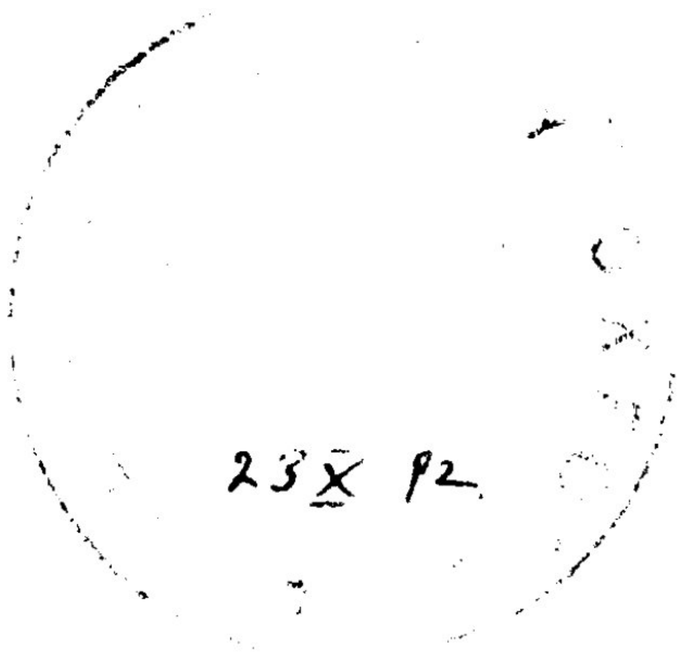
The Apocalypse in the Early Church.

Christ, Eschaton, and Millennium.

Charles Robert Helms



This study is dedicated to my wife and family, whose loving support and patient endurance (Apoc 1:9) made it possible.

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Introduction

A. Necessity of the Study

A study of patristic exegesis of the Apocalypse is overdue. The Biblia Patristica series lists 1,748 citations in the first three Christian centuries, but not a single dissertation treats the subject, and the twentieth century has seen the publication of only one helpful book on the general topic, N. B. Stonehouse's The Apocalypse in the Ancient Church.[1] Unfortunately, Stonehouse neglects many of the important ante-Nicenes, and new discoveries render much of his discussion obsolete.

More recent English- and German-language commentary is disappointing. Georg Kretschmar's Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend is too brief to join the major issues.[2] For example, he summarises Irenaeus and Methodius in only three pages. Only one other book bears mentioning; Gerhard Maier's Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche, an overview of the Apocalypse during selected periods of Christian history, incorporates a lengthy discussion of Gaius of Rome.[3] Gaius is, however, a peculiar subject for privileged consideration, being a negative witness whose literary remains are meager. An essay on Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, Victorinus of Pettau, or Eusebius would surely have yielded more fruit.

Moreover, Maier seems entirely unaware of recent French scholarship which renders many of his sources obsolete.

The single published bibliography on the subject of Apocalypse exegesis, Sieben's Exegesis Patrum, lists only two works of real use, Corsini's Apocalisse prima e dopo and Pierre Prigent's Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse.[4] Again, the paucity of scholarship is remarkable in view of the hundreds of patristic citations.

The void began to be filled in 1980 with the aforementioned publication of Apocalisse prima e dopo. Corsini's extraordinary work is, however, primarily a commentary and only secondarily a historical study. It has fallen to Corsini's disciples, Anselmetto, Gallicet, Monaci-Castagno, Pietrella, and preëminently C. Mazzucco, to prove his many contentions about early interpretation of the text. In addition, the researches of Pierre Prigent are particularly helpful in restoring the authentic exegesis of Hippolytus.

The advances by Corsini's disciples, Prigent, and others are, however, confined to individual authors. None has produced a comprehensive overview or thematic synthesis of the period. This study attempts to remedy the deficiency. Individual ante-Nicenes are comprehensible in themselves, but more comprehensible when compared to each other and viewed in their larger historical context. A fuller understanding of early Apocalypse exegesis may ensue.

I hope that the dissertation has three further uses. First, its review of the subject may be especially useful to the English reader. A detailed and recent consideration in English or German is, as noted above, much needed. Second, the study's bibliography--perhaps the only one publicly available on the general subject--will be helpful. Third, the dissertation is a step towards a more extensive synthesis of the ante-Nicenes, Tyconius, Augustine, and the later Greek Fathers. This will be possible when a critical text of Tyconius' Apocalypse commentary is produced. The synopsis of the commentary in Steinhauser's The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius and the forthcoming publication in the Corpus Christianorum series of E. Romero-Pose's critical text of Beatus are even now bringing the recovery of Tyconius within striking distance.[5] Future tasks will be to complete this textual restoration and to integrate Tyconius and Augustine with their predecessors.

B. Epitome

Patristic exegesis of the Apocalypse from Papias to Eusebius falls into three categories. They are (1) chiliastic (or anti-chiliastic), (2) eschatological, and (3) christocentric. The interpretations arise in different contexts and are difficult to reconcile with one another. It is sometimes possible to find both the eschatological and the

christological exegeses in the same author (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Methodius, Victorinus).

The chiliastic interpretation is interested only in Apoc 20-22. It arises in the Jewish Christian context and firmly professes belief in a one-thousand-year-reign of Christ on earth (Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin). It opts for a "realistic"--i.e., a concrete and historical--future fulfillment of Apoc 20:2-7. It foresees a restoration of the terrestrial Jerusalem and of paradise. The restoration of paradise extends even to the primordial subjection of the animals to man (Irenaeus and perhaps Papias). It is judaising in its fascination with the glorious coming of the Messiah, and therefore tends to underemphasise his first coming. It also polemicises against the Jews (Justin, Victorinus, trace in Cyprian).

We learn of the chiliastic exegetes of the Apocalypse--Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin, and perhaps Papias and the Montanists--largely through their opponents, the anti-chiliasts Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius, Gaius, and the Alogoi. The anti-chiliasts, in limiting their consideration of the Apocalypse to chapters 20-22, fall into the same error as the chiliasts. They accept uncricitally the judaising interpretation of chapters 20-22, attempt no coherent analysis of the whole text, and fail to see its christological and ecclesiological possibilities.

Eusebius is the major anti-chiliast and the major preserver of both

chiliasts and anti-chiliasts. His shifting attitude towards the Apocalypse reflects the views of those who come before him. He is initially positive, then wholly negative, and finally negative but less extreme. He eventually rejects the Apocalypse not only because he finds its millennium--which he interprets literally--crude and repugnant to his Origenistic sensibility, but also because the text is anti-imperial (if interpreted literally), favoured by his enemy Methodius, and distrusted by his hero Dionysius. Eusebius is the first writer to declare explicitly that the Apocalypse is a millennial text. His chiliastic opponents are already professed millenarians who find support for their views in the Apocalypse.

Dionysius is less radical than Eusebius. He does not reject the Apoc outright, and he opines that the text can be understood figuratively. He suggests that the text may have been written by a second John, not the Apostle. Eusebius' attempts to prove this contention through quoting Papias tend rather to indicate Papias' belief in only one John in Ephesus, the apostolic author of both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse.

The Montanists probably also belong in the chiliastic category. The most conclusive evidence comes not from themselves--no demonstrably Montanist exegeses of the Apocalypse survive--but from the anti-Montanists. Gaius and the Alogoi probably reject the apostolicity

of the Apocalypse because of its associations with Montanism and Cerinthus the Gnostic. The exegeses and sensitivities of Gaius and the Alogoi are sufficiently similar to one another as to suggest that they are allies in close contact. The Alogoi, commonly thought to be headquartered in Asia Minor, are probably in Rome. To the extent that any conclusions are possible about early Montanist interpretation of the Apoc, it seems that Montanist exegesis is not particularly futuristic and therefore not innovative.

The second interpretation of the Apocalypse is eschatological. It arises in response to Hellenisers (Gnostics, Marcion, Hermogenes) who spiritualise the Christian theology of the resurrection of the body and discard the Old Testament. The eschatological interpretation begins in Justin and culminates in Hippolytus. As with the first interpretation, its interpretation of the Apocalypse tends towards literalism. It is usually chiliastic (Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian) but sometimes more ambivalent (Hippolytus). The judaising interpretation emphasized the restoration of the earth and the enjoyment of the afterlife. The eschatological interpretation emphasises rather the sequence of events leading up to the afterlife, including the coming of the Antichrist, the death of the two witnesses, the eschatological wars, and the two resurrections, as well as the final judgement, damnation of the impious,

and new Jerusalem (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Victorinus). The eschatological writers do not become chiliasts because of the Apocalypse. Rather, they seize upon chiliasm because it adds credibility to the orthodox eschatology, and they find apostolic confirmation for their views in Apoc 20:2-7.

The primary exemplars of the eschatological interpretation are Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus. As with the Fourth Gospel, so with the Apocalypse: Justin is the first orthodox writer to quote the text, Irenaeus the first to grasp many of the profundities of its theology, and Hippolytus the first to defend it.

Justin belongs to both the chiliastic and the eschatological categories, although he may incline more toward the latter. On the one hand, he uses the Apoc to confirm his Jewish Christian belief in a future, earthly, and millennial New Jerusalem ruled by Christ. Against the Jews, the Apoc confirms Old Testament prophecies about rebuilt Jerusalem, but indicates that Christians will be its most numerous denizens. On the other hand, Justin is probably attracted to the Apoc as read eschatologically, because its doctrines of the bodily resurrection and millennial reign of Christ in Jerusalem are a tonic for Gnosticism and Marcionism.

A third feature in Justin is his awareness of a figurative, yet orthodox, interpretation of the millennium of Apoc 20. He refers to this

third interpretation in terms indicating that it is already well-established in his day. Thus the outlines of all three interpretations of the Apoc are discernible in Justin. He perhaps belongs most to the eschatologising group because, notwithstanding the Jewish Christian features of Trypho, he authors a much more severe polemic against Marcion as well as a work on the resurrection with strong anti-Gnostic overtones.

Irenaeus is the first major figure of the eschatological interpretation, but he originally favours the christocentric interpretation and is explicit in acknowledging two conflicting readings of the text. In the christocentric reading, the millennium begins with the first coming of Jesus Christ, and contemporary Christians are therefore already living in the last days and persecuted by Satan. Irenaeus shows signs of trying to reconcile the two interpretations through recapitulation, the notion that central events in salvation history recur and are fulfilled according to an original pattern. However, his primary reason for using the Apocalypse as the eschatological recapitulation of Genesis archetypes is to refute Marcion and the Gnostics, who reject the Old Testament, the unity of salvation history, the orthodox eschatology, and the physical resurrection. A recovery of the christocentric interpretation is suggested by Irenaeus' liturgical exegeses of the Old Testament in the Proof of the Apostolic

Preaching.

Tertullian's eschatological (futuristic and historical) interpretation is aimed at protecting the bodily resurrection and integrity of the orthodox eschatology against hellenizers, particularly Marcion. More than Montanism, his aversion to Marcion and the Gnostics may play the decisive role in his one explicitly chiliastic reading of Apoc 20. But his interest is not confined only to the millennium; his is a concretizing and historicising exegesis of St. John's heavenly Jerusalem and two resurrections. Yet Tertullian shows signs of sympathy with the christocentric exegesis when he hints that an allegorical interpretation of the new Jerusalem of Christ's body and of the two resurrections would be fruitful.

Hippolytus is also significant, because he defends not only the Christian eschatology (against Hellenisers and Montanists) and indeed his very Christian faith (against the persecuting Empire), but also the Apocalypse itself (against Gaius and the Alogoi). His discussion of the eschatological sequence of Apoc 11-20 is therefore particularly precise and historicising. He is the last and most extreme example of the eschatological interpretation and provides the first detailed exegesis of the two witnesses, the Antichrist, and the eschatological persecution of the faithful. Yet even Hippolytus does not entirely abandon a christocentric reading of the text, as is clear from his exegesis of the

Son of Man (Apoc 1) and heavenly woman (Apoc 12).

An aside by Justin and passages in the Gallican Martyrs and Irenaeus suggest that a nonchiliastic interpretation of the Apocalypse also had its second-century adherents. This third interpretation is christocentric and church-centred. Above all, it reads the Apocalypse as the ongoing self-revelation of Jesus Christ to his saints. It presupposes that the text is a coherent whole: it does not restrict itself to chapters 20-22 like the chiliasts and their opponents, nor to the eschatological passages of chapters 11-20 like the anti-Hellenistic writers. It typically interprets the symbols and events of the Apocalypse figuratively and typologically. It treats the text as a realised--not a future--eschatology, and sees the millennium as beginning with the first coming of Christ (Irenaeus, The Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, Cyprian) or even symbolising the Old Economy (Origen). The christocentric interpretation is different from the interpretations above in that it does not arise from a particular dogmatic need. It is also ubiquitous, appearing in Irenaeus, The Martyrs of Lyons, Cyprian, Origen, Methodius, and Victorinus. Thus although its major figures come after the eschatological writers, the christocentric interpretation would appear to be the more ancient.

After the Gnostic threat to the orthodox eschatology subsides, a

partial restoration of the third interpretation--which never disappears entirely even in the major eschatological writers--occurs (Origen, Methodius, Victorinus; and even Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, trace in Justin). However, the eschatological interpretation is by this time itself part of the tradition, surviving in Victorinus and the later tradition of the Church (Tyconius, Jerome, Augustine, Caesarius, Primasius, Cassiodorus, Ambrosius Autpertus, Beatus, Bede). In other words, the eschatological interpretation far outlives its original purpose.

Cyprian typically uses the Apoc to explain the identity of Christ as the slain Lamb and King who has come, delivered man, and conquered the Antichrist with his "tree of life," (2:7; 22:2). This Christ is the spouse of a universal, fruitful Church which is the New Jerusalem. Unlike the eschatological writers, his reading of passages in Apoc 14, 17-22 is never futuristic. Rather, those chapters describe the present reality.

In his 400-odd citations of the Apocalypse, Origen, too, provides substantial commentary. The Apocalyptic images of the Son reveal his identity as the Logos and the bringer of revelation and salvation. He is the Alpha and Omega because, just as the written word is understood only through knowing the alphabet, so the totality of spiritual knowledge is acquired only by knowing all aspects of the Son from beginning to end. As a book is the result of an infinite combination of

letters, so also the Scriptures are diverse manifestations of the one reality which is the Son. Thus the Apoc manifests the Son and thereby demonstrates how the Scriptures are in effect a sacrament of the Son.

Origen interprets Apoc 12-22 in a coherent manner. Apoc 12 describes Satan's primordial fall into materiality. The millennium of Apoc 20 is the Old Economy, which ends with the Crucifixion, destruction of Jerusalem, and the immediately ensuing (but now past) apocalyptic sufferings of sinners (Apoc 15-18). The new Jerusalem of Apoc 21 is the intermediate state or school of souls for the saints, who become progressively more perfect. The new Jerusalem is a spiritual reality and the abode of its living stones, the saints.

Methodius is the first to seize upon the ascetic and ecclesiological possibilities inherent in the christocentric interpretation. That is, he interprets especially the heavenly woman of Apocalypse 12 as a guide both to the Christian virgin who would imitate Christ the Archvirgin and as a symbol of the maternal Church who is in labor until Christ is born in every man. Yet Methodius also professes chiliasm as a means to stymie the dangers to orthodoxy posed by the eschatological excesses of Origenism, particularly Origen's theology of the pneumatic body. Turning Origen's own exegetical method against him, Methodius uses an allegorical interpretation of the Feast of the Tabernacles to demonstrate the literal truth of the Apocalyptic millennium.

The most substantial exemplar of the christocentric interpretation is Victorinus (although even he prefers the eschatological interpretation of Apoc 20-22), whose précis of the text is the most ancient still extant. Victorinus sees the text as a series of four tableaux reflecting upon the central Christian beliefs and events from different historical perspectives. He views certain individual episodes within the tableaux, such as the heavenly liturgy of Apoc 4-5 and the woman and child of Apoc 12, as self-contained résumés of the whole of salvation history. The tableaux recapitulate one another as well as events in other scriptures. More so than Irenaeus, by whom he is heavily influenced, Victorinus is able through recapitulation to reconcile the eschatological and christocentric readings of the text, because his adaptation of recapitulation permits him to apply individual passages to both advents of Christ.

C. Organisation of the Study

The thesis is organised around its three major themes. Part I, "Chiliasm and Antichiliasm," treats the Jewish Christian interpretation exemplified by Eusebius, Gaius, and the Alogoi. Also included in Appendix A is a summary of scholarship touching upon the role of the Apocalypse in Montanism. This recital will show that there is insufficient evidence to sustain the belief that the Apoc exerted a

special influence upon the movement.

Part II, "In Defense of the Orthodox Eschatology," discusses in turn each of the eschatological exegetes: Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus, with special attention to Irenaeus and Hippolytus.

Part III, "The Revelation of Jesus Christ to His Saints," treats Cyprian, Origen, Methodius, and Victorinus. Victorinus, despite his eschatological interpretation of Apoc 20-22, is the major exemplar. As to Victorinus, Appendix B investigates the literary influences on the Pannonian bishop and concludes that Irenaeus and perhaps Papias are direct influences, while Origen and Hippolytus are not influential.

Fortunately, the topical organisation of the study is also roughly chronological. For example, Eusebius' discussions of the Nicolaitans, Papias, Cerinthus, Apollonius, Melito, Gaius, Nepos, and Dionysius trace the earliest vicissitudes of the text as much as they reveal the shifting opinion of Eusebius himself. The central figures of Part II are all of the third century, and the figures of Part III are for the most part later than those of Part II.

The conclusion of the thesis evaluates the contributions of the three most substantial figures, Eusebius, Irenaeus, and Victorinus. In the context of evaluating Victorinus, the discussion also ventures a reconstruction of the christocentric interpretation.

Part I

Chiliasm and Antichiliasm

Chapter One

Eusebius and his Selected Sources

Eusebius' intervention in the conversation surrounding chiliasm marks a turning point in the interpretation of the Apocalypse. His polemic is harsher and more radical than that of his predecessor Dionysius.[1] Perhaps Eusebius is harsh because he fears the strength of the millenarian interpretation, an anti-imperial reading augmented by the persecutions of the third century.[2] In any event, Eusebius establishes for the first time a definitive link between the Apoc and the millennium.[3] In ultimately assuming that a literal, millenarian interpretation of the Apocalypse is both normative and the sole possibility, Eusebius concedes much to the judaising exegesis imposed on the text by the millenarian group; he fails to distinguish this exegesis from the eschatological and christological interpretations which come before him. He accepts a caricature as a bonafide. He also repudiates the evidence he collects in Books IV-V of his own Ecclesiastical History, where he observes that the Apocalypse is used to refute heresies. Indeed, before Eusebius began the HE he accepted the apostolicity of the Apocalypse. And even after he changes his mind he never formulates explicit objections to it or refutes it.[4]

Part of Eusebius' disservice to the text is his concentration on 20:2-7, to the exclusion and detriment of the rest.[5] The disproportionate attention to the Apocalyptic millennium itself

becomes a tradition, such that Augustine later finds it both natural and necessary to concentrate exclusively on Apoc 20-21 in The City of God. The discussion of Apoc 20 in a vacuum also promotes piecemeal discussion of other sections of the text, to the detriment of its coherent christology.[6]

The leitmotiv of this chapter is the thorny issue of Revelation's incidence early in the tradition. Revelation was used frequently by early Fathers. But the issue is clouded, because Eusebius is often virtually the only source for these commentaries and references; and because his own view of the Apoc is shifting, at times polemical, and ultimately disapproving, and his use of sources accordingly selective. Eusebius is chronologically the last writer in this study, but treated first, because he is the major source for Papias, Gaius, Nepos, and Dionysius of Alexandria, four early witnesses to the text.

A. Composition of the HE and Eusebius' Attitude towards the Apocalypse

Eusebius' evolving attitude towards the Apoc reflects faithfully the attitudes of earlier Christian writers in their Sitze im Leben. Grant sees three stages in Eusebius' thinking, the product of several editions of the Ecclesiastical History, including two

editions of its Books I-VII.[7] However, one can accept these stages as discrete attitudes developed in their present textual order without positing multiple editions of HE I-VII.[8] Both views yield the same result with respect to Eusebius' view of the Apoc. Either his view evolved as he wrote HE I-VII, or it evolved as he wrote and rewrote HE I-VII. In either case, his view of the Apoc reflects his sources according to their order in the HE. Whether one prefers, like Mazzucco, Schwartz, Harnack, and Lawlor, the traditional view that Eusebius wrote Books I-VII and a first edition of Book VIII "in one go" (aus einem Guss, Schwartz's phrase); or the multiple editions theses of Barnes, Laqueur, and Grant, the result is for present purposes the same.[9]

At first Eusebius believed that John the Apostle and Evangelist authored the Apocalypse. This was his conviction when he composed the Chronicle.[10] Later, when he begins the HE, Eusebius' nascent anti-chiliasm hardens; he sympathises with the view of Gaius, who held that the Apocalypse was a heretical work "forged by Cerinthus to advance the cause of millenarianism."[11] In the third and final stage of his thinking Eusebius is forced to acknowledge in Books IV-V that the Apocalypse was used by illustrious predecessors to refute heresy. He discovers that Origen accepted the Apocalypse (HE VI.25.10). Ultimately he resolves the conflict in his work and

sources by recourse to the compromise position of Dionysius, who acknowledged the inspired character of the Apoc, but suggested that its author was not the Evangelist but a presbyter of the same name.[12]

B. The Apocalypse Elsewhere in Eusebius

Eusebius' occasional hostility to the Apocalypse in the HE is not in keeping with his advertence to it in works he wrote beforehand or afterwards.[13] Mazzucco notes that he speaks habitually of the Apostle John's banishment to Patmos when he treats its composition.[14] He quotes Apoc 5:5 and uses its revelation about the book of seals to interpret Dan 9:24 and Is 29:11 in the Demonstratio.[15] In the Eclogae Propheticae he quotes Apoc 14:6 ("the eternal gospel") as the work of John, and uses it to explain Is 59:19-21.[16] As Mazzucco observes:

> Dans les deux cas Eusébe se sert de l'interprétation allégorique: en effet il interpréte les sceaux du livre d'Apocalypse 5,5 comme les obscurités des prophètes que le Sauveur a révélées, et l'Évangile éternel d'Apocalypse 14,6 comme l'Evangile du Nouveau Testament prêché par l'Église. Il s'agit précisement de passages que la tradition ecclésiastique, depuis Irénée jusqu'à Origène, avait déjà commentés de cette façon.[17]

Further references in the Demonstratio speak of Christ in clearly Apocalyptic language.[18] This is likewise the case with two references from Eusebius' exegetical works.[19]

In contrast to Eusebius' essentially christocentric interpretation in the passages above, the Commentarii in Isaiam also includes eschatological advertences to the Apocalypse.[20] However, Eusebius' interpretation is spiritual--never literal--and always related to the Last Judgement and eternal life.[21]

In his later works the eschatological interpretation disappears entirely and is replaced by an entirely historical reading of the text. Mazzucco finds that in the Vita Constantini Eusebius sees the church erected by Contantine in Jerusalem as the new Jerusalem of the Apocalypse.[22] But already in the panegyric he delivers at the church dedication at Tyre (HE X.4.2-72), he employs the same terms used to describe the Apocalyptic Jerusalem. Although Eusebius ostensibly relies upon passages from the Psalms and the prophets, he relies upon the very same passages which reappear in the Apoc, and he has almost certainly been influenced by its chapter 21.[23]

In like manner Eusebius interprets the apocalyptic discourses from the Synoptics in a strictly historical sense (fulfilled in the downfall of Jerusalem and the persecution of Diocletian and Galerius), although on occasion he reads them christologically, as references to the Advent.[24] In all cases, Eusebius' intent is the same. He harmonizes the apocalyptic parts of the New Testament with the Roman regime by imposing either a historical or an entirely

spiritual (i.e., ahistorical and nonthreatening) sense. But what to do about the Apocalypse which, because of its anti-Imperial passages and opposition to compromise, resists historicism?

C. The Apocalypse in the H E. Eusebius and Negative Witnesses to Johannine Authorship

Because the writings of Gaius, Dionysius, and Eusebius himself, the three primary figures to question the apostolicity of the Apocalypse, are found primarily in Eusebius, it is necessary to examine not only their writings but also Eusebius' mediation of them. I examine below Eusebius' advertence to Gaius and its context, and then his use of Papias. Eusebius declares that Papias does not claim to have known St. John, author of the Apocalypse (H E III.39.2,6,7), which is not correct. In actuality Papias is the earliest witness to the apostolic and Johannine authorship of the Apoc. In treating Papias, Cerinthus, and the Apoc, Eusebius uses only works from the anti-Apocalyptic writers Gaius and Dionysius of Alexandria.[25]

i. Gaius

Writing in c. 200 during the pontificate of Zephyrinus (H E II.25.6 and VI.20.3), Gaius rejects the Apocalypse because he

attributes it to the heretic Cerinthus, who is perhaps both a Gnostic and a judaiser. Eusebius quotes Gaius' Dialogue with Proclus, a written exchange with the leading man of the "Phrygian sect:"[26]

> But Cerinthus also, through revelations as though written by a great apostle, falsely introduces marvels to us as though given to him by angels, saying that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be on earth and humanity, living in Jerusalem, will be the slave of lusts and pleasures. And as an enemy to God's scriptures wishing to deceive he says that there will be a wedding feast for a period of one thousand years.[27]

As Grant observes, Gaius clearly refers here to the Apoc, with its revelatory angels (1:1,9,10; 22:8), new Jerusalem (20:3,6; 21:2,10), wedding feast (19:7,9), and millennium (20:4-6).[28]

The basis of Gaius' contention that Cerinthus authored the Apoc is not known. Corsini believes that Gaius denies the apostolicity of the Johannine corpus in order to combat the Montanists.[29] Gaius has perhaps been influenced by the Roman Alogoi described by Epiphanius in Panarion 51.[30] Kretschmar believes it possible that Gaius has apologetical or evangelical objections to the Apocalypse.[31] He suggests that Gaius opposes the Apocalypse because for certain Christian groups of the second century it perpetuated and provided continuity with Jewish expectations of a millennial fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy.[32] Clearly Gaius is not fond of Montanists, judaisers, and perhaps Gnostics. In one faction of Roman opinion the Apocalypse was by the end of the

second century probably tainted by association with one or more of these groups.

What of the immediate context of Eusebius' advertence to Gaius? The relevant chapters, HE III.24, 26 and III.29-30, bracket his sympathetic recitation of Gaius' condemnation of the Apoc.[33] In the first passage, HE III.24, Eusebius avoids condemning Gaius by name (Gaius rejects the Fourth Gospel, the preëminent Gospel--see HE III.24.13--in the eyes of the Origenist Eusebius) in order to cite him as an authority against the Apocalypse. Accounting for the apparent discrepancy in the chronologies of the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, Eusebius explains that the Gospel of John alone contains Christ's actions before the Baptist's arrest. Thus the gospels no longer appear to disagree.[34]

Of course, Gaius does hold that the gospels disagree.[35] But Eusebius does not name Gaius because he intends to use him as an authority against the Apoc in III.28. In fact, as Mazzucco notes, Eusebius even refers to Gaius as an ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνήρ, his customary appellative for a person of orthodoxy.[36]

Eusebius' discussion of Cerinthus contrasts with Irenaeus' account. As Mazzucco observes, Eusebius gives the impression that the locus of Cerinthus' heresy is his millenarianism.[37] But Irenaeus

makes far more serious charges: Cerinthus holds that the cosmos was created by a demiurge ignorant of the true God; he denies the virgin birth and professes a Gnostic dynamic monarchianism in which an entirely spiritual and impassible Christ descends upon the man Jesus.[38] The only gospel he seems to accept is Mark.[39] He is the enemy of truth and belongs in the same company as Valentinus and Marcion.[40]

ii. Menander, the Nicolaitans, and Christian Marriage

Eusebius' gentle treatment of Gaius contrasts markedly with his moral opprobrium for Menander in III.26. According to Irenaeus, whose account Eusebius follows, Menander succeeded Simon Magus.[41] Menander was a sorcerer and weapon of the devil. He taught that he alone was the saviour sent from the invisible aeons. No one, not even the angels who created the world, could be saved except by his secret arts and personal baptism (III.26.2). Those receiving his baptism and secret knowledge "would participate in eternal immortality in this life itself, no longer mortal but remaining here, never aging and destined to immortality."[42] Menander acts at the instigation of the devil (III.26.4). Thus immediately before his discussion of the Apocalypse in III.28, Eusebius condemns as satanic a this-worldly eschatology similar to

that of Apoc 20:4-6.

In III.27, Eusebius again associates the Apocalypse with heresy by attacking the Ebionites. He says in III.28 that Cerinthus, author of the Apocalypse, was in this heretical, demonic sect.

Eusebius casts more doubt upon the Apoc by referring to "the *so-called* heresy of the Nicolaitans"[43] of Apoc 2:6,15. He quotes Clement's defense of their founder, Nicolas, of the company of Stephen and the deacons (Acts 6:5). Clement holds that the charge that Nicolas was an advocate of unbridled sensuality and license is calumnious. Rather, Nicolas is in actuality monogamous, continent, and three of his children are lifelong celibates.[44] Eusebius' comments that Clement's statement thwarts early attempts to triumph against the truth (HE III.29.4). In the context, the only opponent of truth he could be referring to--the opponent of the Nicolaitans--is the Apocalypse.

Eusebius quotes two further passages from Clement which defend the married estate by recalling that the Apostles had wives and children.[45] As Grant declares, Eusebius does this in the face of Apoc 14:3-5, "the only passage in the New Testament where sexual abstinence is set forth as an absolute goal:"

> In an effort to oppose the teaching of the Apocalypse, Eusebius was willing to cite Clement on married apostles even though at other times his own view was that the apostles rejected marriage (or their wives) because of

their exalted chastity and purity of body and soul alike.[46]

In a concluding sentence appended to Clement's defense of marriage, Eusebius remarks, "Let this, related to the subject at hand, suffice for the moment."[47] As Grant notes, one would suppose from the context that the subject at hand is the Apocalyse.[48] The credible explanation for the intrusive citations about the Fourth Gospel, the Nicolaitans, and marriage in HE III.24, 29, 30 is that Eusebius is doing his best to discredit the Apocalypse.

In defending the Nicolaitans and attributing the Apoc to Cerinthus in HE III.24-30, Eusebius contrives to contradict the Irenaean tradition which attributes the Apoc and the Fourth Gospel to John.[49] Eusebius associates the Nicolaitans with the heresy of Cerinthus[50] and places Cerinthus and John (for Irenaeus the author of the Apoc) in diametric opposition.[51]

iii. Papias and Eusebius' Peculiar Exegesis of Papias

Eusebius' criticism of Papias has the ring of unfairness and artificiality, as though he has extracted one feature of Papias' theology from its context. Grant notes that Eusebius singles out Papias and prudently avoids attacking more influential millenarians like Justin, Melito, and Irenaeus.[52] Moreover, the connection Eusebius makes between the Apoc and judaising chiliasm is established indirectly and not based upon analysis of the Apoc

itself.

In the Apocalyptic description of Christ's reign, materialistic elements are absent; on the contrary, there are numerous indications that the Seer's interpretation of Old Testament and its symbols is spiritual.[53] Eusebius attacks the Apoc despite his awareness of the tradition which used it in a non-millennial context, a tradition unmistakably present in Origen and elsewhere in Eusebius' own works.[54]

Papias is the first literary witness to the inspiration of the Apocalypse, which he ascribes to the Beloved Disciple. Andrew of Caesarea, who apparently has access to Papias' works or at least excerpts therefrom, numbers Papias among those who bear testimony to the "trustworthiness" or "divine inspiration" (θεόπνευστος, i.e., "apostolicity" in Andrew's usage) of the Apocalypse.[55]

Papias appears not to distinguish John, the Lord's disciple, from the presbyter John.[56] Rather, Eusebius, who knows Papias' five-volume Exegesis of the Lord's Discourses (Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως), finds the distinction because he wants to discredit the chiliastic Papias and the putatively chiliastic Apoc, and wants to corroborate his hero Dionysius. But Eusebius' position on the authorship of the Apoc was initially the same as that of Papias. In

HE III.23.1, John is "that very disciple whom Jesus loved...at once Apostle and Evangelist," who administered the churches of Asia after "he had returned from his banishment on the island [of Patmos]."[57] This John died and was buried at Ephesus.[58]

Eusebius is intent upon discrediting Papias--and by implication the Apoc--because he cannot abide the millennium.[59] If Papias ascribes the Apoc to the Apostle as Andrew of Caesarea claims, then it follows that the Apostle and the presbyter, the two Johns of HE III.39.4, are in Papias' writings the same man.[60]

The "one John" theory is strengthened by the (admittedly late) tradition, from Anastasius of Sinai, that Papias is not the simpleton and slavish literalist Eusebius describes, but in fact an early allegoriser of the Hexameron. Anastasius claims that Papias understood the Hexameron as an allegory of Christ and the Church, and that he understood the story of Paradise as an allegory of the Church.[61] Anastasius also holds to the tradition that Papias had known the disciple who reposed upon the breast of the Lord.[62]

Anastasius' witness to Papias' spiritual exegesis of Genesis may accord with the quotation which appears in Irenaeus--but not in Eusebius--about the fecundity of the earth during the messianic reign.[63] Gry has demonstrated the close correlation between Papias' description of the vineyard and the messianic, paradisical

descriptions of Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch 29:5-6 and 1 Enoch 10:18-19.[64] Whether or not Papias is dependent upon these works--and Gry shows particularly his points of contact with Syriac Baruch, a work with a sophisticated earthly and cosmic messianism--Papias' exegesis betrays the influence of pharisaic and Jewish Christian milieux and exegetical speculation. Mazzucco argues that the passage from Papias, as with Syriac Baruch, could occur in the context of a spiritualising exegesis and messianism.[65] The quotation from Irenaeus and statements from Anastasius and Andrew may be consistent with one another; together they cast doubt upon Eusebius.[66]

The "one John" theory is supported by the passage itself:

> But if anyone ever came who had followed the presbyters, I ascertained the words of the presbyters, what Andrew or Peter, or what Philip or Thomas, or James or John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples <u>had said</u>, or what Aristion and the Elder John, disciples of the Lord, <u>were saying</u>. For I did not think that things from books would be so useful to me as a living and surviving voice.[67]

Papias attends to those who heard the past sayings of "the Lord's disciples," the Apostles, who are also called presbyters, and to the present (i.e., in Papias' lifetime and hearing) sayings of "the Lord's disciples," John and Aristion. Aristion, although personally acquainted with the Lord and one of the Lord's disciples, has no title. "Elder" seems to have been the Apostle John's title. In Papias'

reminiscences about Mark the Evangelist and Peter in III.39.15, the statements of John are simply introduced with the formula "The Elder said" (ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν).

The fact that Papias was able to hear the presbyter John, the Beloved Disciple, but not the other Apostles (because they had died, Papias could hear only those who had known them) accords with the tradition--in Polycarp, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius himself--that the Apostle John lived to extreme old age.[68] Papias mentions the elder John, the Apostle, twice in the passage above because Papias learned his teaching both second-hand and first-hand.

Papias makes no mention of Paul and Barnabas. He is not interested in apostolic teaching as such, but in the teaching of those who had direct contact with the Lord and their immediate disciples.[69] The distinction between Andrew, Peter, John, etc. on the one hand, and Aristion and the Elder John on the other is not only temporal but also an expression of proximity to the Lord.

This reading accords with Jn 21:21-23, which construes as an explanation for the scandalous fact that the Beloved Disciple lived for a very long time and escaped martyrdom.[70] This reading is also supported by Irenaeus' statement that Papias was a hearer of John, a companion of Polycarp, and a man of the primitive or apostolic

age.[71] Has Irenaeus mistaken a Presbyter John for the Apostle? Given Irenaeus' proximity and familiarity with the Asian circles in which the Apostle and his ersatz namesake would have been household words, it does not seem probable that Irenaeus never learned of the Presbyter's existence.[72] Irenaeus, who writes so carefully about the Gnostic systems he despises, would be no less careful in writing of things far more important.[73]

The "two Johns" theory is based on only two extra-scriptural data: Eusebius argues that Papias is confused (and in turn confuses Irenaeus, III.39.13), and Dionysius has heard that two graves in Ephesus are both reputed to contain the remains of the Apostle. Eusebius remarks on the passage from Papias quoted above: "for it is probable that the second [John the presbyter]--unless one prefer the first [!]--has seen the Apocalypse going by the name of John."[74] Eusebius strains credibility in maintaining that the intended distinction in the quotation in the previous paragraph is between one meaning of the word "presbyter" (Apostle) and another (disciple), when a more obvious distinction is temporal (εἶπεν...λέγουσιν), between those who merely knew the earliest disciples of the Lord, and those who *were* the earliest disciples of the Lord, personally acquainted with Him.[75]

Also favoring the tradition that Papias knew the Beloved

Disciple is Papias' attitude toward the written word. He prefers oral to written testimony. This is the attitude of the author of 3 John, who declares, "I would rather not write with pen and ink; I hope to see you soon, and we will talk together face to face" (vv 13-14). There is also Papias' Johannine usage. The Fourth Gospel and Papias both speak habitually of Christ's followers as Disciples of the Lord, not Apostles.[76]

Eusebius criticizes Papias' belief in a millennial and earthly kingdom of Christ. About Papias' hopes, he comments:

> and I believe he took up these [notions] after receiving the apostolic explications, not having seen at the same time that they [the Apostles] had spoken to them mystically in symbols.[77]

It is difficult to imagine which apostolic explications Papias allegedly misreads (by reading literally) as testaments to a millennial kingdom if not the Apoc. This is especially true if 2 Peter was not known to Papias.

Is Eusebius' use of "apostolic" in the context applicable only to the Synoptic apocalypses, or is it an indication of previous reverence for the Apocalypse? The implication above is not that the Apoc is unacceptable, but that Papias' interpretation is unacceptable. Eusebius' respectful advertence to the Apoc suggests ambivalence, as did his acceptance of the tradition that the Apostle was exiled on Patmos. However, Eusebius does not prove

by quotation or paraphrase that Papias equates Apoc 20 and chiliasm. This suggests that Papias does not do so, or that any comparison by Papias is not so simplistic as Eusebius avers.[78]

What, finally, is Eusebius' criticism? Papias is confused because he claims to have known John the Lord's Disciple, and because he attributes to John the Apoc, when in fact Papias has not known the Apostle, but only an Elder. Elsewhere, Eusebius says that Papias does *not* claim to have been instructed by the Apostles (III.39.2). In short, Papias distinguishes between two men (arguably a misreading of Papias), one of whom, in spite of Papias' claims (or lack of claims, depending on which comment by Eusebius one chooses!) to the contrary, he has not known; then Papias confuses the identities of the men and fails to distinguish between their works. Papias' alleged confusion is anomalous given his diligence in seeking those who actually heard the Lord. The real confusion lies with Eusebius.

Although Papias' work is distorted by Eusebius, it is nevertheless clear that Papias believes that the elder John and the Apostle John, author of the Apoc, are one and the same. Eusebius' statement that Papias is a man of exceedingly small intellect[79] does not accord with his previous, respectful advertence to Papias, as when he relies upon Papias' authority to confirm Clement's

contention that Mark's Gospel contains the teaching of St. Peter (HE II.15.2; see also III.39.14-17). Eusebius refers to Papias as a famous man of the same stature as Polycarp and Ignatius (III.36.1-2) and acknowledges his influence upon later writers (III.39.13).

Eusebius' discovery of a second John has no parallel earlier in the tradition. Dionysius, writing some seventy-five years earlier, does not know of a presbyter John.[80] He knows only that two tombs in Ephesus are both said to contain the remains of the Apostle.[81] He speculates--without committing himself--that the Apostle John's body reposed in one tomb and that the body of another John, author of the Apocalypse, may have reposed in the other. Eusebius, who depends upon Dionysius, deems Dionysius' theory "probable" (εἰκός, HE III.39.6; again short of certainty) and corroborates it by misreading Papias. Eusebius probably knows nothing of the "two Johns" theory before reading Denys, because in the Chronicle he described Papias as a disciple of the Evangelist.[82]

Jerome also knows the "two Johns" theory and uses it when he depends upon Eusebius, but elsewhere he refers to the Apostle as "the Elder." Eusebius is Jerome's primary source for his account of

Papias. Jerome terms Papias Iohannis auditor in De Viris 18.[83] In doing so, Jerome is quoting HE III.39.1, itself a quotation from Adv. haer. V.33.4. Jerome refers to Papias as the episcopus of Hierapolis, which he could have learned from Eusebius (HE II.15.2) but not from Irenaeus. Again following Eusebius, Jerome criticizes Papias for his materialistic chiliasm and belief in the literal restoration of Judaea, and ascribes Irenaeus' chiliasm to Papias' influence.[84]

Jerome translates most of the passage Eusebius preserves from Papias' Exegesis of the Lord's Discourses and concludes: apparet ex ipso catalogo nominum, alium esse Iohannem qui inter apostolos ponitur, et alium seniorem Iohannem quem post Aristionem enumerat.[85] This is Eusebius' conclusion in HE III.39.5-6. However, Jerome draws a further inference: Hoc autem dicimus propter superiorem opinionem, qua a plerisque rettulimus traditum duas posteriores epistulas Iohannis non apostoli esse, sed presbyteri.[86] This is not Eusebius' inference. Eusebius used the passage from Papias to adduce a Presbyter John who wrote the Apoc. Jerome uses the passage to explain the tradition that the second and third epistles were written by a Presbyter John.

In his account of John the Apostle, Jerome again alludes to the "two Johns" theory:

> [Iohannes apostolus] Scripsit autem et unam *Epistulam* ...quae ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris

> probatur. Reliquae autem duae quarum principium est, "Senior electae dominae et natis eius" et sequentis: "Senior Gaio carissimo, quem ego diligo in veritate" Iohannis presbyteri adseruntur, cuius et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur; et nonnulli putant duas memorias eiusdem Iohannis evangelistae esse...[87]

Jerome, despite his dependence upon Eusebius, does not commit himself to the "two Johns" theory but reports only that 2 and 3 John are claimed (adseruntur) to be from an Elder John. Jerome does not provide the names of those making this claim, but from Eusebius Jerome will have known of Origen's doubts about their apostolicity (HE VI.25.10). However, Origen does not posit a Presbyter John as their author. Nor is Jerome in agreement with Eusebius about the two tombs. The Ephesians venerated both memoriae for their putative association with the Apostle. Finally, Jerome is not convinced by Eusebius that the Apoc should be attributed to a Presbyter John. In his description of the Apostle in De viris 9 he treats it as a work definitely composed by him.[88]

iv. Eusebius on Hippolytus

Eusebius' references to Hippolytus shed further light on his opposition to the Apocalypse. In HE VI.22 he gives a partial canon of Hippolytus' works, but as Meredith notes, he omits to mention On the Antichrist and the Commentary on Daniel. Meredith asks:

> Are we to assume that Eusebius knew nothing at all of the two works De Antichristo and Comm. in Dan.? Perhaps so. But it is not without interest that in Comm. in Dan. 4.9, Hippolytus argues that the kingdom of Christ is counterfeited by the Roman Empire, and implies a sharp contrast between the earthly and heavenly kingdom.[89]

Meredith observes that Hippolytus interprets the four beasts of Dan 7:17 as four kings, the fourth king being the Empire:

> its arrival is the sign of the end, not as fulfilling the word of God as his last message, but rather heralding the advent of the heavenly kingdom and the eternal king...[who] will destroy all kingdoms of the earth.[90]

Thus Hippolytus indentifies the Regnum Caesaris with the Regnum Diaboli. The Apoc was as susceptible to this interpretation as Daniel, and Eusebius fails to mention Hippolytus' Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John (Τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως).[91] Eusebius may be selective in his enumeration, omitting compositions which are chiliastic and anti-imperial.[92]

D. Positive Evaluation of the Apocalypse in the HE

The author of Revelation calls himself John (1:1,4,9; 21:2; 22:8), and he is almost unanimously identified with John the Apostle in the early tradition. Few question the inspiration of the Apoc, and most profess their belief that the Apostle John was its author. Eusebius collects these attestations to apostolicity in HE IV-V.

Justin, whose conversion probably occurred at Ephesus, is the

first extant writer to declare that the Apostle wrote the Apoc.[93] Eusebius calls attention to this declaration, recording that "Justin has made mention of the Apocalypse of John, clearly saying that it is by the Apostle."[94] Justin cites Apoc 21 in support of his belief in the millennium and the literal restoration of Jerusalem--two beliefs not favoured by Eusebius.

Eusebius then relates that Melito, Bishop of Sardis, wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse.[95] He also records that Theophilus quotes the Apoc against Hermogenes, and we shall argue that some of these quotations reappear in Tertullian's Treatise Against Hermogenes.[96] Again, Eusebius reports that Apollonius, in an anti-Montanist tract composed forty years after the outbreak of Phrygianism, used the Apocalypse, and that Origen, in his Commentary on John, holds that John, the disciple who reclined on Jesus' breast, wrote both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse (HE V.18.12,14 and VI.25.9-10).

Eusebius follows Irenaeus in holding that the Apoc was written during the reign of Domitian (81-96 AD).[97] He follows Irenaeus and Clement when he records that John the Evangelist lived until the reign of Trajan.[98] Irenaeus certainly identifies John with the Beloved Disciple[99] and uses the Apocalypse as Scripture.[100]

Clement, too, uses the Apocalypse. He quotes it as Scripture in

Paedagogus II.10.108.[101] He has no hesitation in declaring that it was written by the Apostle John.[102] Eusebius reports that Clement's Hypotyposeis gives an accounting of all the Scriptures, even the Epistle of Jude and Apocalypse of Peter.[103] We may presume that Clement included the Apocalypse in his commentary--otherwise Eusebius would call attention to its absence. Eusebius also reports without disapproval Clement's acceptance of the Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles (τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς), which include 2 and 3 John.[104] Eusebius refers to these writings as "disputed" (ἀντιλεγόμενας, HE VI.14.1). He also accepts Clement's view that the Apostle was exiled on Patmos and later returned to Ephesus (HE III.23.6).

Although he doubts that St. Paul himself wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews,[105] Origen has no hesitation in affirming that the Beloved Disciple wrote both the gospel and the Apocalypse.[106] This implies either that the tradition of Johannine authorship behind both works is so strong that Origen does not question it, or that Origen does not find sufficient stylistic grounds to doubt that St. John was their author.

Origen also believes that John wrote the first Epistle, "and, it may be, a second and a third."[107] Later in his life Origen will express certainty about 2 and 3 John; he will declare that John

sounded the trumpet of the gospel by means of his epistles.[108] Clement's acceptance of 2 and 3 John, Dionysius' probable acceptance,[109] and Origen's caution--well short of denial--will present a further problem for Eusebius when he tries to attribute the Apocalypse to a Presbyter John. After all, the author of 2 and 3 John calls himself "the Presbyter" (2 Jn 1; 3 Jn 1), and Eusebius' authorities typically regard him as the Apostle John. As Grant points out, Eusebius himself argues that 2 and 3 John are apostolic in the Demonstratio.[110]

E. Inspired but not composed by the Evangelist John: Dionysius and Eusebius

i. Dionysius and Nepos

Dionysius' grapples with the Apocalypse in On the Promises (Περὶ Ἐπαγγελιῶν), a bipartite work which treats those scriptural predictions which have not yet come to full fruition.[111] The first part of the work (not extant) contained Dionysius' own view of the promises (HE VII.24.3). Its second part is exclusively concerned with the Apocalypse (HE VII.24.3). Eusebius preserves lengthy excerpts.

According to Eusebius, Dionysius' purpose in Arsinoë is to refute and correct the Egyptian bishop Nepos.[112] Nepos'

shortcomings, Eusebius says, were that he advocated an earthly millennium and a more Jewish (Ἰουδαϊκώτερον) interpretation of the promises (HE VII.24.1). These assertions are consonant with the period of Nepos' activity.[113]

By the middle of the third century, Nepos' work Against the Allegorists (Ἔλεγχος ἀλληγοριστῶν) is admired and widely accepted in the province.[114] The "Allegorists" are those who oppose a literal interpretation of the Apoc.[115] It is not certain whether Nepos' book was primarily exegetical or, as Wiles suggests, primarily a key to the reading of Scripture.[116] The book's polemical title indicates that its dominant concern is to correct what its author regards as an improper method of exegesis. Yet behind Nepos' book lies his literal interpretation of the Apocalypse: Eusebius declares that Nepos sought to establish his conception of the eschaton from the Apocalypse of John.[117] The thrust of Nepos' argument was perhaps hermeneutical but based upon proof-texts from the Apocalypse. Eusebius adds that Dionysius examines the whole Apoc in demonstrating that it could not be understood in the literal sense.[118]

Nepos' use of the Apocalypse was theologically similar--because judaising and chiliastic--and temporally proximate to the Apocalyptic exegesis which incited Gaius (HE

III.28.2). Dionysius is aware of the Gaius-Alogoi faction and familiar with its arguments. He knows of men before his time who rejected the Apocalypse. They examined it chapter by chapter (κατ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον) and found it to be unintelligible and illogical (ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστον). They held that its title was false, because it was neither a revelation nor written by John. They ascribed the book to Cerinthus, who taught that Christ's kingdom would be earthly (HE VII.25.1-3). In short, Dionysius' rehearsal resembles the objections of Gaius and the Alogoi in every detail: a professedly orthodox faction mounts a disciplined and coherent attack; it examines the Apocalypse chapter by chapter, criticises its intelligibility, rejects its apostolicity, ascribes it to Cerinthus the Ebionite, and opposes what it sees as the ascription of crude sensuous pleasures to the Kingdom.

Dionysius neither affirms nor denies that Cerinthus wrote the Apoc. He refers to the Cerinthians as a αἵρεσις, but he does not refer to the Apoc as the work of a heretic. He insists only that the Apocalypse be properly interpreted. He reports the arguments associated with Gaius but does not embrace them uncritically.

Dionysius does not report that those who rejected the Apocalypse also rejected millenarianism.[119] Nor does he condemn millenarianism per se. Only Eusebius, in his introduction to Denys'

excerpts, seems to condemn millenarianism as necessarily a vehicle for a crudely material view of the kingdom (HE VII.24.1). Dionysius limits himself to the assertion that the Apocalypse--and therefore the millennium--cannot be understood literally (HE VII.25.6).

As we learn from Dionysius (and from Eusebius' introduction in VII.24.2-3), Nepos professed the very views that Gaius was intent upon refuting. He professed chiliasm and belief in a literal Kingdom. He based both beliefs on a literal reading of the Apocalypse and downplayed other eschatological passages in Scripture. Like Gaius, Dionysius refuted this judaising chiliasm by, among other things, juxtaposing the Apocalyptic eschatology (the second part of On the Promises) with eschatologies--viewed by him as apostolic and presumably consistent with one another--from other parts of the New Testament (the first part of On the Promises).

Dionysius professes to respect Nepos (HE VII.24.4) but not his successors. Nepos preferred the Apoc but also studied the other Scriptures with care; his posthumous followers, on the other hand, reputedly devote themselves exclusively to the Apocalypse and to his book. Dionysius, who is not given to hyperbole, accuses "certain teachers" (HE VII.24.5) of setting at nought the law, the prophets, the Gospels, and the apostolic epistles. These teachers set greater store by Nepos' book, as though it were a great and hidden

mystery.[120] Their teaching does not inspire the brethren to dwell upon these more important things: "either about the glorious and truly deified appearance of our Lord, or of our resurrection from the dead and our being gathered together to him and being made like him."[121] Nepos' followers stand accused of neglecting not only the Scriptures but also the essential beliefs of Christianity.[122]

This exclusive interest in a future and unrealised eschatology is repugnant to Dionysius. In his epistle to Fabius he asserts that surviving martyrs are far from obliged to wait until the Parousia to share in the Kingdom. On the contrary, by virtue of their martyrdom they already share in its fellowship and co-adjudicate with Christ.[123] R. Williams suggests that Dionysius' emphasis on the present--as opposed to future--availability of salvation and participation in Christ goes far to explain his rejection of chiliasm.[124] It explains his obvious discomfort with the Apocalypse: in his only extant quotation from the Apocalypse, like Eusebius he historicises. He applies 13:5 to the emperor Valerian.[125] With Apoc 22:7-8 clearly in mind, Dionysius declares that the whole of the Apoc is, "so to speak" (ὡς εἰπεῖν), a "prophecy" (VII.25.6). He sees the text as a prophecy of the future rather than as a revelation of Christ applying to the present and past. The Apoc fails to emphasize the fact that the kingdom has already begun.

In refuting Nepos, Dionysius does not reject literalism per se; he merely denies the possibility of a consistent literal interpretation of the Apocalypse. Although the allure of a literal view of the promises would be particularly strong during periods of persecution--and the severity of that persecution during Dionysius' episcopate is clear from his letters--he nevertheless sees relentless literalism as reductive and prejudicial to genuine piety. It prevents the simpler brethren from holding high and great thoughts.[126] The kingdom Nepos' followers await is paltry, mortal and too much like the present.[127] It is a failure of eschatological vision. Dionysius purports to amend (διευθύνειν, VII.24.7) Nepos' anti-allegorism and Apocalyptic chiliasm with arguments from other Scriptures.

In Arsinoë, Dionysius asserts, a materialistic view of the kingdom had for a long time been prevalent, so much so that schisms and apostasies of whole churches had taken place.[128] The Apocalypse is tainted because of its association with schismatics.

The chiliastic, materialistic interpretation of the Apocalypse persisted. Korakion, the leader of the literalists, was won over, and so were "some" (οἱ μέν) of the brethren, who rejoice at the concord achieved by their local leader and their metropolitan (VII.24.9). But only "some," not "all": Dionysius does not append the οἱ δέ to his οἱ

μέν, and thereby implies that not everyone is persuaded.[129] Their obdurance may provide another explanation for Dionysius' and Eusebius' discomfort with Revelation.

Dionysius' own position is that the Apocalypse has been composed by someone holy and inspired.[130] Although he does not believe that St. John authored the text, he does believe that "John" of Patmos took the apostle's name because he loved and esteemed him, and because he wanted to partake intimately, as the apostle had, of the Lord's love.[131] The author was probably not a companion of St. Paul (οὐκ ἂν φαίην, VII.25.15), and like St. John he was interred in Ephesus (VII.25.16). Thus "John" of Patmos may have been connected with the Apostle John. Dionysius limits himself to sowing doubt; he suggests that John of Patmos is not the Apostle, but he does not definitively commit himself to his hypothesis.[132]

In spite of his sympathy for the arguments associated with Gaius and the Alogoi, Dionysius stops well short of accepting Gaius' outright condemnation of the Apoc itself:

> I myself should not venture to reject the book considering how many of the brethren hold strongly by it: I only think that much of its meaning is beyond my comprehension and must be accepted by faith rather than by reason.[133]

I do not find sarcasm in Dionysius' deference here or elsewhere in

HE VII.24-25. Dionysius is self-deprecating or at most gently ironic when he says that each passage of the Apocalypse is "more marvelous" than meets the eye, and that the book escapes his understanding. What does he mean when he says that he would not dare to set aside the book, since many brethren hold it in earnest? That he wants to reject the book but cannot do so without creating a schismatic furor? Or that so many of the brethren revere the Apocalypse so highly that he is swayed by their numbers and strength of feeling? Perhaps the former: in deference to the presbyters, teachers, and other interested brethren of Arsinoë, Dionysius is careful not to reject the Apocalypse, but merely to refute an unacceptable interpretation of the book inconsistent with the Law, prophets, gospel, and apostolic epistles. But the possibility that Denys is influenced by near-universal acclamation is also tenable: Dionysius professes "faith" in the spiritual depth of the Apocalypse in spite of his puzzlement (VII.25.5).

Dionysius marshals the following arguments against common authorship of the Apocalypse on the one hand and the Gospel and First Epistle on the other:

(1) Unlike the author of the Apocalypse, the author of the Gospel of John and the [First] Epistle of John does not give his name (HE VII.25.8). The same is true of the Second and Third Epistles, which Dionysius also seems to consider Johannine.[134] Moreover, John of Patmos does not refer to himself by any of the distinctly

Johannine titles such as "the disciple loved by the Lord," "the eyewitness," or "the disciple who reclined on the Lord's breast" (VII.25.12).

(2) Because he has heard that there were two tombs at Ephesus said to contain the remains of John, Dionysius believes that there were two Johns (VII.25.16). Interestingly, Dionysius offers no further evidence for this one-sentence claim, which he reports as hearsay. He cites no witnesses or additional testimony from tradition.

(3) The image-concepts, diction, and arrangement (νοήματα; ῥήματα; σύνταξις, VII.25.17) of the Apocalypse are different from those of the Gospel and Epistle, which themselves closely agree (VII.25.17-22).

(4) The Apocalypse lacks the internal consistency of both the Gospel and the Epistle, Dionysius implies (VII.25.20).

(5) The content of the Apocalypse is completely different from and foreign to the Gospel and Epistle.[135]

(6) The Greek of the Apocalypse is inaccurate and occasionally barbarous, while that of the Gospel and Epistle is impeccable and of great literary merit (VII.25.25-26).

Although Dionysius' opposition to the Apocalypse is stylistic, "apellative" (its author readily declares himself, unlike the author of the Fourth Gospel), thematic, and external (two tombs), it is never theological. He does not claim that the Apocalypse is theologically incompatible with the other Johannine works.[136] He will not deny (οὐκ ἀντερῶ, VII.25.26) that John of Patmos saw revelations and prophecied.

If Dionysius' perplexity (VII.25.5) is genuine it implies that the Alexandrian interpretation of the Apocalypse has by his day largely atrophied.[137] Dionysius does not, moreover, follow Origen's view of the book's authorship. His reservations imply that during his tenure

as head of the catechetical school--and for some time previously--the Apoc was not an important subject of study.

Dionysius articulates no conception of New Testament canonicity, but he holds bonafide apostolic writings in high esteem. In expressing serious reservations about the apostolicity of Revelation, he effectually consigns it to what Wiles terms the "periphery" of the inspired writings of the New Testament era.[138]

Corsini concludes:

> Ciò che è chiaro nella posizione di Dionigi è la sua opposizione irriducibile al millenarismo, cioè alla credenza in un regno finale di Cristo di carattere temporale e materiale. E pare di capire che le concezioni millenaristiche, almeno in quel tempo e in quell'ambiente, si appoggiavano all'Apocalisse. Ma si capisce, in maniera anche più chiara, che per quanto riguarda l'origine apostolica del libro e la sua autorità Dionigi si trova dinanzi a una tradizione piùttosto compatta e difficile da attacare.[139]

Dionysius' understanding of Revelation is strictly eschatological, and he is apparently unable to replace the chiliastic interpretation of Apoc 20 with something more sophisticated. He makes no effort to integrate its theology with the rest of Scripture, as does Irenaeus, nor does he grapple with its christology (Cyprian, Origen), teaching on the <u>eschaton</u> (Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus), ecclesiology (Hippolytus and Methodius), or ascetic theology (Methodius). The Apocalyptic theologising of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, and later writers is substantial; in contrast,

Dionysius' use of the Apocalypse is significant only for the light it sheds on the book's reception in chiliastic and anti-chiliastic circles.

ii. Eusebius

Eusebius' ultimate view of the Apocalypse is substantially the same as that of Dionysius, although as Corsini notes Eusebius is perhaps more explicit than the latter in attributing the Apoc to John the presbyter.[140] However, even Eusebius does not deny the authority and inspiration of the Apocalypse.[141] And even while he discredits the "so-called" (λεγομένη) Apoc in HE III.18.1-2, he never disputes the tradition that the Apostle was exiled on Patmos.

Eusebius is not enthusiastic about the Apocalypse perhaps, as Corsini suggests, for the same reasons that he rejects chiliasm.[142] The effect of awaiting Christ's millenarian reign is to consign Constantine's Christian Empire to obsolescence and provisionality, destined for destruction and ultimately meaningless. Eusebius, who will later call Constantine pious (HE X.9.8), a lover of virtue and of God (HE X.9.9), and "the greatest victor, excelling in every godly virtue,"[143] finds this unacceptable. He cannot accept the threat to the established order posed by the Apocalypse "with its anti-hierarchical vision of Christians as a kingdom of priests and

its vigorously anti-Roman animus."[144] The prophetic and apocalyptic spirit of the text lends itself too readily to Nepos, whose followers separate themselves from the official Church.[145]

Eusebius cannot accept the Apocalypse because its author's opposition to compromise (e.g., 2:2-5; 3:1-2; 15-16) precludes any rapprochment with the Empire.[146] It may be that the more favorable view of the Empire espoused by Melito and perhaps Irenaeus explains why Eusebius has only praise for the one and no censure for the other.[147] Perhaps Eusebius rejects the Apocalypse for its apocalypticism and prophetic aspect as well as for its putative judaizing chiliasm.

Eusebius may also dislike the Apocalypse because his enemy Methodius uses it against Origen.[148] Eusebius' pointed rejection of the pseudo-Petrine literature in III.3.2 is out of context, and makes sense as a repudiation of Methodius' high view of the Apocalypse of Peter.[149]

Conclusion

The problem of the authorship of the Apocalypse arises relatively late in the tradition, and arises because of particular interpretations given to the text and from doctrinal or political considerations.[150] Eusebius is hostile because a millennial reading

of Apoc 20 is anti-imperial, because he finds chiliasm crudely repellent and simplistic (e.g., HE III.28.2-5), because Methodius favors the book and uses it against Origen, and because his hero Dionysius distrusted it. He ultimately becomes sympathetic to Dionysius' theory of the book's authorship.[151]

In spite of the fact that he quotes the Apocalypse only indirectly in his works, Eusebius researches the history of the Apoc assiduously, collects testimonies to its apostolicity. He records its theological worthiness in Theophilus' dispute with Hermogenes and its use by Justin, Melito, and Apollonius.

Eusebius later expends much effort in rehabilitating the Nicolaitans, in shielding Gaius, and in discrediting the this-worldly eschatology of Menander. His purpose in doing so is to discredit the text. Analysis discredits the "two Johns" theory and suggests that Eusebius' view changed as he wrote (or rewrote) the first seven books of the HE.

Three attitudes towards the Apocalypse emerge from Eusebius. The dominant attitude, professed by Papias, Justin, Melito, Theophilus, Apollonius, Irenaeus, Clement, Hippolytus, Origen, Nepos, Epiphanius, Jerome, and, I argue below, Tertullian and Victorinus of Pettau, holds that the Apocalypse was the inspired work of John the Apostle and fourth Evangelist.[152] At the beginning

of the third century Gaius and the Alogoi reject the Apocalypse perhaps because of its associations with Cerinthus, millenarianism and Montanism.[153] Finally, in the middle of the third century a third attitude arises: Dionysius and eventually Eusebius (but not Origen) find the Apocalypse profitable, perhaps inspired, but of dubious apostolicity. In later centuries the first attitude continues to predominate particularly at Constantinople and throughout the West, but the third finds favour wherever the school of Antioch holds sway.[154]

Objections to the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse are isolated, mutually contradictory in the case of Gaius and Denys-Eusebius, and surface relatively late in the tradition. Those who reject the Apocalypse do so for different reasons. The Apocalypse is for the most part accepted in Asia Minor, Gaul, N. Africa, Alexandria and Egypt, and Rome. As Charles declares, in the second century Church "there is hardly any other book of the New Testament so well attested and received as the Apocalypse."[155] Despite Eusebius' distortions, he is a useful and indeed faithful historian because his views reliably reflect--in the historical order of their appearance--all three patristic attitudes towards the authorship of the Apocalypse.

Eusebius' changes in attitude also attest to the major thesis of

this study, viz., that there are discrete interpretations of the Apocalypse in the early Church. His initial enthusiasm for the text is due to his discovery that Melito wrote a commentary on it, treating it as holy Scripture, and that Origen accepted and used it. This all-purpose use of the text, the christocentric interpretation, is the subject of Part III below. The force of Eusebius' previous enthusiasm for the text *as a whole* is revealed when he lists Justin's chiliastic advertence to it as an unconditionally positive attestation of its credibility. Eusebius also records that Theophilus and Apollonius used the Apocalypse to refute the heresies of Hermogenes and Montanism. This is the eschatological interpretation, which defends the orthodox eschatology and is the subject of Part II below. As he continues his history, Eusebius becomes aware that Cerinthus, Gaius, Nepos, and Dionysius--but perhaps not Papias--associated the Apocalypse with chiliasm. This is the third patristic interpretation of the Apoc. Because his historical mind strongly opposes chiliasm, Eusebius scorns and misreads Papias, even though the latter is an ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ. Eusebius ultimately embraces the anti-millennial perspective of Denys who, however, was more cautious and did not explicitly link the Apocalypse with literal chiliasm.

Chapter Two

Gaius and the Alogoi

Aside from Eusebius, the other significant anti-chiliast who rejects the Apocalypse is Gaius of Rome. Eleven citations of or quotations from Gaius are extant.[1] Of these, seven concern the Apocalypse.[2] Closely related to Gaius are the Alogoi who, like Gaius, reject the Apoc as being a false prophecy of the future.

Eusebius holds that Gaius flourished during the pontificate of Zephyrinus, i.e., from 198/9 - 217.[3] Gaius composed a polemic against one Proclus, a Montanist (HE II.25.6; III.31.4; VI.20.3). Perhaps all or part of its title was Dialogue with Proclus.[4] From its casual reference to the trophies of the Roman martyrs, one may speculate that the Dialogue took place in Rome, or that it was written in Rome and intended for a Roman audience.[5] Gaius, an antichiliast (III.28.2), also refuted the Apocalypse.[6] He attributed it to Cerinthus the Gnostic.[7] Eusebius is not aware of any other books by Gaius, and it is very probable that the refutation of the Apocalypse occurred in the Dialogue. Perhaps Gaius' rejection of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel stems not only from his opposition to the material chiliasm and Gnosticism of Cerinthus, but also from his rejection of Montanism.[8]

A. Gaius and Cerinthus

Perhaps Gaius' rejection of the Apocalypse is provoked in part by his opposition to Cerinthus. Cerinthus' critics charge him with either Gnosticism (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Ps-Tertullian) or an excessively material view of the eschaton (Gaius, Dionysius, Eusebius).[9] Cerinthus is always charged with one or the other error, but never both at the same time.[10] The two charges, as first recorded by Irenaeus and Gaius, respectively, are of approximately equal antiquity, and both may be true. In Irenaeus and Hippolytus, Cerinthus the Gnostic is part of the same group of heretics as the Nicolaitans of Apoc 2:6,15--who may have been both proto-Gnostics and judaisers.[11] Furthermore, Irenaeus and Hippolytus place Cerinthus just prior to their discussions of the error of the judaising Ebionites, who adore Jerusalem as though it were the house of God.[12] So perhaps Cerinthus was, in addition to being a Gnostic, also a material chiliast as Gaius and those who follow him contend. The charges need not be mutually exclusive. Cerinthus could simply be a Gnostic who favors observance of the Law, or a judaiser who becomes a Gnostic sensualist, or a Gnostic who advocates separate lifestyles and eschatons for "spiritual" Christians and materialist "psychic" Christians.[13]

As recorded by Irenaeus and Hippolytus, three features distinguished Cerinthus' Gnostic teaching:

(1) Creation of the world by lower powers rather than by the supreme God;
(2) Rejection of the virgin birth;
(3) A Gnostic variety of Adoptionism holding that Christ descended in the form of a dove upon the man Jesus at the latter's baptism. Christ, being by nature impassible, departed from Jesus prior to his Passion and resurrection.[14]

Gaius may oppose Cerinthus for these teachings as well as for his chiliasm. The Roman church in particular was troubled by Gnostics.[15] If Cerinthus, a known Gnostic, uses the Apocalypse to defend his millennial views, then in the eyes of Gaius and his circle the text would be tainted by its association with Gnosticism as well as chiliasm and perhaps Montanism.

