the war who has not first been exercised in the field; nor will he who seeks to gain the crown of contest be rewarded on the racecourse, unless he first considers the use and skilfulness of his powers. It is an ancient adversary and an old enemy with whom we wage our battle: **six thousand years are now nearly completed since the devil first attacked man**. All kinds of temptation, and arts, and snares for his overthrow, he has learned by the very practice of long years. If he finds Christ's soldier unprepared, if unskilled, if not careful and watching with his whole heart; he circumvents him if ignorant, he deceives him incautious, he cheats him inexperienced. But if a man, keeping the Lord's precepts, and bravely adhering to Christ, stands against him, he must needs be conquered, because Christ, whom that man confesses, is unconquered.

Treatise XI [Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus]. Preface, par. 2.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.xi.i.html>

What, indeed, do we find in the Maccabees of seven brethren, equals alike in their lot of birth and virtues, filling up the number seven in the sacrament of a perfected completion? Seven brethren were thus associating in martyrdom. **As the first seven days in the divine arrangement containing seven thousand of years**, as the seven spirits and seven angels which stand and go in and out before the face of God, and the seven-branched lamp in the tabernacle of witness, and the seven golden candlesticks in the Apocalypse, and the seven columns in Solomon upon which Wisdom built her house; so here also the number seven of the brethren, embracing, in the quantity of their number, the seven churches, as likewise in the first book of Kings we read that the barren hath borne seven.

Treatise XI [Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus]. Chapter 11.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.xi.xiii.html>

3.18.3. Belief in imminent return of Christ

Lest therefore we should walk in darkness, we ought to follow Christ, and to observe his precepts, because He Himself told His apostles in another place, as He sent them forth, "All power is given unto me in heaven and earth. Go, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." [Matt. 28:18-20] Wherefore, if we wish to walk in the light of Christ, let us not depart from His precepts and monitions, giving thanks that, while He instructs for the future what we ought to do, He pardons for the past wherein we in our simplicity have erred. And because already His second coming draws near to us, His benign and liberal condescension is more and more illuminating our hearts with the light of truth.

Epistle LXII, par. 18.

³⁵ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyprian>

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.iv.lxii.html>

27. Let us, beloved brethren, arouse ourselves as much as we can; and breaking the slumber of our ancient listlessness, let us be watchful to observe and to do the Lord's precepts. Let us be such as He Himself has bidden us to be, saying, "Let your loins be girt, and your lamps burning; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their Lord, when He shall come from the wedding, that when He cometh and knocketh, they may open to Him. Blessed are those servants whom their Lord, when He cometh, shall find watching." [Luke 12:35] **We ought to be girt about, lest, when the day of setting forth comes, it should find us burdened and entangled.** Let our light shine in good works, and glow in such wise as to lead us from the night of this world to the daylight of eternal brightness. Let us always with solicitude and caution **wait for the sudden coming of the Lord**, that when He shall knock, our faith may be on the watch, and receive from the Lord the reward of our vigilance. If these commands be observed, if these warnings and precepts be kept, we cannot be overtaken in slumber by the deceit of the devil; but we shall reign with Christ in His kingdom as servants that watch.

Treatise I [On the Unity of the Church], par. 27.

<https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05.iv.v.i.html>

3.18.4. Reigning with Christ after death instead of obeying the devil here

Argument.—The Deacon Pontius in a Few Words Unfolds the Burthen of This Treatise in His Life of Cyprian. First of All, Having Pointed Out that Afflictions of This Kind Had Been Foretold by Christ, He Tells Them that the Mortality or Plague Was Not to Be Feared, in that It Leads to Immortality, and that Therefore, that Man is Wanting in Faith Who is Not Eager for a Better World. Nor is It Wonderful that the Evils of This Life are Common to the Christians with the Heathens, Since They Have to Suffer More Than Others in the World, and Thence, After the Example of Job and Tobias, There is Need of Patience Without Murmuring. For Unless the Struggle Preceded, the Victory Could Not Enue; And How Much Soever Diseases are Common to the Virtuous and Vicious, Yet that Death is Not Common to Them, for that the Righteous are Taken to Consolation, While the Unrighteous are Taken to Punishment.

...

