

A DISPENSATIONAL PREMILLENNIAL ANALYSIS OF THE ESCHATOLOGY  
OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
(UNTIL THE DEATH OF JUSTIN MARTYR)

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A Thesis

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by

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## PREFACE

Several items need to be mentioned by way of preface. First of all, it is one of the concluding recommendations of this thesis that its findings need to be applied to the current debate between the various modern schools of premillennialism. At this point, the author would assert that any apologetical or polemical use of the conclusions of this thesis must be based upon a viable historiography of patristic theology. In other words, one can not assume the truthfulness of his eschatological position simply because there are adumbrations of it in the patristic writings.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, a modern eschatological position can not be demonstrated to be in error simply because there are no adumbrations of it in the patristic writings.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, the author would like to acknowledge, on the basis of classroom and private discussion, that Dr. Charles Ryrie, whose statements regarding the historicity of dispensational premillennialism in

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<sup>1</sup>For example, post-tribulationism or amillennialism. It is the present conviction of this writer that there was a rapid departure from New Testament eschatological truth in the early patristic period. Therefore, it warrants the writer little concern that there are no roots of dispensational premillennialism in that period, but instead the roots of both post-tribulationism and amillennialism. The roots of dispensational premillennialism are Scriptural, and the most one could hope to find in the early patristic period would be some remnants of it (as this thesis demonstrates there are). Similarly, it warrants little concern that there is evident post-tribulationism and seminal amillennialism in these patristic writings. A rapid departure from New Testament eschatological truth would account for this phenomenon.

<sup>2</sup>For example, dispensational premillennialism.

the Church Fathers are carefully scrutinized in this thesis, has clarified his position on these matters. Unfortunately, he has not published these clarifications, and it is hoped that he will do so in the near future.

## INTRODUCTION

"Premillennialism is the historic faith of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the historical validity of this statement within the context of the patristic writings<sup>2</sup> spanning the post-apostolic era until the death of Justin Martyr.<sup>3</sup> In other

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, (Neptune, N.J.: Loiseaux Brothers, 1953), p. 17. He expands this claim elsewhere--*ibid.*, p. 33,

"Most of the discussion in this chapter centered in the ancient period of church history, for it was deemed of utmost importance to show that premillennialism was the faith of the early church. Ample testimony was given to show that this was true in the first and purest centuries of the Church. The truth was practically lost in the Middle Ages, and even the Reformation brought only a partial return. In the modern period the return has not been complete, but the truth as held today is essentially the same as that which was held by the ancient church. . . . Certain refinements may be of recent origin, but pre-millennialism was certainly the faith of the Church centuries before the Brethren and Darby. The assertion that premillennialism is a new thing is not at all warranted in the light of the historical evidence. Premillennialism has a very solid basis in history." (Italics mine.)

It is very evident that a vital aspect of Dr. Ryrie's premillennial apologetic is based upon patristic eschatological thought. By utilizing patristic eschatological categories and Dispensational distinctives, as his chapter titles and his remarks on his premillennialism (see below, p. 4, note 1) indicate, Dr. Ryrie lays the foundation of his premillennialism. In other words, he sees a very definite continuity of similarity between his premillennialism and that of patristic thought. The purpose of this thesis is to determine whether the reputed historical foundation for his premillennialism really exists.

<sup>2</sup> Excluding the following categories of early patristic literature: 1). the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, revelations etc.; 2). heretical Christian literature, with the exception of Cerinthus; 3). orthodox Christian literature which contained no eschatological statements.

<sup>3</sup> The thesis will deal with these writers/writings in chronological progression: Clement of Rome, fl. c. A.D. 96; 2 Clement, c. A.D. 98-100;

words, the purpose of this thesis is to determine whether Dr. Ryrie's "premillennialism" is similar to, or dissimilar to, the premillennialism exhibited in some of the patristic writings under consideration.

Upon engaging in this task, one could easily fall into the trap of petitio principii, and thereby sabotage the accomplishment of the purpose of this thesis by succumbing to the fallacy of assuming a priori the basic similarity of the premillennialism of the ancient and modern eras.<sup>1</sup> The matter of definition is of paramount importance. To avoid this entrapment, Chapter 1 will be devoted to the task of definition--that of elucidating the eschatological construct of Dr. Ryrie's kind of premillennialism. Then the succeeding chapters will also be devoted to

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Cerinthus, fl. c. A.D. 100; Barnabas, c. A.D. 70-100; The Didache, post-A.D. 100; Ignatius, ante-A.D. 107; Papias, ante-A.D. 130; Hermas, c. A.D. 140; Polycarp, mid-Second Century A.D.; Aristides, mid-Second Century A.D.; Justin Martyr, ante-A.D. 165--as given in The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2d ed., eds. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, pp. 84, 134, 261, 299-300, 401, 640-641, 688-689, 770, 1028, 1107, and Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 1. Although of a later period, Hegesippus' fragments are also included because they describe conditions of the early post-apostolic era, cf. The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. J. D. Douglas, s.v. "Hegesippus," by David John Williams, p. 457.

<sup>1</sup>As one would be inclined to do upon reading Dr. Ryrie's book. Cf. J. Dwight Pentecost, Things to Come, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958), pp. 375-376, where he assumes, in seeking to demonstrate the continuative similarity of ancient and modern premillennialism, that Dr. Ryrie's interpretation of the early patristic evidence (The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, pp. 20-23) is the historically valid one. (Lest a reply be made that Dr. Pentecost, unlike Dr. Ryrie, does not see a continuative similarity of premillennialisms, one need only consider, first of all, what he postulates as the content of "The premillennial view" (ibid, p. 372), and secondly, his statement that "It is generally agreed that the view of the church for the centuries immediately following the Apostolic era was the premillennial view of the return of Christ." (ibid., p. 373). Nowhere in succeeding pages does he attempt to distinguish the ancient and modern premillennial belief, and he later speaks of "The resurgence of premillennialism" (ibid., p. 390). Obviously, he

the task of definition--that of analyzing early patristic eschatology from the framework of the construct developed in Chapter 1. In conclusion, by projecting the silhouettes of Dr. Ryrie's premillennialism and early patristic premillennialism upon the screen of the enquiring mind, the thesis will determine, from the silhouetted outlines obtained, whether the two premillennialisms are indeed similar in definition and content, and thereby demonstrate whether Dr. Ryrie's "premillennialism is the historic faith of the Church."

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is here maintaining a continuative similarity of premillennialisms.) Furthermore, many writers assume the historical accuracy of Geo. N. H. Peters' claims, in The Theocratic Kingdom, 2 vols., (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884), 1:494-497, and thereby argue for the continuative similarity of the ancient and modern manifestations of premillennialism, without having done independent patristic exegesis to test the historical validity of Peters' claims. For example, Lewis Sperry Chafer, Systematic Theology, 8 vols., (Dallas: Dallas Seminary Press, 1948), vol. 4: Ecclesiology-Eschatology, pp. 271-274; J. Dwight Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 166, 374-375; John F. Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1959), p. 43.

## CHAPTER I

### THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN PRETRIBULATIONAL, DISPENSATIONAL PREMILLENNIALISM

The purpose of this chapter is to concisely articulate the foundational tenets of twentieth-century dispensational premillennialism,<sup>1</sup> thereby elucidating a foundational eschatological construct for the study of second-century premillennialism.

The first foundational tenet upon which this system of premillennialism is erected is that of consistently applied literal interpretation of the Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> This has two aspects. First of all, when

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<sup>1</sup>As represented by Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, (Neptune, N.J.: Loiseaux Brothers, 1953), p. 12, who says,

In general the premillennial system may be characterized as follows. Premillennialists believe that theirs is the historic faith of the Church. Holding to a literal interpretation of the Scriptures, they believe that the promises made to Abraham and David are unconditional and have had or will have a literal fulfillment. In no sense have these promises made to Israel been abrogated or fulfilled by the Church, which is a distinct body in this age having promises and a destiny different from Israel's. At the close of this age, premillennialists believe that Christ will return for His Church, meeting her in the air (this is not the Second Coming of Christ), which event, called the rapture or translation, will usher in a seven-year period of tribulation on the earth. After this, the Lord will return to the earth (this is the Second Coming of Christ) to establish His kingdom on the earth for a thousand years, during which time the promises to Israel will be fulfilled.

Cf. *idem.*, A Survey of Bible Doctrine, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1972), pp. 164-165.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 47, "If one interprets literally, he arrives at the



applied to Revelation 20:1-7, the premillennial return and the millennial reign of Christ are eschatologically necessitated. Secondly, when the principles<sup>1</sup> of consistently applied interpretation are applied to Old Testament prophecy,<sup>2</sup> particularly to the Abrahamic,<sup>3</sup> Palestinian,<sup>4</sup> Davidic,<sup>5</sup> and New<sup>6</sup> Covenants, the watershed of eschatological interpretation is reached.<sup>7</sup> Premillennialism insists that the unfulfilled national

premillennial system." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12, 34-37.

<sup>1</sup>The general principles for literal interpretation are: 1). interpret grammatically and historically, 2). interpret according to the immediate and wider contexts, and 3). interpret in harmony with the whole Bible by comparing Scripture with Scripture, - Charles C. Ryrie, "Doctrine of the Scriptures. VI. Interpretation. A. Principles of Interpretation," Bible Doctrine I, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965). The specific principles for the literal interpretation of prophecy are: 1). interpret literally, 2). interpret according to the harmony of prophecy, 3). observe the perspective of prophecy, 4). observe the time relationships, 5). interpret prophecy Christologically, 6). interpret historically, 7). interpret grammatically, 8). interpret according to the law of double reference, and 9). interpret consistently, - J. Dwight Pentecost, Things to Come, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958), pp. 59-64; cr. Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, pp. 40-46.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Caldwell Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), p. 158, ". . . --the literal fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. This is the basic tenet of premillennial eschatology."

<sup>3</sup>Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, pp. 48-75; John F. Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1959), pp. 139-193; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 65-94.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59; Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, p. 176; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 95-99.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 76-104; Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, pp. 194-207; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 100-115.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 105-125; Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, pp. 208-220; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 116-128.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52, "The national promises are the ones concerning which premillennialism has its controversy with other systems of

promises<sup>1</sup> made to Israel must be literally fulfilled.<sup>2</sup> This insistence arises directly out of the foundational tenet of a consistently applied literal interpretation and out of the second foundational tenet of this system of premillennialism.

The second foundational tenet--the child of the first<sup>3</sup>--is a consistent distinction between Israel and the Church in Holy Writ.<sup>4</sup>

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interpretation. . . ."

<sup>1</sup>The national promises yet literally unfulfilled for Israel: 1). a nation forever, 2). a land forever, 3). a king forever, 4). a throne forever, 5). a kingdom forever, 6). a new covenant, 7). abiding blessings. Pentecost, Things to Come, p. 128; cf. Lewis Sperry Chafer, Systematic Theology, vol. 4 (1948): Ecclesiology -- Eschatology; 8 vols. (Dallas: Dallas Seminary Press, 1947-48), pp. 315-328.

<sup>2</sup>Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, p. 136, "The premillennial view concerning Israel is quite clear and simple in its important particulars. The prophecies given to Israel are viewed as literal and unconditional. God has promised Israel a glorious future and this will be fulfilled after the second advent. Israel will be a glorious nation, protected from her enemies, exalted above the Gentiles, the central vehicle of the manifestation of God's grace in the millennial kingdom. . . . The doctrine of Israel remains one of the central features of premillennialism."

<sup>3</sup>Pentecost, Things to Come, p. 193, "The church and Israel are two distinct groups with whom God has a divine plan. The church is a mystery, unrevealed in the Old Testament. This present mystery age intervenes within the program of God for Israel because of Israel's rejection of the Messiah at His first advent. This mystery program must be completed before God can resume His program with Israel and bring it to completion. These considerations all arise from the literal method of interpretation." (Italics mine.)

<sup>4</sup>Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, p. 126, "In brief, premillennialism with a dispensational view recognizes the Church as a distinct entity, distinct from Israel in her beginning, in her relation to this age, and in her promises." Consequently, he defines the Church as "that spiritual organism of which Christ is the Head, and is composed of all regenerated people from Pentecost to the rapture.", idem, "The Doctrine of the Church. I. The Meaning of the Concept of the Church. C. The Meaning of the Body of Christ," Bible Doctrine II, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965). Cf. Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, p. 224, "Dispensational ecclesiology defines the church as a distinct body of saints in

This obviates the possibility that the national promises made to Israel could be fulfilled in the Church.<sup>1</sup> However, this distinction, consistently applied, confronts premillennialism with two problems: 1). how will these national promises be fulfilled? 2). when will these national promises be fulfilled?<sup>2</sup> The ultimate solution to these problems--the Millennium, it finds in the concept of dispensationalism. This is the third tenet of the system, and the common heir of the first two.<sup>3</sup>

Dispensationalism is the system of interpreting revealed history--past, present and future--in terms of the progressive series of God's administrative economies over human affairs.<sup>4</sup> The key to dispensationalism is the definition of a 'dispensation' as "a distinguishable economy

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the present age, having its own divine purpose and destiny and differing from the saints of the past or future ages."

<sup>1</sup>Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, p. 159, "All other views bring the Church into Israel's fulfilled prophecies except dispensationalism. The amillennarian says that the Church completely fulfills Israel's prophecies, being the true, spiritual Israel. The covenant premillennarian sees the Church as fulfilling in some senses Israel's prophecies because both are the people of God while at the same time preserving the millennial age as a period of fulfillment too."

<sup>2</sup>Idem, "The understanding of the how and when of the fulfillment of Israel's prophecies is in direct proportion to one's clarity of distinction between Israel and the Church."

<sup>3</sup>a). Regarding consistently applied literal interpretation, *ibid.*, p. 46, "Consistently literal or plain interpretation is indicative of a dispensational approach to the interpretation of the Scriptures." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 97, ". . . consistent literalism is the basis for dispensationalism."

b). Regarding the Church, cf. *ibid.*, p. 132, ". . . the doctrine of the Church, is the touchstone of dispensationalism."

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, s.v. "dispensationalism," 1:653.

in the outworking of God's purpose."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ryrie comments on this definition,

In using the word economy<sup>2</sup> as the core of the definition, the emphasis is put on the Biblical meaning of the word itself. Economy also suggests the fact that certain features of different dispensations might be the same or similar. Differing political and economic economies are not completely different, yet they are distinguishably different. Communistic and capitalistic economies are basically different, and yet there are functions, features and items in these opposing economies that are the same. Likewise, in the different economies of God's running the affairs of this world certain features are similar. However, the word distinguishable in the definition points out the fact that there are some features which are distinctive to each dispensation and which mark them off from each other as different dispensations. These are contained in the particular revelation distinctive to each dispensation.

The phrase "the outworking of God's purpose" in the definition reminds us that the viewpoint in distinguishing the dispensations is God's, not man's. The dispensations are economies instituted and brought to their purposeful conclusion by God. The distinguishing features are introduced by God; the similar features are retained by God; and the overall combined purpose of the whole program is the glory of God. . . .

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<sup>1</sup>Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκονομία 'stewardship, management, administration,' cf., for example, Ignatius, To the Ephesians 6.1. In Luke 16:1, features significant for the understanding of a dispensation are found: 1). two parties involved--the master and his servant, 2). specific responsibilities assigned to the servant, 3). accountability of the servant for his service, 4). possibility of change in stewardship arrangement if the servant found unfaithful (ibid., p. 26). Cf. the evolution of the cultural significance of the term in A Greek-English Lexicon, by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, 9th ed., s.v. "οἰκονομία" p. 1204; A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. William F. Arndt and Wilbur Gingrich, 4th rev. ed., s.v. "οἰκονομία" p. 562; Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, s.v. "οἰκονόμος, οἰκονομία" by Otto Michel, 5 (1967): 149-153. Cf. the cultural significance of dispensatio, the Latin equivalent, in A Latin Dictionary, by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, s.v. "dispensatio," p. 591; Oxford Latin Dictionary, s.v. "dispensatio," 3:554. Biblically, there are three primary distinguishing characteristics to a dispensation: 1). a change in God's governmental relationship with man, 2). a resulting change in man's responsibility, 3). a corresponding revelation to effect the change (ibid., pp. 37-38).

To summarize: Dispensationalism views the world as a household run by God. In this household-world God is dispensing or administering its affairs according to His own will and in various stages of revelation in the process of time. These various states mark off the distinguishably different economies in the outworking of His total purpose, and these economies are the dispensations. The understanding of God's differing economies is essential to a proper interpretation of His revelation within those various economies.

Dispensationalism stresses the "progressive series of God's administrative economies." The progression can be visualized in three ways: 1). cross-sectionally, which "emphasizes the distinctive importance of each event in its historical setting and for its particular purpose," 2). longitudinally, which "places all events in their proper relationship in the total progress of revelation," and 3). spirally, which stresses the ascending nature of each revelatory stewardship initiated by God.<sup>2</sup> This view of the ascending progression of economies leads to the fourth tenet of dispensational premillennialism, the Millennium--the scion of all three previous tenets.<sup>3</sup>

The Millennium is perceived to be the climactic zenith of revealed history towards which every "distinguishable economy in the

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<sup>1</sup> Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, pp. 29-31.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-43.

<sup>3</sup>a). Regarding consistently applied literal interpretation, cf. Rev. 20:1-7.

b). Regarding the Church, Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, p. 104, "Outside of eschatology itself, no area is more vitally related to millennialism than ecclesiology." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 221.

c). Regarding dispensationalism, Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, p. 223, "The future millennium is considered a separate age, different from either the law or grace periods, and having a form of stewardship distinct from all previous dispensations."

d). The inter-relation of these tenets and their significance to millennialism is well stated by Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, p. 158, "If the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the promises of the future made to Abraham and David are to be literally fulfilled, then

outworking of God's purpose" is ascending (Eph. 1:10).<sup>1</sup> It is the chief dispensation by which, and in which, the problem of the unfulfilled national promises to Israel is resolved, as evidenced by Ryrie's definition, "The millennium is the 1,000-year period of the earthly reign of Christ in fulfillment of the Abrahamic, Davidic, and new covenants."<sup>2</sup> It is obvious, then, that the belief in a literal Millennium, and the concomitant premillennial return of Christ, is intricately interwoven with, and dependent upon, the whole system of dispensational, premillennial theology.<sup>3</sup>

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there must be a future period, the millennium, in which they can be fulfilled, for the Church is not now fulfilling them in any literal sense. In other words, the literal picture of Old Testament prophecies demands either a future fulfillment or a nonliteral fulfillment. If they are to be fulfilled in the future, then the only time left for that fulfillment is the millennium. . . . The dispensational premillennialist says that the Church is in no way fulfilling these prophecies but that their fulfillment is reserved for the millennium and is one of the principle features of it."

<sup>1</sup>Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, p. 17, "Concerning the goal of history, dispensationalists find it in the establishment of the millennial kingdom on earth, . . . "

<sup>2</sup>Ryrie, "The Doctrine of Future Things. IV. The Millennium. A. Definition," Bible Doctrine II; cf. idem, The Basis for the Premillennial Faith, pp. 145-146; idem, A Survey of Bible Doctrine, pp. 174-175; Lewis Sperry Chafer, Systematic Theology, 4:264-265.

<sup>3</sup>Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, p. vii, "There is a growing consciousness within the church that premillennialism is more than a dispute on the twentieth chapter of Revelation and that instead it involves a system of interpretation of the entire Scripture from Genesis to Revelation." Ibid., p. 127, "The oft-repeated charge that premillennialism is only a dispute over the interpretation of Revelation 20 is both understatement and a serious misrepresentation of the facts. Opponents of premillennialism delight to point out that the reference to the thousand years is found only in Revelation 20. . . . The issues of premillennialism are neither trivial nor simple. Premillennialism is rather a system of theology based on many Scriptures and with a distinctive theological context." Ibid., p. 137, "It should be clear from this survey of the field that premillennialism is a distinct system of theology."

A fifth tenet, erected upon the first two tenets of the system<sup>1</sup>

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Opponents of premillennialism are right in part when they charge that premillennialism is essentially different from other forms of theology. The chief differences arise in ecclesiology, eschatology, and hermeneutics. Cf. Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today, pp. 160-161, "The doctrine of the millennial kingdom is for the dispensationalist an integral part of his entire scheme. . . . we may say that a millennial kingdom fully integrated into the whole theological system is a feature of dispensational premillennialism."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 254, "Taken as a whole, the same approach to the Scriptures and the same arguments which lead to the conclusion that Christ will return to the earth to reign for one thousand years also point to the conclusion that He will come for His church before the fulfillment of Daniel's seventieth week. The same literalness of interpretation and the same distinctions between Israel's program and that for the church, both of which are contrasted with God's dealings with the Gentiles, support both points of view."

a). Regarding literal interpretation, Pentecost, Things to Come, p. 193, "Pretribulation rapturism rests essentially on one major premise--the literal method of interpretation of the Scriptures." Cf. Walvoord, The Rapture Question, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957), pp. 11, 41, 56-57. The foundational tenet of a consistently applied literal interpretation leads to the conclusion of a pretribulation rapture because 1). it recognizes that there is no evidence for the Church in the tribulation (Walvoord, The Rapture Question, p. 61), 2). it gives full force to the doctrine of imminency, 3). it allows for distinctions between the rapture and the second advent (Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 206-207), 4). it accounts for the mystery character of the Church and the rapture (ibid., pp. 200-201; Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, pp. 241-242; idem, The Rapture Question, pp. 34-38; Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, p. 144), 5). it recognizes that the Seventieth Week of Daniel is yet unfulfilled (Walvoord, The Rapture Question, pp. 24, 51), and 6). it creates a basis for solving some of the exegetical problems related to the second advent (Walvoord, The Millennial Kingdom, pp. 242-244, 253).

b). Regarding the distinction between Israel and the Church, Walvoord, The Rapture Question, "It is therefore not too much to say that the rapture question is determined more by ecclesiology than eschatology." Cf. ibid., p. 19, "What is essential to premillennialism becomes an indispensable foundation in the study of pretribulationism. It is safe to say that pretribulationism depends upon a particular definition of the church, and any consideration of pretribulationism which does not take this major factor into consideration will be largely beside the point." Cf. idem, The Millennial Kingdom, p. 252; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 193, 199-202. The second tenet as that of a consistent distinction between Israel and the Church leads to the conclusion of pretribulationism because it recognizes the unique nature of the Tribulation as the Seventieth Week of Daniel in which Israel is prepared for the reception

and on the concept of imminency<sup>1</sup> (which is itself an offspring of the first tenet<sup>2</sup>), is the pretribulational rapture<sup>3</sup> of the Church.

As a result of this tenet, the Rapture--Christ's imminent return for the Church--must be distinguished chronologically from the Second Advent--Christ's return with the Church to establish the Millennium.<sup>4</sup>

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of her Messiah, thereby explaining why the Church has no part in it (Pentecost, Things to Come, p. 195, "This whole period then has special reference to Daniel's people, Israel, and Daniel's holy city, Jerusalem." Cf. Walvoord, The Rapture Question, pp. 24-25, 95-97). It is a time peculiar to Israel, not the Church.

<sup>1</sup>'Imminency' means that no prophesied event intervenes between the present and Christ's return for His Church. Therefore, the return of Christ for His Church must precede the Tribulation. Cf. Walvoord, The Rapture Question, pp. 78-79, 82, 195-196; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 168, 204; Lewis Sperry Chafer, Major Bible Themes, rev. ed. by John F. Walvoord, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974), pp. 79, 80, 85; John F. Walvoord, The Church in Prophecy, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1964), pp. 115, 131-132; idem., The Return of the Lord, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1955), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>Walvoord, The Rapture Question, pp. 75-82; Pentecost, Things to Come, pp. 202-204.

<sup>3</sup>I.e., the return of Christ for His Church prior to the Great Tribulation, when the believing dead are raised and living believers are changed to be with Christ and the resurrected dead (I Thess. 4:16-17).

<sup>4</sup>Since the latter occurs after the prophesied Tribulation and is therefore not imminent. Cf. Chafer, Major Bible Themes, pp. 76-85. George Eldon Ladd, The Blessed Hope, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), pp. 61-62, summarizes well the distinction between the Rapture and the Second Advent,

"Pretribulationism teaches that the second coming of Christ is to be divided into two aspects which, it is assumed, are separated by the Great Tribulation. These two events are called the Rapture and the Revelation. The Rapture, or catching up of the Church to meet the Lord in the air, is a different event from the Revelation when He will appear in the manifestation of His glory. The Rapture occurs before the Tribulation, while the Revelation occurs when Christ comes to end the Tribulation and to execute righteous judgment upon the earth. At the Rapture, Christ comes in the air for His saints (Jn. 14:3); during the interval of the seven year Tribulation, the saints are with the Lord in the air receiving their rewards at the bema of



As a result of these five tenets, dispensational premillennialism is able to create the following eschatological chronology: 1). the Rapture of the Church; 2). the Church in heaven during the Tribulation stands at the Judgment Seat of Christ and partakes in the Marriage of the Lamb; 3). the Tribulation, of seven years duration, which, a). sees the rise of Antichrist, b). deteriorates into the 'Great Tribulation', c). which culminates in the Battle of Armageddon; 4). the Return of Christ with the Church in order to: a). vanquish the foes of Armageddon, b). bind Satan for the Millennium, c). complete the First Resurrection (at this time, the resurrection of Old Testament saints and the martyred saints of the Great Tribulation),<sup>1</sup> d). judge living Gentiles and Jews; 5). the Millennial Kingdom; 6). Satan's loosing and final revolt after the Millennium; 7). Satan's judgment; 8). the Second Resurrection (the resurrection of all the unbelieving dead);<sup>2</sup> 9). the Judgment of all unbelievers; 10). the Eternal Kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

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Christ. At the Revelation, Christ comes to earth with His saints (I Thess. 3:13). As one writer has said, 'He certainly must come for them before he can come with them.'