Bietenhard believes that the Apocalypse was rejected by Gaius and the Alogoi because Cerinthus had invoked it in his material millenarianism.[16] According to Gaius, Cerinthus holds that "after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be on earth and man, living in Jerusalem, will be the slave of lusts and pleasures."[17] Cerinthus also teaches that "there will be a wedding feast for a period of one thousand years."[18] Dionysius' description is very similar but even more picturesque.[19] Bietenhard concludes:

> Gaius and Dionysius were perhaps exaggerating, but even so the chiliasm of Cerinthus seems to have been markedly realistic. Cerinthus was one of the first exponents of the so-called chiliasmus crassus. Inspired perhaps by some of the Old Testament prophecies, he seems to have expected a restoration of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem: another approximation to Judaism. And his doctrine of the resurrection was more that of Judaism than of the NT, for

during the millennium marriage was presupposed....

Cerinthus met with even more radical opposition, for the Alogoi were not content merely to refute his teaching, but claimed that the Apocalypse itself was simply a fabrication of Cerinthus. It was to the Apocalypse that Cerinthus had appealed, and the rejection of Cerinthus involved the rejection of his authority. And since the Logos doctrine was not favoured, and the Montanists had discredited St. John's Gospel by their appeal to the Paraclete, the gospel could be rejected too.[20]

For Bietenhard, chiliasm, the reason provided by Gaius himself, precipitates rejection of the Apoc by Gaius and the Alogoi. But Bietenhard also includes the Montanists and the Johannine Logos theology, which may have seemed suspiciously Gnostic to Gaius.

Perhaps the Quartodeciman controversy was a further reason for Gaius the Roman presbyter's opposition to John and his Apocalypse. John's authority was frequently invoked as an important reason for celebrating Easter on the Fourteenth of Nissan. John figures prominently in the letters to Pope Victor of both Irenaeus (HE V.24.16) and Polycrates (HE V.24.3; 24.6). Indeed, Irenaeus observes that Polycarp had followed the Quartodeciman practice in the company of John himself (HE V.24.16). It is not difficult to imagine the frustration of the Roman presbyterate with John and the works attributed to him. The Easter controversy, the Logos doctrine, and especially opposition to Montanism, chiliasm, and Gnosticism may figure in the rejection of the Apoc by Gaius and the Alogoi.

B. Gaius' Relationship to the Alogoi

Gaius' writings are quite similar to those of the Alogoi, the group which rejected both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse.[21] Like Gaius, the Alogoi attribute the Johannine books to Cerinthus.[22] Both also fault the chronology of the Fourth Gospel.[23] And both are thought to have rejected the Johannine corpus because of its Montanist associations.[24] Ten references or quotations from the Alogoi remain.[25] Five treat the Apocalypse.[26] The relationship of Gaius to the Alogoi is sufficiently close for many to suggest that Gaius is a member of the group.[27] De Labriolle likwise holds that La critique de Caius à l'égard du voyant de Patmos offrait une parenté indubitable avec celle que saint Épiphane impute aux Aloges.[28] Gaius and the Alogoi both fasten onto particular passages of the Apocalypse and attempt to demonstrate their irreconcilability with other scriptural passages whose authenticity is not being disputed.[29]

In one case, the relationship between Gaius and the Alogoi is "absolutely direct."[30] Both take issue with Apoc 9:15, where the four angels bound at the Euphrates and held ready for seasons and days are loosed to slay a third of mankind. Gaius says, Non est scriptum angelos bellum gessuros esse, nec tertiam partem

hominum perituram esse, sed 'Surget gens contra gentem' (Mt 24:7).[31] In Epiphanius, the Alogoi also quote Apoc 9:15. Epiphanius neglects to specify the contradiction alleged by the Alogoi, but he remarks of them that ἐνόμισαν γὰρ...[τί] γελοιόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια.[32] Against Gaius and the Alogoi, Hippolytus and Epiphanius explain that the Apocalypse, if properly understood, is consistent with other scriptures, that its teaching is that nation will make war against nation.

The parallel is also important because it and proximate passages demonstrate that Epiphanius' refutation of the Alogoi in Panarion 51 is based upon Hippolytus' refutation of Gaius in the Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John.[33] On the subject of Apoc 9:15, de Labriolle illustrates in parallel columns the close similarities between Panarion 51 and bar Salîbî's citations from Hippolytus.[34] Hippolytus says that the four angels "will be coming upon the earth" (venturos super terram); Epiphanius that ἐπέρχονται τῇ γῇ.[35] Both support their interpretation of 9:15 by quoting from Dt 32:7-9.[36] Both hold that the four angels are assigned to four nations,[37] and that the four nations are the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians.[38] In Hippolytus' thought, the angels assigned to the nations are not told to arouse the peoples assigned to them; by virtue of the Word they are restrained until the day of the

Omnipotent one.[39] Though somewhat modified, Hippolytus' very phrasing and thought recur in Epiphanius, who writes, καὶ γὰρ κινούμενοι οἱ ἄγγελοι κινοῦσι τὰ ἔθνη εἰς ὁρμὴν ἐκδικίας....Κρατοῦνται γὰρ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι ἄγγελοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, μὴ ἔχοντες καιρὸν ἐπιδρομῆς....ἕως καιροῦ μακροθυμίας κυρίου.[40]

The thematic--and in the case of Apoc 9:15, perhaps verbal--parallels between Gaius and the Alogoi militate against C. Schmidt's thesis that the Dialogue with Proclus was dependent upon an earlier work of the Alogoi in Asia Minor, which was perhaps cited by Dionysius of Alexandria in his debate at Arsinoë.[41]

C. A Roman Origin for the Alogoi?

The prevailing wisdom holds that the Alogoi originated in some form in Asia Minor and only later became established in Rome.[42] A review of secondary literature on the subject yields four arguments, all unconvincing, in favor of Asian origin. The first argument rests on the alleged difference between Gaius and his Roman brethren, who were thought to attack only the Apocalypse, and more radical Alogoi who attacked both the Gospel and the Apocalypse.[43] The second argument is that it is "inconceivable" that anyone at Rome could have rejected the Fourth Gospel in ca. 200.[44] Both of these arguments fell by the wayside when it became clear that Gaius also

rejected the Gospel of John. The third argument is that if Montanism exists in its most extreme form in Asia Minor, then the most extreme criticism of Montanism should also arise in Asia Minor.[45] But this argument is not true if, as we argue below, early Asian Montanism was not demonstrably extreme.[46] Moreover, the argument is not consonant with the quite favorable view of the Apocalypse in Asia Minor, found in Justin, Irenaeus, and Eusebius' sources. And de Labriolle concedes that any such faction in Asia Minor would have necessarily been small and ineffectual.[47]

The fourth argument in favour of Asia Minor Alogoi depends upon a problematic passage in Epiphanius which has now been emended. The passage in Panarion 5.33 about the Thyatiran church was once thought to describe the descent upon Thyatira of two warring factions, Alogoi and Montanists.[48] The passage was construed:

> For after they [the Alogoi] had settled there, *and* the Cataphrygians, and [both these parties] as wolves had torn the hearts of the guileless believers, they brought the whole city over to their heresy; and the deniers of the Apocalyse at this time waged war against this word for its downfall.[49]

However, the sense of the context is that the Montanists took over the entire town, a deed which would be impossible if the Montanists were only one of two factions to descend upon the town. Also, as Stonehouse and de Labriolle argue, Epiphanius' intent in this

tortured passage is to show that the apostasy of the Thyatiran church is the fulfillment of the prophecy to Thyatira in Apoc 2:18-29.[50]

Holl's emendation excises the superfluous καί. The passage makes sense in the context if translated:

> For after the Cataphrygians had settled there and as wolves had torn the hearts of the guileless believers, they brought over the whole city to their heresy, and if they also denied the [prophecy of the] Apocalypse, they struggled at that time against this word to their downfall.[51]

The Montanists struggle against the Apocalypse not because they deny it, but because its prophecy to the church of Thyatira spells their own doom. Epiphanius' point is that the Alogoi are wrong to ridicule John of Patmos' prophecy about Thyatira, because his prophecy has already been fulfilled.[52] The passage provides no evidence of a group who rejected the Apocalypse in Asia Minor.

The only bonafide evidence which could be taken to affirm the existence of Alogoi in Asia Minor is the famous alii passage in Irenaeus' Adversus haereses:

> Alii vero ut donum Spiritus frustrentur quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt [eius] quod est secundum Iohannem Evangelium, in qua Paraclitum se missurum Dominus promisit, sed simul et Evangelium et propheticum repellunt Spiritum. Infelices vere qui pseudoprophetas quidem esse volunt, propheticam vero gratiam repellunt ab Ecclesia, similia patientes his qui propter eos [qui] in hypocrisi veniunt etiam a fratrum communicatione se abstinent. Datur autem intellegi, quod

> huiusmodi neque apostolum Paulum recipiant. In ea enim epistula quae est ad Corinthios de propheticis charismatibus diligenter locutus est et scit viros et mulieres in Ecclesia prophetantes. Per haec igitur omnia peccantes in Spiritum Dei in irremissibile incidunt peccatum.[53]

Irenaeus composed Book III of the Adversus haereses during the pontificate of Eleutherus (Adv. Haer. III.3.3), which is to say between 174 and 189.[54] If Gaius appears on the scene only some years later, between 198/9 and 217, then it is certainly possible that the alii are Alogoi who originated in Asia Minor and subsequently found favor in Rome. But why assume with Stonehouse that the alii are Asian?[55] They could also be Roman, and from this it would follow that Gaius and the Alogoi are not a group which only emerges full-grown in the early part of the third century, but rather a faction which first began to attract a following in Rome some years before. The alii do seem to be antimontanists, because they oppose the eschatological effusion of the Spirit described in Joel 2:28-29, a verse which appears to have been very important to Montanists.[56]

The passage speaks only of the rejection of the Fourth Gospel and not of the Apocalypse. It is possible to conclude from this that the alii are less radical than the Alogoi, and reject only part of the Johannine corpus. But the conclusion is not proved by the context: Irenaeus is interested only in defending the fourfold Gospel here, and there is no reason for him to mention the Apocalypse.[57]

Moreover, the opposition of the alii to what Irenaeus calls the Spiritus propheticus could conceivably extend to the prophecy of John of Patmos.[58] The other important contextual datum is that Irenaeus is arguing primarily against those who add or detract from the Gospel, the Valentinians and Marcionites (the reference to those who separate themselves--the Ebionites?--is merely an aside). Thus the struggle uppermost in Irenaeus' mind is occurring in Rome, not Asia Minor. There is good reason, then, to believe that the alii are Roman, while the conviction that they are Asian is only an assumption prescinding from the close ties between the churches of Gaul and Asia Minor.[59]

The usual reasons provided to demonstrate that the Alogoi are Asian are therefore not convincing. On the other hand, there are four credible arguments suggesting that the Alogoi reside at Rome. The best reason, alluded to above, is the undeniable verbal parallel between the Alogoi and the Roman Gaius. In the very least, the Alogoi must have close ties with Rome.

Second, the negative view of Gaius and the Alogoi towards both chiliasm and the Apocalypse may make an Asian origin doubtful. The discussion of Eusebius at the beginning of this study alluded repeatedly to the high esteem in which the Apocalypse was held in

Asia. Moreover, given its content and literary genre, it is probable that the Apocalypse found a more receptive audience among Asians than among Romans.[60]

The third reason for believing that the Alogoi are exclusively Roman is that Hippolytus is Epiphanius' source on the Alogoi.[61] Indeed, Stonehouse considers it "probable" that Epiphanius' source is Hippolytus' lost Apology for the Gospel and Apocalypse of John.[62] More recent scholarship has also concluded that the intervention of Hippolytus and Hippolytus' influence on Epiphanius implies a Roman origin.[63] The Roman Hippolytus writes more sensitively and knowledgeably about the problems of the Roman church than about Asia Minor, as is clear from Epiphanius' confusion about the chronology of events in Thyatira. By contrast, Epiphanius' quotations from the Alogoi come from a source with first-hand knowledge of the movement and its writings. Again, the indication is that the Alogoi are in Rome.

A fourth reason for preferring Rome to Asia Minor is suggested by G. Maier and represents a compromise between the traditional view and the more recent view preferred here. Maier cautions against concluding that the crisis over the Johannine writings was a thing transplanted ([eine] Verpflanzung der Krisis) from Asia Minor to Rome.[64] It is more likely, Maier suggests, that Asians citing

Asian scriptures and chiliastic beliefs in Rome first aroused suspicion in Rome, and that this suspicion subsequently gave rise to an anti-Johannine and anti-apocalyptic reaction.[65] Perhaps a further temptation first insinuated into Rome by Marcionism was his practice of excluding unpalatable but allegedly apostolic writings (Adv. Haer. I.27.2). At any rate, there are good reasons for doubting the thesis that the Alogoi are exclusively Asian, and at least two meritorious arguments--the verbal parallel with Gaius and the probable Hippolytean authority behind Epiphanius' remarks--in favor of Roman origin.

D. The Substance of Gaius' Criticism of the Apoc

The substance of Gaius' objection to the Apocalypse is that its chiliasm (as well as putative, sensuous wedding feast and earthly Jerusalem) and descriptions of world-wide destruction in chapters 8:8; 8:12; 9:3-5; 9:14f; 20:2 contradict the Pauline and Matthean eschatologies. In Apoc 8:7-11 the seven angels begin to blow their trumpets, which herald the destruction of a third of the earth. In his account of 8:8, bar Salîbî writes that Caius haereticus impugnavit hanc visionem et dixit: Impossibile est, ut ista fiant, nam "sicut fur, qui venit noctu," [I Thes 5:2] ita erit adventus Domini.[66] In Apoc 8:12, a third of the celestial lights are

destroyed, and Gaius likewise objects:

> Sicut in diluvio elementa non sublevata sunt, et subito aquis submersa sunt, ita etiam in fine erit, sicut scriptum est [Mt 24:37]; et Paulus: "Cum dicent: Salus est et securitas, surget in eos interitus [1 Thes 5:3].[67]

The third quotation is a response to Apoc 9:3-5, the exhumation of the locust-scorpions which torment those without the seal of God on their foreheads. Gaius writes:

> Quomodo scelesti percutientur locustis, cum dicat Scriptura peccatores prosperaturos et iustos persecutioni obnoxios fore in mundo [Ps 72:12f (Vulg.), Job 21:9]; et Paulus: "Fideles persecutionem patientur et mali prospere agent, errantes et decipientes?" [2 Tim 3:12-13].[68]

Similarly, as quoted above, Gaius objects to the four castigating angels of 9:15, contrasting the verse with Mt 24:7. Perhaps Gaius concentrates his attack upon chapters 8-9 because they are most obviously divergent from the eschatological passages in Matthew and 1 Thessalonians.

The exegesis articulated by these objections is literal, historical, and eschatological. Neither the figurative, liturgical, and sacramental language of the Apocalypse, nor its christology and original use of the Old Testament impress Gaius or enlist his sympathies. Rather, he seeks to discredit the Apocalype wherever possible. He argues that the sudden and unexpected Parousia in Mt 24 and 1 Thes 4-5 contradicts the Seer's prophecy of protracted,

world-wide disasters and cosmic upheavals. He also seems to assume without prior discussion that the primary (or exclusive) sense of the Apocalypse is eschatological. This suggests that in the late second century, the text was understood in this way by at least one faction of Roman opinion. Certainly this thesis is compatible with the brief exegesis of St. Justin, Gaius' predecessor by only three decades.[69]

In addition, bar Salîbî preserves a fifth quotation about the Apocalypse. Apoc 20:2-3 recounts the chaining of Satan, who must be loosed after a thousand years. Gaius offers this rejoinder: Satanas hic vinctus est secundum quod scriptum est: "Ingressus est Christus domum fortis et ligavit eum et rapuit nos, vasa eius" [Mt 12:29].[70] This statement may belong with the one preserved by Eusebius in HE III.28.2, where Gaius objects to the millennium of Apoc 20, the New Jerusalem and bride of Apoc 21, and the somatic description of paradise in Apoc 22. Here again Gaius denies the veracity of a text he interprets as a historical narration of the eschaton. For Gaius, Satan is already bound.

E. The Alogoi on the Apoc

In their surviving citations the Alogoi take issue with Apoc 2:18; 8:2; 9:14f. As with Gaius, a literal and futuristic reading of

Apoc 8-9 provides them with "proof" of the text's heretical contradictions vis-à-vis the traditional faith. The exegeses are as wooden and fault-finding as those of Gaius. In Apoc 8:2, the seven angels who stand in the presence of God are given seven trumpets. Epiphanius recounts that the Alogoi scoff at the passage: "'How does the Apocalypse of John benefit me,' he [an Alogos] says, 'speaking to me about seven angels and seven trumpets?'"[71] In their refutation of 9:15, the Alogoi may only have quoted the passage and appended a mocking comment. However, as de Labriolle suggests above, it is also possible that originally they subjoined Mt 24:7, and that Epiphanius has omitted the reference.[72] The Alogoi are in complete agreement with Gaius as to the shortcomings of the Apocalypse: it is not the work of St. John, and its prophecies are ridiculous and false.

Conclusion

Analysis of the Sitze im Leben and writings of Gaius and the Alogoi strongly suggests that opposition to the Apocalypse first surfaces in Rome and is motivated by doctrinal opposition to chiliasm, Gnosticism, perhaps Montanism, and perhaps Johannine Logos theology, Quartodecimans, and suspicion of Asian spiritualising exegesis. Appropriately, another Roman, Hippolytus,

subsequently composes the first defense of the Apocalypse. The attack of Gaius and the Alogoi upon both the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse implies that the two are inseparably linked in 200 A.D. Not until the third century will Dionysius of Alexandria venture tentatively to detach them. De Labriolle's observation that Epiphanius generalises the objections of Gaius and the Alogoi, never once mentioning Gaius by name, suggests that the anti-Johannine movement has faded almost into obscurity by the late fourth century.[73] If their attack on the Apocalypse is motivated by anti-Gnosticism as well as anti-chiliasm, Gaius and the Alogoi anticipate the eschatological writers treated in Part II. However, where Gaius' opposition to Gnosticism leads him to reject the Apoc, the eschatological writers make special use of the text in refuting Gnosticism and related beliefs.

Part II

In Defense of the Orthodox Eschatology

Chapter Three

Gnostics, Jews, and Nonchiliasts in Justin

As with the fourth gospel, so with the Apocalypse, Justin is the first to make tentative use of the text; Melito and probably Theophilus the first to use it freely; Irenaeus the first to grapple with its theology; and Hippolytus the first to defend it.[1] Justin's use of the text is millennial and eschatological. As C. Story remarks, "Justin 'exegetes' Rev 20 where a millennium is treated but he omits other New Testament passages where Christ's reign is not linked to a millennium (e.g., Mt 19:28; 1 Cor 15:20-28)."[2] Apocalyptic influence is, however, limited to the discussion of the millennium and literal restoration of Jerusalem in Trypho 80-81.[3]

Scholars offer various explanations for Justin's allusion to the Apocalypse in Trypho 80. Daniélou believes that Justin cites the Apoc because it supports his Jewish-Christian millenarianism as revealed in his exegesis of Ps 89:4 and Gen 2:17.[4] But Daniélou's solution only poses a further question: Why is chiliasm so important? Perhaps the best answer is given by Chadwick and Simonetti, who suggest that Justin is led to literal millenarianism through opposition to Gnosticism. Chadwick writes:

> [Justin's] opposition to Gnosticism leads him to insist not only on a full-blooded and extremely literalistic doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh but also on a strictly earthly hope for a millennial reign of Christ at Jerusalem such as neither Clement nor Origen could have possibly defended except as poetic and symbolic language. There is no sign in

> Justin of any tendency to mitigate or to attenuate traditional beliefs, above all, his doctrines of Creation, revelation in history, and eschatology, in order to meet philosophical criticism.[5]

If Chadwick and Simonetti are correct, then Justin is attracted to the Apocalypse because a literal and futuristic interpretation of 20:2-7 would clearly refute Gnostic eschatology.[6]

Westcott, noting that aside from the Gospels the Apocalypse is the only book of the New Testament to which Justin refers by name, suggests that Justin's citation from the only prophetic book in the New Testament may be due to his fondness for prophets.[7] However, Justin's fondness for prophecy is more than a matter of taste: the importance of both prophecy and the Apocalypse is that they "prove" the Dialogue's major theme, which is that Christians--not Jews--are now the chosen people with the correct interpretation of scripture. This is approximately L. W. Barnard's view.[8] Barnard observes that Justin's reference to Apoc 20 would answer those questions--so natural in the wake of Bar-Chochba's failed rebellion--about the fate of ruined Jerusalem.[9] Thus in addition to Gnosticism, Justin's polemic with Judaism may also account for his use of the Apocalypse. In the Apocalypse, the Jerusalem temple is removed to heaven (11:19), and a new Jerusalem comes down to earth (21:2).

In Trypho 80-81 Justin assures his interlocutor that the city of

Jerusalem will in truth be rebuilt and the Christians gathered into it:

> But I and others, who are right-minded Christians in all things, 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 the others declare.[10]

What is Justin's evidence for his belief and who are "the others" (οἱ ἄλλοι) included with Ezekiel and Isaiah? He quotes only one text, Is 65:17-25 ("For there shall be the new heaven and the new earth...") and may be taken as referring to only one more, Apoc 20:2-7.[11] Justin admits that his "proof" from the Old Testament is rather obscure, a μυστήριον. But he continues:

> And afterwards a certain man among us named John, one of the apostles of Christ, prophesied in an apocalypse made to him that those who believed in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that after this the universal and, in a word, eternal resurrection and judgment of all men would together occur.[12]

As Meredith observes, Justin is using the Apocalypse as the hermeneutical key to Is 65:22b--i.e., as a reliable and apostolic authority.[13] It provides confirmation of the millennial tradition, the construction of the new Jerusalem, and its inheritance by the Christians (not the Jews).[14]

The inheritance by Christians of the promised new Jerusalem--and God's rejection of the obdurate Jews--is reprised vigorously in Trypho 138-9 (see also 51; 118). Here the chiliasm

seems wholly derived from extra-canonical Jewish and Jewish Christian traditions. Justin interprets christologically and anagogically Noah and the ark (Gen 7:6-8:19); and Noah's blessing and curse (Gen 9:22-27). For Justin the primary significance of Noah and the ark is that eight persons are saved, a prophecy of Christ's resurrection on the eighth day. The emphasis on the eighth day as the day of Christ's accession to power puts this passage firmly within the Jewish Christian orbit.[15] Justin's advertence to the Jews in the context lends credence to my suggestion that his eschatology is in polemic with Jews as well as Gnostics.

Does everyone read Apoc 20 chiliastically? It was argued above that Eusebius is unable to quote chiliastic exegesis of the Apoc from Papias.[16] And despite his own certitude about the literal restoration of Jerusalem and millennial reign, Justin admits that "many who are Christians of the pure and pious [faith] do not profess this opinion" (πολλοὺς...τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν...Trypho 80). These Christians would presumably not interpret Apoc 20 chiliastically. Indeed, Justin's own use of the "eighth day" poses a problem for him--Christ's resurrection on the eighth day means that the eschatological age or final millennium has already begun. Justin cannot match this cosmic week and its eighth day with Ps 89:4, Is 65:22, Gen 2:7 and Apoc 20:2-7,

because to do so would put the beginning of the millennium in the past. However, others not embroiled in disputes with Gnostics and Jews might put the millennium of Apoc 20 in the past or interpret it figuratively. These "pure and pious" Christians surface more visibly in Irenaeus.

Conclusion

In Justin the Apocalypse confirms traditional Jewish-Christian chiliasm.[17] Its use against Jews, though less important later in the tradition, reappears in Cyprian and especially Victorinus.[18] Justin is also the first to use the text to defend the concrete reality of the Christian eschatology. Its use against hellenizers is similar in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and perhaps Theophilus. Finally, Justin is the first to hint at a non-chiliastic interpretation of Apoc 20, an interpretation which reappears in Irenaeus, Origen, and others.[19] Justin's brief comments reveal in miniature the three uses of the Apoc in the early Church. He indicates that the text may be used as (1) a complement to Jewish-Christian chiliasm and an indictment of Judaism; (2) a defense against Gnostics; and (3) a non-chiliastic document interpreted figuratively.

Chapter Four

Two Interpretations in Irenaeus: From Christocentrism to Eschatological Recapitulation and Back Again

Irenaeus' writings contain two different and largely unreconciled readings of the Apocalypse. One reading, for which he is well known, occurs almost exclusively at the end of the Adversus haereses, from V.26.1 to V.36.3.[1] This reading is futuristic, chiliastic, and relentlessly literal. However, with the sole exception of Apoc 12:14 (AH II.31.3), the futuristic reading of the Apocalypse is present only from AH IV.20.11 to the end of Book V and occurs nowhere else in Irenaeus' works.

A very different reading of the Apocalypse obtains in AH I-IV and appears fleetingly even in Book V. This reading sees the Apocalypse as primarily a revelation of the first coming of Christ and his ensuing dispensation for his faithful witnesses. The interpretation is nonchiliastic and rarely futuristic. It is eschatological only in the sense that the Gospel of John is eschatological, portraying a Church which lives even now in the final age inaugurated by Christ. The christocentric and church-centred interpretation is also found in the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne and perhaps in the Proof of the Apostolic Preaching. Whether or not the former is Irenaean, its exegesis of the Apoc is consistent with that of AH I-IV.

As he writes the Adversus haereses, Irenaeus changes his interpretation of the Apocalypse. He does so in order to defend the orthodox eschatology against the Gnostics. A spiritual interpretation

of the Apoc would countenance a spiritual eschaton and play into the hands of the Gnostics. On the other hand, an earthly millennium and Jerusalem, a restored paradise, and a kingdom of physically resurrected Christians would gainsay Gnosticism. For this reason, the futuristic interpretation comes to predominate.

A secondary or derivative reason for Irenaeus' change of interpretation is literary. The Gnostic crisis assists in giving birth to Irenaeus' theory of recapitulation, his notion that central events in salvation recur in perfected form. However, if recapitulation is to be historical as well as spiritual, then Irenaeus must argue for the literal restoration of the Genesis archetypes. His own literary device therefore impels him eventually to construe the Apocalypse futuristically and literally.

Irenaeus' late exegetical conversion from christocentric and figurative to futuristic and literal suggests that the former is the norm, at least in Gaul. In Irenaeus, the christocentric and church-centred interpretation of the Apocalypse appears to be the earlier, established tradition. The Epideixis seems partially to rehabilitate this tradition.

A. Christocentrism: The Revelation of Christ to His Martyrs

Prigent and Mazzucco point to two nonchiliastic passages in the

chiliastic section of AH V.26-36.[2] The passages, in V.33.4 and 35.1-2, reveal Irenaeus' awareness of a spiritual interpretation of Apoc 20, an interpretation which he now repudiates.

Citing as his authorities Is 11:6-9; 65:25, Papias, and certain seniores who heard John (V.33.3-4), Irenaeus argues for the literal restoration of fecund paradise and the primordial docility of the animals towards man. The reference to elders who saw and heard John is suspicious. Why does Irenaeus prefer oral testimony here, while elsewhere (e.g., V.36.3; 34.2) preferring to cite or quote verbatim from the text itself? Is he preëmpting objections from figurative interpreters and supporting his literal exegesis by going beyond the authority of the text, to the Apostle himself? He is cognisant of a nonchiliastic and figurative exegesis when he concedes:

> But I am not unaware that some try to apply these [texts] to the savage men from different nations and various pursuits who come to believe and, when they have believed, try [to live] in harmony with the just. But although this is now [true] for some men coming from various pursuits to the one dispensation of the faith, nevertheless in the resurrection of the just [the testimony will apply] to those animals [mentioned].[3]

Some unspecified Christians would therefore read Isaiah's and John's prophecies about the kingdom as applying to the present age of conversion to Christ, when heretofore savage men are tamed by the Gospel and assume eirenic, Christian natures. Irenaeus himself is

strongly drawn to this interpretation in Demonstratio 61.[4] This suggests that for some Christians, the eschatological age and millennium of Apoc 20-22 began with the advent and resurrection of Christ. They are not future events.

Irenaeus' description of Jerusalem's literal restoration is also accompanied by a concessive. Quoting Isaiah's description of the new Jerusalem made of precious stones (Is 44:11-14; see Apoc 21:10,19-21), he warns: "But if any should try to allegorise [prophecies] of this sort, they will not be found consistent with themselves in all points."[5] Of course, this implies that some do allegorise prophecies of this sort, and we know from the previous passage that they are not all Gnostics. Irenaeus then proves his literal interpretation by quoting extensively from Apoc 20-21 (V.35.2 - 36.1). But he has aroused our suspicions that the new Jerusalem of Apoc 21 may be understood spiritually.

As C. Hill notes, the conjectured nonchiliastic and nonfuturistic reading of Apoc 20-22 finds additional support in III.23.7, which contains a reference to the millennium of Apoc 20:2.[6] Irenaeus relates Gen 3:15 ("I will put enmity between you and the woman") and Ps 91:13 ("You will tread upon the asp and the basilisk, and you will trample the lion and the dragon") to the advent of Christ, who, "binding the dragon, that ancient serpent" (draconem illum serpentem

vetustum adligans, Apoc 12:9; 20:2), conquers him and subjects him to the power of man. Thus the millennial binding of Satan is already accomplished and results from the salvific incarnation of Christ.

The same chronology for Apoc 20-22 applies in IV.18.6, where the heavenly tabernacle of 11:19 and 21:3 is already present as the place to which eucharistic prayers and sacrifices are directed. Likewise, in IV.21.3, the horseman of Apoc 6:2, who goes forth "conquering and to conquer," is Christ, who conquers sin--not eschatological armies. He generates "the twelve-pillared foundation of the Church" (Apoc 21:12,14), which implies that the new Jerusalem has already come down from heaven as the Church founded on the twelve Apostles.

A figurative and christocentric reading of Apoc 20-22 therefore appears to exist. This reading harmonises with Irenaeus' interpretation of Apoc 1-19 in AH I-IV. The major themes of the interpretation are suggested already: the Apocalypse depicts the coming of Christ, his establishment of the Church, and his fidelity to and encouragement of his faithful witnesses. Indeed, prior to AH IV.20.11, Irenaeus' exegesis of the Apocalypse is, with only one exception, entirely christocentric and church-centred. The exception is a reference to the dragon of 12:4 (II.31.3), whose marauding tail is to sweep a third of the stars from the sky, presumably at the

eschaton. Irenaeus is therefore aware of the eschatological interpretation of the Apoc, and his use of it here suggests that he is still deciding upon the best interpretation of the text. Irenaeus' references to Apoc 12 are perhaps the earliest citations of this difficult text.[7]

Of the fifty-three bonafide references to the Apoc, twenty-one belong to the christological-ecclesiological category.[8] Against the Gnostics, Irenaeus argues that Christ participates fully in the Father: he is the messianic king and redeemer foretold in the Old Testament, and he reigns now in glory with the Father. He is justly celebrated as the one having "the key of David; he will open, and no one will shut, he will shut, and no one will open" (Apoc 3:7; IV.20.2). He is the first and last, who lives and was dead, and who now lives forever and has the keys of death and hell (1:17-18; IV.20.11). He is the God who "searches minds (lit. "kidneys") and hearts" (2:23; IV.19.2). He alone, the slain Lamb who redeemed us by his blood, can behold the Father and open his sealed book (5:3, 9, 12; IV.20.2). He is now the slain Lamb in the midst of the throne, surrounded by elders and the four living creatures (5:6-7; IV.20.11). The incense offered to him is the prayers of the saints (5:8; IV.17.6). His appearance to John as the Son of Man in white garments and with seven golden candlesticks (1:12-16) shows his sacerdotal nature and the glory he has received

from his Father (IV.20.11). This glory he has received already--it does not come to him in the future. The many waters of his voice signify the Holy Spirit, through whom he created the world and uttered the Mosaic law (1:15; IV.14.2). His feet like burning brass (1:15) denote the power of faith, which is tested and refined in fire or persecution (IV.20.11). Here Irenaeus introduces an eschatological element. He sees the fire as preeminently the consuming fire coming at the end of time (adveniens in fine temporum). This vision is too much for John, who faints at his feet (1:17; IV.20.11).

The Apocalypse illustrates the fulfillment of the Old Testament in the person of Christ, who establishes the Church even as Jacob establishes the nation of Israel. Christ sits upon the white horse wearing many crowns; the name on his thigh is "king of kings and lord of lords" (19:11-16; IV.20.11). He was born to conquer Satan and, by suffering, to give birth to the twelve-pillared Church; likewise, Jacob was born grasping his adversary's heel, suffered, and later engendered the twelve tribes of Israel (6:2; 21:12,14; IV.21.3).

The Gospel's universal nature is shown by St. John's use of four living creatures (4:6-8). Against those who use only one gospel (Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, perhaps Cerinthus), Irenaeus holds up the creatures as four manifestations of Christ and as symbols of the four gospels (III.11.7-8). Just as there are "four corners of the

cosmos...and four universal winds" (τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου...καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα), so there are four creatures to represent the totality of the Gospel and the one Son of God (III.11.8). Despite the polemical overtones, the emphasis is again christological and ecclesiological. The creatures reveal the royal, sacerdotal, and human aspects of Christ Jesus, as well as his gift of the Spirit to the Church.

The exegeses above show that in AH I-IV, an eschatological and millennial interpretation of the Apoc is far from Irenaeus' mind. Rather, he is interested in John's portrait of Christ and his faithful followers. Christ is described as the royal, glorious conquerer of Satan and sin who is in full communion with both the Father and the Spirit. He has power over hell and death and authority to judge. He is both the priest and slain Lamb who, through his suffering, establishes the Church of the twelve Apostles. He searches hearts and tests the faith of his followers through suffering. This suffering is ongoing as well as eschatological.

The use of the Apocalypse as a revelation of Christ to his Church is accompanied by little or no explanation of the text itself. Irenaeus seems to believe that little explanation is necessary. He appears to see no need to defend his reading of the text. This suggests that the christocentric and church-centred interpretation is the norm for

Irenaeus and his intended audience. In contrast, the eschatological use the text in V.26-36 is invariably followed by detailed explanations of John's intent, appeals to the superior authority of the elders, or comparisons with similar passages in Matthew and Paul. Irenaeus seems less familiar with the more literal and historical interpretation of the text and explicitly defers to ancient authorities who, however, are not quoting the Apocalypse itself. This contrast in literary style as well as in exegetical themes suggests in the very least that Irenaeus' christocentric exegesis is not innovative but rather traditional; conversely, it suggests that eschatological exegesis of the text is not self-evident. Finally, an inadequacy of the christocentric exegesis is its limited use against Gnosticism. It demonstrates the fourfold nature of the Gospel, Christ's full participation in the Father's divinity, and his personal fulfillment of the Old Testament message. But it is not helpful in defending the orthodox eschatology, including the eschatological sequence and the physical resurrection.

B. Christocentrism: The Gallican Martyrs

The Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne quotes or alludes to the Apocalypse in Eusebius, HE V.1.5 (Apoc 20:2); V.1.10 (14:4); V.1.58 (22:11); and V.2.3 (1:5). Its interpretation is the same as that of

Irenaeus in AH I-IV: christocentric, nonchiliastic, and referring to the present rather than to the future.[9] The quotations demonstrate that the eschatological age is inaugurated by Christ and witnessed by his suffering Church.

Nautin and Grant argue that the author of the Gallican Martyrs is none other than Irenaeus himself.[10] The cumulative weight of their research is substantial. In addition, identical interpretations of Apoc 20:2 occur in HE V.1.5 and AH III.23.7. It is, then, possible that Irenaeus wrote the Gallican Martyrs. But even if not, the document provides further evidence of a christocentric and nonmillennial tradition of Apocalyptic interpretation in Gaul.

In HE V.2.3, the martyrs insist that the title "martyr" properly belongs to Christ alone, "to the faithful and true witness and first-born of the dead" (τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ τῶν νεκρῶν, Apoc 1:5). The emphasis here is on the suffering witness of Christ, not the parousia. His glorious appearance of 1:5 is not at the Last Judgement but to the suffering Church of the present.

In V.1.58, the author treats Apoc 22:11 as a scripture being fulfilled even now. The "Beast" (an Apocalyptic title only--see 11:7; 13:1f; 14:9,11; 15:2; 16:2f; 17:3f; 19:19-20; 20:4,10) incites the populace, whose anger is correspondingly bestial (τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου), to treat the Christians with especial brutality "so that the

scripture may be fulfilled, 'Let the wicked still be wicked and the righteous still perform righteousness'" (ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ · "'Ο ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἐτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι" Apoc 22:11). The eschatological war between the Beast and his minions and the servants of Christ is therefore well under way. It is not a war of the indefinite future.

In V.1.10, when young Vettius Epagathus defends the Christian prisoners and bravely confesses his own Christian faith, he too is accepted into the ranks of the martyrs. The narrator comments, "for he was and is a true disciple of Christ, 'following the Lamb wherever he goes'" (ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἔστι γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητής, "ἀκολουθῶν τῷ αρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ," 14:4). Those who follow the Lamb wherever he goes are the 144,000 of Apoc 14. They are the first fruits from mankind (14:4) who come out of the great tribulation and wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb (7:14). They stand before the throne and sing a new song which no one else can learn (14:3). As Hill observes, this praise for Vettius would not have been carelessly chosen and implies that the 144,000 are "viewed as departed (perhaps martyred) saints."[11] Their present appearance implies that the Apocalyptic time of persecution has already begun.[12]

Another example from the Martyrs concerns its peculiar opening remarks. The narrator declares that the devil, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, incites

the pagans to persecute the Church (HE V.1.5). He then says that this θλίψις is the proem to Satan's [future] "unbounded coming" (ἀδεῶς παρουσίαν). As Hill points out, ἀδεῶς is an extremely uncommon word not occurring in the New Testament.[13] Hill finds it more remarkable still that Satan's horrible persecution of the Church in Gaul is described as only a prelude, and that Satan's persecution is by inference characterised as "bound."[14] Hill suggests that ἀδεῶς refers to Apoc 20:2, where the devil is bound for a thousand years (καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν χίλια ἔτη). In 20:2, the devil is bound so that he cannot gather the pagans for a final assault on the saints. This means, Hill argues, that the author of the Martyrs holds that the binding of Satan has already occurred, i.e., that the millennium has already begun.[15] Again, the Apocalyptic millennium is not a future event but the current status quo.

The interpretation of Apoc 20:2 in the Martyrs is the same as in AH III.23.7 and provides additional evidence that Irenaeus himself was the author. As in AH I-IV, the author of the Martyrs finds in the Apocalypse the solicitude of the Lamb for his faithful witnesses, who are persecuted by the Beast of the present millennial age. Christ alone is the true martyr and Lamb to whom all prayer and praise are directed.

C. Eschatological Recapitulation and the Millennium

Gnosticism's stark challenge to the orthodox eschatology is expressed by D. Dunbar:

> Gnosticism represented an outright rejection of biblical eschatology. The metaphysical dualism which was the presupposition of the various Gnostic systems was inevitably pessimistic in regard to the physical world and thus to the historical process. Gnosticism did not look for the final intervention of God in the created world but for an escape of the spiritual element in humanity from the evils of material existence. The language of biblical apocalyptic could only be employed by a spiritualising reinterpretation which was "forever severed from history, society, and men."[16]

If the Gnostic view of the body, soul, and afterlife is accepted, nothing remains of the Christian view of the salvation of the whole man (body as well as soul), created matter, the Old Testament, the unity of salvation history, the Incarnation, the resurrection, and the Judgement. A defense of the orthodox eschatology would in and of itself refute most of these beliefs. It would demonstrate that the whole man is resurrected, judged, and saved, and by inference created and redeemed by the same God who intervened in the person of Jesus. Hence the usefulness of a defense of the orthodox eschaton by means of the New Testament scriptures. Perhaps the change in Irenaeus' interpretation between AH books I-IV and book V is due to his realisation that the Apoc could fill this role in the eschatological section of his work.

Whereas an eschatological exegesis has obvious anti-Gnostic advantages, the christological exegesis has disadvantages. It does not ultimately prevail in Irenaeus. It is susceptible to Gnostic spiritualising, and for that reason must be rejected. If the new paradise and Jerusalem promised by the prophets are only spiritual, then conceivably the same is true of the resurrection of the body and indeed the incarnation itself (V.31.1; I.5-7). To preëmpt this objection, Irenaeus "converts" to the eschatological view of the Apoc. He has good authority for doing so: Justin and other "pure and pious Christians" before him have already used the Apoc to argue for the literal restoration of Jerusalem and the one God's creation (and eventual destruction) of the material universe. In AH V.26-36 the Apocalyptic narrative and imagery therefore provide eschatological ammunition against the Gnostics.

The Apoc also has a more positive function. It supports Irenaeus' theology of recapitulation, that which permits him to say that what began with the Creation, Adam, the temptation by Satan, and paradise ends with the new Creation, the new Adam, the final temptation by Satan and his overthrow, and the restoration of paradise. In opting for a literal interpretation of the Apocalypse, Irenaeus closes the potentially rich christological and ecclesiological vein he opened in AH I-IV and perhaps the Martyrs and Demonstratio. However, his

fertile mind finds another rich vein in St. John's use of images from especially Genesis. AH V.26-36 is a symmetrical juxtaposition of Genesis 1-3 and its mirror image, the perfect recapitulation and eschatological fruition described in the Apoc and the Pauline epistles. It is an attempt to integrate the beginning and end of biblical salvation history.

i. The Cosmic Week

The mechanism for the juxtaposition of Genesis and Apocalypse, of creation and eschaton, is the cosmic week, in which the seven days of creation correspond to seven millennia of human history:

> For in as many days as the cosmos was made, in so many thousand years will it be brought to an end. And on account of this the Scripture says, "And the heaven and the earth were brought to an end, and all of their order. And God brought to an end on the sixth day his works that he had made; and God rested on the seventh day from all of his works." This is an account of the things formerly created, and also a prophecy of the things that will come. For "the day of the Lord [is] as a thousand years," and in six days created things were brought to an end: it is clear that their end is the sixth thousand year.[17]

The Parousia inaugurates the seventh millennium, when man finds rest, and corresponds to the seventh day of rest in Genesis 2:2. In Irenaeus' eschatology history itself is recapitulated, and comes to fruition even as it comes full circle.

The distinguishing feature of this theologizing may be called

"fittingness," "symmetry," "restoration" (redintegratio, ἀποκατάστασις); "renewal" (renovatio, ἀνανέωσις); or "recapitulation" (recapitulatio, ἀνακεφαλαιώσις). It is fitting--it must be (oportet, δεῖ)--that sinful Adam, whose life fell short of a thousand years, and whose defeat by sin led to the death of expulsion from Paradise on the sixth day, should be set free (solutus, λυόμενος), healed (curatus, θεραπευόμενος), rehabilitated, and his sins remitted (remissae, ἀφεῖσαι) on the sixth day by the death of the new Adam, and Paradise restored for a thousand years (V.23.2). Because the old Adam fell by means of a tree, it is fitting that the new Adam rise by means of a tree (V.17.3). Because Satan gets the advantage over the old Adam by means of a woman, it is fitting that the new Adam get the advantage over Satan by means of a woman (V.21.1). As the new Adam of the last days sums up all good in himself, likewise the serpent, who tempted Adam on the sixth day, in the last days sums up all evil in himself, as manifested by the reduplicated sixes in his name (see V.28.2). He rises at the end of 6000 years, which correspond to the sixth day of creation when he tempted Adam (V.28.2-3). It is fitting or symmetrical that on the seventh day he be thrown into the abyss for a thousand years even as the new Adams begin to enjoy a thousand years in Paradise. Because the seventh day is holy and a day of rest in Genesis, it is also fitting that there be a seventh and holy day at the

end times, a thousand years in which Abraham is restored to his promised inheritance and all the faithful find rest in the Lord.[18] His belief in the symmetry of salvation history leads Irenaeus to write that even the animals will be literally restored to their primordial subjection to man.[19]

Irenaeus juxtaposes the archetypal eschatology of Genesis 1-3 and its fulfillment in the Apocalyptic eschatology. The events of Gen 1-3 are archetypes perfectly fulfilled in the last days. The Apocalypse, Genesis, and Pauline theology form the basis of his biblical and aesthetic conception of the symmetry of salvation history.[20]

ii. The Antichrist

For Irenaeus, the final years of human history begin with the coming of the Antichrist. The Antichrist is the personification of all the evil and apostasy of the preceding six millennia, just as Christ is the personification of all that is holy. This demonic recapitulation is clear in the Apocalypse, and its depiction of Satan, the Antichrist, the false prophet, and their minions is the account which Irenaeus usually follows.[21] Implicit--if inchoate--in Irenaeus' treatment of apocalyptic evil is that the dragon (Satan's name only in the Apoc), the Antichrist, and the false prophet are an antitype or demonic

parody of the Holy Triad.[22]

Irenaeus' teaching on the Antichrist is a careful synthesis of Gen 3; Dan 2, 7-9; Mt 24-5; 2 Thes 2; and Apoc 13, 17, 19. Irenaeus refers to the man of apostasy who will come in the last days as the Antichrist, his Johannine designation (1 Jn 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7). Following a lost work by Justin (perhaps his treatise against Marcion), Irenaeus says that Satan never dared to blaspheme God before the incarnation, because he did not yet know his own sentence (eternal damnation). But after the incarnation he clearly ascertains his fate from the words of Christ and the apostles and now blasphemes by means of the various heresiarchs (V.26.2). Thus Satan's behavior--and that of the heretics--is more blasphemous in the last days than ever before. He will order the manufacture of an image, and--in demonic parody of Gen 2:7--give breath to it (V.26.2, quoting Apoc 13:15). In parody of the incarnation, the beast will be the summing up of all the apostasy of the previous six thousand years (V.26.2).

The three sixes in his name demonstrate that he will recapitulate both the false idol erected by Nebuchadnezzar, which had a height of sixty cubits and a breadth of six cubits--and on whose account three just men (Ananias, Azarias, and Misaël) were consigned to the fiery furnace--and the six hundred years of Noah, in whose

time the deluge came as a punishment for apostasy (V.29.2). A second explanation is that the three sixes "stand for the recapitulations of all apostasy which occurred in the beginning, and in the middle times, and which will be at the end."[23]

A third explanation matches the names Evanthus, Teitan, and Lateinos with the number value of 666. Irenaeus cautiously suggests that if Lateinos is intended, it could be a synecdoche for the Empire (V.30.3).[24] This is the first instance of an anti-imperial exegesis of the text, an interpretation which recurs in Tertullian and reaches its zenith in Hippolytus.[25] The anti-imperial interpretation is a consequence of the literal, historical interpretation of the Apocalyptic eschatological sequence--the seven hills of 17:9 must now be taken as referring literally to Rome. It occurs only in writers who interpret the Apoc as a future eschatology. In contrast and as noted above, when the Apoc is interpreted nonchiliastically, even Irenaeus himself (III.23.7) and the author of the Gallican Martyrs see the beast as a manifestation of Satan, not the Emperor. Neither passage condemns the Empire itself.

iii. The Restoration

Quoting 21:1-4, Irenaeus holds that paradise will be restored and that the heavenly Jerusalem described by St. John, of which the

earthly Jerusalem is but an image, will descend (V.35.2). The recapitulated paradise is the new earth spoken of in 21:1; Is 65:17 ("for there shall be a new heaven and a new earth") refers to the same event (V.35.2). The new earth and heavenly Jerusalem described in Apoc 21 will be real: nihil allegorizari potest, sed omnia firma et vera et substantiam habentia (V.35.2; see also V.35.1).

How are paradise, the new Jerusalem, and heaven related? Irenaeus explains:

> And as the presbyters say, then those who are deemed worthy of a living in heaven will enter there, others will enjoy the luxury of paradise, and others will possess the brightness of the city; and everywhere God will be seen just as they who see him will be worthy.
>
> [They also say] there is this distinction between the habitation of those who bear fruit a hundred-fold, and of those who produce sixty-fold, and of those who produce thirty-fold: for the first will be taken up into the heavens, the next will live in paradise, [and] the next will inhabit the city; and on account of this the Lord declared that in the Father's house there are many rooms.[26]

The highest reward for Christian virtue is a place in heaven, followed by paradise and then the new Jerusalem. Irenaeus justifies his speculation by quoting particularly Jeremiah and Isaiah on the restoration of Jerusalem and Abraham's promised inheritance. The Apocalypse provides Irenaeus' eschatological sequence of events. However, the hierarchical relationship of new Jerusalem, paradise, and heaven comes from the tradition of the elders rather than 21:1-3.[27] According to the tradition of the elders, paradise is also

the abode of the saints of the old covenant who await the Parousia (V.5.1).

In sum, the tradition of Papias and the elders, some of whom, according to Irenaeus, knew St. John himself, has influenced Irenaeus' vision of the relationship of new Jerusalem, paradise, and heaven, and also his vision of the paradisial life. But the coming of the Antichrist, the earth's restoration, and the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem follow the Apocalypse.

iv. Chiliasm

In AH V, Irenaeus is indeed a literal chiliast. It is true, as Wingren notes, that Irenaeus does not use the phrase "thousand years" in his exegesis of Apoc 20:1-8.[28] But Wingren admits that the regnum in the Adversus haereses "in fact corresponds to the millennium of...Revelation."[29] Daniélou and von Balthasar also conclude that Irenaeus is a millenarian.[30]

Because he professes chiliasm, Irenaeus has been accused of embracing a crude and literal eschatology.[31] However, Irenaeus' eschatology is remarkably creative. He demonstrates that the literal, moral, christological, and anagogical senses of Scripture are more faithful to the apostolic traditon and of greater internal logic than the allegorizing speculations of the Gnostics. Nevertheless, the

anti-Gnostic exegesis found in the millenarian chapters (V.32.1 - V.36.3) is uncharacteristically literal and even wooden, particularly the exegesis of Gen 13, 15, 27, 31, and 33 in AH V.32.2 - V.33.3.[32]

There are perhaps four reasons for Irenaeus' literal interpretation of the millennium of Apoc 20:2-7.

1. The most important reason is that, against the Gnostics, whose theology Irenaeus refers to as a recapitulation of all previous heresy (IV.Praef.2), he believes it important to uphold the literal sense of Scripture, bodily resurrection, validity of the Old Testament, and unity of salvation history. All are safeguarded by a literal recapitulation of Paradise and a literal descent of the new, heavenly Jerusalem.

Hill's persuasive argument, which suggested a major theme of this chapter (viz., that Irenaeus changes his interpretation of the Apocalypse), is that Irenaeus embraces chiliasm and alters his doctrine of the intermediate state in order to safeguard from Gnosticism the orthodox theology of the physical resurrection. Prior to AH V, Irenaeus holds that the souls of the saints are admitted to heaven at death.[33] This applies to all of the saints--only two passages specify martyrs.[34]

Unfortunately, this view is uncomfortably similar to that of the Gnostics, who hold that the pneumatics ascend at death to the Ogdoad

and, having discarded their animal natures, rise finally to the Pleroma.[35] So in V.31-32, Irenaeus makes a complete volte face. Now all without exception--even Christ himself--are detained in Hades until being reunited with their flesh.[36] This applies even to marytrs.[37] The saints depart from Hades only at the millennium. An entirely different interpretation of the Apocalyptic millennium now ensues. Where once Irenaeus and other Christians put its beginning in the past, viewing it as an allegory of Christ's defeat of Satan and the beginning of the Christian age, it is now part of a future, eschatological sequence and a weapon against spiritualising Hellenists.

If the nonchiliastic interpretation of the Apoc is the more traditional and the more closely tied to the original intentions of St. John of Patmos, then why does he employ the figure of a millennium in the first place? The nonchiliastic interpretation is entirely different from the Jewish or Jewish Christian tradition of putting the millennium in the future. Again, why does John choose a symbol of such complexity, diffusion, and aberrant interpretation?[38] Perhaps, Corsini theorises, John wishes to correct a Jewish Christian tradition that is part and parcel of early Christian speculation.[39] The futuristic, Jewish Christian millennium is rooted in Jewish messianic expectations.[40] In this schema, the messianic millennium

typically comes at the end of time and completes human history.[41] By using the millennium and putting its beginning in the past, John corrects this expectation. He shows that the Messiah has come already in the person of Jesus Christ.[42] Perhaps John has not uncritically accepted judaising chiliasm after all, but has, rather, corrected it.[43]

It should not be surprising, then, that Irenaeus is reluctant to adopt a futuristic interpretation of the Apocalyptic millennium, and ultimately does so only from polemical necessity. He may apprehend that he is going against the original sense of the text. It is also not surprising that Irenaeus never actually mentions the Apocalyptic millennium itself in AH V, nor that the futuristic interpretation of 20:2-7 gathers force only much later in the tradition. The eschatological, futuristic interpretation of the text, because it so closely resembles the very judaising millennialism which 20:2-7 may be intended to refute, becomes explicit only later, in Eusebius.

2. The second reason for Irenaeus' chiliastic interpretation of Apoc 20:2-7 is thematic or aesthetic. It is fitting (oportet ergo) that the end of salvation history sum up or recapitulate its beginning.[44] This salvific symmetry must have a strong appeal to second-century Christians reared on the notion that the most important senses of Gen 1-3 were christological and anagogical (e.g., Papias, Pantaenus,

Clement of Alexandria, and Ammonius).[45] Irenaeus' interpretation of the Bible and salvation history is chiastic. The New Testament apocalypses recapitulate the creation and confrontation with Satan in Genesis, and the incarnation recapitulates the history of Israel (and Adam) as told by Moses and the prophets.

3. Irenaeus' chiliasm in fact harmonizes with the rest of his eschatology and Christian vision, where man is led to the Father by degrees, through the Father's two "hands" (V.1.3; V.28.4), the Son and the Spirit. The salvific process is a continuum. The one thousand year regnum allows those who are worthy to acclimate themselves by degrees to the vision of the Triune God: paulatim assuescunt (αὔξοντες) capere Deum (V.32.1). This acclimatization is also called disciplina (ἀσκήσις). Moreover, the millennium accommodates the glory of God, because in the millennium God becomes visible to the whole cosmos. As von Balthasar observes:

> [Irenaeus']...theology of history, which so strongly emphasizes the temporal flow from the Father (Old Testament) to the Son (New Testament), does not manage...without a kind of age of the Spirit, which here appears as the millennium. The idea of a millennium after the resurrection follows for him from the Old Testament promise of a final, secure inheritance, a promise which, because Christians are still pilgrims on the earth, corresponding to the nomadic life of Abraham and his followers, is not yet fulfilled. Irenaeus seeks to interpret recirculatio and regressus, not Platonically, as if it was progress toward a supra-terrestrial, purely spiritual home, but biblically, as the promise of an ultimate "holy land"...
>
> Since humanity went out not only from God, but also from

an earthly Paradise, its ultimate perfection must be found not only in a new heaven, but in a new earth...The characteristic point about this view of the last things is that it is at the same time the completion of the horizontal march of history from the Old to the New Testament: it is the complete incarnation of God, who now in the final world-Jerusalem is seen everywhere face to face. And it is transcendental perfection, since the millennium comes only after the resurrection.[46]

The millennium allows man to appreciate God in his Triune aspect. All things flow from and return to the Father; and all things flow through Christ and then the Spirit. Man ends where he began, but is deified in the process. The Genesis creation is at one end of salvation history, and its Apocalyptic recapitulation--its perfected mirror image--is at the other. Thus Moses designs the tabernacle after he sees its primordial original, which St. John of Patmos also sees at the end of human history (IV.18.6, quoting Apoc 11:19; and V.35.2; see also Demonstratio 26). But the return depicted by John of Patmos and Irenaeus is also transcendental. When salvation history reaches the end of the cosmic week, having come from the Father, through Christ and the Spirit, and back to the Father, then the process of man's gradual deification is complete, and he passes beyond the angels.

4. A literal millennium seems consistent with traditional interpretations of numerous scriptures, most notably Ps 90:4 (and 2 Pet 3:8), and the oft-prophesied restoration of Jerusalem in Isaiah and Jeremiah: si autem quidam temptaverint allegorizare haec

[prophecies] quae huiusmodi sunt, neque in omnibus poterunt consonantes sibimetipsis inveniri...(V.35.1). Von Balthasar argues that Irenaeus is a millenarian because he "takes seriously the Old Testament promises of a final...occupation of the land."[47] The sheer number and cumulative weight of biblical quotations Irenaeus summons to mind militate in favor of a literal restoration of Jerusalem; in V.34.1 - V.35.1, Irenaeus quotes Jer 23:6-7 and 31:10f, Dan 7:27 and 12:13, Ezek 37:12f and 38:25-26, Baruch 4:36-5:9, and Is 6:11-12, 13:9, 31:9, 32:1, 54:11-14, 58:14, 65:18, and 65:21;

Papias or at least the Asia Minor tradition of the elders who knew the Apostle John hold with a literal millennium.[48] Justin, too, is a literal millenarian.[49] Certainly Justin's influence is important elsewhere in Book V. Following Justin, Irenaeus calls Mary the new Eve (V.19.1 and Trypho 84); he quotes Justin's lost Λόγοι κατὰ Μαρκίωνος (V.26.2; see also IV.6.2), and he cites a spurious prophecy found only in Trypho 72 (IV.31.1 and III.20.4).

Irenaeus must turn to the Jewish Christian tradition of Papias and the elders in order to prove his contentions about the restoration of paradise (to fecundity and zoological tranquility), the restoration of man's paradisical longevity, the three eschatological abodes, the cosmic week, and the terrestrial millennium. He imposes this

tradition upon the Apocalypse, which he does not read eschatologically in AH I-IV. The Apoc is now a scriptural authority for a belief he feels compelled to embrace. The Jewish Christian tradition he follows apparently does not buttress its views by citing the Apocalypse.

Irenaeus' use of Apocalyptic recapitulation and salvific symmetry distinguishes his aesthetic eschatology from that of his predecessors--2 Enoch, 2 (4) Esdras, Jubilees, Ps-Barnabas, and even Justin. This feature of his theology finds biblical sanction in the Pauline recapitulation of Adam and of the Genesis archetypes in the Apocalypse. The Apocalyptic eschatological sequence also furthers Irenaeus' doctrine of acclimatization. But most importantly, eschatological exegesis of the Apocalypse assists in defeating Gnosticism and Marcionism. It demonstrates the logical necessity of the physical resurrection, the coherence and thematic unity of the two Testaments, and the value of the Old Testament and its God.

D. Spiritual Exegesis Restored? The Proof of the Apostolic Preaching

In Demonstratio 61, Irenaeus appears to bless both the spiritual millennium presumed by AH III.23.7 and the Gallican Martyrs and the literal, eschatological millennium of AH V.[50] Perhaps the eirenic

nature of catechesis facilitates a partial recovery of spiritual exegesis. He affirms the Jewish Christian belief in the restoration of paradise at the parousia--the animals return to meekness and primordial concord with man--but he also spiritualises it. The rapacity and venom of the wild beasts refer not only to the animals and the Fall, but also to the beastliness of sinful man himself. Man's nature is domesticated once again when he believes in Christ. Thus the millennium refers not only to the restoration of paradise at the parousia, but also--the tradition of the elders notwithstanding--to the present era of conversion to Christ and the Church. Irenaeus explicitly repudiated this spiritual reading in AH V.33.4, but in the interim between the composition of the AH and the Epideixis, he seems to moderate his views.[51] Demonstratio 61 rehabilitates the realised, spiritual view of the millennial restoration of paradise while still supporting the literal, eschatological view.

The rehabilitation of the spiritual millennium in Dem. 61 suggests that a noneschatological reading of the Apocalypse is again possible. This reading Mazzucco finds in the curious passages in Dem. 9-10.[52] Its seven heavens of seven spirits (Is 11:2) and angelic "powers" have intrigued commentators.[53] Most see its imagery as of apocryphal origin.[54] A few see Philonic parentage.[55] However, Philonic influence has now been ruled out definitively on both

thematic[56] and linguistic grounds,[57] and apocryphal influence is dubious.[58]

In light of his anti-Gnostic proclivities and preference for Scripture rather than apocrypha, it is odd that Irenaeus uses seven heavens--whose sole purpose is to demonstrate the sevenfold provenance of the Spirit--in preference to Papias' three-tiered eschatological schema in AH V.36.1-2 and the Pauline cosmology of three heavens (2 Cor 12:2) . In fact, in AH II.30.7, Irenaeus quotes 2 Cor 12:2 specifically to repudiate Gnostic claims to arrive at a seventh heaven, since St. Paul himself only once ascends to a third heaven.[59] Perhaps the seven heavens derive from an apocryphal work which Irenaeus neither names nor uses elsewhere. But ordinarily, where Irenaeus eschews Paul and the traditions of the elders, he follows John. Moreover, since each spirit has its own heaven associated with a charism, rests upon the Son-become-man, and is the object of liturgical worship, a more obvious parallel would be Apoc 1:4-5; 3:1; 4:5; 5:6, where seven heavenly spirits also stand for the one Spirit, are imparted through the Son, and are worshipped with him.

Mazzucco is not alone in finding the influence of the Apocalypse. Skrinjar, Daniélou, and others also see echoes of the text in especially Dem. 9.[60] Victorinus of Pettau and Andrew of Caesarea,

who both follow Dem. 9 in their Apocalypse commentaries, relate the Apoc to the seven spirits of Is 11:2.[61] Clement of Alexandria and Augustine do likewise.[62] The frequent appearance of the Apoc with Is 11:2 in Irenaeus' disciples and elsewhere indicates that the influence of the Apocalypse upon Dem. 9-10 is certainly a possibility.

In AH III.17.3, Irenaeus quotes Is 11:2 in treating the descent of the fecund, manifold Spirit upon the Lord and the Church. He then alludes to Apoc 5:6, where the Spirit is in omnem terram mittens.[63] The Spirit is again the subject in IV.14.2-3, where Apoc 1:15 is quoted to show his plenitude, the greatness of the Father as manifested by his creation, and the construction of the temple and tabernacle according to the heavenly pattern (typus, citing Ex 25:40). Apoc 1:12; 5:6 are quoted to the same purpose in IV.20.11. In these passages, as in Dem. 9, Irenaeus is arguing for the manifold nature of the Spirit and of divine intervention in human history.[64]

In Dem. 9 the Spirit "lights up the heavens," and seven spirits with their charismata rest upon the Son. Like the seven torches of Moses' candelabra (citing Ex 25:31-40), the Spirit is said to have illumined the tent of the Presence according to this heavenly pattern. All creatures in heaven praise God as the creator (Dem. 9) and glorify him for sending his Son (Dem. 10). Where does Irenaeus find a description of this heavenly pattern? In AH IV.20.11, he makes it

clear that the pattern is found in the Apocalyptic description of heaven and the Trinity. The Son of Man wears sacerdotal garments (1:12) which Moses, after seeing it, copies in the vestures of the high priest. The Son is called the Word of God (19:13), and he has seven spirits like a burning candlebra (1:12) which are sent into all the world (1:17). Again in V.35.2, as in Dem. 9, Irenaeus quotes Ex 25:40. Here, the typus seen by Moses is specified as the heavenly Jerusalem, temple, and cult seen by John in Apoc 21. Similarly, in Dem. 9, the heavenly pattern of illumination seen by Moses resembles Apoc 1:12,17; 4:5; 5:6; 19:13. The seven spirits are compared to a candelabra, illuminate the heavens, and are given to the Son who is called the Word; all heavenly creatures accordingly praise God as the creator and sender of the Son.[65]

Further examination of the candelabra of seven lamps strengthens the hypothesis. The candelabra is found in only three scriptures: Ex 25:31-40 (cited in Dem. 9; AH IV.14.2; 20.11; V.35.2), Zech 4:2 (never cited by Irenaeus), and the Apocalypse (AH IV.14.2; 20.11; V.35.2). The Apoc depends upon Ex 25:31-40 and Zech 4:2 for its images of candelabra (1:12-13,20; 2:1) and torches (4:5), while it depends upon Is 11:2 and perhaps Zech 4:2,10 for its image of the seven spirits.[66] In Scripture, the seven-branched candelabra and seven spirits of Isaiah appear together--as in Dem. 9--only in the

Apocalypse.

The Apocalypse may in addition explain the identity of the cherubim and seraphim of Dem. 10. In Apoc 4:7 the four living creatures are a fusion of the cherubim of Ezech 1:1f and the seraphim of Is 6:1f.[67] They never appear together elsewhere, fused or otherwise, in Scripture.[68] Irenaeus discusses Apoc 4:7 at length in AH III.11.8, where he observes that the four creatures represent the quadriform dispositio of the Son: Et enim cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis filii dei.[69] For Irenaeus, the four creatures of 4:7 are, among other things, manifestations of the Son and of the succeeding age of the Spirit; as such, they are different from all other creatures of heaven. Their fourfold praise shows the universal nature of worship and is the original pattern followed by Moses in the institution of the old liturgy (once again citing Ex 25:31-40). The cherubim and seraphim are likewise manifestations or Powers of the Son in Dem. 9-10. They glorify him and the manifold Spirit in a universal liturgy. As with the four creatures of Apoc 4-5 (and AH III.11.8), the cherubim and seraphim of Dem. 9-10 are distinguished from other heavenly creatures. The unceasing nature of their praise--not mentioned by Isaiah--evokes 4:8.[70] As in Apoc 4, the major purpose of the liturgy of Dem. 9-10 is to give praise to the Father for the creation and for sending his Son

and sevenfold Spirit.

Mazzucco's exhaustive analysis shows that the influence of the Apocalypse is a reasonable possibility, and that alternative explanations of Dem. 9-10 (Philo, apocrypha) are unsatisfactory. As in the AH, Dem. 9-10 faithfully follows Apoc 1, 4, 5 in its exegesis of the biblical Spirit and especially Is 11:2 and Ex 25:31-40. Mazzucco's explanation has the additional merit of showing the continuity between Dem. 9 and 10, which together show the creative and redemptive work of God from a global and angelic perspective.[71] In Mazzucco's thesis, Dem 9-10 is not an apocryphal intrusion but a coherent part of the argument in Dem. 1-8, which praises the the Father for creation and for sending his Son, describes the Son and the charismatic Spirit, and depicts in liturgical tones the proper attitude of the Powers, angels, and faithful.[72] If Mazzucco's analysis is correct, then trinitarianism (if not precisely christocentrism) returns to the fore, and the Apoc depicts the integration of the heavenly liturgy and new covenant with its pattern, the old cult and covenant (Is 11:2; Ex 25:31-40).