2. For he who wars for God, dearest brethren, ought to acknowledge himself as one who, placed in the heavenly camp, already hopes for divine things, so that we may have no trembling at the storms and whirlwinds of the world, and no disturbance, since the Lord had foretold that these would come. With the exhortation of His fore-seeing word, instructing, and teaching, and preparing, and strengthening the people of His Church for all endurance of things to come, He predicted and said that wars, and famines, and earthquakes, and pestilences would arise in each place; and lest an unexpected and new dread of mischiefs should shake us, He previously warned us that adversity would increase more and more in the last times. Behold, the very things occur which were spoken; and since those occur which were foretold before, whatever things were promised will also follow; as the Lord Himself promises, saying, "But when ye see all these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is at hand." [Luke 21:31] **The kingdom of God, beloved brethren, is beginning to be at hand; the reward of life, and the rejoicing of eternal salvation, and the perpetual gladness and possession lately lost of paradise, are now coming,** with the passing away of the world; **already heavenly things are taking the place of earthly**, and great things of small, and eternal things of things that fade away. What room is there here for anxiety and solicitude? Who, in the midst of these things, is trembling and sad, except he who

is without hope and faith? **For it is for him to fear death who is not willing to go to Christ.** It is for him to be **unwilling to go to Christ who does not believe that he is about to reign³⁶ with Christ.**

Treatise VII [On the Mortality], par. 2.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.vii.html>

...

18. We ought to remember that we should do not our own will, but God's, in accordance with what our Lord has bidden us daily to pray. How preposterous and absurd it is, that while we ask that the will of God should be done, yet when God calls and summons us from this world, we should not at once obey the command of His will! We struggle and resist, and after the manner of froward servants we are dragged to the presence of the Lord with sadness and grief, departing hence under the bondage of necessity, not with the obedience of free will; and we wish to be honoured with heavenly rewards by Him to whom we come unwillingly. Why, then, do **we pray and ask that the kingdom of heaven may come**, if the **captivity of earth delights** us? Why with frequently repeated prayers do **we entreat and beg that the day of His kingdom may hasten**, if our greater desires and stronger wishes are to obey the devil here, rather than **to reign with Christ**?

Treatise VII [On the Mortality], par. 18.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.vii.html>

...

22. That in the meantime we die, **we are passing over to immortality by death**; nor can eternal life follow, unless it should befall us to depart from this life. That is **not an ending, but a transit, and, this journey of time being traversed, a passage to eternity**. Who would not hasten to better things? Who would not crave to be **changed and renewed into the likeness of Christ**, and to arrive more quickly to the dignity of heavenly glory, since Paul the apostle announces and says, "For our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change the body of our humiliation, and conform it to the body of His glory?" [Phil. 3:20-21] Christ the Lord also promises that we shall be such, when, that we may be with Him, and that we may **live with Him in eternal mansions, and may rejoice in heavenly kingdoms**, He prays the Father for us, saying, "Father, I will that they also whom Thou hast given me be with me where I am, and may see the glory which Thou hast given me before the world was made." [John 17:24] He who is to **attain to the throne of Christ**, to the glory of the **heavenly kingdoms**, ought not to mourn nor lament, but rather, in accordance with the Lord's promise, in accordance with his faith in the truth, to **rejoice in this his departure and translation**.

Treatise VII [On the Mortality], par. 22.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.vii.html>

...

26. We should consider, dearly beloved brethren—we should ever and anon reflect that we have renounced the world, and are in the meantime living here as guests and strangers. Let us greet the day which assigns each of us to his own home, which snatches us hence, and sets us free from the snares of the world, and **restores us to paradise and the kingdom**. Who that has been placed in foreign lands would not hasten to return to his own country? Who that is hastening to return to his friends would not eagerly desire a prosperous gale, that he might the sooner embrace those dear to him? **We regard paradise as our country**—we already begin to consider the patriarchs as our parents: why do we not hasten and run, that we may behold our country, that we may greet our parents? There a great number of our dear ones is awaiting us, and a dense crowd of parents, brothers, children, is longing for us, already assured of their own safety, and still solicitous for our salvation. To attain to their presence and their

³⁶ Dr. Hill translates this as "beginning to reign with Christ." Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 194.

embrace, what a gladness both for them and for us in common! **What a pleasure is there in the heavenly kingdom, without fear of death; and how lofty and perpetual a happiness with eternity of living!** There the glorious company of the **apostles**—there the host of the rejoicing **prophets**—there the innumerable multitude of **martyrs**, **crowned for the victory of their struggle and passion**—there the **triumphant virgins**, who subdued the lust of the flesh and of the body by the strength of their continency—there are **merciful men** rewarded, who by feeding and helping the poor have done the works of righteousness—who, keeping the Lord's precepts, have transferred their earthly patrimonies to the heavenly treasuries. To these, beloved brethren, let us hasten with an eager desire; let us crave quickly to be with them, and **quickly to come to Christ**. May God behold this our eager desire; may the Lord Christ look upon this purpose of our mind and faith, He who will give the larger rewards of His glory to those whose desires in respect of Himself were greater!