Since the Rapture precedes the Tribulation, it is assumed that it may occur at any moment; but the Revelation cannot occur until after the appearance of Antichrist and the Great Tribulation. 'The failure to make this distinction has led to great confusion among commentators on this subject.' The coming of Christ for the Rapture of the Church will be a secret coming and will be invisible to any except the Church; while the Revelation will be a glorious outshining which will be evident to all the world."

<sup>1</sup>Ryrie, A Survey of Bible Doctrine, pp. 182-183.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>3</sup>Charles C. Ryrie, "General Panorama of Prophetic Events," (Unpublished class notes in 406 Dispensationalism and Eschatology, Dallas Theological Seminary, Spring 1976). Cf. idem, A Survey of Bible Doctrine, pp. 164-167, 172-183.

In summary, then, it is evident that twentieth-century 'premillennialism', as represented by Dr. Ryrie, is much more than just the belief in a literal Millennium and Christ's return before it;<sup>1</sup> but it is evident that this 'premillennialism' is an intricate system of theology, based upon the foundational tenets just discussed<sup>2</sup> and incorporating a complex chronology of eschatological events.

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an eschatological construct to be employed in analyzing early patristic eschatology, especially early to mid-second century premillennialism. Because of the claims of Peters<sup>3</sup> and because no early premillennialist wrote in an eschatological vacuum, the eschatological beliefs of all the orthodox Fathers<sup>4</sup> until the time of Justin Martyr will be studied. An attempt will be made to discern the features of their eschatology and to determine if

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<sup>1</sup>Contra the following statement of C. Cooper, in "Chiliasm and the Chiliasts," The Reformed Theological Review, 29 (1970); 11-12, "Modern chiliasts, if they are orthodox, do not seem to set much store by their chiliasm; they accept the idea merely because they believe it to have been stated in the Book of Revelation."

<sup>2</sup>They are, in review, 1). a consistently applied literal interpretation, 2). a consistent distinction between Israel and the Church, 3). a dispensational interpretation of revealed history, 4). the premillennial return of Christ to establish the Millennium, and 5). the pretribulational rapture of the Church.

<sup>3</sup>Geo. N. H. Peters, The Theocratic Kingdom, 2 vols., (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884), 1:494-495--where he maintains that Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, Justin Martyr, and Hegesippus were premillennialists.

<sup>4</sup>Cerinthus, the Gnostic, will also be considered since he was an early premillennialist.

the features of twentieth-century premillennialism were seminally nascent therein.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Therefore, the following questions will be addressed to the writers/writings under consideration. Did they employ a consistently literal interpretation of the Old Testament? Were some of them premillennialists only because of their literal interpretation of Revelation 20:1-7? How did they interpret the national promises made to Israel? Did they maintain a consistent distinction between Israel and the Church? Did they have a dispensational view of revealed history? If so, what were the characteristics of their dispensations? Did they perceive the Millennium to be the climax of God's dealings with Israel? Did some of them adhere to a pretribulational rapture of the Church? Did they have a concept of imminency? Did they distinguish between the Rapture and the Second Advent? Did they adhere to an eschatological chronology similar to dispensational premillennialism?

## CHAPTER II

### THE ESCHATOLOGY OF PAPIAS' PREDECESSORS

The purpose of this chapter is evaluate, on the basis of the construct delineated in the previous chapter, the eschatology of the predecessors of Papias.

By way of prolegomena, several matters need to be established. First of all, the entire range of the eschatological thinking of these writers/writings will not be presented, although it has been studied. Instead, only the areas pertinent to this thesis will be considered--the Resurrection, the Second Advent, the Kingdom, the Judgment, the Last Days, the interpretation of prophecy (particularly the national promises made to Israel), the nature and relation of Israel and the Church. On the basis of these considerations, conclusions, relevant to the purpose of this thesis, will be drawn.

Secondly, the writers/writings under consideration are part of the corpus known as "The Apostolic Fathers"--1 Clement, 2 Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Didache and Ignatius. In addition, Hegesippus, who τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουσιᾶτη συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος <sup>1</sup> (*Italics mine*), and

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<sup>1</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 4.8.2. Obviously, Eusebius considered Hegesippus' statements as valuable source material, and accurate reflections, of the early history of the Church. As such, Hegesippus' eschatological statements, or those of his sources, provide valuable data for the interpretation of the eschatology of the early church.

Cerinthus,<sup>1</sup> the earliest chiliast,<sup>2</sup> will be considered.

Thirdly, it has not been assumed that the thoughts of these writers/writings reflect a coherent, consistent systematic theology.<sup>3</sup> There

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<sup>1</sup>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, n.d., s.v. "Cerinthus," by Arthur S. Peake, 3:319, "Our earliest and most trustworthy sources, accordingly, represent Cerinthus as a genuine Gnostic, in so far as he drew a distinction between the Supreme God and the Creator, and between Jesus and Christ." Cf. Irenaeus Libros quinque adversus Haereses 1.26.1, "ΚΗΡΙΝΘΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ, (και) αὐτος Αἰγυπτίων παιδεία ἀσκηθεὶς, ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου (supp. Θεοῦ) γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινος κεχωρισμένης, (supp. καὶ ἀπεχούσης) τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεόν. Τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας οἶον (l. υἱόν,) ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δικαιότερον γεγονέναι (INT. καὶ φρονιμώτερον) καὶ σοφώτερον. Καὶ μετὰ τὰ βάπτισμα κατέθεεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν (l. ἀπὸ) τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας, τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς. καὶ τότε κηρῦξαι τὸν γνωστὸν (l. ἄγνωστον) πατέρα, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι. πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει, ἀποστήναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηέναι πατρικὸν (l. πνευματικὸν) ὑπάρχοντα." Cf. Ἰππόλυτος Ῥωμῆς Κατὰ Πασῶν Αἱρέσεων "Ἐλεγχος Βιβλίου Ζ' 33; *ibid.*, Βιβλίου Ι' 21; Filastrius *Diversarum Hereseon Liber* 36.1; 37.1.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. V. Ermoni, "Les phases successives de l'erreur millénariste," Révue des questions historiques, 70 (1901):361-363, "Nous savons que ce fut l'hérétique Cérinthe qui se rallia le premier a l'hypothèse millénariste et s'efforça de lui donner du crédit parmi les chrétiens. . . . En présence de tous ces témoignages, nous pouvons nous arrêter et conclure: dans la société chrétienne, c'est l'hérétique Cérinthe qui arbora le premier le drapeau du millénarisme." Cf. Hans Bietenhard, "The Millennial Hope in the Early Church," Scottish Journal of Theology 6 (1953):17, "Cerinthus was one of the first exponents of the so-called chiliasmus crassus."

<sup>3</sup>G. W. H. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology," in Eschatology, by William Manson et al., (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1953), pp. 17-18, "It is even more difficult to deal with the patristic writings as though they formed a homogeneous body of divinity. . . . It is scarcely possible to trace in the early Fathers a regular and logical pattern of consistent eschatology. Consistency is not one of the characteristics of the Fathers; and their lack of it is due primarily to one of their chief virtues—a sincere desire to interpret Scripture faithfully, and, with certain notable exceptions, to expound the text with due

were several reasons for this. First, crises of faith, not systematics, were often their primary concerns.<sup>1</sup> Secondly they were from disparate

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regard to the Church's established tradition of preaching and instruction. They are fundamentalists; any text of the canonical writings is of equal importance to any other, and, however difficult its interpretation may appear to be, it represents a part of the divinely provided data which have to be taken into proper account. . . . This Biblical fusion and inconsistency which we find in many branches of patristic theology." Cf. G. Florovsky, "Eschatology in the Patristic Age: An Introduction," Studia Patristica 2:250, "The Fathers never attempted a systematic exposition of Eschatology, in a narrow and technical sense. But they were fully aware of that inner logic which had to lead from the belief in Christ the Redeemer to the hope for the age to come: the end of the world, the final consummation, the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting." Cf. these particular comments on 1 Clement--Charles Thomas Crutwell, A Literary History of Early Christianity, 2 vols., (London, 1893; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1971), vol. 1, p. 35, "We must not look to this Father for the elucidation of any particular doctrine, but rather for a general comprehensive survey of the Christian system." And J. B. Lightfoot, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 3rd. ed., 5 vols., (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), vol. 1: S. Clement of Rome, p. 396, "In short there is no dogmatic system in Clement."

<sup>1</sup>E.g., 1 Clement is concerned with internal factions in the Church at Corinth, ". . . χαράν γὰρ καὶ ἀγαλλίασιν ἡμῶν παρέξετε, ἔάν ὑπὸ ἡμοῦ γένομενοι τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκόψητε τὴν ἀθέμιτον τοῦ ζήλους ὑμῶν ὀργὴν κατὰ τὴν ἐντευξίν, ἣν ἐποιησάμεθα περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ." 2 Clement is concerned with eschatological heresy, "ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ διψυχῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσαντες ὑπομείνωμεν, . . ." (11.5) Cf. Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 38 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 99, "The opening verses do permit us to see that our writer is dealing with an eschatological problem." Ignatius is concerned with Christological heresy, "Εἰδώσιν γὰρ τινες δόλω πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τινα πρᾶσσοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ. . . ." (Eph. 7:1). Cf. L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1966), p. 1, "They (the Apostolic Fathers) dealt with such problems as internal schism (1 Clement); pre-baptismal instruction and the ordering of Church Services (Didache); the problem of repentance (Hermas); the Unity of the Church (Ignatius); the sin of avarice (Polycarp); how the Old Testament is to be interpreted (Barnabas). These writers, for the most part conservative in outlook, were dealing with definite practical and moral problems which the Church of their day was facing."

areas of the Roman Empire,<sup>1</sup> and they were accordingly allowed individual expression of their faith<sup>2</sup> since Catholic orthodoxy had not yet been creedally defined and enforced.<sup>3</sup> However, this does not obviate their holding much in common.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Clement was from Rome; 2 Clement was probably written in Corinth; Barnabas in Alexandria, Egypt; the Didache and Ignatius were of Syrian origin; Cerinthus was from Asia Minor; Hegesippus was probably from Palestine; cf. Synopsis Scriptorum Ecclesiae Antiquae, ed. by G. Dumeige, (Uccle, Belgique: Editions Willy Rousseau, 1953). Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La resurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), p. 8, "Sous ce nom (les Pères Apostoliques) bien inadéquat on range d'ordinaire un certain nombre d'écrits très différents quant à leur lieu d'origine (Rome, Syrie, Asie Mineure, et peut-être Alexandrie) et leur genre littéraire. Nous avons des Épîtres pastorales adressées à une église locale (1 Clem., Polyc. Phil.), des lettres personnelles (celles d'Ignace), un sermon (où deux, si l'on prend l'Épître de Barnabé pour un sermon de Pâques, comme le fait L. W. Barnard), un récit de martyre (celui de Polycarpe) et une Apocalypse (le Pasteur); le document connu sous le nom de Didachè contient lui-même déjà quatre genres littéraires différents."

<sup>2</sup>Cf. August Hahn, ed., Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche, (Breslau, 1897; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), pp. 1-21, 253-363.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 5.16.9-10--This reaction against Montanism, circa A.D. 160-180, is the first evidenced delineation and enforcement of Catholic orthodoxy. Cf. Charles Joseph Hefele, A History of the Christian Councils, 2d ed., 3 vols., trans. and ed. by William R. Clark, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883-1896; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press Inc., 1972). Vol. 1 (1894): To the Close of the Council of Nicaea, pp. 77-80.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Robert M. Grant, gen. ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 6 vols., (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964-1968), vol. 1: An Introduction, by Robert M. Grant, pp. 109-110, 112, "Chief among the common elements in the Apostolic Fathers is their doctrine of God as creator, providential ruler, redeemer and judge. . . . More striking is the selection of titles which the Apostolic Fathers use in relation to Jesus Christ. . . . Within the New Testament there are forty-three titles or names applied to Jesus, though not all of these were used by Christians in post-Apostolic times. Indeed, when we look at the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, we encounter a distinct narrowing of this variety, not so much in 1 Clement or Ignatius but more notably in the Didache, Barnabas, and Hermas. . . . In addition to the doctrines of God and Christ, the Apostolic Fathers share fairly consistent attitudes toward eschatology,"

Finally, one should realize that the study of these writings is important because themes common to later patristic eschatology begin to emerge here.<sup>1</sup> Because of the emergence of themes, they can be studied systematically as long as their individuality in eschatological thought is not effaced.<sup>2</sup>

### The Resurrection

#### The nature of the resurrection

The nature of the Resurrection, i.e. whether bodily or not, is of great significance to chiliasm if a literal interpretation of Revelation 20:1-7 is to be maintained.<sup>3</sup> However, the significant theological base

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(Italics mine). On eschatology, cf. J. N. D. Kelley, Early Christian Doctrines, 2d ed., (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960), p. 462, "Four chief moments dominate the eschatological expectation of early Christian theology--the return of Christ, known as the Parousia, the resurrection, the judgment, and the catastrophic ending of the present world-order. In the primitive period they were held together in a naive, unreflective fashion, with little or no attempt to work out their implications or solve the problems they raise." (Italics mine.)

<sup>1</sup>G. W. H. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology," p. 30, "Some of these generalizations about patristic eschatology may be illustrated from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. These authors, it is true, contribute little that may fairly be described as original or strikingly significant thought, and they are not of great importance in the history of doctrine, but they may well be taken into account both for the sake of their antiquity and because they illustrate many themes which are developed further by later writers." (Italics mine.)

<sup>2</sup>Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, vol. 1, p. 109, "There are two ways in which the theology of the Apostolic Fathers can be discussed. One is by treating them more or less as a group and by laying emphasis on their common teaching. This approach has the advantage of drawing attention to their common Christian faith, but it tends to minimize their individuality and the differences in approach which exist among them. The other way is, of course, to treat them as individuals, while bearing in mind that they were not speaking for themselves alone but for the communities out of which, and to which, they were writing."

<sup>3</sup>J. F. Bethune-Baker, An Introduction to the Early History of



for the bodily resurrection was not this passage, but the Pauline teaching in 1 Corinthians 15, which met with three fates in the history of dogma,

It was this Pauline view of the resurrection which served as the basis for further discussion in the early church. Paul's understanding was either accepted, defended and amplified by the Apostolic Fathers and others in the second century; or it was rejected as absurd by those influenced by the Greek view of the immortality of the soul; or it was modified by those moving in a gnosticizing direction. Basically there were four factors which militated against the Pauline view of the resurrection: 1) the concept of the immortality of the soul; 2) the delay of the parousia (e.g., 1 Th. 4); 3) realised eschatology (e.g., Col. 2:12); and 4) a docetic Christology (Ign. Smyr. 2; 3; 5).

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Christian Doctrine to the Time of the Council of Chalcedon, (London: Methuen & Co., 1903), p. 68, "More widely attractive was the other idea which saw in salvation membership of the glorious kingdom which Christ was about to establish on earth on his return, when a new order of things would be inaugurated, and for a thousand years his disciples would share the blessedness of human life under the happiest conditions. In this connexion the highest importance was attached to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body." (Italics mine.) Cf. J. G. Davies, "Factors Leading to the Emergence of Belief in the Resurrection of the Flesh," Journal of Theological Studies 23 (1972):450, "A survey of relevant passages indicates that wherever there is belief in a millennium, this is wedded to belief in the resurrection of the flesh. This combination would appear to be logically necessary because the millennium is a period of messianic sovereignty on earth; for the righteous dead to participate in this, they must live again on earth, i.e. the resurrection must be one that involves the restoration of their physical particles--the millennium therefore requires the resurrection of the flesh."

<sup>1</sup>Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, p. 144. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 463, on the reaction to these tendencies, "The insistence of these writers (on the resurrection of the flesh) is probably to be explained by the rejection of a real resurrection by Docetists and Gnostics, who, of course, refused to believe that material flesh could live on the eternal plane. Polycarp had them (or possibly Marcion) in mind when he roundly stated that 'he who denies the resurrection and the judgment is the first-born of Satan.'" The following statement vividly demonstrates the virulent reality of the opposition which a belief in the resurrection of the flesh encountered--"These foolish Christians, wrote Celsus, think that when God, their celestial chef, puts mankind on to roast, 'they alone will survive, not merely those who are alive at the time but those also long dead who will rise up from the dead possessing the same bodies as before."

This, then, is the controversial background in which the eschatological beliefs of the period were maintained.

With the exception of Hegesippus, for which there is only fragmentary evidence,<sup>1</sup> there is universal assent among the writers/writings of this period to the resurrection,<sup>2</sup> with the majority of them stressing

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This is simple the hope of worms." (Origen Contra Celsum 5.14, as quoted in Eric Francis Osborn, Justin Martyr, (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1973), p. 193). Cf. the sarcastic fate which the bodies of the Martyrs of Lyons met--their ashes were thrown into the Rhone river so "that they might have no hope in the resurrection in which they put their trust . . . Now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God can help them and rescue them from our hands." (The Martyrs of Lyons 1.63). Cf. Edward H. Hall, Papias and His Contemporaries, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899), pp. 115-121, for a lengthy description of the struggle over belief in the resurrection of the flesh.

<sup>1</sup> Conveniently located in Martin Joseph Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae, 5 vols., (Oxford: E Typographeo Academico, 1846; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 205-219, and in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 10 vols., American ed., (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885-1887; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1951), vol. 8, pp. 762-765. Yet even the phrase κρινειε ζώντας και νεκρούς (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.20.4) may reflect a belief in the resurrection.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Clement 24.1, "Κατανοήσωμεν, αγαπητοί, πώς ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιδεικνυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι, ἥς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν . . ." On the importance and consequence of this belief in 1 Clement, cf. H. C. van Eijck, La resurrection des morts chez les Peres Apostoliques, pp. 43-44, "Comme pour Clement, le don eschatologique principal est la resurrection, toute l'argumentation contre la διφυχία consiste à montrer que la resurrection trouvera place. Tandis que dans 1 Cor. 15 c'était aussi le "comment" (πώς) de la resurrection qui faisait difficulté, Clement doit s'occuper avant tout du fait qu'il aura une resurrection."

2 Clement 19.3, "μακαριοὶ οἱ τούτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν. κἂν ὀλίγον χρόνον κακοπαθήσωσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπὸν τρυγήσουσιν. "

Cerinthus (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2), . . . Κήριθος . . . λέγων μετὰ ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . "

Barnabas 5.7, " . . . ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς πόλησας κρινεῖ. " Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La resurrection des morts chez les Peres

the resurrection of the flesh.<sup>1</sup>

Apostoliques, p. 21, "En outre, comme nous allons le voir, la résurrection a une toute autre fonction dans la Didachè que dans Barnabé. Ici, la résurrection des bons et des méchants en vue du jugement est la conclusion logique de la catéchèse parénétiq̄ue des deux voies, celle de la vie et celle de la mort."

Didache 16.6, "καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας. . . . καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν."  
 Ignatius To the Smyrnaeans 7:1, ". . . ἵνα καὶ ἀναστῶσιν."

<sup>1</sup> 1 Clement 26.3, "καὶ πάλιν Ἰωβ λέγει. Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην τὴν ἀνατλήσασαν ταῦτα πάντα."  
 Cf. Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, p. 142.1, "Perhaps it is not insignificant to note in this context that in 26:3, 1 Clement has σάρξ for Job's (LXX) δέρμα: Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην ἀνατλήσασαν ταῦτα πάντα."

2 Clement 9.1, "καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σάρξ οὐ κρινεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται." Cf. Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, p. 145, "In short, then, 2 Clement is asserting the reality of a resurrection of the flesh in the future. This is stated not only in opposition to the more general Hellenistic mentality concerning immortality of the soul, but specifically against the gnosticizing interpretation that was being given by many to Paul's understanding of the resurrection. To refute this latter movement, the writer of this discourse . . . adopts a rather simplistic, crude and one-dimensional view which equates the future resurrection of the flesh (σάρξ) with that possessed by the individual during his present life. For the writer of 2 Clement and the church of his time this appeared to be the only way to preserve that which for them was integral to the Christian faith." Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, p. 463, "We should observe that both he (Barnabas)(sic) and the author of 2 Clement insist on the necessity of our rising again in the self-same flesh we now possess, the idea being that we may receive the just requital of our deeds."

Cerinthus (who exaggerated the effects of the flesh partaking in the resurrection, Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2), ". . . Κήρινθος . . . λέγων . . . πάλιν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσουλῆμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτεύομενην δουλεύειν." Undoubtedly, Cerinthus was a heretic in his Christology (see p. 12, n. 2) and in his views of revelation: "ὁ δὲ ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερτολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένος." (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2) (Italics mine.) However, one should be aware of the biases behind the attacks of Gaius and Dionysius. Gaius was an anti-Montanist (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.31.4; 6.20.3) and would thereby repudiate an earthly kingdom. Furthermore, Gaius rejected the Apocalypse as the work of Cerinthus, not John, because he believed it was contrary to the rest of the New Testament (Cf. Eusebius The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine, 2 vols.,

The constituency of the resurrection

All of the writers/writings of this period, with the exception of Barnabas, mention the resurrection of believers without discussing the resurrection of the wicked dead.<sup>1</sup> Even the statements of Barnabas 5:7 and

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trans. and annotated by Hugh Jackson and John Ernest Leonard Oulton, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1927-1928), 2:208). Dionysius also exhibited his biases in his attacks on Nepos, of whom he could say "ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ . . ." (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 7.24.4). First of all, he was an adherent of allegorical interpretation, which Nepos was attacking (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 7.24.3; 25.4-5), and as such would be unsympathetic to a literal millennium. Secondly, he held to a dichotomy of the material and spiritual (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 7.24.5), with the result that he could accuse orthodox Nepos: ". . . τινα χίλιαδα ἐτῶν τροφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης ἔσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος." (7.24.1) (Italics mine.) Furthermore, as Hugh Jackson Lawlor and John Ernest Leonard Oulton, Eusebius The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine, 2:29, say, "Eusebius had an extreme dislike to the doctrine of Chiliasm, which was accepted by many of the early Fathers. The Cerinthian heresy was, in his judgment, sufficiently damnified by the fact that it held that error." Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 1:18, comments that Eusebius, Hermas, the Didache, Barnabas, were not important writings because of their apocalyptic eschatology. Such a disdain to orthodox writers/writings would turn to virulent antipathy against an apocalyptic heretic. Therefore, the calumny heaped on Cerinthus' millennial views must be treated with caution, because of the critical environs in which our fragmentary knowledge about him exists.

Ignatius To the Trallians 9.2, ". . . κατὰ τὸ ὁμολῶμα ὃς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, . . . "

<sup>1</sup> Clement 26.1, "Μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὖν νομίζομεν εἶναι, εἰ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνάστασιν ποιήσεται τῶν ὁσίως αὐτῷ δουλευσάντων ἐν πεποιθήσει πίστεως ἀγαθῆς, . . ." Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, p. 55, "Finalement, en réservant la résurrection à tous ceux qui ont saintement servi Dieu (26,1), Clément semble n'admettre qu'une résurrection des justes." The resurrection is the hope of the believer: ταύτη οὖν τῆ ἐλπίδι, 27:1; τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐλπίδος, 51:1. "Hope" is one of the major themes of this epistle: τοὺς ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει (11:1), i.e.--those who hope have a special relation with God. This theme is exemplified in Rahab (12:7) and is the basis of the warning to schismatics, who dwell outside this hope: ἐκρίθηναί ἐν τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ (57:2; cf. 28:1; 51:1; 58:1 and 11:1-- τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς εἰς κόλασιν). Since they have no hope, they will have no part in the resurrection of believers.

21:1 can not be unambiguously utilized to demonstrate a reference to the resurrection of the unbelieving dead.<sup>1</sup> A further note of interest is that

2 Clement 19.3-4, "πράξωμεν οὖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα εἰς τέλος σωθῶμεν, μακάριοι οἱ τοῦτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν. καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον κακοπαθήσωσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπὸν τρυγήσουσιν. 4. μὴ οὖν λυπεῖσθω δ' εὐσεβῆς, εἰάν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις ταλαιπωρῆ. μακάριος αὐτὸν ἀναμένει χρόνος. ἐκεῖνος ἀνὼ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναβιώσας εὐφρανθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἀλύπητον αἰῶνα."

2 Clement clearly teaches that, for the believer, immortality is the result of the resurrection, i.e.--the believer shall live again (ἀναβιώσας) with the fathers above in a time of eternal blessedness marked by the absence of sorrow.