Conclusion

As he begins the AH, Irenaeus seems to accept uncritically a christocentric and spiritual interpretation of the Apocalypse, a

reading also found in the Gallican Martyrs. This reading emphasises the first coming, glorious triumph over sin, and sacrificial features of the Lamb, who reveals himself to his faithful witnesses. However, Irenaeus finds that he can employ this reading against hellenisers with only limited success.

He then adjusts his reading of the text for polemical purposes. The Apocalypse becomes a proof text in the defense of the orthodox eschatology. It shows the future history of the destructive Antichrist, the Judgement, the restoration of Jerusalem, and the millennium. Even here, however, Irenaeus' use of the text is original and literary. He explains its images as the recapitulation of the Genesis archetypes.

Later, having defeated the hellenising Gnostics, he seems to return to spiritual exegesis, although in Demonstratio 61 he does not abandon eschatological exegesis. Apoc 1,4, and 5 may well stand behind the exegeses of Ex 25, Is 11, and the peculiar heavenly liturgy of Demonstratio 9-10, whose illuminating seven spirits are both Spirit and charismata of the Son; whose Powers are, like the four living creatures, manifestations of the Son; and whose angelic creatures glorify God as almighty creator, incarnate Son and Word, and seven-fold Spirit.

Chapter Five

Anti-Marcionite Eschatology in Tertullian

In the Apocalypse the eschatological sequence of events includes persecution (Apoc 2-3 and passim), the destruction and overthrow of Babylon or Egypt (Apoc 17), the Parousia (19:11-16), the millennial reign (20:4-6), the Last Judgement (20:4, 11-15), the destruction of the old order (21:1), and the establishment of the new Jerusalem (21:2, 10-27; 22:1-5). In Tertullian's 122 citations of these and other verses, the eschatological moments are complicated by speculation concerning the immediate destiny of the soul at death, and especially by Marcion's denial of the physical resurrection.[1] As a result, Tertullian expounds a realistic--i.e., a concrete and historically fulfilled--interpretation of the Seer's eschatological sequence, and is at pains to find in it proof of the bodily resurrection and the terrestrial reign of the heavenly Jerusalem. He prefers the Apocalyptic sequence, with its unique assurance of an earthly kingdom for the resurrected flesh (see also Ez 37-39; Dan 7), to its counterparts elsewhere in the New Testament.[2]

Yet Tertullian occasionally allegorises the Apocalypse. He declares that Christ's flesh is the new Jerusalem and that the first of the two resurrections of 20:6 could be spiritual--not carnal--and consist of the acceptance of Christianity. Tertullian allegorises partly to correct Marcion's Gnostic understanding of the resurrection.[3] In addition, Tertullian is repudiating Marcion's overly

literal exegesis by demonstrating the value and validity of figurative exegesis when the latter is logical and consistent with other scriptures. For example, Tertullian provides an allegorical interpretation of the white raiment of the virgins of Apoc 3:4-5 and 14:4 in order to demonstrate the veracity of the physical resurrection. Tertullian even suggests that a figurative reading of the Apoc has value apart from the polemical arena.

In short, Tertullian's exegesis of the Apocalypse is almost exclusively realistic and futuristic, although he allows for the possibility that the text may be spiritualised. He is not primarily concerned with the millennium itself. Rather, like Irenaeus and Hippolytus--and in contrast to Dionysius and Eusebius--he uses the Apocalypse to defend the orthodox eschatology in its entirety.

A. Eschatological Interpretation

i. The Whore of Babylon (Apoc 17)

In De resurrectione mortuorum 24, Tertullian identifies the Homo delinquentiae, Iniquus, and Filius perditionis of 2 Thess 2:1-7 with the Johannine Antichristus.[4] The rebellion or falling away (abscessio, ἀποστασία) of 2 Thess 2:3 is the Romanus status, cuius abscessio in decem reges dispersa antichristum superducet.[5] Thus the rebellion of 2 Thess 2:3 is equated with the collapse of the Roman

Empire (Apoc 17:12-14), which St. John of Patmos identified as the Whore of Babylon (Apoc 17:9). Tertullian does not shrink from being equally specific. Babylon, he says, apud Iohannem nostrum Romae urbis figura est...et magnae et regno superbae et sanctorum debellatricis.[6] And again, illa civitas valida, quae super montes septem [Apoc 17:9] et plurimas aquas praesidet [Apoc 17:1], cum prostitutae appellationem a domino meruisset.[7] The ten horns of Apoc 17:3 are the ten kingdoms which will replace the one Empire. Because the dissolution of the Empire is the prerequisite to the general resurrection, Parousia, and final Judgement, it follows that the destruction of the Empire is desirable, a logical inference Tertullian makes no effort to avoid.[8] Aside from Apoc 17 itself, De res. mort. 24 may be the first Christian text to imply that the destruction of the Empire is--because it portends good--earnestly to be desired. Tertullian's interpretation of Apoc 17 anticipates the even more anti-imperial exegesis of Hippolytus.

ii. Martyrs and Paradise

A countervailing tendency in Tertullian's exegesis of Apoc 17 is moral and hortatory. In De corona 13.3f, he likens Babylon not so much to Rome herself as to the idolatrous public life she fosters.[9] Christians should aspire to gain heavenly crowns, not earthly, and

their true citizenship is in the heavenly Jerusalem, not terrestrial cities. Here, Tertullian understands the image of persecuting Babylon morally or martyrologically rather than historically and politically. Christian women should wear plain, modest clothing. They should not trick themselves out in purpura et coccino et auro et lapide pretioso (Apoc 17:4) like the prostituted Empire.[10]

The emphasis is also on the martyr in Scorpiace 12. In his Revelation, Tertullian writes, John teaches that the Christian should suffer or die for the Lord.[11] The Spirit promises to the faithful martyr the "crown of life" (Apoc 2:10), "tree of life" (2:7), "hidden manna" (2:17), "white stone" (2:17), power to rule with an "iron rod" (2:27), brightness of the "morning star" (2:28), white garments (3:5), enrollment in the "book of life" (3:5), and future existence as a pillar in the temple of God (3:12).[12] Martyrs will be exempted from the mors secunda of Apoc 2:11, which Tertullian understands as the suffering and damnation of body and soul in Hades.[13] Because the emphasis is on martyrdom, Babylon is only an afterthought--the vehicle for persecution and the martyr's victory over the Antichrist.[14] Tertullian's moral exegesis is, nevertheless, consistent with his eschatological exegesis. It conforms to his historical framework.

The rewards of the Spirit promised in Apoc 2:7-3:12 are intended

for "martyrs in the strict sense of the word."[15] Tertullian makes a peculiar distinction between these, including the martyred souls under the altar (Apoc 6:9-10), and the myriads and myriads of Apoc 7:9. The latter are victors over the great tribulation to come:

> But in the interim [before the Parousia] the souls of the martyrs rest peacefully under the altar [Apoc 6:9] and maintain [their] patience by [their] assurance of vengeance; and, donning [their] robes, wear bright white, until others also complete the company of their glory. For again a countless multitude are also revealed, dressed in white and distinguished by palms of victory [7:9], obviously celebrating [their] triumph over the Antichrist, as per one of the elders: "These are," he says, "the ones who come out of that great pressure and have washed their clothes and made them white in the blood of the lamb" [7:14]. For flesh is the clothing of the soul. Dirt is in fact washed clean by baptism, but stains are made white by martyrdom....When great Babylon is also described as drunk on blood [17:6], doubtless her drunkenness is supplied by the cups of martyrdoms...[16]

The "countless multitude" seem also to be martyrs, because they are clothed in white and supply the blood-drunkenness of Babylon. The difference between these and the souls under the altar is only temporal--the souls under the altar are even now in the presence of the Almighty, while the countless multitude arrive only after the persecution of the Antichrist.

A more obvious distinction between the two groups would have been to see the souls under the altar as martyrs--the privileged few whose souls go directly to heaven--and the countless multitude as the great mass of Christians raised and glorified on the last day.

Tertullian cannot bring himself to view ordinary Christians so favorably. Yet he hints that this interpretation would have been held by some when he insists that baptism alone, although it cleanses, does not suffice to make the flesh glorious. Apoc 7:9f may have provided Tertullian with further proof for his belief that only the souls of martyrs go directly to heaven, and that the other Christian souls rise only later, after a period of purgation.[17] However, he feels constrained not to distinguish between the souls under the altar and the "countless multitude," the ὄχλος πολύς of 7:9. Before the Last Judgement, only the martyrs enjoy heaven.[18] Perhaps Tertullian adopts this position because he takes seriously the physical resurrection. If all Christian souls go to heaven immediately after death or purgation, then the physical resurrection is in danger of becoming unnecessary to eternal joy. Tertullian cannot concede this point to the Marcionites.

iii. The Last Times and the Two Resurrections

In De res. mort. 25, Tertullian argues that the Revelation of John clearly indicates the reality of the physical resurrection. It also provides the eschatological sequence of events:

> In the Apocalypse of John, the order of the [last] times is again laid out, for which justice and vengeance the importuning souls of the martyrs under the altar are also taught to wait [Apoc 6:9-11], in order that the world may

first drink from the bowls of the angels their plagues [Apoc 15:7; 16:1]; and that the prostituted city may receive from the ten kings its deserved end [Apoc 17:12]; and that the Beast Antichrist with his false Prophet may battle against the Church [Apoc 19:19-20]. Moreover, after the devil is banished for a while to the abyss [Apoc 20:3], the omen [praerogativa] of the first resurrection may be ordained from the thrones [Apoc 20:4-6]; and next, after [the devil is] given to the fire [Apoc 20:10], the judgement of the universal resurrection may be decided from the books [Apoc 20:9].[19]

Tertullian is treating the sequence of events in the Apocalypse historically. First come plagues (Apoc 15:7 and 16:1), then the end of Rome and her displacement by the ten kings (17:12). Next come the persecution of the Church by the Beast and his Prophet (19:19-20), to be followed by Satan's confinement in the abyss (20:3), the first resurrection (20:4-6), the hurling of Satan into the fire (20:10), and the second or general resurrection (20:9). Tertullian's belief in a future hurling of Satan into the abyss also implies, of course, that the millennium occurs in the future and is part and parcel of the eschatological sequence.[20] After the general resurrection there will be everlasting joy, God will wipe away every tear, and there will be no more death.[21]

The eschatological order of events is important to Tertullian because it provides evidence for a bodily resurrection and defends the orthodox eschatology in its entirety. The martyrs under the altar (Apoc 6:9-11), whose souls seem to go directly to heaven instead of to Tartarus (typically the soul's first stop in Tertullian's theology of

the afterlife, see De anima 55.5), would seem to be the beneficiaries of the first resurrection.[22] Others must wait for the second or general resurrection. But even the martyrs do not receive their glorified bodies until after the general resurrection: here Tertullian is quite explicit.[23] Most importantly, the fact that two resurrections occur means that at least one of them must be corporeal:

> Since, then, the Scriptures both demarcate the stages [status] of the last times and locate the entire fruit of Christian hope in the aftermath of the ages [in exodio saeculi], it is obvious [adparet aut] that everything whatsoever that is promised to us by God is fulfilled then, and that what has been claimed up till now by the heretics is empty...[24]

If the second resurrection is not corporeal, then it serves no logical purpose to distinguish it from the first. Therefore the second resurrection must be corporeal; therefore Marcion is refuted.

Even allegorical interpretation of the imagery of the Apocalypse and Old Testament prophets--the sort of interpretation preferred by Marcion--provides metaphors for the bodily resurrection of the flesh:

> To an earlier proposition, that the Scriptures are allegorical, I will make yet one more response: it is also permitted by prophetic--and consequently figurative--eloquence for us to defend a bodily resurrection.[25]

Because God forms man from earth (terra; see Gen 3:19), Tertullian continues, references to earth elsewhere in Scripture may also apply to man. When the Psalmist writes that "The earth saw and trembled;

the mountains melted like wax before the face of the Lord" (Ps 96:4-5), he refers not only to the world but also to the condemned flesh of the impious.[26] Similarly, scriptural references to the temple, Judaea, paradise, and Jerusalem are applicable to the Lord's holy flesh. (Here Tertullian permits a non-historical and non-futuristic interpretation of the restoration of paradise and the heavenly Jerusalem.) Gnostic allegory is thus turned on its head, because although Tertullian concedes that historical narrative embodies spiritual truth, he also avers that figurative biblical narrative yields concrete, realistic truth about orthodox doctrines like the resurrection of the body: Nam etsi figmentum veritatis in imagine est, imago ipsa in veritate est sui: necese est esse prius sibi id quod alii configuretur.[27]

The positive, "carnal" meaning behind figurative language definitely applies to the Apocalypse. The clothes of the saints "who have not defiled their clothes with women" (qui vestimenta sua non coinquinaverunt cum mulieribus; compare with Apoc 3:4; 14:4) are the bodies of virgins.[28] The white garments donned by the saints of Apoc 3:5 are their glorified bodies, the clothing of their souls.[29] Tertullian concludes: Adeo nobis quoque suppetit allegorice defensio corporalis resurrectionis.[30]

Tertullian has used the Apocalypse to argue that the orthodox

Christian eschatology will really take place at the end of human history. Second, he has defended the doctrine of the physical resurrection by using the Apocalypse (and other books) to show that even the allegorical sense of scripture points to a bodily resurrection.

iv. The Heavenly Jerusalem: Its Millennial Reign due more to Gnostic than to Montanist Influence? (Apoc 20-21)

The millennial reign is the penultimate act in the eschatological sequences of the Apocalypse and Tertullian. It is followed by the destruction of the material universe and descent of the heavenly Jerusalem.[31] Tertullian's clearest profession of chiliasm comes in the famous passage in Adversus Marcionem III.24, where he describes the future fulfillment of the Apocalyptic prophecy:

> For we do confess that a kingdom on earth is promised to us, but before heaven, and in another state, inasmuch as [it will be] after the resurrection for a thousand years in the divinely-made city of Jerusalem "let down from heaven" [Apoc 21:2]...This both Ezekiel knew and the Apostle John saw, and the discourse of the new prophecy in our faith testifies, as it also predicted that a likeness of the city would be observed as a sign before its manifestation. Just recently [the prediction] was fulfilled in an eastern expedition. For it is also established by pagan testimony that in Judaea a city was suspended from heaven for a short while [each] morning for forty days. As the day progressed, all of its walls vanished gradually, and some [days they vanished] immediately.
>
> We say that this [city] is to receive the saints on [their] resurrection and refresh [them] with all good things, especially spiritual things, an abundance provided by God in compensation for those things in the world we have either

despised or lost, since it is both just and worthy of God that his servants be exalted in that place where they were also afflicted for his name. This is the way of the [sub-]heavenly reign.

After its thousand years, within which period is completed the resurrection of the saints, [who] according to their merits rise earlier or later, then--after the destruction of the world and the conflagration begun by the judgement, changed down to the atom into angelic substance perforce by that incorruptible investiture--we are removed to the heavenly kingdom...[32]

As Tibiletti notes, Tertullian's millennium is an earthly kingdom, distinct from that of heaven. It comes after the resurrection of the faithful.[33] The emphasis is on the kingdom itself, not the millennium completing the cosmic week. The kingdom is actualised in the Jerusalem of Apoc 21:10, brought down from heaven. The just who participate do so in an altered condition, but only after the millennium do they become incorrupt and therefore suitable for the heavenly kingdom. Again, as in De res. mort. 25, the first resurrection of Apoc 20:6 is reserved to martyrs who have been afflicted for the sake of God's name, and the second reservation is general and corporeal. The saints who are not martyrs rise earlier or later according to their merits. Tibiletti rightly observes that their reward is spiritual (as in Apoc 20:6). The reward is not, as with Cerinthus, of material pleasures and delights.[34] The judgement follows the millennium just as in Apoc 20:5, 12-13.[35]

Tertullian clearly declares that Montanist prophecy corroborates his chiliastic interpretation of the Apocalyptic kingdom, and some

scholars have seized upon the passage as proof that Tertullian embraces chiliasm because it is part and parcel of Montanism.[36] Granted, since the Adv. Marc. provides the first explicit evidence of Tertullian's Montanism and of his chiliasm, there is a prima facie case for the view that Montanism influences him in this regard. However, four arguments undermine the thesis. First, there are indications of chiliasm--or at least of an earthly kingdom--in Tertullian's pre-Montanist writings.[37] Second, analogous passages from Tertullian's Montanist period are little different in emphasis from the pre-Montanist passages.[38] Third, Tertullian's belief in a millennial kingdom could simply grow alongside of his admiration for Montanism; other factors may persuade him to embrace chiliasm. Fourth, there is no hard evidence that early Montanists read the Apoc chiliastically.[39] While the usual explanation is surely possible, it is not entirely decisive, and other factors may lead Tertullian to embrace chiliasm explicitly.

Perhaps Tertullian began to be convinced of the importance of a millennial kingdom as he began to contend with the dangers posed by Marcion, Hermogenes, and the Gnostics. It is the earthly kingdom which is important in the quotation above and elsewhere--the millennium is merely its vehicle. Indeed, the "testimony of the new prophecy" (novae prophetiae sermo) predicts the apparition of the

heavenly Jerusalem as well as the millennial reign. The millennium only concretizes the future and historical kingdom. Thus, when the pre-Montanist Tertullian approves of the scriptura of 1 Enoch in De cultu feminarum I.3, he does so expressly because it preaches an earthly messianic reign, and he makes no mention of its chiliasm.[40]

Perhaps Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus, and Hermogenes--not Montanus--are ultimately responsible for Tertullian's chiliastic interpretation of Apoc 20. Tertullian's preoccupation with Hellenistic spiritualisers and use of the Apoc against them are common both before and after his adhesion to Montanism. The Adversus Hermogenem, which both Barnes and Waszink place just prior to Tertullian's conversion to Montanism, refers several times to the Apoc.[41] Tertullian uses the text to defend the orthodox belief in the eschatological destruction of the material order, the last act in the eschatological sequence. Against Hermogenes, whose over-reliance on Platonism led him to believe that God created the cosmos from preexisting matter, Tertullian uses the Apoc to show that the material universe is temporal. That is, if the cosmos is destroyed by God, which the Apoc proves by its prophecy, then God is the absolute master of the material universe. If this is so, then God must also be the maker of the universe. Tertullian quotes 6:13-14, 20:11, and 21:1, which speak of the destruction of the first heaven

and the first earth. He does not refer to the millennium, but this hardly proves that he is not yet a millenarian. Rather, discussion of the millennium is simply irrelevant to his polemic, which is that God created and will destroy the cosmos.

Tertullian's heavenly Jerusalem descends upon Judaea, not Pepuza. Aland, Powell, and Tibiletti all remark upon the fact that Tertullian knows nothing of a putative Montanist belief in the descent of the New Jerusalem at Pepuza.[42] Perhaps the descent of the eschatological Jerusalem on Pepuza and Tymion is not part of the original Montanist prophecy. The Anonymous fails to mention the villages in HE V.16-17.[43] But regardless of the actual Montanist belief, there would seem to be nothing specifically Montanistic about Tertullian's expectations regarding Jerusalem--as we saw in Chapter One of this study, Eusebius also expects the New Jerusalem to descend at Jerusalem. Again, Tertullian's primary intention is to show, against the Gnostics, that the kingdom has a terrestrial beginning. He interprets the Apocalypse accordingly.

With one exception, the frequency of Tertullian's references to the Apocalypse and his exegesis of the text do not change after he joins the Montanist movement, a further indication that his chiliastic use of the text is also not due to Montanism. The exception is Tertullian's use of the penitential passages of Apoc 2-3 (discussed

immediately below). The Montanist Tertullian quotes the passages to show, contra his previous rendering, that forgiveness for backsliding Christians is not possible. As is clear from his use of the first person plural, Tertullian speaks not only for himself but also for other pneumatic Christians. However, it is also significant that the Nicolaitans or "Gaians" are listed with Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus, and Hermogenes as among those who deny that Christ has come in the flesh.[44] The passages in the Apoc therefore have added significance for Tertullian because they provide apostolic condemnation of Gnosticism, and indicate that Gnostics--heretical Christians--are not forgiven.

B. Montanist Revisionism: The Penitential Passages (Apoc 2-3)

After he embraces Montanism, Tertullian appears to alter his exegesis of the penitential passages of Apoc 2-3. If the chronologies of Waszink and Barnes are approximately correct, Tertullian wrote the De paenitentia between 198 and 203/4, before his conversion to Montanism in approximately 206/8. But he wrote the De pudicitia after becoming a Montanist--no earlier than 210/11.[45] These texts provide different interpretations of Apoc 2-3.

In De paenitentia 7-8, the pre-Montanist work, Tertullian clearly

favours a second repentance:

> although the door of forgiveness is shut and locked by the door-bolt of intinction [baptism], God has still permitted it to be somewhat open: he has placed in the vestibule a second repentance which may open to those who knock [see Apoc 3:20]....For repeated sickness there must be repeated medicine...You have offended, but you can still be reconciled...
>
> If you doubt this, discover what the Spirit is saying to the churches [Apoc 2:7, etc.]: he imputes to the Ephesians "forsaken love" [2:4]; he reproaches the Thyatirans for "debauchery" and "eating things sacrificed to idols" [2:20]; he accuses the Sardians of "works not of fullness" [3:2]; he rebukes the Pergamenes for teaching perverse things [2:14-15]; he reproves the Laodiceans for trusting in riches [3:17]: and nevertheless he calls all to repentance--under threats, it is conceded. But he would not threaten the unrepentant if he did not forgive the repentant.[46]

Tertullian's interpretation of the Spirit's comminations is literal and straightforward. He allows that the Apocalypse, which elsewhere celebrates the virtues and rewards of martyrs, also offers forgiveness for those most heinous of Christian sins, idolatry, murder, and apostasy.

The Montanist Tertullian is not so forgiving, and his exegesis is more circumscribed and ingenious in making distinctions. In <u>De pudicitia</u> 19.1-2, he quotes Apoc 2:20-22, the Spirit's warning to the angel of the church in Thyatira. The church tolerated the woman Jezebel,

> quae se propheten dicit et docet atque seducit servos meos ad fornicandum et edendum de idolothytis. Et largitus sum illi temporis spatium, ut paenitentiam iniret, nec vult eam inire nomine fornicationis. Ecce dabo eam in lectum et

> moechos eius cum ipsa in maximam presurram; nisi paenitentiam egerint operum eius.[47]

Tertullian explains that this Spirit's injunction to repent must not be understood as an offer of forgiveness:

> (1) He has proven, he says, that St. Paul should not be interpreted as permitting a second repentance (De pud. 13-18). One would therefore expect St. John also to oppose a second repentance, because apostolis et fidei et disciplinae regulis convenit.[48]
>
> (2) Perhaps Jezebel had never professed the orthodox faith in the first place, but only the heretical faith of the Nicolaitans .[49] Because she may never have been a faithful Christian or received an orthodox baptism, she is as eligible for the baptisma veritatis and for forgiveness as any pagan.[50]
>
> (3) If, however, Jezebel had once professed a fides viva and "afterwards expired into heresy, in order that you [psychics] may claim forgiveness by reason of repentance, not as it were for a heretical but as it were for a faithful sinner, let her repent, of course, but in belief against adultery, not, however, in pursuit of restoration as well. For this will be a repentance which we [pneumatics] also acknowledge to be owed--much more, in fact [than you do], but [which] we reserve for forgiveness to God."[51] In other words, if Jezebel's initial profession of faith and subsequent repentance are both genuine, then God may be able to forgive her, but Tertullian will not presume to do so, and he condemns the psychics for their laxist presumption.

In other passages, Tertullian continues, the Apocalypse assigns all backsliding cowards, idolators, heretics, fornicators, and murderers to the "lake of fire" and "second death" (21:8), and records that these "dogs" cannot enter the gates of the holy city (22:14-15).[52] As Plumpe observes, Tertullian believes that the eight categories of sinners condemned in Apoc 21:8 are not pagans, but fallen Christians--qui tale quid in fide fuerint.[53] Plumpe also notes

Tertullian's comment about Christians who flee in times of persecutions: the latter are cowards (timidi) and therefore number among the sinners John condemns to the "second death."[54] The Montanist Tertullian has made a complete volte-face. He reinterprets the admonitions to repentance in Apoc 2-3 and subsumes them in the imprecations of Apoc 21:8; 22:14-15.

C. Traces of Allegory: Passages Which Do Not Fit

Tertullian's use of the Apoc is not unrelievedly futuristic and eschatological. He does allegorise on occasion. He declares that Christ's flesh is the new Jerusalem and holy land (De res. mort. 26.11) and that the first of the two resurrections of 20:6 could be spiritual--not carnal--and consist of the acceptance of Christianity. As argued above, Tertullian is correcting Marcion's Gnostic understanding of the resurrection and repudiating Marcion's overly literal exegesis. This is especially obvious in his use of the white garments given to the virgins of 14:4 (see also 3:4) in De res. mort. 27.1, where he concludes that the verses supply an allegorical defense of the resurrection of the body. However, there may be something more to his exegesis of De resurrectione mortuorum 25 (the two resurrections) than anti-Marcionite reaction.

In treating the two resurrections of 20:4-6 and 21:1-4 (see also 6:9-11, 7:14), Tertullian previously suggested that the first resurrection is for martyrs only and that the second is the general resurrection of the body and for the remaining souls who are saved. However, at the end of this explanation, Tertullian suggests that the first resurrection may also refer not to the resurrection of the martyrs' souls, but to the acceptance of Christianity: "or [aut] if indeed the acknowledgement of the deposit [of faith] is [itself] a resurrection, it is especially well that that be believed which is announced for the end." [55] The second resurrection would then presumably entail revivification of the body and translation of the soul from Tartarus to heaven.

This figurative or eschatologically realised interpretation is not at all like the futuristic, historically fulfilled eschatology preceding it. In the realised scheme, the death of the harlot Babylon and the millennial chaining of Satan would of necessity come before the conversion of each individual. We do not know how the realised eschatology would explain these two events; perhaps Rome and Jerusalem--Babylon and Egypt--stood for the civil and religious corruption of the world, and Satan's temporary confinement for the Old Covenant. (His temporary release could refer to his crucifixion of Christ, whose death would also bring about Satan's definitive defeat.

This defeat would be reenacted--or better, its fruits appropriated--by each Christian at his conversion). At any rate, Tertullian acknowledges a spiritual interpretation, neglects to explain it (because it was already well known or subject to Gnostic misuse?), and does not dispute its orthodoxy.

Conclusion

Tertullian's interpretation of the Apocalypse is eschatological (futuristic and historical) and aimed at protecting the bodily resurrection and integrity of the orthodox eschatology against hellenizers. Against Marcion, he uses the eschatological sequence to prove the physical resurrection. Against Hermogenes, he uses Apoc 6, 20, 21 to prove the eschatological dissolution--and by inference, the divine creation--of the material cosmos. In addition to Montanism, his aversion to Marcion and the Gnostics may play a decisive role in his one explicitly chiliastic reading of Apoc 20. But even if Montanism alone is decisive in convincing him to embrace chiliasm explicitly, his interest is in a realistic exegesis of St. John's heavenly Jerusalem and two resurrections; it is not confined only to the millennium. Montanism does, however, alter Tertullian's exegesis of the penitential passages of Apoc 2-3, although he also finds in Apoc 2-3 encouragement for martyrs. Yet Tertullian shows signs of wanting to

spiritualise when he hints that an allegorical interpretation of the new Jerusalem of Christ's body and of the two resurrections would be fruitful.

Chapter Six

Christ, Antichrist, and Eschaton in Hippolytus

Recent research has uncovered a number of fragments from Hippolytus' lost Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John. This research largely dispels the confusion about the the subject matter and title of the work. It demonstrates that at least eighteen fragments of the Apology survive in the commentary of Dionysius bar Salîbî and elsewhere.[1] Hippolytus' statue provides the full title of the Apology—ΤΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ.[2] The research also indicates that the so-called Chapters Against Gaius are in fact part of the same Apology.[3] Similarly, the De Apocalypsi, a work attributed to Hippolytus, is a later florilegium excerpting primarily from the Apology, the Commentary on Daniel, and the Antichristo.[3a]

To the fragments from the Apology are added the exegeses in especially Antichristo and the Commentary on Daniel.[4] When the quotations and allusions are collated the result is reliable material particularly on Apoc 11-22. These exegeses yield a predominantly eschatological but also christological interpretation of St. John's vision. The discussion below examines the christological and eschatological themes in turn.

A. Images of Christ and his Church

The fragments of the Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John and Hippolytus' other exegetical writings justify the conclusion that even this most eschatological ante-Nicene spiritualises important Apocalyptic passages about Christ. There is no coherent thesis or organising principle behind Hippolytus' christological exegesis of the Apoc. It is ad hoc and refutes heresy only insofar as it shows, contra the crude objections of Gaius, the spiritual riches of the text. It is typological and grouped around images such as the temple of 11:1, the glorious mother and child of 12:1f, and the Son of Man of 1:13. For Hippolytus these images are revelatory of the identity of Christ. They often have sacramental significance. They reveal his salvific, priestly incarnation and call attention to his body and its saving significance. Christ is variously the incarnate sacrament of salvation, the giver of Scripture, the speaker of the saving word, and the sacrament of the Church.

i. The Temple of Christ's Body (Apoc 11:1)

Hippolytus' description of Christ as the κιβωτός in his exegesis of Apoc 11:1 suggests a biblical passage in which the words play a prominent role. Apoc 11:19 is the climactic translation of the ark: Καὶ ἠνοίγη ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὤφθη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης

αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ. Given his interpretation of Jn 2:19-21 (see also Antichrist 6) and Ex 25:10-11 in Dan. IV.34.3, it is tempting to speculate that Hippolytus understands the Apocalyptic translation of the ark as the resurrection of Christ.

This speculation is supported by bar Salîbî's exegesis of Apoc 11:1 ("Get up, measure the temple of the Lord, the altar and those who worship there"), which almost certainly comes from Hippolytus:

> Il [St. John] appelle "le temple" le corps du Seigneur. Comme les Hébreux ne comprenaient pas la prophétie, ils essayèrent de construire, aux jours de Zorobabel, et Sharbashar, chef d'armée de Cyrus, [un temple] selon les mesures dites par Ezéchiel [The measurements are actually given in Ezra 3-6]. Mais ils en furent empêchés, parce qu'ils étaient impuissants. Il appelle donc ensemble son corps temple et Église--tant qu'il y réside, il demeure avec nous. De même il a dit encore: 'Détruisez ce temple' [Jn 2:19]. Mais parce qu'ils voulaient la gloire et utiliser une mesure terrestre, ils en furent à nouveau empêchés. Autres sont les choses signifiées par le prophète et autres celles qu'ont voulu faire les Hébreux. "Et ceux qui y adorent": Dans quel temple les saints adorent-ils, sinon dans celui qu'est le Christ?[5]

Christ's resurrected body is not only the temple and the ark, but also the Church. Here Hippolytus relates Jn 2:19-21 to the temple of the Apocalypse. The suggestion is that the translation of the ark in 11:19 is the bodily resurrection of the Lord--a resurrection which has, of course, already occurred. In such a scheme, the three catastrophic "woes" of Apoc 11 would refer to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Old Economy rather than to the future era of the Parousia. A

christological reading of the Apocalypse therefore closely parallels an important theme of the Fourth Gospel, and renders more intelligible the patristic belief that St. John authored both works.

ii. The Maternal Church and the Glorious Christ (Apoc 12)

Hippolytus may be the first to explicate Apoc 12.[6] Three exegeses survive, and all seem authentic. In addition to Antichrist 61, there are Arabic and Coptic fragments which are, except for obvious and minor corruptions, definitely Hippolytean.[7]

The woman is the Church.[8] In Antichrist 61, the sun that clothes her is "the Father's logos, brighter than the sun" (τὸν λόγον τὸν πατρῷον ὑπὲρ ἥλιον λάμποντα). In the Arabic Fragment IV, the sun is identified as our Lord the Christ, because he is called the Sun of Righteousness (Mal 4:2).[9] And in the chain on Matthew in Coptic Fragment XV, the sun is the New Testament, or better still Christ, the Sun of Righteousness.[10]

In the Arabic fragment the moon is John the Baptist, while in the Coptic fragment it is the Old Testament. Prigent suggests that the core interpretation is that the sun is Christ or the New Testament, and the moon John the Baptist or the Old Testament.[11] The woman of Apoc 12 is therefore a figure of the maternal Church, celestial but actually grounded in the Old Economy and intimately bound up in

Christ, the brilliant light of the New Economy.[12]

In all exegeses the twelve stars on the woman's crown stand for the twelve Apostles. In Antichrist 61 Hippolytus adds that the image signifies the role played by the Apostles in founding the Church. In the Arabic Fragment V he declares that the Apostles' privileged position signifies their authority over the Church's kerygma.[13] Hippolytus is depicting the Church's cosmic aspect; the Church's leading lights are already in heaven but still play an essential, practical, and perduring role. The founding role of the Apostles also explains Bar Salîbî's allusion to Apoc 21:19-20. Hippolytus seems to understand the twelve precious foundation stones of the new Jerusalem as references to the twelve disciples.[14] The new, spiritual Jerusalem is the mysterious fulfillment of its type, the gilded tabernacle constructed by Moses.[15]

The birth-pangs are treated in the Coptic fragment and Antichrist 61. In the latter, her travails mean that "the Church never ceases bearing from [her] heart the logos [which is] persecuted by the unbelieving in the world."[16] Hippolytus equates the dolorous childbirth with the painful business of bringing the Gospel to a hostile world. The corporate Church does what it must, and individual faithful suffer. The Church, a maternal and mystical body, labours timelessly to make Christ incarnate--by means of word and

Spirit--to an uncomprehending and hostile world. This [ongoing] advent of Christ demonstrates that the teaching of the Apocalypse is fulfilled in and through the Church of the saints.[17]

The child borne by the woman in Apoc 12:5 is "the male and perfect Christ (τὸν ἄρσενα καὶ τέλειον Χριστόν)...whom the prophets proclaimed, [and] whom the Church, bearing at all times, teaches to all the nations."[18] Hippolytus implies that Christ's incarnation, although a unique moment in history, is a continuing event through which the Church becomes the universal teacher. The emphasis is on Christ's present, glorious reign. The meaning of his translation to heaven is that "he who is constantly born of the Church is a heavenly king, not an earthly one."[19] Thus in his analysis of Apoc 12, Hippolytus depicts Christ's coming as primarily an event of the present made possible by his self-sacrifice in the past. In contrast, the Antichrist's coming is a matter for historicizing and eschatological exegesis.

The suggestions of Müller and LeFrois to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no evidence that Hippolytus identified the heavenly woman with either Mary or Eve.[20] For Hippolytus the new Eve was not the Virgin Mary, but Martha in Jn 12:3.[21] Yet a Marian interpretation of the Apocalyptic birth would have been doubly useful to Hippolytus. It would have refuted Cerinthus' claim, which

Hippolytus dismissed in the Apology, that the Lord was not born of a virgin.[22] It would also harmonize with the infancy narratives and thereby defend the orthodoxy of the Apocalypse against Gaius and the Alogoi. Hippolytus' failure to avail himself of a Marian interpretation suggests that it does not occur to him to do so. It implies that there is no Marian reading of Apoc 12 early in the tradition.

Although Hippolytus' account of the dragon is primarily eschatological, he does affirm in one passage that the devil's definitive defeat comes not at the eschaton but at the Crucifixion. The Church, fleeing persecution, seeks concealment in the mountains,

> ...having with herself nothing other than "the two wings of the great eagle," that is, the faith in Christ Jesus, who, stretching out his holy hands on the tree, unfolded two wings, the right and left, and called to himself everyone believing in him, and covered them "as a hen [her] chicks" (Mt 23:37; Lk 13:34). For through Malachi he also speaks [thus]: "And to you who fear my name will arise the Sun of Righteousness, and healing [will be] in his wings" (Mal 4:2).[23]

The Church is borne to safety by the opened arms of the crucified Christ, who is "perched" on the tree of the Cross.[24] Despite its eschatological context--in Antichrist 61 Hippolytus is explaining the coming of the eponymous persecutor--12:14 indicates that the Church's eschatological safety is guaranteed and accomplished by the Cross. This transpires when Christ gathers his brood under his crucified arms, not at the Second Coming. The wings of the

Apocalyptic eagle also prove that Christ is the winged Sun of Righteousness; this glorious aspect of his nature is revealed definitively at his Crucifixion.[25]

iii. Sacramental Typology and the Offer of Salvation (Apoc 1:13)

Hippolytus is fascinated by the description of the body and raiment of Christ in Apoc 1:13, where the "one like a son of man [is] robed down to his feet, with a golden girdle wrapped round the breasts." Hippolytus discusses the robe in his analysis of the linen tunic worn by the "man" of Dan 10:5:

> "...and behold a man dressed in linen"....he [Daniel] sees the Lord himself, not yet perfectly a man, but appearing in a figure of man...For Christ, dressed in a multi-coloured [ποικίλον] tunic, showed in mystery the multi-coloured nature of the appeal of the charisms. Thus the priestly tunic was composed of different colours to show to the diverse [ποικίλων] nations awaiting the coming of Christ, in order that we may be composed of diverse [ποικίλοις] charisms.[26]

This exegesis of Dan 10:5 owes its inspiration to the vision of Christ in Apoc 1:13 and the description of sacerdotal vestments in Ex 28.[27] However, the vestments of Ex 28 are purple; the colours are Hippolytus' idea. The many colors of the tunic represent the many charisms which the people of God receive from Christ. Through his priestly mediation, Christ offers all of the charisms. The colors also represent the nations that await the coming of Christ, at which time

they are restored to their full faculties. Two additional points which logically follow are the unity of the Church, because in spite of its many colors (showing its catholicity) it is one garment, and its essentially sacramental nature, the garment being a priestly vestment. This image, where the garment brings out aspects of the Church, and the human figure is Christ, is the complement to Apoc 12, where the human figure represents the Church, and her brilliant habiliment is Christ. Again, Hippolytus describes the Apocalyptic restoration as a thing accomplished rather than awaited. He seems to allow that the text has a present as well as a future sense.

The golden girdle is the believing Gentiles, who are bound to the person of Christ by means of his love.[28] In a closely related passage, Dan. IV.37.2, Hippolytus explains that the Gentiles need this close association with Christ because only Christ is fashioned with a perfect body. Lefèvre, following Mersch, sees here an allusion to the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ.[29] It would follow that the Christian derives sustenance from Christ, and this is in fact Hippolytus' contention: in the same passage bar Salîbî refers to the breasts of Christ as the two testaments. Richard terms Hippolytus' exegesis of Apoc 1:13 and verses in Proverbs une curieuse typologie féminine du Christ.[30]

The intimacy of the Church's relationship with Christ and its

essential unity are not threatened by its multiplicity. John writes to seven churches in Apoc 2-3 because the number seven was extolled by the Hebrews and in the Scriptures, and because the seven gifts of the one Spirit (see 1 Cor 12:4-11) are recognized in the one Church.[31] The eyes of Christ are the prophets, who foresee and announce beforehand his suffering and glory.[32]

B. Eschatological Fulfillment of the Exodus Typology and the "Millennium"

In his exegesis of Apoc 6 and Apoc 8-21, Hippolytus is insistent on the future and concrete fulfillment of the text. However, his views on the millennium are circumspect and moderate. He reverses the usual meaning of Ps 89:4, not committing himself to say that the millennium is measured in literal calendar years, and interprets Apoc 20:1-6 as teaching that only one bodily resurrection occurs during the eschaton. He succeeds in preserving the eschatological reading of the text while dispensing with literal chiliasm.

For Hippolytus the Apoc describes the completion of the journey of the true chosen people, the Christians, of which the Exodus is only the type and harbinger. The fulfillment of the Exodus and other Old Testament types means, against Gaius, that the Apoc is wholly consistent with the Old Testament, and therefore an inspired and

orthodox work. On the other hand, it validates the Old Testament against those, such as Marcion and the Gnostics, who minimise its importance. The continuity of the Church with the Old Testament also implies, against the Jews, that the Christians are the true heirs of the Old Testament prophecies.

Other issues influencing Hippolytus' Apocalypse commentary may include Montanism and the persecuting Empire. Against the Montanists, the Apoc helps to explain the necessity of the delay of the Parousia. As to the Empire, the Apoc provides the consoling message that the Severan persecution is contemplated in a divine plan whose ultimate issue is the vindication of Christians and destruction of their tormentors.

i. Fulfillment of the Exodus Typology (Apoc 8:8,11-12; 9:2; 12:16; 21:20

For Hippolytus, the Apoc is the fulfillment of the Exodus, its type and harbinger. This interpretation, previously suggested by Irenaeus but not developed by him (Adv. Haer. V.35.2), has sanction in the text itself. For example, 11:8 refers to Egypt, 12:6,15 describe a river flood and divinely-led flight into desert sanctuary, 15:3 refers to the "Song of Moses" uttered in praise of God's victory over Pharaoh (Ex 15:1), 16:1f describes the same plagues as those inflicted upon

Pharaoh and Egypt (frogs, water turned to blood, sores, darkness, thunder and lightning, hail), and 21:12 refers to inscriptions of the names of the twelve tribes (Ex 28:21). Hippolytus uses this typology as a key to the text.

The fulfillment of the Exodus typology is seen in the eschatological destruction of the world. In bar Salîbî's commentary, Apoc 8:8 ("A great mountain was cast into the sea, and the third part of the sea became blood") and 8:12 (darkness over a third of the land) are signs of God's Judgement, given to the whole world. In contrast, the darkness over Egypt (Ex 10:22-23) and the water-become-blood (Ex 7:20) brought only partial destruction.[33] When a third of the waters become like wormwood (Apoc 8:11), the water of pagans is changed into bitterness even as the water-become-blood chastised the Egyptians. But by means of the [other] wood (identified as the Cross in Antichrist 61), God will provide sweet waters and save the Christians as he did the Hebrews at Massa (Ex 17:6-7). Similarly, the locusts sent to smite the earth (9:2) sting only the unrighteous who persecute the saints, just as the locusts of the Exodus plague only the Egyptians, who oppressed the Hebrews (see Ex 10:12-14).[34]

Exodus imagery seems also to figure in the exegesis of Apoc 12:16. The Arabic Fragment 9, which probably comes from the Apology, explains:

> When [John] says, "And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed up the river of water that the dragon had hurled after the woman," it is the swallowing up of the armies marching on the earth. This permits two interpretations.
>
> The first, literal [interpretation] would make them suffer the fate of the sons of Korah, when the earth opened and they went down to its depths, and it re-closed over them [Num 16:32].
>
> The second, symbolic [interpretation] would be that their swallowing up signifies their distraction and their straying far from their aim. The latter is the sense of Hippolytus' opinion.[35]

Although the Arab commentator distinguishes two interpretations, attributing only one to Hippolytus, Prigent observes that the two interpretations are not different or irreconcilable.[36] They agree in identifying the flood vomited by the dragon as the armies from the Antichrist. The first interpretation shows that the event prophesied corresponds to the Exodus. The second is an eschatological reading.[37] The indications are that Hippolytus understood the verse as the fulfillment of the Exodus "prophecy," where Pharaoh and his armies are figures of the Antichrist and his legions, who are thwarted and destroyed at the Parousia.

The final Exodus topos is Apoc 21:20, the catalogue of precious stones at the foundation of the new Jerusalem. Bar Salîbî remarks that the stones are the reality, while Moses' tabernacle was only the type (Ex 25:40).[38] The tabernacle itself is a type of the heavenly Jerusalem. If Hippolytus' Apology is the source of the exegesis, then the work again shows that the Old Testament figure is fulfilled in the

Apocalyptic eschaton. The Apoc provides an overview of the whole eschaton, and the relationship between the Exodus account and the Apoc is complementary, because each illuminates the other. Both show that the meaning of history is that God delivers his chosen people from evil and leads them to safety by his personal intervention.

ii. The Antichrist and the Death of the Two Witnesses (Apoc 9:13,15; 11:2-6; 12:3-4; 13:3,8,11,16,18)

The four angels of 9:13, 15 and the seven-headed dragon of 12:3-4 represent kingdoms. The angels represent the Persians, Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians, the ancient enemies of Israel who will rise again during the last times.[39] The seven heads are the kings of the same nations as well as of the empires of Alexander, his generals, and Rome. Rome and the kingdom of the Antichrist count as a single empire.[40] Here begins a historical and anti-Imperial exegesis of the eschatological sequence. One of Hippolytus' purposes in using the text is to condemn the persecuting Empire, which is depicted as the willing instrument of the Antichrist.

As Dunbar notes, only after the dissolution of the Empire into ten kingdoms (the ten horns of Dan 7:7's fourth beast) will the "little horn" or Antichrist arise.[41] The Antichrist will revive Rome.[42]

Hippolytus understands the "first beast" which rises out of the sea (13:1) as Rome, "fallen but now eschatologically revived."[43] Dunbar suggests that Hippolytus may believe that the Antichrist will be Roman, which explains his preference for Λατείνος as the name for the mystical number of the beast.[44]

The Antichrist is both a false messiah who is followed by the Jews and a political tyrant who conquers the lands contiguous with Israel, then Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia.[45] He "bears a special relationship not only to the church but also to Judaism," Dunbar notes, because more than anything else, he has what D'Alès refers to as the "diabolical intention to imitate in everything the Son of God."[46] Like Irenaeus, Hippolytus believes that the Antichrist will come from the tribe of Dan.[47] He will rebuild Jerusalem and the temple and be worshipped by the Jews as the Christ.[48] The Jews will incite him to persecute the Christians.[49]

However, the two witnesses (11:3), whom Hippolytus identifies as Enoch and Elijah, will defy him.[50] Dunbar provides a helpful synthesis of Hippolytus' understanding of the witnesses:[51]

> As the Scriptures present two advents of Christ, one being in humiliation, and another in glory, so also two forerunners are indicated. Christ's first advent was signaled in the appearance of John the Baptist; his second will be heralded by the coming of Elijah who, according to Mal 4:5, will return prior to the Day of the Lord to preach repentance to the nations.[52]
>
> The eschatological ministry of Elijah will be shared by

Enoch. These two will preach in sackcloth for 1260 days--the first half-week.[53] "These, then, will come and proclaim the manifestation of Christ that is to be from heaven; and they will also perform signs and wonders in order that men may be put to shame and be turned to repentance for their excessive wickness and impiety."[54] The two prophets will oppose the Antichrist even as Moses and Aaron withstood Pharoah and the Egyptians, and their refusal to glorify the Antichrist will lead to their eventual martyrdom.[55]

The use of Enoch and Elijah may be the earliest extant example of this identification of the two witnesses. Bousset thought that Irenaeus made the identification in Adv. Haer. V.5.1.[56] However, the passage in Irenaeus is describing the translation of Enoch and Elijah; Irenaeus is making no claims that they will return and become the two witnesses of Apoc 11. The earliest extant references to the two are therefore in Antichrist 43, Tertullian's De anima 50, and the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah.[57] R. Bauckham's exhaustive study suggests a preexisting Jewish tradition of the return of Enoch and Elijah. However, Hippolytus may be the first to identify them with the two witnesses, and the tradition of the martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah "is probably to be attributed wholly to this identification.[58] Interestingly, Hippolytus finds it unnecessary to defend his identification of the witnesses. He cites Mal 4:5-6 on the return of Elijah but, as Bauckham notes, "seems to regard as unquestionable the identification of the second witness as Enoch."[59] Thus it is probable that an existing tradition, known in Hippolytus' Christian circle,

influenced his exegesis.[60]

The "Abomination of Desolation" (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; Mt 24:15) who then comes to terrorize the faithful is not Antiochus IV Epiphanes so much as the Antichrist, who "reaches the zenith of his career in the middle of the seventieth week."[61] He is the Abomination because he claims to be God, and the Desolation because he will desolate the whole world.[62] The holy city trampled underfoot for forty-two months (11:2) is the Church persecuted by the Antichrist.[63] This persecution will be the most virulent in history, far more destructive than Vespasian's siege, its progenitor.[64]

God will therefore save his people by making special arrangements for their care:

> The flight of the apocalyptic woman into the desert to avoid the wrath of the dragon...is an allegory of the eschatological situation of the Church. As this woman is given two wings of a great eagle with which to fly into the wilderness, so the Church has its faith in Jesus Christ, "who, in stretching forth his holy hands on the holy tree, unfolded two wings...and called to him all who believed in him, and covered them as a hen her chicks."[65] As the earth helped the woman by swallowing up the river which the dragon had poured out after her, so God will help the Church by diverting the armies of the Antichrist from their march-objective.[66]

The persecution ends when Christ comes again and destroys the Antichrist with "the breath of his mouth" (2 Thes 2:8).[67]

iii. The Delay in the Parousia, the Cosmic Week, and the "Millennium" (6:9-11; 7:4-17; 17:9-10; 20:2-6)

In 6:9-11, the martyred souls under the altar ask, "How long...[O Lord], before you avenge our blood?" They are given white robes and told to wait a little longer, until the number of martyrs is complete. For Hippolytus this is an important text, because it confirms that the delay of the Parousia is intended by God and even necessary. The interim between Christ's resurrection and Parousia allows the Church to complete its work. If even the martyrs are told to wait, Hippolytus reasons, then non-martyrs should be all the more patient.[68]

Hippolytus also defends the delay in the Parousia by using the cosmic week. The six thousand years of human history prior to the seventh millennial eschaton have not yet elapsed. Hippolytus appears to rely on the tradition expounded in Julius Africanus and, it seems, Theophilus, who both put the incarnation at about the year 5500.[69] He must, however, find some means of proving that another 500 years are to elapse. He does this by turning once again to the Apoc. That five millennia or ages have elapsed but not six is demonstrated by St. John, who writes that the seven heads of the Beast are seven kings, of whom five have fallen, one is, and one is yet to come.[70] St. John demonstrates the same truth when he writes that the crucifixion took place at "about the sixth hour" (Jn 19.4), meaning that since six hours

is approximately half a day, that half of the [sixth] day, or about [5]500 years, have expired.[71]

Dunbar suggests that Hippolytus' immediate concern in explaining the delay of the Parousia is pastoral. He wants to insulate believers from believing in the prophecies of self-proclaimed visionaries rather than the authentic truths of scripture.[72] Hippolytus cites the words of a preacher who states, concerning the imminence of the end times, that "If it does not happen as I have said, then no longer believe even the scriptures, but each one of you do whatever you please."[73] Perhaps Hippolytus has in mind the Montanists, against whose extra-biblical prophecies he polemicises in Refutation X.21.[74] Against the Montanists and others concerned about the delay of the Parousia, the scriptures show that all is going according to God's own plan.

At this juncture we would expect Hippolytus to discuss the seventh millennium, but he does not do so. On the contrary, he says that it is wrong for Christians to be overly concerned about the eschaton, since God has chosen to hide the information.[75] It is unlawful to speak of such things, and he himself does so only to satisfy human curiosity.[76] He limits himself to the statement that the Sabbath, the [seventh] Day of the Lord, is a type of the future kingdom of saints, when the saints will reign with Christ after his

coming from the heavens. This day is "*like* a thousand years" (ὡς χίλια ἔτη), not the other way around. Hippolytus does not say that the day is actually to be of a thousand years' duration. Thus the millennium itself, when Hippolytus finally comes to it, is de-emphasised.

Perhaps Hippolytus' reticence is due partly to his conflict with Gaius. Gaius asks how the dragon can be bound for a thousand years in Apoc 20:2-3 when Matthew records that Christ has entered the house of the strong man (a figure of Satan) and bound him (Mt 12:29) already. For Gaius, the millennial binding of Satan has already taken place, so the Apocalyptic millennium, if interpreted futuristically, is in error.[77] According to bar Salîbî, Hippolytus replies that the devil is not bound. If he were, he would not be able to deceive the faithful, and Christ would not teach us to pray to be delivered from the evil one (Mt 6:13).[78] Again, if the devil were bound, he could not tempt the Apostles (Lk 22:31) or carry away the word which was sown (Mt 13:19). The binding of the "strong man" of Mt 12:29 refers not to Satan, but rather to Christ's rebuke of those who did not turn to him for release from the devil's bondage. Accordingly, at the end of time, the devil will be bound and flung into the abyss (Apoc 20:2). Isaiah prophesied this when he said that "the wicked man will be taken away so that he does not see the glory of the Lord" (Is 26:10).

Hippolytus concludes:

> And the number of years...represents the space of one day, glorious and perfect, in which, when the King comes in glory with his slain, the creation will shine..."This is the day which the Lord has made" [Ps 118:24], of which David spoke. Accordingly, when with the eye of the spirit John saw the glory of that day, he likened it to the space of a thousand years according to the saying, "One day in the world of the righteous is as a thousand years" [2 Pet 3:8]. And by the number [1000] he shows that day to be perfect for those that are faithful. But as for what he [John] has said, that "after the thousand years he [the devil] will be loosed, and will deceive the nations" [20:7-8], it is this: that justly will he be loosed, and "be cast into the burning [lake], and be judged" [20:10,12]. . .[79]

The meaning of the millennium is plainly symbolic. It refers to the glory of the Day of the Lord. Again, the traditional exegesis of the text is reversed. The day is like a thousand years; the millennium is not like a day. The effect of this exegesis is, on the one hand, to address Gaius' militant objection to the <u>chiliasmus crassus</u> of Cerinthus. Yet at the same time, Hippolytus is able to show, against Gaius, that his futuristic exegesis of chapter 20 is rooted in the Old Testament prophecies and consistent with the gospels. Hippolytus' priorities are revealed: he is willing to concede the literal millennium to Gaius, but not the eschatological reading of the text. Perhaps he keeps to the eschatological reading--only partially mollifying or compromising with Gaius and the <u>Alogoi</u>--not only in deference to the authority of Irenaeus, but also from the same anti-Gnostic concerns as Irenaeus.[80] Nevertheless, Hippolytus represents an improvement over Irenaeus. He is able to jettison the

temporal millennium while preserving the eschatological exegesis.

Hippolytus' exegesis of 20:2-3 in the Apology and avoidance of the verses in the Commentary on Daniel may provide a clue as to the Apology's date of composition. Hippolytus' careful avoidance of the chiliastic passage in the Commentary indicates his sensitivity about the subject, and may suggest that the Apology was composed before the Commentary--that is, probably before 204.[81]

The exegesis of 20:4 is consonant with that of 20:2-3. Hippolytus eschews adherence to the literal millennium--at least in its traditional temporal sense. Concerning 20:4, which describes the martyrs who participate in the Judgement and reign with Christ for a thousand years, he insists that the saints receive only a single reward.[82] The privilege accorded to martyrs is in being raised first on the glorious day. But there are not two distinct days of resurrection, separated by 1000 years, for martyrs and non-martyrs. Similarly, the 144,000 who are sealed (7:4-8) are not a special group of martyrs raised separately, but rather the Jews who are the first Christians because the first to hear and believe.[83] Likewise, the multitudes who survive the great tribulation (7:9-17) appear to be the Gentile Christians raised up on the last day.[84]

Bar Salîbî's exegesis of Apoc 20:5-6--the "first resurrection" of "the rest of the dead" at the end of a thousand years, followed by the

"second death"--also describes only one resurrection:

> When he [John] says that this resurrection is the first, it does not mean that there may be a second resurrection, but he is teaching the order of the just who will enter first into the kingdom. The second order is that of those who will be set aside as the damned....
>
> There is no first and second resurrection with respect to time. There is only one resurrection and God has designated only one day for judgement, but he speaks of a first resurrection because the first and best orders reached it according to this word: "There are many dwellings in the house of my Father" [Jn 14:2]. If there are many dwellings there are also many orders according to which one is first, one second, [and] another third, and the first order is that of those who had been chained.[85]

The text is probably Hippolytean, although Irenaeus is also a possibility.[86] The parallels with Dan. IV.56.2 (on Dan 12:2-3) and especially Antichrist 65 are strong. In the latter, the first resurrection of 20:6 is the only resurrection, and the second death is damnation. The text above seems clearly to exclude a millennium in the literal sense. There is only one resurrection, and the Day of the Lord is like a thousand years but not actually of such duration. On this day the bodies of the saints are caught up together in the clouds, become incorrupt, and go to meet the Lord in the air.[87]

Conclusion

Hippolytus' motivations are rather more complicated than those of Irenaeus and Tertullian. The critique of Gaius, teaching of

Irenaeus, Imperial persecution, Montanist preaching, polemic with Judaism, and the tenets of Gnosticism and Marcionism all may influence his exegesis. It is perhaps most significant, however, that despite Gaius, Hippolytus retains the eschatological exegesis. This suggests that he considered the Gnostics and related groups a greater threat than Gaius, the Alogoi, and the Montanists. After Hippolytus, the predominantly eschatological reading of the Apoc declines in importance and is displaced by the christological reading. However, the eschatological reading of especially Apoc 20-22 does not disappear entirely; it is now itself part of the tradition.

Hippolytus' use of the Exodus as a hermeneutical key facilitates the first coherent and continuous reading of the text. He also undertakes the first extended exegesis of Apoc 12, exploring some of its implications for the sacramental relationship between Christ, the Church, and the Christian believer.

Part III

The Revelation of Jesus Christ to His Saints

Chapter Seven

Christ and the Church's Martyrs in Cyprian

Cyprian's interpretation of the Apocalypse is remarkably different from that of his magister (De vir. 53) Tertullian. Whereas the latter's refutations of Hermogenes and Marcion lead him to embrace the eschatological tradition, the former is entirely concerned with the christological and ecclesiological-moral senses of the text. There is no eschatological or millennial exegesis of the text in Cyprian. This is despite his belief in a cosmic week whose seventh millennium is about to begin.

Cyprian's Apocalyptic exegesis has been treated recently by Fahey and Gallicet.[1] Fahey finds that Cyprian's fifty-three quotations or allusions to the Apoc equal his citations from the Epistle to the Romans.[2] In fact, Cyprian cites the Apoc more than any book in the Bible except Mt (178 citations), Ps (141), Jn (117), Is (112), Lk (84), and 1 Cor (80).[3] Fahey concludes that Cyprian uses the Apoc "almost exclusively...as a source book for christological statements and statements about the blessings of martyrdom. Only a very few Apocalypse texts are used in a parenetic context."[4] For example, Cyprian quotes Apoc 5:1-5, the vision of the seven seals, to show quod de semine David [Christus] secundum carnem nasci haberet.[5] Again, the slain Lamb of 5:6-10 pertains to the Passion, demonstrating that

"He would be called the Sheep and the Lamb who would have to be killed."[6] For Cyprian, such passages reveal Christ's identity and celebrate his advent and sacrifice.

Gallicet finds that Cyprian's Apocalypse is a source for

> punti fondamentali di teologia, riguardanti la natura e la persona di Cristo, del Cristo che si è già manfestato storicamente in mezzo agli uomini: nulla autorizza...a intendere l'Apocalisse come «una profezia sulla fine del mondo»: essa parla della venuta di Gesù, ma non di quella che avverrà alla fine dei tempi, bensì di quella che si è attuata e si attua nel corso di tutta la storia presente.[7]

Cyprian's interpretation of the text is christocentric and never futuristic. It does not announce the imminent return of Christ. Rather, it treats the first coming and identity of Christ and expounds moral and theological guidance for the present life.[8] Gallicet's chronological analysis also shows that Cyprian's exegesis is constant throughout his episcopate.[9] Unlike Irenaeus, Cyprian's use of the text does not change or evolve. Furthermore, Gallicet notes that Cyprian's exegeses, in his numerous exchanges with allies and opponents in Rome and Africa, are never challenged or questioned by his correspondents.[10] This implies that Cyprian's interpretation of the text is not controversial--his moral and christological reading is acceptable in both Rome and Africa.[11]

A. The Beast, the Harlot, and Babylon (Apoc 14, 17, 18)

Cyprian's interpretation emerges most clearly from his exegesis of Apoc 19-22, the chapters about the coming of the glorious Son of Man, millennium, and descent of the new Jerusalem. But already in his comments on the beast, harlot, and Babylon of Apoc 14, 17, 18--chapters which figure prominently in Irenaeus and Hippolytus--Cyprian diverges considerably from his eschatologising predecessors. His reading is entirely moral and christological.

Those with the name of the Lamb upon their foreheads (14:1) are not a special eschatological group or even a group of martyrs, but rather Christian believers, and the verse is a promise that the sign of the cross brings salvation to those marked with it on their foreheads.[12] Cyprian sees the verse as an oblique reference to baptism. In addition, the 144,000 virgins demonstrate the importance of continence and virginity.[13] The angel flying through heaven and announcing judgement (14:6-7) is not a harbinger of the Last Judgement, but a sign that God alone is to be worshipped.[14] Those damned in 14:9-11 for worshipping the beast are those who sacrifice to idols, in this case the Emperor.[15] Cyprian quotes 14:9-11 on a second occasion in order "to stress God's anger against false worship."[16] On a third occasion, he quotes 14:9-11 to correct an eschatological misreading of the text. He reassures those of the Thibaris who fear the coming of the Antichrist. He writes: <u>Venit</u>

antichristus, sed supervenit Christus...Irascitur adversarius et minatur, sed est qui possit de eius manibus liberare.[17] The Antichrist is active even now, and Apoc 14:9-11 comforts those who fear his imminent arrival by showing that he has been defeated by Christ already.

Cyprian again avoids historicising anti-imperialism in treating the harlot (Apoc 17). He cites 17:1-4, which describes her ostentatious jewelry and raiment, in order to exhort women to avoid worldly ornamentation--adornments proper only to prostitutes and shameless women.[18] That she is not an eschatological figure but rather a symbol of Jewish religious corruption is made clear in his analysis of the waters of 17:15. The waters she sits upon are the Gentile nations, the Church which has now replaced the Jews as the Lord's spouse.[19] The Gentile "waters" now mix with the pure eucharistic wine of the chalice as a symbol of the marriage of Christ and the Church.[20] Because of their harlotry, the Jews have lost their privileged role and been displaced by the Gentiles. It is worth repeating that the drama of Apoc 17 transpires in the past and present rather than the future.

Moral and nonfuturistic exegesis also prevails in 18:4-9, where the faithful are enjoined to come out of fallen Babylon, seat of the harlot.[21] Cyprian cites the passage as proof that the Christian should

flee from the pagans, lest he become a companion to their faults and share in their punishment: fidelem gentiliter vivere non oportere.[22] The Lord himself commands Christians to flee from persecution so as to avoid sinful assocations.[23] The flight from persecution and avenging judgement in Apoc 18 is ongoing.

Cyprian compares Apoc 19:11,13, where the rider of the white horse is called "the Word of God," to Jn 1:1-5. Both passages prove that Jesus Christ is the sermo Dei.[24] In addition, 19:11-16 shows that Christ is both Judge and King.[25] As Gallicet observes, the battle of Apoc 19 is not for Cyprian an event which takes place at the end of time. Rather, it indicates the advent, already actualised historically, of Jesus as the Logos.[26] It is the fulfillment of Is 10:22-23, which prophesies the destruction of Israel, and of Ps 32:6; 44:2; 106:20, which speak of liberation, salvation, and deliverance by the Lord's word for the Gentiles.[27]

The result of Christ's advent is marriage to his spouse, the Church, and their issue is the Christian believer: "[Christ] is the bridegroom with his bride the Church from which children according to the Spirit would be born."[28] Cyprian cites 19:6-7: Regnavit Dominus Deus omnipotens, gaudeamus et exultemus et demus ei claritatem, quoniam venerunt nuptiae agni et uxor eius se praeparavit.[29] In the same passage, he quotes 21:9-11, which

describes the descent of the bride, the new Jerusalem.[30] In other words, the marriage of Apoc 19, 21 has already occurred--quoniam venerunt nuptiae agni--and has borne fruit, and the bride and new Jerusalem are the Church.[31] The bride contrasts with the harlot, the Jews, while the new Jerusalem contrasts with the old Jerusalem, Babylon, which Cyprian uses as a metaphor for the sinful, pagan polity.

Even Apoc 22:10-12 ("...the time is near. Let the evildoer still do evil...and the holy still be holy. Behold, I am coming soon") has a non-eschatological application. It shows that "we must not return evil for evil" (vicem malis non reddendam, Rom 12:17,21).[32] As Gallicet observes, Cyprian uses the passage to exhort the faithful not to be scandalised by the wicked. Christians should rather persevere to the end without fearing the evils of this world.[33] The text is not an announcement of the parousia, but a moral teaching for the concrete reality of the here and now.[34] Similarly, the "tree of life" (22:14) is not the fruit of paradise, but the cross, which is brings life to those whose foreheads are marked with its sign.[35]

B. The Martyrs and the Cosmic Week (Apoc 1, 7, 20)

Cyprian's exegesis of Apoc 20 is part and parcel of the larger context of his exegesis of 14, 17-19, 21-22. The martyrs of 20:4 are

not awaiting the eschaton; they reign with Christ already. Cyprian's chapter heading avers, "That hope and reward remain for the just and for the martyrs after the struggles and sufferings of this present time."[36] He continues:

> In the Apocalypse also he says the same thing: "And I saw the souls of those slain for the name of Jesus and the Word [Sermonem] of God." And when he had placed those who were slain in the first place, he added, saying, "And whoever did not worship the image of the beast or receive [his] inscription on his forehead or on his 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." He says that all live and reign with Christ, not only those who have been slain, but also all those who have stood in the strength of faith and in the fear of God and have not worshipped the image of the beast, and have not consented to his deadly and sacrilegious edicts.[37]

Not only martyrs, but all faithful departed Christians go to Christ. As Gallicet observes, Cyprian does not quote the last two words of 20:4, which should read, Et vixerunt et regnaverunt cum Christo *mille annis*.[38] Perhaps he does so to avoid or discourage the millennarian interpreters of the text.[39]

The omission is particularly striking because in his preface to the same book, he seems to accept the chronology of the cosmic week. In Ad Fort., praef. 2 he writes, "Six thousand years are now almost completed since the devil began to attack man."[40] The end of the sixth millennium is at hand, and presumably only the seventh millennium remains.[41] The suspicion is confirmed in Ad Fort. 11,

where Cyprian speaks of "seven days in the divine arrangement containing seven thousand years."[42] However, he then eschews further chronological speculation. Instead, he uses the Apoc to direct the argument into a discussion of the Church and martyrdom. He connects the cosmic week to God's perfect arrangement for the Church, which he finds in the seven spirits of Apoc 1:4f, the seven golden candlesticks of 1:12f, and the seven churches and their angels of 1:11, 20f. The seven suffering churches represent the one Church, even as the seven martyred sons and mother of 2 Macc 7 symbolise the one mother Church and the totality of her suffragan churches. The martyrs listed in 2 Macc 6-7, Daniel, and elsewhere demonstrate that the martyrs are innumerable, which Cyprian confirms by quoting Apoc 7:9-15, the great multitude which no man can number. Thus a passing reference to the cosmic week is submerged in an argument proposing that martyrdom is an integral part of the Church's sevenfold perfection. The imagery and theology of the argument are dependent upon the ecclesial "sevens" and vision of martyrs in the Apocalypse. Cyprian has clearly avoided an opportunity to connect the cosmic week chronology with the millennium of Apoc 20, a strong indication that he rejects the futuristic, millennial construal of the text.[43] He is more interested in its images of Church and martyrs. Perhaps, as Simonetti suggests, Cyprian avoids the chiliastic rendering out of

suspicion of Montanism and its excesses.[44] But more positive explanations than those of Simonetti and Gallicet are also possible. Cyprian may prefer the christocentric and moral interpretation because it is more traditional, more useful in preaching Christ and encouraging believers, and more coherent.