Treatise VII [On the Mortality], par. 26.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.vii.html>

3.18.5. Christ is the Kingdom of God and we reign in Him; desiring a heavenly and not an earthly kingdom

13. There follows in the prayer, Thy kingdom come. We ask that the kingdom of God may be set forth to us, even as we also ask that His name may be sanctified in us. For when does God not reign, or when does that begin with Him which both always has been, and never ceases to be? We pray that our kingdom, which has been promised us by God, may come, which was acquired by the blood and passion of Christ; that **we who first are His subjects in the world, may hereafter reign with Christ when He reigns**, as He Himself promises and says, “Come, ye blessed of my Father, **receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world.**” [Matt. 25:34] **Christ Himself, dearest brethren, however, may be the kingdom of God**, whom we day by day desire to come, whose advent we crave to be quickly manifested to us. For **since He is Himself the Resurrection, since in Him we rise again**, so also **the kingdom of God may be understood to be Himself**, since **in Him we shall reign**. But we do well in seeking the kingdom of God, that is, the **heavenly kingdom**, because there is also an earthly kingdom. But he who has already renounced the world, is moreover greater than its honours and its kingdom. And therefore he who dedicates himself to God and Christ, **desires not earthly, but heavenly kingdoms**. But there is need of continual prayer and supplication, that **we fall not away from the heavenly kingdom, as the Jews, to whom this promise had first been given, fell away**; even as the Lord sets forth and proves: “Many,” says He, “shall come from the east and from the west, and shall recline with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.” [Matt. 8:11] He shows that the Jews were previously children of the kingdom, so long as they continued also to be children of God; but after the name of Father ceased to be recognised among them, the kingdom also ceased; and therefore we Christians, who in our prayer begin to call God our Father, pray also that God's kingdom may come to us.

Treatise IV [On the Lord's Prayer], par. 13.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.iv.html>

3.18.6. Referring to Rev. 20:4-5 as happening now

12. What hope and reward remains for the righteous and for martyrs after the conflicts and sufferings of this present time,

The Holy Spirit shows and predicts by Solomon, saying: “And although in the sight of men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortality. And having been troubled in a few things, they shall be in many happily ordered, because God has tried them, and has found them worthy of Himself. As gold in the furnace, He hath tried them; and as whole burnt-offerings of sacrifice, He hath received them, and

in its season there will be respect of them. They will shine and run about as sparks in a place set with reeds. They shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the peoples; and their Lord shall reign for ever.” [Wisdom 3:4-8] In the same also our vengeance is described, and the repentance of those who persecute and molest us is announced. “Then,” saith he, “shall the righteous stand in great constancy before such as have afflicted them, and who have taken away their labours; when they see it, they shall be troubled with a horrible fear: and they shall marvel at the suddenness of their unexpected salvation, saying among themselves, repenting and groaning for anguish of spirit, These are they whom we had sometime in derision and as a proverb of reproach. We fools counted their life madness, and their end to be without honour. How are they numbered among the children of God, and their lot is among the saints! Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun hath not risen upon us. We have been wearied in the way of unrighteousness and perdition, and have walked through hard deserts, but have not known the way of the Lord. What hath pride profited us, or what hath the boasting of riches brought to us? All these things have passed away like a shadow.” Likewise in the cxvth Psalm is shown the price and the reward of suffering: “Precious,” it says, “in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.” [Ps. 116:15] In the cxxvth Psalm also is expressed the sadness of the struggle, and the joy of the retribution: “They who sow,” it says, “in tears, shall reap in joy. As they walked, they walked and wept, casting their seeds; but as they come again, they shall come in exultation, bearing their sheaves.” [Ps. 126:5-6] And again, in the cxviiiith Psalm: “Blessed are those that are undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they who search His testimonies, and seek Him out with their whole heart.” [Ps. 119:1-2] Moreover, the Lord in the Gospel, Himself the avenger of our persecution and the rewarder of our suffering, says: “Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” [Matt. 5:10] And again: “Blessed shall ye be when men shall hate you, and shall separate you, and shall expel you, and shall revile your name as evil, for the Son of man’s sake. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for, behold, your reward is great in heaven.” [Luke 6:22-23] And once more: “Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it.” [Luke 9:24] Nor do the rewards of the divine promise attend those alone who are reproached and slain; but if the passion itself be wanting to the faithful, while their faith has remained sound and unconquered, and having forsaken and contemned all his possessions, the Christian has shown that he is following Christ, even he also is honoured by Christ among the martyrs, as He Himself promises and says: “There is no man that leaveth house, or land, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God’s sake, but shall receive seven times as much in this present time, and in the world to come eternal life.” [Luke 18:29-30] **In the Apocalypse** also He says the same thing: “And I saw,” saith he, “**the souls of them that were slain for the name of Jesus and the word of God.**” [Rev. 20:4] And when he had **placed those who were slain in the first place**, he added, saying: “And whosoever had not worshipped the image of the beast, neither had received his mark upon their forehead or in their hand;” **all these he joins together, as seen by him at one time in the same place, and says, “And they lived and reigned with Christ.”** [Rev. 20:4] He says that **all live and reign with Christ**, not only who have been slain; but even whosoever, standing in firmness of the faith and in the fear of God, have not worshipped the image of the beast, and have not consented to his deadly and sacrilegious edicts.