Didache 16.6, "καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας. . . . καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν." Cf. John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 100, "The writer of the Didache, like the generality of the Church of the first centuries, was a premillenarian, and held that the Second Advent of Christ would bring the Resurrection of the righteous only, so that they might take part in the earthly Rule of the Saints. The resurrection of the wicked, and the Last Judgment, would take place only after this. This doctrine arises from a very literal rendering of Revelation, xx, 1-7." Lawson infers the Didache's premillennarianism. There is no direct evidence for it in the Didache.

Ignatius To the Trallians 9.2, ". . . κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὅς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντες αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πᾶτερ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ." The resurrection guarantees the believer τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν (idem, Eph. 11:1; Smyrn. 4:1), because of eternal union with Christ. Ignatius nowhere speaks of anything but the believer's resurrection (Eph. 11:3; Rom. 4:3; Smyrn. 5:3). In Smyrnaeans 7:1 he says heretics have no part in the resurrection.

<sup>1</sup>Barnabas 5.7, ". . . ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας κρινεῖ." ibid., 21.1, "ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα (καλὰ ἔργα) ποιῶν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται. ὁ ἐκεῖνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολείται. διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνταπόδομα."

While this latter passage might admit of a general resurrection, this need not be necessarily so, since the parallel structure of thought could limit the resurrection to those who will be glorified in the kingdom, and the recompense will be the part of those who perish. If, however, as H. C. van Eijck suggests, ἀνταπόδομα is equivalent to the sense of κρῖμα, then a resurrection of the unjust would be theologically presupposed (La resurrection des morts chez les Peres Apostoliques, pp. 33-34). Therefore, a general resurrection may well be in view here.

1 Clement seems to make no distinction between the resurrection of Old Testament, New Testament, and contemporary saints.<sup>1</sup>

### The time of the resurrection

There is no consistent pattern of when these writers/writings viewed the time of the resurrection of the believing dead, but they continually associate it chronologically with one or more of the following eschatological events--the Second Advent, the establishment of the Kingdom, the Judgment, the Great Tribulation. 1 Clement associated it with the Second Advent, not specifying whether it is before, during, or after it.<sup>2</sup> Also, he relates it to the establishment of the Kingdom (50:3, 4)--again not specifying the chronological relationship. 2 Clement gives no indisputable evidence of when he thought the resurrection would occur.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Clement 50.3-4, "αἱ γενεαὶ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας παρήλθον, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν ἔχουσιν χώρον εὐσεβῶν, οἱ φανερωθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισημοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 4. γέγραπται γάρ. Ἐισελεθετε εἰς τὰ ταμεῖα μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως οὐ παρέλθη ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ ὁ θυμὸς μου, καὶ μνησθήσομαι ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς, καὶ ἀναστήσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν θηκῶν ὑμῶν." The χώρον εὐσεβῶν is Hades--the intermediate state of the righteous dead--from which the righteous shall be raised at the coming of the Kingdom. Cf. Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 2.81; and H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Clement 24.1, "Κατανοήσωμεν, ἀγαπητοί, πῶς ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιδεικνυται διηνεκῶς ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι." This exhortation is a paraenetic outgrowth of the preceding chapter which discusses the Second Advent (especially 23:5)--cf. Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, pp. 150-152. Furthermore, the identification of Chapter 24 with 1 Corinthians 15:20, 23 (cf. The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, by A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 41-42) supports the Second Advent context.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Clement 19.3, "πράξωμεν οὖν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἵνα εἰς τέλος σωθῶμεν, μακάριοι οἱ τοῦτοις ὑπακούοντες τοῖς προστάγμασιν. καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον κακοπαθήσωσιν κατὰ τὴν ἐπισημοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ." The phrase εἰς τέλος probably means "finally", not "at the end" (of the world)(cf.

Cerinthus placed the resurrection before the establishment of the Millennium Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Barnabas states that the resurrection precedes the Judgment and the Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> The Didache posits the resurrection after the Great Tribulation and before the Second Advent.<sup>3</sup>

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Matt. 24:13, where, however, τέλος is defined in v. 14. Cf. also Ignatius, To the Romans 10:3). Cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, s.v. "τέλος" by Gerhard Dellling, 8 (1972):57. This interpretation is probably because of the Fathers' emphasis on the future completion of salvation at the Second Advent, i.e.-salvation is incomplete in the present. Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, "Eschatology", p. 29, 30, "In patristic thought as a whole it is broadly true to say that no clear distinction is made between salvation as already achieved and salvation as something to be attained hereafter, whether after the death of the individual believer or at the end of the age. The process of salvation is a unity. The Christian at his initiation has represented to him the entire mystery of salvation. What is conveyed in a single series of symbolical events is to be unfolded in the course of his whole life and will not be completely manifested in actuality until the Parousia. He is in fact made a member of the Body of Christ who is the same in His redeeming work in past history, in His present Lordship mediated to His Body through the Spirit, and in His coming in glory at the end of the age. In other words, the Christian's justification, sanctification in the Spirit, and total redemption are a unity which the Fathers, especially the Greeks, do not often seek to break up, even in thought, into precisely defined successive stages. All that a believer now possesses of redemption and the new life in Christ is a foretaste which will receive its completion and fulfillment at the Parousia, when the Kingdom which is always present will yet 'come'. . . . 2 Clement defines salvation largely in terms of incorruption, . . . Salvation is therefore a future hope; it will come after death and, according to the former work, as a reward, . . ." (Italics mine.)

<sup>1</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2, ". . . Κήρινθος . . . λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον (ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας) τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . "

<sup>2</sup>Barnabas 5.7, ". . . ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας κρινεῖ." ibid., 21.1, "ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις, . . . "

<sup>3</sup>Didache 16.5, 6, 8, "τότε ἕξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, . . . ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν"  
"ἕξει ὁ κύριος . . ." Cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "πύρωσις," by Friedrich Lang, 6 (1968):951, "The use in 1 Pet.

## The Second Advent

### The immediacy of the Second Advent<sup>1</sup>

Hegesippus reflects the tradition of the early church on this subject by stating that Jesus "μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ " (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 2.33.14)(Italics mine.) The verb μέλλει communicates a sense of immediacy.<sup>2</sup> If the author had not wished to stress the immediate aspect of Christ's coming, he could still have stressed the certainty of Christ's coming with ἔρχεται, thereby omitting the immediate factor.

Did 1 Clement adhere to the doctrine of immediacy? The major segment of his thought to be considered in answering this question is 23:1-5,

1. Ὁ οἰκτίρων κατὰ πάντα καὶ εὐεργετικός πατήρ ἔχει σπλάγγνα ἐπὶ τοῦς φοβουμένους αὐτῶν, ἥπιως τε καὶ προσηνῶς

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4:12 is plainly based on the OT metaphor of the refining of metals, applies here to the sufferings which God sends to test believers. . . . The thought is obviously linked with the coming of the last time, 4:7, 17. 5. The same idea lives on in the post-apost. fathers, though the fiery trial (Did., 16, 5: ἡ πύρωσις τῆς δοκιμασίας is now in the fut. rather than the present and is linked with the raging of antichrist in the last time before the coming of the Lord."

<sup>1</sup>J. L. Neve, A History of Christian Thought, 1:43, ". . . the time of the Apostolic Fathers, like that of primitive Christianity, was thoroughly eschatological in tendency. Men had the consciousness that they were living in the last times. The immediate return of Jesus was anticipated." (As quoted by William Everett Bell, "A Critical Evaluation of the Pretribulation Rapture Doctrine in Christian Eschatology," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education of New York University, 1967), p. 1.)

<sup>2</sup>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, 4th rev. ed., s.v. "μέλλω, I.c.a.," p. 502; cf. a similar construction, with a similar significance, in 1 Clement 42:3, ". . . τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι."



τὰς χάριτας αὐτοῦ ἀποδίδοι τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἀπλῆ  
 διανοίᾳ. 2. διὸ μὴ διψυχῶμεν, μηδὲ ἰνδαλλέσθω ἡ ψυχὴ  
 ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις καὶ ἐνδόξοις δωρεαῖς αὐτοῦ.  
 3. πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει. Ταλ-  
 αίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ ψυχῇ, οἱ λέγ-  
 οντες. Ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰδοὺ,  
 γεγράκαμεν, καὶ οὐδεν ἡμῖν τούτων συνβέβημεν. 4. Ὡ ἀνό-  
 ητοί, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ἐξύλω. λάβετε ἄμπελον. πρῶτον μὲν  
 φυλλοροεῖ, εἶτα βλαστὸς γίνεται, εἶτα φυλλὸν, εἶτα ἄνθος,  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἶτα σταφυλῆ παρεστηκυῖα. ὁρᾶτε, ὅτι  
 ἐν καιρῷ ὀλίγῳ εἰς πέπειρον καταντᾷ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ ξύλου. 5.  
 ἐπ' ἀληθείας ταχὺ καὶ ἐξαίφνης τελειωθήσεται τὸ βούλημα αὐ-  
 τοῦ, συνεπιμαρτυροῦσης καὶ τῆς γραφῆς, ὅτι ταχὺ ἥξει καὶ  
 οὐ χρονιεῖ, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἥξει ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ὁ ἅγιος, ὃν ὑμεῖς προσδοκᾶτε.

What evidence can be deduced from this passage? First of all, it should be noted that, in this passage, Clement is dealing with a problem of eschatological uncertainty in the Church at Corinth--uncertainty about the return of Christ and the resurrection of believers. There are three lines of evidence for this interpretation of the problem which Clement confronted. First, there is the significance of the terms διψυχῶμεν (23.2), δίψυχοι (23.3), and διστάζοντες (23.3) which convey the eschatological uncertainty felt at Corinth.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the term δωρεαῖς (23.3)

<sup>1</sup>The evidence for this assertion is as follows: 1). the words express 'doubt' as opposed to ἀπλῆ διανοία (23.1), which expresses a 'a mind free from inner discord'--cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "διάνοια" by J. Behm and E. Wurthwein, 4(1967):967, "The common use of διάνοια in the post-apost. fathers is along NT lines. The dominant meanings are 'faculty of thought,' 'spirit' (e.g., Herm. m., 10,1,5; 1 Cl., 35,2 and 5), or 'mind,' 'disposition' (e.g., 1 Cl., 21,8; 23,1; Ign. Eph., 20,2); . . . " Cf. also Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "ἀπλοῦς" by Otto Bauernfeind, 1(1964):386, and Oscar J. F. Seitz, "Antecedents and Signification of the Term ΔΙΨΥΧΟΣ" Journal of Biblical Literature 66(1947):215, ". . . διψυχία is the inner disunity of the heart, . . ." 2). these words are employed in 2 Clement 11.2 in a strongly eschatological context as is evidenced by the repeated phrase ἡ (μέλλουσα) ἐπαγγελία (10.3,4,5; 11.1). Significantly, δίψυχος is defined as disbelief in the ἐπαγγελία (11.1, διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν . . . θεοῦ). This ἐπαγγελία is defined as ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου (5.5). In other words, in 2 Clement, δίψυχος is disbelief in the coming kingdom of Christ. 3). the

is defined, in part, eschatologically in 35.2,4 (ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ). Thirdly, the similarity of the quote in 23.3-4 to 2 Peter 3.4-13 where the supposed delay in Christ's return is under discussion.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, what is the eschatological interpretation of the comparison with the tree(23.4)? First, the emphasis of the comparison is on the quickness(ἐν καιρῷ ὀλίγῳ ) of the maturation of the unripe fruit (ἄμφαξ ) into ripe fruit(εἰς πέπειρον).<sup>2</sup> Secondly, this analogy is applied to the quickness with which Christ shall return (ἐξάφνης . . . ταχὺ , 23.5). In summary, then, Clement seems to be saying that, even as the doubters have grown old, so with the passage of time the probability of Christ's immediate return grows greater, just as the older a tree gets and bears unripe fruit, so quickly does the ripe fruit come once the stage of unripe fruit has been reached. The implication would be that the

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contexts of 1 Clement 23 and 2 Clement 11 are very similar, addressing themselves to false teachers (1 Clement 21.5; 2 Clement 10.5), a problem in eschatology, and the nearness (immediacy: μέλλουσα) of the kingdom (2 Clement 12.1) and the Parousia (1 Clement 23.5), cf. Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, p. 151. 4). both 1 Clement 23 and 2 Clement 11 have many reminiscences of Hebrews 10.19-36 and 2 Peter 3.4-13, where the nearness of Christ's return is discussed. In summary, then, because of the basic meaning of δέψυχος κτλ. and because of the strong similarities between 1 Clement 23 and 2 Clement 11, and between these and Hebrews 10.19-36 and 2 Peter 3.4-13, it is safe to say that in 1 Clement 23 δέψυχος was used to describe a man who doubted the immediate return of Christ and the resurrection of believers. Cf. Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, pp. 150-151, whose arguments have been expanded here.

<sup>1</sup> If the quote is from the apocryphal work, Eldad and Modad, as J. B. Lightfoot, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 1:80, suggests, then the eschatological context of 1 Clement 23 is strengthened here since this work is referred to in an eschatological context in Hermas Visio 2.3.4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Matt. 24.32-33, where Christ employs a similar analogy--the sprouting of leaves is indicative of the immediacy of summer, thus the event-signs which He has just described are indicative of the immediacy of the Second Advent.

doubters were living at the stage of unripe fruit, and the ripe fruit-- the Second Advent was just shortly away.

Thirdly, το βούλημα (23.5) is described elsewhere as μακρόθυμον and ἀόργητος . . . πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ (19.3), in other words, in 23.5, Clement is saying that the μακρόθυμον and ἀόργητος βούλημα of God will be quickly completed, i.e.--His longsuffering will will not be of long duration.

Fourthly, Clement makes a significant alteration in his quote from Malachi 3.1 (LXX). He substitutes προσδοκᾶτε for θέλετε,--the former term being used in the New Testament of Messianic expectation (Matt. 11.3; Lk. 7.19,20) and of the expectation of the Second Advent and Judgment (Matt. 24.20; Lk. 12.46). Significantly, it is employed in 2 Peter 3.12,14--a passage which has many similarities to 1 Clement 23.<sup>1</sup>

The second segment of Clement's thought to be considered in determining whether he believed in immediacy is 34.8-35.4,

Ὁφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἤτοιμασεν κύριος τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτὸν.

1. Ὡς μακάρια καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαπητοί. . . . 3. τίνα οὖν ἄρα ἐστὶν τὰ ἐτοιμαζόμενα τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν; . . . 4. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀγωνισώμεθα εὐρεθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ὑπομενόντων, ὅπως μεταλάβωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν.

The verb, ὑπομένειν (34.8; 35.3,4), when used with God as the object, is used to express a confident, patient expectation of His intervention.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v., "προσδοκᾶω κτλ.", by Christian Maurer, 6(1968):725-727.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. ibid., s.v. "ὑπομένω κτλ.", by F. Hauck, 4(1967):583, "In relation to God it is confident waiting which is patient until His intervention, . . . Is. 64:3; . . ." Isaiah 64.3 is probably the verse which Clement is quoting in 34.8.

The third segment of thought is that Clement perceived the apostolic message to be the proclamation of the immediacy of the kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup>

In summary, then, on the basis of the statements considered, it is evident that Clement believed in the immediacy of the Second Advent.

Clement also believed in the immediacy of Christ's return. Several factors substantiate this claim. First of all, the context of 11.1-7 is strongly eschatological.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the term ἐκδεχόμεθα expresses eschatological expectation.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Clement 42.3, " . . . ἐξηλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι." On the significance of μέλλειν, see above, p. 28, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Clement 11.1-7, " 1. Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ δουλεύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐσόμεθα δίκαιοι. ἔαν δὲ μὴ δουλεύσωμεν διὰ τῷ μὴ πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ταλαίπωροι ἐσόμεθα. 2. λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος. Ταλαίπωροι εἰσιν οἱ διψυχοὶ, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ, οἱ λέγοντες. Ταῦτα πάλαι ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας προσδεχόμενοι οὐδὲν τούτων ἐωράκαμεν. 3. ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ξύλω. λάβετε ἄμπελον. πρῶτον μὲν φυλλοροεῖ, εἶτα βλαστὸς γίνεται, μετὰ ταῦτα ὄμφαξ. εἶτα σταφυλὴ παρεστηκυῖα. 4. οὕτως καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἀνατασταςίας καὶ θλίψεις ἔσχεν. ἔπειτα ἀπολήφεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ. 5. ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ διψυχῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσαντες ὑπομείνωμεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν κομισώμεθα. 6. πιστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδιδόναι ἐνάστω τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. 7. ἔαν οὖν ποιήσωμεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσῆξομεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λήψομεθα τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οὐκ οὐκ ἠκουσεν οὐδὲ ὄφθαλμος εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη." On the eschatological significance of this passage, see above, p. 29, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Clement 12.1, " Ἐκδεχόμεθα οὖν καθ' ὥραν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ." Cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. " ἐκδέχομαι ," by Walter Grundmann, 2(1964):56-57. Cf. especially Heb. 10.13; 2 Clement 20.3,4; Barnabas 20.11; Hermas Sim. 9.11. 1-2, cf. 9.10.5.

(12.1) refers to the Second Advent.<sup>1</sup>

The Epistle of Barnabas purports a credence in immediacy. First of all, he speaks of the Lord making haste in His return.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, his belief in the six thousand years of world history "in no way detracts from the air of eschatological immediacy which permeates the epistle."<sup>3</sup> This would have to be so if consistency with his earlier statement(4.3) is to be maintained.<sup>4</sup>

The Didache also maintains immediacy. This is evident from the following assertions. First of all, ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος (10.6).<sup>5</sup> Why pray ἐλθέτω χάρις? First of all, it may have been

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. 1 Tim. 6.14; 1 Tim. 4.1 (used with κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ βασιλείαν); 1 Tim. 4.8; Tit. 2.13; 2 Thess. 2.8 (used with παρουσία).

<sup>2</sup>Barnabas 4.3, "Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέτμηκεν τοῦς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἡγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆν κληρονομίαν ἦξη."

<sup>3</sup>Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 3.128, "In fact, it might be considered strange if Pseudo-Barnabas or his tradition interpreted the 'six thousand years' literally! For him, whenever the end comes, that is when the period is completed--not vice versa." On the centrality of the Second Advent in his thinking, cf. A. Hermans, "Le Pseudo-Barnabé est-il millénariste?" Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 35(1959):849, "La Parousie glorieuse de Jesus, avec tout ce qui la précède immédiatement, l'accompagne et la suit, y est le centre vers lequel tout converge et duquel tout rayonne. La vie chrétienne toute entière est 'attente de la sainte éternité' et anticipation des biens futurs."(Italics mine.)

<sup>4</sup>In fact, Barnabas explicitly states that ἐγγυς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ᾗ συναπολείται πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ. (21.3). Therefore, the seventh day, which is incepted by the Second Advent (Καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. τοῦτο λέγει. ὅταν ἐλθῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσει τῶν καιρῶν τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς . . . (15.5)), is immediate, and thus the Second Advent is immediate.

<sup>5</sup>On the significance of the eucharistic context, Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition, vol. 1(1971): The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600), 5 vols., (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971-), pp. 126-127, "When the ancient liturgy prayed, 'Let grace come (or 'Let the Lord come'), and let the world pass away,' its eschatological perspective took in both the final coming of Christ and his coming in the Eu-

because χάρις was receding from its primarily eschatological character,<sup>1</sup> and the author longed for its manifestation through the eucharist.<sup>2</sup> Or, secondly, χάρις, by metonymy of adjunct,<sup>3</sup> may represent Christ.<sup>4</sup> Se-

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charist. The eucharistic liturgy was not a compensation for the postponement of the parousia, but a way of celebrating the presence of one who had promised to return." Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, p. 23, "Toute la prière est d'un caractère eschatologique indéniable." G. W. H. Lampe, "Eschatology," p. 22, remarks on the later eschatological significance of the Eucharist, "In the Eucharist the eschatological bread of heaven is made available within the present order. The Isaianic prophecy of the eschatological banquet (Isa. 25.6) is fulfilled in the Eucharist, and there is also found the realisation of the feast offered by Wisdom (Pr. 9.5), which is associated by Origen with the Parable of the Great Supper and its picture of the nations joining the patriarchs of old Israel at the table in the Kingdom of God. Cyprian connects the same imagery of Wisdom's banquet with the Eucharist, and he also believes the manna to be a type of the spiritual food of Christ." Thus one can see the fundamental importance of the liaison between eucharist and eschatology in its later and earlier stages.

<sup>1</sup>J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, pp. 460-461, "It is not infrequently alleged that after the first generation Christianity underwent a radical transformation. . . . Here and there traces of this weakened consciousness of God's redemptive action undeniably appear, along with the implied alteration in the eschatological perspective. . . . In thought of this type the Christian's confident and joyous assurance that the age to come has already broken into the present age has faded into the background. He looks upon God, not as the divine Father to Whom he has free access, but as the sternly just distributor of rewards and penalties, while grace has lost the primarily eschatological character it had in the New Testament and has become something to be acquired." (Italics mine.)

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 422, comments on the extent to which grace had become identified with the sacraments--a tendency that may well be incipient here. "In the fourth and fifth centuries little or no attempt was made, in East or West, to work out a systematic sacramental theology. The universal, if somewhat vague, assumption was that the sacraments were outward and visible signs marking the presence of an invisible, but none the less genuine, grace." (Italics mine.)

<sup>3</sup>E. W. Bullinger, Figures of Speech Used in the Bible, (London: Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1968), pp. 597-598.

<sup>4</sup>There are two pieces of evidence for this. Textually, the Coptic version presupposes κύριος, not χάρις (Theological Dictionary of

condly, the term μαρὰν ἄθα (10.6) is employed,--an eschatological term.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, in direct dependence on Luke 12.35,37,40 and Matthew 24.42,44, he warns the readers to be ready because of the immediacy of Christ's return.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, Ignatius held to immediacy as well (Rom. 10.3, ὑπομονῆ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he employs the term προσδῶνα (Polyc. 3.2) of waiting for Christ--a clear indication of Ignatius' belief in immediacy.<sup>4</sup>

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the New Testament, s.v. "χάρις, κτλ," by Hans Conzelmann and Walther Zimmerli, 9(1974):400.232). Secondly, later Christian writers called Christ "χάρις" (A Patristic-Greek Lexicon, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, s.v. "χάρις," I.A.2.b., p. 1514).

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "μαρὰν ἄθα," by H. G. Kuhn, 4(1967):466-472. Cf. John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, p. 88, ". . . this phrase belongs to the first period of the church, during which apparently most or all of the Christians cherished a vivid expectation of the almost immediate Second Advent of the Lord." (Italics mine.)

<sup>2</sup>Didache 16.1, Ἐρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί. οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ἧ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται." Cf. B. C. Butler, "The Literary Relations of Didache, Ch. XVI," The Journal of Theological Studies, N. S. 11(1960):265-268; The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers, pp. 31-32; Edouard Massaux, "L'influence littéraire de l'Évangile de S. Matthieu sur la Didache," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 25(1949)30.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "ὑπομένω, κτλ.," by F. Hauck, 4(1967):586, "There is an example of the God-ward use, corresponding to that of the LXX (see above, p. 31, n. 2), in 2 Th. 3:5. The ὑπομονή Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is here expectation of the Christ who will come again in glory. . . . Pious waiting for Jesus is the heart-beat of the faith of the NT community." Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 4:234, "The expression apparently has the same sense here as in 2 Thess. iii.5, but the meaning is doubtful. Most probably it is 'the patient waiting for Christ': . . ."

<sup>4</sup>Ignatius uses the term προσδῶν of the Messianic expectancy of the prophets (Magn. 9.2, ". . . οὐ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων; . . ."). Cf. A Patris-

The visibility of the Second Advent

Hegesippus, 2 Clement and the Didache are in accord regarding the visibility of the Second Advent.<sup>1</sup> In 2 Clement (17.4-5), it is visible for three reasons: 1). Christ shall gather together all people, 2). it is the day of His ἐπιφανεῖα, 3). those who doubted His second coming will see Him and mourn.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of the Second Advent: to establish the Kingdom

Both Hegesippus and 2 Clement associate the Second Advent with the establishment of the Kingdom, obviously assuming that the Second Advent happens immediately before the Kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

tic-Greek Lexicon, s.v. "προσδοκάω," p. 1166; cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "προσδοκάω κτλ.," by Christian Maurer, 6(19-68):725-727.

<sup>1</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 2.23.14, ". . . , καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;"  
<sup>2</sup>Clement 17.4-5, "4. εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ κύριος. "Ἐρχομαι συναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, φυλαῶς καὶ γλώσσας. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανεῖας αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ἔλθων λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς, ἕκαστον κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. 5. καὶ ὄφονται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κρατὸς οἱ ἄπιστοι, καὶ ξενισθήσονται ἰδόντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες. Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι σὺ ἦς, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδειμεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπειθόμεθα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τοῖς ἀναγγέλλουσιν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν."

Didache 16.8, "τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ."