The same Apocalyptic imagery of seven churches occurs in Ad Quir. I.20.[45] Here, too, the seven churches, angels, and candlesticks are figures of the universal Church, and they are watched by God's seven eyes (Zech 4:10; Apoc 5:6). The purpose of the discussion is to show that the synagogue, once fruitful but now barren, has been replaced by the more comely and fruitful Church (citing Gen 25:23; Hos 1:10; 2:23; Is 54:1-4; I Sam 2:5). For example, the Church is to the synagogue as Rachel is to ill-favoured, poor-sighted Leah (Gen 29:17, 30-31; 30:22-24).

Cyprian uses the ecclesial imagery of especially the first chapter of the Apocalypse (1) as a key to Old Testament passages; (2) to show that the Church is the heir and displacer of the synagogue; and (3) to show that the Church is the universal mother of martyrs. Chapter 20 is harmonised with the larger christological and martyrological-ecclesiological context of the text.

C. The Moral Injunctions (Apoc 2-3)

Cyprian is fond of the moral injunctions in Apoc 2-3, which he applies to contemporary Carthage. The Apoc provides encouragement to the persecuted and enjoins penitence--but also offers forgiveness--to the lapsed. It therefore has doctrinal applications.

Apoc 2:5 (memento unde cederis et age paenitentiam) applies to the sacrificati, thurificati, and libellatici. Against the laxists, it demonstrates clearly that penitence is a prerequisite for readmission.[46] This penance is necessary, because, as Apoc 2:23 shows, nothing is hidden from God, and all are rewarded according to their works.[47] Conversely, against the rigorists, 2:5 also demonstrates that readmission to communion is in fact possible for those who sincerely repent.[48] Cyprian cites Apoc 2:20-22 to the same effect.[49] The Apoc does prove, then, that even Jezebel and her lovers can be forgiven if they repent.[50] However, the authority to readmit lapsi belongs to the bishop, not to confessors who act on their own initiative. If the martyrs under the altar in 6:10 and even Christ himself are not yet avenged, then the lapsi too can be patient.[51] Apoc 3:19 reminds bishops that they should not flatter the lapsi but urge them to do penance.[52]

A second theme in the moral category is parenetic. Apoc 2:10--[Nihil horum timeas quae passurus est]...Esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam vitae--exhorts the confessores to

remain faithful.[53] The verse shows that "the Lord is stronger in protecting [the Christian] than the devil in attacking him."[54] Those who die in prison are as glorious in death as those actually martyred.[55] Similarly, Cyprian reads 6:9-11 as "an encomium on martyrdom."[56] No matter how virulent the persecution, the faithful should remain patient until the number of martyrs is completed and the Lord comes to avenge.[57]

Conclusion

In contrast to his brilliant predecessors Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus, Cyprian's interpretation of the Apocalypse is entirely consistent. There is no volte face in his exegesis, as with Irenaeus; nor christological, allegorical intrusions in the midst of eschatologising, as with Tertullian; nor idiosyncratic coexistence of figurative and eschatological exegesis, as with Hippolytus. Rather, Cyprian's exegesis is remarkably coherent and uniformly christological and church-centred throughout. It is in keeping with his view of the Church as a perfect society designed only for the good and from which the evil are expelled--a view which, unfortunately, discounts the existence of sin and need for a future hope.

Cyprian sometimes applies the text to the North African Sitz im Leben, using it in the controversy about readmitting the lapsi after

penance. But typically he uses the Apoc to explain the identity of Christ as the slain Lamb, Sermo dei, seed of David, Judge, and King who has come, delivered man, and conquered the Antichrist with his "tree of life" and "mark" on the forehead. Cyprian's Apocalyptic Christ is the spouse of a universal, fruitful Church, the new Jerusalem and bride (which replaces the Jews and synagogue), and he brings comfort and salvation to her suffering communities and individual martyrs. He enjoins patience, fidelity, flight from sin, and repentance, and he offers forgiveness and a heavenly reward.

Cyprian does not defend his exegesis--despite its striking divergence from that of Tertullian--and does not indicate that it is innovative or controversial. He does more than avoid the millennial interpretation of Apoc 20:2-7. The futuristic and chiliastic interpretation of the passage simply has no place in his reading of Apoc 14, 17-22. These facts, together with the coherence of his exegesis, its uniformity, its theological sophistication and adaptability to pastoral problems, and its ease of comparison with other Scriptures, both Old and New, suggest that it is the product of an accepted and well-rooted tradition.

Chapter Eight

Christocentrism and the Millennium of the Old Economy in Origen

Given that Origen refers to the Apocalypse 406 times in his extant writings, it is surprising that only three recent essays discuss this exegesis and that even these make no effort to do so in a comprehensive fashion.[1] A numerical analysis of these citations reveals that Origen quotes primarily from Apoc 1-3 (122 citations) and 12-22 (182 citations). His favorite chapters are 1-3, 5, 12, 14, 19, 21-22, in numerical order as follows: Apoc 2 and 19 (48 citations each), 3 (44 citations), 1 (40 citations), 5 (35), 12 (29), 14 (27), 21 (26), and 22 (24).[2]

In addition to the undisputed works of Origen are the so-called Scholia on the Apocalypse. First published in 1911, the Scholia were considered authentic by Harnack. However, Harnack's contemporaries rejected his thesis, and subsequent commentators have done the same. They have shown that some Scholia are definitely not the work of Origen, while others are perhaps Origenistic in theology but substantially the work of a later writer or writers. Perhaps Didymus is their original source. The Scholia should accordingly be viewed with skepticism.[3]

With the exceptions of 12:9 and 14:4, all of Origen's favorite quotations from the Apocalypse present Christ in various salvific

garbs and evangelical roles. Most images clearly depict Christ as the one who has fulfillled the Old Covenant in his very person. The great majority relate to his first coming rather than to the Parousia. Christ is the Lamb whose robe is dipped in blood, the Logos, the lion of Judah and root of David, the source of God's ultimate revelation to man (he breaks the seals and opens the scroll), the Alpha and Omega, bringer of the eternal gospel, righteous judge, and warrior on a white horse. Even Apoc 12:9 and 14:4 relate to Christ, because by his sacrifice Satan is thrown down, and the 144,000 are privileged precisely because they imitate Christ's chastity and victorious sacrifice.

The Commentary on John provides the greatest number of quotations (seventy-nine), followed by the Homilies on Numbers (twenty-seven) and the Commentary on Matthew (twenty-four). Leaving to one side Origen's exegesis in the Homilies on Numbers, which is less revealing than his exegesis of the text elsewhere, he typically relates the Apoc to the Old Testament or the proclamation of Christ in the Gospels, and only rarely associates the text with the Parousia and last Judgment. In fact, as Monaci notes, Origen entirely avoids verses and whole chapters of the Apoc which ostensibly contain prophecies of the eschaton and the suffering to preceed it.[4]

A. Christ the Logos, the Bringer of Revelation and Salvation

Ironically, Origen's failure to produce a commentary on the Apocalypse may be fortuitous. His omission to reflect deeply upon the text results in less inventive exegesis and rehearsal of the tradition. His unguarded comments may reflect the normative interpretation of the Apocalypse with a high degree of fidelity. Two exceptions are the "eschatological" chapters 15-18, which he avoids, and chapters 19-20, about which he has strong, anti-millennial opinions. But he makes no effort to defend or justify his exegesis of the remainder of the Apoc. Indeed, his references often occur in the more informal context of homilies. His use of the text in christological passages in sermons suggests that the christocentric interpretation was already widely accepted. It suggests that Origen's listeners would not have regarded his use of the text as innovative.

As with Irenaeus' unguarded comments in Books I-IV of the Adversus haereses and the non-polemical exegesis of other persons treated in this study, so also with Origen: the images he finds most interesting relate to the Son's incarnation, sacrifice, and definitive revelation to mankind. The many titles of the Son reveal aspects of his identity and the meaning of his Advent. Origen is particularly fond of the Seer's descriptions of the Son as the Lamb, the Alpha and Omega, and the Logos of Apoc 19:11-16.[5]

Apoc 19:13 ("He is clad in a robe dipped in blood, and the name by which he is called is the Word of God") is Origen's favorite verse. He cites it twenty-three times.[6] As Monaci rightly remarks, this is an image of the victorious Logos (19:11-16), marked by the signs of his Crucifixion, who departs from heaven followed by his heavenly host.[7] Monaci opines that the verse appeals because it synthesises the revelatory function of the Son, particularly as the personified Logos, in Origen's theology.[8] In addition, the robe dipped in blood is for Origen a symbol of Christ's incarnation and sacrifice, as is also the Apocalyptic Lamb of 5:6, 12.[9]

Further verses cited often by Origen are no less revealing. Christ is invariably depicted as the one who definitively conveys the Father's revelation. Origen cites 5:5 (13 citations: "Then one of the elders said to me, 'Weep not; behold, the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals"); 3:20 (12 citations: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me"); and 22:13 (12 citations: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end").[10] The verses reveal the essential identity of the Son as the Logos of revelation and bringer of salvation.

The citations to the Son as the First and Last (1:17), Beginning

and End (22:13), and Alpha and Omega (1:8; 22:13) are particularly illustrative, because they serve to demonstrate that the Son is the sum and source of all revelation. The Son is the beginning and end, "he who is, who was, and who is to come" (1:8), Origen writes, because he sums up in himself all significant moments in salvation history.[11]

He is the Beginning and the End, because as Logos he is the ontological source of the whole hierarchy of rational beings and the one in whom all things were created (Col. 1:16).[12] He is called the Beginning and End not because he is not responsible for all the things in between; rather, the farthest boundaries show that he is the maker of everything.[13] He is called the Alpha and Omega because, just as the written word can be understood only by knowing the alphabet, so also the totality of spiritual knowledge is acquired only by knowing all aspects of the Son from beginning to end, "from Alpha on to Omega" (εἰς Α καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ω).[14] Moreover, as a book is the result of an infinite combination of letters of the alphabet, so also the Scriptures are diverse manifestations of the one reality which is the Son. For this reason, the "eternal gospel" (εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον) of 14:6 is identified by Origen as the Son himself.[15] The Apoc is used as a proof text which provides key images of the Son. Moreover, because the revelation of the Son permeates the Scriptures, the Scriptures themselves are sacramentalised. The Son gives them the power to

convey the eternal gospel, which is himself.

The identification of the eternal gospel of 14:6 with the Son himself, the bringer of revelation, raises the further question of the meaning of 14:7, the hour of judgment (ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως) which follows its proclamation. Origen quotes the verse only once, in I.14.84 of the Commentary on John, but its meaning is clear.[16] It refers to both the earthly life of Christ and his future coming, and therefore suggests once again that Origen reads a critical passage of the Apocalypse as a reference to the first coming of Christ in addition to a prophecy pertaining to the future. The hour of angelic proclamation of the gospel to the nations is a future event.[17] However, this eternal gospel, which refers to the Old Testament and to the person of Christ himself as well as to the New Testament (I.14.85-6), is also a past event. The eternal gospel has already been announced to the whole cosmos, including the heavens.[18]

Thus the "hour of judgment" is also the somatic sojourn among us (ἐπιδημία) of Christ.[19] Because of the omnipresence of Christ, the result of his coming among us, the hour is both the time of the Advent and that of the Second Coming. The interpretation of the passage as a reference to Christ's prior and ongoing presence also suggests that the destruction of Babylon (14:8), the great city where the Lord was crucified (11:8), is for the early Church an image of the destruction of

corrupt Jerusalem, which had prostituted herself by riding or making use of the corrupt beast, the secular political authority, to crucify Christ. This interpretation of the text would view the 144,000 saved from destruction (14:3) as the faithful Jews who did not so defile themselves (14:4), but who instead believed in the gospel. Indeed, this is Hippolytus' exegesis in On the Blessings of Moses.[20]

Anselmetto summarises Origen's use of Apocalyptic christological images in his homilies and the Commentary on John. Although Anselmetto is concerned only with the homilies and Commentary, his comments apply equally well to Origen's use of the text elsewhere, excepting only the more explicitly millennial or eschatological passages discussed below. Anselmetto concludes that Origen associates the Apocalypse with the following themes:

1. Christ is by nature the Logos, revelation of truth, and Lamb, the source of liberation for mankind;
2. In its unity, revelation is a current, founded on the presence of the "eternal gospel," which runs through all of Scripture;
3. There is a continuity between the Old Testament economy and the Christian economy.[21]

B. The Millennium of the Old Economy and the New Jerusalem of Christ's Church (Apoc 12-22)

Though Origen skillfully negotiates the eschatological shoals of the Apoc, he often avoids especially 15-18 and rarely lingers over

other passages promising destruction and damnation.[22] In Origen, Apoc 12-22 is not typically futuristic at all; rather, its prophecies are already fulfilled by the resurrection and lived by Christians and the Church. In other words, the primary senses of 12-22 are christological, moral, and ecclesiological. This is a far cry from the eschatologizing exegesis of Justin, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. Moreover, Origen behaves as though his interpretation of Apoc 12-22 is not so novel as to need lengthy explanation, and indeed the very brevity of his contentions and asides, particularly in his homilies, implies that he says nothing that his audience considers extraordinary.[23] This lends force to the thesis that the non-futuristic interpretation of the Apocalyptic eschatological sequence, as seen already above and in Justin, the Gallican Martyrs, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and especially Cyprian and Irenaeus, is neither unusual nor a later innovation.

In contrast to his literal reading and numerous citations of Apocalyptic verses about Christ, Origen's anti-millennial exegesis of 20:2-7 is allegorizing and brief. Chadwick records that he refers to the millennium only in On First Principles II.11.2; the prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs; Commentary on Matthew 17.35; and On Prayer 27.13.[24] The most significant passage is universally ignored: On Prayer suggests that the millennium occurred in the past.

In discussing the meaning in the Scriptures of "tomorrow," "today," and "yesterday," Origen suggests that "today" is the present age. He then writes:

> And if the whole of this age is "today," perhaps "yesterday" is the preceding age. I have come to suppose that this is what is meant in Psalms and in Paul's letter to the Hebrews. In Psalms it says, "A thousand years in your sight are but as yesterday when it is past" (Ps 89:4). Perhaps this is the famous millennium that is compared to "yesterday" and distinguished from "today."[25]

That Origen includes the millennium of the Apocalypse in this proposal is clear from the context. He quotes the text twice just prior to the passage. He cites Apoc 3:20 in On Prayer 27.11 and refers to the dragon of Apoc 12:3f in 27.12. Thus the millennium refers to the past, the time before the more efficacious prayer of the present dispensation, the Christian era. This appears to exclude definitively a futuristic reading of Apoc 20.

Similarly, in Comm. in Mt 40, the cosmic week is also a thing of the past. The seventy weeks of Dan 11:26 symbolize the 4900 years from Adam to the destruction of Jerusalem seventy years after the Incarnation.[26] The single week of Dan 9:27 is the seventy years from the Incarnation to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the half week is the thirty-five years of Christ's earthly life.[27] Here again, a passage associated with the Apoc and the future by Hippolytus is relegated to the past and symbolises the destruction of the Old Economy.

The sufferings of Mt 24:6-12 also refer to the destruction of the Old Economy. These terrible sufferings cannot belong to the future, Origen explains. They are so great that they cannot be equalled; therefore they can apply only to a sin so great that it, too, cannot be equalled: the crucifixion of the Son by the Hebrews.[28] Again, the inference is that the eschatological destruction of Apoc 15-18 and elsewhere lies in the past and refers to the old order.

The eschatological role of the Antichrist--the dragon in history--is, accordingly, minimal and even impersonal. He plays no particular eschatological role, but is rather a negative imitation of Christ, and he is active in every era.[29] Origen proposes that only the impious will suffer in the end-times, their sufferings being an inducement to their conversion.[30] The catastrophes of Mt 24 are emptied of theological significance and become merely natural events; famines, wars, and earthquakes are the natural result of the earth's diminishing vitality and power of regeneration, and resultant decline into death.[31] Concededly, Mt 24 has a futuristic meaning for Origen. But significantly, he draws no parallels between Mt 24 and the catastrophes of the Apoc. Indeed, as argued below, Origen rejects in the De principiis any link between a future millennium and the new Jerusalem of the Apoc. The new Jerusalem is eschatological only in the sense that it has an existence in the future as well as the

present, and gradually fills up with perfected Christians.

The Apocalyptic dragon and his followers play their primary role at the beginning of the created order. His fall (Apoc 8:10; 12:3, 9) into materiality occurs at the very outset of creation, and he may be the first to exchange a wholly spiritual existence for something less.[32] The second day of Creation in Gen 1 describes the separation of waters above and below. Similarly, Apoc 12:7 and 20:3--where the dragon is defeated and thrown into the abyss--depict for the Christian's benefit two "waters," those of heaven and those of the abyss. The Christian should separate within himself the spiritual waters from those of the prince of this world, the dragon and his minions, and prefer the former. The defeat and confinement of the dragon in 20:3 has therefore already occurred and is an operant reality.[33] He is already in the lower waters.

If the millennial chaining of Satan depicted in Apoc 20:2 begins with his fall at the outset of creation, when and what are his temporary release from bondage described in 20:3,7? Origen is not explicit, but the clear inference to be drawn from his discussion of Mt 24 is that Satan is released in order to crucify Christ, after which he is again banished to the abyss. He is released only for a little while and then thrown down. Origen has already expressed his belief that the period of apocalyptic catastrophe, suffering, and punishment is

that of the crucifixion and the ensuing destruction of Jerusalem. This permits the further inference that the divine fire which consumes the forces surrounding the beloved city (Apoc 20:9) is a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem. The fact that Satan suffers a second and definitive defeat at the Crucifixion would explain why he plays no large or personal role in Origen's discussions of the soul and future parousia.[34] He has played his role already and is now largely irrelevant.

This watershed event results in the birth of a new and heavenly Jerusalem. The sufferings of Apoc 15-18 are eschatological, but perhaps they are experienced only by the impious.[35] The saints, meanwhile, pass on to the intermediate state, a "school of souls" beginning in an earthly paradise and continuing in the heavenly Jerusalem. They are enlightened or perfected in stages until their full restoration to the image and likeness of God:

> nutrita mens ad integrum et perfectum, sicut ex initio factus est homo, ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei reparetur [Gen 1:26]: ut etiamsi quis ex hac vita minus eruditis abierit, probabilia tamen opera detulerit, instrui poterit in illa Ierusalem sanctorum civitate [Apoc 21:2], id est edoceri et informari et effici lapis vivus, lapis pretiosus et electus [1 Pet 2:4; Is 28:16], pro eo quod fortiter et constanter pertulerit agones vitae et certamina pietatis.[36]

The saints become precious and living stones in the heavenly Jerusalem of the Apocalypse.

However, although the heavenly Jerusalem of Apoc 21 is real and not allegorical, it is not to be understood literally either. Origen rejects the chiliasm of those disciples of the letter alone (solius litterae discipuli) who insist upon the terrestrial reconstruction of Jerusalem:

> Quibus consequenter addunt et nuptiarum conventiones et filiorum procreationes etiam post resurrectionem futuras, fingentes sibimetipsis Ierusalem terrenam urbem reaedificandam lapidibus pretiosis in fundamenta eius iaciendis, et de lapide iaspide muros eius erigendos et propugnacula eius ex lapide crystallo; peribolum quoque habituram ex lapidibus electis et variis, id est iaspide et sapphiro et chalcedonio et smaragdo et sardio et onychino et chrysolitho et chrysopasso et hyacintho et amethysto [Apoc 21:10f].[37]

These Christians err in their inability to understand the scriptures figuratively. They interpret the scriptures only in the Jewish sense: Hoc ita sentiunt qui Christo quidem credentes, Iudaico autem quodam sensu scripturas divinas intellegentes, nihil ex his dignum divinis pollicitationibus praesumpserunt.[38] The heavenly Jerusalem of Apoc 21 truly exists, but its living stones are the perfected Christians themselves.[39]

The heavenly Jerusalem is more than a symbol of the perfected soul of the individual Christian, however. It is a spiritual, existing reality made possible and inaugurated by the resurrection. It is not a future reality, but a present reality. Apoc 21:1 and 3:12 depict the

new Jerusalem prophesied in Is 54:11-15; 60:13-20.[40] The "new heaven" and "new earth" of 21:1 begin when Christ rises on the third day, and his temple is rebuilt.[41] Christ is the door to this city of God (3:7), and he opens the door through which enter the saints, now purified of all idolatry (see 21:27).[42] The City of God in 3:12 is thus identified with the Church.[43] Thus the heavenly Jerusalem is the Church, composed of the living stones or spiritual community of the elect and re-established at the resurrection.[44]

Similarly, the first resurrection of 20:5 is not a physical removal to the intermediate state, but Christian baptism. This "resurrection" arrives at the moment when the individual comes to believe in the Logos of Christ.[45] In the context, Origen is discussing a double baptism, one in the Logos and the other in fire. The first is joyful, but the second is sorrowful and reserved for sinners. This suggests that the second death of 20:6 is the more rigorous purgation awaiting sinners. However, Origen eschews further discussion of this line of exegesis, perhaps because it would imply that the one-thousand-year reign of 20:6 also applies to the intermediate state, while Origen, as argued above, prefers to identify the millennium with the Old Economy.

Analogously, the 144,000 gathered on Mt. Sion (7:4 and 14:1) are the people of God, the true Christians belonging to the Church. These

are in the first stage of a process leading to ever greater perfection of knowledge and consisting of (1) Mt. Sion, (2) the heavenly Jerusalem, (3) the myriad angelic choir, and (4) the Church of the first-born whose names are inscribed in heaven.[46] As Anselmetto points out, this is not only an eternal, supramundial hierarchy, but also a present reality currently existing in the Church.[47]

Conclusion

The Antichrist-dragon, millennium, cosmic week, sufferings of 15-18, heavenly Jerusalem, and two resurrections of the Apocalypse are dramatically different from the eschatologizing exegeses of Hippolytus or the chiliastic interpretation of Eusebius. The picture of 12-22 which emerges is coherent, largely consistent, well-developed, and apparently non-controversial. It describes the fall of the dragon and coinciding beginning of the millennium, the subsequent divine judgement and destruction of the old order, which was in any case only temporary (lasting only a thousand years), and its replacement—made possible by the resurrection—with the new Jerusalem or Church, whose members are themselves resurrected through baptism, gradually perfected in an ascent of knowledge, and eventually its living stones. Origen's spiritual (but not allegorical) interpretation of Apoc 12-22 therefore provides a self-contained and

continuous outline of salvation history.

Chapter Nine

Church, Virgin, and Millennium in Methodius' Symposium

The Symposium is the only work by Methodius to survive almost entirely in its original Greek. Other works survive only in Slavonic, in Greek and Syriac fragments, or are lost altogether.[1] The life of their author is obscure, and the best that can be said is that the greater part of his literary activity comes between 270 and about 315.[2] The eirenic nature of the Symposium and lack of any reference to immediate persecution may imply that it was written during a period of calm for the Church. Perhaps the work was written before the resumption of persecution by Diocletian in 303.

Methodius does not accept Origenism uncritically.[3] His Aglaophon, or a Treatise on the Resurrection of the Body (which Jerome calls De resurrectione) is an anti-Origenistic dialogue which defends the orthodox view of the resurrection of the body against Origen's theory of the pneumatic body.[4] In his De creatis, Methodius argues against Origen's theory of the eternity of the world.[5] Methodius also rejects Origen's doctrine of the ἀποκατάστασις. He uses the word to refer only to man's juridical restoration before God, the condition of man's deification (Symposium 4.2). He quotes 1 Tim 2:4, whose author declares that the Savior "desires all men to be saved," but he does not conclude that all men will be saved, in pointed contrast to Origen. On the contrary, in Thecla's hymn (Logos 16), he

sings of God's eternal punishment for the unjust.

In the Symposium, the Apocalyptic exegesis of Methodius is best characterized as second-generation christocentric. It is primarily derivative of the christocentric rather than the eschatological or chiliastic traditions. However, Methodius' speculative mind and poetic imagination develop the text in ascetic and ecclesiological rather than strictly christocentric directions. He portrays the implications for Church and virgin of the christocentric tradition.

But Methodius is also a chiliast, if moderately so, and his interpretation of Apoc 20 is chiliastic. Like the eschatological writers, especially Irenaeus and Tertullian, he is opposing an overly spiritualising, hellenistic interpretation. But whereas Irenaeus and Tertullian turned to a chiliastic exegesis of Apoc 20 primarily to combat the eschatological excesses of Gnostics and Marcionites, respectively, Methodius uses the text to combat the eschatological excesses of Origenism. Though the Gnostic threat to orthodox eschatology has subsided, a chiliastic exegesis of chapter 20 serves the same function decades later and in a different context.

A. Asceticism in Apoc 12:1-6

The Symposium subsumes all discussion under the category of

chastity. For Methodius, "chastity" has both a specific and a universal sense. In its specific or strict sense, it refers to the celibate life enjoined by St. Paul and by St. John in Apoc 14:3, where the virgins are the first fruits of the redeemed. In its universal sense, "chastity" refers to the life of Christian virtue to which all are called. The chaste are those who live the virtuous life. They inhabit the Church, the chaste bride of Christ the Archvirgin. The millennium, when there is no more marrying or begetting, is the first part of the eternal reward reserved for the chaste.

Apoc 14:1-5, the 144,000 virgins who are the first fruits for God and the Lamb, and 12:1-6, the cosmic woman laboring to give birth, are favorite passages of Methodius. He quotes 14:1-5 in Logos 1.5 and refers to the verses again in 6.5. In 1.5, he interprets the passage as a literal reference to virginity. That the virgins are allowed to follow the Lamb wherever he goes demonstrates, he argues, the high estate of virginity in the divine disposition of things. The number 144,000 signifies that the number of virgins is small and restricted, and therefore that they constitute a spiritual elite. This exegesis is supplemented in Logos 2, where Methodius affirms that chastity is an estate higher than marriage (following 1 Cor 7:38), but insists nevertheless that continent marriage and motherhood are pleasing to God, who commands man to be fruitful and multiply.

Methodius repeats the interpretation of the 144,000 virgins as a spiritual elite in Logos 6, his analysis of Mt 25:1-11 (and Lk 12:35-28), where the coming of the kingdom of heaven is likened to ten virgins who take their lamps and go to meet the bridegroom. The sleep of the ten virgins, Methodius says, refers to their departure from this life (6.4), while midnight signifies the reign of the Antichrist. The 144,000 virgins are the bridesmaids.

The ascetic interpretation of Apoc 12:1-6 occurs in Logos 8, the speech of Thecla.[6] The woman described by St. John is the Church, but she is also an exemplar to virgins, who should likewise not fear the brief assaults of the serpent (8.4). Indeed, the woman also represents the virgins, who are called to be arrayed with queenly raiment and led as brides to the Lord (8.5). The moon beneath her feet refers both to the faith of those purified from corruption by baptism and to the neophytes themselves, who shine with a new glow (8.6).

The child to whom the Church gives birth is not Christ himself, since Christ has already become incarnate. Rather, the masculine sex of the child means that those born from the Church have divested themselves from feminine passions and immorality; having been enlightened spiritually, they receive the image and manliness of Christ. The likeness of Christ is stamped upon them and spiritually

begotten within them via their perfect knowledge and faith (8.7-8).

The dragon is the devil who lies in ambush to abuse the minds of the illumined faithful. But the faithful receive knowledge of the truth which enables them to resist the devil. This is the meaning of the solicitous snatching up on high of the newborn to the throne of God. The devil is not permitted to destroy those who look upward and turn towards heaven.

The stars the dragon sweeps from the sky are the various groups of heretics, referred to as one-third because they invariably stray from orthodox belief concerning one or another of the members of the Trinity (8.10). Because they have given up the protection afforded by right belief, they are unable to resist the devil's depredations.

The wilderness where the woman finds refuge has both an ascetic and an ecclesiological aspect; it is both a state of virtue and a place of virtue. As the former, the wilderness is a symbol of paradise, "bare of evil, unfruitful[,] and sterile in what is corruptible, difficult of access and hard for the majority to pass through."[7] As a place of virtue, the wilderness is paradise itself, where the Church is to dwell (8.11).

The seven heads of the dragon (Apoc 12:3) are seven contests with the devil; the seven diadems are the crowns the Christian receives for overcoming temptation. The ten horns of the dragon are

demonic opposites to the Ten Commandments (8.13).

This exegesis represents a considerable advance from the literal and historical interpretations of the ten-horned dragon and devil in Irenaeus (in Adv. haer. V), Tertullian, and Hippolytus. Anti-Gnostic and other considerations political and doctrinal have quite receded, with the result that Methodius may now approach the text on its own terms. He is not seeking in it ammunition against heretics or a persecuting Empire. Rather, his ahistorical concern is with spiritual enemies and the struggle for virtue. The woman's struggle to bear Christ and resist temptation becomes the struggle of every Christian.

B. Ecclesiology in Apoc 12:1-6

Apoc 12:1-6 is also central to Methodius' ecclesiology. In Logos 3, Methodius explains that marriage and chastity are to be understood with reference to the marriage of Christ and the Church. Methodius then inserts a synthesis of Pauline and Johannine ecclesiology. He explains the creation of Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam as the prototype of the Church's creation from the side of the crucified Christ, the new Adam, as he dies or "sleeps" on the Cross (Gen 2 and Jn 19:34). By sacrificing himself for the Church,

Christ cleanses her; he washes her with the water of his word so as to present her to himself without spot or wrinkle (Eph 5:26-27). Like Eve, who becomes the mother of all the living, the Church then conceives the spiritual seed sown by her spouse Christ, and bears fruit (see Apoc 12:1-6). The Church bears fruit by giving Christ back to Christ.

As argued above, Methodius joins to this synthesis an ascetic reading. The Christians, the children of Christ and the Church, in becoming perfect also become miniature replicas of the Church. They become brides and helpmates of Christ. And like mothers in labor, they give birth to infants, i.e., to less perfect, struggling (because new to the Gospel) Christians, and assist them maternally (by spiritual guidance, prayer, and other helps) in their journey toward perfection (3.8). Methodius proposes St. Paul as the paradigm for this process and quotes Gal 4:19 ("My little children, of whom I am in labor again until Christ is formed in you") and 1 Cor 4:15 ("For in Christ Jesus, by the gospel, I have begotten you").

Thus Methodius' notion of the Church as Mother seems to derive from St. Paul and Apoc 12:1-6. Thecla declares that the heavenly woman is

> our Mother, a power in herself distinct from her children, whom the prophets have, according to the aspect of their message, sometimes called Jerusalem, sometimes the Bride,

> sometimes Mount Zion, and sometimes the Temple and God's tabernacle.[8]

The Church has a distinct personality whose central aspect is maternity. Like a mother, she forms the faithful in her womb, conceiving--i.e., protecting and perfecting--those who take refuge in the Logos (8.6). She is with child and labors, Methodius declares, until Christ is formed within each man, so that each of the saints, by sharing in Christ, is born again as Christ. It is the Church that effects this transformation of each into a clear image of the Lord (8.6). Like John of Patmos, Methodius envisions the Church as an active agent with a distinct personality characterised by fruitful obedience to the will of Christ.

The 1260 days of Apoc 12:6 are the period of the Church before the millennium, during which she rejoices in the knowledge of the Holy Trinity. Methodius explains 1260 in this way. The number 1000 equals 100 x 10; thus it "contains the full and perfect number, and is a symbol of the Father himself."[9] 200 = 100 + 100, the sum of two perfect numbers, symbolises the Holy Spirit, because he produces man's knowledge of both the Father and the Son. Finally, 60 = 10 x 6 and represents Christ, because six is a perfect number the sum of whose parts still adds up to six or perfection, just as Christ was made small for the sake of man but was then restored to his full glory. Sixty also stands for the Son because the world was created by

the Logos in 6 days (8.11). The half-week before the Parousia is a privileged and blessed interregnum falling between the end of the sixth day in the cosmic week and the eschatological feast of the seventh millennium, which is foreshadowed in the Feast of the Tabernacles.

In conclusion, the notion of the Church as virgin mother is central to the ecclesiology and ascetic theology of the Symposium. Apoc 12:1-6 subsumes the images of the Church as spouse (Pauline) and virgin (Song of Songs) into the larger category of virgin mother, and the result is a rich ecclesial and ascetic typology which explores some of the possibilities of a predominantly christocentric interpretation of the text.

C. The Millennium, the Feast of the Tabernacles, and Apoc 20:1-6

The importance of a concrete, historical eschaton in the Symposium is clear from the outset, when Methodius describes the site of the gathering in language borrowed from the sensuous description of paradise in Apoc of Peter 5:15f (Logos 1). The constant dramatic movement of the work is from shadow (Old Testament dispensation) to image (New Testament era) to reality (the eschaton),

and the allegorical interpretation of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev 23:39-43) in Logos 9 is its dramatic conclusion.

In Logos 9, Methodius explains salvation history as a cosmic week of seven millennia. The six days of creation in Gen 1 are the period of human history, and the seventh is the day of rest. Because to the Lord a day is as a thousand years (Ps 89:4), each of the seven days represents a millennium. According to Daniélou, Methodius' purpose in using the motif is to reject Origen's allegorising eschatology.[10]

Methodius' original contribution to traditional millenarianism lies in his equation of the Feast of Tabernacles with the seventh millennium.[11] The Jewish feast celebrated after the harvest of the earth's fruits symbolises the completion of God's work in the world. The Jewish celebration is, however, merely the shadow of the true eschatological feast, the new creation where there will be no more pain (Apoc 21:4; Logos 9.1). The erection of the tabernacles (σκηναι) represents the resurrection of the body. The tabernacles are adorned with the fruits of virtue. That is, the body is transformed during the millennium from its human aspect and corruption to the grandeur and beauty of an angel (Logos 9.5).

Yet Methodius' chiliasm moderately avoids the "colorful materialism" of earlier descriptions which delighted in forecasting

the procreation of children and prolific fecundity of the earth.[12] In contrast, Methodius insists that sexual life will cease and calls attention to the privileged position of virgins, who are to be placed next to the Lord himself (9.5). The harvest of tabernacles, though material, is primarily a spiritual interregnum during which man is progressively perfected and ascends to his final end even as Israel came out of Egypt towards the promised land (9.5). As Simonetti observes, Methodius' exegesis here, with its motif of progressive ascension to perfection, is typically Origenistic in flavour.[13]

Earlier millennial interpreters of Apoc 20:1-6--Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian--read the passage in a relentlessly literal fashion. In contrast, Methodius bases his chiliasm on a typological interpretation of an Old Testament passage which, if interpreted according to its letter, would yield an entirely different meaning.[14] As Simonetti puts it, Methodius

> reproves the Jews for failing to realise that the passage should be understood not in the literal sense but as an allegorical prefiguration of the future resurrection: that is, he directs at the Jews the accusation that Origen directs at Christians accustomed to interpreting the sacred page literally, [and Origen] obviously includ[es]...the millenarians among [these Christians].[15]

Methodius' intended target is perhaps not so much the Jews as the disciples of Origen. Origen criticized those Christians who failed to see the more significant, spiritual meaning of Apoc 20:1-6. Now

Methodius is criticizing Origenists who fail to see the more significant, spiritual meaning of Lev 23:39-43. However, the true spiritual meaning of Lev 23:39-43 is now the literal truth of chiliasm in Apoc 20:1-6.

Conclusion

Methodius turns Origen's dismissal of the literal sense of 20:1-6 on its head. He cites the authority of the Apostle John in claiming that those not possessing the fruit of faith from the tree of life at the eschaton do not share in the first resurrection (9.3). For Methodius, the "first resurrection" of Apoc 20:6 is the commencement of the millennium, whereas for Origen, the "first resurrection" is baptism and belief in the Logos.[16] Thus Methodius employs characteristically Origenistic allegory to defend a doctrine fundamentally incompatible with Origenism.[17] If Eusebius is familiar with the Symposium, as is certainly possible, then it is hardly surprising that he comes to dislike the Apocalypse. Methodius' exegesis of the Tabernacles and first resurrection of Apoc 20 make it very clear that the original human body--not a pneumatic body, as per Origen[18]--is raised and rendered incorruptible. Like the eschatological writers before him, Methodius uses a literal reading of Apoc 20 to defend the orthodox eschatology against the dangers posed

by overdependence upon a hellenistic view of the afterlife.

Chapter Ten

Figure, Eschaton, and Recapitulation in Victorinus of Pettau

Though its conventional title is Commentarius in Apocalypsim, Victorinus' work is not a commentary on the whole Apocalypse, but a précis.[1] Nevertheless, the précis is the first book wholly devoted to the Apocalypse, and indeed Victorinus is the first exegete to write in Latin.[2] He is not highly original and does not synthesize spiritual exegesis with Asia Minor eschatology. For this very reason, however, he is intriguing. He combines two traditional and quite different readings of the Apocalypse.

A figurative reading predominates. It is christocentric and church-centred. It emphasises the first Advent of the Lord, his intimacy with the Church--an intimacy fostered and perpetuated by the Holy Spirit--and the availability of salvific grace to the saints. An eschatological reading, on the other hand, is of smaller compass. It is literal, chiliastic, and more obviously dependent upon specifically Asian or Western sources.

In order to combine the two readings, Victorinus specially adapts the principle of recapitulation, the notion that central events in salvation history are later summed up--i.e., repeated and perfected, or else simply reiterated from another perspective. Recapitulation occurs both within the text of the Apoc itself (thematic recapitulation) and in the larger universe of salvation history

(historical recapitulation). First, it provides coherence and continuity to the Apocalypse, which Victorinus sees as a series of panels restating central Christian beliefs and events from different historical perspectives. Second, it provides evidence for the figurative and eschatological interpretations, and shows that each interpretation points to the other. This is because God's Old- and New-Testament promises are both fulfilled according to God's own pattern (although the New Economy has pride of place). The Father's pattern is to begin via a generous act of creation (of the cosmos; of the new Adam) and to fulfill by sending Christ (at the Incarnation; at the Parousia). Fulfillment occurs either in the Advent, the eschaton, or both. In short, the thematic variety of recapitulation provides the structure for the Apocalypse and insures that the text is consistent and self-verifying, while the historical variety of recapitulation elucidates God's action in history and links the Apoc with other scriptures.

A. Recapitulation, the Major Theme & Organising Principle

Romero-Pose remarks that before Victorinus, Christian writers possess no key for interpreting the text of the Apocalypse. Its very symbolism, so amenable to spiritual exegesis, also makes coherent analysis difficult. As a result, as R-Pose and Corsini observe, early

writers tend to explain selected passages from the Apoc in isolation from their context.[3]

Through recapitulatio, Irenaeus provides a partial solution to the problem. Although he has no key for interpreting the text as a unity, ἀνακεφαλαιώσις relates the Apoc to other scriptures and to salvation history. For example, because Christ, the new Adam, sums up all good in himself, it is fitting that the serpent, who tempted Adam on the sixth day, in the last days sum up all evil in himself, as manifested in the reduplicated sixes in his name.[4] Because the seventh day is holy and the day of rest (Gen 2:2-3), it is proper that there also be a seventh, holy day at the end of time, a millennium in which all the faithful find rest in the Lord.[5] Thus Jerusalem and the paradise of Gen 3 are restored in the paradise and Jerusalem of Apoc 21-22.[6] The Apocalyptic Antichrist, millennium, new Jerusalem, and new paradise are the eschatological rearticulation of Old Testament archetypes.

Although he never uses the word recapitulatio, Victorinus also uses the concept as a means of relating Apocalyptic events to salvation history.[7] For example, the sixth of the seven kings (Apoc 13:11,16) is Nero as both once and future persecutor of the saints (118,10 - 120,19). The deaths of the two witnesses (11:8) represent the deaths of prophets both in the past and under the Antichrist (102,16 - 104,3). The opening of the temple in heaven (11:19) refers

to both the first and second coming of the Lord (104,9-14). The prophecies against Babylon and Sodom in Isaiah and Ezekiel, respectively, are the same as those of the Apocalypse, which refer both to the past and to the future (132;9-13).

The book of seven seals (5:1) is the Old Testament.[8] The Old Testament with its Mosaic law is like a [last will and] testament, a legal document sealed until the death of its testator, Jesus Christ (64,6-9). By his death and resurrection, he opens or reveals its true contents--that death is overcome by Himself (60,10-11). The unsealing of the seals therefore signifies the revelation of the Old Testament in the person of Jesus Christ.[9] However, the unsealing is also a prophecy about the last times (66,19-20). The prophecy is that Christ will come in judgement (60,7). Thus the unsealing of the book by the slain Lamb signifies both the first Christian revelation and the parousia. The same image describes two events which can be compared with their parallels elsewhere in Scripture. Recapitulation relates the Apocalypse to other scriptures and events in salvation history.

In addition to its historical sense, Victorinus also uses the concept of recapitulation thematically. As Romero-Pose explains:

> Vittorino...fu il primo che utilizzò la teoria della ricapitolazione, già presente in autori precedenti, per avere una conoscenza unitaria dello scritto: l'Apocalisse non

> descrive una serie continuata di avvenimenti, ma ogni immagine o visione non è che una ripetizione e ripresentazione della stessa realtà...[10]

Recapitulation therefore relates the various symbols within the Apoc to each other. This second variety of recapitulation represents an advance over Irenaeus. For example, the reality designated by the seven trumpets (8:2) is repeated and completed in the seven bowls or vials (16:1).[11] Victorinus expounds:

> Now the trumpet [see 8:6] is the word of power. And although it recurs in the vials [see 15:7], it is not said as if it were done [twice]--but because what will be for them [humanity] is decreed to happen to them once and for all, it is therefore said twice. Thus whatever he [the Lord] said too briefly [minus] in the trumpets, he said more expansively in the vials. Nor must the order of things said be regarded, since the septiform Holy Spirit, when he has traversed even to the end of the last times, returns again to the same times and supplements what [before] he said too briefly. Neither should order be sought in the Apocalypse; rather, understanding of its varied prophecy should be sought. Therefore the things which were written in the trumpets and vials are either the devastation of the plagues sent to earth [Apoc 8:7; 16:2], or the madness of the Antichrist himself [8:8-9; 16:3], or the decline of peoples [8:10-11; 16:4-7], or the variety of plagues [8:12; 16:8-9], or hope in the kingdom of the saints [9:1f; 16:10-11], or the ruin of states [9:13f; 16:12-16], or the ruin of Babylon, that is the Roman state [11:15; 16:17-21].[12]

Through recapitulation the Holy Spirit illuminates the important things and provides opportunities for their fuller appreciation. Further, Victorinus sees no other principle of order in the Apocalypse: historical and thematic recapitulation alone serve this function.[13] In conclusion, the Apocalyptic images are interrelated and typically

refer to at least two epochs of salvation history.

B. Exegesis

Victorinus follows the order of the text. He devotes particular attention to (1) the Son of Man of Apoc 1; (2) the letters to the seven churches of Apoc 2-3; (3) the throne, angelic creatures, and Lamb of Apoc 4-5; (4) the four living creatures of Apoc 4; (5) the seven seals and four horsemen of Apoc 5-6; (6) the two witnesses of Apoc 11; (7) the woman of Apoc 12; (8) the Beast and Antichrist of Apoc 13 and 17; and (9) the millennium and holy city of saints of Apoc 20-21.

The interpretation in all but (6), (8), and (9) is predominantly figurative (christocentric and church-centred) and only occasionally eschatological. The interpretation in (6), (8), and (9) is predominantly literal and eschatological, and only occasionally figurative. In general, eschatological considerations begin to intrude in episode (5) and become more important with each successive episode.

(1) The Son of Man (Apoc 1)

Each appurtenance or aspect of the Son of Man (1:12-16) is of christological or ecclesiological significance. His snow-white hair shows that his head is God the Father (20,5, citing 1 Cor 11:3). His

face bright as the sun refers to his glory and Passion. Like the sun, he "rises" (becomes incarnate), "sets" (suffers death), and rises again (20,8-11). The length of his garment shows that it is priestly; he receives this priesthood by suffering and offering his own flesh for death (22,1-3). The two-edged sword issuing from his mouth shows that he himself uttered both the gospel and, through Moses, the law (22,6-7). The fact that he wields only one sword shows the unity of his message in the Old and New Testaments (22,7-9). The sword also shows that he comes to judge (22,12f).

The Son of Man walks among the seven golden candlesticks, which represent churches (20,1-2). His shining face also shows that through him God has spoken to men face to face (20,6-7; see Ex 33:11,29-35). The golden girdle around his chest is the refined conscience (conflata conscientia) and pure spiritual understanding delivered to the churches (22,4-5). His voice of many waters signifies both the many peoples saved by him and apostolic baptism (24,18 - 26,1). His feet of burnished aurichalcum (Apoc 1:15) are the Apostles, who carry his word to the whole world (26,3-4) and subsequently assemble at Judaea at the eschaton. The seven stars in his right hand are the seven churches he addresses (26,17). These churches are a figure of the one Church, as St. Paul also teaches by writing to exactly seven churches (26,4-11). The image of the Son of

Man is therefore a résumé of Christ's salvific identity and close relationship to the Church.

(2) The Letters to the Seven Churches (Apoc 2-3)

The seven churches represent the one Church which draws sustenance from Christ.[14] The letters are addressed to the different classes of believers in the Church (30,12 - 32,12) and are therefore primarily moral and universal rather than intended only for the local communities of John's milieu.

The first epistle enjoins the faithful to persevere in the practise of love, the principale mandatum (34,5-6). The second epistle commends those who seem poor but have spiritual riches because they deny the detractio (detraction or calumny) of the Jews. The Jews are called the "synagogue of Satan" because they are now gathered together by the Antichrist (36,2-4). The third class of the saints consists of those who are strong in faith and not fearful of persecution, but nevertheless prone to illicit associations (proni...ad inlicitas permissiones; 36,7-9). The argument in the remaining epistles is similar, with each instructing a particular class of Christians (38,6 - 44,6).

Victorinus has no difficulty in accepting the notion that baptised Christians can repent and be saved. He concludes with these words:

> Et quoniam si...homines de magno excidio ad magnam redeant paenitentiam, non solum sibi utiles esse, sed multis prodesse possunt, non mediocrem mercedem eis promisit, id est: "sedere super solium iudicii" [Apoc 3:21; p. 44,3-6].

Those who repent are of use not only to themselves, but to others.

They seem to participate fully in the promise to the faithful that they will sit in judgement. The message of the seven letters is therefore moral and perennial.

(3) <u>The Throne, Angelic Creatures, and Lamb (Apoc 4-5)</u>

Victorinus explains the images of chapters 4-5 as symbols of both the Old and the New Economy and indeed of the physical cosmos itself. The episode is a summary of all history from the creation of the elder angels and the physical universe to the Last Judgement. Some images, such as the twenty four elders of the <u>precis</u>, have a double meaning, depicting salvific events in both Economies. Other images, such as the jasper and sardine stones of 4:2, come in pairs, with one image evoking the Old Economy and the other evoking the New.

The throne of 4:2 is the throne of judgement and the King (46,12-13). Its likeness to jasper and sardine stone represent, respectively, water and fire, both symbols of judgement. Jasper recalls the water of the flood; sardine the fire of the Last Judgement

(46,14-18). The rainbow around the throne harks back to the covenant with Noah and means that he and his posterity should no longer fear deluge, but fire (48,1-4). The sea of glass like crystal (4:6) is the gift of baptism, made available before Judgement (48,5-7). Its crystalline aspect denotes its purity and stability, meaning that baptismal water is immoveable and impossible to disturb (48,9-11).

The four living creatures round the throne are the four Gospels but also stand for four important characteristics of Christ (48,12; 52,11-14). The twenty-four elders represent both the twenty-four books of the Law and Prophets, whose judicial function is appropriate to the Last Judgement, and twenty-four fathers: the twelve Apostles and the twelve patriarchs (50,2-5). These will sit in judgement over God's people.[15]

The exegesis of the four living creatures in the précis is heavily dependent upon Irenaeus (section 4 below). However, Irenaeus' influence is minimal in the De fabrica mundi, where the interpretation of the four animalia and twenty-four seniores is quite different. Indeed, the De fabrica agrees more closely with Victorinus' throne imagery and the "sevens" associated with the Lamb (Apoc 5) than does the Irenaean material. Perhaps the De fabrica contains Victorinus' own exegesis of Apoc 4-5.

(a) The *Seniores* and *Animalia* who worship God: living symbols of the cosmos (*De fabrica mundi*)

The De fabrica is organised around the cosmic week, the putative seven millennia of human history. Victorinus argues that creation reflects the heavenly configuration, particularly in the heptameron (septenario numero dierum et caelestia et terrestria omnia reguntur, p. 1, lines 8-9). That heaven is the archetype of the heptameron is manifested in its sevens. The Lamb has seven horns (Apoc 5:6; p. 6,13); his seven eyes are the seven spirits (5:6; p. 7,18); seven candlesticks representing churches surround him (1:13; p. 7,19); and seven torches burn before his throne (4:5; p. 7,18).

Second, the heptameron is also recapitulated or consumated in the Advent (1,10-11; 8,7-21). For example, the creation of light is fully consumated when the Holy Spirit comes upon the Virgin Mary or when Christ is resurrected; the creation of land and water or of Adam is summed up when Christ becomes incarnate, and so on (8,9-19). Christ's humanity is configured to the number seven, because it consists of nativity, infancy, boyhood, adolescence, young adulthood, mature age, and death (8,19-21).

Third, the heptameron is consumated in the eschaton. Moreover, because a thousand years are as a day to the Lord, the true Sabbath is the seventh millennium, when Christ will come again to reign with

his elect (Apoc 20:6 and Ps 90:4; p. 6,10-15).

The same conformity of earth to heavenly realities again obtains in the creation of sun and moon on day four (Gen 1:14-19). The number four would seem to represent the physical world, which is made up of four elements and divided into four seasons (4,7-11). This reflects the heavenly configuration, where there are four living creatures around God's throne (Apoc 4:6; see 7:1) and four rivers flowing from paradise (Gen 2:10). Likewise, just as a day has twenty-four hours (now made possible by sun and moon), so there are twenty-four elders in heaven. Victorinus explains:

> Hi sunt namque XXIIII testes dierum et noctium, qui sedent ante thronum dei, coronas aureas in capitibus suis habentes, quos [in] Apocalypsis Iohannis apostoli et evangelistae seniores vocat [4:4], idcirco, quia seniores sunt et aliis angelis et hominibus (9,8-12).

Thus the twenty-four elders of Apoc 4 are the original pattern for the twelve hours of day and night. John calls them elders (seniores) because they are older than men and the other angels (9,10-12). Like the four animalia, they are special creatures after whom the physical cosmos is patterned.

The septenary aspect of the Lord, his four living creatures associated with the four elements of the physical universe, and his twenty-four elders who are the pattern of day and night all depend upon Apoc 4-5. Together, they suggest that Victorinus reads the

liturgy of Apoc 4-5 as a hymn to the creation, salvific incarnation and eschaton. These divine inbreaks into history manifest to man the order of the cosmos. They show him that his world is created and arranged according to the pattern of the heavenly original.

(b) The *Seniores* and *Animalia* as Symbols of Palm Sunday and the Gospels (the *précis*)

In 4:5 John sees issuing from the throne "lightning and voices and thunder and seven torches, which are the seven spirits of God." For Victorinus, the lightning signifies the Advent, the voices the announcement of the New Testament, and the thunder that the words are from heaven (56,16-18). The burning torches mean that the gift of the Holy Spirit comes through the wood of the Passion (56,18-20). The twenty-four elders also evoke Palm Sunday--and therefore the Passion--when they cast their crowns before Christ's feet (58,11-14f). After the "Passion" of the seven torches, the four living creatures give glory and honour to Christ, meaning that the four gospels celebrate his incarnation and crucifixion (58,3- 6).

As was the case with his exegesis of Apoc 1, Victorinus' analysis of Apoc 4-5 is a résumé of salvation history. In both the De fabrica and the Commentarius, he shows that chapters 4-5

particularly describe the creation, incarnation, and eschaton. He begins with the genesis of the world according to its divine and angelic archetypes in heaven (De fabrica only), and he discovers Noah and the flood, the Law, Prophets, patriarchs, Advent, Passion, gift of the Spirit, twelve Apostles, Christian baptism, composition of the gospels, and Last Judgement. The pattern is repeated in his lengthy discussions of Apoc 5-6 and 12 (sections 5 and 7 below).

(4) The Four Living Creatures (Apoc 4)

Although Victorinus' discussion of the living creatures comes amidst his exegesis of the throne and its attendants, it is sufficiently substantial and divergent to merit separate consideration. As noted above, in the précis the four living creatures stand for the four gospels and four important characteristics of Christ. The parallels with Irenaeus are sufficiently similar to imply direct literary dependence. Victorinus also adds his own material, supplementing for his own purposes.

Victorinus and Irenaeus both introduce the four living creatures as embodiments of four aspects of Christ.[16] In addition, both associate the leonine, human, vituline, and aquiline aspects of Christ with particular gospels. Victorinus also adds a detail from Papias about Mark's dependence upon Peter (50,19 - 52,1). Both then quote Jn

1:1, Mt 1:1, Lk 1:5 (only cited by Irenaeus), and Mk 1:1 (52,2-10). Both pair John with the lion, Mark with the eagle, Matthew with the man, and Luke with the calf. When John begins his Gospel with deus erat verbum, Victorinus explains, he roars like a lion (50,10-11). Victorinus and Irenaeus both observe that St. Mark, in commencing with the prophetic Spirit (Is 40:3), points to the winged aspect of the Gospel (52,2-11).

The fourfold nature of the one gospel is shown by the four covenants with Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Christ (Irenaeus) or by the four rivers flowing from the one paradise (Victorinus, 54,1-4). Victorinus' choice of image is amenable to his insistence on the unity of the two Testaments--a leitmotif of use against both Jews (who reject the New Testament) and Marcionites (who reject the Old). Finally, Irenaeus and Victorinus excoriate heretics who do not avail themselves of the prophetic Spirit (54,21-22; Adv. haer. III.11.9). Irenaeus specifically mentions the Marcionites, while Victorinus alludes only to haeretici autem qui testimonio prophetico non utuntur (54,21-22; Adv. haer. III.11.9).

Victorinus next investigates the wings of the four creatures (4:8)--perhaps spurred by Irenaeus' observation that the heavenly Spirit sent by Christ protects mankind with his wings (Adv. haer. III.11.8). Victorinus' purpose is to demonstrate the unity of the two

Testaments. The total number of wings, six per creature, is equal to twenty-four, the number of books in Victorinus' Old Testament (see 54,8-10 and 56,3-4). The meaning is that, just as a creature cannot fly without wings, so the four living creatures, here taken to represent the gospel or New Testament, will not fly or gain credence without the prophecies of the Old Testament (54,10-14). Similarly, as wings have no life unless attached to living creatures, so too, the Old Testament has no life unless attached to its consummation in Christ, the New Testament (54, 16-19). Each Testament is necessary to the other. Heretics who reject the Old Testament have no wings and therefore remain earth-bound (54,21-22). Jews, on the other hand, possess wings but not the New Testament to vivify them (54,23 - 56,3). Theirs is a moribund faith.

In Apoc 5:8-9, the four living creatures reappear together with the twenty-four elders. All play harps, pour out vials of incense, and sing a new song (66,1-2). Victorinus associates the elders with the Old Testament and the living creatures with the New. The fact that the two groups are singing a new song means that the new dispensation--the Incarnation, Resurrection, seal of the Spirit, and expectation of the Kingdom--has begun (66,2-11). The harp string stretched upon its wooden frame stands for the flesh of Christ stretched upon the wood of the Cross (66,11-13). The vial[s] signify

the new priesthood, new confession of faith, and angelic testimony to the salvation of all (66,13-16). Victorinus' christocentric allegory has again emphasized the unity and necessity of both Testaments.

(5) The Seven Seals and Four Horsemen (Apoc 5-6)

Previous episodes of the précis dealt almost exclusively with the first coming of Christ and its consequences for the Church and saints. In contrast, the discussion of the seals and horsemen, while retaining its christocentrism and present force for believers, also incorporates eschatological speculation.

The book of seven seals (5:1) is the Old Testament revealed (60,5-6). By his death and resurrection, the Lamb opens or reveals its true contents--that death is overcome by Himself (60,10-11; 62,2; 64,6-11). The unsealing of the seals (6:1f) therefore signifies the revelation of the Old Testament in the person of Jesus Christ. However, the unsealing is also a prophecy about the last times: Resignatio sigillorum, ut diximus, apertio est veteris testamenti praedicatorum et praenuntiatio in novissimo tempore futurorum (66,18-20).[17] The prophecy is that Christ has received from the Father the authority to judge (60,7). Thus the unsealing of the book by the slain Lamb signifies both the first Christian revelation and the Parousia.

Victorinus widens these themes in his discussion of the white horse (6:1-2). Interestingly, the white horse and its rider are the Holy Spirit and gospel message:

> For the first seal being opened, he says that he saw a white horse and a crowned horseman having a bow: at first, it [the opening of the OT and foretelling of the last times] was done by him [the Lord]; [and] after our Lord ascended into heaven, he opened all things and sent the Holy Spirit, whose words, like seals, reached the human heart through preachers and overcame unbelief. And the crown on [his] head is promised to the preachers by the Holy Spirit....Therefore the white horse is the word of preaching sent to the world with the Holy Spirit...[18]

The white horse signifies the action of the Spirit made possible by the Son. The Son is the first to open the meaning of the Scriptures to men; he breaks the seals. After his Ascension, he sends the Spirit, who continues to unlock Scripture through preachers. The words of the Spirit impress themselves upon the human heart like a seal. The white horse symbolizes the perpetuation of the Lord's revelation through the Spirit and evangelical apostolate.

For Victorinus, just as prophecy follows its own sequence--ordinem suum habet praedicatio (66,21 - 68,1)--so also the opening of the seals follows a rough chronological order.[19] After the white horse, who signifies Christian revelation from the descent of the Spirit up to the beginning of the eschaton, come the black, red, and pale horses, who signify primarily the events of the eschaton.

These events will not take place until the Gospel is preached to the whole world (68,14-16, citing Mt 24:14). The black horse and his balance for weighing wheat signify famine, particularly (proprie) during the time of the Antichrist, when famine will be universal (70,1-4, citing Mt 24:7). The red horse and its sword-wielding rider are figures of eschatological wars, when nation will rise against nation (70,5-8, citing Lk 21:10-11). Finally, the pale horse stands for death, the final damnation or "devouring" of impious souls (72,2-5, see Mt 24:7).

Even though the white horse is a positive symbol and the other horses are all negative, the four horses, like the four living creatures before them, nevertheless represent one entity (omnia quattuor unum sunt; 68,10-11). They represent the Christian era in its totality, from the post-Ascension gift of the Spirit to the parousia and final judgement.

The four horses appear singly as the crucified Lamb opens each of the first four seals. He then opens the fifth seal, which reveals under the altar the souls of those slain for witnessing to the word of God (6:9). For Victorinus, these souls are the saints, and their repose under the altar means that they are in the underworld (infernus, 74,10-11). There they are apart from and seen by the impious but cannot be carried across to them (74,12-13). They await their

eternal reward and the eternal damnation of the wicked (74,16-18). The white robes they receive are the gift of the Holy Spirit; the robes console them for the sacrifice of their bodies (74,18 - 76,2).

Victorinus says nothing of the sixth and seventh seals (6:12-17 and 8:1). The former describes the destruction wreaked by the "wrath of the Lamb;" the latter describes the half-hour silence in heaven. By virtue of their inclusion in the group of seven, the sixth and seventh seal would describe, Victorinus has said already, both the last times and the revelation of the Old Testament in Christ (66,18-20). Presumably, then, the destruction wrought by the sixth seal occurs in the last times and the silence of the seventh seal is the beginning of the eschatological kingdom.[20]

Victorinus treated Apoc 1 and 4 as <u>résumés</u> of salvation history. In similar fashion, the seven seals and four horsemen of Apoc 5-6 overview the new dispensation and fully reveal the old. Beginning with the breaking of the seven seals by the slain Lamb (the Advent of the Lord and his revelation of the prophetic scriptures in word and deed), continuing with the descent of the Spirit and spread of the Gospel (the white horse), and ending with the trials of the Christian era in especially the last times (the red, black, and pale horses) and repose of the martyrs (the souls under the altar), the seals are a chronological pageant.

(6) The Two Witnesses (Apoc 11)

Victorinus' previous exegesis was virtually continuous, exploring at least briefly each image or series of images. However, after the seals, he abbreviates. He says little about the angel of 7:2, the 144,000 and multitudes of 7:4-9, and the seven trumpets of 8-9. He declares that more detailed exegesis of Apoc 7-10 is unnecessary. Much of the material recapitulates what has come before. He then remarks that the seven trumpets (Apoc 8:2 - 11:19) describe the same reality as the seven vials (Apoc 12:1 - 22:5, esp. 15-16), and that both depict the eschaton (84,14 - 86,12). However, Victorinus explains neither the trumpets nor the vials but assumes that the meaning of both is clear to his readers. Perhaps he does so because he has already explained a previous "seven," the seals. The seven seals also describe the eschaton (among other things). Because explanation of the seals precedes the statement about the eschatological import of the trumpets and vials and renders further discussion unnecessary, Victorinus would seem to say that the three "sevens" all describe the same reality.

It is tempting to speculate that Victorinus organises the Apocalypse around four groups of seven--letters (Apoc 1:9 - 3:22), seals (4:1 - 8:1), trumpets (8:2 - 11:19), and vials (12:1 - 22:5)--each

deepening the central teaching of the other, the revelation that Christ has come and will come again. The suspicion is supported by Victorinus' use of the two witnesses (11:3) who, he says, are one and the same as the angel with the seal of God (Apoc 7:2; p. 80), the eagle flying through heaven (8:13; p. 86), the two great wings (12:6, pp 110,112), and the angel flying through heaven (14:6; p. 130). The angel (7:2) and eagle (8:13) are associated with the seven seals; the two witnesses are associated with the seven trumpets; and the great wings (12:6) and flying angel (14:6) are associated with the seven vials. The "sevens," which appear to designate the same reality, are each validated by the same witnesses.

The seven letters of Apoc 1:19 - 3:22 are also linked. The key lies in Victorinus' exegesis of the Spirit. He declares that the septiformis spiritus sanctus repeats himself in the seven trumpets and vials (86,3-6). It is characteristic of the Spirit to speak in sevens. Victorinus has already made this observation central to his introduction to the seven letters, and indeed to the whole précis. He cites Is 11:2, where the one, septiform Spirit manifests himself in the seven spirits of wisdom, understanding, counsel, etc. (16,8 - 18,3; De fabrica 7,20). These seven spirits are loosely associated with the characteristics of the seven churches of Apoc 2-3 (pp 32-44). Victorinus also asserts that seven churches as a figure for the one

Church is a typum announced by the Holy Spirit through Isaiah (28,14 - 30,2, citing Is 4:1). The septiform Spirit of Apoc 1:4 would seem to speak analogously in the seven letters, seals, trumpets, and vials.

In sum, three central and intertwining themes of Victorinus' exegesis--recapitulation, pneumatology, and the fulfillment of prophecy (illustrated via the two witnesses)--all follow the same repeating pattern. The themes suggest Victorinus' organisation of the Apocalypse--four "sevens" and their associated images.

Victorinus follows established tradition in designating Elijah as a witness.[21] Elijah is the precursor to the Antichrist, and his role is to restore persecuted churches. He is the angel of 7:2, and his preaching will convert many Jews (the 144,000 of 7:4-8; 82,4-5; 112,1-3; 140,8) and Gentiles (the great multitude of 7:9; 82,4-5). He and the other witness are the eagle of 8:13 who announces the three woes. Perhaps because Victorinus equates the angel of 7:2 and the prophetic eagle of 8:13 with the witnesses, he finds it necessary that both witnesses be prophets, and therefore proposes Jeremiah as Elijah's companion. Or again, perhaps he is only following tradition:

> Many suppose that Elisha or Moses is with Elijah, but both of these died. But the death of Jeremiah is not found. So all the ancients handed down to us that he is Jeremiah; for the same word which was given to him, also testifies [to him], saying, "Before I formed you in your mother's womb, I

> knew you, and I made you a prophet to the nations" [Jer 1:5]. But he was not a prophet to the nations, and therefore what the prophecy promises, it must also set forth--that he be a prophet to the nations.[22]

Victorinus decisively rejects traditions which hold that Elijah's companion is Moses or Elisha. He claims to find authority for doing so in tradition itself, as well as in Jeremiah.

Perhaps Irenaeus is again Victorinus' source. In Adv. haer. V.15.3, Irenaeus, too, quotes Jer 1:5. He does so to prove that "this hand of God which formed us at the beginning, and which does form us in the womb, has in the last times sought us who were lost, winning back his own, and taking up the lost sheep upon his shoulders, and with joy restoring it to the fold of life" (V.15.2). Irenaeus, too, interprets eschatologically the restoration promised by Jeremiah (see also V.34.1).

However, Irenaeus also refers to the translation of Elijah and *Enoch*, though he stops short of designating them the two witnesses of Apoc 11:3 (V.5.1). And Irenaeus quotes Jer 31:10f, which begins, "Hear the word of the Lord, you nations;" Irenaeus therefore indicates, pace Victorinus' assertion, that Jeremiah has preached to the nations already (V.34.3). Irenaeus' influence may partly explain Victorinus' declaration that omnia [sic] veteres held the second witness to be Jeremiah. Perhaps Irenaeus and Victorinus are drawing upon a common source, such as Papias.

Victorinus later retreats from identifying the second witness as Jeremiah. He refers to the two wings of 12:14 as simply Helias et qui cum illo erit propheta (112,10; see also 114,8-11; 140,8). Again, the angel of 14:6 is simply referred to as Elijah (130,11-12). Victorinus' retreat may indicate misgivings. Or it may indicate what R. Bauckham terms "an alternative tradition of the return of Elijah alone."[23]

In conclusion, the two witnesses are eschatological figures who announce salvation and imminent judgement. Their association with the seven seals, trumpets, and vials now puts each of these prophetic panels in an eschatological light. As Victorinus says elsewhere, the Spirit both announces and anticipates (praedicat et praeposterat, 104,2). Here the eschatological theme and judaising tradition of Elijah's return dominate.

(7) The Woman, Child, and Dragon (Apoc 12)

As with the Son of Man (Apoc 1), the throne (Apoc 4), and the seals and horsemen (Apoc 5-6), Apoc 12 is a summary of salvation history in miniature. It is, moreover, the last episode not primarily eschatological. Hereafter, Victorinus will concentrate on the eschatological sequence, which began with the two witnesses and ends with the coming of the Antichrist, millennium, and final judgement.[24]

Victorinus arranges the verses of Apoc 12 differently from their textual order: 1-3a, 4b, 5b, 5a, 3b, 6, 14-16, 7-9, 4a, 17. Prigent suggests that he does so in order to elicit his summary of salvation history:

> Ap. 12 résume l'histoire du salut: promesse faite aux pères, accomplissement en Christ, attente de la fin. Ce résultat est obtenu 1. par une exégèse littérale (pas trace d'interprétations mystiques ou morales), 2. grâce à quelques bouleversements dans l'ordre du texte..."[25]

These three high points of salvation history are Victorinus' major themes.