Treatise XI [Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus]. Chapter 12.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.xi.xiv.html>

13. That we receive more as the reward of our suffering than what we endure here in the suffering itself,

The blessed Apostle Paul proves; who by the divine condescension, being caught up into the third heaven and into paradise, testifies that he heard unspeakable words, who boasts that he saw Jesus Christ by the faith of sight, who professes that which he both learnt and saw with the greater truth of consciousness, and says: “The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the coming glory which shall be revealed in us.” [Rom. 8:18] Who, then, does not with all his powers labour to attain to such a glory that he may become the friend of God, that he may at once rejoice with Christ, that after

earthly tortures and punishments he may receive divine rewards? If to soldiers of this world it is glorious to return in triumph to their country when the foe is vanquished, how much more excellent and greater is the glory, **when the devil is overcome, to return in triumph to paradise, and to bring back victorious trophies to that place whence Adam was ejected as a sinner**, after casting down him who formerly had cast him down; to offer to God the most acceptable gift—an uncorrupted faith, and an unyielding virtue of mind, an illustrious praise of devotion; to **accompany Him when He shall come to receive vengeance from His enemies**, to stand at His side when **He shall sit to judge**, to become co-heir of Christ, to be made equal to the angels; with **the patriarchs, with the apostles, with the prophets, to rejoice in the possession of the heavenly kingdom**! Such thoughts as these, what persecution can conquer, what tortures can overcome? The brave and steadfast mind, founded in religious meditations, endures; and the spirit abides unmoved against all the terrors of the devil and the threats of the world, when it is strengthened by the sure and solid faith of things to come. In persecutions, earth is shut up, but heaven is opened; Antichrist is threatening, but Christ is protecting; death is brought in, but immortality follows; the world is taken away from him that is slain, but **paradise is set forth to him restored**; the life of time is extinguished, but the **life of eternity is realized**. What a dignity it is, and what a security, to go gladly from hence, to depart gloriously in the midst of afflictions and tribulations; in a moment to close the eyes with which men and the world are looked upon, and **at once to open them to look upon God and Christ**! Of such a blessed departure how great is the swiftness! You shall be suddenly taken away from earth, to be placed in the heavenly kingdoms. It behoves us to embrace these things in our mind and consideration, to meditate on these things day and night. If persecution should fall upon such a soldier of God, his virtue, prompt for battle, will not be able to be overcome. Or if his call should come to him before, his faith shall not be without reward, seeing it was prepared for martyrdom; without loss of time, the reward is rendered by the judgment of God. **In persecution, the warfare,—in peace, the purity of conscience, is crowned.**

Treatise XI [Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus]. Chapter 13.

<https://ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05/anf05.iv.v.xi.xv.html>

4 Not clear whether Chiliast or not

These authors do not clearly state their view. In the case of Marcion, he probably allowed a millennium seeing he held that the OT God was other than Christ, but no definite statement exists from him on the subject.

4.1. Novatian of Rome (c. 200 – 258 AD)

4.1.1. Introduction

Novatian (c. 200–258) was a scholar, priest, theologian and antipope between 251 and 258. Some Greek authors, give his name as Novatianus.³⁷



4.1.2. Subterranean place for the just and wicked

And truly, **what lies beneath the earth** is not itself void of distributed and arranged powers. For there is **a place whither the souls of the just and the unjust are taken, conscious of the anticipated dooms of future judgment;** so that we might behold the overflowing greatness of God's works in all directions, not shut up within the bosom of this world, however capacious as we have said, but might also be able to conceive of them **beneath both the abysses and the depths of the world itself.** And thus considering the greatness of the works, we should worthily admire the Artificer of such a structure.