<sup>2</sup>Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, p. 172. The ἄπιστοι are not pagans, but those who were in the church and did not listen to the elders, i.e., those who doubted the Second Coming.

<sup>3</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.20.4, "ἔρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὅποια τις εἶη καὶ ποῦ καὶ πότε φανησομένη, λόγον δοῦναι ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνοι, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένη, ὀπηνίκα ἔλθῶν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἕκαστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ."

2 Clement 12.1, "Ἐκδεχόμεθα οὖν καθ' ὥραν τὴν βασιλείαν



The purpose of the Second Advent: to exercise judgment

Many of the writers/writings perceive the primary purpose of the Second Advent to be the judging of believers and unbelievers<sup>1</sup>--the former gaining rewards, the latter retribution. Hegesippus (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.20.4) considers it to be a time of judgment and reward. 1 Clement (34.3; 35.1-4) thinks likewise.<sup>2</sup> To Second Clement, Jesus, as Judge of the living and dead, ransoms and rewards believers.<sup>3</sup> For Barnabas, it is the time to destroy the Antichrist and the godless.<sup>4</sup>

The Kingdom

The time of its establishment

Hegesippus places it at the end of the age.<sup>5</sup> 1 Clement associates

τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 24-26. These writers make no mention of the state of the unbelieving dead at the Second Advent, because they are primarily interested in the future of believers and the consolation which it affords. They do not speak of a General Resurrection, but they do hold to the judgment of the wicked. It is probably unwise to extrapolate any conclusions from their silence.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Clement 34.3, "προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν. Ἴδου ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ."

<sup>3</sup> 2 Clement 17.4, "τοῦτο δὲ λέγει τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ἐλθὼν λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς, . . ." "μισθός is always used in an eschatological sense by 2 Clement, e.g., 9.5; 11.5; 15.1; 19.1; 20.4, . . ." (Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, p. 113). The concept of ransom (λυτρώσεται) is very reminiscent of Eph. 1.14; 4.30; cf. J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, 2:254.

<sup>4</sup> Barnabas 15.5, "ὅταν ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς . . ."

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.20.4, ". . . , ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ

its establishment with the resurrection of believers.<sup>1</sup> 2 Clement has it incepted by the Second Advent,<sup>2</sup> and the resurrection of the flesh.<sup>3</sup> Cerinthus places it after the resurrection.<sup>4</sup> In Barnabas, it is preceded

τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένη (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ), . . . "

<sup>1</sup>1 Clement 50.3-4, " . . . , ἀλλ'οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντες κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν ἔχουσιν χώρον εὐσεβῶν, οἱ φανερωθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 4. γέγραπται γάρ . . . Εἰσελθετε εἰς τὰ ταμεῖα μικρῶν ὅσον ὅσον, ἕως οὗ παρέλθῃ ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ ὁ θυμὸς μου, καὶ μνησθήσομαι ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς, καὶ ἀναστήσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν θηκῶν ὑμῶν." Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 2:82, "It is clear that to be manifest when Christ's kingdom comes involves resurrection . . ." Ἐπισκοπή is used of the visitation of God's wrath, normally, as is evidenced by the context here. Cf. A Patristic-Greek Lexicon, s.v. "ἐπισκοπή," p. 532, and Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "ἐπισκοπή," by Hermann W. Beyer, 2(1964): 606-608. However, the Kingdom is not a very important concept to Clement, cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, " . . . l'idée du Royaume de Dieu, qui était centrale dans la prédication de Jésus, ne joue aucun rôle important. Elle n'est mentionnée que deux fois: 42,3 et 50,3 (cf. 61,3); le Royaume est une réalité strictement future, qui n'est pas regardée comme étant déjà présente dans l'Eglise, et qui, en outre, n'est pas inaugurée par les événements de départ de la prédication des apôtres qui a pour contenu que le Royaume de Dieu viendra . . ." (Italics mine.)

<sup>2</sup>2 Clement 12.1, "Ἐκδεχόμεθα οὖν καθ' ὥραν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . , ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ." Cf. *ibid.*, 17.4-5, " . . . τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτε ἐλθὼν λυτρώσεται ἡμᾶς, . . . 5. καὶ ὄφονται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος οἱ ἄπιστοι, καὶ ξενισθήσονται ἰδόντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, . . . "

<sup>3</sup>2 Clement 9.4, "ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, καὶ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε." The problem in this passage is the significance of ἐλεύσεσθε. Since 2 Clement does not speak of the saints returning with Christ at the Second Advent, it is best to understand this verb as referring to their entry into the kingdom after the resurrection. Cf. 9.1, "Καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σαρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται."; and 9.6, "ἀγαπῶμεν οὖν ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἐλθόμεν πάντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ."

<sup>4</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2, " . . . Κήρινθος . . . λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . "

by the resurrection and is immediate.<sup>1</sup>

### The purpose of the Kingdom

For 2 Clement, it is a time of rest for believers<sup>2</sup> and of world-wide rule for Christ.<sup>3</sup> Cerinthus regards it as a time of material delight.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Barnabas 21.1,3, "ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται. . . . διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις, . . . ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἣ συναπολεῖται πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ." The kingdom will obviously precede the destruction of Satan (15.5--"ὅταν ἔλθῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου. . .").

<sup>2</sup>2 Clement 6.7, "ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρήσομεν ἀνάπαυσιν." Ἀνάπαυσις is the opposite of eternal punishment (6.7; 17.5).

<sup>3</sup>2 Clement 17.5, ". . . ἰδόντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, . . ."

<sup>4</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2,5, ". . . Κήρινθος . . . 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. . . ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὡν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὄνειροπολεῖν ἔσεσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπο γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τουτ' ἐστὶ σιτίοις καὶ πότοις καὶ γάμοις καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ψῆθη ποριεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς." Two important factors regarding Cerinthus' eschatology need to be noted. First of all, its features originate in and/or reflect Jewish apocalypticism, e.g., 1). on the fecundity of marriage, cf. 1 Enoch 10.17, "And then shall all the righteous escape, and shall live till they beget thousands of children, . . ."; 2). on banqueting, cf. 2 Baruch 29.4, "And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and they shall be food for all that are left."; cf. 4 Ezra 6.49-52, "Then thou didst preserve two living creatures; the name of one thou didst call Behemoth and the name of the other thou didst call Leviathan . . . ; and thou hast reserved them to be devoured by whom thou wilt and when." (Cf. D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 124f., 294f., 320, for the eschatological significance of these statements.); 3). on the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple, cf. Sibylline Oracles 5.420-433, "and the city which God loved he made more radiant than the stars

For Barnabas, it is a time of holiness,<sup>1</sup> in which Christians shall live on,

and the sun and the moon; and he set it as the jewel of the world, and made a temple exceeding fair in its fair sanctuary, and fashioned it in size of many furlongs, with a giant tower touching the very clouds and seen of all, so that all the faithful and all the righteous may see the glory of the invisible God, . . . It is the last time of the saints, when God accomplishes these things, God the sender of thunder, the Creator of the great Temple."; 1 Enoch 91.13 & 14d, "And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness, and a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore, and all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness."; 4). on the re-institution of Jewish worship(-practices), cf. 1 Enoch 10.21, "And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me."; Jubilees 23.26, "And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws, and to seek the commandments, and return to the path of righteousness." These Jewish features account for the materialistic aspects (marriage, feasting, sacrifices) of Cerinthus' eschatology. (On the Jewish apocalyptic background, cf. R. H. Charles, History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899), pp. 162-305; George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927; reprint ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1971), 2:323-376; J. W. Bailey, "The Temporary Messianic Reign in the Literature of Early Judaism," Journal of Biblical Literature 53(1934): 170-187; D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 285-303.) Secondly, these Jewish aspects of Cerinthus' eschatology are not anomalous in patristic eschatology, for they re-appear in a variety of writers, e.g., 1). on the fecundity of marriage, cf. Commodianus Instructiones 2.3.9, "Et generant ipsi per annos mille nubentes."; Lactantius Divinae Institutiones 7.24.3, "tum qui erunt in corporibus vivi, non morientur, sed per eosdem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt . . ." (cf. *ibid.*, 7.24.6, 11-13 for direct reference to, and the influence of, Jewish apocalyptic traditions.); 2). on the re-institution of Jerusalem, cf. Justin Dialogue with Trypho 80.5, "ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεται ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοκομηθεῖσιν καὶ κοσμηθεῖσιν καὶ πλατυνθεῖσιν, . . ." (Italics mine. At least in Justin's opinion, Cerinthus' eschatology would characterize Cerinthus as ὀρθογνώμων.); Irenaeus Adversus Haereses 5.35.2, "Haec autem talia universa non in supercoelestibus possunt intelligi: . . . ; sed in Regni temporibus, revocata terra a Christo, et reaedificata Hierusalem, . . ." In summary, then, it can be seen that Cerinthus' expectation of material delight in the Kingdom was not heterodox to early patristic eschatology (although he may have carried the trend to extremes) nor was it anomalous to the eschatological fervour of the times as produced by Jewish apocalypticism.

<sup>1</sup>Barnabas 10.11, " . . . καὶ τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται." (Italics mine.)

possess, and rule the earth.<sup>1</sup> The Didache conceives the Kingdom to be a time prepared for the Church.<sup>2</sup> For Ignatius, it is the future<sup>3</sup> home of life for believers.<sup>4</sup>

#### The location and duration of the Kingdom

2 Clement,<sup>5</sup> Cerinthus,<sup>6</sup> and Barnabas<sup>7</sup> explicitly state that the Kingdom will be on and/or over the earth. Cerinthus was indisputably a millenarian.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Barnabas 6.17-19, "οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς. 18. προειρήκαμεν δὲ ἐπάνω. Καὶ ἀύξανέσθωσαν καὶ πληθύνέσθωσαν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων. τίς οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νῦν ἄρχειν θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι τὸ ἄρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, ἵνα τις ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. 19. εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἴρηκεν, πότε. ὅταν καὶ αὐτοῖς τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι."

<sup>2</sup>Didache 9.4, ". . . , οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν." "μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, . . . σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, . . . , εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἠτοίμασας αὐτῇ."

<sup>3</sup>Ignatius To the Ephesians 16.1, "οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν." Notice the tense of the verb.

<sup>4</sup>Ignatius To the Magnesians 5.1, "Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ, ὃ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν."

<sup>5</sup>2 Clement 17.5, ". . . τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, . . . "

<sup>6</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2,5, ". . . ἐπίγειον . . . τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . "

<sup>7</sup>Barnabas 6.17, ". . . ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς."

<sup>8</sup>Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.2, ". . . , ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας . . . "

## The Judgment

### The time of the judgment

2 Clement regarded it as future to him,<sup>1</sup> but as immediate<sup>2</sup> and occurring at the Second Advent.<sup>3</sup> Barnabas maintained that it was preceded by the resurrection of the dead<sup>4</sup> and was a concomitant to the Second Advent.<sup>5</sup>

### Events associated with the judgment

For 2 Clement, it is associated with the cataclysmic destruction of the universe<sup>6</sup> and eternal torture for the skeptics in the local church.<sup>7</sup> Barnabas also considers it cataclysmic.<sup>8</sup> Ignatius regards the unleashing of the wrath of God to be its main constituent event.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup>2 Clement 18.2, ". . . τὴν κρίσιν τὴν μέλλουσαν."

<sup>2</sup>2 Clement 16.3, "γινώσκετε δέ, ὅτι ἔρχεται ἡδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως . . ." (Italics mine.). Cf the force of μέλλουσα in 18.2.

<sup>3</sup>2 Clement 17.4-6, "τοῦτο δὲ λέγει τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, . . . 6. τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην λέγει τῆς κρίσεως, . . ."

<sup>4</sup>Barnabas 5.7, ". . . ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτός ποιήσας κρινεῖ."

<sup>5</sup>Barnabas 15.5, "ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ . . . κρινεῖ τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς . . ."

<sup>6</sup>2 Clement 16.3, "γινώσκετε δέ, ὅτι ἔρχεται ἡδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ τακῆσονται τινες τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηρόμενος."

<sup>7</sup>2 Clement 7.6, "τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρούντων, φησὶν, τὴν σφραγίδα ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάση σαρκί." Cf. 17.7, ". . . ὅταν θεῶσονται τοὺς ἀστοχῆσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἄσβεστω, . . ."

<sup>8</sup>Barnabas 15.5, "ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ . . . κρινεῖ τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξει τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας,"

<sup>9</sup>Ignatius To the Ephesians 11.1, "ἡ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν

## The Last Days

### The time of the Last Days

2 Clement<sup>1</sup> and Ignatius maintained that the Last Days began with the Incarnation of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Both Barnabas<sup>3</sup> and Ignatius<sup>4</sup> regarded them as present, but the former, as well as the Didache, emphasized their occurrence, designated by special events, in the future.

### The events of the Last Days

Barnabas emphasized that the Last Days will be characterized by the manifestation of Satanic power.<sup>5</sup> The following eschatological time-

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φοβηθῶμεν, . . . " On judgment, cf. To the Magnesians 5.1; To the Smyrnaeans 6.1.

<sup>1</sup>2 Clement 14.2, ". . . ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν, ἐφανερώθη δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμέρων, . . . "

<sup>2</sup>Ignatius To the Magnesians 6.1, ". . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς πρὸ αἰῶνων παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη." Ignatius regards χάρις as the chief characteristic of the Last Days, on which Torrance comments, "Ignatius thinks of grace as the forbearing will of God which has suspended His wrath in the present age, and provided an opportunity for repentance in which we may avail ourselves of His kindness." (T. F. Torrance, Grace in the Apostolic Fathers, 1948, pp. 77-78, as quoted in Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 4:42).

<sup>3</sup>Barnabas 2.1, "Ἡμέρων οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν, . . . "cf. *ibid.* 4.3, 9, "τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἠγγικεν, . . . διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις."

<sup>4</sup>Ignatius To the Ephesians 11.1, "Ἐσχατοὶ καιροί."

<sup>5</sup>Barnabas 4.3-6, 9, "3. τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἠγγικεν, . . . λέγει. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέτηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνῃ ὁ ἠγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἦξη. 4. λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Βασιλεῖται δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὀπίσθεν μικρῶς βασιλεὺς, ὃς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. 5. ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγει Δανιὴλ. Καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρῶν κέρασ παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπεινώσεν ὑφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων. 6. συνιέναι οὖν ὀφείλετε. . . 9. . . . διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς

table is presented in the Didache:<sup>1</sup> 1). rise of false prophets, 2). apostasy of the Church, 3). increase of lawlessness, 4). revelation of the Antichrist,<sup>2</sup> 5). the Great Tribulation, 6). the Second Advent, preceded<sup>3</sup>

ἔσχάταις ἡμέραις. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδαλοῖς, ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ, ἀνιστῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ σχῆ παρείδουσιν ὁ μέλας." Το τέλειον σκάνδαλον(4.3): by metonymy of adjucāt, the characteristic of the Last Days--the apostasy of many(cf. Didache 16.4; Matt. 24:10)--is stated for the time. One is at a loss to know how he understood the signs which he gave. Cf. John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, p. 204, "The assumption has been widely made that Barnabas sees some current arrangement of Roman imperial affairs as a literal fulfilment of this prophecy, and a mark that the End is nigh. This is of course a somewhat precarious assumption to make, for we do not know how far the writer took Daniel literally." (Italics mine.) This is the major problem with Barnabas--to discern what hermeneutical principles he employed in interpreting prophecy of this kind.

<sup>1</sup>Didache 16.1-8, "1. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. Οἱ λυχνοὶ ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν. ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι. οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ἣ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται. 2. πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχᾶς ὑμῶν. οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἔσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε. 3. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἔσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος. 4. ἀξάνουσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἀ' οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. 5. τότε ἦξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος. 6. καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας. πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. 7. οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔρρέθη. Ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. 8. τότε ὄφεται ὁ κόσμος τῶν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ."

<sup>2</sup>κοσμοπλανῆς : on the significance of the term, cf. Jean-Paul Audet, La Didaché: Instructions des Apôtres, (Paris: Librairie LeCoffre, 1958), p. 472, "Son intérêt, dans le contexte, est de donner un sens naturel aux 'signes de la vérité'(16.6) en regard des signes du séducteur(16.4). L'ἀληθεία s'oppose à la πλάνη dont le Séducteur universel est comme la personnification . . . "

<sup>3</sup>Didache 16.8, "τότε," Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des



by a). the unveiling of the Cross in the heavens,<sup>1</sup> b). the sounding of the Trumpet, c). the resurrection of the believing dead.

### The Interpretation of Prophecy

There is not a great deal of evidence in this period as to how these writers/writings interpreted prophecy. In the case of 1 Clement, he uses Scripture primarily for example and analogy.<sup>2</sup> In 10:1-7, in keeping with his manner of employing the Old Testament, he quotes the Abrahamic Covenant within the context of a moral example, without any prophetic/covenantal application at all. In 32:1-2, he interprets the promise of num-

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morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, p. 20, "L'acte final de ce drame eschatologique est la venue du Seigneur sur les nuées; il semble, en effet, que dans le paragraphe 8, qui commence avec un autre τότε, il s'agisse (probablement) d'une nouvelle étape dans le déroulement des événements, plutôt que d'un résumé des trois signes de la vérité."

<sup>1</sup>B. C. Butler, "The Literary Relations of Didache, Ch. XVI," pp. 276-280, presents the evidence for this interpretation of ἐπιεπάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ: 1. the meaning of ἐπιεπάσσειν "to spread out", 2. the force of ἐν οὐρανῷ, 3. the tradition that the sign of the Cross will be in the sky at the Second Advent (see below), 4). the use of ἐπιεπάσεις of cross-like gestures in the Odes of Solomon. On the tradition(#3), cf. The Epistle of the Apostles, 16, ". . . and the sign of the Cross shall go before me, and I shall come upon earth to judge the quick and the dead."; and The Apocalypse of Peter, ". . . with the cross going before my face will I come in my majesty with all my saints, . . ." (The Apocryphal New Testament, ed. by Montague Rhodes James, corr. ed., (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 490, 511.)

<sup>2</sup>Clement principally uses the Scriptures to derive moral examples or analogy which will support the point which he is making. In the latter instance, he often ignores the historical, contextual setting of his source, therefore, his quotation of a Scripture can not normally be used to establish a theological point. In his search for examples/analogies, he ranged far beyond Scripture to employ nature (20:1-12; 24:1-5; 33:2-8), mythology (25:1-26:1), heathen practices (55:1), the apocrypha (55:4-5), and the actions of Christians themselves (55:2-3). For his derivation of moral examples (4:7; 5:1; 7:5 etc.); for his derivation of analogy (e.g. 40:1; 42:5), cf. Herbert T. Mayer, "Clement of Rome and His Use of Scripture," Concordia Theological Monthly 42(1971):536-540.

erous posterity to Abraham (Gen. 15.5)--one of modern dispensational pre-millennialism's 'national promises'<sup>1</sup>--as applying to the renown of the posterity, not its number, and then applies this non-literal interpretation literally. Therefore, in at least one instance, there is clear evidence that 1 Clement did not apply consistently literal interpretation to the Old Testament prophecies.

In the case of Barnabas, one discovers the assertion that prophecy is intelligible (4.4-6a; 9.3; 10.12), but he interprets prophecy allegorically (e.g., 6.1-19; 9.8; 10.1-12; 16.1-10) because he has totally disassociated Israel from the precepts of the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> In fact, he

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<sup>1</sup>See above, p. 6, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Johannes Quasten, Patrology, vol. 1: The Beginning of Patristic Literature, pp. 85-86, "The author, first of all, wishes to expound and prove to his readers the value and meaning of the revelation of the Old Testament; he seeks to show that the Jews completely misunderstood the Law because they interpreted it literally. After repudiating this interpretation he presents what is in his opinion the genuinely spiritual meaning, i.e., the τελεία γνώσις. It consists of an allegorical explanation of Old Testament doctrines and commandments." (Italics mine.) On the author's attempt to show that the Jews misunderstood the Old Testament, cf. Albert Hermans, "Le Pseudo-Barnabé est-il millénariste?" Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 35(1959):850, "'Toute l'Épître exprime l'effort d'un judéo-chrétien pour détacher des Juifs des observances rituelles et leur montrer dans le christianisme la vraie réalisation du Judaïsme'. L'élection divine, avec ses promesses contenues dans le testament, la circoncision demandée par Dieu, la terre promise, le temple dans lequel Dieu habite, tout cela n'appartient qu'aux chrétiens. Si les Juifs croient posséder ces biens, c'est qu'ils ne comprennent rien aux volontés divines exprimées dans l'Écriture. Les chrétiens ont 'avec la foi la gnose parfaite'. Leur foi leur permet de lire la Bible à la lumière du Christ et d'en saisir le seul vrai sens." On the use of allegory, cf. William H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," Andrews University Seminary Studies 4(1966):150-151, "In this letter there are some fifty passages where the writer employed the allegorical type of teaching. Some of these are rather Biblical, but many are quite strained by any Biblical standard, and some reach the heights of absurdity." Following are some examples of his allegorical interpretation: 1). paradise and the promised land are made to represent baptism (cf. Pierre Prigent, Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses sources, (Paris: Librairie LeCoffre, 1961), pp. 84-99); 2). the promised land becomes Christ(6.8)(Cf. R. P. C.

he specifically designates the Church to be the heir of the covenantal promises made to Israel (4.6-7; 13.1-6; 14.4-5).<sup>1</sup>

### The Church and Israel

The majority of the writers/writings in this period completely identify Israel with the Church. 1 Clement finds the fulfilment of a prophecy concerning Israel (Deut. 32.5) in the Church (3.1, . . . και ἐπετελεῖσθαι το γαμμένον). Secondly, he explicitly states that the Church is a part of Israel (29.1-30.1). 2 Clement applies a prophecy regarding Israel to the Church, completely merging the identity of the two (2.1; cf. 2.2-3; 3.5).<sup>2</sup> Barnabas identifies Israel with the Church by emphatically assert-

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Hanson, "Notes on Tertullian's Interpretation of Scripture," Journal of Theological Studies, 12(1961):273; 3). a prophecy regarding Cyrus (Is. 45.2) allegorically applies to Christian baptism (11.1) (cf. J. Ramsey Michaels, "The 'Level Ground' in the Shepherd of Hermas," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 59(1968):248.6).

<sup>1</sup>Regarding the Promised Land in Barnabas 6, cf. William H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," p. 155, ". . . 'The land of milk and honey' does not apply to the possession of a literal Canaan by the Hebrews, but to the Christian's present spiritual experience and his future reward." Regarding the promises made to the Israelites (e.g., 5.6-7; 14.1), cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, p. 37, ". . . Dieu n'a pas annulé la promesse qu'il avait faite aux Pères; seulement, Israël ayant réjeté le Christ, la promesse est passée à un peuple nouveau que le Christ s'est choisi." If the Land of Promise originally was not understood as a literal possession and promise, it would be unreasonable to conclude, by Barnabas' standards, that the Promised Land would be a future literal promise and possession.

<sup>2</sup>2 Clement would not regard the Church as beginning at Pentecost (as dispensational premillennialism would, see above, p. 6, n. 4), but posits its existence prior to Creation (14.1-5). On this Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 1:134, comments, "The pre-existent Church is also discussed in 2 Clement 14, where we read that the "first Church" is the spiritual one which was created before sun and moon; this is the "Church of life," and the body of Christ. Here the author relies either on Ephesians 5:23-30 (as is likely) or upon a similar tradition. He explains that the "male and female" of Genesis 1:27 refers to Christ and the Church. Just as Jesus, originally spiritual, was made manifest in the last days, so the

ing that the Church has taken Israel's place in God's program (2.4-6, 9; 3.6; 4.6-7, 8; 5.2, 7; 6.13-15; 7.5; 13.1, 3, 5-6; 14.4-5).<sup>1</sup> The Didache identifies the Church as the τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυειδ (9.2), thereby merging the identity of Israel and the Church (cf. 14.2, 3).<sup>2</sup>

Church, also spiritual, was made manifest 'in the flesh of Christ' in order to save us. Jesus is prefigured by the 'male' in Genesis and identified with the Spirit; the Church is prefigured by the 'female' and identified with the flesh. This seems to imply that just as Jesus Christ became incarnate, so the Church became incarnate."