The heavenly woman is both an Old- and a New-Testament figure. She is the ecclesia...antiqua patrum et prophetarum et sanctorum apostolorum, quia gemitus et tormenta desiderii sui habuit, usque quo factum est ex plebe sua secundum carnem suam olim promissum [esse] (106,1-4). This Church groans (12:2) as she waits for her promised Christ (see also 112,14 - 114,2). The laborious wait for, and fulfillment of, the expected incarnation is the cause of her travail. Her solar raiment (12:1) is the hope of resurrection and the glory of its promise (106,4-6). The moon is the fate of the saints--apparently both Old- and New-Testament saints. Their death is an eclipse or nightfall, but through this eclipse shines, like the moon at night, their hope in the resurrection (106,6-10). Her crown of twelve stars is the choir of the Old Testament Fathers, from whom

the spirit [of Christ?] took his flesh (106,10-12). The choir seems to refer to the choir of twenty-four elders (Apoc 4:4,10-11; 11:16; 14:3; 19:4; see 21:12,14), of whom twelve, Victorinus has told us, are Old Testament figures (50,2-5).

The devil's attempt to devour the child [Christ] of the Israel/Church (12:3a,4b) is a reference to the Temptation and Passion (108,1-8). When the temptation of Christ failed, the devil "departed from him until the time" (Lk 4:13) of the Passion (108,6-8). The devil's failure to bind Christ in death is made manifest when the Son is caught up to God and His throne (12:5). This refers to the Ascension and very probably to the resurrection (108,9-11, quoting Ac 1:9).

The "rod of iron" (12:5b) is the two-edged sword (1:16) already explicated (gladius hostem interficit, see 22,10-13). It is an eschatological artefact. Its two edges cut down the Gentile armies drawn up against the saints by the Antichrist (108,12 - 110,2).

The dragon (12:3b) is the devil (108,1), and his colour is scarlet (coccineus) or blood-red because he is a murderer (110,4-5). His seven heads and ten horns indicate his two principal periods of activity, which roughly coincide with the two comings of Christ. The seven heads refer to seven Roman kings reigning near the beginning of the Christian era, from Galba to Nerva (A.D. 68-98; see 110,7;

118,5-10). The ten horns refer to ten kings of the last times (110,8-9; 118,15 - 120,1). Interestingly, the Antichrist, who is distinguished from the devil, derives from the seven earlier kings, not the ten eschatological horns (110,7-8). The pattern of his activity is established under the persecutor Nero (A.D. 54-68), not during the eschaton.[26]

The woman flees to the wilderness (12:6) with the aid of two eagle's wings (12:14). The wings are the the eschatological gift of prophecy to the Church, the preaching of Elijah and his companion, who will convert many (112,1-4; 9-10). Interpreting literally, Victorinus affirms that the flight takes place in Judaea, and that the duration of sanctuary is three-and-one-half years (112,5-9, quoting Lk 21:21).

The flood of water from the dragon's mouth (12:15) is the army he sends to persecute the Church (112,11-12). The earth, which swallows the water (12:16), shows the vengeance to be visited upon the persecutors (112,13-14). The Church's flight from persecution therefore occurs in the indefinite future, after the birth of Christ (112,14 - 114,2).

The war in heaven (12:7-9) is the beginning of the eschaton: hoc est initium adventus Antichristi (114,7-8). The battle is a reprise of the angelic fall of 12:4; when the devil sweeps a third of the stars

from heaven (12:4; see also 8:12), he draws a third of the other angels into his error.[27] Victorinus is aware of a tradition that the fallen stars are men. However, "it should be more truly understood" (verius intellegi debet, 116,4) that because the devil was still a prince when he fell, some of those under his aegis succumbed to his wiles and also fell (116,4-6, quoting Jude 6). For this reason, after Elijah comes, the Antichrist and fallen angels must be roused from hell (114,11-12f, quoting 2 Thes 2:3-4). The dragon will then be on earth, standing super arenam maris (12:17; p. 116,6-7).

In portraying the heavenly woman as a figure of both Testaments, Victorinus' reading of Apoc 12 represents an advance over Hippolytus, who saw her only as a New Testament symbol. It enables Victorinus to show the unity of the two Testaments, a unity of expectation-fulfillment founded upon Christ. It also facilitates explanation of the chapter's Old Testament imagery. Second, Victorinus succeeds in emphasising eschatology without sacrificing Christ's priority in defeating the devil. Christ himself, not an acolyte, overcomes temptation and death, is resurrected, ascends, and wields the iron rod of eschatological judgement. The devil is an opponent of Christ and the ancient Church, as well as an eschatological enemy of the saints. A third feature of the exegesis is its author's self-professed sensitivity to tradition (116,2-4), which,

together with the complex and continuous commentary he provides, suggests that his analysis contains traditional elements.

(8) The Beast and the Antichrist (Apoc 13 and 17)

The eschatological sequence began with the two witnesses (Apoc 11) and the Church's flight from persecution (Apoc 12). As it continues, recapitulation is again a major theme. The Antichrist is Nero redivivus, Nero being the quintessential blasphemer (in claiming divinity) and persecutor of the saints. The seven heads of 17:9 are the Roman emperors from Galba to Nerva (118,5-10). The beast of Apoc 13 and 17 is of the seven heads, and is the eighth.[28] This means, Victorinus declares, that the beast or Antichrist is a Roman emperor who later reappears (118,12-15). Nero is clearly intended, Victorinus says, because the deadly wound of 13:3 which is healed refers to his suicide and subsequent resurrection and restoration (120,7-10). His suicide and parodistic resurrection are antitypes of Christ's sacrificial death and resurrection. But his most antitypical evil is in calling himself God, as is clear from his number, 666 (Apoc 13:18). These numbers produce the Greek TEITAN (See Adv. haer. V.30.3), meaning Sol or Phoebus (124,3-5). In Latin, the number yields an equivalent--Diclux (124,7-12). The latter comes from dico + lux. Like Teitan, Diclux means that the Antichrist calls himself

"light," even though he is cut off from the real, supernal light (124,12-15).

Victorinus associates the Antichrist with both civil and religious corruption. The seven hills and prostitute of 17:9 are Rome (118,1-2; 120,5; 130,17 - 132,4), and when the Antichrist-Nero marches out to make war upon the saints, he launches his attack from Rome (118,17 - 120,1). Rome is the Babylon of 14:8, which persecutes and is to be destroyed (86,11-12; 130,14-16). On the other hand, Sodom and Egypt, the place where the Lord is crucified (11:8), refer to Jerusalem: Sodomam autem et Aegyptum dici Hierosolymam actus populi persecutoris effecit (102,17-19). Nero-Antichrist combines in his person both corruptions. In addition to his Roman pedigree, he is a judaiser; he insists upon circumcision for his followers and is thought to be Christ by the Jews.[29] His false prophet (the second beast of 13:11) is associated only with Jewish corruption and will cause a golden image of the Antichrist to be placed in the Jerusalem temple (128,5-6, quoting Dan 11:45).

The choice of Nero as the Antichrist may echo earlier tradition, because 666 will produce NEPO ΚΑΙΣΕΡ. The corruption and hand-in-glove relationship between Rome and Jerusalem--Babylon and Sodom--may also be a traditional interpretation, because Victorinus abstracts from his otherwise literal and historical exegesis of Apoc

13 and 17 in making two uncharacteristically general statements. First, he allows that the Empire's persecution, once particular to itself, is now decreed among all the nations (132,5-13). Indeed, as Simonetti observes, Victorinus identifies the beast as a symbol of Rome even though anti-Romanism is not a theme of his work.[30] Second, he declares that the condemnations of Babylon in Isaiah and the Apoc and of Sodom in Ezekiel refer to the one embodiment of evil, the actricem homicidiorum or devil, who merely appears in two guises.[31] This recalls Irenaeus' suggestion that the Antichrist sums up all evil in himself (Adv. haer. V.28.2), just as Christ summed up all good. In brief, Christian-era Rome and Jerusalem, as well as their Antichrist, recapitulate the prophecies of the Old Testament, particularly in the eschaton.

(9) The Millennium and Holy City of Saints (Apoc 20-21)

As Simonetti recalls, Irenaeus warns against allegorizing eschatological scriptures.[32] Discoursing on the new earth and heavenly Jerusalem of Apoc 21, he writes: nihil allegorizari potest, sed omnia firma et vera et substantiam habentia (Adv. haer. V.35.2). Victorinus, Simonetti observes, is prevented by the text itself--and perhaps by tradition as well--from following Irenaeus' prescription in toto. However, Victorinus can and does follow Irenaeus'

prescription in his analysis of Apoc 20-21.[33] He is an unabashed chiliast, notwithstanding attempts by Curti and Romero-Pose to downplay his chiliasm.[34] On the other hand, as Curti and Romero-Pose correctly note, Victorinus proffers a second interpretation of Apoc 21 which is entirely spiritual and not eschatological.[35]

As is clear from his exegesis of the four horses and seven seals (episode 5 above), Victorinus holds that even martyrs do not go directly to heaven but await the final judgement in the infernus, which he describes as remota a poenis et ignibus regio (74,11). The eschatologcial sequence begins with the appearance of the two witnesses and the Antichrist, who are soon followed by the Lord himself (136,2 - 138,6). Next comes the millennium; the Lord puts the devil and his minions in Tartarus for its duration.[36] The Last Judgement follows:

> Now no one can be unaware that at the coming of the Lord, the "scarlet" [17:3] devil and all of his rebellious angels are locked in Tartarus of Gehenna, and that after a thousand years they are liberated on account of the people who will be serving the Antichrist, so that these alone may perish [see 20:2-3], because they deserve it. The universal judgement takes place next. He declares: "And the dead," he says, "'written in the book of life' [see 21:27] lived and reigned a thousand years with Christ. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has a part in the first resurrection: over him the second death has no power" [20:4-6]. Of this resurrection he says, "And I saw a Lamb standing, and with him 144,000" [14:1], that is, standing

> with Christ—those of the Jews, of course, who in the last times believe through the preaching of Elijah, those [whom] the Spirit testifies to be virgin not only in body but also in speech. For this reason he mentions earlier that the twenty-four elders said, "We give thanks to you, Lord God, who reigned; and the nations raged" [see 11:17-18].[37]

Apparently, all Christians, including last-minute converts from Judaism (the 144,000 who follow Elijah instead of the Antichrist) reign with Christ during the millennium. At the end of the millennium, the remainding dead rise and are judged (144,4-7). These are the impios et peccatores et varii generis commissores (144,8). The devil and his fallen angels are also released from hell at this time. Their purpose is to seize and drag down to damnation the souls of resurrected sinners and those who serve the Antichrist. This is the second death of 20:6 (144,11-12; 36,5-6). Victorinus supports his belief in two resurrections by referring to the trumpets of 1 Thes 4:15f and 1 Cor 15:52. The trumpet of 1 Thes points to the first resurrection, while the final trumpet of 1 Cor indicates a second and final resurrection (142,8 - 144,12).

The peculiar reference to the twenty-four elders supports the hypothesis that Victorinus uses recapitulation to organise the text around its four sevens. Victorinus remarks in episode (6) above that the seven trumpets (8:2 - 11:19) describe the same eschatological events as the seven vials (12:1 - 22:5; pp 84,14 - 86,12). Similarly, in the quotation above, the elders of 11:17-18 are giving thanks for

the millennial reign and judgement, which have just ended. Thus 11:17-18, the end of the discussion centred upon the seven trumpets, is for Victorinus a parallel to chapter 20. Apoc 8:2 - 11:19 is a self-contained summary of the era of the new Economy. It provides the same information as Apoc 12-20. This would pair the heavenly temple of 11:19, a manifestation of the Lord (104,10), with the celestial city of chapter 21. More generally, it seems once again that the events of Apoc 12:1-22:5 (seven vials) recapitulate the earlier sevens of 1:9-3:22 (letters), 4:1-8:1 (seals), and 8:2-11:19 (trumpets).

The descent of the holy city occurs during the millennium and is of greater interest to Victorinus than the millennium itself. He describes it at length, quoting extensively from Apoc 21:

> In the Kingdom and in the first resurrection, therefore, is shown the "holy city, which," he says, "descends from heaven in the shape of a square," [21:2] ringed with stones of diverse types, colors, and values, "like clean"—that is, clear—"gold" [21:18]. "Its street," he declares, "is covered with crystal [21:21]; the river of life flowing through [its] middle [22:1]; and springs of living waters; the tree of life each month bearing different fruits in turn [22:2]; there is no light of the sun" [21:23] there on account of the glory of his eminence. Because, he declares, "the lamb"—that is, God—"is its light" [21:23]. For "its gates were of single pearls, three on each side, not closed" [21:13, 21, 25] but to be open [always].[38]

Victorinus is literal and even emphatic in his insistence upon the concrete reality of the city's sensuous delights. He also insists that

the kingdom promised by God to Abraham will indeed exist according to the boundaries specified in Gen 13:14f. The kingdom is to extend from the Euphrates to the Nile, and a mari Rubro usque ad Arabiae et Aquilonis usque ad mare Phoenices; essentially, it will comprise the greater part of Syria (148,7-16).

Victorinus is equally literal in his description of the life enjoyed by the saints. In doing so, he adverts not to the Apocalypse but to the prophets. The saints will receive a hundredfold reward (152,14-15, quoting Mt 19:29) as compensation for years in which "the locust, grub, and seducer devoured" (152,20-22, citing Joel 2:25):

> In this [kingdom] the saints will receive "instead of bronze, gold; and instead of iron, silver and precious stones" [see Is 60:17]. In this place "he will transfer to them the riches of the sea and the treasures of the nations" [see Is 60:5]. In this reign, "the priests of the Lord will be called ministers of God" [see Is 61:6], even as they are now [falsely] called sacrilegious. In this kingdom "they will drink wine, be annointed with ointment, and be delivered unto joy" [see Amos 6:6; Ps 67:4].[39]

This is hardly the mild chiliasm which Curti and Romero-Pose find. On the contrary, it is unadulterated and vivid like its analogues in Irenaeus and Papias. The saints are fêted and receive real treasures, jewelry, titles, and annointings. Prophecies susceptible to eschatological interpretation must be fulfilled.

The last lines of the précis come ex abrupto.[40] Simonetti, Curti, and Romero-Pose all remark upon Victorinus' sudden return to

figurative exegesis.[41] The building materials of the heavenly city take on ecclesiological meaning:

> Now when he says that "stones different in type and color" [21:18-20] will be shown, he says this of men; but he signifies also the most precious variety in the faith of each individual man. For he shows that "the pearly gates" [21:21] are the Apostles. "They will not be shut" [21:25], he says: grace was given through them and will never be closed. In this place they will see "face to face" [1 Cor 13:12], and "one will not look in vain for another" [Is 24:16]. "And on the foundations and above the doors" are "the names" [21:14, 12] of the Fathers and the Apostles: we have already treated of the twenty-four elders, and of those who will reign in this kingdom; "they themselves will judge the world" [1 Cor 6:2].[42]

The diverse stones represent the different types of saints and the variety in their faith. The city is founded upon the Apostles and Old Testament Fathers, while its gates, through which the faithful enter, are the Apostles. That the gates are never closed shows that saving grace is always available.

The twelve Apostles and twelve Fathers are the same figures as the twenty-four elders of Apoc 4 (50,2-5; 56-5-13; see episode 3 above). They sit in judgement with the Lamb. The recapitulated Apostles and patriarchs of Apoc 21 are the same instruments of grace and judgement, integral to the Church, as the elders of Apoc 4.

Despite his literal eschatology Victorinus spiritualises the heavenly Jerusalem. Simonetti terms it un'interpretazione allegorica di tipo schiettamente origeniano, while Curti writes that Victorinus

is labouring sulla scia del grande maestro alessandrino.[43] However, Simonetti stops short of saying that Origenism influences Victorinus, and indeed says elsewhere that Victorinus appare immune (o quasi) da questo influsso.[44] Curti cites De principiis II.11.2-3, in which Origen scorns credence in a literal messianic banquet, declares that the true eschatological food and drink are the bread of life (Jn 6:51) and drink of divine wisdom, and avers that the man of faithful endurance and good works becomes a precious stone in the Jerusalem of the saints.

Victorinus' statement that the variety of stones symbolises the "most precious variety in the faith of each individual man" may echo Origen. But certainly the remainder of the figurative passage, and his use of recapitulation, find no parallels in Origen. Moreover, Victorinus may be unaware that literal chiliasm is under fire. Certainly his faith in millenarianism never wavers.[45] Curti has not made his case.

Perhaps the work's final passage is not a bow to Origenism at all, but rather the continuation of Victorinus' own self-confident, spiritual exegesis. The christological/ecclesiological spiritual reading dominates much of the précis, and it is not surprising that it also appears in eschatological passages. The allegorical passage completes the figurative reading begun with Apoc 1 and, through one last instance of recapitulation, links Apoc 20-21 to previous

passages.

Conclusion

Analysis of Victorinus' work illuminates two distinct interpretations of the Apocalypse, the one figurative and typically christocentric or church-centred, the other literal and eschatological. The eschatological interpretation appears only in episodes (5) - (9) and predominates only in episodes (6), (8), and (9). On the other hand, the christocentric and church-centred interpretation is discernible in every episode. It is coherent and applicable to the whole work (even Apoc 20-22) from beginning to end. The less versatile and sophisticated eschatological passages are uncritical and somewhat wooden. In general, when Victorinus becomes eschatological, he becomes literal and specifically Asiatic or Irenaean.

Victorinus' dependence upon earlier commentators--principally Irenaeus--occurs almost exclusively in eschatological passages. Elsewhere, except in his analysis of the four living creatures of Apoc 4, there are no strong indications of direct influence from anyone. His demonstrable dependence is upon persons only from Asia Minor, and the major fruit of his parochial traditionalism (Apoc 20-22) is a less coherent reading than we find in his analysis of Apoc 1-19.

The exception is his use of recapitulation, which appears already

in the Asian Irenaeus. Irenaeus uses recapitulation primarily (1) to defend the orthodox eschatology, (2) to uphold the unity of salvation history mediated by the two Testaments, and (3) to relate the Apoc to other scriptures. Victorinus, while retaining themes (2) and (3), also uses recapitulation as the organising principle of the Apocalypse itself. As his exegesis of especially episodes (1), (3), (5), and (7) above demonstrates, Victorinus recognizes that the concept of recapitulation has its origins not only in St. Paul (e.g., Christ as the new Adam, 1 Cor 15:45), but also in the Apocalypse.[46] Recapitulation provides the means of unlocking the structure of the text and of linking the two major themes of Christ-Church and eschatology. Within the text, it relates one block of symbols to another. On the larger canvas of salvation history, it relates promise to fulfillment; fall to restoration; and persecution to vindication. Old Testament prophecy is fulfilled both at the Advent and at the Second Coming (e.g., episode 7). The Second Coming recapitulates and extends to all the saints the fullness of the resurrection (e.g., episode 8).

The figurative interpretation of Apoc 1-19 and even of 20-22 bears no resemblance to Origen. Specifically Origenistic exegeses and favorite passages are absent; there are no verbal parallels; and Alexandrian inroads in Asia may not yet extend to Latin-influenced Pannonia. Yet Victorinus agrees with Origen and Cyprian in major

themes such as christocentrism, the unity of salvation history, the unity of the two testaments, and the close relationship of Christ and the Church. Does Victorinus' figurative exegesis therefore originate with himself or depend upon an earlier tradition? The evidence points to the latter. Cyprian, Origen, and Victorinus are each unaware of the others' interpretations of the Apocalypse. Yet all three find in the Apocalypse proof of the unity of the two Testaments; all understand its eschaton as the completion of promises already actualised by the first Advent; all are aware of a nonchiliastic reading of Apoc 20:2-7, and all typically read the Apoc morally or spiritually rather than eschatologically.[47] In short, all three see the Apoc as a revelation of Jesus Christ and his Church. This common interpretation is unmistakeable despite diverse local influences--North African persecution, Alexandrian allegory, and Asian or Western traditionalism.[48] Victorinus' exegesis would therefore seem to derive from an earlier, common tradition.

This conclusion is also supported by internal evidence. Victorinus' declared belief in the importance of traditional exegesis and probable dependence upon Papias and Irenaeus suggest that he follows tradition, particularly in his use of recapitulation. In addition, his exegesis is perhaps too consistent, comprehensive, detailed, and well-conceived for him to have created ex nihilo.

In short, Victorinus preserves two diverse traditions in his précis. Allegory is the common tradition discernible in Origen, Cyprian, Methodius, and others, while chiliasm and the restoration of paradise are the local tradition exemplified in Papias, Irenaeus, and even Victorinus' contemporary Methodius. Victorinus makes no effort to defend either interpretation against the other, implying that he does not perceive the traditions to be in conflict. Through recapitulation, the dominant, figurative interpretation accommodates a literal, chiliastic eschatology.

Conclusion

A. Anti-Chiliasm and Other Reasons for Rejecting the Apocalypse

The Apocalypse enjoys the ironic distinction of being accepted more in the second century than subsequently. It is first rejected by Gaius and the Alogoi in ca. 200. Gaius, a known anti-Gnostic, anti-chiliast, and anti-Montanist, associates the Apoc with Cerinthus. Cerinthus is accused of chiliasm and Gnosticism by his opponents. Both charges may be correct. Cerinthus apparently makes frequent use of the Apoc in advocating a crassly material millennium with feasting, marriage, and restoration of the Jewish temple. Perhaps he also interpreted in a Gnostic manner those portions of the text, such as chapter 12, which describe the birth of Christ and the fall to earth of Satan and his angels. At any rate, the Apoc becomes tainted with especially chiliasm in the eyes of Gaius and his party, Dionysius, and Eusebius. If the rejection of Cerinthus entailed rejection of his authority, Gaius' opposition to the Apoc and Gospel of John is understandable. Perhaps Montanism, the suspiciously Gnostic logos theology of the Gospel, and contemporary Asian advertence to John's authority in the Quartodeciman controversy also played a role.

The result is that Denys denies that a consistently chiliastic

and literal interpretation of the text is possible. Denys remains moderate, however. Although he suggests that the author of the Apoc is not the apostle John, Dionysius does concede—at least for argument's sake—that the Apoc is holy and inspired, and perhaps connected with St. John. Moreover, Dionysius never explicitly links the Apoc with literal chiliasm, which suggests that the two were not for Dionysius inextricably linked. Nevertheless, a further point against the Apocalypse would be that the great authority of the reluctant Dionysius now weighs against it.

Because Eusebius does not editorialise on Dionysius' observations and praises him uncritically, he can be taken ultimately to embrace Denys' views. Eusebius' references to the Apoc elsewhere, in the Demonstratio, Eclogae Propheticae, and Vita Constantini, are either spiritual or so historicising (in the Vita, the new Jerusalem is the actual church building erected by Constantine in Jerusalem) as to emasculate the text. A historian, perhaps Eusebius has misgivings about the import of a historical reading for the Empire. Tertullian and Hippolytus had already connected the text's city of seven hills with Rome, and arguably both viewed the demise of the Empire as a welcome harbinger of the eschaton.

Eusebius' encounter with the Apoc is therefore fascinating for its political sensitivity, historical import, complex interplay of

sources and dishonest use of the same, and importance to understanding Eusebius himself. However, his exegesis is ultimately shallow and even sterile. His prejudices, animosities, political sympathies and particular gifts—he is a chronicler, not an exegete—preclude him from appreciating the text or exploring its theology.

Methodius used a literal interpretation of the Apocalyptic eschaton to refute Origen. Eusebius certainly would take umbrage. This suggests that the very success of the eschatological interpretation, which predominates from Irenaeus to Hippolytus, was a cause of later opposition to the Apocalypse. Against the Gnostics, Marcion, and Hermogenes, the eschatological interpretation showed that the God of the Old Testament was also the God of the New, that the body would rise at the final Judgement, and that Christ would bring the new kingdom. However, because this reading of the text is reductive—strictly historical and interested only in refuting heresy—it would not appeal to writers given, like Cyril of Jerusalem, to spiritual and sacramental exegesis. And because the eschatological reading is somewhat at odds with the realised eschatology of the Gospel of John, it becomes more difficult to connect the two writings. Perhaps the very strength and prevalence of the eschatological exegesis, which survives long after

the heresies it helps to extinguish (Victorinus), reduces the appeal of the Apocalypse.

B. The Eschatological and Christocentric Interpretations Compared

Irenaeus' two interpretations illustrate why the eschatological exegesis wins out in the Adversus haereses but falls short of the christological exegesis. In AH I-IV, Irenaeus' christological and ecclesiological reading of the text describes John's portrait of Christ and his faithful followers. Christ is the royal and glorious conqueror of Satan and sin who is in full communion with both the Father and the Spirit. He has power over hell and death and authority to judge. He is both the priest and the slain Lamb who, through his Passion, establishes the Church of the twelve Apostles. He searches hearts and tests the faith of his followers through suffering. This suffering is ongoing as well as eschatological. Similarly, the author of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne insists that the persecution by the Beast, eschatological war, binding of Satan, and martyrdom described in the Apoc have already begun and apply not to the future Judgement but to the suffering Church of the present.

Irenaeus' christocentric reading of the text is nowhere

defended or accompanied by explanatory prefaces, suggesting that it is the norm. The christocentric interpretation may be the oldest of the three interpretations, because it arises from no dogmatic need and is ubiquitous. Certainly it predates the eschatological interpretation, if not the chiliastic.

Unfortunately, the christological reading of the text is of only limited use against Gnosticism. Although it demonstrates the fourfold nature of the Gospel, Christ's full participation in the Father's divinity, and his personal fulfillment of the Old Testament message, it does not readily defend the orthodox eschatology, including the bodily resurrection and Parousia. Irenaeus turns to the anti-Gnostic eschatological reading previously offered by Justin. His interest is in showing the thematic unity of salvation history. What began in the paradisial garden of Genesis must end in the paradisial garden of the Apocalypse. His eschatological interpretation has an aesthetic or literary dimension which previous extant writings lack entirely. Indeed, Irenaeus' appreciation of the Apoc surpasses that of Dionysius and Eusebius who come after him. The Apoc is the fulfillment of the Genesis archetypes (Irenaeus and Victorinus) and of the Exodus (Hippolytus). It therefore elucidates the two overarching themes of the Bible, the expulsion and return to paradise and the exodus through the desert to the promised land and

the [new] Jerusalem provided by Joshua/Jesus. It recapitulates those images, showing their true and perfected meaning.

In contrast to the christocentric exegesis, the eschatological reading of Book V is invariably followed by detailed explanation of John's intent, comparisons with Matthew and Paul, and appeals to the superior authority of the elders—who are, however, not quoting the Apoc itself in their chiliastic and Jewish Christian pronouncements. The Adversus haereses implies that the eschatological reading is innovative, because in need of proof texts, while the christological reading is traditional, at least in Irenaeus' circle.

While the eschatological interpretation may be superior in its usefulness against Gnosticism, it is inferior to the christocentric interpretation in other respects. It often ignores the figurative sense of the Apoc, particularly its sacramental and liturgical overtones. It neglects its teaching about the fruitful intimacy between Christ and the Church and between Christ and the martyrs. Because the eschatological interpretation sees the eschatological sequence of Apoc 13-22 only as a future event, it cannot appreciate the text's present implications for the Christian community and believer. These implications are that the era of the Church has

already begun and that the individual Christian may participate in the divine life of the risen Lord.

A related shortcoming of the eschatological interpretation is its alienation from the eschatology and literary structure of the Fourth Gospel. John's Gospel arguably dates the beginning of the Christian era from the "hour" of labor pains, the Crucifixion, when Christ gathers his brood under his outstretched hands (Hippolytus). The mother of the Lord—who is also associated with the "hour" here and at the wedding at Cana—then becomes the mother of the Beloved Disciple, who is the first person to believe on Easter morning. As mother of the first believer through the labors of Christ, she is perhaps a figure of the Church. This realised eschatology is absent from the eschatological interpretation of the Apoc, which is overly concerned with the future. On the other hand, the christological reading of the Apoc (e.g., Hippolytus on chapter 12) professes the same view of Christian history as does the Gospel. The Church is even now in travail, laboring to give birth to Christ on earth, and is fruitful, protected, and saved. Similarly, the Christ of Apoc 1 is interpreted according to a feminine typology (Hippolytus). His breasts, for example, are the two testaments which sustain his people.

In Victorinus, the christological reading has an exponent who

appreciates the dual temporal nature of the Johannine perspective. The same episodes refer with equal application to both past and future events. Christocentrism provides a key for interpreting the scriptures. Important episodes in the Apoc are resumes of all of salvation history (Victorinus). Some episodes, such as those implicating Moses and Noah, reveal the fuller meaning of the Old Testament text (Hippolytus).

The eschatological interpretation never ventures explicitly to explain the literary structure of the Apocalypse. It simply adheres to a chronological reading of chapters 13-22. On the other hand, the christocentric interpretation of Victorinus, with its four groups of seven symbols (letters, seals, trumpets, and vials), provides an explanation of the narrative structure of the text. This structure, with its prologue, groups of seven symbols, and epilogue, is strikingly similar to that of the Gospel.

Its close similarity to the structure of the Fourth Gospel may in part explain why the Apoc is particularly esteemed wherever St. John is highly esteemed (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen). It also explains why Gaius and the Alogoi, in order to reject one Johannine work, must reject both, and why Dionysius and Eusebius work so hard to detach one text from the other.

C. Hypothesis: The Christocentric Interpretation

Although the christocentric interpretation is nowhere extant in pristine and self-contained form, it is possible and perhaps illuminating to assemble an abstracted or "reconstituted" (if the word is appropriate) model. Although this model will apply with varying degrees of accuracy to the various exemplars of the christocentric interpretation, it nevertheless offers a means of overviewing the exegesis.

The letters to the seven churches (Apoc 2-3) describe life under the new dispensation, which is centered around the sacramental mysteries (Perpetua) and an orthodox teaching which opposes both docetic-Gnostic and overly material, judaising heresies (Irenaeus, Hippolytus).

The heavenly liturgy of 4-5 reflects the great symbols of the Old Testament fulfilled in the New (Victorinus) and the many aspects of Christ and his gospels (Irenaeus, Hippolytus). Its Old Testament symbols juxtaposed with its description of the risen Lamb show the continuity of the two Testaments (Victorinus). They also depict the individual believer, in the person of John, as a participant in this community of saints.

The 144,000 who are saved (7:4-9) are the Jews who believe, while the myriads and myriads beyond them (7:9-17) and martyrs of

6:9-11 are the resurrected Christians (Hippolytus). The two witnesses are perhaps the Law and the Prophets, who are ignored by the Jews (cf. Hippolytus, who compares the little horns of the Beast to the Law and Prophets). The Jews crucify the Lord in the "Great City," Jerusalem. The ark of the covenant is then snatched up to heaven (11:19). The ark is perhaps the resurrected body of the Lord (Hippolytus), but perhaps also a sign of the end of the old covenant.

The heavenly woman who labors to give birth is a figure of the Church (Victorinus, Hippolytus, Methodius) and of Israel (Victorinus), but also of the individual martyr who by grace struggles to bring Christ to light (Methodius, perhaps Perpetua). She is illuminated by Christ and ruled by her Apostles (Hippolytus). She is the mirror image of the risen Christ of Apoc 1 and reflects his light (Hippolytus).

The Beast and the Harlot symbolise, respectively, the political (Roman) and religious (Jewish) collusion and corruption which together crucify Christ. The millennium is the period of the Old Economy, a privileged but temporally limited period during which Satan is chained (Origen, see Irenaeus and Martyrs of Lyons). He is let loose for a little while in order to crucify Christ (the half-hour silence in heaven), but the Crucifixion and Resurrection spell his crushing defeat.

Then, when the Lord comes again, Christians enter the spiritual abode of the heavenly Jerusalem or Church (Tertullian). This Jerusalem is founded upon both the Old Economy (the names of the twelve tribes) and the New (the names of the twelve Apostles). All who enter it are saved.

Appendix A

Early Montanism and the Apocalypse

There is only circumstantial evidence--and little of that--to suggest that early adherents to the New Prophecy (ἡ νέα προφητεία, HE V.16.4) used the Apocalypse and were influenced by Johannine theology. Proof of direct dependence by Montanism upon the Apoc has not yet been found.[1] Because both the Apocalypse and Montanism attach importance to prophecy, martyrdom, eschatology, and perhaps the chiliastic manifestation of eschatology, these areas of possible dependence are explored below. In each case, the conclusion is that influence is possible but not verifiable.

A. Montanism and its Sources

Early Montanism remains difficult to characterise because so few demonstrably authentic sources survive. Constantine and his Christian successors decreed that the writings of the New Prophecy be destroyed.[2] What remain are fifteen or sixteen oracles, the Montanist works of Tertullian, the polemical writings--sparse or fragmentary--of the Anonymous, Apollonius, Gaius, the so-called Alogoi, Hippolytus, Ps-Tertullian, and Epiphanius; and the "Christians for Christians" and "Spiritual Christians" epitaphs from the Upper Tembris Valley (Northern Phrygia) and Rome.[3] Three writings dating from the fourth century are also extant, the Life of St. Theodotus of

Ancyra, the Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox, and the anti-Montanist section of Didymus the Blind's On the Trinity.[4] However, these writings do not aid us in reconstructing the early features of the movement, which has changed quite substantially by the fourth century, nor in recovering its understanding of the Apocalypse.

B. Date of Origin

As R.E. Heine has recently remarked, Eusebius and Epiphanius are the only ecclesiastical writers who provide accounts of the genesis of Montanism.[5] Eusebius and Epiphanius suggest different dates, and the best evaluation of their merits is still that of de Labriolle. De Labriolle argues convincingly for 172 A.D., the date proposed by Eusebius, and rejects Epiphanius' date, 157 A.D.[6]

C. The Apocalypse and Epigraphic Evidence: Calder's Thesis

Unfortunately, it is by no means certain that the thirty or more "Christians for Christians" (Χριστιανοὶ Χριστιανοῖς, perhaps "Christians *to* Christians") inscriptions are necessarily Montanist.[7] The phanero-Christian tombstones may be Montanist, Catholic, or both. Gibson provides a complete summary of the debate.[8] W.M. Calder, followed by Anderson, Leclercq, and Cecchelli, argue that the

epitaphs are indeed Montanist.[9] Ramsay and Grégoire begin with the same thesis as Calder, but subsequently reverse themselves and decide that the inscriptions are Catholic.[10] P. de Labriolle, W. Schepelern, and A. Ferrua deny that the inscriptions are necessarily Montanist.[11] Gibson concludes:

> whether the "Christians for Christians" inscriptions are an epichoric form of Montanism or boast, a boast so much in keeping with other boasts of wealth and culture [characteristic of third- and fourth-century Phrygia], I do not think the evidence permits us to decide.[12]

More than half of the monuments seem to have been produced by the same workshop:

> I am sure that the workshop...was itself Christian. We can imagine...Christians favoring this workshop, but does it follow that they and the other Christians who fancied the phrase "Christians for Christians" were Montanists? Too little is known about the character of the movement in the regions of Asia [to draw a definite conclusion]...[13]

More recently, Gibson's ambivalence is shared by G. F. Synder and Tabbernee.[14] The putative Montanistic character of the Phrygian epitaphs is therefore open to question.

The vast majority of the epitaphs seem also to have been manufactured after the Decian persecution, and thus at least three-quarters of a century after the emergence of the New Prophecy. They are of dubious value in reconstructing the features of the earliest phase of the movement. The very earliest of the dated

inscriptions, number forty-two in Gibson, goes back only to 242/3 A.D.[15]

Of greater certainty are the "Spiritual Christian" (Χρηστιανὸς πνευματικός) inscriptions. One comes from Dorylaeum and is post-Constantinian. As translated by Tabbernee, it reads: "Loupikinos to his wife Mountane, a spiritual Christian, in remembrance" (Λουπικῖνος Μουντάνη / συνβίῳ Χρειστιανῆ / πνευματικῆ μνήμης / χάριν).[16] The other three inscriptions are in Rome and provide evidence of a Montanist community there; at least one of the persons commemorated is an immigrant from Asia Minor.[17] Again, these epitaphs reveal nothing of Montanist Apocalyptic exegesis, and the community they commemorate can be traced back only to the reign of Aurelian, 270-275 A.D.[18]

This recent research on Phrygian epigraphy has cast doubt upon Calder's thesis about the role of the Apocalypse in the rise of Montanism.[19] Calder's examination of the topography and ancient byways of Philadelphia and the Upper Tembris Valley, and the epigraphic evidence from the latter, led him to conclude that Phrygia was evangelised by the Philadelphian church.[20] He held that the earliest Montanists looked to Lydian Philadelphia and applied to themselves John of Patmos' letter to the Philadelphians, which

promised the Philadelphians that they would see the descent of the New Jerusalem (Apoc 3:12).[21] Calder's thesis was at first supported by his contemporaries, including H. Grégoire.[22] Most recently, it has been accepted uncritically by C.J. Hemer.[23]

Calder's theory is compromised, however, if the epigraphs are Catholic rather than Montanist. Because in the case of the "Christians for Christians" epitaphs the best efforts have failed to find any criteria for distinguishing Montanist stones from Catholic (unlike the "spiritual Christian" epitaphs), Calder's thesis is doubtful and at present impossible to prove. Moreover, the Montanist eschatology may well preclude such a parochial interpretation of the Apocalypse.[24]

D. Prophecy

Daniélou writes that "the affinities of [Montanism] with the Johannine circle and Irenaeus are obvious, especially in the importance accorded to the Paraclete."[25] Schepelern suggests that to those of a prophetic, apocalyptic milieu of which Montanism is a manifestation, the Apocalypse would be very attractive.[26] The Apocalypse prophesies the imminent fulfillment of God's promises to His faithful and the punishment of sinners, and offers fascinating visions of impending wars which--if understood futuristically--will

result in the world's collapse, the millennial kingdom, a new heaven and earth, and a heavenly Jerusalem:

> kurz, eine Prophetie mit einem Inhalt, dem ganz gleich, welchen die Neue Prophetie verkündigt, voll von denselben Bildern aus der jüdisch-christlichen Apokalyptik wie die, in denen der älteste Montanismus lebt.[27]

Schepelern lists these pneumatic and prophetic parallels. He observes that John of Patmos is the δοῦλος of Jesus Christ (Apoc 1:1; 22:6), that his work contains οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ (17:17), that he who hears his words is blessed (1:3; 22:7), while he who ignores or deviates from them is cursed (22:18-19). John may not be the only prophet in his community: others may share the charism (18:20, 24). Schepelern also points out that John, like the Montanists, is an ecstatic, that when he is ἐν πνεύματι (1:10; 4:2) he falls down like one dead (1:17); that he hears voices (1:10), sees visions, is transported, and experiences delights (4:1ff; 17:3; 21:10). He, too, believes that the Lord is coming very soon (16:15; 22:7, 12, 20).[28] John's vision occurs ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ (1:10). This last mirrors the behaviour of the prophetic Spirit in the Montanist circle at Carthage. Tertullian describes a sister who experiences visions in church on the Lord's day, and who after the liturgy reports what she has seen.[29]

Montanism, too, is prophetic and ecstatic, but perhaps Montanist ecstasy is distinguishable from that of St. John of Patmos. As A.

Daunton-Fear writes:

> If in its doctrine of God, its moral rigorism and its eschatology it may appear a legitimate child of the second-century church of Asia Minor, one feature clearly marks Montanism out as different--the ecstatic state in which Montanus and his prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, delivered their utterances. This is attested by *both the Montanists and their opponents*.[30]

Daunton-Fear distinguishes the ἔκστασις which characterises St. Paul's visit to the third heaven (2 Cor 12:2), the visions of Peter and Paul (Acts 10:10; 22:17), and the New Testament phenomenon of glossolalia from the possession or ἔκστασις of the Montanist Trio. In the former "the senses of the body are dimmed but the soul or mind...remains conscious."[31] In the latter both the senses and the soul or mind are "totally suppressed."[32] "The person is thus ἔκφρων (out of his mind) during the trance and afterwards has no recollection of what has been said or done."[33] Thus the Anonymous describes Montanus' prophetic state as a παρέκστασις, which D-Fear takes to mean "an intensified or false ecstasy," a "prophesying contrary to the custom and succession within the Church from the beginning."[34] His prophetesses are described as speaking madly (ἐκφρόνως), improperly (ἀκαίρως), and strangely.[35]

In short, although Montanism and the Apocalypse both emphasise prophecy, Montanistic ecstatic prophecy appears to be distinguishable from John's prophecy. Despite the superficial similarities between

the two, there is no demonstrable dependency, although Tertullian's statement about the woman who experiences visions on the Lord's Day and in a liturgical context may be a point of contact. We can say only that the Apocalypse may play a constitutive role in the Asia Minor theology of inspiration of which Montanism is the errant child.

E. Of Oracles, Eschatology, and Martyrdom

Fifteen authentic Montanist oracles are extant.[36] The unmistakable messages of the oracles emanating from Montanus himself and from Priscilla are that the Father or the Holy Trinity come to man and dwell in him (Oracles 1-5, 11-12), and that martyrdom is glorious (Oracles 6, 8-9).[37]

Tabbernee argues that in the pre-Decian period "the attitudes of Montanists to martyrdom did not differ substantially from those of their orthodox opponents."[38] The orthodox position, as advanced by the Martyrdom of Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian, held that Christians should not hand themselves over. If personally convinced by a vision from God, however, they might refrain from eluding the authorities. From the moment of their arrest--whether or not the arrest was anticipated by vision--they should give witness as boldly as possible. They must only avoid reckless provocation drawing attention to themselves and endangering the Christian

community before their arrest.[39]

The three permissible exceptions were the witness of bystanders, former apostates, and soldiers. Bystanders could encourage "an arrested person not to deny the faith, even if such action resulted in the arrest and subsequent martyrdom of the one trying to prevent apostasy.[40] Apostates having received certificates of compliance from the authorities could "cancel out their apostasy" only "by repudiating these libelli." "If, in doing so, they provoked attention leading to martyrdom, the church did not condemn their action but treated it as a necessary exception."[41] Soldiers might also not flee because flight from the army was tantamount to desertion.[42] Further, the Acta proconsularia Sancti Cypriani 5.1, which describes an uproarious crowd of Cyprian's supporters demanding to join him in death, demonstrates the existence of a "fanatical element" even among the Catholics.[43]

Only two bonafide Montanist oracles refer to martyrdom; both are quoted by Tertullian in De fuga in persecutione 9.4 (Aland, nos. 8 and 9, pp 144-5). But despite Tertullian's interpretations, neither oracle seems to advocate the sort of voluntary martyrdom excluded by orthodox Catholic writers.[44] Tertullian himself is unable to produce an explicit Montanist summons to voluntary martyrdom. He declares of the Spirit, "For he exhorts *almost all* to martyrdom, not to flee, so

that we also call it to mind."[45] But in the Oracle following Tertullian's statement, the "Spirit" himself speaks somewhat differently:

> "You are publicly reproached;" he [the Spirit] says, "that is good for you: he who is not publicly reproached before men is publicly reproached before the Lord. Do not be disconcerted; righteousness has brought you into the midst [of men]. What disconcerts you about winning honour? [Your] power [potestas] arises when you are gazed at by men."[46]

Here Montanus does no more than tell his followers not to fear public humiliation. These lines read more like encouragement for those whose righteous lives and beliefs (iustitia) have brought (or will bring) them to martyrdom than as a clarion call to voluntary martyrdom. Montanus' disciples are being assured that the Spirit will tell them what to say when the time comes.[47]

Thus the early Montanists do not seem to advocate voluntary martyrdom, but like St. John of Patmos, they think often about martyrdom and honour it. Johannine echoes occur when Montanus refers to God as the Pantocrator (Oracle 3 and Apoc 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7, 14; 19:6, 15; 21:22, but also 2 Cor 6:18) and when he refers to the the Holy Spirit as the Paraclete in Oracle 2. Oracle 14 is interesting for its threefold repetition of ἀκούσατε, the second person plural imperative, perhaps reminiscent of the hortatory ὁ ἔχων

οὗς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις in John's letters to the seven churches. A fourth Johannine echo occurs in Oracle 12, where Quintilla--or perhaps Priscilla--refers to Christ as a woman dressed in a shining robe (see Apoc 12). More generally, the "glory" of martyrdom is a theme of both Johannine theology and Oracle 7 (Jn 12:16, 23; 21:19; Apoc 5:12; 11:13).

It may be significant that these oracles have Johannine affinities but are not, with the exception of Oracle 12, futuristic. In his seminal article on the New Prophecy, Douglas Powell quotes W. Schneemelcher's observation that "specifically apocalyptic notions do not appear in the forefront of the sayings."[48] In fact, only two of the oracles are eschatological, and of these only one seems to come from the original Trio of prophets.[49] Oracle 13 (in Aland), as preserved by Epiphanius, has Maximilla, last of the original prophets to die, say: μετ' ἐμὲ προφήτης οὐκέτι ἔσται, ἀλλὰ συντέλεια.[50] We also know from the Anonymous that Maximilla foretold future wars and revolutions (πολέμους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκαταστασίας προεμαντεύσατο, HE V.16.18-19). Yet Powell observes that none of the oracles attributed to Montanus himself or to Priscilla contain any reference to the imminence of the eschaton. On the contrary, Oracle 9, quoted by Tertullian and probably uttered by Montanus himself (when Tertullian quotes Priscilla in Oracles 10 and 11 he is careful to mention her by name), is an

exhortation to martyrdom which "leaves no room for remaining alive until the Coming of the Lord."[51] Montanus says: Nolite in lectulis nec in aborsibus et febribus mollibus optare exire, sed in martyriis, uti glorificetur qui est passus pro vobis.[52] Powell's hypothesis is that originally the New Prophecy shared "general late second century beliefs concerning the eventual descent of the New Jerusalem at a parousia expected but not imminent, for which martyrdom provided the antecedent tribulation."[53] He suggests:

> the imminent parousia appears only at the very end of the first stage of the movement [in the prophecy of Maximilla], when the failure of the prophetic succession raised questions as to what was to happen now.[54]

Powell and Daniélou believe that the early Montanist eschatology does not depart from the general Christian eschatology of the latter part of the second century.[55]

The second apocalyptic saying, Oracle 12, occurs in Panarion 49, where Epiphanius discusses later subgroups within Cataphrygianism--the Quintilliani, Pepuziani, and Priscilliani. Epiphanius himself is unsure whether the oracle was uttered by Priscilla or Quintilla.[57] Powell argues that Quintilla probably uttered the oracle because the vision of a later prophetess would gain credence if attributed to one of the original Trio, but the reverse

would have the opposite effect.[58] Powell and also finds it significant that Oracle 12 is given in oratio obliqua. Following Schepelern, he observes that the "authoritative pronouncements" of the original Trio usually occur in the "I-form," while the "revelations attributed to other inspired persons (e.g., the young woman of De anima 9) were submitted to a 'testing of the spirits.'"[59]

The oracle itself is susceptible to two interpretations, one of them futuristic in its eschatology, the other realised. Epiphanius tells us that the τόπος of the oracle is Pepouza:

> ἐν ἰδέᾳ, φησί, γυναικός ἐσχηματισμένος ἐν στολῇ λαμπρᾷ ἦλθε πρός με Χριστὸς, καὶ ἐνέβαλεν ἐν ἐμοὶ τὴν σοφίαν, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι τουτονὶ τὸν τόπον εἶναι ἅγιον, καὶ ὧδε τὴν Ιερουσαλὴμ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καπέναι.[60]

Powell reports that Schneemelcher translated the last part of the sentence as "that this place is holy, and that hither Jerusalem *will come down* from heaven."[61] But Swete translated as "that this place is holy, and that here Jerusalem *comes down* from heaven."[62] Swete's translation is, of course, the grammatically correct one. As Powell notes,

> There is no grammatical reason for distinction between these two present infinitives--"is holy...will come down." We distinguish only because we know [sic] Montanus already to have reckoned Pepuza holy, and the second century in general to have expected a future descent of the heavenly Jerusalem.[63]

If we accept Swete's rendering as the more likely, then we have an

eschatology which is at least partially realised. Pepouza and Tymion are already Jerusalem, and would constitute what Powell calls "a kind of Montanist Bethel,"

> and the heavenly Jerusalem was already present to those whose eyes were opened. De Labriolle explained Eusebius HE V.18.2 by suggesting that the expected descent on Pepouza led to its being named Jerusalem: the opposite is more probable--that its being named Jerusalem led to the expectation of descent. If we adopt the Swete translation, then we have an eschatology radically different from the apocalyptic futurism usually ascribed to the Montanists--an eschatology largely realised in a present spiritual experience for the more visionary Elect.[64]

Powell sees Quintilla's oracle as evidence of the transformation of a future eschatology into a partially realised one.

In Quintilla's choice of imagery Powell finds additional evidence of a realised eschatology in the second phase of Montanism. In Oracle 12 Christ appears as a woman clothed in a shining robe. Powell suggests that the image evokes Christ as "the 'woman clothed with the sun' of Rev 12, the γυνὴ πρεσβύτις of Hermas' first vision: in other words, Jerusalem above even now coming down in the Spirit."[65] The seven prophetic virgins of Panarion 49.1-2 who carry lamps echo the five wise virgins of Mt 25, but their purpose is to exhort the congregation to repentance.[66] Powell conjectures that they could be a Montanist Elect going into a marriage feast, and that they number seven in accord with the seven spirits and the seven lamps before the

throne in Apoc 1.[67]

The apparent connection in Montanism between virginity and prophecy is also noticed by Schepelern, who speculates that it may owe something to the Apocalypse. He points to Apoc 14:4, where the first 144,000 saved are also witnessing παρθένοι: ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν, the Seer says, οὐχ εὑρέθη ψεῦδος (14:5). Following A. Weinal, Schepelern suggests that the Montanists may have interpreted the 144,000 as prophets of the Christian era.[68] He speculates that in the Montanist community such παρθένοι, who stand beside the Lamb on Mt Zion (14:1), may have enjoyed places of honor along with prophets.[69] However, the evidence for this speculation is found only in Panarion 49.1-2; earlier sources are not extant.

Schepelern accepts Epiphanius' account of the Montanist exodus to Pepouza and Tymion more literally and less critically than Powell, but still posits direct dependence upon the Apocalypse. He claims that when Montanus calls upon his followers to abandon their homes and fields and travel to a barren and remote area (Tymion and Pepuza), he is "probably" (or "certainly," wohl) directly inspired by Apoc 12:6,14, in which the persecuted woman flees to the desert, where God has prepared a place for her.[70]

However, if we bear in mind the earlier oracles, particularly the

God-glorifying and hortatory oracles of Montanus himself, then only Maximilla's dire predictions and oracle about the consumation are out of place. This would allow for the possibility that Montanism professed a partially realised eschatology from the outset. Most of the early oracles do not support Powell's contention that the Quintillians reconciled Maximilla's oracle about the end of prophecy and the imminent consumation by altering their eschatology. Rather, they suggest a continuity between the early Montanist eschatology and that of Quintilla. This would account for the confusion over whether to attribute the oracle to Quintilla or Priscilla.

It is possible to believe at one and the same time that the new Jerusalem will descend upon the old Jerusalem and that faithful Pepouza and Tymion also see the new Jerusalem. The spiritualised and physical concepts of the new Jerusalem appear side by side in the Apocalypse with no indication that the author sees them as contradictory. In Apoc 3:11-12 the Philadelphians are told that the holy one is coming soon, that he who is victorious will be a pillar in the temple of God, and that upon him Christ will write τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Here the new Jerusalem is clearly a city with a widely-dispersed membership consisting of those who retain their crowns (perhaps through martyrdom). It is certainly understood in

this martyrological or spiritual sense by the Montanist Tertullian in Scorpiace 12. On the other hand, the holy city, the new Jerusalem, comes down upon the new earth like a bride adorned for her husband in Apoc 21:2. Tertullian writes in Adversus Marcionem III.24 that this will soon transpire at the site of the old Jerusalem.

F. Apollonius, Chiliasm, and the New Jerusalem

Apollonius' literary remains suggest but do not confirm that Montanism was chiliastic in ca. 200.[71] Apollonius ridicules Montanus for "naming Pepouza and Tymion Jerusalem," and because Montanus "wished to convene assemblies there from all quarters" (ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὀνομάσας...τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐκει συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων, HE V.18.2). But as Powell remarks, Montanus

> can hardly have expected the New Jerusalem to come down in the Last Days on two towns at once, while, if Apollonius had mentioned the *New* Jerusalem, that ardent anti-chiliast, Eusebius, would surely have seized on it, especially in HE V.18.14.[72]

Powell therefore concludes that Pepouza and Tymion

> were named not in the context of the heavenly Jerusalem, but rather in that of the Jerusalem of *Acts* --the re-creation of the highly organised but Spirit-directed primitive Church.[73]

This calls into question the nature and even the very existence of chiliasm in early Montanism. Certainly it is possible that the early

Montanist eschatology was not crudely chiliastic. But again, even if Apollonius is not himself a chiliast (something we cannot know, although his Asia Minor contemporaries and predecessors Papias, Justin, Melito, perhaps Theophilus, and the later Irenaeus were chiliasts), it does not follow that he objected to chiliasm in Montanism. Eusebius would not be eager to call attention to the fact that yet another of his authorities was a millenarian. However, if Apollonius were an anti-millenarian, Eusebius would in all probability have seized upon the fact.

Eusebius subsequently appends his own summary of Apollonius' refutation of Montanism:

> He says, furthermore, as though from tradition, that the Saviour commanded his apostles not to withdraw from Jerusalem for twelve years; and he has also made use of testimonies from the Apocalypse of John, and also narrates that by divine power a dead man was raised in Ephesus by John himself; and he says other things by which he ably and most completely set right the error of the aforementioned heresy.[74]

Perhaps Apollonius' statement about Jerusalem is merely an aside, but it is more logical, if he mentions Jerusalem in connection with the Apocalypse, that the subject at hand is the New Jerusalem envisioned, respectively, by the orthodox and the Montanists. In any case, the passage provides evidence that Apollonius uses the

Apocalypse--which he believes was composed by St. John--in his refutation of Montanism: the Saviour's words about Jerusalem and the quotations from the Apocalypse are included with the "other things" of the last phrase in his refutation of the "error" of the Montanist sect. If Apollonius adduces evidence from the Apocalypse in support of his position, then it is certainly possible that his opponents also use the text. The conclusion which best accounts for the data from Apollonius, and is most consistent with the writings of Gaius and the Alogoi, is that the Montanists were chiliasts who used the Apocalypse, and that Apollonius does not object to their chiliasm either because it is not extreme and/or because he is a chiliast himself.

Conclusion

Scrutiny of the research on putative links between the Apocalypse and Montanism yields more speculation than evidence. Analyses of Phrygian epigraphy and the Montanist theology of prophecy are inconclusive. It is plausible that the early Montanists based their prophetic claims upon the precedent provided by St. John's visions, but there is no hard evidence.[75]

The early Montanist eschatology and theology of martyrdom do seem to have points of contact with the woman of Apoc 12, the new

Jerusalem of Apoc 3:11-12 and 21:2, and perhaps with the seven spirits and seven lamps of Apoc 1. There are indications in Apollonius that the early Montanists were chiliasts not unlike the other second-century chiliasts of Asia Minor.

Appendix B

The Life, Works, and Literary Sources of Victorinus of Pettau

Aside from what may be inferred from his works, little is known about Victorinus' life. Moreover, the few surviving data shed little additional light on his character or thought. Pettau, also called Poetovium in Roman Pannonia Superior, was located on the Drava river, at modern Ptuj in Slovenia (formerly Austrian Steiermark). Early tradition attests that Victorinus was its bishop and a martyr.[1] In the De viris, Jerome places Victorinus after Anatolius Alexandrinus (c. 280) and before Pamphilus, who perished in Maximian's persecution of 309.[2] Haußleiter also traces references to Victorinus in Pannonian inscriptions. The inscriptions confirm that Victorinus' martyrdom occurred under the persecution of Diocletian, in c. 304.[3] The terminus ad quem for Victorinus' literary activity is therefore 304. It is not possible to determine its terminus a quo.

Jerome, who may have access to other writings by Victorinus, also reports that Victorinus' Greek was better than his Latin.[4] This accounts for the fact that his works, though elevated in thought, are inferior in style.[5] Victorinus appears to possess at least some facility in both languages.

A. Works

From Victorinus' substantial corpus, only the précis and perhaps the De fabrica mundi survive in their entirety.[6] The De fabrica is universally accepted as the work of Victorinus.[7] In addition to linguistic similarities to the précis, it deploys the same idiosyncratic combination of Asiatic traditionalism (chiliasm and the restoration of paradise), figurative exegesis, recapitulation, numerical speculation, eschatological sequence, polemic with the Jews, and favorite passages from the Old Testament (Gen 2:10; Is 4:1; 11:2-3) and Apocalypse itself (1:13; 4:4-6; 5:1f; 8:2f). The tract may be a short piece originally intended to stand on its own. It does not appear to have been part of Victorinus' lost commentary on Genesis.[8]

In Divine Institutes I.7.1, Cassiodorus mentions en passant a work by Victorinus on the Gospel of Matthew.[9] Cassiodorus' vagueness (Mattheum...Victorinus...episcopus nonnulla disservit) may mean that Victorinus examined only selected passages of the Gospel and did not compose a full commentary.[10] A manuscript discovered and edited by G. Mercati may preserve part of the work.[11] However, the manuscript, even if authentic, sheds little additional light on Victorinus' interpretation of the Apocalypse. Other works sometimes attributed to Victorinus are probably spurious.[12]

B. "Comentarii" in Apocalypsin: Editio Victorini and Recensio Hieronymi

Victorinus' tract underwent three subsequent recensions.[13] Jerome first revised it primarily to correct its chiliasm. A recensio posterior then added and lengthened quotations from the Apoc.[14] Finally, a recensio postrema, the final revision, mixed previous recensions.[15] Haußleiter's text restores the original.

One Anatolius, in asking Jerome to evaluate Victorinus' commentary, put Jerome in a difficult position. Jerome strongly opposed chiliasm but, as Steinhauser observes, he had to tread carefully in correcting the work of a bishop and martyr.[16] Moreover, Victorinus' predominantly allegorical analysis of Apoc 1-19 was in content quite acceptable to Jerome, if rustic in style.[17] Jerome's solution was largely to eschew criticism while revising the commentary itself. He corrected its grammar and word order, substituted a better text of the Apoc, omitted some exegesis (including two valuable references to Papias), added or substituted short explanations, added passages from Tyconius' Apocalypse commentary, and rewrote entirely the discussion of Apoc 20-22.[18]

C. Literary Influences on Victorinus

Haußleiter's claim that Victorinus was influenced by Papias,

Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Origen is accepted by contemporary commentators.[19] Papias and Irenaeus did indeed influence Victorinus. However, influence from Origen and Hippolytus is unlikely.

i. Papias

Victorinus preserves two valuable citations from Papias.[20] A garbled parallel to HE III.39.15 describes Mark's debt to Peter.[21] And the future "hundredfold" blessings of the kingdom (Mt 26:29) are Papias' "'hundredfold' ten thousand times greater and better" (centum partibus multiplicatam, decies millies ad maiora et meliora), a passage quoted more extensively by Irenaeus.[22] Here Victorinus may use Irenaeus rather than Papias himself. However, other references to Papias may await discovery.

ii. Irenaeus

Similarities to Irenaeus are numerous and suggest first-hand knowledge of at least Adversus haereses V and perhaps III. Haußleiter points to four parallels:[23] both cite Gen 13: 14-15 and Gen 15:18 in rapid succession;[24] quote Mt 19:29 with reference to the eschatological kingdom;[25] quote Mt 26:29 in their eschatological narrations;[26] and cite Papias. Further, both identify the Gospels with

the four living creatures of Apoc 4.[27] Both hold that the number of the beast may mean that his name will be Teitan.[28] Both quote Jer 1:15 ("Before I formed you in the womb...I ordained you a prophet to the nations") as a testimony to the eschatological restoration of man.[29]

In addition to the exegetical parallels, both use recapitulation while still professing literal chiliasm. An improved version of Irenaeus' theory of recapitulation is the central organising principle of Victorinus' précis. The difference between the recapitulation theories--Victorinus uses recapitulation to structure salvation history and to organise the Apoc itself, while Irenaeus uses the theory only in the first way--is explainable as a development.

iii. Origen

Most commentators hold that Origen influenced Victorinus.[30] Indeed, Origen's influence is often attested by Jerome.[31] However, we see little evidence of this influence in the text.[32] Simonetti concedes that Victorinus' commentary is largely allegorical, but contends that allegory is imposed by the Apoc itself, which is obviously symbolic and invitatory of figurative interpretation.[33] There is no specifically Origenistic allegory in Victorinus; he does not distinguish between shadow, image, and reality; he offers no

triadic cosmology or anthropology; he sees no three-fold sense in scripture. Other "Origenisms"--self-conscious spiritual exegesis, fascination with numbers, and lengthy disquisitions upon significant details and parallel diction in Scripture--are wholly lacking in Victorinus.

Apocalyptic verses significant to Origen are missing or interpreted differently. Apoc 19:3 (the personified Logos), 14:6 (proclamation of the eternal gospel), 22:13 (Alpha and Omega), and 1:17 (Son as first and last), favorite verses of Origen, are never quoted by Victorinus.[34] Apoc 20:2-7, which in Origen's anti-millennial exegesis occurs in the past, refers to the eschaton in Victorinus.[35] The latter seems unaware of Alexandrian anti-chiliasm. The fall of Satan (8:10; 12:3,9) into materiality, an important concept for Origen, is never discussed by Victorinus.[36] Similarly, favorite episodes of Victorinus, such as Apoc 11 (the two witnesses), Apoc 12 (heavenly woman), and Apoc 13 and 17 (Beast and Antichrist) are largely avoided by Origen.

Haußleiter finds only one possible trace of Origenism. Victorinus writes that omnes enim passiones sanctorum ex decreto senatus...semper sunt consummatae, while Origen declares in Homily 9.10 on Joshua that the senatus populusque et principes Romani...Decreverunt enim legibus suis, ut non sint Christiani.[37] Even

this solitary parallel is dubious.

One passage directly militates against influence by Origen. Following Irenaeus, Victorinus cites Mt 26:29 in support of his chiliastic exegesis of Apoc 21.[38] However, in De principiis II.11.2, Origen cites the same verse to *refute* chiliasm, and Victorinus seems unaware of the fact.[39]

Victorinus' allegorical exegesis of Apoc 20-22 could mean that Alexandrian exegesis has made inroads into Asian traditionalism.[40] However, it is also possible that a nonmillennial reading of Apoc 20 was traditional in Victorinus' circle, and that the millennial interpretation is the later influence. Simonetti is of the opinion that inroads into Pannonian theology come from the millennial West, not Alexandria.[41]

There are no linguistic, exegetical, or hermeneutical similarities, no idiosyncratic details, and no scriptural variants derivative of Origen. If Jerome is to be believed, then Origen's influence must come elsewhere--perhaps in Victorinus' lost commentary on the Song of Songs. The allegory amidst the literal, chiliastic eschatology in Victorinus' reading of Apoc 20-22 may be an earlier tradition predating Origen, now somewhat displaced by the anti-Gnostic (and anti-Marcionite) demands of third-century exegesis.

iv. Hippolytus

There is no evidence that Hippolytus influenced Victorinus.[42] Victorinus seems entirely ignorant of the dispute over the Apoc at Rome and of Hippolytus' defense of it in his Apology for the Apoc. Victorinus' ignorance is problematic if he is influenced by Hippolytus.

The external evidence is unhelpful. Jerome says only that Victorinus' interpretation of Gen 27:27f is not markedly different from that of Hippolytus.[43] Jerome does not say that Victorinus was influenced by Hippolytus, only that he expounds somewhat like Hippolytus.

The internal evidence, however, militates against Hippolytean influence. For example, Victorinus and Hippolytus discuss different aspects of the living creatures of Apoc 4.[44] The seven kings of 17:10 are for Victorinus primarily former Emperors, but for Hippolytus primarily eschatological figures.[45] The two witnesses of 11:2 are Enoch and Elijah for Hippolytus but Jeremiah and Elijah for Victorinus.[46] The woman's clothing in Apoc 12 is the hope of resurrection for Victorinus, but Christ for Hippolytus. Her crown is the Fathers for Victorinus, but the twelve Apostles for Hippolytus.[47] Central themes in Hippolytus, such as Daniel's prophecy and the Antichrist, are absent in Victorinus.

The differences between Victorinus and Hippolytus are many,

while similarities are few and superficial or, as with the four living creatures, due to common dependence on the Irenaean tradition. It is unlikely that Victorinus knows the works of Hippolytus[48] or Origen. However, Irenaeus is significant, while Papias influenced Victorinus either directly or through Irenaeus and/or other sources.

Abbreviations

CC = Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (Turnhout, 1953-)

CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna/Prague/Leipzig, 1866-)

GCS = Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (Leipzig/Berlin, 1897-).

JTS = Journal of Theological Studies (1900-).

PG = Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857-66, 1896, 1900).

SC = Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1941-)

TU = Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig/Berlin, 1882-)

VC = Vigiliae Christianae (Paris, 1948-)

Notes

Introduction

1. Grand Rapids, 1929.

2. Stuttgart, 1985.

3. Tübingen, 1981.

4. H. J. Sieben, Exegesis Patrum (Rome,1983); Eugenio Corsini, Apocalisse prima e dopo (Turin, 1980); Pierre Prigent, Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse (Rome, 1954).

5. Kenneth Steinhauser, The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius (Frankfurt, 1987).

Chapter 1: Eusebius and his Selected Sources

1. So Corsini, Apocalisse prima e dopo (Turin, 1980), p. 31.

2. Ibid.

3. In contrast, the eschatological writers typically find in the Apocalypse confirmation for their prior belief in millenarianism. See below Part II: In Defense of the Orthodox Eschatology.

4. Corsini, p. 31.

5. Ibid.

6. See Corsini, p. 32.

7. Robert M. Grant, Eusebius as Church Historian (Oxford, 1980). See also idem, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech, eds. P. Lévy and E. Wolff (Paris, 1974), pp 209-13.

References to the Ecclesiastical History, ("HE") are in Eduard Schwartz, ed., Eusebius Werke, II: Die Kirchengeschichte, 1-3 Teile, GCS 9(1), 9(2), and 9(3) (Leipzig, 1903/1908/1909).

8. See, e.g., Clementina Mazzucco, "Il rapporto tra la concezione del millennio dei primi autori cristiani e l'Apocalisse di Giovanni," Augustinianum 18 (1978), pp 29-45; here, pp 33-4; against Grant, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," p. 213.

9. Timothy D. Barnes, "The Editions of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History," Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 21 (1980), pp 191-201; idem, "The Composition of Eusebius' Onomasticon," JTS 26 (1975), pp 412-5; idem, Constantine and Eusebius (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981), pp 106-11; idem, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp 213-4; Laqueur, Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit (Leipzig, 1929), pp 3-4, 121-3, and 212; Schwartz, 3 Teil, pp xlvii-lvii; Harnack, Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius, II (Leipzig, 1904), p. 114; and Lawlor, Eusebiana (Oxford, 1912), pp 243f.