A Treatise of Novatian Concerning the Trinity. Chapter 1.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf05.vi.iii.ii.html>

4.2. Heretic: Marcion (c. 85 – c. 160 AD)

4.2.1. Introduction

Marcion of Sinope (c. 85 – c. 160) was an important leader in early Christianity. His theology rejected the deity described in the Hebrew Scriptures and in distinction affirmed the Father of Christ as the true God. The Church Fathers denounced Marcion, and he chose to separate himself from the proto-orthodox church.³⁸



4.2.2. Two Messiahs

Marcion takes Cerinthus's doctrine and as Dr. Hill explains: "From here, what we theorized above with respect to Cerinthus is fully documented with respect to Marcion, namely, that each of his two Gods would have his own Messiah. The Messiah of the High God was Jesus. The Messiah of the lower, Jewish God was yet to come. When he comes, however, he will give the Jewish what they desire: restoration to their land, temple, and nation."

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, pp. 71-72.

4.2.3. Support for this assertion by the testimony of Tertullian

Marcion has laid down the position, that Christ who in the days of Tiberius was, by a previously unknown god, revealed for the salvation of all nations, is a different being from Him who was ordained by God the Creator for the restoration of the Jewish state, and who is yet to come. Between these he interposes the separation of a great and absolute difference—as great as lies between what is just and what

³⁷ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Novatian>

³⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marcion_of_Sinope

4.2 - Heretic: Marcion (c. 85 – c. 160 AD)

is good; as great as lies between the law and the gospel; as great, (in short,) as is the difference between Judaism and Christianity. Hence will arise also our rule, by which we determine that there ought to be nothing in common between the Christ of the rival god and the Creator; but that (Christ) must be pronounced to belong to the Creator, if He has administered His dispensations, fulfilled His prophecies, promoted His laws, given reality to His promises, revived His mighty power, remoulded His determinations, expressed His attributes, His properties. This law and this rule I earnestly request the reader to have ever in his mind, and so let him begin to investigate whether Christ be Marcion's or the Creator's.

Tertullian, The Five Books Against Marcion. Book IV, chapter 6.

<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf03.v.iv.v.vi.html>

5 Christian Pseudepigrapha

5.1. Ascension of Isaiah (c. 70 – 175 AD)

5.1.1. Introduction

There are questions about how complete this work was, whether it was a work both by Jewish and Christian hands.

The book Ascension of Isaiah is a pseudegraphical Christian text. Theories as to the date of its composition place it in a range from the late 1st century AD to the beginning of the 3rd century AD. As for its authorship, it is believed almost universally to be a compilation of several texts completed by an unknown Christian scribe.³⁹

5.1.2. Lord come and drag Beliar into Gehenna, give the godly rest and punish the wicked

14. And after **(one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two days** the **Lord will come with His angels** and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven with the glory of the seventh heaven, and He will **drag Beliar into Gehenna and also his armies**. 15. And He will **give rest of the godly** whom He shall find in the body in this world, [and the sun will be ashamed]: 16. And to all who because of (their) faith in Him have execrated Beliar and his kings. But **the saints will come with the Lord** with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed, **they will descend and be present in the world**, and He will strengthen those, who have been found in the body, together with the saints, in the garments of the saints, and the **Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in this world**. 17. And afterwards they will **turn themselves upward in their garments**, and **their body will be left in the world**. 18. Then the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke the things of heaven and the things of earth and the things of earth and the mountains and the hills and the cities and the desert and the forests and the angel of the sun and that of the moon, and all things wherein Beliar manifested himself and acted openly in this world, and **there will be [a resurrection and] a judgment** in their midst in those days, and the Beloved will cause fire to go forth from Him, and it **will consume all the godless**, and they will be as though they had not been created.

Ascension of Isaiah 4.14-18.

<http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/ascension.html>

5.1.2.1 Comments

This portion is sometimes claimed for chiliasm because of the supposed time in vv. 15-16. But there is nothing said here about a thousand year or any portion of time.

An allusion is made to the parable of the returning bridegroom of Luke 12:37 toward the end of v. 16.