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 3:33, "The very language employed throughout Barnabas to describe the Christian hope is directly and thoroughly rooted in the language of God's dealings with Israel. Thus Christians are the new (or younger) people (3:6; 5:7; 7:5; 13:1-6), the true heirs of the promise (5:7; 6:17; 5:17; 16:9) and of the covenant (4:6-8=14:1-5; 6:19; 13:1-6, God's sons (4:9) and holy people (14:6); the Christian community is God's new creation (6:11-14; 16:8) which inherits the good land (6:8-18) and is God's dwelling place--his pneumatic Temple (4:11; 6:15; 16:10)." Cf. J. J. Collins, "A. P. O'Hagan, 'Early Christian Exegesis Exemplified from the Epistle of Barnabas,' AusBibRev 11(1-4, '63): 33-40," New Testament Abstracts 9(1965):391, "As in most early Christian interpretation, the author of Barnabas firmly maintains two principles: there is an essential continuity between the Church and Israel; and the Old Testament legislation is no longer binding upon Christians." (Italics mine.). Cf. Albert Hermans, "Le Pseudo-Barnabe est-il millenariste?" p. 874, "Les chretiens sont le peuple nouveau, le peuple 'prepare' a un avenir splendide, le peuple heritier du testament, le peuple de l'heritage. En plus des volontes divines, le testament contient les 'promesses'. A la Parousie, nous serons mis en possession de la promesse. Mais dans les chretiens 'habite deja l'appel a la promesse'; des maintenant 'la foi a la promesse et la predication' sont leur nourriture." (Italics mine.). The clearest statement that Barnabas makes about the Church and Israel and about the fulfillment of the national promises is 5.7: ἵνα τοις πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων . . ." (Italics mine.) The promise made to the patriarchs is fulfilled in the Church, not in their descendents.

<sup>2</sup>H. J. Gibbins, "The Problem of the Liturgical Section of the Didache," Journal of Theological Studies 36(1935):376, "In the mind of the Jewish Christian 'the Holy Vine of David' stood for the Christian Church, the fulfillment of the ideal Israel." Cf. pp. 375, 385, and Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s. v. "ἀμπέλος," by Johannes Behm, 1(1964):342-343. Furthermore, Didache 10.6 appears to substitute 'the Church' for τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς of Matt. 24.31 (cf. Edouard Massaux, "L'influence littéraire de l'Évangile de S. Matthieu sur la Didaché," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanien-

### Conclusion

In conclusion,<sup>1</sup> then, some interesting similarities, and some profound differences between the modern construct and the eschatological beliefs of Papias' predecessors have emerged in the course of this chapter. To garner them, first of all the similarities: the belief in a kingdom on/over the earth (although Cerinthus alone specified its duration), and the coming of the Antichrist and the Tribulation. However, the differences are profound, and disqualify any claim that pretribulational, dispensational premillennialism existed in any form in the period. First of all, a consistently applied literal interpretation and a distinction between Israel and the Church are missing, and these are the foundation stones of the modern system. Secondly, there is no concept of dispensations or dispensationalism at all.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, there was only the concept of a visible Second Advent,<sup>3</sup> immediately preceding the establish-

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ses 25 (1949):30-37; especially p. 37, "L'analyse faite de tous ces versets nous autorise à affirmer que Did., XVI dépend littérairement de Mt. XXIV; le texte de Mt. a servi de base à notre auteur qui paraît en donner une sorte de commentaire; . . ." (Cf. Richard Glover, "The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," New Testament Studies 5 (1958):21-25). The substitution of "the Church" for "the elect" of Matthew 24 does not agree with the dispensational premillennial scheme, which would not apply the teaching of Matthew 24 to the Church, since it believes the Church will not be present on earth during the time-period described in Matthew 24 (cf. John F. Walvoord, Matthew: Thy Kingdom Come, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1974), pp. 179-195, and in particular, pp. 188-191; see above, p. 13).

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup>Ignatius is the only author to use the term  $\sigma\iota\kappa\nu\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha$  and he uses it of the life of Christ, e.g., Eph. 18.2; 20.1. For a similar use, see below, pp. 72, 87.

<sup>3</sup>The use of the term 'imminency' has been deliberately avoided in this chapter because of its technical eschatological connotations in dispensational premillennialism (see above, p. 12). The use of a neutral term, like 'immediacy' is preferable since there is no possibility of

ment of the Kingdom. Fourthly, although they believed in the Kingdom, it certainly was not the climax of God's program for Israel. Fifthly, as far as being premillennialists,<sup>1</sup> the best that can be said is that Cerinthus was one.

In closing, then, it is quite evident that traces of modern pre-tribulational, dispensational premillennialism simply did not exist in the immediate post-apostolic period.

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demonstrating that these authors had a concept of a Rapture. Instead, their whole posture would lead one to believe that their expectation was the Second Advent, which was associated with the resurrection of believers, the Kingdom, and the Judgment (see above, pp. 26, 27, 38). There is simply no prima facie for the Rapture in their thought, and therefore the use of 'imminency' is inappropriate.

<sup>1</sup>Nor can 1 Clement, 2 Clement, Barnabas, nor Ignatius be claimed as chiliasts/premillennarians as Peters would do (see above, p. 14). This also invalidates the statements of: William A. BeVier, "Chiliasm in the Later Middle Ages," (Dallas Theological Seminary, Unpublished Master's thesis, 1955), p. 11; Wallace S. Pollock, "Chiliasm in the First Five Centuries," (Dallas Theological Seminary, Unpublished Master's thesis, 1945), p. 8; Max Wiley, "Historical Antecedents of Dispensationalism," (Dallas Theological Seminary, Unpublished Master's thesis, 1960), p. 29.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ESCHATOLOGY OF PAPIAS

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the eschatology of Papias from a pretribulational, dispensational premillennial perspective.

By way of introduction to the eschatology disclosed in his fragmentary remains, several items, which delineate the significance of Papias for this study, need to be mentioned. First of all, the probable source<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Even in the early centuries A.D., differing conclusions were reached regarding Papias' relationship to the Apostles and their teaching. Irenaeus claimed, "Τὰ ὅσα δὲ καὶ Πάπιας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστῆς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων" (Adversus Haereses 5.33.4 in Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.1). Eusebius, on the other hand, claimed, ". . . αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Πάπιας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρεληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει." (Ecclesiastical History 3.39.2). The crucial issue in Papias' Preface (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.3-4) is the meaning of οἱ πρεσβύτεροι and οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν. On the former, J. B. Lightfoot, Essays on the Work Entitled Supernatural Religion, 2d ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893), pp. 145-146, concludes, "What class of persons he intends to include under the designation of 'elders' he makes clear by the names which follow. The category would include not only Apostles like Andrew and Peter, but also other personal disciples of Christ, such as Aristion and the second John. In other words, the term with his is a synonym for the Fathers of the Church in the first generation. This meaning is entirely accordant with the usage of the same title elsewhere. . . . Thus employed therefore, the term 'presbyters' or 'elders' denotes not office, but authority and antiquity. It is equivalent to 'the ancient' or 'primitive worthies'. But at its last occurrence in the extract of Papias, where it is applied to the second John, this is apparently not the case. Here it seems to be an official title, designating a member of the order of the presbyterate. Though modern critics have stumbled over this two-fold sense of the word πρεσβύτερος in the same context, it would create no difficulty to the contemporaries of Papias, to whom 'the Presbyter John' must have been a common mode of designation in

of Papias' teaching--even his eschatology<sup>1</sup>--was the apostolic tradition.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, he was the first orthodox<sup>3</sup> chiliast,<sup>4</sup> and as such, exercised a

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contradistinction to 'the Apostle John,' and to whom therefore the proper meaning would at once suggest itself." (Italics mine.) On the latter, Johannes Munck, "Disciples of the Lord in Papias," Harvard Theological Review 52 (1959):232, comments, "Thus it seems possible to show the existence of three senses of 'the Lord's disciples,' signifying respectively 'Christians,' apostles, and disciples of Jesus during his life on earth." It seems, then, that Papias probably drew his teachings, or at least some of them, directly from the Apostles.

<sup>1</sup>Irenaeus Adversus Haereses 5.33.4, "Haec (teachings on the Kingdom) autem et Papias Johannis auditor, . . . per scripturam testimonium perhibet, in quarto librorum suorum: . . ." (Italics mine). Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.11-12, " . . . καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα παρατίθειται ξένας τε τινὰς παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. ἐν οἷς καὶ γιλιὰδα τινὰ φησιν ἔτων ἔσεσθαι . . ." (Italics mine.)

<sup>2</sup>Papias, being from Hierapolis, Asia Minor (cf. G. Dumeige, ed., Synopsis Scriptorum Ecclesiae Antiquae, (Uccle, Belgium: Editions Willy Rousseau, 1953), belongs to that group of writers of whom Abbe Bardy, Litterature grecque chretienne, p. 26, says, "The Asiatics hold above all to the transmission of the tradition they have received from the apostles, and struggle with an invincible firmness against heresies." (as quoted in Robert M. Grant, Second-Century Christianity, pp. 10-11). In keeping with this, Vernon Bartlet, "Papias' 'Exposition': Its Date and Contents," in H. G. Wood, ed., Amicitiae Corolla, (London: University of London Press, 1933), pp. 15-20, states that Papias was "a 'key man' for primitive Christianity in the sub-Apostolic age" for three reasons: 1). his date--he had met some of the Apostles; 2). his home--Hierapolis, which was on a main thoroughfare in Asia Minor and therefore put him within easy access to the mainstream movement of the early Christian mission; 3). his mentality--he was characterized by a Hebraic mind-set, and not a Hellenistic one, and he therefore could more readily understand the Sitz im Leben of early Christianity and its Jewishness.

<sup>3</sup>See above, pp. 17, note 1, and 23, note 1, and 36, note 3. Cerinthus was the first chiliast, but he was heterodox in other respects.

<sup>4</sup>Cecil John Cadoux, The Early Church and the World, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1925; reprint ed., 1955), p. 228, "Of the belief in its chiliastic form, the chief representatives of our period are Papias and Justinus." In fact, his chiliasm was the only major doctrine attributed to him, cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition, 5 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971-), vol. 1: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600), p. 124, "Probably the first indication that



formidable influence on his successors,

Hic dicitur annorum mille iudaicam edidisse δευτέρωσιν .<sup>1</sup>  
 Quem secuti sunt Hireneus et Apollinaris et ceteri, qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. Tertullianus quoque in libro de spe fidelium et Victorinus Pitaboniensis<sup>2</sup> et

the prophecy in this chapter (Rev. 20:1-10) was being interpreted to mean an earthly reign of a thousand years following the return of Christ is that associated with the name of Papias. The only doctrinal position definitely attributed to him was the teaching, which he claimed to have derived from 'unwritten tradition,' that 'there will be a millennium following the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ is to be established physically on this earth.' (Italics mine.)

<sup>1</sup>This term refers to Jewish oral tradition (e.g., the Mishna). Cf. Epiphanius Adversus LXXX Haereses 33.9, "αἱ γὰρ παραδόσεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων δευτερώσεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λέγονται. εἰσι δὲ αὐταὶ τέσσαρες. μία μὲν ἢ εἰς ὄνομα Μωυσέως φερομένη, δευτέρα δὲ ἢ τοῦ καλουμένου 'Ραββὶ 'Αλίβα. τρίτη 'Αδδᾶ ἦτοι Ἰουδα. τετάρτη τῶν υἱῶν 'Ασαμωναίου." (as quoted in Emil Schurer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135), rev. Eng. ed. by Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973), 1:77, n. 23. Significantly, the term is employed regularly by Jerome in this sense, cf. Emil Schurer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, trans. John Macpherson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), 1:119, n. 1, "Jerome, Epist. 121 ad Algasiam, quaest. x.: 'I would fail to tell of the multitude of the traditions of the Pharisees which are now called δευτερώσεις, and which are silly fables. For indeed the size of my book forbids; and so many are vile, that I would blush to quote them.'--The same in Epist. 18 ad Damasum, c. 20: 'But lest we should seem to omit any of those which the Jews call δευτερώσεις, in which they treat of all kinds of knowledge,' etc.--In his Comm. on Isa. viii: 'Shammai, therefore, and Hillel, of whom the former is a quibbling, and the latter a profane interpreter of traditions and δευτερώσεις, make void the precepts of their own law.'--In Comm. on Isa. lix: 'despising the law of God, and following traditions of men, which they call δευτερώσεις.'--In his Comm. on Ezek. xxxvi: 'For we expect the heavenly Jerusalem gemmed and golden, not according to Jewish fables, which they call δευτερώσεις.'--In Comm. on Hos. iii: 'Loving traditions of men and dreams of δευτερώσεις.' In his Comm. on Matt. xxii. 23: Pharisaei traditionum et observationum, quas illi δευτερώσεις vocant, justitiam praeferabant." Obviously, the, Jerome considered Papias' eschatology to be derived from Jewish tradition. Cf. A Patristic-Greek Lexicon, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, s.v. "δευτερώσεις," p. 340.

<sup>2</sup>The Apostolic Fathers, ed. Robert M. Grant, 5:92, "We shall also draw attention to patterns of thought--particularly in Irenaeus and Victorinus--which seem to have something to do with Papias. . . . The

Lactantius hac opinione ducuntur.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, as Gwatkin notes, "The importance of Papias is that he is the first orthodox commentator, . . ."<sup>2</sup>

As a final item of introduction, in the study of Papias' fragments,<sup>3</sup> great care must be exercised to sift through the shroud of harsh,

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clearest use of Papias by Victorinus occurs in his Commentary on Revelation 4.4 (on Mark) and 21.6 (on the millennium). It is at least certain that the information on Mark was not derived from Eusebius since Victorinus died in 304. There is a good chance, then, that he or a source had direct contact with the works of Papias." John Chapman, "Papias on the Age of our Lord," p. 47, comments, "It is certain that Victorinus in his Commentary on the Apocalypse borrowed largely from Papias." He enumerates the following reasons (pp. 49-53): 1). Victorinus is known to have copied Origen word for word, so it is probable that he did likewise with Papias, 2). it fits the historical and exegetical evidence given by Anastasius of Sinai, 3). De Fabrica Mundi is chiliastic as is Papias, 4). the condemnation of Papias as σμικροσ ὤν τον νοῦν is similar to mens parva in Victorinus' claim, 5). Irenaeus bases his concept of the seven ages of Christ's life on Papias. Cf. J. R. Harris, "A New Patristic Fragment," The Expositor 1895 (5th series, vol. 1): 452-453. There is a great deal of assumption in these arguments, and it is best just to view any relationship as analogous, not dependent.

<sup>1</sup>Hieronymus De Viris Inlustribus 18.16-21. On his influence, cf. Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.13, ". . . πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παράτιος γέγονεν τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρος προβεβλημένοις, ὡσπερ οὖν εἰρηναῖω καὶ εἴτις ἄλλος τα ὅμοια φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν."

<sup>2</sup>Henry Melville Gwatkin, Early Church History to A.D. 313, 2 vols., 2d ed., (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912), 2:104.

<sup>3</sup>His fragments are conveniently edited in Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλληνῶν Πατέρων καὶ Ἑκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων, Τόμος Τρίτος, pp. 116-123. They are conveniently translated in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, 10 vols., eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; American ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 1 (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885-1887; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 151-155, and Robert M. Grant, Second-Century Christianity. A Collection of Fragments, (London: S.P.C.K., to those considered genuine in The Apostolic Fathers, 6 vols., ed. Robert M. Grant (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964-1968), vol. 5: Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias, by William R. Schoedel, pp. 94-123.

critical bias<sup>1</sup> which hovers over Papias as a result of his chiliasm.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>On the universality of this bias, Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition, vol. 1: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition, p. 129, says, "Eusebius was certainly speaking for a large body of theological opinion in the East when he called Papias' millenarianism 'bizarre' and 'rather mythological.'" Cf. Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.12-13, " . . . ἄ καὶ ἠγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεορακῶτα. σφόδρα γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηριώμενον εἶπεῖν, φαίνεται." Philip Sidetes, in his Christian History, A.D. 434-439, commented, "Papias, too, is in error about the Millennium, and so is, in consequence, Irenaeus." (as quoted in translation by Johannes Quasten, Patrology, 3 vols. (Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1950-), vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature, p. 530). On Eusebius' evaluation of Papias as "σφόδρα . . . σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν" Johannes Munck, "Disciples of the Lord in Papias," p. 225, n. 10, comments, "Eusebius exploits Papias' modest estimate of his own abilities for polemical purposes. It was the convention for the author of an early Christian treatise to declare in the preface that he was no writer, could not compose a book, etc. See Irenaeus, Adv. haer. I, praefat.; Clem. Alex., Strom., I, ch. 1; cf. Eusebius, H. E. III, 24, 5, where it is related of the Evangelists Matthew and John that it is with reluctance that they have begun to write (cf. Canon Muratorianus, 11. 9-16), and VI, 13, 9, where Clement has been compelled by his friends to hand down to posterity a written account of the traditions he heard from the old presbyters." A similar phrase (mens parva), appearing in Victorinus Petavoniensis De Fabrica Mundi 9, "Nunc igitur de ine narrabili gloria dei et providentia videas memorari: tamen, ut mens parva poterit, conabor ostendere," (Italics mine), leads to this consideration, since Victorinus is supposed to have been dependent on Papias, cf. John Chapman, "Papias on the Age of Our Lord," Journal Theological Society 9 (1908):52-53 (See above, p.53, n.2; see below, p.60, n.1). Eusebius' prejudice against Papias may be traced to three causes: 1). orthodoxy, for Eusebius, was the Alexandrian tradition "in its entirety and without any contradictions." (Cf. B. Gustafsson, "Eusebius' Principles in Handling His Sources, as Found in His Church History I-VII," Texte und Untersuchungen 79 (1961):441). Alexandrian theology, as a whole, was hostile to chiliasm, e.g., Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.28.1-5; 7.24.1-25.8. 2). His acquaintance with Papias may have only been second-hand-- he may have only read portions of Papias' work in the works of Clement of Alexandria (cf. B. Gustafsson, "Eusebius' Principles in Handling His Sources," pp. 431-433. Such an environment--jaundiced against chiliasm-- would hardly have given Eusebius a fair estimate of Papias' thinking. 3). He regarded Papias as the source of the chiliastic error (Ecclesiastical History 3.39.13; see above p.55, n.1), and as such would have a harsh attitude towards the one who originally promulgated an error against which his orthodox Alexandrian tradition stood diametrically opposed.

<sup>2</sup>Johannes Munck, "The Disciples of the Lord in Papias," p. 237,

Turning to a consideration of Papias' eschatology, one discovers that the vast bulk of his eschatological teaching related to the kingdom. Eusebius reports,

ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἑτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης.

The following characteristics of the kingdom in Papias' thought appear in this fragment: 1). the kingdom will be of 1,000 years duration, 2). the kingdom will occur after the resurrection of the dead, 3). the kingdom will be established "physically",<sup>2</sup> 4). the kingdom will be on this earth.

Irenaeus details some further aspects of Papias' thought on the kingdom,

quando<sup>3</sup> et creatura renovata, et liberata, multitudinem fructificabat

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summarizes regarding the prejudice against Papias, "Eusebius has not been fair to Papias. Like other, later historians, he has approached his source with a perfectly clear conception of what was right. And even though he is a more critical reader than Irenaeus it is not certain that he understood Papias better. He lacked the sympathy and patience which an exegete and historian should display towards his sources." (Italics mine.) Even Eusebius may have been inconsistent in his evaluation of Papias, saying of him, "ἄνθρωπός τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογιώτατος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εὐδόμενος." (Ecclesiastical History 3.36.2), although this is missing in some manuscripts, probably because of the inherent contradiction (cf. Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, 8 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), vol. 2: Ante-Nicene Christianity, p. 694, n. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.12.

<sup>2</sup> σωματικῶς Cf. A Patristic-Greek Lexicon, s.v. "σωματικῶς," p. 1367.

<sup>3</sup> The context clearly signifies that it is the kingdom that is under discussion: "Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora Regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt justii surgentes a mortuis: . . ." (Italics mine). This context in Irenaeus refutes the claim of D. H. Kromminga, The Millennium in the Church, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1945), p. 56, that this passage need not refer

universae escae, ex rore coeli, et ex fertilitate terrae: quemadmodum Presbyteri<sup>1</sup> meminerunt, qui Johannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus et dicebat: "Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia<sup>2</sup> palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botrum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et cum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: 'Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic.' Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similae clarae mundae: et reliqua autem poma, et semina, et herbam secundum congruentiam iis consequentem: et omnia animalia iis cibis utentia quae a terra accipiuntur, pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subjecta hominibus cum omni subjectione.

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to the millennial kingdom on earth (cf. also Irenaeus Adversus Haereses 5.35).

<sup>1</sup>As Harvey comments (Sancti Irenaei Libros quinque adversus Haereses, 2 vols., edited by W. Wigan Harvey (Cantabrigiae: Typis Academicis, 1857; reprint ed., Ridgewood, N.J.: The Gregg Press, Inc., 1965), 2:417, n. 3), "Very possibly singular forms, easily passing into the plural, may have been used. E.g. ὡς ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀνέμνησεν, ὁ τῶν Ἰ. βλεπόμενος, ἀκοημένοι, κτλ." The point to be made, however, is that Papias reported it also, even if it was reported by more than one "presbyterus": "Haec autem et Papias. . . . per scripturam testimonium perhibet, . . ." (5.33.4).

<sup>2</sup>This teaching closely resembles 1 Enoch 10:18-18, "And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it: and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield ten presses of oil," and 2 Baruch 29:5, "The earth shall also yield its fruit ten thousandfold and on each (?) vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine." These passages both occur in kingdom contexts, indicating that Papias either directly borrowed from these, or that all three passages represent a common tradition. See above, p. 53, n. 1, where Jerome claims that Papias' eschatology is based on "iudaicam δευτέρωσιν." The number "decem millia" may have arisen by the misreading of 117 for 27 in Genesis 27.28 (cf. J. R. Harris, "A New Patristic Fragment," p. 449). On the pseudepigraphical development of this eschatological tradition of virulent fertility in the millennium, cf. L. Gry, "Le Papias des belles promesses messianiques," Vivre et Penser 3 (1944):112-124; *ibid.*, "Enoch X, 19 et les belles promesses de Papias," Révue biblique 53 (1946):197-206.

Haec autem et Papias Johannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet, in quarto librorum suorum: sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti. Et adjecit, dicens: "Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus. Et Juda"<sup>1</sup> inquit, "proditore non credente, et interrogante: Quomodo ergo tales geniturae a Domino perficientur?" dixisse Dominum: "Videbunt qui venient in illa."<sup>2</sup>

Several facets of the kingdom are proclaimed in this fragment<sup>3</sup>--1). crea-

<sup>1</sup>For a similar story, cf. Hippolytus Commentary on Daniel 4.60, " Τοῦ οὖν κυρίου διηγουμένου τοῖς μαθηταῖς περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τῶν ἁγίων βασιλείας ὡς εἶη ἔνδοξος καὶ θαυμαστή, καταπλαγεῖς δ' Ἰούδας ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔφη. καὶ τίς ἄρα ὄφεται ταῦτα; ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔφη. ταῦτα ὄφονται οἱ ἄξιοι γένόμενοι."

<sup>2</sup>Adversus Haereses 5.33.3-4. For a similar kingdom statement in a eucharistic context (cf. 5.33.1, "Propter hoc autem ad passionem veniens, ut evangelisaret Abrahae, et iis qui cum eo, apertionem haereditatis, cum gratias egisset tenens calicem, et bibisset ab eo, et dedisset discipulis, dicebat eis: Bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est sanguis meus novi Testamenti, . . ."), cf. Victorinus Petavioniensis Commentarius in Apocalypsin 21.6, "De hoc regno meminit dominus, priusquam pateretur, ad apostolos dicens: non bibam de fructu vitis huius iam, nisi cum bibam vobiscum novum in regno futuro, quod est 'centum partibus multiplicatum', decies millies ad maiora et meliora." This again demonstrates the significance of the eucharist for early eschatological ideas, see above, pp.26, note<sup>3</sup>, and 34, notes 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup>Later writers, on the basis of their identification of the ideas of Papias and Irenaeus, probably interpreted this passage to teach the consumption of material food in the kingdom:

1). Maximus the Confessor, ". . . οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Παπίας ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων τὰς διὰ βρωμάτων εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀπολαύσεις." (Papias Fragment 9). There is no doubt that Maximus thought this to refer to the kingdom, as his next statement, quoted and translated by William R. Schoedel, The Apostolic Fathers, ed. Robert M. Grant, 5:117, proves, "Afterwards Apollinarius gave credence to this doctrine which some call the millennium." On the context of this report, Schoedel comments, "Pseudo-Dionysius catalogues errors concerning the dead, of which one is that the lot promised the saints is like life in this world and that 'food suitable to another way of life (is ascribed) wrongly to those who have become angels.'"

2). Stephen Gobarus, "οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παπίαν τῶν Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον . . . ἐν οἷς λέγουσιν αἰσθητῶν τινῶν βρωμάτων ἀπολαύσιν εἶναι τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν." (Papias, Fragment 10). Schoedel comments, "Stephen (sixth century), according to Photius, dealt with special problems in eighteen chapters near the end of his theological treatise; this censure of Papias . . . was included there."

tion will be liberated, rejuvenated and fructified in the kingdom, 2). as a consequence, the animal kingdom will be at peace within itself, 3). the animal kingdom will be totally subject to man, and 4). not all men shall see the events of this time.