Grant, who with Barnes is the major proponent of the multiple editions theory regarding the HE, claims that Eusebius altered his view of the Apoc between putative editions. However, Grant's findings allow for a second possibility, viz., that Eusebius' views towards the Apoc may have changed as he wrote his first and

only edition of I-VII. Thus the question whether Books I-VII were subsequently retouched bears upon the construal of Books III, IV, V, and VII, which contain Eusebius' references to the Apoc; however, the question does not bear upon our conclusions regarding Eusebius' attitude towards the text. Barnes' similar thesis--that the HE was composed ca. 295 and subsequently reworked--is non-threatening for the same reasons.

10. Grant, p. 126, citing R. Helm, ed., Eusebius Werke VII. Die Chronik des Hieronymus, GCS 47 (Berlin, 1956), pp 192-3. Eusebius' sympathy for the Apocalypse in the Chronicle is not surprising. In it he depends upon the earlier chronicle of Julius Africanus, who thought highly of the Apocalypse and attempted to demonstrate the chiliastic nature of world history.

11. HE III; Grant, p. 126.

12. HE VII.24-5; Grant, p. 127.

13. This is a point against Barnes' thesis that the Eusebius wrote HE I-VII in ca. 295. See Barnes, "The Editions of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History," pp 191-201; and idem, "The Composition of Eusebius' Onomasticon," pp 412-5. Eusebius' attitude toward the Apocalypse in the HE is atypical, and politically consonant with a late date of composition. His view towards the Apocalypse is redolent of the Constantinian era.

Eusebius' criticism of the Apocalypse in Book III is also a point against Grant's thesis in Eusebius as Church Historian. In Book III, Eusebius begins to grapple with the Apocalypse. He ultimately reconciles himself to it by historicizing it. But this is a process which reaches its logical conclusion only later, in his panegyric at Tyre. This suggests that Book III belongs to the Constantinian era, but was not retouched to reflect Eusebius' later views.

14. Mazzucco, "Eusèbe de Césarée et l'*Apocalypse* de Jean," Studia Patristica XVII,1, Ed. E.A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1982), 317-24; here, p. 318 and note 8, citing Eusebius Werke V. Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem armenischen übersetzt, ed. J. Karst, GCS 20 (Leipzig, 1911), p. 218 (13th year of Domitian); and Jerome's recension in Eusebius Werke VII. Die Chronik des Hieronymus, GCS 47, p. 192 (14th year of Domitian); also Eusebius Werke VI. Die Demonstratio evangelica, ed. Heikel, GCS 23 (Leipzig, 1913), III.5.65, p. 122; and Eusebius Werke III.2. Die Theophanie, ed. Greßmann, GCS 11,2 (Leipzig, 1904), IV.7, p. 175; V.31, p. 241.

15. Mazzucco, "Eusèbe de Césarée," p. 318 and note 9, citing Demonstratio VIII.2.31, p. 372.

16. Ibid., citing Eclogae Propheticae, ed. Gaisford, PG 22 (Paris, 1842), IV.30, col. 1254C.

17. Ibid. and note 10, citing, on Apoc 5:5, Irenaeus, Contre les Hérésies. IV, SC 100,1-2 (Paris, 1965), IV.34.2; Hippolytus, Commentaire sur Daniel IV.33-4, ed. Lefèvre, SC 14 (Paris, 1947); Origène. Commentaire sur saint Jean V, fragments 6 and 7, ed. Blanc, SC; on Apoc 14:6, citing Origène, Commentaire sur saint Jean I. Livres I-V, ed. Blanc, SC 120 (Paris, 1966), I.7.40 and I.14.84.

18. Ibid. and note 11, citing Demonstratio, GCS 23, VIII.1.76, p. 366 (Apoc 7:14); VIII.2.41, p. 373 (Apoc 17:14).

19. Ibid. and note 12, citing Eclogae Propheticae IV.8, PG 22, col. 1211D (see Apoc 2:23); Eusebius Werke IX. Der Jesajakommentar, ed. Ziegler, GCS (Berlin, 1975), II.34, p. 305 (Apoc 1:17, 1:8, 1:18); Comm. in Is. II.35, p. 309 (Apoc 5:5).

20. Ibid. and note 13, citing Comm. in Is. II.7, Ziegler, p. 222 (Apoc 6:14); II.56, p. 397 (Apoc 2:11; 20:14); II.56, p. 398 (Apoc 2:7); II.58, p. 408 (Apoc 21:4).

21. Ibid.

22. Mazzucco, "Eusèbe de Césarée," p. 320 and note 28, citing Eusebius Werke I. Über das Leben Constantins, ed. Heikel, GCS 7 (Leipzig, 1962), III.33, p. 93 (Apoc 3:12; 21:2,10; 21:3-7); III.28, p. 94 (Apoc 21:14); and Theodor Zahn, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (Leipzig, 1924), pp 71-2.

23. Ibid. and note 29, citing Eusebius' definition of the Church as the "Bride" of the Logos (HE X.4.2, 47, 54; he quotes Isaiah, but see Apoc 19:7; 21:2,9) the "divine ark" (X.4.3; see Apoc 21:3), and the "new Jerusalem" (X.4.3; see Apoc 3:12; 21:2); the erection of the church at Tyre is preceded by the elimination of the enemies of impiety (X.4.28-31,36; he quotes from Psalms but see also Apoc 21:8,27; 22:3,15); the Church is a source of living water (X.4.34; see Apoc 7:17; 21:6; 22:1,17); and is made new (X.4.36; see Apoc 21:5). The numerous putative parallels (Mazzucco, p. 324, note 29) between the Apocalyptic new Jerusalem and the edifice of the Catholic Church are particularly convincing. Both have stout outer walls (X.4.37 and Apoc 21:12); entry into both is forbidden to those defiled (X.4.39 and

Apoc 21:27); both buildings are square in shape (X.4.42 and Apoc 21:16) and constructed with fountains (X.4.40 and Apoc 22:1), precious materials (X.4.42 and Apoc 21:11,18ff), and three doors to the East (X.4.41 and Apoc 21:13); both have enormous dimensions (X.4.43 and Apoc 21:16-17), thrones within (X.4.44 and Apoc 21:3), and light all around (X.4.42 and Apoc 21:23; 22:5).

24. Mazzucco, "Eusèbe de Césarée," pp 318-22. But even the Advent of Christ has a historical and pro-imperial aspect, since it coincides with the foundation of the Empire, HE I.2.23 (Mazzucco, p. 321).

25. C. Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 30.

26. δη Προκλω της κατα Φρύγας προϊσταμένω γνωμης εγγράγως διαλεχθεις, HE II.25.6.

27. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν. Καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι (HE III.28.2).

28. Grant, p. 134; so also J. Gwynn, "Hippolytus and his 'Heads against Caius,'" Hermathena. A Series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy by Members of Trinity College, Dublin 6 (1888), pp 397-418; here, pp 398-9.

29. Corsini, p. 20.

30. Holl and Dummer, eds., Epiphanius II. *Panarion* (haereses 34-64), GCS 31 (1922; rpt. Berlin, 1980), pp 305f. The Panarion was composed ca. 374-7 according to B. Le Frois, The Woman Clothed with the Sun (Rome, 1954), p. 42.

31. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend (Stuttgart, 1985), p. 71.

32. Kretschmar, p. 71, following Georg G. Blum, "Chiliasmus II. Die Alte Kirche," Theologische Realenzyklopädie 7 (1981), pp 729-33.

33. This section largely follows Grant, pp 132-3, and 135; and Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 31.

34. οἷς καὶ ἐπιστήσαντι οὐκέτ' ἂν δόξαι διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ

εὐαγγέλια, HE III.24.13.

35. See Grant, p. 132.

36. "Il rapporto," p. 31, citing P. de Labriolle, La crise montaniste (Paris, 1913), p. 284, note; and G. Bardy, "Cérinthe," Revue Bénédictine 30 (1921), pp 344-73; here, p. 357.

37. "Il rapporto," p. 32 and p. 32, note 26.

38. Ireneaus, Contre les Hérésies, I, ed. Rousseau, SC 263-4 (Paris, 1979), I.26.1; see I.21.3.

39. Contre les Hérésies, III, ed. Rousseau, SC 210-11 (Paris, 1974), III.11.7.

40. Adv. haer. III.3.4.

41. Adv. haer. I.23.5.

42. ἀθανασίαν αἴδιον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ μεθέξειν τῷ βίῳ, μηκέτι θνήσκοντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ παραμένοντας εἰς τὸ ἀεὶ ἀγήρως τινὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐσομένους, HE III.26.2.

43. ἡ λεγομένη τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσις, HE III.29.1, italics mine.

44. HE III.29.1-2, quoting Clement, Clemens Alexandrinus, Zweiter Band, Stromata Buch I-VI, ed. Stählin, GCS 52 (Berlin, 1960), 3.25-6.

45. HE III.30.1-2, quoting Stromateis 3.52-3 and 7.63-4.

46. Grant, p. 135; and p. 166, citing Demonstratio evangelica III.5.75.

47. καὶ ταῦτα δ', οἰκεῖα ὄντα τῇ μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσει, ἐνταῦθά μοι κατὰ καιρὸν κείσθω, HE III.30.1.

48. Grant, pp 135, 166.

49. E.g., Contre les Hérésies, V, ed. Rousseau, SC 152-3 (Paris, 1969), V.35.2.

50. Adv. haer. I.26.

51. Adv. haer. III.11.7; see Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 31.

52. "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," pp 211-2.

53. Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 35, citing Apoc 2:7,11,17,29; 3:6,13,22; 13:18; and esp. 11:8.

54. Ibid. and idem, "Eusèbe de Césarée et l'Apocalypse de Jean," p. 318, citing Demonstratio VIII.2.31 (GCS 23), p. 372; and Ecl. Proph. IV.30 (PG 22), col. 1254C. See also Chapter Eight (Origen) below.

55. Josef Schmid, ed., Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. 1. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisereia. Texte, Vol. in Münchener theologische Studien (Munich, 1955), p. 10. Andrew was bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea from 563 to 613 according to Prigent, Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse (Tübingen, 1959), p. 12, following J. Schmid, "Andreas," Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart tome 1, col. 368. Andrew also quotes Papias on the duty of [soon to be fallen] angels to preside faithfully over creation; see Schmid, pp 129-30.

The notation for θεόπνευστος and Andrew is in Geoffrey Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1961), p. 630, col. 1.

56. HE III.39.4.

57. αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι [in Asia] διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. Eusebius is following the chronology of Irenaeus, Adversus haereses V.30.3.

58. HE III.1.1; III.31.3.

59. HE III.39.12.

60. So also Kleist, pp 110-11; Kleist, "Rereading the Papias Fragment on St. Mark," St. Louis University Studies, Series A: Humanities I (1945), pp 1-17; C. Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 33; J. Donovan, "The Elder John and other Johns," Irish Ecclesiastical Record 31 (1928), pp 337-50; idem, "The Papias Presbyteri Puzzle," Irish Ecclesiastical Record 37 (1931), pp 124-37; idem, "The Papias Tradition and the Ephesian Legend," Irish Ecclesiastical Record 38 (1931), pp 482-500.

61. Kleist, op. cit., pp 120-1, fragments 6 and 7, trans. of Ps-Anastasius, Anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexaëmeron 1 and

7, ed. Pitra, Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata, Vol. II (1884; rpt. Farnborough, Hampshire, 1966).

62. Ibid.

63. Adv. haer. V.33.3; see Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 35.

64. "Le Papias des belles promesses messianiques," Vivre et Penser 3 (1943-44), pp 112-24; and "Hénoch X,19 et les belles promesses de Papias," Revue Biblique 53 (1946), pp 197-206.

65. Per quanto riguarda l'immagine della vigna presente nel passo di Papia, non è esclusa la possibilità di un uso metaforico di essa: nell'*Apocalisse di Baruch* [chapters 36-39], a cui Papia pare aver attinto, l'immagine ricorre in un punto a rappresentare il Messia prima in lotta con l'ultimo impero e poi trionfante," p. 36 in "Il rapporto."

66. An indication that Papias' exegesis of Genesis and Apoc has a speculative aspect comes in Andrew's Commentary on the Apocalypse chapter 34, sermon 12:

> Papias says verbatim as follows: "To some of them"--evidently, of the angels who had formerly been holy--"He assigned the duty of presiding over the orderly arrangement of the earth, and enjoined them to preside well." And next he says: "And it happened that in the end their charge came to nothing" (Kleist, p. 120; see Gen 6:2-4; Apoc 8:10-11; 9:1f; 10:1-7).

67. εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἤ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν ἅ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης, HE III.39.4, italics mine.

68. HE esp. III.23.1-4; also III.1.1; III.18.1; V.24.16; V.4.14; Adv. haer. 2.22.5; 3.3.4; "Quis dives salvetur?" ed. Stählin, Clemens Alexandrinus. Dritter Band, GCS 17 (Berlin, 1980); and prescinding from the fact that Polycarp was martyred in 156 at the age of 86 or older: see "Martyrdom of Polycarp" 9.3, ed. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (Oxford, 1972), pp 2-21; see also Polycarp's "Epistle to the Philippians" 6, ed. Camelot, Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres. Martyre de Polycarpe, SC 10 (Paris, 1969), pp 176-92.

Polycarp's martyrdom is dated 156 or perhaps 157 by Barnes, "Pre-Decian Acta Martyrum," Journal of Theological Studies 19 (1968), pp 509-31; here, pp 510-514.

69. J. Donovan, "The Papias Presbyteri Puzzle," pp 128-9.

70. "When Peter saw him, he said to Jesus, 'Lord, what about this man?' Jesus said to him, 'If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you? Follow me!' The saying spread abroad that this disciple was not to die; yet Jesus did not say to him that he was not to die, but, 'If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you?'"

71. Adv. haer. V.33.4 and HE III.39.1 (Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρξαῖος ἀνήρ); contra HE III.39.2.

72. Donovan, "The Papias Tradition and the Ephesian Legend," p. 483.

73. Donovan, p. 487.

74. εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑορακέναι, HE III.39.6.

75. See also Grant, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," p. 210:

> The quotation...from Papias clearly shows, in so far as it clearly shows anything, that Papias could identify "presbyters" with "disciples of the Lord." The same usage occurs in Irenaeus, who ascribes verses from 2 John (written by "the presbyter") to John the Lord's disciple [Adv. haer. III.16.8]. The quotation from Papias *can* be understood to mean that Papias was a hearer of the Apostle John.

On the other hand, Gry tries to defend the veracity and accuracy of Eusebius and Papias simultaneously by positing the existence of a second, Jewish Papias. See "Le Papias des belles promesses messianiques," pp 118-24.

76. Donovan, "The Papias Presbyteri Puzzle," p. 129.

77. ἃ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεορακότα, HE III.39.13.

78. See E. B. Allo, Saint Jean, l'Apocalypse (Paris, 1933), p. 236. As Mazzucco notes, O. Giordano, in order to accept Eusebius' judgement of Papias, must assume both that Papias depends upon Apoc 20 and that Apoc 20 clearly espouses a future millennial reign ("Il rapporto," p. 34, note 49, citing Giordano, "I Commentari di Papia di Ierapoli," Antiquité Classique 39 (1970), pp 106-46; here, pp 108 and 120).

79. σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, HE III.39.13.

80. HE VII.24-6 - VII.25.16.

81. HE VII.25.16.

82. Helm, ed., Die Chronik des Hieronymus, pp 192-3.

83. Ed. Ernest C. Richardson, Hieronymus. Liber de viris inlustribus, TU 14 (Leipzig, 1896), p. 19.

84. Richardson, p. 19, and HE III.39.11-13. Apollinarius of Laodicaea appears to be a more attenuated source for Jerome's statements about Papias. Where Eusebius blames Papias for the chiliasm of Irenaeus and unspecified others (τις ἄλλος), Jerome speaks of Irenaeus *et Apollinaris* et ceteri. Indeed, in an extant fragment of his works Apollinarius terms Papias "John's disciple" and quotes Papias' account--in book IV of his Exegesis of the Lord's Discourses--of the suffering and death of Judas. So Apollinarius also disagrees with Eusebius about Papias' acquaintance with the Apostle.

85. Richardson, p. 19.

86. Ibid.

87. Richardson, cap. IX, pp 12-13. Identical translations of 2 John 1 and 3 John 1 appear in the Vulgate.

88. Quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmos insulam relegatus, [Iohannes apostolus] scripsit *Apocalypsin*. Richardson, p. 13.

89. Anthony Meredith, "The Evidence of Papias for the Priority

of Matthew," Synoptic Studies. The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983 (Sheffield, 1984), pp 187-96; here, p. 190.

90. Ibid.

91. The source of the title is the canon of Hippolytus' works inscribed on the cathedra of his statue. See G. Morin, "La liste épigraphique des travaux de saint Hippolyte au Musée du Latran," Revue Biblique 7 (1900), pp 241-51.

92. Meredith also argues that because of the virulently anti-imperial tenor of Tertullian's works, Eusebius quotes only from those few passages in which Tertullian favors Roman authority (p. 189).

93. Dialogue with Trypho 81, ed. Goodspeed, Die ältesten Apologeten (Göttingen, 1914).

94. μέμνηταί τε τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, σαφῶς τοῦ ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων, HE IV.18.8.

95. Τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου, HE IV.26.2. However, Jerome reads the title as a reference to two distinct books, rendering the Greek as "On the Devil and On the Apocalypse of John" instead of "On the Devil and Apocalypse of John" (Richardson, ed., Liber de viris inlustribus (Leipzig, 1896), cap. 24, p. 22).

Origen may preserve a small fragment of the work (Stuart Hall, ed. and trans., Melito of Sardis. On Pascha and Fragments, Vol. in Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford, 1979), p. xv). The passage is in Origen's exegesis of Ps 3 in the Selecta in Psalmos. Melito states that Absalom of Ps 3 is a type of the devil who rebelled against the kingdom of Christ (Hall, Fragment 5, p. 68: Μελίτων γοῦν ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι τύπον τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπαναστάντος τῇ Χριστοῦ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ τούτου μόνου μνησθεὶς οὐκ ἐπεξειργάσατο τὸν τόπον).

Melito definitely quotes the Apocalypse in Περὶ Πάσχα 105, where he refers to Christ as "the Alpha and the Omega...the beginning and the end" (Hall, p. 60; Apoc 1:8; 21:6). Indeed, the only New Testament books definitely known to Melito are the Gospels of Matthew and John and the Apoc (Hall, p. xli). Citing On Pascha 103, Hall observes that in Melito "Christ is Lord of all history, past, present, and future, rather as depicted in the Revelation of St. John..." (p. xlv).

96. HE IV.24.1; see Chapter Three, note 6 below.

97. HE III.18.1; Adv. haer. V.30.3.

98. HE III.23.3; Adv. haer. II.22.5 (ed. Rousseau, Contre les Hérésies II, SC 293-4 (Paris, 1982)); III.3.4; "Quis dives salvetur?" (Stählin, Clemens Alexandrinus. Dritter Band, GCS 17)

99. Joannes domini discipulus in Apocalypsi...dicit; Adv. haer. IV.20.11.

100. For example, Adv. Haer. V.35.2.

101. Text in Otto Stählin and U. Treu, eds., Clemens Alexandrinus. Erster Band. Protrepticus und Paedagogus, 3rd ed., GCS 12 (Berlin, 1972).

102. Paedagogus II.12.119; Stromateis VI.13.107.

103. HE VI.14.1. The extant fragments of the Hypotyposeis are in Stählin, Clemens Alexandrinus. Dritter Band.

104. HE VI.14.1.

105. HE VI.25.11-14.

106. HE VI.25.9-10; see also the Commentaire d'Origène sur l'évangile selon Jean I.1.1; I.1.4; I.4.22f.

107. ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, HE VI.25.10.

108. et Iohannes tuba canere per epistolas suas, A. Jaubert, ed. and trans., Origène. Homélies sur Josué (Paris, 1960), Homily VII.1, p. 196. The seven trumpets of Apoc 8:2 - 10:7 are of interest to Origen. At the sounding of the seventh trumpet, seven thunders also sound (10:3-7). However, John is told to seal up what the seven thunders say, and not to write it down (10:4). In Comm. in Io. V.3, SC 120, p. 376, Origen quotes 10:4 and comments that John wrote the Apoc after having received the order not to write the words of the seven thunders. D. Strathmann makes much of this in his "Origenes und die Johannesoffenbarung," Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift 34 (1923), pp 228-236; here, pp 232-6. Strathmann argues that Origen's comment is a negative assessment of the Apoc, because John wrote his Revelation instead of sealing up what he saw. For this reason, Strathmann holds, Dionysius and later Eusebius rejected the Apoc (p. 232).

Strathmann's thesis is not convincing. Origen's purpose in

the passage is to underscore the brevity of the New Testament, including the brevity of its major literary figures Paul, Peter, and John. This is not an indication of disapproval--Origen has already quoted the Apoc numerous times in the Commentary.

Grant resurrects Strathmann's thesis, though not his putative evidence. Grant observes that, according to Nautin, in the recently published On the Pascha, Origen apparently refers to "the Apocalypse attributed to John," while in his late "Homily VII on Joshua" he cites only the Gospel and Epistles as the works of John (Grant, p. 141, citing O. Guéraud and P. Nautin, Origène Sur la Pâque (Paris, 1979), p. 119, note 23). Grant suggests that Eusebius, even if unacquainted with these works, may simply be recapitulating Origen's changing attitude towards the Apoc (p. 141).

Grant's theory is also unconvincing. If the chronology of Nautin himself is to be believed, Origen's Commentary on Matthew was composed in 249, near the very end of Origen's period of literary activity (Nautin, Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre, I (Paris, 1977), p. 381). In that Commentary Origen is still making frequent use of the Apoc: Allenbach's Biblia Patristica 3. Origène (Paris, 1980), pp 466-9, lists 23 citations of the text. Moreover, Origen projects a work on the Apoc in the Commentary itself (ed. Klostermann, Origenes Werke XI. Origenes Matthäuserklärung. II, GCS 38 (Leipzig, 1933), cap. 49, p. 105,5-8). These are hardly indications that Origen has come to reject the apostolicity of the Apoc. On the contrary, Origen still adheres to the tradition. Dionysius and Eusebius have probably not learned to disapprove of the Apoc from Origen.

109. See the below discussion on Dionysius.

110. Grant, "Papias in Eusebius' Church History," p. 211, citing Demonstratio III.5.88, ed. Heikel, pp 126-7.

111. HE VII.24.1. Dionysius became head of the catechetical school in 231 (HE VI.29.4) and was bishop of Alexandria from 247 to 264 (HE VI.35.1; VII.28.3). The text of On the Promises, which he composed during his episcopate, is in Charles L. Feltoe, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΔΕΙΨΑΝΑ. The Letters and other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria (Cambridge, 1904), pp 106-126. For convenience' sake, citations are listed as in the HE. Feltoe's translation of On the Promises is in St. Dionysius of Alexandria. Letters and Treatises (London, 1918), pp 83-91. Eusebius' list of Dionysius' works is in HE VII.26.1-3.

112. HE VII.24.1. Dionysius uses Αἰγύπτιοι to refer to Copts, as distinguished from Alexandrians (Feltoe, St. Dionysius of Alexandria. Letters and Treatises, p. 10). The nome of Arsinoë is directly south

of Memphis, approximately fifty miles south of modern Cairo. It is in Middle Egypt, well away from Alexandria and the main centers of Greek culture.

113. The chiliastic Coptic Apocalypse of Enoch and Elijah, the only Jewish-Christian apocryphal work definitely influenced by Revelation, comes from the same period and the same region. The chiliastic passage is in Kuhn, trans., "The Apocalypse of Elijah," The Apocryphal Old Testament, ed. Sparks (Oxford, 1984), pp 762-773; here III.97-9, p. 773. For discussion of the influence of the canonical Apocalypse on the "two witnesses" of the Coptic Apocalypse, see Richard Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" Journal of Biblical Literature 95 (1976), pp 447-58; and "Enoch and Elijah in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah," Studia Patristica XVI, ed. Livingstone, TU 129 (Berlin, 1985), pp 69-76. For discussion of the date of the Coptic Apocalypse, see Sparks, pp 753-9.

114. Nepos' death cannot have preceded Dionysius' visit by many decades: Dionysius speaks of him as of a contemporary--ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα--and is aware of his distinguishing traits, HE VII.24.4.

115. HE VII.25.6. Feltoe believes that the book's title is a slighting reference to Origen, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΕΙΨΑΝΑ, p. 106, note 2.

116. A. Meredith, M. Wiles, and R. Williams, "Patristic Graduate Seminar: Dionysius of Alexandria," Oxford University, Winter, 1987.

117. δόξας γοῦν...ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου τὴν ἰδίαν κρατύνειν ὑπόληψιν, HE VII.24.2.

118. τὴν ὅλην τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως βασανίσας γραφὴν ἀδύνατόν τε αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἀποδείξας νοεῖσθαι διάνοιαν, ἐπιφέρει, HE VII.25.6. Unfortunately, Eusebius preserves none of this exegesis.

119. The omission is odd because Eusebius claims that Gaius did reject millenarianism (HE III.28.2). On the other hand, the Alogoi do not condemn chiliasm in the few fragments preserved by Epiphanius. They spurn only the Apocalypse.

120. ὡς μέγα δή τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον, VII.24.5.

121. οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐνθέου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας οὔτε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισυναγωγῆς καὶ ὁμοιώσεως, VII.24.5.

122. There is no discernible connection between Nepos and Montanism. None of Montanism's putative features--prophetic ecstasy, special devotion to the Paraclete, or promulgation of new revelation--are mentioned in connection with Nepos or his followers by Eusebius or Dionysius. Certainly not all chiliasts are Montanists, and perhaps early Montanists are no different from other Asia Minor chiliasts. See the discussion of Montanism in Appendix A below.

123. Αὐτοὶ τοίνυν οἱ θεῖοι μάρτυρες παρ' ἡμῖν, οἱ νῦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάρεδροι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ συνδικάζοντες αὐτῷ, τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἀδελφῶν τινας ὑπευθύνους τοῖς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐγκλήμασιν γενομένους προσελάβοντο, HE VI.42.5. Dionysius declares explicitly that the martyrs are able to readmit the lapsi to communion (Ibid.). See also the parallel account of Serapion's readmission in VI.44.

124. Meredith, Wiles, Williams, "Patristic Graduate Seminar."

125. "καὶ ἐδόθη γὰρ αὐτῷ," φησίν, "στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίαν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες τεσσαράκοντα δύο," HE VII.10.2. The quotation differs slightly from the Greek New Testament text of Aland, et al.

126. τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐώντων ὑψηλὸν καὶ μεγαλεῖον φρονεῖν, VII.24.5.

127. μικρὰ καὶ θνητὰ καὶ οἷα τὰ νῦν, VII.24.5.

128. πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦτο ἐπεπόλαζεν τὸ δόγμα, ὡς καὶ σχίσματα καὶ ἀποστασίας ὅλων ἐκκλησιῶν γεγονέναι, VII.24.6.

129. Wiles, "Patristic Graduate Seminar."

130. ἁγίου...τινος καὶ θεοπνεύστου, HE VII.25.7.

131. HE VII.25.14.

132. The formulation is Corsini's, p. 20.

133. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀθετῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαιμι τὸ βιβλίον, πολλῶν αὐτὸ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ἀδελφῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φρονήσεως τὴν ὑπόληψιν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων, κεκρυμμένην εἶναί τινα καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκδοχὴν ὑπολαμβάνω. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίημι ἀλλ' ὑπονοῶ γε γοῦν τινα βαθύτερον ἐγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν, HE VII.25.4. Trans. Feltoe, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΕΙΨΑΝΑ, p. 115, note 11.

134. A literal translation of Dionysius' sentence about 2 and 3 John reads: "But not even in the second and third epistles bearing [the name] of John, although they are short, is John set forth by name, but anonymously he has written 'the elder'" (Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλὰ ἀνωνύμως 'ὁ πρεσβύτερος' γέγραπται, HE VII.25.11, italics mine). The sentence is awkward--and Dionysius' position on the apostolicity of 2 and 3 John more doubtful--if one reads γέγραπται as a passive rather than as a middle perfect.

135. ἀλλοιοτάτη δὲ καὶ ξένη παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, VII.25.22.

136. Corsini, p. 20.

137. In contrast, Origen's use of the book reveals an awareness both of its christology and its prior interpretation in Christian tradition. See Chapter Eight below.

138. Wiles, "Patristic Graduate Seminar."

139. Corsini, p. 20.

140. Ibid.

141. See his diffidence towards the Apocalypse in HE III.24.18 - III.25.4.

142. Corsini, pp 20-1.

143. ὁ...ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἐκπρέπων μέγιστος νικητής, HE X.9.6.

144. Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 36, citing Apoc 1:6; 5:10; 20:6; and 17:7-14, respectively.

145. Ibid. Mazzucco likewise suggests that Montanism, itself prophetic, apocalyptic, and perhaps schismatic, taints the Apocalypse in the eyes of Eusebius.

146. Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 37.

147. Mazzucco, "Il rapporto," p. 37 and notes 81-2, citing Gry, Le millénarisme dans ses origines et son développement (Paris, 1904), pp 81-2 (on Melito); Adv. haer. IV.34.4 and A. Luneau, L'histoire du salut chez le Pères de l'Église (Paris, 1964), pp 99 and note 5 (on

Irenaeus). See also HE III.39.13 (on Irenaeus).

148. See part C of Chapter Nine (Methodius) below.

149. See Grant, p. 138.

150. Following Corsini, p. 21.

151. Corsini, p. 20.

152. See Chapters Five, and Ten below.

153. See also Chapter Two below.

154. Cyril of Jerusalem rejects the Apoc (Catech. IV.33); John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret of Cyrus never mention it, and the Syrians make scant use of it. The Cappadocians also largely avoid the text. See A. Monaci Castagno, "I Commenti de Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea: due letture divergenti dell'Apocalisse," Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 5 (1981), pp 388-91.

155. R. H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John (Edinburgh, 1920), p. c.

Chapter 2: Gaius and the Alogoi

1. Four fragments are preserved by Eusebius, HE II.25.7; III.28.2; III.31.4; VI.20.3. The remaining fragments are in Denys bar Salîbî, Dionysius Bar Salîbî in Apocalypsim, Actus, et Epistulas catholicas, ed. Johann Sedlacek, Vol. 101, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores syri, Series Secunda (Paris: text 1909; versio 1910), pp 1, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 19, and Codex parisinus syr 67, Fol. 270, recto, col. 2. The latter is a commentary by Bar Salîbî on the Gospels. It contains a sentence about Gaius in which he objects to the chronology of St. John's Gospel. The sentence is reproduced in de Labriolle, La Crise Montaniste (Paris, 1913), p. 285.

2. HE III.28.2; Bar Salîbî, pp 1, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 19.

3. HE II.25.6. The date of Zephyrinus' papacy in J.N.D. Kelly, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (Oxford, 1986), p. 12; de Labriolle's reckoning is 199 - 217 (p. 279). See also Gustave Bardy, "4. Caius," Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1949), cols. 236-7; here col. 236. Bardy argues that Gaius' attack on the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel could not have been opportune much before 200.

4. διάλογος...πρὸς Πρόκλον, HE VI.20.3; so Gerhard Maier, Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche (Tübingen, 1981), p. 70.

5. Maier, p. 71. Gaius says, Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βασικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (HE II.25.7).

6. Bar Salîbî, pp 1, 8-10, 19. That an antimontanist work sternly opposes both material chiliasm and the Apocalypse as read literally implies that the contemporary Montanist interpretation of the Apocalypse was also chiliastic.

7. Bar Salîbî, p. 1: Apparuit vir nomine Caius, qui asserebat Evangelium non esse Iohannis, nec Apocalypsim, sed Cerinthi haeretici ea esse. See also HE II.25.6; III.28.1-2.

8. The significance of Montanism in Gaius' rejection of the Apoc is underlined by David Dunbar, "The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus," Vigiliae Christianae 37 (1983), pp 313-27; here p. 314

and note 11; Ned Bernard Stonehouse, The Apocalypse in the Ancient Church (Goes, Holland, 1929), p. 67; Maier, p. 85; and de Labriolle, pp 191, 278-85. A related reason is perhaps Christ's promise in the Fourth Gospel to send the Paraclete.

9. For discussion of Eusebius' use of Cerinthus and the Apoc, see Chapter One above, pp 24-27, 30.

10. However, Eusebius is clearly aware of both charges. See HE III.28.1-6.

11. Adv. Haer. I.26.3; Ref. VII.24. The judaising accusation against the Nicolaitans is in Apoc 2:9 and 3:9, while their nascent Gnosticism is perhaps alluded to in 2:24, which refers to "deep things" or teachings of Satan (τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ--a pun on the Gnostic Bythos?). The house of Satan is both a synagogue and a place where "deep things" are imparted, suggesting that the Nicolaitans are both Gnostics and judaisers.

12. Adv. Haer. I.26.2; Ref. VII.22. Eusebius also groups the three heresies together, but he discusses them in a different order: Ebionites (HE III.27), Cerinthus (III.28), and Nicolaitans (III.29). He juxtaposes Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans so as to rehabilitate the latter and oppose the Apocalypse.

13. The former could live as they pleased and expect to rise to the supreme God; the latter would have to abide by the Law and could expect only a material reward.

14. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I.26.1; Hippolytus, Refutatio omnium haeresium VII.21; X.17, Hippolytus Werke III, ed. Wendland, GCS 26 (Leipzig, 1916); Ps-Tertullian, Adversus omnes Haereses 10, Tertulliani Opera. Pars II. Opera Montanistica, ed. Waszink, CC 2 (Turnhout, 1954), pp 1399-1410.

15. Valentinus and Cerdo came to Rome during the papacy of Hyginus (c. 138 - c. 142) and were soon joined by Marcion. All three remained active in Rome during the papacy of Pius I (c. 142 - c. 155). (Adv. haer. I.27.1-4; III.4.3; HE IV.11.1-2. The dates of Hyginus and Pius are in Kelly, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (Oxford, 1986), p. 10.) Shortly before Gaius' period of literary activity, Florinus the Gnostic was deposed from the Roman priesthood by Victor (189-198). (HE V.15.1; 20.1 and see Kelly, p. 12.)

16. "Building on the Apocalypse the Gnostic Cerinthus taught a

new and sensual chiliasm." Hans Bietenhard, "The Millennial Hope in the Early Church," Scottish Journal of Theology 6 (1953), pp 12-30; here, p. 17.

17. ...μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν. HE III.28.2.

18. ...ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς...λέγει γίνεσθαι. Ibid.

19. HE III.28.4-5.

20. Bietenhard, pp 17-18. Bietenhard makes a distinction between the Alogoi and Gaius--that the former rejected all Johannine works and the latter only the Apoc--which may not be tenable. Gaius also rejects the Fourth Gospel; in addition, he may have been a member of the Alogoi or even their leader. See the next section below, titled "Gaius' Relationship to the Alogoi."

21. Ἄλογοι first occurs in Epiphanius and may have been coined by him. The word refers both to the group's opposition to the Johannine Logos and to the illogic of its anti-Johannine stance. See especially Panarion 51.4. in Holl and Dummer, Epiphanius II. *Panarion* (haereses 34-64), GCS 31 (1922; rpt. Berlin, 1980).

22. HE III.28.2 and Panarion 51.3. In HE III.28.2, Eusebius implies that Gaius attributes only the Apocalypse to Cerinthus. But it is clear from the references in Bar Salîbî that Gaius also considers the Fourth Gospel to be the work of a heretic.

23. Panarion 51.4,18,29; see de Labriolle, p. 285.

24. De Labriolle, Sources de l'histoire du Montanisme (Paris, 1913), p. LXXIV; idem, La Crise Montaniste, pp 190-1; Stonehouse, pp 66-7; Maier, pp 81-2.

25. Panarion 51.3, 4, 6, 18 (twice), 22, 29, 32, 33, 34.

26. Panarion 51.3, 4, 32, 33, 34.

27. Grant, Second Century Christianity (London, 1946), p. 106; Maier, pp 83-5; Stonehouse, pp 65-6.

28. De Labriolle, p. 283.

29. Ibid.

30. tout à fait direct. De Labriolle, p. 283.

31. Bar Salîbî, p. 10.

32. Panarion 51.34.3.

33. De Labriolle establishes this dependence in Les sources de l'histoire du Montanisme, pp LXX-LXXVI. The fact that Epiphanius, in refuting the Alogoi, is able without difficulty to adapt Hippolytus' arguments against Gaius, lends further weight to the thesis that the objections of the Alogoi and Gaius were closely related.

34. De Labriolle, Sources, p. LXXII.

35. Bar Salîbî, p. 10, line 30; Panarion 51.34.7, p. 310,7 (Holl).

36. Bar Salîbî, p. 10, l's 32-4; Panarion 51.34.5, p. 309,13-17.

37. Bar Salîbî, p. 10,34-5; Panarion 51.34.5, p. 309, 11.

38. Bar Salîbî, p. 11,1; Panarion 51.34.3, p. 309,7.

39. Bar Salîbî, p. 11,1-4.

40. Panarion 51.34.6-7, Holl p. 310, l's 8-9, 3-5, and 2. For discussion of the parallels between Hippolytus' defense of the Fourth Gospel and Panarion 51, see de Labriolle, Sources, pp LXXIII-LXXIV.

41. Stonehouse, p. 67, note 78, citing C. Schmidt, Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, TU 43 (Leipzig, 1919), pp 443f. Moreover, Zahn had already noted that "the way in which Eusebius follows up his quotation from Gaius with one from Dionysius suggests that he interpreted Dionysius as referring to Gaius [and not to an earlier work]" (Stonehouse, p. 68, note 80, citing, note 79, Theodor Zahn, Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons I (Erlangen, 1888), pp 227 and 230, note 2, where he compares HE III.28.2 with III.28.4 and VII.25.3).

42. E.g., de Labriolle, pp 199, 201-2, 285; Stonehouse, p. 60; see Maier, pp 81-2.

43. Stonehouse, p. 65, citing, note 70, Zahn, p. 221; idem, Grundriss der Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, 2 Aufl.

(Leipzig, 1904), p. 19; Harnack, Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200 (Freiburg, 1889), p. 62; Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius: I. Überlieferung (1893; rpt. Leipzig, 1958), p. 243; Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius II (Leipzig, 1904), p. 227; Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, 4. Aufl., Vol. I (1909; rpt. Tübingen, 1990), p. 708, note 1; Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannis, 6. Aufl. (Göttingen, 1906), pp 22f; Leipolt, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons I (Leipzig, 1907), pp 43f.

44. Stonehouse, p. 66. G. Salmon spoke of the "impossibility that Gaius would have rejected St. John's Gospel, whatever we may think of his reception of the Apocalypse" (Maier, p. 78, citing Salmon, "Caius (2)," Dictionary of Christian Biography 1 (London, 1877), pp 384-6; here p. 386).

45. This view originates in de Labriolle, p. 202. See also Stonehouse, p. 67; also inclining towards the view is Maier, p. 82.

46. See Appendix A below.

47. De Labriolle, p. 202: leur tentative était trop peu dans la note des chrétientés d'Asie pour avoir chance d'y réussir.

48. Stonehouse, p. 70, citing Zahn, Geschichte I, p. 246, note 1.

49. Stonehouse, p. 70, translating Holl, p. 307: ἐνοικησάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐκεῖσε [καὶ] τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας καὶ δίκην λύκων ἁρπαξάντων τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀκεραίων πιστῶν, μετήνεγκαν τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν αἵρεσιν, οἵ τε ἀρνούμενοι τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν κατὰ τοῦ λόγου τούτου εἰς ἀνατροπὴν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐστρατεύοντο.

50. Stonehouse, p. 70; de Labriolle, pp 196-201.

51. Trans. Stonehouse, p. 70.

52. Stonehouse, p. 70; de Labriolle, pp 199-201.

53. Adversus haereses III.11.9, ed. Rousseau, pp 170-2.

54. According to the reckonings of Kelly, p. 11; and de Labriolle, p. 202.

55. Stonehouse, p. 60.

56. See P.C. Atkinson, "The Montanist Interpretation of Joel 2:28,29 (LXX 3:1,2)," Studia Evangelica 7 (Berlin, 1982), pp 11-15.

57. Stonehouse, p. 61.

58. Leipoldt, p. 44; Schmidt, pp 420f; against Stonehouse, p. 61. It is the Seer, after all, who is "in the Spirit" on the Lord's day (1:10).

59. So Stonehouse, p. 60. Stonehouse concedes:

> The result to which we have come is that there is no conclusive evidence that the western Alogoi were dependent for their criticism of the writings of John upon a second century source from Asia Minor (p. 69).

60. The difference between the Roman and the Greek Christian mentalities is expressed by J. C. Plumpe when he explains why the concept of the Church as mother probably originated in Phrygian Asia Minor rather than Rome:

> The imagination of the Romans themselves was far more sober and straightforward, the figure and personification of the Church as Mother Church that appealed so, before Augustine, to the half-Romans Tertullian and Cyprian, found no responsive record in the native Roman ethos. But in this more than imagination is involved. The roots of the concept of the Church's motherhood were contained principally in the mysticism of St. Paul and St. John. Eastern allegorism and mysticism developed to full maturity the person and office of the Church as Mother. To the Roman attitude; to the Church of the Rock and Keys...this probably appealed as the appearance of a rather new and novel tradition in identifying the Church founded upon Peter (Mater Ecclesia. An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity, (Washington, D.C., 1943), p. 127).

Similarly, Maier holds that Gaius rejected the Johannine corpus not only because of his antimontanism, but also because of its Greek, seemingly unbiblical (Gnostic or platonic?), spirituality (p. 85).

61. De Labriolle, Sources, pp LXX-LXXVI, LXXXI; Stonehouse, p. 66.

62. Ibid.

63. Ronald E. Heine, "The Role of the Gospel of John in the Montanist Controversy," Second Century 6,1 (1987-8), pp 1-19; here,

p. 15. Heine cites F.C. Klawiter, "The New Prophecy in Early Christianity: The Origin, Nature, and Development of Montanism, AD 165-220" (diss., University of Chicago, 1975), p. 206. Klawiter concludes that "the most plausible explanation is that the provenance of Irenaeus' anti-Montanist party is Roman," and that the party probably came into existence in the time of Eleutherus in an attempt "to nullify the power and attraction of the New Prophecy" (Heine, p. 15, citing Klawiter, p. 206).

64. Maier, p. 82; against C. Schmidt, p. 440.

65. Ibid.

66. Bar Salîbî, p. 8.

67. Bar Salîbî, p. 9. The reference to the flood comes from Mt 24:38: "In the days before the flood they ate and drank and married, until the day that Noah went into the ark, and they knew knothing until the flood came and swept them all away."

68. Bar Salîbî, p. 10.

69. Apoc 20:4 in Trypho 80; Goodspeed, p. 192.

70. Bar Salîbî, p. 19.

71. Panarion 51.32.2: τί με, φησίν, ὠφελεῖ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, λέγουσά μοι περὶ ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἑπτὰ σαλπίγγων; (Holl, p. 305).

72. I have also discussed above the third passage, the objections of the Alogoi to the prophecy about the Thyatiran church of Apoc 2:18.

73. De Labriolle, Sources, p. LXXIV-LXXV.

Chapter 3: Gnostics, Jews & Nonchiliasts in Justin

1. For discussion of the vicissitudes of the Gospel of John, see J.N. Sanders, The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church (Cambridge, 1943).

2. Cullen Story, The Nature of Truth in "The Gospel of Truth" and in the Writings of Justin Martyr (Leiden, 1970), p. 170.

3. The text of The Dialogue with Trypho is that of Edgar J. Goodspeed, Die ältesten Apologeten (Göttingen, 1914), pp 90-265.

Justin is not demonstrably dependent upon the Apocalypse in 1 Apol 28 (Goodspeed, pp 26-77; here, p. 45).

4. Jean Daniélou, "La Typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le Christianisme primitif," Vigiliae Christianae 2 (1948), pp 1-16; here, pp 8-9.

Jewish-Christian millenarianism would seem to fuse two traditions: (1) the restoration of paradise and the paradisical duration of life, one thousand years (presupposed in Gen 5:5, 8, 11, 27 and Is 65:20-22; explicit in Jub 4:20); and (2) the terrestrial reign of the Messiah in Jerusalem for a thousand years. A third feature, the doctrine of the seven millenia of human history (presupposed in, e.g., Test. Abr. 7), is not discussed by Justin. See Daniélou, "Tausandjähriges Reich," Bibeltheologisches Wörterbuch II, 2nd ed., Ed. Johannes Bauer (Graz, 1962), pp 1096-9. See also H.F.D. Sparks, ed., "Jubilees," The Apocryphal Old Testament (Oxford, 1984), pp 10-139; here, p. 24; and "The Testament of Abraham," Sparks, pp 399-421; here, p. 404.

5. Henry Chadwick, Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1966), p. 19; Manlio Simonetti, "Il millenarismo in Oriente da Origene a Metodio," Corona Gratiarum, ed. E. Smedt et al. (Bruges, 1975), pp 37-58; here, p. 38.

6. Justin's antipathy towards Gnosticism is clear from his comments about Simon Magus, Menander, and Marcion in 1 Apol 26, 56, 58. Moreover, Irenaeus and Eusebius both quote from a book composed by Justin against Marcion (Adv. haer. IV.6.2 and perhaps V.26.2; H E IV.18). And the De resurrectione, a work often attributed to Justin, staunchly defends the bodily resurrection against unnamed opponents, presumably Gnostics. (Justin's authorship of the De res. is attested by Pierre Prigent, Justin et l'ancien testament (Paris, 1964), pp 50-61; and Eric Osborn, Justin Martyr (Tübingen, 1973), p. 13.)

Theophilus seems to use the Apoc to similar eschatological effect in his lost Treatise Against Hermogenes. Eusebius reports that in his Πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν Ἑρμογένους, Theophilus "has instructed by means of testimonies from the Apocalypse of John" (ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις, HE IV.24.1).

Harnack argues that Tertullian's own Adversus Hermogenem owes a substantial debt to the lost work (Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter, TU I,2 (Leipzig, 1882), p. 289), and later scholars deploy a phalanx of arguments in support of Harnack (Waszink, The Treatise Against Hermogenes, pp 9-12; G. Quispel, De bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem (Leiden, 1943), pp 34-51; Grant, Theophilus of Antioch. Ad Autolycum (Oxford, 1970), pp 38, 40 and idem, "Patristica," VC 3 (1949), pp 225-9; here, 228-9). Because of the numerous parallels between Tertullian and Theophilus and the uniqueness of the Apocalypse quotations especially in Tertullian's Adv. Herm. 34.1-3, Waszink suggests that the Theophilus' work was the original source (pp 9-10).

Tertullian is using the Apoc to defend the orthodox belief in the eschatological destruction of the material order. He quotes Apoc 20:3, which relates that the devil will be cast into the abyss prior to the restoration of paradise, and 6:13-14; 20:11; 21:1, which speak of the destruction of the first heaven and first earth. he quotes the verses only in the Adversus Hermogenem (See the index in Waszink, ed., Tertulliani Opera, Pars II. Opera Montanistica, CC 2 (Turnhout, 1954), p. 1493).

The key passage would show, against the platonising Hermogenes, that God created ex nihilo, not from preëxisting matter:

> Ceterum omne ex nihilo constitisse illa postremo divina dispositio suadebit, quae omnia in nihilum redactura est. Siquidem et "caelum convolvetur ut liber" [Apoc 6:14 or Is 34:4], immo nusquam fiet cum ipsa terra, cum qua primordio factum est: "caelum et terra praeteribunt" [Mt 24:35], inquit; "caelum primum et terra prima abierunt" [Apoc 21:1], "et locus non est inventus illis" [Apoc 20:11], quia scilicet quod finit et locum amittit. Sic et David...[citing Ps 101:25-26]. "Et stellae" quidem "de caelo ruent, sicut fici arbor cum valido commota vento acerba sua amittit" [Apoc 6:13], "montes vero tamquam cera liquescent a conspectu domini" [Ps 96:5], "cum surrexerit" scilicet "confringere terram" [Is 2:19]. Sed et "paludes," inquit, "arefaciam" [Is 42:15], "et quaerent aquam nec invenient" [Is 41:17]; etiam "mare hactenus"

> [Apoc 21:1]. Quae omnia et si aliter putaverit [spiritaliter] interpretanda, non tamen poterit auferre veritatem ita futurorum, quomodo scripta sunt....Revertor igitur ad causam, definiens omnia ex nihilo edita [ut] in nihilum perventura (Kroymann, Adversus Hermogenem, pp 425-6. See the translation of Waszink in The Treatise Against Hermogenes, pp 71-2).

The role of the Apoc here is to describe the destruction of the material universe and thereby prove its temporality; if the cosmos is destroyed by God, then it is both possible and fitting that God, its absolute master, is also its creator. Like Justin, Theophilus and now Tertullian is using an eschatological reading of the Apocalypse to defend the historical reality of the Christian cosmology and eschatology.

Does Theophilus also interpret Apoc 20:2-7 chiliastically? The Ad Autolycum provides little help. In III.28 he calculates that the period of time from the creation of the world to the death of Aurelius Verus is 5,695 years. As D. Dunbar observes, in Theophilus' chronology, "the incarnation would fall somewhere near the exact middle of the sixth millennium" ("The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus," VC 37 (1983), pp 313-27; here, p. 325, n. 18). The chronology suggests that Theophilus accepts the prevalent notion of the cosmic week. If so, the millennium will not begin for another 305 years, which allows for a chiliastic reading of Apoc 20 but also explains the lack of eschatological urgency in the Ad Autolycum. However, there are no additional indications here, in Eusebius, or in Tertullian that Theophilus connects the Apocalyptic millennium to the cosmic week. But Theophilus does appear to refute Hermogenes by construing the text eschatologically.

7. Brooke Foss Westcott, A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament, 4th ed. (London, 1875), pp 166, 120.

8. Leslie W. Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought (Cambridge, 1967), p. 165. Approved by Egidio Pietrella in Mazzucco-Pietrella, "Il rapporto tra la concezione del millennio dei primi autori cristiani e l'Apocalisse di Giovanni," Augustinianum 18 (1978), pp 29-45; here, p. 39.

9. Ibid., citing Trypho 1, 9, 16, 40, 90, 108, and 1 Apol 47, 53.

10. Ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ

οἰκοδομηθείσῃ καὶ κοσμηθείσῃ καὶ πλατυνθείσῃ, ὡς οἱ προφῆται Ἰεζεκιὴλ καὶ Ἡσαίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμολογοῦσιν, Trypho 80, italics mine.

11. For discussion of the Jewish characteristics of Justin's exegeses of Is 65:17-25, see Pierre Prigent, "Les mille ans d'Apocalypse 20," Positions luthériennes 21 (1973), pp 12-25; here, pp 21-4.

12. Καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καί, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν, Trypho 81.

13. Anthony Meredith, "The Evidence of Papias for the Priority of Matthew," Synoptic Studies. The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983 (Sheffield, 1984), pp 187-196; here, p.191.

14. A possible allusion to the Apocalypse by Justin's disciple Tatian also concerns the eschaton. Tatian mentions the casting out of sinful angels, a future restoration, and the light and eternal day of Heaven. See Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments chapter 20, ed. Molly Whittaker, Vol. in Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford, 1982), pp 40-41.

15. For example, compare Justin's use of "eighth day" to the eighth day as the inauguration of the eschatological age in 2 [Slavonic] Enoch 33:1 (corresponding to 2 Enoch 11:15-21, p. 340 and note 18, Sparks) and esp. Ps-Barnabas 15:3-8, as cited by Daniélou, "La typologie," pp 3, 8-9; and esp. "Tausandjähriges Reich," p. 1098. The text of Slavonic Enoch is that of A. Vaillant, Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch (1952, rpt; Paris, 1976).

The passage echoes 1 Peter 3:20-21a, where Noah and the number eight also figure prominently. What begins as a christological exegesis of Noah and the ark now becomes anagogical. The ark's resting place, Justin declares, means symbolically that God is preparing a final resting place for the saved in Jerusalem. The divine blessing (which includes the inheritance of the land) which Shem and Japheth receive from Noah prefigures the everlasting and incorrupt Jerusalem promised by God to the Christians, who have displaced cursed, sinful Canaan, the precursor of the Jews.

16. The chiliasm of Papias is questioned by L. Gry, "Le Papias des belles promesses messianiques," Vivre et Penser 3 (1943-4), pp 112-24.

17. So also Pietrella, p. 41.

18. See Cyprian on Apoc 17:15, ep. 63.12 in L. Bayard, Saint Cyprien. Correspondence (Paris, 1925), p. 711, line 8; and Chapter Ten below on Victorinus.

19. See the below discussions of Irenaeus (Chapter Four) and the figures of Part III.

Chapter 4: Two Interpretations in Irenaeus

1. The text of the Adversus haereses, hereafter abbreviated as AH or Adv. Haer., is Irénée de Lyon, ed. Rousseau et al., Contre les Hérésies, I, SC 263-4 (Paris, 1979); Contre les Hérésies, II, SC 293-4 (1982); Contre les Hérésies, III, SC 210-11 (1974); Contre les Hérésies, IV, SC Vol. 100,1 and 2 (1965); Contre les Hérésies, V, SC 152-3 (1969).

2. Pierre Prigent, "Les mille ans d'Apocalypse 20," Positions luthériennes 21 (1973), pp 12-25; here, p. 24 and note 21; Clementina Mazzucco, "La Gerusalemme celeste dell'«Apocalisse» nei Padri," "La dimora di Dio con gli uomini" (Ap 21,3). Immagini della Gerusalemme dal III al XIV secolo, ed. M. L. Gatti Perer (Milan, 1983), pp 49-75; here, pp 58-9.

3. Non ignoro autem quoniam quidam haec in feros et ex diversis gentibus et variis operibus credentes et cum crediderint consentientes justis temptent transferre. Sed etsi nunc hoc fit in quibusdam hominibus ex variis gentibus in unam sententiam fidei venientibus, nihilominus [fiet] in resurrectione justorum super his animalibus...V.33.4.

4. There he appears to uphold both interpretations: the animals do indeed return to friendship with man at the future restoration (literal interpretation), but in the meantime man himself is tamed (figurative interpretation). See the below discussion of the Demonstratio.

5. Si autem quidam temptaverint allegorizare haec quae huiusmodi sunt, neque in omnibus poterunt consonantes sibimetipsis inveniri, V.35.1.

6. Charles E. Hill, "Heaven, Hell, and In Between. Chiliasm and the Doctrine of the Intermediate State in the Early Fathers," unpublished paper presented to the Cambridge Patristics Seminar (January, 1987), pp 20-1. I am grateful to Dr. Hill for sharing with me his research.

7. See J. Allenbach et al., Biblia Patristica I (Paris, 1975), p. 541. Irenaeus' interpretation of Apoc 12:4 in II.31.3 is, however, not the only possibility. In the "Martyrdom of Pionius," the eponymous hero applies 12:4 to the martyrs, the "stars of heaven" who are "swept

down to earth" or slain by the dragon's tail (Text in Herbert Musurillo, "The Martyrdom of Pionius the Presbyter and his Companions," The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (Oxford, 1972), pp 136-67; here, p. 150). Thus the Apoc is referred to the present era of the Church, an era which includes persecution. If Musurillo and Barnes are correct in dating the document in ca. 250-300, it is a third-century example of the christocentric interpretation (Musurillo, p. xxix; Timothy Barnes, "Pre-Decian 'Acta Martyrum,'" Journal of Theological Studies 19 (1968), pp 509-31; here, pp 529-31). Two echoes of the interpretation may in Irenaeus. In III.17.3, he speaks of the devil as the "accuser" (accusator, Apoc 12:10) who has already been "cast down" (proiectum, 12:9). And in the nonchiliastic passage in III.23.7, Satan is "that ancient serpent" (12:9).

8. Six of Rousseau's fifty-five references to the Apoc are dubious: In V.10.1, Ezek 31:8 may be preferable to Apoc 2:7; the reference in III.11.5 is probably to the wedding at Cana, not to Apoc 19:9; the reference in III.24.1 is perhaps to Jn 19:34, not Apoc 22:1. The alleged references to 3:21 (II.28.7), 21:27 (II.33.5), and 22:17 (III.4.1) are too brief for certitude.

On the other hand, Rousseau has missed four probable references: to 2:17 (V.10.2), 16-17 (IV.30.4), and the aforementioned 21:12,14 (IV.21.3).

9. Text in Musurillo, ed. "The Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne," The Acts of the Christian Martyrs, pp 62-85.

10. Pierre Nautin, Lettres et écrivains des IIe et IIIe siècles (Paris, 1961), pp 54-59; Robert M. Grant, Eusebius as Church Historian, (Oxford, 1980), pp 118-9.

Nautin argues: If Eusebius is correct in claiming that Irenaeus succeeded Pothinus as bishop of Lyons (HE V.5.8), and if the bishop of Lyons wrote the letter, then Irenaeus was its author. Nautin then argues that the bishop of Lyons probably wrote the letter. First, the bishop is the appropriate respondant to a request for assistance from a fellow bishop in Ephesus (The letter is addressed to "the brethren of Asia and Phrygia;" i.e, to the churches under the authority of the bishop of Ephesus; see Nautin, pp 38-9). Second, the author preempts anticipated criticism with a justification of his community's inability to recover the martyrs for burial--preeminently the responsibility of the bishop--and describes the community's solicitude for arrested Christians.

Nautin also finds stylistic similarities between the Martyrs and the accepted works of Irenaeus. Both speak of (1) the Christian

martyr's "love towards God" (ἀγάπη πρὸς τὸν θεόν, HE V.1.9, 10, 17, 23, 49 and AH IV.33.9); (2) the "elevation" (Κλῆρος) to a higher degree of martyrs and clerics (HE V.1.10, 26, 48 and AH III.3.3; IV.26.4); (3) those receiving "the ministry of the episcopate" (τὴν διακονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, HE V.1.29 and AH III.3.3); (4) Christians who quail before tribunals subsequently returning to the faith and becoming martyrs because of "the mercy of Christ" (τὸ...ἔλεος Χριστοῦ, HE V.1.32, 45 and AH III.18.5; IV.33.9); (5) "communion with God" (κοινωνία μετὰ τοῦ...θεοῦ, HE V.1.41 and AH III.8.7; IV.13.1, 14.2, 37.6; V.2.1, 27.2, Dem. apost. 6, 31, 40); (6) the martyr as a "witness of truth" (μάρτυς ἀληθείας, HE V.1.43 and see AH III.3.4); (7) the Church as "the virgin mother" (ἡ παρθένος μήτηρ, HE V.1.45 and see AH III.praef; III.24.1; V.praef; V.20.2; Dem. apost. 94, 98); (8) the dead as those who "departed to God" (ἐχώρησαν πρὸς θεόν, HE V.2.7 and AH IV.33.4; and (9) "the paternal Spirit" (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικόν, HE V.1.34 and see AH IV.38.1-2 and IV.39.3).

Barnes is noncommital about Nautin's thesis (Pre-Decian Acta Martyrum,"Journal of Theological Studies 19 (1968), pp 509-31; here, p. 517).

However, Grant is entirely convinced and adduces additional evidence for Irenaean authorship. He observes that Oecumenius attributes the work to Irenaeus (Oecumenii, Petri Apostoli, Prior Epistola catholica, PG 119 (Paris, 1884), col. 536D). Second, the Martyrs contains an unusual allusion to Ps 20:5 (HE V.2.7), as does AH II.34.2. Third, the document contains a panegyric on peace (HE V.2.7), as does Irenaeus' letter to Victor (HE V.24.13, 16-17). Fourth, Eusebius editorializes on Irenaeus' letter to Victor, saying that Irenaeus deserves his name and "was an ambassador...on behalf of the peace of the churches" (ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης...ἐπρεσβευεν, V.24.18), while earlier saying that those who deliver the Gallican Martyrs are "ambassadors for the sake of the peace of the churches" (τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα πρεσβεύοντες, V.3.4). Grant opines: "If Eusebius did not conclude that Irenaeus wrote Gallicans his work was more desultory than usual" (p. 119).

11. Hill, p. 14.

12. In contrast, in AH V.30.2, Irenaeus' remarks about the tribe of Dan, missing from the list of tribes in Apoc 14:4 because of its corruption (see Judges 18), show that here he interprets the 144,000 more literally: they are the Jews who will be saved. The persecution has therefore not yet begun.

13. Hill, p. 20.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. "The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus," VC 37 (1983), pp 313-27; here, p. 314, quoting S. Laeuchli, The Language of Faith (New York, 1962), p. 82.

17. "Οσαις γὰρ ἡμέραις ἐγένετο ὁ κόσμος, τοσαύταις χιλιονταέτεσι [Rousseau, χιλιονταετηρίσι] συντελεῖται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ἡ γραφή [Rousseau, ἡ γραφὴ τῆς Γενέσεως]· << Καὶ συνετελέσθησαν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. Καὶ συνέτελεσεν ὁ Θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησε καὶ κατέπαυσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ [Rousseau, ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν].>> Τοῦτο δ' ἔστι καὶ τῶν προγεγονότων διήγησις, ὡς ἐγένετο, καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων προφητεία. Εἰ γὰρ << ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη >>, ἐν δὲ ἓξ ἡμέραις συνετελέσθη τὰ γεγονότα, φανερὸν ὅτι ἡ συντέλεια αὐτῶν τὸ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν (V.28.3; see V.23.2; 36.3).

18. V.30.4. The seven days appear in AH IV.27.1, V.33.2, and V.30.4. J. Daniélou observes that Irenaeus provides the most explicit, patristic-era description of the cosmic week:

> c'est chez Irénée que la typologie eschatologique du sabbat se présentait de la façon la plus nette. Elle est pour lui l'expression figurative de l'histoire sacrale du monde. Et de cela, Irénée est le grand docteur, puisque c'est chez lui que la théologie chrétienne de l'histoire se constitue définitivement ("La Typologie millenariste de la semaine dans le Christianisme primitif," VC 2 (l948), pp 1-16; here, p. 9).

19. dives enim in omnibus Deus, et oportet conditione revocata obaudire et subjecta esse omnia animalia homini et ad primam a Deo datam reverti escam, quemadmodum ante inobaudientiam subjecta erant Adae (V.33.4, following Is 40:6f).

20. Wingren declares, "We shall understand the eschatology of Irenaeus if we hold together two New Testament passages. The first is Rev 20:1-21:4 which speaks of 'the first resurrection'....The second passage is 1 Cor 15:24-28 which speaks first of a Kingdom of a Son which awaits the time when all evil and every enemy shall have been decisively defeated, and then of a state after this reign of the Son when the Son will have delivered up the Kingdom to the Father, and

all opposition will have been put down. Irenaeus connects these two passages...He speaks, exactly as the Book of Revelation does, of two different resurrections: first, the resurrection of the just who have eternal life in themselves, and then the resurrection of all men according to their works. Irenaeus describes the state between the first resurrection and the second as 'the Kingdom of the Son'" (Man and the Incarnation. A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus. Trans. R. MacKenzie (London, 1959), p. 182).

Von Balthasar agrees: "[There is] great fidelity to the Bible in the way Irenaeus speaks theologically about judgment and its twofold outcome. What marks him out is that he allows the two lines in Pauline and Johannine theology to continue side by side without attempting to force them into a system...He maintains both the line of divisive judgment and the line of the unlimited universality of the lordship and redemptive power of...Christ" (The Glory of the Lord. A Theological Aesthetics. Vol. II. Studies in Theological Style: Clerical Styles, trans. A. Louth, et al. (Edinburgh, 1984), pp 93-4).

21. In Irenaeus, the Johannine Ἀντίχριστος is, as Wingren notes (p. 188, note 16), interchangeable with the Apocalyptic θηρίον. Irenaeus normally uses the latter.

22. Prescinding from V.25.2 and especially V.28.2.

23. recapitulationem ostendit universae apostasiae eius quae initio et quae in mediis temporibus et quae in fine erit, V.30.1.

24. Irenaeus is aware that the number of the beast is given in some manuscripts as 616 rather than 666. He defends the authenticity of his text by declaring that it is found "in all the ancient and approved copies" (ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις) of the Apocalypse, and is further verified by "those men who saw John face to face bearing their testimony" to it (μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων; V.30.1). Tyconius is also aware of the deviation; see Aland, et al., The Greek New Testament, p. 869, note to Apoc 13:18.

25. Adversus Iudeos 9.15 (ed. Waszink, Tertulliani Opera. Pars II. Opera Montanistica (Turnhout, 1954), p. 1368); De cultu feminarum II.12.3 (Waszink, p. 368); Hippolyte. Commentaire sur Daniel III.23; IV.9, ed. Lefèvre, SC 14 (Paris, 1947); De Antichristo 29-36, ed. Achelis, Hippolytus Werke I.2, GCS 1 (Leipzig, 1897). See also Dunbar, pp 320-22.

26. Καθὼς [Rousseau, Καὶ ὡς] οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι[ν], τότε οἱ μὲν καταξιωθέντες τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διατριβῆς ἐκεῖσε χωρήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς ἀπολαύσουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν καλλονὴν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς πόλεως καθέξουσιν, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιχορηγουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ὁ Σωτὴρ [Rousseau, ὁ Θεὸς] ὁραθήσεται, καθὼς ἄξιοι ἔσονται οἱ ὁρῶντες αὐτόν.

Εἶναι δὲ τὴν διαστολὴν ταύτην τῆς οἰκήσεως τῶν τὰ ἑκατὸν καρποφορούντων καὶ τῶν τὰ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τῶν τὰ τριάκοντα, ὧν οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναληφθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ διατρίψουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατοικήσουσιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς μονὰς εἶναι πολλάς, V.36.1-2, citing Jn 14:2.

27. Or perhaps the threefold, hierarchical mansions of the Father derive from Valentinian eschatology; so von Balthasar, p. 93. We find in the quotation above both ὁ οὐρανός, Irenaeus' usual word for heaven, and the Jewish and biblical (or Gnostic) οἱ οὐρανοί.

28. Wingren, p. 190. He adds that "terms like 'chiliasm' and 'millenarianism' are hardly appropriate expressions for the eschatology of Irenaeus."

29. Wingren, p. 191.

30. Daniélou, p. 9; von Balthasar, p. 92.

31. For example, in HE 3.39.13 Eusebius reconciles his abhorence for chiliasm and his admiration for Irenaeus by attributing Irenaeus' chiliasm to his reliance on Papias, whom Eusebius declares to be a man of small intellect.

32. Chapters V.32-36 do not appear in all manuscripts, leading some to suggest that these millenarian chapters are a later insertion (so V. Cremers, "Het millenarisme van Irenaeus," Bijdragen 1 (1938), pp 28-80; here, pp 35-51.). Wingren refutes this suggestion with two particularly decisive arguments:

1. "Irenaeus' doctrine of the Kingdom of the Son is not an intrusion in his thought, but an organic and natural part of it;"
2. "belief in the 'thousand years' reign'...was rejected at an early period, and in the medieval tradition was regarded as heresy. The mystery is rather that the passages... were...transmitted in such good condition...through centuries in which, on theological grounds, the actual content of the passages was rejected" (pp 188-89, citing

E. Scharl, Der Rekapitulationsbegriff des hl. Irenäus, (Frankfurt, 1941), p. 403, note 1; and J. Werner, Der Paulinismus des Irenaeus, TU 6,2 (Leipzig, 1889), p. 111).