5.1.3. The saints receive crowns and thrones at Christ's ascension; reign in the Intermediate State

AND he took me into the air of the seventh heaven, and moreover I heard a voice saying: "How far will he ascend that dwelleth in the flesh?" And I feared and trembled. 2. And when I trembled, behold, I heard from hence another voice being sent forth, and saying: "It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither; for here is his garment." 3. And I asked the angel who was with me and said: "Who is he who forbade me and who is he who permitted me to ascend?" 4. And he said unto me: "He who forbade thee, is he who is over the praise-giving of the sixth heaven. 5. And He who permitted thee, **this is thy Lord God, the Lord Christ**, who will be called "Jesus" in the world, but His name thou canst not hear till

³⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ascension_of_Isaiah

thou hast ascended out of thy body.” 6. And he raised me up into the seventh heaven, and I saw there a wonderful light and angels innumerable. 7. And there I saw the holy **Abel** and all the righteous. 8. And there I saw **Enoch** and all who were with him, **stript of the garments of the flesh**, and I saw them in their garments of the **upper world**, and **they were like angels**, standing there in great glory. 9. And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him, stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory. 10. But they **sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns** of glory on them. 11. And I asked the angel who was with me: “How is it that they have received the garments, but have not the thrones and the crowns?” 12. And he said unto me: “**Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descent** in the form in which you will see Him descent [will descent, I say] into the world in the last days the Lord, who will be called Christ. 13. Nevertheless they see and know whose will be thrones, and whose the crowns when He has descended and been made in your form, and they will think that He is flesh and is a man. 14. And the god of that world will stretch forth his hand against the Son, and they will crucify Him on a tree, and will slay Him not knowing who He is. 15. And thus His descent, as you will see, will be hidden even from the heavens, so that it will not be known who He is. 16. And when **He hath plundered the angel of death**, He will ascend on the third day, [and he will remain in that world five hundred and forty-five days]. 17. And then **many of the righteous will ascend with Him**, whose **spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascend and they ascend with Him**. 18. Then indeed **they will receive their [garments and] thrones and crowns, when He has ascended into the seventh heaven.**”

Ascension of Isaiah 9

<http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/ascension.html>

5.1.3.1 *Comments*

This is supposedly what happened in Isaiah 6. While Isaiah sees the righteous already in heaven, yet they are not seated on thrones nor have crowns, symbolizing rulership. Yet they will sit upon thrones only after Christ has been raised and ascended to heaven.

5.1.4. Statements on the Intermediate State

5.1.4.1 *Chapter 7*

22. For **above all the heavens** and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see.” 23. And I rejoiced with great joy, that **those who love the Most High** and His Beloved **will afterwards ascend thither** by the angel of the Holy Spirit.

5.1.4.2 *Chapter 9*

7. And there I saw the holy Abel and **all the righteous**. 8. And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him, stript of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory.

5.1.4.2.1 *Comments*

This is a break from all the literature survived before here. All the righteous are said to be in the highest heaven *before* the Incarnation and ascension of our Lord.

5.1.4.3 *Chapter 11*

35. And thou wilt return into thy garment (of the flesh) until thy days are completed. Then **thou wilt come hither.**”

5.2. Epistula Apostolorum (c. 150 AD)

5.2.1. Introduction

The Epistula Apostolorum (Epistle of the Apostles) is a tract written on behalf of a group of Christians struggling against the docetic heresy. It is written in Asia Minor and in the first half of the second century.

5.2.2. Christ's coming brings in the Judgment

Epistula Apostolorum 1:16 Then said we to him: Lord, that which thou hast revealed unto us (revealest, *Eth.*) is great. Wilt thou come in the power of any creature or in an appearance of any kind? (In what power or form wilt thou come? *Eth.*) He answered and said unto us: Verily I say unto you, **I shall come like the sun** when it is risen, and my brightness will be seven times the brightness thereof! The wings of the clouds shall bear me in brightness, and the sign of the cross shall go before me, and **I shall come** upon earth **to judge the quick and the dead**. (1:16 JAM)

Epistula Apostolorum 1:26 Verily I say unto you: **the flesh shall arise**, and the soul, alive, that their defence may come to pass on that day in regard of that that they have done, whether it be good or evil: that there may be a choosing-out of the faithful who have kept the commandments of my Father that sent me; and so **shall the judgement be accomplished with strictness**. For my Father said unto me: My Son, **in the day of judgement** thou shalt have no respect for the rich, neither pity for the poor, but **according to the sins of every man shalt thou deliver him unto everlasting torment**. But unto my beloved that have done the commandments of my Father that sent me will **I give the rest of life in the kingdom of my Father which is in heaven**, and they shall behold that which he hath given me. And he hath given me authority to do that which I will, and to give that which I have promised and determined to give and grant unto them.