In considering other aspects of Papias' eschatology, not much evidence is available. On the basis of the evidence presented, only two aspects of his thought on the resurrection of the dead can be discerned-- 1). it will precede the kingdom (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.12), 2). the constituency of this resurrection will not likely be all of the human race (Irenaeus Adversus Haereses 5.33.4, "Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus. . . . Videbunt qui venient in illa."), which may rule out the concept of a general resurrection in Papias.<sup>1</sup>

What of the doctrine of immediacy? No evidence is available, but he held to a scheme of history similar to the Epistle of Barnabas,<sup>2</sup> which, of course, does not rule out the concept of immediacy.<sup>3</sup>

Anastasius of Sinai says,

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Stephen may have been dependent on Irenaeus for his knowledge of Papias."

<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), p. 143, "Il est tout à fait improbable que la ἐν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις dont parle Eusèbe, signifie la résurrection générale."

<sup>2</sup>15:1-9; see above, p.33, note 3. Cf. The Apostolic Fathers, ed. Robert M. Grant, 5:115, "Papias' interest in the six days is probably an aspect of his apocalyptic orientation; for the apocalyptic tradition was profoundly interpenetrated by the idea that the end would be as the beginning (cf. Barn. 6:13) and delighted in working out the parallels."

<sup>3</sup>Idem. On the basis of the eschatological milieu of Papias (cf. Chp. 1), it would be very hazardous to assume that the object of immediacy was anything but the visible Second Advent of Christ at the inception of the Kingdom (Eusebius Ecclesiastical History 3.39.12).

Λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐν Παπλοῦ . . . καὶ Κλήμεντος  
 . . . εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξαίηρον  
 νοησάντων.

This leads one to the conclusion that Papias applied much of the Old

<sup>1</sup>Papias Fragment 6. How did Papias apply the Hexaemeron to Christ and the Church? A possible answer may be found in the possible analogy to this interpretation in Victorinus Petavoniensis De Fabrica Mundi. Victorinus' teaching can be summarized as follows:

1). he makes a septenarian scheme the basis of his Heilsgeschichte:

a). De Fabrica Mundi 1 - ". . . totam molem istam deus sex diebus ex nihilo in ornamentum maiestatis suae expressit, septimum quietus (a) labore benedictione consecrauit. idcirco igitur quoniam septenario numero dierum et caelestia et terrestria omnia reguntur, principii loco de hac septimana, omnium septimanarum regina, meditabor et prout potuero uirtutis diem in eius consummationem conabor exprimere."

b). De Fabrica Mundi 9 - ". . . ut Adam illum per septimanam reformauit atque uniuersae suae creaturae subuenerit, . . ." (Italics mine.)

2). as a consequence, he sees Heilsgeschichte as a sevenfold unit:

a). De Fabrica Mundi 6 - ". . . qui extra ordinem septimanae dispositionis excessurus est." (Italics mine.)

3). he then applies this scheme to the Church as follows:

a). the sixth day is the preparation for the Kingdom: De Fabrica Mundi 4 - ". . . hic dies sextus parasceue appellatur, praeparatio scilicet regni." (Italics mine.)

b). the seventh day is the Millennium: De Fabrica Mundi 6 - ". . . Esaias quoque et ceteri collegae eius sabbatum resolverunt, ut verum illud et iustum sabbatum septimo miliario annorum obseruaretur. quamobrem septem diebus istis dominus singula milia annorum adsignauit. sic enim cautum est: in oculis tuis, domine, mille anni ut dies una. ergo in oculis dei singula milia annorum constituta sunt: septem enim habeo oculos domini. quapropter, ut memorauit, verum illud sabbatum est septimum miliarium, in quo Christus cum electis suis regnaturus est." (Italics mine.)

c). the eighth day is the judgment: De Fabrica Mundi 6 - ". . . hic est enim reuera futuri illius iudicii dies octauus, qui extra ordinem septimanae dispositionis excessurus est." (Italics mine.)

4). he then applies the scheme to Christ as follows:

a). the activity of Christ as Creator is reflected in the seven days: De Fabrica Mundi 7 - "Septem quoque caeli /sunt/ illis diebus conueniunt. sic enim cautum est: verbo domini caeli firmati sunt et spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum. hi septem spiritus. nomina sunt eorum spiritus, qui supra Christum dei requieuerunt, ut apud Esaiam prophetam cautum est: et requiescit super eum spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et uirtutis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et



Testament to the Church. In other words, he did not utilize a consistently applied literal interpretation. The company with whom Anastatius associates him practically rules this out,<sup>1</sup> as well as the express state-

repleuit illum spiritus timoris dei. . . . auctori autem totius creaturae istius--'verbo' cognomen est ei. . . . hoc igitur verbum, cum lucem fecit, sapientia uocatur; cum caelum, intellectus; cum terram et mare, consilium; cum solem et lunam ceteraque clara, uirtus; cum terrae as mari (fetus) excitat, scientia; cum hominem finxit, pietas; cum hominem benedicit et sanctificat, timor dei nomen habet."

b). the sixth day is the day of Christ's death: De Fabrica Mundi 4 - ". . . hoc quoque die ob passionem domini Iesu Christi aut stationem deo aut ieiunium facimus."

c). the seven day scheme is made to reflect the whole life of Christ: De Fabrica Mundi 9,

i). in the Incarnation, ". . . Ut adam illum per septimanam reformauerit atque uniuersae suae creaturae subuenerit, natiuitate filii sui Iesu Christi domini nostri factum est. . . . ea die Gabrihel angelum Mariae uirgini euangelizasse, qua die draco Euam seduxit; ea die spiritum sanctum Mariam uirginem inundasse, qua lucem fecit; ea die in carne esse conuersum, qua terram et aquam fecit; ea die in lacte esse conuersum, quo stellas fecit; ea die in sanguine, qua terra et aqua fetus suos ediderunt; ea die in carne (John Chapman, "Papias on the Age of our Lord," p. 45, comments, ". . . The succession, milk, blood, flesh, was a commonplace. We find it in St. Augustine:--'. . . Dicitur autem conceptio humana sic procedere et perfici, ut primis sex diebus quasi lactis habeat similitudinem, sequentibus nouem disbus conuertatur in sanguinem, deinde duodecim diebus solidetur, reliquis decem et octo diebus formetur usque ad perfecta lineamenta omnium membrorum, . . .") esse conuersum, qua die hominem de humo instruxit; ea die natum esse Christum, qua hominem finxit; eadem die esse passum, qua Adam cecidit; ea die resurrexisse a mortuis, qua lucem fecit?" Thus, in Christ, Heilsgeschichte comes full circle.

ii). in the stages of Christ's life, "humanitatem quoque suam septenario numero consummat: natiuitatis, infantiae, pueritiae, adulescentiae, iuuentutis, perfectae aetatis, occasus." (Italics mine.)

iii). in the ministry of Christ, "Iudaeis quoque humanitatem suam etiam his modis ostendit: cum esturit, sitit, cibum potumque cepit; cum ambulat et secessit; cum super ceruicale dormiuit. cum autem freta orta procella pedibus ingreditur, ventis imperat, aegros curat, et clodos reformat, caecos (illuminat, surdos auditione et mutos) eloquentia instituit, vide eum dominum se esse nuntiare eis."

<sup>1</sup>Fragment 6, "Λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ Παύλου . . . καὶ Κλήμεντος, Πανταίνου . . . καὶ Ἀμμωνίου, . . . "

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ment that he employed "allegorical"<sup>1</sup> interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

In evaluating Papias' eschatology from a pretribulational, dispensational, premillennial perspective, several facts emerge. First of all, as with the modern system, Papias believed in a literal millennial rule of Christ on earth. Secondly, however, there are no further similarities between the systems. Papias, on the basis of the evidence available,<sup>3</sup> 1). did not perceive the Millennium to be the climax of God's dealings with Israel, although he was influenced by Jewish tradition; 2). did not apply a consistently literal interpretation; 3). did not have a concept of a secret rapture, but of a resurrection immediately before the Kingdom. However, great caution must be applied in evaluating Papias because of the fragmentary state of his writings. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that his chiliasm was of a markedly different character than the modern variety used as a construct for this thesis.

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<sup>1</sup> πνευματικῶς, cf. A Patristic-Greek Lexicon, s.v. "πνευματικῶς," p. 1105.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 7, "Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξηγητῶν δὴ Φίλων ὁ φιλόσοφος . . . καὶ Παπίας . . . καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοῦς πνευματικῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεώρησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενοι." (Italics mine.)

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Appendix I.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS OF JUSTIN MARTYR

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze, from the standpoint of the construct articulated in Chapter 1, the eschatology of the immediate predecessors of Justin Martyr--Hermas, Polycarp, and Aristides.

Polycarp clearly<sup>1</sup> articulates his beliefs<sup>2</sup> regarding the resurrection of the dead. First of all, he asserts the bodily<sup>3</sup> resurrection of obedient<sup>4</sup> Christians, "ὁ δὲ ἐγγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς

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<sup>1</sup>In contrast with Hermas, of whom Graydon F. Snyder, in The Apostolic Fathers, 6 vols., ed. Robert M. Grant (Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964-1968), vol. 6: The Shepherd of Hermas, p. 36, "While there is no mention of resurrection in the Shepherd (however, there is ananeosis of spirits in this life, 19:3; 20:2f.; 21:2; 62:4; 91:3; cf. 16:9; 72:3), the author speaks of the resurrection body as angelic (102:2). This understanding of the resurrection was not uncommon in the second century (Mart. Polyc. 2:3; 2 Baruch 51:5-12; Enoch 104:7) and was based on the words of Jesus in Matthew 22:30 and Luke 20:36 (Justin Martyr, Dial. 81). Only later was the angelic body used as a denial of the resurrection and an argument for immortality (Tertullian, Adv. Marc. III, 9; Methodius, De resurr. IX-XII)."

<sup>2</sup>In fact, he denounces those who deny it: "καὶ λέγει μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ σατανᾶ." (To the Philippians 7:1).

<sup>3</sup>Martyrdom of Polycarp 14:2, "εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου φυγῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου."

<sup>4</sup>William R. Schoedel, in The Apostolic Fathers, 6 vols., ed. Robert M. Grant (Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964-1968), vol. 5: Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias, p. 11, comments, ". . . it (the believer's resurrection) is contingent on doing the will of God which includes (a) the avoidance of vices and (b) the willingness to suffer for righteousness' sake in showing mercy to others." Cf. Polycarp To the Philippians 2:2, ἐὰν ποιῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα καὶ πορευόμεθα

ἐγερῆται."<sup>1</sup> Secondly, he associates the resurrection of believers with entrance to the Kingdom,

ὅτι ἂν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι, ἀποληφόμεθα καὶ τῶν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, . . . "<sup>2</sup>

Thirdly, he considers it to be the entrance to eternal life, " . . . εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου . . . "<sup>3</sup> Fourthly, he does not articulate his beliefs about the resurrection of the wicked, so, no assertion can be made about a general resurrection.

Both men posit a belief in the Second Advent. Hermas states, "ἡ δὲ ἀποδημία τοῦ δεσπότης ὁ χρόνος ὁ περισσεύων εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ."<sup>4</sup> Polycarp likewise makes an assertion about the Second Advent, relating its purpose to be that of judgment, "ὅς ἔρχεται κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν"<sup>5</sup> Neither man has a concept of imminency as it relates to the Second Advent.<sup>6</sup>

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ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρτυρίας. μὴ ἀποδιδόντες καιὸν ἀντὶ καιοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον γρόνθου ἢ κατάραν ἀντικατάρως. 3. μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων. Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε. ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν. ἔλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε. ὅτι μέτρον μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ."

1. Polycarp To the Philippians 2.2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 5.2. It is quite evident that he is speaking of the kingdom" ". . . καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, . . . "

<sup>3</sup>Martyrdom of Polycarp 14.2.

<sup>4</sup>Hermas Similitudes 5.5.3.

<sup>5</sup>Polycarp To the Philippians 2.1.

<sup>6</sup>See above, p. 28, n. 2, where Hegesippus employs the identical phraseology to Polycarp To the Philippians 2.1 with the addition of to denote immediacy. On the reason for Hermas' lack of concept regarding the imminency of the Second Advent, cf. R. J. Bauckham, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas," Journal of Theological Studies 25

Regarding the Last Days, only Hermas speaks his mind. First of all, he says that Christ was manifested in the Last Days,<sup>1</sup> but that the end is still yet future.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, he vacillates as to the immediacy of this end--at one point, he says the end approaches rapidly in conjunction with the rapid completion of the Church,<sup>3</sup> at another point, he claims that there is a delay to allow for repentance.<sup>4</sup> Thirdly, Hermas describes at length a "great tribulation", probably eschatological, through which the Church will pass.<sup>5</sup>

Both men have a belief in the Kingdom. For Hermas, it is the future<sup>6</sup>

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(1974):29, "Hermas' Christology is too weak for the parousia to dominate his eschatology: he thinks rather of the completion of the building of the Church (xv. 9; lxxxvii. 2). But it is the imminence of this which gives urgency and finality to his message of repentance."

<sup>1</sup>Similitudes 9.12.3, ". . . ἐπ' ἑσχάτων τῶν ἡμέρων τῆς συντελειᾶς φανερῶς ἐγένετο, . . . "

<sup>2</sup>Vision 2.2.5, "καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μετάνοιά ἐστὶν ἕως ἑσχάτης ἡμέρας."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 3.8.9, "ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν καιρῶν, εἰ ἤδη συντελεῖα ἐστὶν. ἡ δὲ ἀνέκραγε φωνῆ μεγάλη λέγουσα. Ἀσύνετε ἄνθρωπε, οὐχ ὄρας τὸν πύργον ἐπὶ οἰκοδομοῦμενον; ὡς εἴαν οὖν συντελεσθῆ ὁ πύργος οἰκοδομοῦμενος, ἔχει τέλος. ἀλλὰ ταχὺ ἐποικοδομηθήσεται."

<sup>4</sup>Similitudes 9.14.2, ". . . διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνοχὴ ἐγένετο, ἵνα, εἴαν μετανοήσωσιν οὗτοι, ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου." Cf. ibid., 10.4.4., "Propter vos enim intermissum est opus aedificationis eius. Nisi festinetis igitur facere recte, consummabitur turris, et excludemini." Snyder, in The Apostolic Fathers 6:10, comments, ". . . his use of apocalyptic is in direct contradiction to its form. Apocalyptic intends to communicate a revelation in the face of the end time. Hermas communicates a possibility because the time is not yet. His message is more: 'Repent, for the kingdom of God is not yet at hand.' (Italics mine.) Nevertheless, even though immediacy of the end may be lacking, he can urge immediacy in repentance (festinetis).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Appendix III.

<sup>6</sup>Similitudes 9.29.2, "οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν ἀδιστακτικῶς κατοικῆσουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, . . ." (Italics mine.)

completed Church,<sup>1</sup> into which only the saved enter.<sup>2</sup> For Polycarp, it is the future age, in juxtaposition to the present world,<sup>3</sup> which believers shall enter by the resurrection to reign with Christ.<sup>4</sup> Neither man has anything to say about its locale or duration.<sup>5</sup>

Both men speak of the judgment. For Hermas, it comes at the end of the age--the completion of the Church<sup>6</sup>--and will occur in the world to

<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. C. van Eijck, La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), p. 88, ". . . le Royaume n'est rien d'autre que l'Eglise idéale, . . ." This emphasis on the completed Church explains the lack of Chiliasm in Hermas, cf. Jean Danielou, The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicaea, 3 vols., trans. and ed. by John A. Baker, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), vol. 1: The Theology of Jewish Christianity, p. 404, "Millenarianism is equally a stranger in the Church of Rome, but for different reasons. The evidence of Hermas shows that there interest was concentrated on the building up of the Church, the completion of which is the condition for the coming of the heavenly kingdom, and the Messianic age therefore seems to be identified with the times of the Church, . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Similitudes 9.12.3, ". . . ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες σώζεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέλθωσι τοῦ θεοῦ." But some saved people shall not enter it, *ibid.*, 9.15.3, "ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὄφεται τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται."

<sup>3</sup>To the Philippians 5.3, "καλὸν γὰρ το ἀνακίπτεισθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἄρσεν- βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσιν, . . ." (*Italics mine.*)

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 5.2, ". . . ὅτι ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνα, ἀποληφόμεθα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγειραι ἡμᾶς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν πολιτευώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἶγε πιστεύομεν."

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.2, "Aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum iudicabunt?", really asserts nothing determinative about the location of the Kingdom, since it need not refer to the Kingdom rule.

<sup>6</sup>Vision 3.9.5, "Βλέπετε τὴν κρῖσιν τὴν ἐπερχομένην. οἱ ὑπερέχοντες οὖν ἐκζητεῖτε τοὺς πεινῶντας, ἕως οὐπω ὁ πύργος ἐτελέσθη. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὸν πύργον θελήσετε ἀγαθα-

to come.<sup>1</sup> For Polycarp, it is associated with the Second Advent,<sup>2</sup> and in it all believers will have to give account.<sup>3</sup> The saints in turn shall judge the world,<sup>4</sup> and the wicked shall be judged with fire.<sup>5</sup> A denial of the judgment is heresy.<sup>6</sup>

Polycarp has nothing to say on the nature of the relationship between Israel and the Church. Hermas completely identifies Israel and the Church. First of all, he applies the late Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament regarding Israel to the Church. This falls into four categories-- 1). the application of Isaiah 40:1-4, which speaks of the spiritual preparation of Israel for YHWH,<sup>7</sup> to the Church,<sup>8</sup>

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ποιεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε τόπον." The completion of the tower is the completion of the Church, cf. *ibid.*, 3.3.3, "ὁ μὲν πύργος, ὃν βλέπεις οἰκοδομοῦμενον, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ Ἐκκλησία, . . . "

<sup>1</sup>Similitudes 4.3-4,8, ". . . οὕτω καὶ τῶν δικαίων οἱ καρποὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται καὶ γνωσθήσονται πάντες εὐθαλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἐκείνῳ. 4. τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἃ εἶδες τὰ δένδρα τὰ ξηρά, τοιοῦτοι εὐρεθήσονται ξηροὶ καὶ ἀκαρποὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ αἰῶνι . . . 8. . . . δύνασαι καρποφορῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐρχόμενον."

<sup>2</sup>To the Philipians 2.1, ". . . ὃς ἔρχεται κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, . . . "

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 6.2, ". . . καὶ πάντας δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι."

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.2, "Aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum iudicabunt?"

<sup>5</sup>Martyrdom of Polycarp 11.2, "ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρῖσεως καὶ αἰώνλου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ."

<sup>6</sup>To the Philipians 7.1, ". . . λέγη μήτε ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρῖσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ σατανᾶ."

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Bruce K. Waltke, class notes in 110 Exegesis in Isaiah, Dallas Theological Seminary, Fall 1975.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. also Vision 2.2.6, "ἔρεῖς οὖν τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα κατορθώσωνται τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἵνα ἀπολάβωσιν ἐν πλήρῳ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης."

Ἰδοῦ, ὁ θεὸς . . . κτίσας τὴν ἄγλαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ, ἣν  
 ἠύλόγησεν, ἰδοῦ, μεθιστάνει τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ  
 τοὺς βουνούς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα ὄμαλα<sup>1</sup> γίνεται<sup>2</sup>  
 τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἀποδῶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν,<sup>3</sup> ἣν  
 ἐπηγγελάτο μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ χαρᾶς, ἕαν τηρήσωσιν τὰ  
 νόμιμα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἃ παρέλαβον ἐν μεγάλῃ πίστει.<sup>4</sup>

and 2). the application of the late Jewish doctrine of Israel as the goal  
 of creation<sup>5</sup> to the Church,

which is probably an extension of Vision 1.3.4.

<sup>1</sup>J. Ramsey Michaels, "The 'Level Ground' in the Shepherd of Her-  
 mas," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 59 (1968):246,  
 comments, ". . . for Hermas, ὄμαλός expresses the state of those who  
 are righteous in the sight of God (Mand. 6:1:2,4). It is associated with  
 'reverence' (σεμνότης, Mand. 2:4), with 'joy' (χάρα, Vis. 1:3:4),  
 and 'cheerfulness' (ἰλάρος, Mand. 2:4, Sim. 9:10:3). To be 'made  
 level' is to be 'made clean' (Sim. 9:10:2) and prepared for the coming of  
 the Lord (9:10:4); it is to have the sins of the past blotted out (9:33:  
 3)."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 247, "The phrase ὄμαλός γίνεται in Hermas is  
 equivalent to the verb ὄμαλίζειν 'to make level,' . . ." Regarding  
 Isaiah 40:3, Michaels, p. 248, comments, "The LXX renders this freely  
 . . . , but Symmachus more literally translates δμιλίσατε ἐν ἀβάτω  
 ὁδὸν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν. Therefore, Hermas' use of ὄμαλός to refer to  
 Isaiah 40:3, as Symmachus did, rightly reflects the true meaning of the  
 text regarding spiritual preparation for YHWH, and the use of ὄμαλός is  
 appropriate, since Hermas uses it in that sense.

<sup>3</sup>The promise of salvation probably. J. Ramsey Michaels, p. 248,  
 comments, "This illustrates how the term ὄμαλός . . . can acquire the  
 possibility of denoting the place of God's salvation, . . . Both the  
 Qumran community and the early Christians saw their beginnings foretold  
 in this passage. . . . It was in Isa. 40:1ff. that the prophet began to  
 speak of the forgiveness of sins, and both communities believed that their  
 role in 'levelling a way for the Lord' consisted of repentance."

<sup>4</sup>Vision 1.3.4. Cf. 1 Baruch 5:7 for the late Jewish interpreta-  
 tion of Isaiah 40:1-4, "God hath appointed that every high mountain, and  
 the everlasting hills, should be made low, and the valleys filled up, to  
 make plain the ground (ὄμαλισμὸν γῆς), that Israel may go safely in the  
 glory of God." (as quoted by Michaels, p. 248).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. 4 Ezra 6:55, 59, "All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord,  
 because thou hast said that for our sakes thou hast created this world.  
 . . . If the world has indeed been created for our sakes why do we not  
 enter into possession of our world?" Cf. 7:11, "Even so, also, is



ὁ θεὸς . . . κτίσας ἐν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τὰ ὄντα καὶ πληθύνσας  
καὶ αὐξήσας ἔνεκεν τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ . . . "

and 3). the identification of the Church with the twelve tribes of Israel,

τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα τὰ δώδεκα φυλαὶ εἰσιν αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον  
τὸν κόσμον. . . αἱ δώδεκα φυλαὶ αὗται αἱ κατοικοῦσαι  
ὅλον τὸν κόσμον δώδεκα ἔθνη εἰσὶ.<sup>2</sup>

Israel's portion; for it was for their sakes I made the world; . . ."  
Cf. G. H. Box, The Ezra-Accocalypse (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons,  
Ltd., 1912), pp. 93-94, ". . . cf. also Assumpt. Moses (ed., Charles i.12:  
for he (God) hath created the world on behalf of his people (but possibly  
legem law ought to be read for plebem people here). In Ap. Bar. the  
expression of this idea is limited to the righteous in Israel in xv. 7  
(And as regards what thou dist say touching the righteous, that on account  
of them has this world come, nay more even that which is to come is on  
their account: so also xxi. 24); but in xiv. 18 (man was not made on  
account of the world, but the world on account of him: The next clause,  
however, identifies man here with us /i.e., Israel/: and now I see that  
as for the world which was made on account of us, etc.) and in 4 Ezra 8<sup>14</sup>  
(Likewise man also . . . for whose sake thou hast formed all things; cf. 8<sup>1</sup>)  
it is stated that the world was formed for man. But there is really no  
antithesis involved. The Jew with his deep-rooted consciousness of  
Israel's election would regard Israel as the true representative of the  
human race: man in the ideal sense was equivalent to Israel. Other  
nations, it is true, were descendants of Adam; but they had obscured and  
defaced the divine image which belonged originally to man (as created) by  
idolatry and immorality. . . . If Israel were not the world would not  
exist (Bemid. rabba ii). . . . In T. B. Ber. 32b there is a passage where  
God in answer to Israel's complaint of having been forgotten, first of  
all enumerates some of the mighty examples (in the starry heavens) of  
creation, and then exclaims All these have I created only for thy sake."

<sup>1</sup>Vision 1.1.6.

<sup>2</sup>Similitudes 9.17.1,2. Cf. Snyder, The Apostolic Fathers, 6:147,  
"The origin of the twelve mountains parable is Jewish, as shown by the  
twelve tribes (cf. pp. 129-130, "The origin of the twelve mountains is  
. . . significant for understanding the parable. In Enoch 24-32, the  
probable origin of Similitude VIII, we have a parable of the seven moun-  
tains, various mountains with exotic trees, deep ravines, streams, and  
splendid stones! The middle of this was Jerusalem. . . . The author of  
the Shepherd speaks of the twelve mountains as the twelve tribes. . . .  
The mountains are Israel, as the church is. In the middle is the eschat-  
ological Jerusalem, the true church, which is being formed by the repen-  
tance of believers. The parable of the twelve mountains surely came from  
a Jewish-Christian parable much like the seven mountains of Enoch 24-32"),  
but has been adapted to the Christian church by substituting 'nations'.  
. . . But the symbolism of the twelve tribes as the real Israel or church

and 4). the employment of the phraseology of late Judaism to make the Church the true Israel,

τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἃ εἶδες τὰ δένδρα τὰ ξηρά.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, he incorporates the Old Testament saints into the Church;<sup>2</sup> in fact, he makes them part of the foundation of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

is important for understanding the tower in the middle as the ideal or eschatological church."