Wingren concludes that theories regarding a later insertion are both unproven and unlikely. He admits the possibility of "no more than a fairly satisfactory theory,"

> the theory being, as Harnack conjectured, that certain crudely chiliastic ideas were imposed on a fairly early stratum of thought....[But] [t]he text which we have at present is comprehensible in its main points, and its primary eschatological concepts are in harmony with the theology of Irenaeus as a whole. If Irenaeus has used a special source in his exposition of regnum, he has admirably absorbed its contents (p. 189, citing Harnack, History of Dogma, 2nd ed., Vol. II (London, 1899), p. 296, note 1; and refuting J.H. Hoh, Die Lehre des heiligen Irenäus über das Neue Testament, Pts IV-V (Münster, 1919), pp 148-50, 166-8).

33. Hill, p. 6, citing III.11.8; 16.4; 22.4; 23.1; IV.31.3; 33.9; Fragment 28.

34. Ibid., citing III.16.4; IV.33.9.

35. Hill, p. 4.

36. Hill, p. 6.

37. Ibid., citing V.32.

38. Paraphrasing Corsini, Apocalisse, p. 496.

39. Corsini, pp 496-502.

40. Corsini, p. 497.

41. Ibid.

42. Corsini, pp 496-7.

43. Corsini, p. 496. Corsini opines: "Nella prospectiva di Giovanni per cui la storia è essenzialmente storia della salvezza,

attuazione progressiva del piano salvifico divino, i caratteri che la mentalità corrente attribuiva al regno millenario erano appunto quelli che, secondo la sua concezione, contrassegnavano l'economia antica, in particolare l'economia giudaica. Essa rappresentava davvero ai suoi occhi il tempo ultimo della storia che precede l'avvento definitivo del regno di Dio, di cui era al tempo stesso una preparazione e un'anticipazione....

Il «tempo» [cf. Apoc 10:5-7] che sarevve finito al suono della settima tromba, cioè alla morte di Cristo, era il tempo dell'attesa messianica, il tempo della preparazione, cioè il tempo dell'economia antica. Identificando questo tempo con il concetto corrente del regno millenario, Giovanni tagliava corto con il pericolo che la concezione apocalittica giudaica, incentrata naturalmente sull'idea di un Messia ancora da venire, si insinuasse di soppiatto in seno al cristianesimo. Rappresentava infatti, in qualche modo, un cedimento alla credenza giudaica di un Messia ancora da venire il rinviare a un futuro più a meno prossimo tanto il regno definitivo di Dio quanto il suo preludio, costituito dal regno millenario. Giovanni, invece, in assoluta coerenza con la sua convinzione che la morte e la risurrezione di Cristo abbiano inaugurato il regno e l'abitazione della divinità in mezzo agli uomini [cf. 21:3ff], accoglie dalla tradizione apocalittica corrente l'idea che il regno millenario ne costituisca la preparazione e l'anticipazione e lo identifica, appunto, con l'economia antica.

Identificando il regno millenario con l'economia antica, Giovanni otteneva inoltre il risultato di saldare tra loro inscindibilmente le due economie, l'antica e la nuova, legandole entrambe alla realtà della persona di Cristo. Entrambe vivono in lui e di lui (pp 497-8).

44. Dives enim in omnibus Deus, et omnia sunt ejus. Oportet ergo et ipsam conditionem redintegratam ad pristinum sine prohibitione servire justis (V.32.1).

45. According to Ps-Anastasius of Sinai, Anagogicarum contemplationum in Hexaëmeron 1, ed. Pitra, Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata II (1884; rpt. Farnborough, Hampshire, 1966), p. 160.

46. Von Balthasar, Man in History: A Theological Study, Trans. Sheed and Ward, (London, 1968), pp 128-9.

47. Von Balthasar, p 92.

48. Daniélou implies that Irenaeus' chiliasm is wholly attributable to the elders and the larger Jewish and Jewish-Christian tradition (p. 9).

49. Dialogue with Trypho 80, 81, and 139.

50. The English text of the Demonstratio is Joseph P. Smith, St Irenaeus. Proof of the Apostolic Preaching (Westminster, Maryland, 1952). Smith used the Armenian MS. of Karapet Ter Mekerttschian, Des heiligen Irenaeus Schrift zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung, TU 31,1 (Leipzig, 1907).

51. Irenaeus refers to the AH in Dem. 99, which means that the AH--or at least most of it--must have been composed prior to the Demonstratio. Irenaeus' moderation of his views in Dem. 61 leads Ubaldo Faldati to conjecture that a considerable time elapsed between the composition of the AH and that of the Epideixis (Smith, p. 117, n. 18, citing Faldati, S. Ireneo. Esposizione della Predicazione Apostolica (Rome, 1923), p. 44). However, Smith rejoins that this need not be the case (pp 6 and 117, n. 8). Indeed, we have just shown that Irenaeus changes his exegesis once during the composition of the AH itself. We are still unable to determine how much time, if any, passes between the composition of the AH and that of the Epideixis.

52. Clementina Mazzucco, "Ireneo, «Demonstratio Apostolica», capp. 9 e 10 e l'«Apocalisse» di Giovanni," Civiltà classica e cristiana 4 (1983), pp 87-141. For reasons of space, much of Mazzucco's well-founded argument is omitted. Mazzucco projects (p. 105, n. 79) a more complete study of Irenaeus and the Apoc.

53. Mazzucco's exhaustive bibliography lists fifteen recent editions of the text and nine essays which treat the problem of chapters 9-10 (pp 87-8, notes 1-3).

54. Mazzucco, pp 91-4, citing, e.g., Daniélou, Théologie du Judéo-christianisme (Paris, 1958), pp 236-7; J. Armitage Robinson, St. Irenaeus: The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching (London, 1920), pp 39-44. Seven or six heavens figure in Ascension of Isaiah 10, ed. Charles, (London, 1900); 2 Enoch 3-9, ed. A. Vaillant, Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch (1952; rpt. Paris, 1976), and Testament of Levi 3, ed. Charles, The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Oxford, 1908).

55. Mazzucco, pp 90-94, citing, e.g., Georg Kretschmar, Studien

zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 21 (Tübingen, 1956), pp 46-49; and E. Lanne, "Cherubim et Seraphin. Essai d'interprétation du chapitre X de la Démonstration de Saint Irénée," Recherches de Science Religieuse 43 (1955), pp 524-35; here, pp 530, 534.

56. Mazzucco, p. 93, citing Daniélou, pp 189-91.

57. Mazzucco, p. 93, citing, e.g., A. Benoît, Saint Irénée. Introduction à l'étude de sa théologie (Paris, 1960), pp 36-7; and Elio Peretto, La Epideixis. Antico catechismo degli adulti, (Rome, 1981), p. 81, note 79.

58. Against alleged apocryphal influences it may be argued that Irenaeus does not explicitly refer to the Ascension of Isaiah, Testament of Levi, or 2 [Slavonic] Enoch elsewhere; that he does not consider the works authoritative; and that he almost always prefers instead to base his views upon both the Old Testament and the New (Mazzucco, pp 95-7).

There are also differences between Irenaeus' images and those of the apocrypha. Angels live in Irenaeus' seventh heaven but not in that of the apocrypha; he lists the heavens in descending instead of ascending order; he specifies that the "Powers" of the Son and Spirit are cherubim and seraphim exclusively; and he stresses the unceasing nature of their praise of God (Mazzucco, pp 98-9). In Ascension of Isaiah 10, which most commentators consider to be the closest passage, there are only six heavens, and the Son and the angel representing the Spirit are clearly subordinated to the Father, an error avoided by Irenaeus (Mazzucco, p. 99).

Other difficulties with the thesis are that the Asc. Is is not cited elsewhere until Origen, that its chapter 10 may not have been composed until 350, and that, if Helmbold is correct, the work may derive from Gnostic Christian circles (H.F.D. Sparks, "The Ascension of Isaiah," The Apocryphal Old Testament, (Oxford, 1984), pp 775-6, 779-81, citing Origen, Ep. ad Afric. 9, ed. Reichardt, Die Briefe des Sextus Iulius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes, TU 34,3 (Leipzig, 1908), pp 78-80; and A.K. Helmbold, "Gnostic Elements in the 'Ascention of Isaiah,'" New Testament Studies 18 (1972), pp 222-7). Irenaeus is critical of Jewish angelology elsewhere, so it would be surprising if he deferred to it in Dem. 9-10 (Mazzucco, p. 100 and n. 54, citing Corsini, pp 69-71; and P. Rossano, "Vangelo e culture a Efeso e nella provincia d'Asia al tempo di S. Paolo e di S. Giovanni," Civilità Classica e Cristiana 1 (1980), pp 283-98).

59. Mazzucco, p. 97.

60. Alb. Skrinjar, "Les sept esprits," Biblica 16 (1935), pp 1-24; here, pp 2-4. Also Mazzucco, p. 104, citing Kretschmar, p. 48, note 4; Daniélou, p. 236; Peretto, p. 570; et alia.

Martine Dulaey's negative conclusion is well-taken and useful but also the result of a less profound analysis: L'interprétation paléo-chrétienne du chandelier à sept branches est tout entière en germe dans la Révélation de Jean, mais il faudra attendre le IVe siècle pour qu'on traite cette image en référence explicte à l'Apocalypse ("Le chandelier à sept branches dans le christianisme ancien," Revue des études augustiniennes 29 (1983), pp 3-26; here, pp 8-9; see also pp 10-11, 17).

61. Andrew In Apocalipsim, ed. Schmid, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. I. Der Apokalypse- Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisereia. Texte (Munich, 1955), p. 24; Victorinus, Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera, ed. Haußleiter, (Vienna, 1916), pp 6-7.

62. Mazzucco, p. 108, citing Clemens Alexandrinus. Zweiter Band. Stromata Buch I-VI, ed. Stählin, GCS 52 (Berlin, 1960), V.35.1f; and Aurelii Augustini Opera. Pars VIII. In Johannis Evangelium, ed. Mayer, CC 36 (Turnhout, 1954), cap. 122.8.

63. Mazzucco, p. 107. Mazzucco notes that the same verse is quoted more extensively in IV.20.11: septem spiritus Dei dimissi in omnem terram.

64. Mazzucco, p. 109.

65. See Mazzucco, p. 104.

66. Mazzucco, p. 112.

67. Mazzucco, p. 117, citing, inter alia, Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannis, 6th ed. (Göttingen, 1906), p. 250; Prigent, L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, Commentaire du Nouveau Testament 14 (Paris, 1981), pp 29, 82f.

68. Mazzucco, p. 117, citing Lanne, p. 526.

69. Mazzucco, p. 116.

70. Mazzucco, pp 117-8.

71. Mazzucco, p. 119.

72. Mazzucco, pp 126-35.

Chapter 5: Anti-Marcionite Eschatology in Tertullian

1. The calculation of Tertullian's citations is via J. Allenbach, et al., eds., Biblia Patristica. Des origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien (Paris, 1975), pp 537-44.

2. See Mt 24:15-41f; Mk 13:14-37; Lk 21:8-36; 1 Cor 15:20-58; 1 Thes 4:16-17; 2 Thes 1:7-10; 2:3-12; Jude; 2 Pet 3:3-10.

3. For Marcion, the resurrection is not bodily but only an allegory of the soul's ascent to God: matter being evil, only the pneuma of Gnostics are saved; see De praescriptione haereticorum 33, ed. Refoulé, Tertulliani Opera. Pars I. Opera Catholica, ed. J. H. Waszink, CC 1 (Turnhout, 1954), pp 185-223; here, p. 214; and Irenaeus' Adv. haer. I.27.3; IV.8.1.

4. According to Waszink's chronology, the De resurrectione was composed towards the end of 208-12. See Waszink, ed., Tertulliani Opera. Pars II. Opera Montanistica (Turnhout, 1954), pp 1627-8. In his Tertullian. A Historical and Literary Study (Oxford, 1971), p. 55, T.D. Barnes dates the De resurrectione mortuorum at 206/7 but still puts it in Tertullian's Montanist period, which he sees as commencing in 206.

The text of De resurrectione mortuorum, ed. J. G. Ph. Borleffs, is in Waszink, Vol. II, pp 919-1011. In translating Tertullian, I have consulted Roberts, et al., eds., The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vols. III and IV (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1980 and 1976).

K. Aland, in "Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie," Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe (Berlin, 1960), pp 105-48; here, pp 119-120, concurs with Waszink that the De res. mort. belongs to Tertullian's Montanist period. Aland cites its chapter 63, where Tertullian refers to the novam prophetiam de paraclito inundantem.

Any treatment of Tertullian cannot avoid the fact that Barnes and Waszink sometimes disagree on the chronology of his works. For example, Waszink places Scorpiace, De Pallio, and De Idololatria after Tertullian joined the Montanists (Vol. II, p. 1628), but Barnes before (p. 55). Where the disagreement has significant bearing, discussion is included.

5. De res. mort. 24.18; Borleffs, p. 952.

6. A. Kroymann, ed., Adversus Iudeos, in Waszink, Vol. II, pp

1337-1397; here, chapter 9.15, p. 1368.

7. Kroymann, ed., De cultu feminarum, in Waszink, Vol. II, pp 341-369; here, chapter II.12.3, p. 368. Waszink places the De cultu towards the end of the period 198-203, i.e., before Tertullian begins to be attracted to Montanism (Vol. II, p. 1627). Barnes puts De cultu part I in approximately 205/6 (just before Tertullian joined the Montanists in Barnes' chronology) but, surprisingly, puts part II in 196 or early 197 (p. 55).

8. Tertullian's view of the Empire is, however, more positive elsewhere. For example, in Scorpiace 14.1 he declares that the Empire is "the servant of God" (ministerium...dei), because it executes justice upon evildoers. The text of Scorpiace is A. Reifferscheid and G. Wissowa, eds., in Waszink, Vol. II, pp 1067-1097; here, p. 1096.

9. The text of De corona is that of Kroymann in Waszink, Vol. II, p 1037-1065; here, p. 1061.

10. De cultu feminarum II.12.2, p. 368.

11. Scorpiace 12.4-5, pp 1092-3.

12. Scorpiace 12.6-8, p. 1093. In this passage, perhaps composed during his Montanist period (Waszink, Vol. II, p. 1628, places Scorpiace between 208 and 212 A.D., while Barnes, p. 55, sees it as a pre-Montanist work composed in 203/4), Tertullian eschews any speculation concerning the descent of the heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc 3:12).

13. Scorpiace 12.8; De pudicitia 19.1-9. The text of De pud. is that of E. Dekkers in Waszink, Vol. II, pp 1279-1329; here, pp 1320-1.

14. Scorpiace 12.10, p. 1093.

15. proprie martyres. Scorpiace 12.9, p. 1093.

16. Sed et interim sub altari martyrum animae placidum quiescunt et fiducia ultionis patientiam pascunt et indutae stolis candidam claritatis usurpant, donec et alii consortium illorum gloriae impleant. Nam et rursus innumera multitudo albati et palmis victoriae insignes revelantur [7:9], scilicet de Antichristo triumphantes, [sicut] unus ex presbyteris, "hi sunt," ait, "qui veniunt ex illa pressura magna et laverunt vestimentum suum et

candidaverunt [ipsum in sang]uine agni" [7:14]. Vestitus enim animae caro. Sordes quidem baptismate abluuntur, maculae vero martyrio candidantur....Magna etiam Babylon cum describitur ebria cruore [17:6], sine dubio ebrietas eius martyriorum poculis ministratur...Scorpiace 12.9-11, pp 1093-4, italics mine.

17. See also Adversus Marcionem [Adv. Marc.] IV.24, ed. A. Kroymann, in Waszink, Vol. I, pp 437-725; here, p. 542; De anima 58.8, ed. Waszink, Vol. II, pp 779-869; here, p. 869.

18. See also De anima 55.4, pp 862-3: Et quomodo Iohanni in spiritu paradisi regio revelata, quae subicitur altari, nullas alias animas apud se praeter martyrum ostendit? Quomodo Perpetua, fortissima martyr, sub die passionis in revelatione paradisi solos illic martyras vidit, nisi quia nullis romphaea paradisi ianitrix cedit nisi qui in Christo decesserint, non in Adam?....Tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis est. Habes etiam de paradiso a nobis libellum [De paradiso], quo constituimus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem domini.

19. De res. mort. 25.1-2; Borleffs, p. 953: Etiam in apocalypsi Iohannis ordo temporum sternitur, quem martyrum quoque animae sub altari ultionem et iudicium flagitantes sustinere didicerunt, ut prius et orbis de pateris andelorum plagas suas ebibat, et prostituta illa civitas a decem regibus dignos exitus referat, et bestia antichristus cum suo pseudopropheta certamen ecclesiae inferat, atque ita diabolo in abyssum interim relegato primae resurrectionis praerogativa de soliis ordinetur, dehinc et igni dato universalis resurrectionis censura de libiris iudicetur.

20. See also De res. mort. 58, pp 1006-7.

21. De res. mort. 58.2, p. 1006, citing Apoc 7:17; 21:4.

22. See also Scorpiace 12.8-10, p. 1093.

23. De res. mort. 38.

24. De res. mort. 25.3; Borleffs, p. 953: Cum igitur et status temporum ultimorum scripturae notent et totam Christianae spei frugem in exodio saeculi conlocent, adparet aut tunc adimpleri totum quodcumque nobis a deo repromittitur et vacat, quod hic iam ab haereticis vindicatur...

25. De res. mort. 26.1; p. 954: Unum adhuc respondebo ad propositionem priorem allegoricarum scripturarum, licere et nobis corporalem resurrectionem de patrocinio figurati proinde eloquii prophetici vindicare.

26. De res. mort. 26.5; p. 954.

27. De res. mort. 30.5; p. 959.

28. De res. mort. 27.1, p. 956.

29. De res. mort. 27.2, p. 956; see also Scorpiace 12.10, p. 1093.

30. De res. mort. 27.4, p. 956.

31. See De spectaculis 30.1-2, ed. E. Dekkers, in Waszink, Vol. I, pp 225-253; here, p. 252; and Adversus Hermogenem 11.3, ed. Kroymann, in Waszink, Vol. I, pp 395-435; here, p. 406.

32. Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum promissum, sed ante caelum, sed alio statu, utpote post resurrectionem in mille annos in civitate divini operis Hierusalem "caelo delatum" [Apoc 21:2]...Hanc et Ezechiel novit et apostolus Iohannes vidit et qui apud fidem nostram est novae prophetiae sermo testatur, ut etiam effigiem civitatis ante repraesentationem eius conspectui futuram in signum praedicarit. Denique proxime expunctum est orientali expeditione. Constat enim ethnicis quoque testibus in Iudaea per dies quadraginta matutinis momentis civitatem de caelo pependisse, omni moeniorum habitu evanescente de profectu diei, et alias de proximo nullam.

Hanc dicimus excipiendis [de] resurrectione sanctis et refovendis omnium bonorum, utique spiritalium, copia in compensationem eorum, quae in saeculo vel despeximus vel amisimus, a deo prespectam, siquidem et iustum et deo dignum illic quoque exultare famulos eius, ubi sunt et adflicti in nomine ipsius. Haec ratio regni [sub]caelistis.

Post cuius mille annos, intra quam aetatem concluditur sanctorum resurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardius resurgentium, tunc, et mundi destructione et iudicii conflagratione commissa, demutati in atomo in angelicam substantiam, scilicet per illud incorruptelae superindumentum, transferemur in caeleste regnum. p. 542.

33. Carlo Tibiletti, "Inizi del millenarismo di Tertulliano," Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di

Macerata I (1968), pp 195-213; here, p. 197.

34. Tibiletti, p. 198.

35. Ibid.

36. Tibiletti, pp 200-1, note 13, citing J. H. Waszink, Tertulliani de Anima, with Introduction and Commentary (Amsterdam, 1947), p. 592; W. Bauer, "Chiliasmus," Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum II (1954), col. 1077; Jean-Pierre Waltzing, Apologétique (Paris, 1931), p. 313.

According to Tibiletti, p. 195 and note 4; and Waszink, The Treatise Against Hermogenes, Vol. 24 in Ancient Christian Writers (Westminster, Maryland, 1956), p. 13, the earliest specimen of Tertullian's Montanism is in Adv. Marc. I.29.4: quem [modum nubendi] apud nos spiritalis ratio paracleto auctore defendit.

37. Tibiletti (pp 201-3, 209) points to De oratione 5.1-4 and especially De spectaculis 30. The text of De or. is that of G.F. Diercks, ed., in Waszink, Vol. I, pp 255-273; here, p. 260. V.C. de Clercq adds to the same citations Adv. Herm. 11 ("The Expectation of the Second Coming of Christ in Tertullian," Studia Patristica 11,2 (Berlin, 1972), pp 146-51; here, p. 148). See also Aland, p. 120:

> Es ist alles in allem wohl anzunehmen, daß Tertullian die in den oben angeführten Stellen [De anima 55.4f; 58.8; De res mort. 25] niedergelegten Anschauungen bereits in seiner vormontanistischen Zeit bessen hat, also nicht erst durch den Montanismus zu ihnen [chiliasm] gekommen ist.

38. Compare De anima 37.4, pp 839-40 with De res mort. 25 and Adv. Marc. V.16.1. See also Tibiletti, p. 199; and de Clercq, p. 148.

39. See Appendix A below.

40. Tibiletti, p. 207 and notes 28-29, citing De cultu I.3.1, p. 346.

41. Waszink, p. 1627; Barnes, p. 55. The text of Adv. Herm. is that of A. Kroymann in Waszink, Vol. I, pp 395-436; here, pp 425-6. Further discussion of the passage is in note 6 of Chapter 3 (Justin) above.

42. Aland, pp 122-3: Er scheint von der für den Montanismus

grundlegenden Vorstellung von der heiligen Stadt Pepuza überhaupt nichts gewußt zu haben. So also Idem, "Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie," Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 46 (1955), pp 109-116; here, p. 110; Powell, "Tertullianists and Cataphrygians," Vigiliae Christianae 29 (1975), pp 33-54; here, p. 44; and Tibiletti, p. 197, note 7.

43. Apollonius is the first to report the belief, in HE V.18.2. See the discussion in Powell, p. 44.

44. De praescr. haer. 33; Waszink, p. 214.

45. Waszink, pp 1627-8; Barnes, p. 55.

46. ...deus clausam licet ignoscentiae ianuam et intinctionis sera obstructam aliquid adhuc permisit patere: conlocavit in vestibulo paenitentiam secundam quae pulsantibus patefaciat [see Apoc 3:20]....iterandae valitudinis iteranda medicina est...Offendisti sed reconciliari adhuc potes...

Id si dubitas, evolve quae spiritus ecclesiis dicat [2:7, etc.]: desertam dilectionem Ephesiis inputat [2:4], stuprum et idolothytorum esum Thyatirenis exprobat [2:20], Sardos non plenorum operum incusat [3:2], Pergamenos docentes perversa reprehendit [2:14-15], Laudicenos divitiis fidentes obiurgat [3:17]: et tamen omnes ad paenitentiam commonet, sub comminationibus quidem. Non comminaretur autem non paenitenti, si non ignosceret paenitenti...The text of De paen. is that of Borleffs in Waszink, Vol. I, pp 319-339; here, pp 333-4.

47. Dekkers, p. 1320.

48. De pud. 19.3, p. 1320.

49. Tertullian perceives the Nicolaitans to be gnosticizers: see De praescriptione haereticorum 33.10-11; Waszink, p. 214.

50. De pud. 19.5, p. 1320.

51. ...in haeresi postea exspirasse, ut non quasi haereticae, sed quasi fideli peccatrici cui veniam ex paenitentia vindices, sane agat paenitentiam, sed in fidem moechiae, non tamen et restitutionem consecutura. Haec enim erit paenitentia, quam et nos deberi quidem agnoscimus multo magis, sed de venia Deo reservamus. De pud. 19.6, p. 1320.

52. An objection then arises: How to account for Adam, the sinless man who sinned and was then foregiven? The pre-Montanist Tertullian explains that a complete confession (ἐξομολογήσις)--which Adam could make only after the Fall, and which only became efficacious through the salvific action of Christ--restored Adam to paradise (De paen. 12.9, p. 340; see Gen 3:24 and Apoc 2:7). The Montanist Tertullian adjusts his explanation slightly: Adam is restored by confession because he was never actually cursed (Adv. Marc. II.25.5, p. 504).

53. Joseph C. Plumpe, "Mors secunda," Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, Vol. I (Gembloux, 1951), pp 387-403; here, p. 390.

54. Ibid., citing De fuga in persecutione 7. The text of De fuga is that of J.J. Thierry, ed., in Waszink, Vol. II, pp 1133-1156.

55. aut, si et agnitio sacramenti resurrectio est, salva utique illa creditur quae in ultimo praedicatur, De res. mort. 25.6; p. 953.

Chapter 6: Christ, Antichrist, and Eschaton in Hippolytus

1. The only reliable text of the fragments of the Apology is Pierre Prigent and Ralph Stehly, "Hippolyte, commentateur de l'Apocalypse," Theologische Zeitschrift 28 (1972), pp 391-412; eidem, "Les fragments du De Apocalypsi d'Hippolyte," Theologische Zeitschrift 29 (1973), pp 313-33; and Sedlacek, Dionysius Bar Salîbî in Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas catholicas, Vol. 101 (versio), Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, Scriptores syri, Series Secunda (Paris: text 1909; versio 1910).

According to Sedlacek, bar Salîbî was metropolitan of Amida from 1166 to 1171 (p. 1).

2. See Morin, "La liste épigraphique des travaux de saint Hippolyte au Musée du Latran," Revue Biblique 7 (1900), pp 241-51; Wendel, "Versuch einer Deutung der Hippolyt-Statue," Theologische Studien und Kritiken 108 (1937-8), pp 362-9; and Bovini, "La statua di Sant'Ippolito del Museo Lateranense," Bollettino della commissione archeologica comunale in Roma 68 (1940), pp 109-28.

3. Ebed Jesu (d. 1318) writes that Hippolytus composed capita adversus Caium et apologiam pro Apocalypsi et Euangelio Ioannis apostoli et euangelistae (Assemani, Bibliothecae orientalis Clementino-Vaticanae, III,1, de Scriptoribus Syris Nestorianis (Rome, 1725), p. 15, as quoted by de Labriolle, La Crise montaniste (Paris,1913), p. 282, note 2). Ebed Jesu seems to distinguish the CHAPTERS against Gaius from the Apology. Nautin, later followed by Prigent and Richard, observes that Ebed Jesu's discussion reprises that of his predecessor bar Salîbî (Nautin, "Notice pour l'usage de l'édition Achelis des fragments d'Hippolyte," Le dossier d'Hippolyte et de Méliton dans les florilèges dogmatiques et chez les historiens modernes, Vol. I in Patristica (Paris, 1953), pp 139-49; here, 146; Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 411; Richard, "Les difficultés d'une édition des oeuvres de S. Hippolyte," Studia Patristica XII (Berlin, 1975), pp 51-70; here, 68-9). All three French scholars conclude that Ebed Jesu knows Hippolytus only via Denys, and that the appellative CHAPTERS against Gaius, not used by any of Ebed Jesu's predecessors, is the Syrian's own invention. Ebed Jesu read in Denys of the controversy which had enveloped the Fourth Gospel and Apoc and drew a careless inference that Hippolytus had composed two works on the Apoc (Prigent, pp 411-12 and note 32; Nautin, pp 146-7; so also Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers I,2, 2nd ed. (London, 1890), pp 394-5; see Richard, p. 69, and Harris, Hermas in Arcadia and Other

Essays (Cambridge, 1896), pp 48f).

Prigent-Stehly, "Les fragments," displaces earlier texts of J. Schultheß, trans., "'Kapitel gegen Gajus' aus dem Kommentar zur Johannes-Apokalypse des Dionysius Bar-Salibi," Hippolytus kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften, ed. H. Achelis, GCS I,2 (Leipzig, 1897), pp 239-47; and Gwynn, "Hippolytus and his 'Heads against Caius,'" Hermathena. A Series of Papers on Literature, Science and Philosophy, by Members of Trinity College, Dublin 6 (1888), pp 397-418; and idem, "Hippolytus on St. Matthew XXIV, 15-22," Hermathena 7 (1890), pp 137-50. Fragments I-V in Gwynn, "Hippolytus and his 'Heads'" correspond, respectively, to fragments I-IV and VII in Achelis. The two fragments in Gwynn, "Hippolytus on St. Matthew" correspond to Achelis V and VI.

3a. Prigent-Stehly, "Les fragments du De Apocalypsi d'Hippolyte," passim and esp. pp 332-3. Twenty of the twenty-two fragments come from an anonymous Arabic commentary on the Apoc, dated 1271 (see Prigent-Stehly, "Les fragments," pp 318-9 and note 16, citing Achelis, Hippolytstudien, TU 16,4 (Leipzig, 1897), pp 175-77; and Georg Ewald, Abhandlungen zur orientalischen und biblischen Literatur 1 (Göttingen, 1832), pp 1-11).

Stehly's French translation ("Les fragments," pp 320-32) displaces the earlier text of Achelis, "De Apocalypsi," Hippolytus kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften, pp 229-38. The Arabic fragments, renumbered I-XX by Prigent and Stehly, correspond to I-XVIII, XX-XXI in Achelis. The fragments come from a seventeenth-century MS. (Paris arab. 67) published by Paul de Lagarde, Ad Analecta sua syriaca appendix (Berlin, 1858).

The authenticity of the Arabic fragments is disputed. In addition to Achelis, Nautin believes them genuine (p. 143). On the other hand, Bousset compares them with undisputed works of Hippolytus and expresses reservations (Die Offenbarung Johannis (Göttingen, 1906), pp 50-51; followed by Schmid (Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia (Munich, 1955), p. 135, note 2). Perhaps the best resolution is proposed by Prigent, who argues that most fragments are authentic, if somewhat adapted and corrupted, but that over the centuries two or three false attributions have been insinuated. The majority of fragments seem ultimately to derive from the Apology or the De Antichristo, and occasionally from the Commentary on Daniel (Prigent-Stehly, pp 320-32).

Many Hippolytean exegeses come from the Commentary on Daniel and Antichrist rather than the Apology because both Andrew of Caesarea and the anonymous Arab commentator are using a catena. Neither has a copy of the Apology (Prigent-Stehly, pp 332-3; see also

idem, "Citations d'Hippolyte trouveés dans le ms. Bodl. Syr. 140," Theologische Zeitschrift 30 (1974), pp 82-5). Perhaps Hippolytus De Apocalypsi recalls the Greek heading which announced the contents of the original florilegium. Because the exegeses in bar Salîbî and the florilegium come from Antichristo and the Commentary on Daniel as well as the Apology; because the Apology fragments are ad hoc and apologetic (and hence suited more to a polemic against Gaius than to a continuous commentary), it seems unlikely that Hippolytus ever composed a commentary as such. Perhaps the Apology was a short work on difficult and disputed passages. The fragments attributable to Hippolytus may all derive ultimately from the Apology, the Commentary on Daniel, and the Antichristo.

4. The edition of On the Antichrist (ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ) is that of H. Achelis, ed., De Antichristo, in Hippolytus Werke I,2, GCS I (Leipzig, 1897), pp 3-47. The edition of the Commentary on Daniel (ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ) is that of Maurice Lefèvre, ed. and trans., Hippolyte, Commentaire sur Daniel, Vol. 14 in SC (Paris, 1947). Lefèvre's text supersedes that of Nathaniel Bonwetsch, Hippolyts Kommentar zum Buche Daniel, Hippolytus Werke, Band I,1, Vol. I in GCS (Leipzig, 1897), pp 1-340. Lefèvre had at his disposal the codex Meteores 573, which contains chapters 1-9 and 13-14 of Book I as well as important excerpts from Books II-IV. The codex was published by C. Diobouniotes in TU 38, 1 (Leipzig, 1911), pp 47-58. Lefèvre's text of Book I should itself be supplemented with Richard's photocopy of codex Vatopedi 1213, which he discovered in 1963. For further discussion see Richard, "Hippolyte de Rome," Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Vol. 7 (Paris, 1969), cols. 531-71; here, 532 and 537-8; and idem, "Les difficultés d'une édition...de S. Hippolyte," pp 53-6. The latter provides a particularly thorough description of the lacunae in the Greek MSS. tradition.

5. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 402.

6. The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas may also draw upon Apoc 12. As in Apoc 12:11, the dragon is conquered, through the blood of Christ, by the martyr. Perpetua, too, is the mother of an infant removed to a safe place (Passio 3.8-9; 6.8). She, too, is pursued by the devil and eventually saved (see Passio 10.14). After her martyrdom her fauisores rejoice by singing psalms to the glory of God (Passio 10.12; see Apoc 12:11).

Similarly, Felicitas suffers great labour pains (Passio 15.4-5; Apoc 12:2). Her child also is removed to safety (15.7). Christ

is inside of Felicitas as she suffers: her martyrdom in effect gives birth to Christ (15.6). As in Apoc 12:5b, the paternal role is played by God; the onset of Felicitas' birth-pangs is his work, and he weans Perpetua's son. When Perpetua's labours are juxtaposed with the symmetrical travails of Felicitas, the thematic parallels with Apoc 12 are substantial.

A second parallel could lie with the heavenly liturgy of Apoc 4-5. There are four angels of preëminent radiance (Passio 11.7; see Apoc 4:6-9). Entry into the Lord's abode is via a door (Passio 12.1; Apoc 4:1). The walls are of light (see Apoc 21:23-25; 22:5), and voices chant the trishagion unceasingly (Passio 12.2; Apoc 4:8). The Lord is seated on a throne and attended by elders (Passio 12.4-5; Apoc 4-5, 19:4). His hair is white as snow (Apoc 1:14). When Saturus and Perpetua kiss him, he passes his hand over their faces (Passio 12.5). M. R. James has explained this curious gesture as the fulfillment of God's promise in Apoc 21:4 and 7:14,17: because Saturus and Perpetua have consumated their martyrdom, God himself wipes away every tear from their eyes (The Apocalypse in Art (London, 1931), p. 27).

For further discussion, see Musurillo, ed., "The Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas," The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (Oxford, 1972), pp xxv-xxvi (comments), 106-131 (text); R. Petraglio, "Des influences de l'Apocalypse dans la 'Passio Perpetuae' 11-13," L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques. IIIe - XIIIe siécles, ed. Yves Christe (Geneva, 1979), pp 15-29; Swete, The Apocalypse of Saint John (London, 1909), p. cix; Corsini, Proposte per una lettura della 'Passio Perpetuae,'" Forma Futuri. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino (Turin, 1975), pp 481-541; passim; idem, Apocalisse prima e dopo, p. 16.

7. Prigent, "Les fragments," pp 322-3.

8. See the parallel columns in Prigent, Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse (Tübingen, 1959), pp 4-5. However, the middle column, from the Arabic fragments, uses F. Schultheß' suspect German translation (Fragments IV and V in Achelis, pp 322-3), and should be checked against R. Stehly's translation in Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 322.

9. Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 322.

10. Ibid.

11. Prigent, p. 323.

12. In the Coptic fragment, the woman is still the Church, but the Church is the society of saints who will live at the time of the Antichrist.

13. Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 322.

14. See also Ex 24:4.

15. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 406.

16. ἀεὶ οὐ παύεται ἡ ἐκκλησία γεννῶσα ἐκ καρδίας τὸν λόγον καίτοι ἐν κόσμῳ ὑπὸ ἀπίστων διωκομένη. Antichrist 61.

17. Coptic fragment XV, Donc que la parole de l'Apocalypse se réalise dans l'Église de saints, cela est montré par ce qui est arrivé après cela, Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 322.

18. Antichrist 61.

19. Ibid.

20. Prigent, Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse, p. 6, note 1; contra A. Müller, Ecclesia Maria (Freiburg, 1951), p. 79, note 84; and B. LeFrois, The Woman Clothed with the Sun (Rome, 1954), p. 51.

21. Songs XXV.2-5. Text in Gérard Garittè, ed. and trans., Traités d'Hippolyte sur David et Goliath, sur le Cantique des Cantiques et sur l'Antéchrist, CSCO Vols. 263 (text) and 264 (trans.) (Louvain, 1965).

22. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 407.

23. ...ἔχουσαν μεθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐδὲν ἕτερον εἰ μὴ τὰς «δύο πτέρυγας τοῦ ἀετοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου», τουτέστι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν πίστιν, ὃς ἐκτείνας τὰς ἁγίας χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἥπλωσε δύο πτέρυγας, δεξιὰν καὶ εὐώνυμον, προσκαλούμενος πάντας τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας καὶ σκεπάζων «ὡς ὄρνις νεοσσούς» (Mt 23:37; Lk 13:34). Καὶ γὰρ διὰ Μαλαχίου φησίν· «καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά μου ἀνατελεῖ ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἴασις ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ» (Mal 4:2). Antichrist 61.

24. Christ's crucified body also brings life in Hippolytus' interpretation of the tree of life (Apoc 2:7). The tree, he says, c'est le Christ c'est-à-dire son précieux corps (Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 399). Similarly, in Dan. I.17, the two trees of

paradise, the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, are, respectively, figures of the Law and the Logos planted in the "garden" of the Church (Ibid).

25. Arabic Frag. 8 (Prigent, "les fragments," p. 324) preserves a substantially different interpretation of 12:14.

See also Dan. IV.60.2, where another Apocalyptic image, ἡ τῆς ζωῆς βίβλος (Apoc 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12,15; 21:27; 22:19), is a figure of the salvation which comes through the crucified body of Christ. Christ opens the Book of Life not only at the eschaton, but also on the Cross. The Book is the revelation of the Lord, with his title in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (Jn 19:20; Dan. IV.60.2). The three languages of the parchment or Book nailed to the cross indicate the universal proclamation of the good news.

26. καὶ ἰδοῦ ἀνὴρ εἷς ενδεδυμένος βαδδίν...αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον ὁρᾷ, οὔπω μὲν τελείως ἄνθρωπον, ἐν δὲ σχήματι ἀνθρώπου φαινόμενον...Τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον τῆς κλήσεως τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐνδεδυμένος ὁ Χριστὸς ποικίλον χιτῶνα μυστηρίῳ ἐπεδείκνυεν · ὅτι ἐκ διαφόρων χρωμάτων ἦν κατηρτισμένος ὁ ἱερατικὸς χιτὼν εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῶν ποικίλων ἐθνων τὴν παρουσίαν Χριστοῦ προσδεχομένων, ἵνα ποικίλοις χαρίσμασιν καταρτισθήναι δυνηθῶμεν. Dan. IV.36.5-6.

27. Lefèvre, p. 337, note b.

28. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 398.

29. Commentaire sur Daniel, p. 339, note b, following E. Mersch, La doctrine du corps mystique du Christ, Vol. I, 2nd ed. (Louvain, 1936), pp 325f.

30. Richard, col. 549, citing, inter alia, In Cant. II.3 (Bonwetsch, ed., Die Fragmente des Kommentars zum Hohen liede, Hippolytus Werke I.1, GCS 1 (Leipzig, 1897), pp 343-59); and Hippolyte de Rome. Sur les bénédictions d'Issac, de Jacob et de Moïse. Patrologia Orientalis 27,1-2 (Paris, 1954), p. 108 (In ben.).

See also Antichrist 59, where the two testaments are the two tillers of the "ship" of the Church.

31. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 409.

32. Antichrist 12.

33. In the same passage, Hippolytus also avers that the great diluvium (Gen 7) is only a partial type of the total destruction at the

eschaton.

34. See also Gwynn, p. 401.

35. Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 325.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," pp 406-7. Prigent notes that the parallel may also come from Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. V.36.1; but see also Antichrist 64.

39. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 402; Dan III.9.10.

40. Arabic Fragment 6; see Prigent, "Les fragments," pp 323-4; Antichrist 25-27, 49; Dan. IV.3-12.

41. Dunbar, "Hippolytus of Rome and the Eschatological Exegesis of the Early Church," Westminster Theological Journal 45 (1983), pp 322-39; here, p. 329, citing Antichrist 25; Dan. IV.12.

42. Dunbar, p. 330, citing Antichrist 49.

43. Dunbar, p. 330; Prigent, "Les fragments," pp 326-8.

44. Dunbar, p. 330, citing Antichrist 50. Following Irenaeus, Hippolytus also proposes Ἐυάνθας and Τειτάν.

45. Dunbar, p. 330, citing Antichrist 25, 51-52.

46. Dunbar, p. 331, citing A. d'Alès, La théologie de saint Hippolyte (Paris, 1906), p. 183.

47. Antichrist 14-15.

48. Dunbar, p. 331, citing Dan. IV.49.

49. Dunbar, p. 332, citing Antichrist 57.

50. Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 318; Antichrist 43.

51. Dunbar, pp 332-3.

52. Antichrist 44-46.

53. Antichrist 43, 47. The two half-weeks refer to the seven-year period of the seventieth "week" in Dan 9:27. The Antichrist rules during the second half of this week (Adv. Haer. V.25.1, 3, 5). As Dunbar observes, the device of the seventieth week enables Hippolytus to coordinate his exegesis of Daniel, the Apoc, and Mt 24 (p. 329).

54. Antichrist 46.

55. Achelis Fragment 6; Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 396.

56. Dunbar, p. 333, note 50, citing Bousset, The Antichrist Legend (London, 1896), pp 203-9.

57. The only up-to-date critical text of the Coptic Apoc is that of H.F.D. Sparks, which appears in English translation in The Apocryphal Old Testament (Oxford, 1984), pp 762-773. Sparks' English translation is the only text which incorporates not only the earlier texts of Bouriant, Steindorff, and E. Wallis Budge, but also the partial Sahidic text found in P. Chester Beatty 2018, published in Pietersma and Compstock, The Apocalypse of Elijah based on P. Chester Beatty 2018, in Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations 19, Pseudepigrapha Series 9 (Chico, California, 1981). Spark's edition offers the only continuous reading of the text. Sparks believes that the text was composed in the third century or earlier (p. 757). I avoid the fascinating issues of whether the Coptic Apoc is of Jewish or Christian parentage and whether Sparks' date is correct.

The reference to Enoch and Elijah in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, (E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, trans. and eds., New Testament Apocrypha, ed. R. McL. Wilson (London, 1965), Vol. 2, p. 669), a second-century document, seems not belong to the original text (R. Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and ELijah: Jewish or Christian?" Journal of Biblical Literature 95 (1976), pp 447-58; here, pp 450, 454-6).

58. Bauckham, "Enoch and Elijah in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah," Studia Patristica XVI, TU Vol. 129 (Berlin, 1985), pp 69-76; here, p. 71; see also idem, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," p. 452.

59. Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," p. 452.

60. Ibid. The use of the martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah in the Coptic Apoc is, so far as I can determine, the sole instance of influence from the canonical Apoc upon the apocryphal tradition. One possible explanation is that the tradition perceives the Apoc--despite its wealth of biblical imagery--as hostile. Because many "pure and pious" Christians seem to read the text as a meditation on the first coming of Christ, apocryphal authors wishing to emphasise instead the future coming (or second coming) of the Messiah might find the text particularly inhospitable. This is especially the case if, as Chapter Four (Irenaeus) above suggests, the text was in part a reaction against judaising millennial expectation.

61. Dunbar, p. 334.

62. Dunbar, p. 334, citing Dan. IV.50, 54.

63. Achelis, Frag. 5.

64. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," pp 395-6; see p. 408; Achelis Fragment 6; see also Gwynn, pp 137-9.

65. Antichrist 61.

66. Dunbar, pp 335-6, citing Achelis Frag. 9.

67. Antichrist 63.

68. Dan. IV.22.4.

69. Dunbar, "The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus," Vigliae Christianae 37 (1983), pp 313-327; here, p. 315 and notes 17-18, citing H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronologie 1 (Leipzig 1880-85), pp 24f; and Theophilus, Ad Autolycum 3.28. See also Daniélou, "La typologie millénariste de la semaine," pp 12-13. Hippolytus rationalises the cosmic week, in turn, by means of the usual appeal to Ps 89:4 (Dan. IV.23.5).

70. Apoc 17:10; Dan. IV.23.6.

71. Dan. IV.24.5. See also the parallel, probably taken from Hippolytus, in Andrew of Caesarea (Schmid, pp 188-9; Prigent, Fragment 4, "Les fragments," p. 315).

72. Dunbar, "The Delay of the Parousia," p. 316.

73. Dan IV.19, as cited by Dunbar, p. 325, note 21.

74. I am not so eager to disgard the Refutation as Nautin, whose famous thesis is that this work, together with the Chronicon and the De Universo, is the product of the hitherto unknown Ps-Josephus of Rome. Hippolyte et Josipe (Paris, 1947). I am more persuaded by the arguments of Charles Hill, in his forthcoming Cambridge University Press book on the doctrine of the intermediate state in the early Fathers, that the De Universo is perhaps the work of Tertullian (Text in Karl Holl, Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus de *Sacra Parallela*, TU V (Leipzig, 1901) and W.J. Malley, "Four Unedited Fragments of the De Universo of the Pseudo-Josephus Found in the Chronicon of George Hamartolus (Coislin 305)," JTS 16 (1965), pp 13-25). Hill points out that Hippolytus held that the souls of the righteous in the Christian era rise immediately to heaven to be with Christ (e.g., Dan. I.21.4-5; II.35.5; II.37.3; Antichrist 31, 59). In contrast, Tertullian (De anima 7; 35; 53; 55; 58) and the De Universo (line 72), teach that the souls of the dead were rescued by Christ but remain in Hades until the general resurrection. Moreover, several devices otherwise unique to Tertullian also occur in the De Universo. Both employ the phrase "the bosom of Abraham" (Lk 16:22-23) as a technical term for a compartment within Hades (e.g., De anima 7, 55); describe Hades as a prison (carcer, φρούριον); use the verb "detain" (detinatur, reservatur, sequestrari, retineri; συνέχονται, κατέχονται) in the context; contrast Christ to Minos and Rhadamanthys (De spectaculis 30; De Univ. 79-83); and describe the ensoulment of Adam (De anima 9; Photius, Photii. Myriobiblon sive bibliotheca, ed. J.-P. Migne, PG 103 (Paris, 1900), cols. 84-5).

If the De Universo is removed from the catalogue of "Ps-Josephus's" works, then the Refutation and the extant fragments of the Chronicon (Συναγωγὴ χρόνων καὶ ἐτῶν ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας) are left standing alone (text in R. Helm, ed., Die Chronik. Hippolytus Werke V, GCS 46 (Berlin, 1955)). It is referred to simply as the Χρονικων on the statue of Hippolytus and is also mentioned in Ref. X.30, ed. P. Wendland, GCS 26 (Leipzig, 1916). Because the Refutation and the Chronicon are the work of the same author--if Ref. X.30 is to be believed--Richard contents himself with showing, as against Nautin, the numerous parallels between the Chronicon and the Commentary on Daniel. See Richard, cols. 540-542 and the bibliography there.

75. Dan. IV.22.1.

76. Dan. IV.23.1.

77. As Bietenhard remarks, the noneschatological interpretation of Apoc 20 tends to "presuppose that Satan has already been bound by an act of Jesus" ("The Millennial Hope in the Early Church," Scottish Journal of Theology 6 (1953), pp 12-30; here, p. 18).

78. This passage from bar Salîbî exegesis of Apoc 20:2-3 corresponds to Gwynn Frag. 5, pp 402-4.

79. Ibid.

80. Irenaeus' influence in the above passage is visible in Hippolytus' use of Is 26:10. See Adv. Haer. V.35.1. On Hippolytus' manifest debt to Irenaeus, Dunbar, "Hippolytus of Rome," p. 339 and note 82.

The passages in Hippolytus' [probably authentic] works against Gnostics and similar heretics include Ref. VI.24-32, X.9 (Valentinus), VII.7-15, X.10 (Basilides), X.11 (Justinus), X.12 (Docetists); also VII.17-19, X.15 (Marcion and Cerdo), X.16 (Apelles), X.17 (Cerinthus); and X.24 (Hermogenes). See also Dunbar, "The Delay of the Parousia," p. 318:

> The advance made by Hippolytus on earlier Christian thinkers is that he focuses attention on the time between the first and second advents. Like his mentor Irenaeus he is committed to affirming the significance of redemptive history as a whole, but by the concept of a necessary delay he affirms the particular significance of the interim history of the church. Against this position both Montanism...and Gnosticism threated in their own ways to deny the significance of the interim. For the one (Montanism) there was no *place* for the continuation of history; for the other (Gnosticism) there was no *purpose* for the continuation of history. By contrast Hippolytus stresses the time before the end. The problematical delay of the eschaton is recognized to be not only an historical possibility, but indeed it is a necessity.

81. The date of the Commentary on Daniel according to Richard, col. 537; and Dunbar, "The Delay of the Parousia," p. 313 is based on its poignant references to persecution, and was therefore probably

composed during the Severan persecution of 201/202 - 202/203 (the latter according to the reckoning of T.D. Barnes, "Legislation Against the Christians," Journal of Religious Studies 58 (1968), p. 41.

82. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 403. The text is probably from Hippolytus. However, Irenaeus' Adv. Haer. V.15.1; V.34.1, which also cites Is 26:19 in the context, is a possibility (p. 404).

83. Arabic Fragment 1 in Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 320. Hippolytus may interpret the sum as a symbol of the great number of Jews who have believed.

84. See Prigent, "Les fragments," p. 320; Hippolyte de Rome. Sur les bénédictions de...Moïse, eds. M. Briére, et al.; here, p. 174 on Dt 33:17.

85. Prigent, "Hippolyte, commentateur," p. 404.

86. Ibid., citing Adv. Haer. III.19.3 (same exegesis of Jn 14:2); V.35.2; V.36.3.

87. Antichrist 66 (1 Thes 4:12) and Dan. IV.60.2-3.

Chapter 7: Christ and the Church's Martyrs in Cyprian

1. Michael Andrew Fahey, Cyprian and the Bible: a Study in Third-Century Exegesis (Tübingen, 1971); here, pp 43, 535-554, 624, 668, 695; and Ezio Gallicet, "Cipriano e l'«Apocalisse»," Civiltà classica e cristiana 4 (1983), pp 69-85.

2. Fahey, p. 43.

3. Fahey, pp 42-3.

4. Fahey, p. 535.

5. Testimonia ad Quirinum II.11; pp 43-4. The text for all of Cyprian's tracts but the De habitu virginum [= Vir] is that of M. Bévenot, ed., Sancti Cypriani Episcopi Opera. Pars I, Vol. III in CC Series Latina (Turnhout, 1972); and Idem, Pars II, Vol. IIIA (1976).

The text of the Vir is that of Wilhelm Hartel, S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia, Vol. III, 1 in CSEL (Vienna, 1868), pp 185-205.

The text of Cyprian's epistles is that of Le Chanoine Bayard, ed., Saint Cyprien. Correspondance, 2nd ed., Vol. I (Paris, 1962); and Idem, Vol. II (1961).

Page numbers refer to the appropriate text and volume. Abbreviations of Cyprian's works are those adopted by Fahey, p. 15.

6. Quod ipse dictus sit ovis et agnus, qui occidi haberet, Test II.15; pp 48, 50.

7. Gallicet, pp 70-71, citing Corsini, pp 15, 18.

8. See Gallicet, p. 84.

9. Ibid.

10. Gallicet, p. 85.

11. Ibid.

12. Test. II.22; pp 60-1.

13. Vir. 4; Hartel, p. 190.

14. Fort 2; p. 188.

15. Fort 3; pp 189-90. Unlike Irenaeus and Hippolytus, Cyprian does not link the Empire or Emperor to the Antichrist. Because his interpretation of the text is not eschatological (i.e., historical), he need not link the Antichrist with a historical personage.

16. Fahey, p. 548, citing Ep. 65.1; pp 217-18.

17. Ep 58.7; p. 165.

18. Test III.36; p. 130. And Vir 12; Hartel, p. 196.

19. Ep 63,12; p. 207.

20. Ibid.

21. "Babylon" is probably Jerusalem, the civitas magna (11:8; 18:10) where the Lord is crucified (11:8).

22. Test III.34; pp 128-9.

23. De lapsis 10; p. 226. Cyprian then cites Mt 10:23 and explains: Nam cum corona [of martyrdom] de Dei dignatione descendat, nec possit accipi nisi fuerit hora sumendi, quisque in Christo manens interim cedit, non fidem denegat sed tempus expectat; qui autem cum non secederet cecidit, negaturus remansit.

24. Test. II.3; pp 31-2.

25. Test. II.30; pp 70-1.

26. Gallicet, p. 71.

27. See ibid.

28. ipse sit sponsus ecclesiam habens de qua filii spiritaliter nascerentur, Test. II.19; p. 55.

29. Test. II.19; p. 57.

30. Test. II.19; p. 55.

31. So also Gallicet, pp 71-2.

32. Test III.23; p. 120.

33. Gallicet, p. 72.

34. Ibid.

35. Test. II.22; pp 60-1.

36. Quae spes et merces maneat iustos et martyras post conflictationes huius temporis et passiones. Fort 12; p. 211.

37. Item in Apocalypsi hoc idem loquitur, "et vidi," inquit, "animas occisorum propter nomen Iesu et sermonem Dei." Et cum primo in loco posuisset occisos, addidit dicens: "Et quicumque imaginem bestiae non adoraverunt nec acceperunt inscriptionem in fronte aut in manu sua." Quos universos a se in eodem loco simul visos coniungit ac dicit: "Et vixerunt et regnaverunt cum Christo." Vivere omnes dicit et regnare cum Christo, non tantum qui occisi fuerint, sed quique in fidei suae firmitate et Dei timore perstantes imaginem bestiae non adoraverint neque ad funesta eius et sacrilega edicta consenserint. Fort 12; pp 213-4.

38. Gallicet, pp 82-3.

39. See Gallicet, p. 83.

40. Sex milia annorum iam paene conplentur, ex quo hominem diabolus inpugnat (p. 183).

41. See Gallicet, p. 83.

42. in dispositione divina septem dies annorum septem milia continentes (p. 205).

43. From his study of Tertullian if not from other sources, Cyprian is of course aware of the eschatological interpretation.

44. Manlio Simonetti, "Il millenarismo in Oriente da Origene a Metodio," Corona Gratiarum, ed. Emilio Smedt, et al. (Bruges, 1975), pp 37-58; here, p. 39. Simonetti assumes that the Montanists are extreme chiliasts, a contention which is difficult to prove.

45. Bévenot I. pp 19-21.

46. Ep 34.1; p. 86. Lap 16; p. 230.

47. Test III.56; p. 142, citing Apoc 2:23: Et scient omnes ecclesiae quia ego sum scrutator renis et cordis, et dabo unicuique secundum opera vestra.

48. Ep 19.1; p. 52. Ep 55.22; pp 144-5. See Fahey, pp 537-9.

49. Ep 55.22; p. 145. See Fahey, pp 537-9.

50. See Gallicet, p. 78.

51. Lap 18; p. 231.

52. Lap 14; p. 228.

53. Ep 14.2; p. 41. Gallicet, pp 73-4.

54. Maior est dominus ad protegendum quam diabolus ad inpugnandum, Fort 10; pp 198-9.

55. Ep 12.1; p. 34.

56. Fahey, p. 544.

57. Test III.16; pp 109-110. De bono patientiae [= Pat] 21; pp 130-1. See also the citation of Apoc 3:11 in De ecclesiae catholicae unitate 20, p. 264; Fort 8, p. 197; and Pat 13, p. 126.

Chapter 8: Christocentrism and the Millennium of the Old Economy in Origen

1. C. Anselmetto, "La Presenza dell'Apocalisse di Giovanni nelle Omelie di Origene;" and C. Mazzucco, "L'Apocalisse di Giovanni nel Contro Celso di Origene," Quaderni di «Vetera Christianorum», Vol. 15 in Origeniana Secunda (Rome, 1980), pp 255-266 and 267-278, respectively. The most useful essay is that of Adele Monaci [now Monaci-Castagno], "Apocalisse ed escatologia nell'opera di Origene," Augustinianum 18 (1978), pp 139-51. Monaci is unique in discussing two texts in which Origen frequently cites the Apoc--his commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and especially John. A fourth essay is obsolete and much less useful--D. Strathmann, "Origenes und die Johannesoffenbarung," Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift 34 (1923), pp 228-36. Strathmann's thesis--that Origen disapproved of St. John for writing the Apocalypse--is discussed in the above chapter on Eusebius.

The source for the number 406 and the list of Origen's citations is J. Allenbach, A. Benoît, et al., eds., Biblia Patristica 3, Origène (Paris, 1980), pp 466-9.

Origen's exegesis of the Apocalypse would make an interesting study in and of itself. However, for reasons of space, I have limited discussion.

2. Allenbach, pp 466-9.

3. Origen projected a commentary on the Apocalypse but seems not to have written it. His declaration comes in Comm. on Mt 49 (Klostermann-Benz, eds., Origenes Werke XI. Origenes Matthäuserklärung, II, GCS 38 (Leipzig, 1933), p. 105). The Commentary was perhaps composed in 249, shortly before Origen's suffering in the Decian persecution of 251 and the end of his literary activity (Nautin, Origène, I, (Paris, 1977), p. 381). It is therefore unlikely that Origen produced a work on the Apoc. Moreover, there is no mention of one in Eusebius, Jerome, or elsewhere. Hence, any Scholia alleged to be Origen's should be regarded suspiciously.

The Scholia are intercalated in a copy of Apoc 1 - 14:5 in Meteores Codex 573. Diobouniotis discovered and collated the Scholia. Harnack added commentary and, seizing upon Origen's aforementioned remark, attributed the Scholia to him (Diobouniotis-Harnack, eds., Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes, TU 38,3 (Leipzig, 1911), pp 21-44). Others proposed numerous

textual corrections (Junod, "À propos des soi-disant scolies sur l'Apocalypse d'Origène," Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa 20 (1984), pp 112-121; here, pp 114-5 and note 8, citing Wohlenberg, Theologisches Literaturblatt 33 (1912), cols. 25-30, 49-57, 217-220; Turner, "The Text of the Newly Discovered Scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse," JTS 13 (1911-12), pp 386-97; idem, "Origen *Scholia in Apocalypsin*," JTS 25 (1923-4), pp 1-16. The thirty-nine scholia are unreliable; indeed, Junod adduces (pp 116-7) at least 100 errors in Diobouniotis).

Harnack's thesis was immediately attacked, and today no one defends Origen's authorship of all the scholia. The Scholia are not scholia at all—not annotations of a single author—but rather a catena, a series of extracts from several authors (Junod, pp 116f; Schmid, "Die griechischen Apokalypse-Kommentare," Biblische Zeitschrift 19 (1931), pp 228-254; here, p. 230). The extracts were assembled by one or more authors and placed in the codex. Its scribe was not the original excerptor, because his neat numerical division of the text of the Apoc is not matched by the location of the extracts, which sometimes precede the relevant portion of the text, and sometimes follow it (Junod, p. 116). Many reject Origen as the source of the passages (Junod, pp 115f; Schmid, pp 228-230; Quasten, Patrology, Vol. II; Prigent, Apocalypse 12, p. 6; Nautin, Origène, I, p. 449; Skard defends the Origenism of only 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 17, 21, 30-32, and 37: "Zum Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis," Symbolae Osloenses 15-16 (1936), pp 204-8).

Some scholia are quite different from the undisputed exegeses of Origen himself. They treat the mysteries of the end-times, interpret the Apoc literally, and conflate it with Daniel and apocrypha (Romero-Pose, "Apocalisse," Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane, Vol. I (Rome, 1983), cols. 267-9; here, col. 268). In other words, the Scholia resemble more the exegeses of Hippolytus, Irenaeus, and other eschatological or chiliastic interpretations.

More exemplary problems also exist. Scholia 38-39 are from Adv. Haer. V (Junod, p. 114 and note 7). Scholia 22 and 26 bear traces of anti-Arian polemic (Diekamp, Theologische Revue 11 (1912), cols. 51-55; Prigent, Apocalypse 12, p. 6). Scholion 5 is a development of Stromateis IV.25.156f, perhaps from the Hypotyposes (Junod, p. 115 and note 9, citing Stählin, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 32 (1912), cols. 132-140; and idem, Clemens Alexandrinus. Zweiter Band. Stromata Buch I-VI, GCS 52 (Berlin, 1960), IV.25.156-157). Scholia 4, 7, and 36 use diction uncharacteristic of Origen (Junod, pp 117-119 and note 20).

Junod accounts for the Origenistic flavor but restrained tenor of the catena--at least of Scholia 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20-21, 30-32, 37--by positing Didymus as its original source (pp 119-21). A. de Boysson perceptively terms the Origenism of the catena simplifié, assagi, sans doute, mais affaibli et énervé, "Avons-nous un commentaire d'Origène sur l'Apocalypse?" Revue Biblique 10 (1913), pp 555-67; here, p. 564). Unlike Origen, Didymus probably did explicate the Apoc. Of the 144,000 virgins in 14:3, Didymus writes that he has treated the numbers "in Notes on the Apoc of John"--ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Ἰωάννου (Doutreleau, ed., Didyme l'Aveugle sur Zacharie, SC 84 (1962), p. 655). Origen himself and Scholion 21 also mention the 144,000. Origen suggests that they cannot be Jews, because too few Jews have believed in Christ (Origène. Commentaire sur Saint Jean, I. Livres I-V, ed. Blanc, SC 120 (1966); here, p. 60). The 144,000 must therefore be the believing Gentiles. Scholion 21 appears to touch up this rendering of 14:3. It explains the 144,000 as the whole population, both Greeks and Jews, who have believed in Christ and are therefore constituted a spiritual people. Origen is improved but left substantially intact.

The Scholion on Apoc 12:4 is another example of commentary not found in Origen but congenial to his thought. Its author explains the falling stars of 12:4 as spiritual beings whom the dragon dragged down in his own fall (Der Scholien-Kommentar, p. 41; see Prigent, p. 7). But in Comm. in Mt 49, the parallel in Origen's authenticated works, he ignores the stars. Still, his discussion in De Princ. is ap ropos (ed. Crouzel-Simonetti, Origène. Traité des principes I (livres I et II), SC 252 (1978), II.8.3-4). Satan fell like the human souls who were fiery but grew cold. This comports with the Scholion's exegesis, but the Scholion avoids advocating preexistent *human* souls--it identifies the fallen only as spiritual beings. It is Origenistic while avoiding Origen's excesses.

If the Scholia are from Didymus' Notes, his would be the first Greek work devoted exclusively to the Apoc. His authorship would account for the Origenistic terminology, argumentation, and spiritual and doctrinal themes in many fragments. (As Junod points out (p. 120), Harnack's arguments for Origen apply equally well to Didymus.) But it would also explain the catena's un-Origenistic eschatologizing. Didymus or another influenced by Origen could be the author of perhaps fifteen scholia, and the remaining scholia are not derived from Origen.

4. Monaci, p. 145 and note 29. Monaci observes that Origen quotes Apoc 1:4-9, 16-18, 20; 2:1, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17-18, 21,

23, 28; 3:1, 4, 7, 12, 14, 20-21; 4:1, 11; 5:1-6, 8-9, 13; 6:8-9, 16-17; 7:2, 4, 9, 16; 8:12; 9:20; 10:3-4, 9; 11:8, 18; 12:3-4, 7, 9; 14:4, 6, 13; 16:5; 17:14; 19:11-16; 20:4-5, 15; 21:1, 6, 8, 10; and 22:11-13.

5. Monaci, pp 146-7.

6. Allenbach, et al., p. 468. In addition, he cites 19:11 eleven times ("Then I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse! He who sat on it is called faithful and true, and in righteousness he judges and makes war").

7. Monaci, p. 146.

8. Ibid.

9. Monaci, p. 147 and note 37, citing Origène. Homélies sur Josué, ed. A. Jaubert, SC 71 (Paris, 1960), 7.2; Commentaria in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos. Origenis opera omnia, ed. Migne, PG 14 (Paris, 1862), cols. 831-1294; here, 1202C.

10. Allenbach, pp 466-69.

11. Monaci, p. 147, citing, note 39, Commentaria in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos IX.39, col. 1239C; Origène. Traité des principes I (livres I et II), ed. Crouzel and Simonetti, SC 252 (Paris, 1978), I.2.10; and Scholion 4 (Diobouniotis-Harnack), p. 22.

12. Monaci, p. 147. See Origéne. Commentaire sur Saint Jean. I. Livres I-V, ed. Blanc, SC 120 (Paris, 1966), I.31.209-214, pp 162-4.

13. Πρῶτος οὖν καὶ ἔσχατος ὁ σωτήρ, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ τὰ μεταξύ, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄκρων, ἵνα δηλωθῇ, ὅτι «τὰ πάντα» γέγονεν αυτός, Comm. in Io. I.31.219 (SC, p. 166).

14. Monaci, p. 147; and Comm. in Io. I.31.221 (SC 120, p. 168).

15. Monaci, p. 148; Comm. Rom. I.14 (Migne, cols. 860D - 861A).

16. Blanc, SC 120, p. 102.

17. Comm. in Io. I.14.83, SC 120, p. 100.

18. Comm. in Io. I.14.87, SC 120, p. 102.

19. Comm. in Io. I.14.86, SC 120, p. 102.

20. Brière, et al. eds., Hippolyte de Rome. Sur les bénédictions d'Isaac, de Jacob et de Moïse, Patrologia Orientalis 27,1-2 (Paris, 1954), p. 174. Origen himself prefers an ascetic rather than an historical interpretation of the 144,000. See the discussion below.

21. In addition, Anselmetto finds other themes, which the next section below takes up:

4. Believers can progressively achieve perfection through ever-more-intimate participation in Christ;
5. The sacrifice of martyrdom is meaningful;
6. The end of time is the completion of promises already realized.

"La Presenza dell'Apocalisse di Giovanni nelle Omelie di Origene," p. 255, note 2.

22. See Monaci, p. 145 and note 29.

23. Anselmetto, p. 257.

24. Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1966), p. 131, note 52.

25. Rowan A. Greer, trans., "On Prayer," Origen, Vol. in The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1979), p. 144; P. Koetschau ed., Origenes Werke II, GCS 3 (Leipzig, 1913)(Text).

26. Comm. in Mt 40, GCS 38, pp 78-81.

27. Ibid. See Monaci, pp 142-3.

28. Comm. in Mt 43, GCS 38, pp 86-8. See Monaci, p. 143.

29. Monaci, p. 142, citing Comm. in Mt 33, GCS 38, pp 59-64.

30. Comm. in Mt 37, GCS 38, pp 69-71.

31. Monaci, p. 143, citing Comm. in Mt 36-37, GCS 38, pp 68-71.

32. Comm. in Io. I.27.97, SC 120, p. 111; Origéne. Contre Celse III (livres V et VI), ed. Borret, SC 147 (Paris, 1969), V.54-5. Apoc 12:9 ("And the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world. He was thrown down to earth, and his angels were thrown down with him") is cited sixteen times by Origen, more than any other verse except 19:3 (Allenbach, et al., p. 467).