Epistula Apostolorum 1:39 And we said unto him: Lord, is this thy *purpose*, that thou leavest us, to come upon them? (Will all this come to pass, *Eth.*) He answered and said unto us: After what manner shall **the judgement** be? whether righteous or unrighteous? (In *Copt.* and *Eth.* the general sense is the same: but the answer of Jesus in the form of a question is odd, and there is probably a corruption.) We said unto him: Lord, in that day they will say unto thee: Thou hast not distinguished between (*probably*: will they not say unto thee: Thou hast distinguished between) righteousness and unrighteousness, between the light and the darkness, and evil and good? Then said he: I will answer them and say: Unto Adam was power given to choose one of the two: he chose the light and laid his hand thereon, but the darkness he left behind him and cast away from him. Therefore have all men power to believe in the light which is life, and which is the Father that hath sent me. And every one that believeth and doeth the works of the light shall live in them; but if there be any that confesseth that he belongeth unto the light, and doeth the works of darkness, such an one hath no defence to utter, neither can he lift up his face to look upon the Son of God, which *Son* am I. For I will say unto him: As thou soughtest, so hast thou found, and as thou askedst, so hast thou received. Wherefore condemnest thou me, O man? Wherefore hast thou departed from me and denied me? And wherefore hast thou confessed me and yet denied me? hath not every man power to live and to die? Whoso then hath kept my commandments shall be a son of the light, that is, of the Father that is in me. But because of them that corrupt my words am I come down from heaven. I am the word: I became flesh, and I wearied myself (*or*, suffered) and taught, *saying*: The heavy laden shall be saved, and they that are gone astray shall go astray for ever. **They shall be chastised and tormented in their flesh and in their soul**.

5.2.3. Resurrection; hope of the Kingdom

Epistula Apostolorum 1:21 For verily I say unto you: Like as my Father hath raised me from the dead, so **shall ye also rise** (in the flesh, *Eth.*) and **be taken up into the highest heaven**, unto the place whereof I have told you from the beginning, unto the place which he who sent me hath prepared for you. And so

will I accomplish all dispensations (all grace, *Eth.*), even **I who am unbegotten** and yet begotten of mankind, who am without flesh and yet have borne flesh <and have grown up like unto you that were born in flesh, *Eth.*>: for to that end am I come, that (*gap in Copt.: Eth. continues*) **ye might rise from the dead in your flesh, in the second birth**, even a vesture that shall not decay, together with all them that hope and believe in him that sent me: for so is the will of my Father, that I should give unto you, and unto them whom it pleaseth me, **the hope of the kingdom**. Then said we unto him: Great is that which thou sufferest us to hope, and tellest us. And he answered and said: Believe ye that everything that I tell you shall come to pass? We answered and said: Yea, Lord. (*Copt. resumes for a few lines: then another gap. I follow Eth.*) He said unto us: Verily I say unto you, that I have obtained the whole power of my Father, that I may bring back into light them that dwell in darkness, them that are in **corruption into incorruption**, them that are in death into life, and that I may loose them that are in fetters. For that which is impossible with men, is possible with the Father. I am the hope of them that despair, the helper of them that have no saviour, the wealth of the poor, the health of the sick, and **the resurrection of the dead**.

6 Chiliast and non-Chiliast summary table

All non-chiliast authors believed in paradise for believers who depart from this life, therefore, nothing will be said in the “Comments” concerning their position on that question.

Paragraph references (§) are to this work and not to Dr. Hill’s.

Not all authors or works surveyed by Dr. Hill are included in this document or summary table.