<sup>1</sup>Similitudes 4.4. Cf. John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 250, "Observe that sinners are 'Gentiles', that is, the Church is 'the true Israel'. Hermas here applies the phraseology current in the New Testament among the Jews regarding the Gentiles to those who are outside the Church.

<sup>2</sup>Similitudes 9.16.7, "διὰ τούτων οὖν ἐξωλοποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ συνηρμόσθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ πύργου, καὶ ἀλατόμητοι συνωκοδομήθησαν." Snyder, The Apostolic Fathers, 6:146, comments, "In Similitude IX the author is quite conscious of the ecclesiastical requirements for entering the tower (12.6). Baptism is one of the essentials (16.2). This poses a problem for the patriarchs and prophets of the OT (15.2). Therefore the author makes their eschatological seal a type of baptism given by the leaders of the early church (16.5)."

<sup>3</sup>Similitudes 9.15.4, "Οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, φήσιν, οἱ ἑ' οἱ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τεθειμένοι, πρώτη γενεά. οἱ δὲ κε' δευτέρα γενεὰ ἀνδρῶν δικαίων. οἱ δὲ λε' προφήται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ μ' ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ." In this teaching, Snyder, The Apostolic Fathers, 6:144-145, comments, "In Similitude IX the author shows a more developed sense of 'canon' than in the Visions. There the foundation of the tower was the leaders of the apostolic church and their immediate successors (Vision 3.5.1; likely written about A.D. 110); now the foundation is the generation of OT patriarchs and prophets to the first leaders of the church--all now dead (in Visions 3.5.1 some were still alive). The author probably derived his numbers from a list such as Luke 3:23-38, where there are ten generations to Noah, twenty-five from Noah to David, though forty-two from David to Christ (instead of thirty-five). The source of the forty for the apostolic church is unknown and perhaps arbitrary." Cf. John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, p. 261, "We have a parable of the union of the Church of the Old Covenant with that of the New. The ten original stones forming 'the first generation' of the Church are presumably the ten Patriarchs, from

Thirdly, he makes the Church to be coterminous with the Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Fourthly, in contradistinction to the modern construct,<sup>2</sup> he posits the beginning of the Church before creation.<sup>3</sup>

The fragmentary<sup>4</sup> remains of Aristides afford little opportunity for schematizing his eschatology into a coherent system. He evidently believed in the immediacy (προσδοκῶντες) of the resurrection of the believing dead--this resurrection being the entrance into the world to come.<sup>5</sup> This world to come was a prominent factor in his eschatological

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Adam to Noah (1 Chron. i, 1-4; S. Luke iii, 36-8). . . . If Noah is counted again as the beginning of the next Dispensation of the Church, the twenty-five stones of 'the second generation of righteous men' extend to David (S. Luke iii, 31-6; though it is only twenty-four in 1 Chron. i, ii). The thirty-five stones of 'God's prophets and His ministers' (the priesthood) presumably represent the pre-messianic kingdom of God's people. It does not appear that the thirty-five generations can be fitted into the Biblical genealogies, so possibly this number is an arbitrary figure, designed to equal the total of the two previous Dispensations. The next and fourth course of forty stones, 'the apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God,' apparently represents that original generation of Hebrew Christians in which the Old and New Israel overlap. This gives the transition to the fourth Dispensation of that Gentile Church which Hermas regards as his own."

<sup>1</sup>Similitudes 9.12.1-13.2. The evidence for this quite forward. The tower is the Church (13.1), the gate is Christ (12.1), and through it does one enter the Kingdom. Therefore, the Kingdom and the Church are synonymous. Grant, The Apostolic Fathers, 1:113, comments, ". . . the traditional sayings about entering the kingdom of God are referred to entering the Church."

<sup>2</sup>See above, p. 6, note 4.

<sup>3</sup>Vision 2.4.1, "Ἡ Ἐκκλησία . . . πάντων πρώτη ἔκτισθη."

<sup>4</sup>These are conveniently located in Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλληνικῶν Πατέρων καὶ Ἑκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων, 3:133-153. They are conveniently translated in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, 10 vols., eds., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; American ed., A. Cleveland Coxe, (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885-1887; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973), 10:263-279.

<sup>5</sup>Aristides Apology 15.3, "(οἱ δε Χριστιανοὶ) . . . ἔχουσι

thinking,<sup>1</sup> and was characterized by life.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he believed that the whole human race was destined to be judged by Jesus the Messiah.<sup>3</sup> He employed the term οἰκονομία with respect to Christ's death.<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion, then, it is quite evident that the eschatology of Hermas and Polycarp is radically different from that of the modern construct<sup>5</sup>--1). there is no concept of the Rapture, 2). the resurrection of believers occurs at the inception of the Kingdom, 3). there is no immi- nency to the Second Advent, 4). there is an eschatological Tribulation through which the Church will pass, 5). the Kingdom is the completed Church, not the culmination of YHWH's work with Israel, 6). the Church and Israel are not consistently distinguished and 7). a consistently applied literal interpretation is not employed.<sup>6</sup>

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τᾶς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις  
νεχαραγμένας καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι προσδοκῶντες ἀνάστασιν νεκ-  
ρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος."

<sup>1</sup>The theme is predominant in Apology 15.3 and 16, "καλῶς σὺν  
σύνηκεν ὁ υἱὸς σου καὶ δικαίως ἐδιδάχθη λατρεύειν ζῶντι θεῷ  
καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐπέρχεσθαι αἰῶνα."

<sup>2</sup>Aristides Apology 15.3, ". . . ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος."

<sup>3</sup>Aristides Apology 17 (Syriac), "So shall they appear before the  
awful judgment which through Jesus the Messiah is destined to come upon  
the whole human race."

<sup>4</sup>Aristides Apology 15.2, ". . . καὶ τελήσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν  
αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο ἐκουσίᾳ βούλῃ  
κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην." Ignatius uses the word similarly, apply-  
ing it to Jesus' birth (Eph. 18.2) and His life (Eph. 20.1).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Appendix I.

<sup>6</sup>In the light of this chapter's conclusions, it is evident that  
claims for chiliasm/premillennialism being existent in Hermas and Polycarp  
are historically unfounded. Cf. Geo. N. H. Peters (see above, p. 14,  
n. 3); Max Wiley, "Historical Antecedents of Dispensationalism," (Dallas  
Theological Seminary; Unpublished Master's thesis, 1960), p. 29; Henry  
Clarence Thiessen, "Will the Church Pass through the Tribulation?"

Bibliotheca Sacra 92 (1935):192; Wallace S. Pollock, "Chiliasm in the First Five Centuries," (Dallas Theological Seminary, Unpublished Master's thesis, 1945), p. 11.

Furthermore, the claims that Hermas held to a pretribulation rapture are likewise historically unfounded. Cf. Henry Clarence Thiessen, "Will the Church Pass through the Tribulation?" pp. 195-196. Instead, the conclusion of the Church passing through the Tribulation is historically valid. Cf. George Eldon Ladd, The Blessed Hope, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), pp. 23-24; William Everett Bell, "A Critical Evaluation of the Pretribulation Rapture Doctrine in Christian Eschatology," (School of Education of New York University, Unpublished Doctrinal dissertation, 1967), pp. 27-32.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JUSTIN MARTYR

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate, from the standpoint of dispensational premillennialism, the eschatology of Justin Martyr-- which has been briefly summarized by one modern author as follows,

Now he (Christ) is living in his glorified humanity, a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek. Thence, preceded by both Antichrist and Elijah, he shall come again on clouds with glory to set up a kingdom of perfect righteousness at a renewed Jerusalem, to the grief of unbelieving Jews who have missed their opportunity, and will reign for a thousand years. Finally Christ shall judge the living and the dead. There shall be a resurrection of the flesh; some shall be sent to the everlasting fire and others taken to heaven, which is "deification", according to whether they have exercised their free will for good or for evil, and whether they have repented of their sin and believed before death--for in hell repentance is useless.<sup>1</sup>

By way of introduction, it is helpful to note that, in comparison with the writers/writings previously considered, one is in an enviable position in studying Justin's eschatology because his extant writings are much more extensive,<sup>2</sup> and because eschatology was in the forefront of his

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Chadwick, "Justin Martyr's Defence of Christianity," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (47 (1965):291-292. Cf. J. F. Bethune-Baker, An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine to the Time of Chalcedon, (London: Methuen & Co., 1903), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1966), p. 53, "Justin Martyr is of great importance for the understanding of the second-century Church. He is the first post-apostolic author whose writings are of any considerable size. He was acquainted with the Church at Rome, as well as with other Christian centres, at a time when Christian oral and written tradition still existed side by side although slowly the written documents along were coming to be held as authoritative." Cf. also his comments on Justin's importance on p. 26, "His writings repay careful study, for

thinking.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it is relatively easy to elucidate various aspects of his eschatological thought.

### The Resurrection of the Dead

Justin states that the belief in the immediate (προσδοκῶμεν),<sup>2</sup>

in them we are in touch with a profoundly Christian mind before the classical theological definitions had been formulated. The Apostolic Fathers had dealt with the practical day-to-day problems of the Church; speculative thought and Christian philosophy begin with Justin." However, as Barnard notes, p. 168, "We have seen that Justin in some instances unknowingly allowed the biblical basis of his theology to be modified to too great an extent by his philocophical presuppositions—this is perhaps particularly true of his logos doctrine. But this is not a charge which it would seem can legitimately be brought against his eschatology." (Italics mine.)

<sup>1</sup>Eric Francis Osborn, Justin Martyr, (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1973), p. 186, comments, "The future meant everything to Justin. . . . The return of Christ is glory, the resurrection and the judgment are mentioned on almost every page of the apology and Dialogue." (Italics mine.) Cf. p. 198, "For him the future is the future of Jesus Christ. All the detail of his eschatology, even the inconsistencies are faint and subordinate to this central issue." Cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr, (Jena: 1923; reprint ed., Amsterdam: Philo Press Publishers, 1968), p. 280, "His eyes were ever fixed upon the future." Cf. George T. Purves, The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity, (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1889), pp. 290-291, "Such was the outlook of those early Christians into the future. Amid the hatred and distrust of the world, in the face of the constant liability to be called to suffer for their faith, and the probably increase of persecution with the diffusion of their doctrines, these hopes (eschatological) sustained them; and as the night grew darker, these stars gleamed the more brightly in their sky."

<sup>2</sup>προσδοκᾶω/προσδοκᾶ is used 41 times in Justin's writings (προσδοκᾶω - 31 times; προσδοκᾶ - 10 times), but only once in any other apologist (Aristides Fragment 15.3). In a non-theological context, he uses it of his expectation of impending death (2 Apology 3.1), of his expectation to sail immediately (Dialogue 142.1, 2), and of the immediate expectation of theological/philosophical profit on the part of Trypho and his companions as they carried on dialogue with Justin (Dialogue 1.2; 142.1). Obviously, then, the word-group, in a non-theological sense, conveyed the sense of immediacy. This is true also in the eschatological sense, whether it be of Jewish messianic hopes (1 Apology 49.1, 5; 53.6; 56.1; Dialogue 49.1; 125.1; -- προσδοκᾶ is exclusively used of Christ as the expectation of nations, 1 Apology 32.1, 4; 54.5; Dialogue 11.4; 52.2, 4; 85.9; 120.3, 5), or of Christian eschatological hopes (e.g., 1 Apology 11.1, 2).

bodily (ἑαυτῶν σώματα)<sup>1</sup> resurrection of the dead<sup>2</sup> was a sign of orthodoxy.<sup>3</sup> He asserts that the resurrection of believers leads them to immortality,<sup>4</sup> and that it will occur at the Second Advent,<sup>5</sup> prior to the Millennium,<sup>6</sup> the eternal kingdom,<sup>7</sup> and the giving of the land of Israel to Christians.<sup>8</sup> Justin believed in the general resurrection of all men--

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<sup>1</sup>In Dialogue 69.7, he emphasizes the resurrection of a whole body in the resurrection, ". . . ὅτι, κἄν τις, ἐν λώβῃ τινι σώματος ὑπάρχων, φύλαξ τῶν παραδεδομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διδαγμάτων ὑπάρξῃ, ὀλόκληρον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀφθαρτον καὶ ἀλύπητον ποιῆσαι ἀναστήσει."

<sup>2</sup>1 Apology 18.6, "οἱ καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα καὶ εἰς γῆν βαλλόμενα πάλιν ἀπολήψεσθαι ἑαυτῶν σώματα προσδοῶμεν, . . . "

<sup>3</sup>Dialogue 80.5, "Ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ εἴ τινες εἰσὶν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, καὶ σαρκῶς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστεύμεθα, " As Eric Francis Osborn, Justin Martyr, p. 193, says, "Justin sees resurrection as essential to Christian belief, argues for its truth, and described its detail. The argument is found in the apology and the apocalyptic detail in the Dialogue."

<sup>4</sup>Dialogue 46.7, ". . . πιστεύοντες ὅτι ἀναστήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀπαθείς καὶ ἀθάνατους ποιήσει Cf. 1 Apology 52.3, ". . . καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀξίων ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν . . . "

<sup>5</sup>1 Apology 52.3, "Δύο γὰρ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας προεκήρυξαν οἱ προφῆται. . . . τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, ὅταν μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς παραγενήσεσθαι κειήρυνται, ὅτε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀνεγερεῖ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀξίων ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν, . . . " Cf. Dialogue 45.4, "Ἐπει οἱ τὰ καθόλου καὶ φύσει καὶ αἰώνια καλᾶ ἐποίησαν εὐάρεστοι εἰσι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὁμοίως τοῖς προγενομένοις αὐτῶν δικαίοις, . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἀπο τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ εὐάρεστως ζώντων παύσεται τέλος, . . . " Cf. Dialogue 69.7.

<sup>6</sup>Dialogue 80.5, ". . . καὶ σαρκῶς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ . . . "

<sup>7</sup>Dialogue 117.3, ". . . ὅταν πάντας ἀναστήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀλύτῳ Βασιλείᾳ ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀλύπους καταστήσῃ, . . . "

<sup>8</sup>Dialogue 113.4, ". . . ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν ἀνάστασιν αἰώνιον



thereby positing the resurrection of the wicked dead, along with believers, at the Second Advent.<sup>1</sup> However, with the former it will lead to eternal punishment.<sup>2</sup> He reports that John, in Revelation 20.4-6, declared the general resurrection to occur after the Millennium.<sup>3</sup> This is inconsistent with his own eschatological system, but he makes no attempt to integrate it or modify his system.<sup>4</sup>

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### The Second Advent

The Second Advent<sup>5</sup> plays a major role in the thinking of

ἡμῖν τὴν κατάσχεσιν δώσει." Cf. *ibid.*, 140.2 (see below, p. 85).

<sup>1</sup> *Apology* 52.3, ". . . δὲ δευτέραν, . . . ὅτε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀνεγερῆ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀξίων ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν, τῶν δὲ ἁδίκων ἐν αἰσθήσει αἰώνια μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψει." Cf. also *Dialogue* 45.4 and 69.7.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* Cf. 1 *Apology* 8.4, "ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα φάμεν γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς σώμασι μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν γενομένων καὶ αἰώνια κόλασιν κολασθησομένων, . . ." and *Dialogue* 117.3, ". . . ὅταν πάντας ἀναστάση, . . . τοῦς δὲ εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον πυρὸς παραπέμψη."

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogue* 81.4, "Καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῦς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστευσάντες προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ συνελόντι φάναι, αἰώνιαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. Ὅπερ καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι οὔτε γαμήσουσιν οὔτε γαμηθήσονται, ἀλλὰ ἰσαγγελοὶ ἔσονται, τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὄντες."

<sup>4</sup> It is obvious, then, on the basis of the evidence presented in this section, that Justin's eschatological system was not identical to that presented in summary by Chadwick or Bethue-Baker (see above, p. 74, n. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Eric Francis Osborn, *Justin Martyr*, p. 198, comments, "Justin is the first person to speak of Christ's second coming and to clearly distinguish it from his first coming. The distinction is not a complete separation for the present power of Christ within his church is a sign of his presence as is the glory of his δευτέρα παρουσία The second

Justin.<sup>1</sup> The epithet which he most frequently ascribes to it--"ένδοξος"<sup>2</sup>--

coming will be more clearly seen. When Moses prophesied through Jacob that the Christ would wash his garment in wine and the blood of the grape, he meant that the Christ would wash all who believe in him with his blood. Christians are the clothing of Christ. He is present in them now έν δύνάμει ; but he will be visibly present at his second coming."

<sup>1</sup>L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr, p. 157, comments, ". . . for belief in a second advent of Christ was fundamental to his outlook." Cf. Erwin R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr, pp. 290-291, "Accordingly in the second coming of Christ Justin looked for a consummation of all his hopes. Christ Himself is to be Judge of all and Ruler in the new Jerusalem. With Him and with God are to be the Christians, that is all those who have ever lived rightly, whether Jews, heathen, or followers of the incarnate Christ. Then will the problems of life all find their solution, and the justice of God be made manifest to every man." Cf. James Donaldson A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), vol. 2: The Apologists, p. 256, "The second coming of Christ occupies a prominent place in the doctrines of Justin. It served to explain very many passages of the Old Testament, and it was the consummation of the work of Christ."

<sup>2</sup>With the exception of its application to Solomon (Dialogue 36.6), Justin consistently applies the term to Christ in His Second Coming (Dialogue 31.3; 32.1; 35.8; 36.1; 49.2, 8; 86.1; 110.1; 121.3). The heart of the issue is revealed in Dialogue 32.1, "αὐται ἡμᾶς αἱ γραφαὶ καὶ τοιαῦται ένδοξον καὶ μέγαν ἀναμένειν τὸν παρὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμέρων ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν ἀναγκάζουσιν." --where Trypho asserts Jewish Messianic expectation, and in Dialogue 110.1, "Καὶ ὅτι οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν, ὡ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πάντας λόγους τῆς περικοπῆς ταύτης εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰρήσθαι, ἐπίσταμαι. καιαύτον ὅτι οὐδέπω φασιν ἔληλυθέναι, καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκω. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔληλυθέναι λέγουσιν, οὐ γινώσκεται ὅς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐμφανῆς καὶ ένδοξος γένηται, τότε γνωσθήσεται ὅς ἐστι, φασί." --where Justin recognizes the emphasis on an ένδοξος Messiah to be integral to Jewish Messianic expectation. Justin's repeated emphasis on Christ as ένδοξος in His Second Advent is specifically employed to allay Jewish objections to the First Advent, as described in Dialogue 32.1, "οὗτος δὲ ὁ ὑμέτερος Χριστός ἄτιμος καὶ ἄδοξος γέγονέν . . . ἐσταυρώθη γάρ." (Cf. 36.1). Justin's clearest use of this apologetic is in Dialogue 49.2, "Ἐάν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἀναγκάζῃ ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι δύο παρουσίαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ προγενησόμεναι, μίᾳ μὲν, ἐν ἣ ἡρώδης καὶ ἄτιμος καὶ ἀειδὴς φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα, ἐν ἣ καὶ ένδοξος καὶ κριτῆς ἀπάντων ἐλεύσεται, . . ." Justin elsewhere stresses the glorious Second Advent with similar phraseology (ένδοξως, Dialogue 83.4; μετα δόξης, 1 Apology 50.1; 52.3; Dialogue 34.2; 70.4; έν δόξῃ, Dialogue 14.8) with similar polemical purpose. Eric Francis Osborn, Justin Martyr, p. 198, comments, "In his eschatology Justin is, as ever, the apologist. The

betrays the reason for its centrality<sup>1</sup> in his thought--the Second Advent is the ultimate polemic against the Jews. In fact, he warns that the Jews will see Jesus at His Second Advent, and mourn<sup>2</sup>--obviously because they have rejected the Messiah. Within this polemical/apologetical framework, what features does he ascribe to the Second Advent?

First of all, he ascribed immediacy to the Second Advent.<sup>3</sup>

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δεύτερα παρουσία is essential to prove the messiahship of him whom they had pierced. "ἑσταυρώθη" is the chief objection of the Jew."

<sup>1</sup>L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr, p. 158, comments, "Again and again in both the Dialogue and the Apology Justin states his belief in the two advents of Christ. The first has already happened in the Incarnation when he came as a dishonoured and suffering man without glory--the second coming will reveal him in glory with the angelic host. Justin uses the word παρουσία no fewer than twenty-nine times while the only other occurrence of the word in the Greek Apologists is found in Tatian, Oratio ad Graecos xxxix.3." Justin actually employs the term 31 times--10 times for the first Advent, 13 times for the Second Advent, 8 times for both Advents. The usages are normally juxtaposed to one another, because, to Justin, the one Advent has no significance without the other. Of the two, the Second is the more apologetically important because it solves the problem of a despised Messiah, and is therefore more central to his thinking.

<sup>2</sup>Dialogue 32.2, ". . . δευτέραν δὲ ὅτε ἐπιγνώσεσθε εἰς ὃν ἔξεκεντήσατε, καὶ κόφονται αἱ φυλαὶ ὑμῶν, φυλὴ πρὸς φυλὴν, αἱ γυναῖκες κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες κατ' ἰδίαν, . . ." Cf. ibid., 126.1, ". . . ὅς καὶ πάλιν παρέσται, καὶ τότε κόφονται ὑμῶν αἱ δώδεκα φυλαί."

<sup>3</sup>His use of προσδοκᾶω/προσδοκία implies immediacy (see above, p. 75, n. 2), e.g., 1 Apology 32.4, ". . . ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν προσδοκῆσουσιν αὐτὸν πάλιν παραγενησόμενον . . ." (cf. Dialogue 52.1, 4). Certain statements could be construed to support the contention that Justin did not believe in immediacy (e.g., E. C. Dewick, Primitive Christian Eschatology, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1912), pp. 352-353, "Justin is silent concerning an immediate return of our Lord, and he explains that the Second Coming is being delayed in order that the number of the elect may be fulfilled, and that the hosts of evil may be subdued. . . . Elsewhere he maintains that the destruction of the world is delayed 'because of the seed of the Christians, who know that they are the cause of the preservation of nature'. Thus Justin does not attempt to set any limit to the delay of the Second Coming; and he has quite ceased to repeat the watchword of primitive Christian eschatology: 'The Lord is at hand.'"), e.g., he considered himself in the midpoint between

Secondly, he ascribes a twofold purpose to the Second Advent, that of bringing judgment and of instituting the eternal kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the bringing of judgment, Justin taught that 1). all men, living and dead, would be judged at this time;<sup>2</sup> 2). all world rulers<sup>3</sup> and opponents of Christ<sup>4</sup> would be destroyed; 3). Satan, his angels, and death would be

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two advents, Dialogue 51.2, ". . . ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ . . ." However, his emphasis on the shortness of the time for repentance (Dialogue 28.2, "Βραχὺς οὗτος ὑμῖν περιλείπεται προσηλύσεως χρόνος" and his use of προσδοκᾶω belies that assertion. He also emphasizes that the glorious advent has not indeed occurred yet (Dialogue 83.4, "Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος Ἰησοῦς, οὐδέπω ἐνδόξως ἔλθων, . . . and that His return will be the great and terrible day of the Lord (Dialogue 49.2, "Οὐχὶ ἤλθαν φησὶν ὁ λόγος διὰ Ζαχαρίου ἐλεύσεσθαι πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ φοβερᾶς ταύτης τοῦ κυρίου; . . . ἢ δὲ ἕτερα (παρουσία), ἐν ἧ καὶ ἐνδοξος καὶ κριτῆς ἀπάντων ἐλεύσεται, . . . οὐχὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς καὶ μεγάλης ἡμέρας τουτέστι τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, . . ."; Donaldson, A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine, 2. 257, summarizes well, "There has been considerable discussion about the time at which Justin thought Christ would appear. The passages which will be adduced seem to me to show that Justin had no fixed time in his mind, that he believed that Christ might come at any time, that he was inclined to think He would come soon, but that he could not state anything definitely."

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the institution of the kingdom, Dialogue 36.1, ". . . καὶ ἐνδοξος μετὰ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, ἐν ἧ παθητὸς φαίνεσθαι κειμήριον, ἐλευσόμενος καὶ κριτῆς πάντων λοιπῶν καὶ αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς γενήσεται" Cf. 1 Apology 10.2; Dialogue 39.7; 45.4.