33. Origène. Homélies sur la Genèse, ed. Doutreleau, SC 7 (Paris, 1976), 1:1-2; pp 63f. See Anselmetto, p. 265.

34. See, e.g., Origène. Traité des principes I (livres I et II), eds. Crouzel and Simonetti, SC 252 (Paris, 1978), II.8.3, where Allenbach finds an oblique reference to 20:2 (Allenbach, p. 468).

35. Comm. in Mt 37, GCS 38, pp 69-71. Christians are still martyred, but their martyrdom occurs in the present era. In Exhortation to Martyrdom 30 (ed. Koetschau, Origenes Werke I. Die Schrift vom Martyrium. Buch I-IV gegen Celsus, GCS 2 (Leipzig, 1897), pp 3-47), the souls of those who are beheaded for their testimony to Jesus (20:4) serve at the heavenly altar (6:9) and minister foregiveness to those who pray. They are able to mediate foregiveness because their martyrdom imitates Christ's priestly sacrifice. Their martrydom does not presage or hasten the Second Coming. Rather, as Monaci notes (p. 146), the sacrifices of the martyrs and, in an anticipatory sense, the sacrifices offered under the Law, are efficacious only because they relate back to or anticipate the sacrifice of Christ. Their souls are under the altar (6:9) because they function in heaven as do priests on earth--they intercede before God (Ibid and Origène. Homélies sur les Nombres, ed. Méhat, SC 29 (Paris, 1951), 10.2). Thus the Christians need not fear an eschatological persecution of catastrophic proportions.

36. De principiis II.11.3, ed. Crouzel, SC 252.

37. De princ. II.11.2, ed. Crouzel, SC 252.

38. Ibid.

39. So also Homélies sur Nombres 17.4, ed. Méhat, SC 29.

40. Mazzucco, p. 60, citing Origéne. Commentaire Sur Saint Jean. II. Livres VI et X, ed. Blanc, SC 157 (Paris, 1970), X.42.288-296, pp 560-4. Apoc 3:12 declares, "He who conquers, I

will make him a pillar in the temple of my God; never shall he go out of it, and I will write on him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name."

41. Clementina Mazzucco, "La Gerusalemme celeste dell'Apocalisse nei Padri," "La dimora di Dio con gli uomini" (Ap 21,3). Immagini della Gerusalemme celeste dal III al XIV secolo, ed. M. L. Gatti Perer (Milan, 1983), pp 49-75; here, p. 60, citing Comm. in Io. X.35.229, ed. Blanc, SC 157, p. 520,27-8.

42. Mazzucco, p. 71, citing Homélies sur Nombres 25.6 (ed. Méhat, SC 29).

43. Origène. Homélies sur Jérémie, ed. Nautin, SC 232 (Paris, 1976), 9.2; p. 380,2-5. See Mazzucco, p. 71.

44. See Mazzucco, p. 72.

45. Origène. Homélies sur Jérémie 11.3, SC 232.

46. Origène. Homélies sur l'Exode, ed. de Lubac, SC 16 (Paris, 1947), I.2; p. 81; and Homélies sur Nombres 3.4; p. 96.

47. Anselmetto, p. 265.

Chapter 9: Church, Virgin, and Millennium in Methodius' Symposium

1. The edition of Methodius' writings is that of Nathanael Bonwetsch, Methodius, GCS 27 (Leipzig, 1917). The Old Slavonic fragments appear only in German translation.

As regards the Symposium itself, two works have supplanted Bonwetsch. The critical text used here is Herbert Musurillo, Méthode d'Olympe. Le banquet, French trans. Victor-Henry Debidour, Vol. 95 in Sources Chrétiennes (Paris, 1963). An English translation by Musurillo of his Greek text was published earlier as The Symposium. A Treatise on Chastity, Vol. 27 in Ancient Christian Writers (Westminster, Maryland, 1958). The ACW edition should be consulted for its extensive notes which are reproduced only in abbreviated form, and with slight emendations, in the SC critical text.

A critical edition of Thecla's hymn at the end of the Symposium has been produced by Michele Cardinal Pellegrino, L'Inno del Simposio di S. Metodio Martire, Vol. X, Fascicolo 1 of Università di Torino pubblicazioni della facoltá de lettere e filosofia (Turin, 1958).

Methodius' De autexusio is available not only in Bonwetsch but also in a critical text of the "original" Slavonic by A. Vaillant, Le De autexusio de Méthode d'Olympe. Version Slave, Patrologia Orientalis 22, fasc. 5 (Paris, 1930), pp 631-889. Vaillant's text is translated in J. Farges, trans., Méthode d'Olympe: Du libre arbitre (Paris, 1929).

2. Methodius' life is obscure because there are few patristic references to it, and because those few references are themselves confused. Eusebius, Methodius' enemy, does not mention him at all, so Jerome's is the first account of his life and work (Hieronymi de viris inlustribus, ed. Herding, (Leipzig, 1924), no. 83). Jerome's confusion is evident. If, as Jerome claims, Methodius had been martyred under Decius (249-250) or during the Valerian persecution (ending in 259)--sub Decio et Valeriano...martyrio coronatus est--then he could not have written against Porphyry (d. ca. 305 or later), who composed his Adversus Christianos between 270 and 315.

Concerning the period of Methodius' literary activity, the majority opinion, advocated by Musurillo and others, is that Methodius was active from about 270 to about 309. The minority opinion, advocated by Barnes, is that Methodius may be active as

late as 315 or even 320. The debate turns on the date of composition for Porphyry's Against the Christians and the accuracy of Eusebius' comments regarding the same in HE VI.19.2. For further discussion, see Musurillo, ACW, pp 8-9 and 170, note 8; R. Beutler, "Porphyrius no. 21," Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft 22.1 (1953), pp 275-313; Alan Cameron, "The Date of Porphyry's KATA XPIΣTIANΩN," Classical Quarterly New Series 17 (1967), pp 382-4; T.D. Barnes, "Porphyry's Against the Christians: Date and Attribution of Fragments," Journal of Theological Studies New Series 24 (1973), pp 424-42; and Vaillant, p. 652.

3. In his theology Methodius is a moderate Alexandrian. His distinction between shadow (Old Testament figure), image (New Testament teaching), and reality (heaven) reflects speculation about the triadic, hierarchical nature of the universe advanced by Origen and Plotinus. Methodius has, however, moderated Origen's theology of the three-fold sense of Scripture: Methodius is less relentless that Origen in finding three senses in individual passages. He also makes no effort to entwine the three senses with a triadic anthropology based on 1 Thes 5:23 (man as body, soul, and spirit; the other point of departure for this anthropology is of course Plato's image of horses and charioteer in the Phaedrus).

In contrast, Origen, in De Princ. II.4 (eds. Crouzel and Simonetti, Origène. Traité des principes I (livres I et II), SC 252 (Paris, 1978)), explicitly refers to the σῶμα, ψυχή, and πνεῦμα of Scripture, and in more esoteric fashion in his "Prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs" he links man's spiritual growth with the moral, natural, and contemplative teachings of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs respectively, which correspond to the Greek sciences of ethics, physics, and enoptics (see Origen. An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, and Selected Works, ed. and trans. Rowan A. Greer, Vol. in The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1979), pp 182; 231f). For further discussion of Origen's distinctions between the various senses of Scripture, see R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and Event, a study of the sources and significance of Origen's interpretation of Scripture (London, 1959).

4. Musurillo, ACW, p. 8.

5. Musurillo, ACW, p. 9.

6. Thecla is the dialogue's most notable character, and her exegesis of Apoc 12:1-6 wins the chapelet. Methodius is evoking

the heroine of the second-century "Acts of Paul and Thecla," where this former companion of St. Paul faced martyrdom twice rather than marry, give up her virginity, and commit apostasy (see M.R. James, ed., The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, 1953), pp 272-81).

7. ἡ κακῶν ἐρημος...καὶ ἀγονος καὶ στείρα φθορᾶς καὶ δυσπρόσιτος καὶ δύσβατος τοῖς πολλοῖς, 8.11; p. 226 (trans. Musurillo, p. 116).

8. ἡ μήτηρ ημῶν...δύναμις τις οὖσα καθ' εαυτὴν ἑτέρα τῶν τέκνων, ἣν ὁτὲ μὲν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ προφῆται κατὰ τὴν σύνοψιν τῶν ἐπιφερομένων, ὁτὲ δε νύμφην, ὁτὲ δὲ Σιὼν ὄρος, ὁτὲ δὲ ναὸν καὶ σκηνὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κεκλήκασιν, 8.5; p. 212 (trans. Musurillo, p. 110).

9. τέλειον ἀριθμὸν καὶ πληρη περιέχει, ὃ δή ἐστι σύμβολον αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς, 8.11; p. 228.

10. "La Typlogie millénariste de la semaine dans le Christianisme primitif," VC 2 (1948), pp 1-16; here, p. 12.

11. Ibid.

12. The phrase is that of Manlio Simonetti, "Il Millenarismo de Origene a Metodio," Corona Gratiarum, ed. Emilio Smedt, et al. (Bruges, 1975), pp 37-58; here, p. 57 and note 2. Compare, e.g., the hundred-fold yields and restoration of harmony between man and the animal kingdom enthusiastically described by Papias and Irenaeus in Adv. Haer. V.33.1-4.

13. Simonetti, p. 56.

14. In this passage I follow Simonetti, p. 57.

15. Ibid. See De Princ. II.11.2 (ed. Crouzel and Simonetti, SC 252), where Origen rejects the chiliasm of those disciples of the letter alone (solius litterae discipuli) and avers that the heavenly Jerusalem of Apoc 21 is, inter alia, a spiritual reality whose stones are the perfected Christians themselves.

16. Origène. Homélies sur Jérémie 11.3 (ed. Nautin, SC 232).

17. Simonetti, "Il Millenarismo de Origene a Metodio," p. 57.

18. On Prayer 31.3; De Princ. II.10.3.

Chapter 10: Figure, Eschaton, and Recapitulation in Victorinus of Pettau

1. Cassiodorus rightly avoids calling the work a commentarius and simply asserts that Victorinus dealt briefly with some of the difficult passages--difficilia breviter quaedam loca tractavit--in the Apocalypse. See Institutiones I.9.2 in R.A.B. Mynors, ed., Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones (Oxford, 1937), p. 33.

2. Johannes Quasten, Patrology, Vol. II, The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus, 1953; rpt. (Westminster, Maryland, 1983), pp 411-13; here, p. 411.

Because Victorinus is at once critical to this study and historically obscure, an introduction to his life, works, and literary sources is appropriate. So as not to interrupt the flow of the narrative, this information is relegated to an appendix. The most important finding in the appendix is that Victorinus was influenced by Irenaeus and Papias but not by Origen or Hippolytus. See the below Appendix B.

3. Eugenio Romero-Pose, "Apocalisse," Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane, Vol. I (Rome, 1983), cols. 267-9; here, col. 268; Corsini, Apocalisse prima e dopo, p. 28.

4. Adv. haer. V.19.2.

5. Adv. haer. V.30.4.

6. See Adv. haer. V.35.2.

7. Text of Victorinus in Iohannes Haußleiter, ed., Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera (Vienna, 1916), pp XII-XIII.

8. Haußleiter, p. 60.

9. So also De fabrica 9: Ut [Deus] Adam illum per septimanam reformaverit atque universae suae creaturae subvenerit, nativitate filii sui Iesu Christi domini nostri factum est (8,7-9).

10. Romero-Pose, col. 268.

11. See R-Pose, col. 268.

12. Tuba autem verbum est potestatis; et licet repetat per fialas, non quasi factum esse dicat, sed quoniam semel, quod futurum est ad eos, decretum est eis ut fiat, ideo bis dicitur. Quicquid igitur in tubis minus dixit, id in fialis propensius dixit. Nec aspiciendus est ordo dictorum, quoniam septiformis spiritus sanctus, ubi ad novissimum temporis finemque percucurrit, redit rursus ad eadem tempora et supplet quae minus dixit. Nec pseudoprophetia. Sunt igitur scripta quae sunt in tubis et in fialis aut plagarum orbi missarum clades aut ipsius Antichristi insania aut populorum detractatio aut plagarum differentia aut spes in regno sanctorum aut ruina civitatum aut ruina Babylonis, id est civitatis Romanae, pp 84,14 - 86,12.

In translating I have consulted Robert E. Wallis, trans., "Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John. By Victorinus," Ante-Nicene Fathers 7 (Edinburgh, 1886), pp 344-360. This translation of Jerome's recension predates Haußleiter's critical edition and should be used with great caution.

13. See also 102,20 - 104,1-8. Other instances of thematic recapitulation also occur. For example, the heliomorphic angel of 10:1-2 is the Christ of Apoc 1:16 in another guise (88,7-8). Again, the two witnesses of 11:3 are also the angel with the seal of God (Apoc 7:2; p. 80,2-3), the eagle flying through heaven (8:13; p. 86,13-15), the two great wings (12:6, p. 112,1-3), and the angel flying through heaven (14:6; p. 130,10-12).

14. 28,4 - 30,13, citing Is 4:1, where seven desperate women beseech one man. See also De fabrica mundi 7,20.

15. 56,5-13; citing Mt 19:27-28 and Gen 49:16. Perhaps this exegesis derives from Apoc 21:12,14, in which the twelve gates of the one holy city are named after the twelve tribes, and its twelve foundations after the twelve Apostles.

16. 50,7 - 52,2; Adv. haer. III.11.8.

17. So also Grazia Rapisarda, "I quattro cavalieri (Apoc. 6,1-8) nell'interpretazione di alcuni commentatori latini (V-VIII sec.)," Orpheus 6 (1985), pp 62-89; here, p. 64.

18. Nam aperto primo sigillo cum dicat se vidisse equum album et equitem coronatum habentem arcum--hoc enim in primo factum est--postquam ascendit in caelis dominus noster, apervit universa et emisit spiritum sanctum, cuius verba per praedicatores

tamquam sagittae ad cor hominum pergerent et vincerent incredulitatem. Corona autem est praedicatoribus super caput promissa per spiritum sanctum....Ergo equus albus verbum praedicationis cum Spiritu Sancto in orbem missum... (68,1-8; 12-13).

19. As Rapisarda rightly observes (p. 64).

20. A parallel is Victorinus' exegesis of 14:18, the harvesting of the grapes by the sickle, where there is also destructive, divine wrath. These things, Victorinus declares, are

> to be experienced at by the Gentiles at the coming of the Lord...as in fact he shows in many ways, but once for all in the coming of the Lord--the end of the reign of the Antichrist and the inauguration of the kingdom of the saints (de gentibus periturus in adventum domini...et quidem pluribus speciebus hic illud ostendit, sed semel in adventum domini, consummationem regni Antichristi et adapertionem regni sanctorum, 132,15 - 134,3).
>
> Alternatively, the sixth seal could represent the destruction of the temple vale as precipitated by the Lamb at the Crucifixion, and the seventh seal, Christ's death on the Cross, which sums up and reveals the full meaning of God's intervention and is followed by a half hour of silence in heaven.

21. 80,2 - 82,1. He quotes Mal 4:5-6: Ecce ego mitto vobis Heliam Thesbiten, convertere corda patrum ad filios et cor hominis ad proximum suum.

22. Multi putant cum Helia esse Heliseum aut Moysen, sed utrique mortui sunt. Hieremiae autem mors non invenitur. Per omnia veteres nostri tradiderunt illum esse Hieremiam; nam et ipsum verbum, quod factum est ad illum, testificatur dicens: "Priusquam te figurarem in utero matris tuae, novi te et prophetam in gentibus posui te." In gentibus autem propheta non fuit, et ideo utroque divino, quod promisit, necesse habet et exhibere, ut in gentibus sit propheta (98,10-17).

23. Richard Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" Journal of Biblical Literature 95,3 (1976), pp 447-58; here, p. 452 and note 19. Bauckham cites Justin Martyr (Trypho 49), Lactantius (Brandt and Laubmann, eds., L. Caeli Firmiani

Lactanti Opera omnia. Pars I. Divinae institutiones et Epitome divinarum institutionum (Vienna, 1890), 7.17), Commodian (Martin, ed., Commodiani Carmina, CC 128 (Turnhout, 1960) 833, 839, 850, 856-62; pp 103-4), and Tertullian (De resurrectione 22; De anima 25).

24. As Prigent observes, the fragment published by Mercati and Turner also alludes to Apoc 12, but the allusions are insufficient to permit comparison (Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse, p. 9); G. MERCATI, ANONYMI CHILIASTAE IN MATTHAEUM FRAGMENTA VARIA SACRA, STUDI E TESTI 11 (VATICAN CITY, 1903), pp. 5-49

25. Prigent, pp 8-9.

26. p. 118,10-14. For further discussion of the Antichrist as Nero redivivus, see section (8) below.

27. 116,4-6. This original fall of the devil and his angels has, of course, already occurred. See, e.g., 128,4-5.

28. Apoc 17:11. For Victorinus, the beast of Apoc 13 and 17 is both the kingdom of the Antichrist (116,10-11) and the Antichrist himself (118,11-13), but principally the latter.

29. 120,17 - 122,1; quoting Dan 11:37. See Adv. haer. V.25.1-2.

30. Simonetti, Lettera e/o allegoria, Studia Ephemeridis «Augustinianum» 23 (Rome, 1985), p. 296.

31. "Sedere" autem "mulierem super bestiam roseam" [17:3], actricem homicidiorum, zabuli habet imaginem....Hanc quidem "Babylonem" [sc. "Babel"] propter diffusionem populorum dicit in Apocalypsi et in Esaia, Ezechiel autem "Sor" nominavit. Denique autem si compares, quae de Sor dicta sunt et quae de Babylone Esaias et Apocalypsis dixit, unum omnia esse invenies; 132,7-13.

32. Simonetti, p. 296.

33. Ibid.

34. Curti finds that i toni materialistici sono notevolmente smorzati from that of Cerinthus, Papias, and Justin, and that the reign of the saints is depurarono degli aspetti grossolanamente materialistici when compared to the excesses of Tertullian and

Methodius ("Il regno millenario in Vittorino de Petovio," Augustinianum 28 (1978), pp 429-30). Curti is followed by R-Pose, col. 268.

35. Curti, 430-2; R-Pose, col. 268.

36. In Homer, Tartarus is as far below Hades as earth is below heaven. Victorinus likewise distinguishes Tartarus gehennae from the underworld or infernus.

37. "Coccineum" [17:3] autem zabulum includi et omnes angelos eius refugas in tartarum gehennae in adventum domini nemo ignoret [et] post mille annos dimitti propter gentes, quae serviverint Antichristo, ut ipsae solae pereant [see 20:2-3], quia sic merverunt; dein fieri catholice iudicium. Ideo ait: "et vixerunt," inquit, "mortui 'scripti in libro vitae' [see 21:27] et regnaverunt cum Christo mille annos. Haec resurrectio prima. Beatus et sanctus, qui habet partem in resurrectione prima: ad hunc mors secunda non habet potestatem" [20:4-6]. De hac resurrectione inquit: "et vidi agnum stantem et cum eo CXLIIII milia" [14:1], id est cum Christo stantes, eos scilicet, qui ex Iudeis in novissimo tempore sunt crediturі per praedicationem Heliae, quos non solum testatur spiritus corpore virgineo sed et lingua. Ideo superius meminit maiores natu XXIIII dixisse: "gratias agimus tibi, domine deus, qui regnasti; et gentes indignatae sunt" [see 11:17-18]; 138,8 - 140,11. See also De fabrica mundi 6,13-15.

38. In regno ergo et in prima resurrectione exhibetur "civitas sancta, quam" dicit "descensuram de caelo quadratam" [21:2] differentium et pretiositatis et coloris et generis lapidum circumdatam, "auro mundo"--id est dilucido--"similem" [21:18]. "Cristallo," inquit, "plateam eius stratam [21:21]; flumen vitae per medium effluens [22:1] et vitae fontes aquarum lignum vitae in circuitu, per singulos menses faciens fructus differentes [22:2]; lumen ibi solis non esse" [21:23] propter eminentiorem gloriam. "Agnus" enim, inquit--id est deus--"lux eius est" [21:23]. "Portas" vero "eius de singulis margaritis, ternas ex omnibus partibus, non clausas" [21:13, 21, 25] sed esse apertas (146,2 - 148,2).

39. Hic accipient sancti "pro aeramento aurum et pro ferro argentum et lapides pretiosos" [Is 60:17]. Hoc loco "transferet ad eos divitias maris et virtutes gentium" [Is 60:5]. In hoc regno "sacerdotes domini dicentur ministri dei" [Is 61:6], quomodo dicuntur sacrilegi. In hoc regno "bibent vinum et unguentur unguento

et tradentur in laetitiam" [Amos 6:6; Ps 67:4], (152,23 - 154,4).

40. The phrase is Simonetti's, p. 297.

41. Simonetti, p. 297; Curti, pp 429-32; R-Pose, col. 268.

42. Nam quod dicit "differentes lapides genere et colore" [21:18-20] exhibebuntur, [de] hominibus hoc dicit; sed et varietatem fidei pretiosissimam singulorum hominum significat. "Portas" autem "margaritas" [21:21] apostolos esse ostendit. "Non claudentur" [21:25], inquit: gratia per illos data est, nunquam autem eadem clauditur. Hoc loco videbunt "faciem contra faciem" [1 Cor 13:12], et "unus alterum non requisivit" [Is 24:16]. "nomina" autem esse et patrum et apostolorum "et in fundamentis et super portas" [21:14, 12]: iam de XXIIII senioribus tractavimus, et de his qui regnaverint in hoc regno, "ipsi mundum iudicabunt" [1 Cor 6:2], (154,9-18).

43. Simonetti, p. 297; Curti, p. 431.

44. Simonetti, p. 295).

45. Simonetti, p. 297.

46. As Prigent writes: Comme...caractéristique de la théologie de l'Apocalypse on mentionnera une doctrine de la récapitulation. Il s'agit d'une récapitulation christologique et ecclésiologique. Comme le quatriéme évangéliste, notre auteur voit s'opérer en Christ un recommencement de l'histoire du salut, une répétition qui est en même temps un accomplissement. Et cela vaut aussi pour les croyants: ils sont à nouveau transportés dans le paradis, ils revivent la Pâque et l'Exode, ils traversent eux aussi la mer Rouge, ils chantent à leur tour le cantique de Moïse, etc. Apocalypse et liturgie (Neuchâtel, Switzerland, 1964), p. 12.

47. For discussion of Cyprian, see Chapter Seven above and E. Gallicet, "Cipriano e l'Apocalisse," Civiltà classica e cristiana 4 (1983), pp 69-85.

48. As noted in Chapters 4-6 above, christological and ecclesiological passages are also discernible in Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus: this despite the fact that all three are using the Apocalypse to defend the orthodox eschatology.

Appendix A: Early Montanism and the Apocalypse

1. Wilhelm Schepelern, Der Montanismus und die phrygische Kulte (Tübingen, 1929), p. 160, concludes with appropriate circumspection: wir durch die Johannes-Apokalypse eine ältere kleinasiatische Bewegung kennen, die uns in Wirklichkeit all wesentlichen Voraussetzungen bietet, um die Eigentümlichkeiten des ältesten Montanismus zu verstehen.

2. William Tabbernee, "Remnants of the New Prophecy: Literary and Epigraphical Sources of the Montanist Movement," a paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford, August 24-29, 1987; here, note 3, citing, inter alia, Eusebius, Vita Constantini 3.66 (ed. Heikel, Eusebius Werke I. Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin, GCS 7 (Leipzig, 1962), pp 3-148). Tabbernee's article will appear in a forthcoming volume of Studia Patristica. = SP XXI (LEUVEN 1985), pp 193-201

3. Among other compositions put forward as Montanist, the serious candidates are the Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis and the Didache (anent the latter, see R.H. Connolly, "The Didache and Montanism," Downside Review 55 (1937), pp 339-47.). The former is QUESTIONABLE. * As to the latter, Connolly's proposal is embraced with enthusiasm by F.E. Vokes, The Riddle of the Didache, Fact or Fiction, Heresy or Catholicism? (London, 1938). However, Connolly and Vokes' thesis is refuted by B.T.D. Smith and has subsequently won few converts (Smith, rev. of The Riddle of the Didache..., by R.H. Connolly, Journal of Theological Studies 40 (1939), pp 287f). The thesis is also rejected outright by Tabbernee ("Remnants"). It is accepted without comment, however, by Douglas Powell ("Tertullianists and Cataphrygians," VC 29 (1975), p. 52, note 81). * SEE E. CORSINI, "PROPOSTE PER UNA LETTURA DELLA PASSIO PERPETUAE" ATHENAEUM (TURIN, 1975), pp 481-542

4. Tabbernee, "Remnants," citing S. Mitchell, "The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra," Anatolian Studies 32 (1982), pp 93-113; and G. Ficker, "Widerlegung eines Montanisten," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 26 (1905), pp 447-63. In his Les sources de l'histoire du Montanisme: textes grecs, latins, syriacs (Fribourg-Paris, 1913), pp CI - CVIII, Pierre de Labriolle argues that Didymus authored the polemical Dialogue between a Montanist and an Orthodox. Tabbernee accepts the possibility of de Labriolle's suggestion, or the possibility that Didymus used the Dialogue as one

of his sources.

5. R.E. Heine, "The Gospel of John and the Montanist Debate at Rome," a paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies at Oxford, August 24-29, 1987, to be published in a forthcoming volume of Studia Patristica. = SP XXI (Leuven, 1989), pp 95-100

6. "Appendice: La chronologie du Montanisme primitif," La crise montaniste, pp 569-89. Three independent sources recommend Eusebius' date. First, Eusebius himself, in his Chronicle, locates the outbreak of the New Prophecy at Olympiade 238.1, in the twelfth year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius (ed. Helm, Eusebius Werke V. Die Chronik des Eusebius, GCS 20 (Leipzig, 1911)). Taking into account la petite inexactitude habituelle of Eusebius in his calculation of Olympiades, Labriolle corrects his 173 to 172 (Labriolle, p. 570).

The second calculation is based upon Eusebius' list of Apollinarius' works in HE IV. 27.1 (de Labriolle, pp 570-1). According to Eusebius, Apollinarius wrote an apologetic treatise to Marcus Aurelius alone. Later, he wrote against the Phrygian heresy, which had begun not long before (μετ' οὐ πολὺν...χρόνον), and was just then beginning to sprout (τότε...ὥσπερ ἐκφύειν ἀρχομένης). Now Marcus Aurelius was sole Emperor only from 169 through 176, and in his Chronicle Eusebius had listed the prime (ἀκμή) of Apollinarius as 172 (=171) (Labriolle, p. 570). Here again the indications are that Montanism began no earlier than the 170's.

The third passage in Eusebius is HE V.3.4, just after the "Martyrs of Lyons." Eusebius reports that "just at that time" (ἄρτι τότε, ca. 177 A.D.) the disciples of Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus first began to disseminate their views among many (Labriolle, p. 571). In the three passages in which he refers to the beginnings of the New Prophecy, Eusebius is therefore consistent, displays considerable personal familiarity with anti-Montanist writings (Apollinarius, Apollonius, the Anonymous, and probably others), and confirms his reckoning by advertence to two antique calendars.

Writing half a century later, Epiphanius puts the birth of the Phrygian Heresy in the nineteenth year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian--i.e., 157 A.D. (Labriolle, pp 571-2, citing Panarion 48.1). Elsewhere, Epiphanius puts the Ascension in about 28 A.D. and the close of the Apostolic era ninety-three years later, in about 120 A.D. At this time, Epiphanius declares, the church of Thyatira became Montanist--thirty-seven years before the outbreak of Montanism (Labriolle, p. 576, citing Panarion 51). (Text:

Holl, ed., Epiphanius II. *Panarion* (haereses 34-64), GCS 31 (1922; rpt. Berlin, 1980)). Epiphanius also says that the Thyatiran church has only recently returned to Catholicism, after 112 years of Montanism, which would mean that the church cannot have become Montanist much before 264-5 (Ibid). Labriolle points out that even this figure must be wrong, because Epiphanius is depending upon Hippolytus in Panarion 51, and Hippolytus would not have written of an event which transpires forty-plus years after his own death (Labriolle, p. 576). Again, in Panarion 48.2, Epiphanius declares that 290 years have elapsed between the death of Maximilla and the year of the Panarion's composition, the twelfth in the reign of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian. This would put Maximilla's death in the year 85 (= 375 - 290), almost a century before the rise of Montanism (Labriolle, p. 574). In sum, given that Epiphanius is not typically as careful with dates as Eusebius, lacks the original Montanist and anti-Montanist sources available to Eusebius, and has been careless with the other Montanist dates noted herein, Eusebius' date is clearly to be preferred. More recently, it is also preferred by Powell:

> Epiphanius' chronology in Haer. 48 is even wilder than usual....Is it possible that he was working from the nineteenth year of the wrong Antoninus? The 19th year of Antoninus *Verus* (Marcus Aurelius) would be 177-8, according to [the] Anonymous a significant year for Montanism, though the death of Maximilla and not the first prophecy of Montanus. In view of the known affinities and connections between Asia and Gaul, Eusebius' date would give adequate time for the martyrs of Lyons to hear of the first generous stages of the New Prophecy (Powell, pp 41-2, note 42).

The best argument for Epiphanius' date, here taken into account by Powell in his last sentence, is that Eusebius' date requires that the activities of Montanus, Theodotus, Priscilla, and Maximilla take place in a short space of time, since the death of Maximilla, the last early figure of the New Prophecy, occurs in 179. (This date is arrived at by advertence to the Anonymous, who claims in H E V.16.19 that he writes thirteen years after her death, and remarks that the Empire--including even the Christians--has enjoyed complete peace in the interim. Powell, p. 42, and Labriolle, pp 580-1, believe that the most likely date for these years is 180-192, the reign of Commodus, implying that the Anonymous wrote in 192.) Labriolle refutes this position, which he holds is at

bottom the reason for Zahn's, Harnack's, and Bonwetsch's penchant for 157:

> ...je n'éprouve nulle difficulté à concevoir que le Montanisme ait éclaté d'une façon très brusque, et ait poussé rapidement sa fortune. La description de l'Anonyme [HE V.16.7ff] favorise mieux cette conjecture que la conjecture contraire. Je conçois fort bien aussi que les principaux agents du *réveil* aient vite usé, dans les ébranlements et les délires de l'extase, dans des luttes quotidiennement renouvelées, leurs nerfs, leurs santés, leurs vies. Sept ou huit années...sont déjà *grande mortalis aevi spatium*....Pourquoi appliquer au lointain passé une estimation différente de celle que le spectacle quotidien des réalités nous impose? (p. 573, against, e.g., Th. Zahn, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, Vol. V (Leipzig, 1893), pp 1-57; here, pp 20f)

7. The numerical estimate is that of Tabbernee, "Remants."

8. Elsa Gibson, The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia, (Missoula, Montana, 1978), pp 131-5.

9. Ibid., citing W.M. Calder, "Philadelphia and Montanism," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 7 (1922-23), pp 309-54; J.G.C. Anderson, "Paganism and Christianity in the Upper Tembris Valley," Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces, Aberdeen University Series 20 (Aberdeen, 1906), p. 201; H. Leclercq, "Montaniste (épigraphie)," Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie 11, 2 (1934), cols. 2529-2544; and C. Cecchelli, Monumenti cristiano-eretici di Roma (Rome, 1944), pp 87f.

10. Gibson, pp 132-5, citing W.M. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia (Oxford, 1895), compare pp 491 and 537; H. Grégoire, "Epigraphie chrétienne (Les inscriptions hérétiques d'Asie Mineure)," Byzantion 1 (1924), p. 708 (supporting Calder); Idem, with P. Orgels, J. Moreau, and A. Maricq, Les Persécutions dans l'Empire Romain, Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 2d series, 46,1 (1951), p. 18 (against Calder).

11. Gibson, pp 132-4, citing Pierre de Labriolle, La crise

montaniste (Paris, 1913), p. 489; Schepelern, pp 80-82; A. Ferrua, "Questioni di epigrafia eretica romana," Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana 21 (1945), pp 218-21.

12. Gibson, pp 143-4.

13. Gibson, p. 144.

14. Tabbernee, "Remnants;" and Graydon F. Synder, *Ante Pacem:* Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine, (Macon, Georgia, 1985). Synder writes:

> The meaning of the [Christians for Christians] formula has not been determined. It could refer to a more rigid sect, like the Montanists, who insisted on public witness and encounter. It could refer to orthodox Christians as they began to exert social and economic pressure on their non-Christian neighbors. Or it could simply be a rural, monolithic frankness that differed drastically from the urban pluralism that so characterized the Sitz im Leben of most of our data on early Christianity (p. 136).

15. Gibson, pp 116-9; Synder, p. 136. Its date is 327 in the Sullan era, which corresponds to 242/3 A.D. The "Christians for Christians" formula was used almost exclusively in the latter half of the third century (Gibson, p. 4). However, Tabbernee believes it within the realm of possibility that the epitaphs are post-Constantinian ("Christian Inscriptions from Phrygia," New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity, Vol. 3 (Sydney, 1983), pp 128-39; here 130-33). Synder adds, "apart from the fascinating fact of their existence, there is little in the way of content to be gleaned. There are no references to Christian practices or thought, no Christian names" (p. 134). The exceptions are the family tomb of Aurelia Julia and the Abercius epitaph. The former refers to Aurelia's daughter Moundane (Gibson, pp 103-4). Synder observes that Moundane may be the feminine form of the heterodox Montanus, but "the use of the name elsewhere in the area does not seem to carry" that connotation (p. 138; see also Gibson, pp 103-4).

The Abercius epitaph was discovered by Ramsay in 1883 in the wall of the public bath. Now housed in the Vatican Museum, it is "in the form of a Phrygian tomb inscription, but actually of a literary nature" (Synder, p. 140). Its date is 300 in the Sullan era, or 216 A.D. (Ibid.). The epitaph is demonstrably Christian, but in no way specifically Montanist (See Synder, pp 139-40).

16. Tabbernee, "Remnants."

17. Ibid.

18. A. Ferrua, "Di un communitá Montanistà sull' Aurelia all fine dell' N secolo," Civiltà Cattolica 87 (1936).

19. Calder, "Philadelphia and Montanism;" and "The New Jerusalem of the Montanists."

20. Calder, "Philadelphia and Montanism."

21. Ibid.; see also idem, "The New Jerusalem of the Montanists," passim.

22. See Grégoire, "Du nouveau sur la Hiérarchie de la secte montaniste d'après une inscription grecque trouvée près de Philadelphie en Lydie," Byzantion 2 (1925), pp 329-35; and idem, "Epigraphie chrétienne (Les inscriptions hérétiques d'Asie Mineure)," pp 703-10. In the former article Grégoire suggested that some communities may have had an orthodox bishop in the city and a Montanist bishop--perhaps applying Apoc 3:12 to himself--in a village outside.

23. The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting, Vol. 11 in Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series (Sheffield, 1986), pp 167-8, 170-3, 176-7, and corresponding notes on pp 252 and 271-2.

24. See the below discussion "Of Oracles, Eschatology, and Martyrdom."

25. Jean Daniélou, The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea. Volume I. The Theology of Jewish Christianity, trans. and ed. J.A. Baker (London, 1964), p. 389).

26. Schepelern, p. 162.

27. Ibid.

28. Schepelern, p. 160 and pp 221-2, notes 795-804.

29. De anima 9.4: Est hodie soror apud nos revelationum

charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter dominica sollemnia per ecstasin in spiritu patitur...Post transacta sollemnia dismissa plebe, quo usu solet nobis renuntiare quae viderit (ed. Waszink, Tertulliani Opera. Pars II. Opera Montanistica, CC 2 (Turnhout, 1954), pp 779-869).

30. A. Daunton-Fear, "The Ecstasies of Montanus," Studia Patristica XVII,2 (Oxford, 1982), pp 648-51; here p. 648.

31. Daunton-Fear, p. 649.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Daunton-Fear, p. 648, citing HE V.16.7.

35. ἀλλοτριοτρόπως, Ibid., citing HE V.16.9.

36. The oracles are collected in Kurt Aland, Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe (Güttersloh, 1960), pp 143-6. Aland actually lists sixteen oracles, but Nos. 1 and 2 are variations of the same saying. Aland also lists ten additional oracles which are doubtful (pp 146-8). An English translation of the oracles, together with W. Schneemelcher's comments, may be found in E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. II (London, 1965), pp 688f. Eight of the authentic oracles are found in Epiphanius, five in Tertullian, one in Eusebius, and two variations of the same oracle in Didymus and the Greek Codex X.II.11, fol. 431f in El Escorial. Typically the oracles are devoid of their original context and, with the exception of the five in Tertullian, come from anti-Montanist passages or tracts. For example, Tabbernee notes that three of the five oracles specifically attributed to Montanus (nos. 1 or 2 and 3-4 in Aland) quote only what D. Aune calls "the self-commendation formula" (Tabbernee, "Remnants," citing D.E. Aune, Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1983), pp 332-3). This formula (e.g., Aland no. 3: ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καταγινόμενος ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ) normally authenticated the accompanying prophecy, which in each of these examples is omitted in its entirety. Thus the anti-Montanists have quoted Montanus out of context in order to prove their spurious assertion that he "identified himself with the Godhead" (Tabbernee, "Remnants"). But in fact this was not the purpose or content of the utterances, which in all three cases is ignored and omitted (Ibid).

The oracles must be used with these provisos in mind.

37. Martyrs also enjoy a privileged position in the Apocalypse. They stand in heaven, upon "the glassy sea mixed with fire," and with harps in hand sing "the song of Moses, the servant of God," about the crossing of the Red Sea and the rescue from Egypt (Apoc 15:2; see Ex 15). John also sees the marytrs standing "in front of the throne and before the Lamb" (7:9), holding palm branches, the symbol of victory (and harbingers of Christ's sacrifice), clothed in white garments, symbol of the resurrected life given by God (7:9, 14-15; see also 6:9-11). The martyrs are the ones awakened from sleep, who live and rule with Christ during the millennium (20:4ff) (Schepelern, p. 161). However, the Apoc and Montanism are hardly unique in their enthusiasm about martyrs.

38. "Early Montanism and Voluntary Martyrdom," Colloquium 17, 2 (1985), pp 33-44; here, p. 43.

39. Tabbernee, pp 33-4, citing esp. Martyrdom of Polycarp 4 (ed. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs,. (Oxford, 1972), pp 2-21); Clement, Clemens Alexandrinus. Zweiter Band. Stromata Buch I-VI, ed. Stählin, GCS 59 (Berlin, 1960), Stromateis 4.10; Cyprian, Saint Cyprien. Correspondance, 2nd ed., Vols. I and II, ed. Bayard, (Paris, 1962/1961), Ep. 20.1; Ep. 58.3; idem, Sancti Cypriani Episcopi Opera. Pars I, ed. Bévenot, CC 3 (Turnhout, 1972), Ad Fortunatum, praef, 4.

40. Tabbernee, p. 34; citing, p. 35, Dionysius of Alexandria's story in HE VI.41.22; Martyrdom of Ptolemy 15-20; and Passion of Marianus 9.2-3.

41. Tabbernee, p. 35, citing Cyprian, Ep. 19.2; 55.4; 58.8 (ed. Bayard).

42. Ibid., citing Act. Maximilian 3.1; 2.6; Act. Marcellus 4.2-3; Pass. Julius 1.4; 2.2.

43. Tabbernee, p. 36.

44. R.M. Grant, Second Century Christianity (London, 1946), p. 95, numbers the oracles among the prophecies of Montanus himself.

45. Namque *omnes paene* ad martyrium exhortatur, non ad fugam, ut et illius commemoremur, Aland, no. 8, p. 144. One may

also translate, "For he exhorts all almost to [the point of] martyrdom...," which would imply that the original Montanist teaching undercuts Tertullian's own position. That is, the Spirit exhorts everyone almost--but not quite--to the point of voluntary martyrdom. Tabbernee, "Early Montanism and Voluntary Martyrdom," p. 38, prefers this translation, which would strengthen my thesis. S. Thelwall, the ANF translator, prefers the construal provided in the body of the text above (Alexander Roberts, et al., eds., The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol. IV (1885; rpt. Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1976), p. 121).

46. "Publicaris" inquit, "bonum tibi est; qui enim non publicatur in hominibus, publicatur in Domino. Ne confundaris; iustitia te producit in medium. Quid confunderis laudem ferens? Potestas fit, cum conspiceris ab hominibus." Aland, p. 144.

47. See Mk 13:11 and Mt 10:19-20). Tabbernee's analysis of the oracle is particularly interesting in its interpretation of potestas, which he translates as "authoritative power":

> The one event of martyrdom is viewed here from a double perspective: whilst the martyr is being put to shame at a human level, a supranatural event of a a far greater significance is taking place. The martyr is declaring his...faith *before Christ* and, consequently, is being invested with spiritual potestas. The earthly prisoner is being elevated to the position of heavenly judge. Montanus presumably subscribed to the view, based on Rev 20:4-6, that martyrs would ultimately judge those who persecuted them. Montanus' theology of persecution, revealed by this oracle, is one of supreme confidence in the providence of God ("Early Montanism and Voluntary Martyrdom," pp 37-8).

48. Powell, p. 43 and note 46, citing Schneemelcher in Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 688.

49. Powell, p. 43.

50. Aland, p. 145.

51. Powell, p. 43.

52. Aland, p. 145.

53. Powell, p. 43.

54. Ibid. In the schema of de Labriolle, Tabbernee, and Powell, the first phase of the New Prophecy ends when the last of the original Trio dies.

55. Powell, p. 43; Daniélou, p. 389. Daniélou declares:

> Montanism appears to have been a conservative movement which at the end of the second century reverted to the fervent eschatological expectation which had existed in the primitive Asiatic community, and especially to its millenarianism (The Development of Christian Doctrine before...Nicaea, p. 389).

57. Panarion 49.1.2 in Holl, p. 241.

58. Powell, p. 44.

59. Powell, p. 45, citing Schepelern, p. 15.

60. Aland, p. 145, italics mine.

61. My translation of dass dieser Ort heilig sei und Jerusalem aus dem Himmel hierher herabkommen werde, in Powell, p. 45, citing Schneemelcher in E. Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, Vol. II (Tübingen, 1964), p. 486.

62. Powell, p. 45, citing H.B. Swete, The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church (London, 1912), p. 69.

63. Powell, p. 45. Powell notes that ὧδε is also ambiguous, and may mean either "hither" or "thus (Ibid.)." If the latter, the meaning would be that the new Jerusalem appears in the same manner as Christ. This construal is vague and less coherent in the context than the one offered by Swete.

64. Powell, pp 45-6. See also de Labriolle, pp 90-94.

65. Powell, p. 46. Powell finds that the image does not seem to come from the cult of Cybele (Ibid.). De Labriolle does not exclude the possibility that Christ's feminine aspect derives from either the Gospel to the Hebrews or Gnosticism, where the Spirit is feminine (p. 87 and note 3; p. 88 and notes 1-3.). The citations from

the Gospel to the Hebrews may be found in M.R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament, 2nd ed. (1953; rpt. Oxford, 1983), pp 2, 3, and 5. The Gnostic citations are in Hippolytus, Philosophoumena IX.13; and Epiphanius, Panarion 19.4 and 30.17 (twice). However, de Labriolle believes that these are unlikely sources, because it is Christ himself who is described, not the Holy Spirit, and because his shining clothing has no parallel in the female figures of Gnosticism or the Gospel to the Hebrews (p. 88).

66. Powell, pp 46-7. Powell argues against Schepelern (p. 127) that the practice does not parallel the lamentation of maidens over "the fate of Attis at the Phrygian spring festival." Schepelern's allowance for a limited influence exerted by the cult of Cybele "rested on the assumption that the Montanist virgins were lamenting the sufferings and death of Christ--of which there is no trace in Epiphanius. What they were lamenting was the life of men, and their sins, for the [purpose of] stirring of their hearers to repentance."

67. Powell, p. 46.

68. Schepelern, pp 160-1, citing, notes 805 and 693, Weinal, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister in nachapostol. Zeitalter bis auf Irenaeus (Freiburg, 1899), p. 146.

69. Schepelern, p. 161.

70. Schepelern adds: Und wenn wir das nahe Verhältnis zwischen Inspiration und Martyrium erwägen und bedenken, welch kurze Zeitspanne das Zeitalter des Johannes von dem des Montanus trennt, so kann nicht zweifelhaft sein, wie die Sache sich verhält (p. 162).

71. Eusebius repeats Apollonius' claim that he composed his antimontanist tract in the fortieth year after Montanus began to prophesy (HE V.18.12). This would be in ca. 212, a date not challenged by Powell or de Labriolle (Powell, p. 42; de Labriolle, p. 202). For discussion of Montanism's date of origin, ca. 172, see the above section titled "Date of Origin."

72. Powell, p. 44.

73. Ibid.

74. Ἔτι δὲ ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τὸν σωτῆρά φησιν προστεταχέναι τοῖς

αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσιν μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, κέχρηται δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ νεκρὸν δὲ δυνάμει θείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγηγέρθαι ἱστορεῖ, καὶ ἄλλα τινά φησιν, δι' ὧν ἱκανῶς τῆς προειρημένης αἱρέσεως πληρέστατα διηύθυνεν τὴν πλάνην (HE V.18.14).

75. The facially anti-imperial and uncompromising character of the Apoc may likewise play a role in the genesis of the Montanist asceticism, but here, especially, evidence is scarce. The most we could do is agree with Prigent, who in his search for the spiritual crucible of the New Prophecy compares the anti-Docetist and anti-judaising passages in the letters to the seven churches (Apoc 2-3) with the analogous passages in Ignatius' seven letters ("L'Hérésie asiate et l'Église confessante de l'Apocalypse à Ignace," VC 31 (1977), pp 1-22). He observes that both sets of letters teach that compromise with the pagan world is impossible, and he speculates that Montanism owes its nativity to the letters' legacy of uncompromise (p. 22).

Appendix B: The Life, Works, and Literary Sources of Victorinus of Pettau

1. Iohannes Haußleiter, ed., Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera (Vienna, 1916), pp XII-XIII. So also Jerome in De vir. 74 (Herding, p. 48); prologus in Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I-XI, ed. Marci Adriaen, Vol. 73 in CC (Turnhout, 1963), p. 3,83; epist. 58.10 in Saint Jérôme. Lettres, Vol. III, Epistulae LIII-LXX, ed. Jérôme Labourt (Paris, 1953), p. 84; epist. 70.5 (Labourt, p. 214); and the praefatio of his translation of Origen's homilies on Luke (Rauer, ed., Origenes Werke. IX. Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus, Vol 49 in GCS (Berlin, 1959), p. 2,7).

2. Haußleiter, p. VII.

3. Haußleiter, pp XII-XIII.

4. Wilhelm Herding, ed., Hieronymi de viris inlustribus, (Leipzig, 1924), no. 74.

5. Ibid.

6. Jerome reports that Victorinus also composed exegeses on Gen, Ex, Lev, Is, Ezek, Habakkuk, Ecclesiastes, Songs, et multa alia (de viris 74, Herding, p. 48). Elsewhere, Jerome cites a commentary by Victorinus on Matthew (praefatio in S. Hieronymi Presbyteri. Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV, eds. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, Vol. 77 in CC (Turnhout, 1969), p. 5, line 96; praefatio in Origenes Werke. IX. Die Homilien zu Lukas, p. 2,7).

The text of the précis is in Haußleiter, pp 12-153, with Jerome's recension en face. The De fabrica mundi is in pp 1-9.

7. Its authenticity is attested by Quasten, p. 412; Carmelo Curti, "Il regno millenario in Vittorino di Petovio," Augustinianum 28 (1978), pp 419-33; here, p. 424; Kenneth B. Steinhauser, The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius. A History of Its Reception and Influence (Frankfurt, 1987), p. 30; Manlio Simonetti, La letteratura cristiana antica greca e latina (Florence, 1969), p. 173; P. de Labriolle, Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne, Vol. I, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1947), p. 321; and Haußleiter, pp XXVI-XXVII.

8. Steinhauser, p. 30; Haußleiter, "Victorinus von Pettau," Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Vol. XX,3 (Leipzig, 1908), pp 614-619; here, p. 616; Otto Bardenhewer,

Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, Vol II,2 (Freiburg, 1914), pp 657-663, esp. 660.

9. Mynors, p. 28.

10. Haußleiter, p. XXI; Curti, p. 419, note 1.

11. G. Mercati, Anonymi chiliastae in Matthaeum fragmenta, Varia sacra, Studi e Testi 11 (Vatican City, 1903), pp 3-49. The authenticity of the fragment is challenged by Alexander Souter, "Reasons for Regarding Hilarius (Ambrosiaster) as the author of Mercati-Turner Anecdotum," Journal of Theological Studies 5 (1904), pp 608-21.

12. In his work against Parmenian the Donatist, Optatus of Mileve cites Victorinus as a defender of orthodoxy (S. Optati Milevitani libri VII, ed. Karol Ziwsa, Vol. 26 in CSEL (Vienna, 1893), p. 11). Harnack therefore argues that Victorinus authored Ps-Tertullian's Adversum omnes haereses (Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1893), pp 430-2, 733). As Haußleiter concedes, that Optatus puts Marcion first in his list of heretics and Victorinus first among Catholic writers refuting heretics does suggest that Victorinus composed such a treatise (Victorini...Opera, p. XXVI). And in the précis Victorinus does condemn Valentinus, Cerinthus, Ebion, and the Nicolaitans, the same heretics inveighed against by Ps-Tertullian (Ibid., citing p. 96, line 1 and p. 34,11). However, as Haußleiter points out, Ps-Tertullian's style is entirely different from that of Victorinus (p. XXVI). Moreover, Ps-Tertullian is sufficiently ignorant of Marcion as to assert that Cerdo--not Marcion himself--is responsible for truncating the scriptures: the inaccuracy is highly unlikely if Victorinus' refutation of Marcion is, as Optatus holds, even more important than that of Tertullian (Ibid.)

A. Wilmart attributed the anonymous De decem virginibus to Victorinus ("Un anonyme ancien 'De X virginibus,'" Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes 1 (1911), pp 35-49, 88-102; here, p. 102). J. Wöhrer believed that Victorinus authored two short fragments sometimes attributed to Marius Victorinus ("Eine kleine Schrift die vielleicht dem hl. Martyrbischof Victorinus von Pettau angehort," Jahresbericht des Privatgymnasiums der Zisterzienser in Wilhering (1927), pp 3-8; "'Victorini episcopi Petavionensis (?) ad Iustinum Manichaeum:' 1-8," Jahresbericht...Wilhering (1928), pp 3-7). These proposals have not met with enthusiasm from later critics (Steinhauser, p. 30; Quasten, p. 413).

13. Haußleiter, p. XXV.

14. See the discussion in Haußleiter, pp LI-LIX.

15. Haußleiter, pp LIX-LXVI.

16. Steinhauser, p. 31.

17. Jerome writes: Victorino martyri in libris suis, licet desit eruditio, tamen no deest eruditionis voluntas (Epist. 70.5 in Labourt, p. 214); and quod intellegit, eloqui non potest (Epist. 58.10 in Labourt, p. 84).

18. Victorinus' advertences to Papias are in p. 52, line 20 - p. 54,1; and p. 154, 8; Jerome's slighting reference to Victorinus' chiliasm is on p.14,8. Haußleiter lists all of Jerome's revisions in pp XXXVI-XLV. A complete list of Tyconian passages added by Jerome is in Steinhauser, p. 43, together with a full explanation, pp 36-44.

19. Haußleiter, pp VIII-XII; Quasten, Patrology, Vol. II, The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus (1953; rpt. 1983), p. 413; K. Steinhauser, p. 30; see E. Romero-Pose, "Apocalisse," Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane (Rome, 1983), cols. 267-9; here, col. 268. However, Hippolytus is omitted without comment by Curti, pp 421-6.

20. Marcus interpres Petri ea quae in munere docebat commemoratus conscripsit sed non ordine. Jerome excised both passages because of his opposition to Papias' chiliasm. See Haußleiter, p.14, lines 8-10.

21. Victorinus, page 50, line 19 - 52,1.

22. Compare Victorinus, 154,8-9 with Adv. haer. V.33.3-4.

23. Haußleiter, p. VIII.

24. Victorinus, 148,10-12; Adv. haer. V.32.2.

25. Victorinus, 152,12-16; Adv. haer. V.33.2.

26. Victorinus, 154,6-7; Adv. haer. V.33.1.

27. Victorinus, 50,7 - 52,11; Adv. haer. III.11.8.

28. Victorinus, 124,11; Adv. haer. V.30.3.

29. Victorinus, 98,14-15; Adv. haer. V.15.3. For further discussion of exegetical parallels, see Chapter 10 above, passim and esp. its "Exegesis," section (6).

30. Romero-Pose, col. 268; Haußleiter, p. IX; Quasten, p. 413; Curti, pp 424-5; Steinhauser, p. 30.

31. Jerome says: Taceo de Victorino Petobionensi et ceteris, qui Origenem in explanatione dumtaxat scripturarum secuti sunt et expresserunt (epist. 61.2 in Labourt, pp 111-2). Again, in the Apology Against Rufinus III.14, he writes: Ego non accusavi, quare Origenem pro voluntate transtuleris: hoc enim et ipse feci et ante me Victorinus, Hilarius Ambrosiusque fecerunt (Saint Jérôme, Apologie contre Rufin, ed. Pierre Lardet, Vol. 303 in SC (Paris, 1983), p. 250). See also Ibidem, I.2 (p. 10); epist. 84.7 (Saint Jérôme, Lettres, Vol IV, Epistulae LXXI-XCV, ed. Labourt (Paris, 1954), p. 134); and Commentario in Ecclesiasten 4.13 (Migne, ed., Vol. 23 in PL, (Paris, 1845), col. 1050). All quoted more extensively by Haußleiter, p. IX.

32. Manlio Simonetti, Lettera e/o Allegoria. Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica (Rome, 1985), p. 295: Mentre abbiamo visto Metodio, coevo di Vittorino, influenzato dall'interpretazione origeniana dell'Apocalissi, Vittorino appare immune (o quasi) da questo influsso.

33. Ibid.

34. See the index of Origen's citations of the Apoc in Allenbach, et al., eds., Biblia Patristica 3, Origène (Paris, 1980), pp 466-9.

35. On Prayer 27.11 in P. Koetschau, ed., Origenes Werke II, GCS 3 (Leipzig, 1899); Victorinus,138,8-12.

36. See, e.g., Comm. in John I.17.96.

37. Victorinus, 132,3-4; Origéne, Homélies sur Josué, ed. A. Jaubert, Vol. 71 in SC (Paris,1960), p. 268.

38. Haußleiter, p. VIII, citing 154,6-7.

39. Crouzel, H., and Simonett, M., eds., Origène. Traité des principes I (livres I et II), SC 252 (Paris, 1978).

40. Curti, pp 429-32. See Victorinus 154,9-18 and also Chapter 10 above, section (9) of "Exegesis."

41. Simonetti, p. 295: Il millenarismo, combattuto dallo spiritualismo alessandrino, è già in decadenza in Oriente alla fine del III secolo. Ma [il millenarismo] aveva avuto tempo di diffondersi in Occidente, dove ebbe vita più lunga; e questa situazione si ripercosse anche sull'interpretazione [de Vittorino] dell'Apocalisse.

42. Haußleiter's own discussion of the question demonstrates only that Hippolytus influenced Jerome's recension (pp 78-9).

43. Haußleiter, p. VIII, quoting Jerome, epist. 36,16 (CSEL 54, 283): Hippolyti martyris verba ponemus, a quo et Victorinus noster non plurimum discrepat.

44. Victorinus, pp 48, 50, 52; Prigent-Stehly, "Hippolyte, commentateur de l'Apocalypse," p. 399. For further discussion, see Chapter 10 above, "Exegesis," section (4), "The Four Living Creatures (Apoc 4)."

45. Victorinus, p. 118; Commentary on Daniel, IV.34.

46. Victorinus, p. 98; De antichristo 43.

47. Victorinus, 104-116; Prigent, Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse, pp 4-5.

48. See Chapter 10 above, sections (1) and (7) of "Exegesis."

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Long Abstract

The Apocalypse in the Early Church.

Christ, Eschaton, and Millennium.

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Submitted to the Faculty of Theology for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Patristic exegesis of the Apocalypse from Papias to Eusebius falls into three categories. They are (1) chiliastic (or anti-chiliastic), (2) eschatological, and (3) christocentric. The interpretations arise in different contexts and are difficult to reconcile with one another. It is sometimes possible to find both the eschatological and the christological exegeses in the same author (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Methodius, Victorinus).

The chiliastic interpretation is interested only in Apoc 20-22. It arises in the Jewish Christian context and firmly professes belief in a one-thousand-year-reign of Christ on earth (Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin). It opts for a "realistic"--i.e., a concrete and historical--future fulfillment of Apoc 20:2-7. It foresees a restoration of the terrestrial Jerusalem and of paradise. The restoration of paradise extends even to the primordial subjection of the animals to man (Irenaeus and perhaps Papias). It is judaising in

its fascination with the glorious coming of the Messiah, and therefore tends to underemphasise his first coming. It also polemicises against the Jews (Justin, Victorinus, trace in Cyprian).

We learn of the chiliastic exegetes of the Apocalypse--Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin, and perhaps Papias and the Montanists--largely through their opponents, the anti-chiliasts Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius, Gaius, and the Alogoi. The anti-chiliasts, in limiting their consideration of the Apocalypse to chapters 20-22, fall into the same error as the chiliasts. They accept uncricitally the judaising interpretation of chapters 20-22, attempt no coherent analysis of the whole text, and fail to see its christological and ecclesiological possibilities.

Eusebius is the major anti-chiliast and the major preserver of both chiliasts and anti-chiliasts. His shifting attitude towards the Apoc reflects the views of those who come before him. He is initially positive, then wholly negative, and finally negative but less extreme. He eventually rejects the Apocalypse not only because he finds its millennium--which he interprets literally--crude and repugnant to his Origenistic sensibility, but also because the text is anti-imperial (if interpreted literally), favoured by his enemy Methodius, and distrusted by his hero Dionysius. Eusebius is the first writer to declare explicitly that the

Apocalypse is a millennial text. His chiliastic opponents are already professed millenarians who find in the Apocalypse support for their views.

The Montanists perhaps also belong in the chiliastic category. The most conclusive evidence comes not from themselves--no demonstrably Montanist exegeses of the Apocalypse survive--but from the anti-Montanists. Gaius and the Alogoi probably reject the Apocalypse because of its associations with Montanism and Cerinthus the Gnostic. The exegeses and sensitivities of Gaius and the Alogoi are sufficiently similar to one another as to suggest that they are allies in close contact. The Alogoi, commonly thought to be headquartered in Asia Minor, are probably in Rome.

The second interpretation of the Apocalypse is eschatological. It arises in response to Hellenisers (Gnostics, Marcion, Hermogenes) who spiritualise the Christian theology of the resurrection of the body and discard the Old Testament. As with the first interpretation, its interpretation of the Apocalypse tends towards literalism. It is usually chiliastic (Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian) but sometimes more ambivalent (Hippolytus). The judaising interpretation emphasized the restoration of the earth and the enjoyment of the afterlife. The eschatological interpretation

emphasises rather the sequence of events leading up to the afterlife, including the coming of the Antichrist, the death of the two witnesses, the eschatological wars, and the two resurrections, as well as the final judgement, damnation of the impious, and new Jerusalem (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Victorinus). The eschatological writers do not become chiliasts because of the Apocalypse. Rather, they seize upon chiliasm because it adds credibility to the orthodox eschatology, and they find apostolic confirmation for their views in Apoc 20:2-7.

The primary exemplars of the eschatological interpretation are Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus. As with the Fourth Gospel, so with the Apocalypse: Justin is the first orthodox writer to quote the text, Irenaeus the first to grasp many of the profundities of its theology, and Hippolytus the first to defend it.

Irenaeus is the first major figure of the eschatological interpretation, but he originally favours the christocentric interpretation. He is explicit in acknowledging two conflicting readings of the text. He shows signs of trying to reconcile the two interpretations through recapitulation, the notion that central events in salvation history recur and are fulfilled according to an original pattern. However, his primary reason for using the Apocalypse as the eschatological recapitulation of Genesis

archetypes is to refute Marcion and the Gnostics, who reject the Old Testament, the unity of salvation history, the orthodox eschatology, and the physical resurrection.

Hippolytus is also significant, because he defends not only the Christian eschatology (against Hellenisers and Montanists) and indeed his very Christian faith (against the persecuting Empire), but also the Apocalypse itself (against Gaius and the Alogoi). His discussion of the eschatological sequence of Apoc 11-20 is therefore particularly minute and historicising.

An aside by Justin and passages in the Gallican Martyrs and Irenaeus suggest that a nonchiliastic interpretation of the Apocalypse also had its second-century adherents. This third interpretation is christocentric and church-centred. Above all, it reads the Apocalypse as the ongoing self-revelation of Jesus Christ to his saints. It presupposes that the text is a coherent whole: it does not restrict itself to chapters 20-22 like the chiliasts and their opponents, nor to the eschatological passages of chapters 11-20 like the anti-Hellenistic writers. It typically interprets the symbols and events of the Apocalypse figuratively and typologically. It treats the text as a realised--not a future--eschatology, and sees the millennium as beginning with the first coming of Christ

(Irenaeus, The Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, Cyprian) or even symbolising the Old Economy (Origen). The christocentric interpretation is different from the interpretations above in that it does not arise from a particular dogmatic need. It is also ubiquitous, appearing in Irenaeus, The Martyrs of Lyons, Cyprian, Origen, Methodius, and Victorinus. Thus although its major figures come after the eschatological writers, the christocentric interpretation would appear to be the more ancient.

After the Gnostic threat to the orthodox eschatology subsides, a partial restoration of the third interpretation--which never disappears entirely even in the major eschatological writers--occurs (Origen, Methodius, Victorinus; and even Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, trace in Justin). However, the eschatological interpretation is by this time itself part of the tradition, surviving in Victorinus and the later tradition of the Church (Tyconius, Jerome, Augustine, Caesarius, Primasius, Cassiodorus, Ambrosius Autpertus, Beatus, Bede). In other words, the eschatological interpretation far outlives the original purpose for its existence.

Cyprian typically uses the Apoc to explain the identity of Christ as the slain Lamb and King who has come, delivered man, and conquered the Antichrist with his "tree of life," (2:7; 22:2). This Christ is the spouse of a universal, fruitful Church which is the New

Jerusalem. Unlike the eschatological writers, his reading of passages in Apoc 14, 17-22 is never futuristic. Rather, those chapters describe the present reality.

In his 400-odd citations of the Apocalypse, Origen, too, provides substantial commentary. The Apocalyptic images of the Son reveal his identity as the Logos and the bringer of revelation and salvation. He is the Alpha and Omega because, just as the written word is understood only through knowing the alphabet, so the totality of spiritual knowledge is acquired only by knowing all aspects of the Son from beginning to end. As a book is the result of an infinite combination of letters, so also the Scriptures are diverse manifestations of the one reality which is the Son. Thus the Apoc manifests the Son and thereby demonstrates how the Scriptures are in effect a sacrament of the Son.

Origen interprets Apoc 12-22 in a coherent manner. Apoc 12 describes Satan's primordial fall into materiality. The millennium of Apoc 20 is the Old Economy, which ends with the Crucifixion, destruction of Jerusalem, and the immediately ensuing (but now past) apocalyptic sufferings of sinners (Apoc 15-18). The new Jerusalem of Apoc 21 is the intermediate state or school of souls for the saints, who become progressively more perfect. The new Jerusalem is a spiritual reality and the abode of its living stones,

the saints.

Methodius is the first to seize upon the ascetic and ecclesiological possibilities inherent in the christocentric interpretation. That is, he interprets especially the heavenly woman of Apocalypse 12 as a guide both to the Christian virgin who would imitate Christ the Archvirgin and as a symbol of the maternal Church who is in labor until Christ is born in every man. Yet Methodius also professes chiliasm as a means to stymie the dangers to orthodoxy posed by the eschatological excesses of Origenism, particularly Origen's theology of the pneumatic body. Turning Origen's own exegetical method against him, Methodius uses an allegorical interpretation of the Feast of the Tabernacles to demonstrate the literal truth of the Apocalyptic millennium.

The most substantial exemplar of the christocentric interpretation is Victorinus (although even he prefers the eschatological interpretation of Apoc 20-22), whose précis of the text is the most ancient still extant. Victorinus sees the text as a series of four tableaux reflecting upon the central Christian beliefs and events from different historical perspectives. He views certain individual episodes within the tableaux, such as the heavenly liturgy of Apoc 4-5 and the woman and child of Apoc 12, as self-contained résumés of the whole of salvation history. The tableaux

recapitulate one another as well as events in other scriptures. More so than Irenaeus, by whom he is heavily influenced, Victorinus is able through recapitulation to reconcile the eschatological and christocentric readings of the text, because his adaptation of recapitulation permits him to apply individual passages to both advents of Christ.

The length of the dissertation, not including its bibliography or short abstract, is approximately 92,000 words.

Short Abstract

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Exegesis of the Apocalypse from Papias to Eusebius falls into three categories: chiliastic (or anti-chiliastic), eschatological, and christocentric. The chiliastic interpretation uses only Apoc 20-22. It advocates a future, earthly, millennial reign (Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin) and restoration of Jerusalem and paradise (Irenaeus, perhaps Papias). In its judaising fascination with the Parousia, it neglects the text's incarnational aspect. Its exegetes--Cerinthus, Nepos, Justin, perhaps Papias and the Montanists--survive largely through their opponents Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius, Gaius, and the Alogoi. These anti-chiliasts likewise consider only 20-22, attempt no coherent analysis of the text, and ignore its christology. Thus Eusebius eventually scorns the Apoc because he finds its millennium crude and anti-imperial.

The eschatological interpretation arises in response to Hellenisers (Gnostics, Marcion, Hermogenes) who spiritualise the physical resurrection and discard the OT. It is usually chiliastic (Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian) but sometimes more ambivalent (Hippolytus). The chiliastic interpretation emphasised earth's restoration and the afterlife. The eschatological interpretation emphasises these but also preceeding apocalyptic events. The eschatologisers are not chiliasts because of the Apoc. Rather, chiliasm reinforces their orthodox eschatology and finds apostolic confirmation in 20:2-7. Irenaeus is christocentric but later becomes eschatological, defending the OT and unity of salvation history. Hippolytus defends both the Christian eschatology (against Hellenisers) and the Apoc itself (against Gaius and Alogoi).

The third interpretation is christocentric. Presupposing that the text is a coherent whole, its millennium begins with the Advent (Irenaeus, Gallican Martyrs, Cyprian) or even symbolises the Old Economy (Origen). Its ubiquity and non-polemical character (Irenaeus, Gallican Martyrs, Cyprian, Origen, Methodius Victorinus) suggest its priority. As the Gnostic threat to orthodox eschatology subsides, the christocentric interpretation regains force (Origen, Methodius, Victorinus). However, the eschatological interpretation is by then itself traditional. Thus Victorinus reads 1-19 as a series of christocentric résumés of salvation history but interprets 20-22 eschatologically.