<i>Authors or works</i>	<i>§</i>	<i>Chiliast</i>	<i>Non-Chiliast</i>	<i>Comments</i>
<i>Clement of Rome</i> (c. 35-101)	3.2		x	No statement on the Millennium; affirms general resurrection and final judgment at the second coming.
<i>Ignatius of Antioch</i> (c. 35-108)	3.3		x	No statement on the Millennium.
<i>Polycarp of Smyrna</i> (c. 69-156)	3.4, 3.12		x	No statement on the Millennium; Christ comes to judge the living and the dead.
<i>Didache</i> (c. 90-140)	3.5		x	No statement on the Millennium; general resurrection and destruction of the ungodly coincide.
<i>2 Clement</i> (c. 95-140)	3.6		x	No statement on the Millennium; the day of judgment is when Christ comes back.
<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i> (c. 100)	3.7		x	Cosmic-week theory; general resurrection and judgment is at the second coming. See §3.7.2.1 on the Millennium question;
<i>Grandsons of Jude</i> (c. 106)	3.8		x	Heavenly kingdom at the end of the world; Christ comes to judge the living and the dead.
<i>Epistle to Diognetus</i> (c. 130-200)	3.9		x	No statement on the Millennium; the kingdom of God is in heaven.
<i>Athenagoras of Athens</i> (c. 130-190)	3.10		x	No statement on the Millennium.
<i>Shepard of Hermas</i> (c. 140)	3.11		x	No statement on the Millennium; resurrection and judgment coincide.
<i>Hippolytus</i> (ca. 170-235)	3.12, 3.13		x	Cosmic-week theory; judgment and general resurrection at Christ’s coming. Statements on Rev. 20: see pp. 165-169 in Hill and §3.13.3.2, §3.13.7, §3.13.8.
<i>Melito of Sardis</i> (d. c. 180)	3.15		x	No statement on the Millennium.
<i>Origen</i> (c. 185-254)	3.16		x	Anti-chiliast; including statements on Rev. 20: see §3.16.2, §3.16.3, 3.16.4.
<i>Dionysius of Alexandria</i> (c. 190-265)	3.17		x	Anti-chiliast; including allusions to Rev. 20: see pp. 190-191 in Hill and 3.17.2, 3.17.4.
<i>Cyprian</i> (c. 210-258)	3.18		x	Cosmic-week theory; including statements on Rev. 20: see pp. 193-195, 198-200 in Hill and §3.18.4, §3.18.5, §3.18.6.
<i>Epistula Apostolorum</i> (c. 150)	5.2		x	No statement on the Millennium; Christ’s coming brings the judgment.
<i>Clement of Alexandria</i> (c. 150-215)	-		x	Gnostic tendencies; including allusions to Rev. 20. See pp. 174-175 in Hill.
<i>Cerinthus</i> (c. 50-100)	1.3	x		Gnostic heretic; kingdom of Christ will be earthly.
<i>Papias</i> (c. 70-163)	1.4	x		Follower of the apostle John; first orthodox articulator of premillennialism.
<i>Justin Martyr</i> (100-165)	1.5	x		Intermediate state: subterranean abode; paradise only for the translated. Believed in millennium in a rebuilt Jerusalem. Inconsistent: believed that at the second coming the general resurrection and final judgment will take place (§1.5.2.2).
<i>Irenaeus</i> (c. 130-202)	1.6	x		Intermediate state: subterranean abode; paradise only for the translated.

				Inconsistent: final judgment takes place at the second coming (§1.6.7).
<i>Tertullian (c. 155-240)</i>	1.7	x		Intermediate state: subterranean abode; paradise only for the translated and martyrs.
<i>Commodianus (c. 250-?)</i>	1.8	x		Intermediate state: subterranean abode. New Jerusalem shall descent at the first resurrection (§1.8.3).
<i>Victorinus (250-303)</i>	1.9	x		Intermediate state: subterranean abode; paradise only for the translated. Cosmic-week theory; contra Cerinthus' earthly millennium; commentary on Revelation.
<i>Methodius of Olympus (c. 270-311)</i>	1.10	x		Intermediate state: the only early chiliast believing in a heavenly intermediate state for all believers. Cosmic-week theory; new and indissoluble creation "in the seventh thousand of years".
<i>Lactantius (c. 250-325)</i>	1.11	x		Intermediate state: subterranean abode. Judgment of living and dead before Millennium; after the Millennium comes the final judgment and general resurrection.
<i>Novatian (c. 200-258)</i>	4.1	?	?	Intermediate state: subterranean abode.
<i>Marcion (c. 85-160)</i>	4.2	?	?	Possibly allowing for a Millennium for the "OT god."

Seeing that belief in a subterranean abode for souls was closely associated with chiliasm with the exception of Methodius of Olympus, this 'makes possible the inference that Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Athenagoras, Melito of Sardis, the martyrs of Scilli in 180 and those of Carthage in 203, the authors of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, *5 Ezra*, the *Odes of Solomon*, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the *Epistle of Vienne and Lyons*, and the *Acts of Thomas* would not have been at home with the chiliast camp, for, though we have found only half the bones of their eschatological "skeleton," the skeleton to which these bones belong is of the non-chiliastic species.'

Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, p. 249.