<sup>2</sup> Dialogue 132.2, ". . . καὶ πάλιν παραγενησόμενον κριτὴν πάντων ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώπων μέχρις αὐτοῦ Ἀδάμ." Cf. Dialogue 35.8; 49.2. The Martyrdom of Saints Justin et al. 5.6 (recension B), ". . . ὅτι τοῦτο ἡμῖν σωτηρία καὶ παρησία γενήσεται ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβέρου καὶ παγκοσμίου βήματος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτηρῆς." In particular, it is a time when men shall be rewarded with immortality or everlasting fiery punishment--1 Apology 52.3, ". . . δὲ δευτέραν . . . ὅτε . . . τῶν ἀδίκων ἐν αἰσθήσει αἰώνια μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψει." Cf. Dialogue 39.6; 45.4.

<sup>3</sup> Dialogue 39.6.

<sup>4</sup> Dialogue 121.3, "οὐκ ἐκ πάντος τρόπου ἐν τῇ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ καταλύσει πάντας τοὺς μισήσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς

destroyed;<sup>1</sup> and 4). the Jews would be judged.<sup>2</sup> In other words the Second Advent and the Day of Judgment are synchronous.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, he ascribes a visible<sup>4</sup> return to earth<sup>5</sup> by Jesus, particularly centered in

αὐτοῦ ἀδικῶς ἀποστάντας, τοὺς δὲ ἰδίους ἀναπαύσει, ἀποδιδούς αὐτοῖς τὰ προσδοκώμενα πάντα;"

<sup>1</sup>Dialogue 45.4, "ἵνα διὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτης ὁ πονηρευσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄφεις καὶ οἱ ἐξομοιωθέντες αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι καταλυθῶσι, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καταφρονηθῆ καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ εὐαρέστως ζώντων παύσεται τέλος, ὕστερον μηκετ' ὄν, ὅταν οἱ μὲν εἰς κρῖσιν καὶ καταδίκην τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαύστως κολάζεσθαι πεμφθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ καὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ ἀλυπίᾳ καὶ ἀθανασίᾳ συνῶσιν."

<sup>2</sup>The Jews shall mourn in judgment at the Second Advent, which as suggested (see above, pp. 77-79) is the ultimate, polemical validation of the First Advent against the Jews. Cf. Dialogue 118.1, "Ὡστε μᾶλλον παυσάμενοι τοῦ φιλεριστεῖν μετανοήσατε πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, ἐν ἣ κόπτεσθαι μέλλουσι πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν φυλῶν ὑμῶν ἐκκεντήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς ἀπο γραφῆς ἀπέδειξα προειρημένον." Cf. 1 Apology 52.10; Dialogue 14.8; 32.2; 126.1.

<sup>3</sup>Dialogue 118.1; cf. 1 Apology 52.3. Regarding the Day of Judgment, Justin asserts the following: 1). it is being withheld at the present moment for the salvation of the Jews, Dialogue 39.2, "Ὁν οὖν τρόπον διὰ τοῦς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἐκείνους τὴν κρίσιν ἐπήνεγκεν ἢ ἐπάγει, γινώσκων ἔτι κατ' ἡμέραν τινὰς μαθητευομένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολείποντας τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πλάνης. . . ." 2). God is now calling all to repentance before it, 1 Apology 40.7, ". . . καὶ ὡς εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖ πάντας ὁ θεὸς πρὶν ἔλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως. " He states elsewhere that John taught that it would occur at the end of the Millennium, Dialogue 81.4, ". . . χίλια ἔτη ποιήσει ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστευσάντες προεφήτευσεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν." but he does not attempt to integrate this into his eschatology.

<sup>4</sup>Dialogue 64.7, ". . . καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἀνεῖναι ἐμνηύετο, ἀναμνήσθητε, ἵνα καὶ θεὸν ἄνωθεν προελθόντα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον γνωρίσατε, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνον παραγενησόμενον, ὃν ὄραν μέλλουσι καὶ κόπτεσθαι οἱ ἐκκεντήσαντες αὐτόν."

<sup>5</sup>Dialogue 38.1, ". . . καὶ πάλιν παραγίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, . . . "

Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

### The Last Days

For Justin, the Last Days will be signalled by the arrival of two key figures on the world scene--Elijah,<sup>2</sup> the precursor of the Second Advent, and the Antichrist.<sup>3</sup>

### The Kingdom

Justin delineates the following attributes of the Kingdom:

1). immediacy,<sup>4</sup> 2). it occurs after the general resurrection,<sup>5</sup> 3). it is

<sup>1</sup>Dialogue 40.4, ". . . καὶ τῆς δευτέρας, δὲ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ τῶν Ἱερουσαλῦμων ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτὸν, . . ." and Dialogue 85.7, ". . . ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πάλιν γεέσεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντων τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλῆμ φανήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντων καὶ δι' ἔργων εὐαρεστεῖν αὐτῷ σπουδαζόντων."

<sup>2</sup>Dialogue 49.3, ". . . εἰπὼν κατ' Ἠλίαν ἐλεύσεσθαι, . . . "

<sup>3</sup>Justin believed that the arrival of the Antichrist was immediate, that he would speak daring blasphemy against the Highest, that he would have dominion for 3 and 1/2 years, and that he would be the prophesied man of sin (Dialogue 32.3-4, ". . . τῶν χρόνων συμπληρουμένων κατ' τοῦ βλάσφημα καὶ τολμηρὰ εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον μέλλοντος λαλεῖν ἤδη ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντος, ὃν καιρὸν καὶ καιρὸν καὶ ἡμῶν καιροῦ διακαθέξειν Δανιηλ μηνύει." Elsewhere, he designates him as the Apostate who does lawlessness against Christians, thereby ruling out any concept of a Rapture in Justin's thought (Dialogue 110.2, ". . . ἡ δὲ δευτέρα, . . . ὅταν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος, ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον ἐξαλλά λαλῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνομα τολμήσῃ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Χριστιανούς, . . . " (Italics mine.)

<sup>4</sup>1 Apology 11.1, "Καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες βασιλεῖαν προσδοκῶντες ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, . . . "

<sup>5</sup>Dialogue 117.3, ". . . ὅταν πάντας ἀναστήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀλύτῳ βασιλεῖα ἀφάρτους καὶ ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀλυποῦς καταστήσῃ, τοὺς δὲ εἰς κόλασιν αἰωνίον πυρὸς παραπέμψῃ. " 1 Apology 10.2, ". . . συμβασιλεύοντας, ἀφάρτους καὶ ἀπαθῆς γενομένους." (i.e., in the immortal state).

incepted by the Second Advent,<sup>1</sup> 4). it is eternal,<sup>2</sup> 5). it is being prepared for Christians,<sup>3</sup> although godly Jews will also inherit it,<sup>4</sup> 6). the centre of the kingdom will be a renewed Jerusalem, after the renewal of the heaven and the earth.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dialogue 34.2, ". . . και πάλιν παραγινόμενος μετὰ δόξης καὶ αἰώνιον τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων κενήρυνται . . . "

<sup>2</sup>Dialogue 39.7, "καὶ αἰώνιον τὴν βασιλείαν πάντων τῶν ἔθνων λήψεσθαι . . . ."

<sup>3</sup>Dialogue 116.2, ". . . ἐνδύσαι ἡμᾶς τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα ἐν-δύματα, ἕαν πράξωμεν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς, ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αἰώνιον βασιλείαν προνοῆσαι ἐπηγγελεται."

<sup>4</sup>Dialogue 26.1, ". . . ἄλλ'οἱ τῶν Χριστῶν διώξαντες καὶ διώκοντες καὶ μὴ μετνοοῦτες οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ. ταδὲ ἔθνη τὰ πιστεύσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ μετανοήσαντα ἐφ'οἷς ἡμαρτον, αὐτοῖς κληρονομήσουσι μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ τῶν προφῆτων καὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ γεγέννηνται."

<sup>5</sup>Dialogue 113.5, "Οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀφ'οὔ καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ δι'οὔ ὁ πατὴρ μέλλει καινουργεῖν, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ αἰώνιον φῶς λάμπειν μέλλων, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ βασιλεὺς Σαλῆμ καὶ αἰώνιος ἱερεὺς ὑψίστου ὑπάρχων. "Cf. Dialogue 81.1-2, "Οὕτως γὰρ Ἡσαίας περὶ τῆς χιλιονταετηρίδος ταύτης εἶπεν. "Ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινῆ, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσι τῶν προτέρων οὐδὲ μὴ ἐπελθῆ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν. . . . ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀγαλλιάσμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μου εὐφροσύνην, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ μου." Although Justin maintained a belief in a Millennial Kingdom (80.5-" . . . χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλῆμ . . . "), it is evident that he incorporated it into the eternal kingdom (81.1-2). This lends credence to the claim of G. W. H. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology," in Eschatology, Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers, No. 2, (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, Ltd., 1953), p. 33, "Justin holds to the millennial scheme as part of the doctrine he has inherited, . . . but he lays relatively little stress upon it. It does not harmonise well with his view that the soul can see God after its release from the body, . . . Justin does, indeed, maintain the ancient belief that Christ and His people will reign in Jerusalem in accordance with the prophecies, and he does not allegorise Jerusalem. . . . so as to make it signify the Christian's fatherland or the Church. We must, however, remember that he is handling prophecies with Trypho and that the subject is introduced by his Jewish opponent. This is evidently not a doctrine which arouses much enthusiasm in Justin himself." (Italics mine.) Although Justin claims that an earthly millennium in Jerusalem

### Interpretation

The literal interpretation of prophecy was important to Justin, being woven into the warp and woof of his apologetic.<sup>1</sup> He employed lit-

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was an orthodox belief in his day (Dialogue 80.5), one must wonder how important a belief it was to orthodoxy, especially in the light of Justin's example of not integrating it into his eschatological system (cf. Dialogue 81.4, see above, p. 77). This attitude (nonchalant by dispensational premillennial standards) certainly accounts for the fact that Justin recognized that orthodox Christianity did not have to be millennial in eschatology (Dialogue 80.2, ". . . πολλοὺς δ' αὐ καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσήμανα σοι." (Italics mine.)

<sup>1</sup>Cf. W. H. C. Frend, "The Old Testament in the Age of the Greek Apologists," Scottish Journal of Theology 26 (1973):140, "The argument from prophecy was the cornerstone of Justin's defence of Christianity." Cf. David E. Aune, "Justin Martyr's Use of the Old Testament," Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society, 9 (1966):187, "The overwhelming proof of the truth of Christianity for Justin was the fulfillment of prophecy." The importance of this aspect of his thinking is patent when one considers that he would appeal to this when his life was on trial before Rusticus (The Martyrdom of Saints Justin et al. 2.5 (recension A), ". . . Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὃς καὶ προκεικήρυκται ὑπὸ τῶν προφῆτων μέλλων παραγίνεσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας κήρυξ καὶ διδάσκαλος καλῶν μαθημάτων." Jean Danielou, The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicaea, 3 vols., trans. and ed. by John Austin Baker, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964-), vol. 2: Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture, pp. 213-215, comments, "It is important to notice the distinctive features in Justin's concept of the fulfillment of prophecy. The tendency of the Alexandrian school, as exemplified in Clement and Origen, was to emphasize the spiritual content of the events predicted. By contrast, Justin lays stress on their historical realization, since it is here, in the fact that they offer proof convincing even to pagans, that their value seems to him to lie. He records concrete historical events, attested by reliable evidence, and shows that precisely these events had been predicted by the prophets. From the fact of prediction he then goes on to conclude that these events are the fulfillment of a plan made by God, and not just incidents devoid of significance. Justin, therefore, champions a realist interpretation of the prophets, . . . This realist approach may be most clearly seen in two characteristic features of Justin's work. First, . . . he lays stress on all those details in the life of Christ which have a counterpart in the predictions of the prophets. . . . Secondly, Justin points to the fulfillment of certain prophecies in the contemporary facts of the spread of Christianity. . . . Again, it is specific and precise historical facts which are mentioned; in order to justify the truth of Christianity on the grounds that it is a fulfillment of prophecy Justin appeals to events to which all men



eral interpretation (regularly),<sup>1</sup> but not consistently.<sup>2</sup> This inconsistency allows him to apply aspects of the national promises to Christians, and not the Jews. For example, he claims that the Jews will not inherit anything promised to Abraham.<sup>3</sup> Instead, the land of Israel will be given to the Christians for an eternal inheritance,<sup>4</sup> because Christians are the

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can testify as taking place in their own day."

<sup>1</sup>Examples of literal interpretation: 1). he claimed that Jesus' prophecies were being literally fulfilled in his day, 1 Apology 12.9-10; Dialogue 51.2; 82.2; 2). he interpreted prophecy regarding the First Advent literally, 1 Apology 30; 50.12; 3). he expected national promises to be literally fulfilled at the Second Advent, Dialogue 34.7.

<sup>2</sup>His inconsistency is evidence by his basing his evidence for the Millennium on the allegorical interpretation of Adam's sojourn in Eden (Dialogue 81.3-4),--an interpretation made possible by his adoption of Jewish apocalyptic tradition. Cf. Jubilees 4.30-31, "And he [Adam] lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: 'on the day that ye eat thereof ye shall die.' For this reason he did not complete the years of this day, for he died during it." Cf. Jean Danielou, The Development of Christian Doctrine Before the Council of Nicaea, 1:390-393.

<sup>3</sup>Dialogue 44.1-2, ". . . Καὶ ἔξαπατᾶτε ἑαυτοὺς, ὑπονοοῦτες διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα σπέρμα πάντως κληρονομήσειν τὰ κατηγγελμένα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθήσεσθαι. 2. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκείνων οὐδαμῶθεν λαβεῖν ἔχει, πλὴν οἱ τῆ γνώμῃ ἔξομοιθέντες τῆ πίστει τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἐπιγνόντες τὰ μυστήρια πάντα . . . "

<sup>4</sup>Dialogue 113.3-4, ". . . οὕτως καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός τὴν διασπόραν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπιστρέφει, καὶ διαμερεῖ τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν ἕκαστῷ οὐκ ἐτὶ δὲ κατὰ πάντα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσηαῖρον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν κληρονομίαν, ἅτε οὐ Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ὡδ οὐδὲ υἱὸς θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν ἀνάστασιν αἰώνιον ἡμῖν τὴν κατέσχεσιν δώσει." (Italics mine.) Cf. ibid., 119.5, "καὶ σὺν Ἀβραὰμ τὴν ἀγίαν κληρονομησομεν γῆν εἰς τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα τὴν κληρονομίαν ληφόμενοι, τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ διὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν πίστιν ὄντες." (Italics mine.); ibid., 140.2, "καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὑμᾶς βουκόλουσιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὅτι πάντως τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς σπορᾶς τῆς κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ οὔσι, κὰν ἁμαρτώλοι ὡσι καὶ ἄπιστοι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἡ βασιλεία αἰώνιος δοθήσεται." . . . " (Italics mine.) It is important to notice, in these passages,

nation promised to Abraham.<sup>1</sup> In line with this, he claims that the Church is the true Israelitic race, thereby blurring the distinction between Israel and the Church.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion,<sup>3</sup> it is evident that Justin Martyr's eschatology is dissimilar in fundamental aspects with that of the modern construct, e.g., 1). no Rapture; 2). resurrection of Christians at the Second Advent; 3). the fulfillment of the national promises in Christians; 4). a general resurrection; 5). an insignificant Millennium;<sup>4</sup> 6). the synchronicity of the Second Advent and the Day of Judgment; 7). an allegorical basis for the Millennium; 8). the synonymy of Israel and the Church. From these features, it is apparent that the eschatology of Justin Martyr and of dispensational premillennialism are radically dissimilar. No

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that Justin is refuting Jewish (ἑμῶς) nationalistic hopes, and instead stating that the Christians (ἡμῶν, -ομεν) will inherit them.

<sup>1</sup>Dialogue 119.3-4, "ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ μόνον λαός ἀλλὰ καὶ λαός ἄγιος ἔσμεν, ὡς . . . τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἔθνος, ὃ πάλαι τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὁ θεὸς ἐπέσχετο, καὶ πατέρα πολλῶν ἔθνων θῆσειν ἐπηγγείλατο, . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Dialogue 135.3, in the light of Justin's belief that the Church is the true Israelitic race (Dialogue 119-120, 123, 125, 130-131, 135), he employed the following phrases to describe the Church as Israel-- ". . . ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἔσμεν τοῦ θεοῦ, . . ." (116.3); "Ἰσραηλιτικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀληθινὸν, πνευματικὸν, . . ." (11.5). In contrasting Paul's and Justin's use of the Old Testament, H. P. Schneider, "Some Reflections on the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho," Scottish Journal of Theology 15 (1962):171, "Furthermore, Justin often takes up a particular Pauline argument but invariably develops it in a definitely anti-Judaistic direction and drives it to a conclusion from which the Apostle shrinks. So, for instance, Justin has no qualms in totally equating the Christians with the true Israel. This, however, St. Paul could not and would not do."

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup>The insignificance of the Millennium led H. C. van Eijck to claim, "Le Terre Sainte et la Jerusalem rebâtie sont au centre de l'attente

apologetic base for the modern construct can be laid on Justin's eschatological thought.

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eschatologique de Justin, meme là où il n'y a aucune trace de millénarisme." (Italics mine.) (La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), p. 25). This is indeed too radical a conclusion. Undoubtedly, at least one cause of Justin's weak view of the Millennium was his lack of strong dispensational perspective (although he may have had some dispensational understanding, cf. Dialogue 92.1-3). His concept of οἰκονομία primarily referred to Christ's incarnation in its various aspects (Dialogue 30.3; 31.1 - His suffering; ibid., 103.3 - the Cross; ibid., 45.4; 120.1 - His incarnation; ibid., 67.6 - the course of His life)--cf. Jean Danielou, The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea, 2:158ff. Furthermore, his theological amalgamation of the Church and Israel destroy any possibility of strong dispensationalism being resident in his thought - cf. David E. Aune, "Justin Martyr's Use of the Old Testament," p. 187, n. 51.

## CONCLUSION<sup>1</sup>

"Premillennialism is the historic faith of the Church."<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of this thesis was to determine the historical validity of this statement within the context of the patristic writings spanning the post-apostolic era until the death of Justin Martyr.

Before drawing conclusions regarding the historical validity of this statement, it is imperative to understand that Dr. Ryrie perceives a continuative similarity between ancient and modern premillennialism (as he understands it, i.e., dispensational premillennialism).<sup>3</sup> In other words, Dr. Ryrie understands ancient premillennialism and his premillennialism to be essentially synonymous.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, (Neptune, N.J.: Loiseaux Brothers, 1953), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>See above, pp. 1, n. 1; 4-14.

<sup>4</sup>The evidence for this interpretation of Dr. Ryrie is as follows:

". . . it was deemed of utmost importance to show that premillennialism was the faith of the early church. Ample testimony was given to show that this was true in the first and purest centuries of the Church. The truth was practically lost in the Middle Ages, . . . In the modern period the return has not been complete, but the truth as held today is essentially the same as that which was held by the ancient church. . . . Certain refinements may be of recent origin, but premillennialism was certainly the faith of the Church before the Brethren and Darby. The assertion that premillennialism is a new thing is not at all warranted in the light of the historical evidence. Premillennialism has a very solid basis in history.

Opponents of the premillennial system have attempted to obscure the main issues involved by inventing distinctions between historic premillennialists, pretribulationists, dispensationalists, and ultra-dispensationalists. Such distinctions are not warranted since the

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It is the conclusion of this thesis that Dr. Ryrie's statement is historically invalid within the chronological framework of this thesis. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows:<sup>1</sup> 1). the writers/writings surveyed did not generally adopt a consistently applied literal interpretation; 2). they did not generally distinguish between the Church and Israel; 3). there is no evidence that they generally held to a dispensational view of revealed history; 4). although Papias and Justin Martyr did believe in a Millennial kingdom, the 1,000 years is the only basic similarity with the modern system<sup>2</sup> (in fact, they and dispensational premillennialism radically differ on the basis for the Millennium); 5). they

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differences involved are so minor and since the roots of premillennialism go far deeper.

Others, attempting to confuse the issue . . . enumerate as many distinctions as possible between so-called historic premillennialism and modern premillennialism, which they sometimes call pretribulationism or dispensationalism." (Italics mine.)

Cf. Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, pp. 33, 12, 17. Obviously, Dr. Ryrie does not see a radical distinction between his premillennialism and that of the ancient (post-apostolic) Church. He considers his premillennialism to be a recovery of the premillennialism of the post-apostolic era. Any distinctions between the ancient and modern systems are minor.

<sup>1</sup>This thesis would take issue with some of Dr. Ryrie's specific interpretations of the historical evidence: e.g., 1). the imminence of Christ's return, or chiliasm in 1 Clement (if indeed that is what Dr. Ryrie is attempting to demonstrate, Basis of the Premillennial Faith, p. 20); 2). the chiliasm of Hermas, (ibid., p. 20); 3). the chiliasm of Barnabas, (ibid., pp. 20-21); 4). the chiliasm of Ignatius, (ibid., p. 21); 5). the "great importance" which Justin Martyr placed on premillennialism (ibid., p. 22). Instead, it would be more accurate to say that he placed "great importance" on the Second Advent, and little importance on the Millennium. Furthermore, Dr. Ryrie's quote of Dialogue 80-81 fails to set the reference to Rev. 20:1-8 within its proper context. As it reads in his book, it would seem that Justin was stressing the importance of John and Rev. 20:1-8, whereas in the original context, it plays little significance since it is not integrated into Justin's eschatology (see above, p.77).

<sup>2</sup>It seems best to define their millennialism as did Filastrius

had no concept of imminency or of a pretribulational Rapture of the Church;<sup>1</sup> 6). in general, their eschatological chronology is not synonymous with that of the modern system.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, this thesis would conclude that the eschatological beliefs of the period studied would be generally

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Diversarum Hereseon Liber 59.1, ". . . heresis Chiliontaetitarum, id est mille annorum: quae docet ita: Cum venerit Christus de caelo, inquit, mille anni erunt nobis iterum carnaliter ad vivendum, generandum et manducandum, sicut fit nunc in hoc saeculo cottidie; . . ." (keeping in mind, of course, the bias against chiliasm, cf. *ibid.*, 59.2-3).

<sup>1</sup>William Everett Bell, "A Critical Evaluation of the Pretribulation Rapture Doctrine in Christian Eschatology," (School of Education of New York University, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1967), pp. 26-27, lists the following crucial factors which would have to be found in a man's thought to demonstrate his belief in a pretribulation rapture:

"(1) Any mention that Christ's second coming was to consist of more than one phase, separated by an interval of years

(2) Any mention that Christ was to remove the church from the earth before the tribulation period

(3) Any reference to the resurrection of the just as being in two stages

(4) Any indication that Israel and the church were to be clearly distinguished, thus providing some rationale for a removal of Christians before God 'again deals with Israel.'"

These factors are not found in the thinking of the writers/writings considered. Furthermore, as Robert H. Gundry, The Church and the Tribulation, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1973), p. 180, remarks, "An event may take place with suddenness and be speedily approaching, yet not imminent." This would accurately reflect the implications of the concept of immediacy in the authors covered. The findings of the thesis regarding imminency would invalidate the historical claims regarding imminency in the following writings: J. Dwight Pentecost, Things to Come, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1958), pp. 168-169, 203; John F. Walvoord, The Rapture Question, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957), p. 192. However, even if the concept of 'imminency' were to be found in the writings studied, this would still not necessitate the conclusion that that author was pretribulational because of the fallacy of the undistributed middle term, cf. William Everett Bell, "A Critical Evaluation of the Pretribulation Rapture Doctrine in Christian Doctrine," pp. 51-53.

<sup>2</sup>This thesis would also conclude that the basic error of dispensational premillennial writers has been to assume the whole (their system) from the parts (eschatological elements similar to their system) in the Fathers studied.

inimical to those of the modern system<sup>1</sup> (perhaps, seminal amillennialism, and not nascent dispensational premillennialism ought to be seen in the eschatology of the period).

In the light of this conclusion, five recommendations need to be made. First of all, the eschatology of the remaining Ante-Nicene premillennialists needs to be studied in a similar fashion as undertaken here to see if the general patterns uncovered here continue. Secondly, dispensational premillennialists need to develop a methodology, or historiography, for dealing with the content of patristic eschatology.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, dispensational premillennialists need to be much more familiar with, and competent in, patristics, so as to avoid having to rely on second-hand evidence

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<sup>1</sup>It is evident that, on the basis of the data culled from the writers/writings studied, one should not consider the differences between the premillennialism of the post-apostolic period and dispensational premillennialism to be "invented" (Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, p. 12), but instead to be fixed and radical. Cf. William Everett Bell, "A Critical Evaluation of the Pretribulation Rapture Doctrine in Christian Doctrine," p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>Perhaps a word needs to be said about the eschatological position of the writer of this thesis. He is a dispensational premillennialist, and he does not consider this thesis to be a disproof of that system. He originally undertook the thesis to bolster the system by patristic research, but the evidence of the original sources simply disallowed this. It is this writer's conviction that historical precedent can not be employed to disprove a system of belief, but only Biblical precedent. There is much error in the Fathers studied in other areas of theology (e.g., soteriology--incipient baptismal regeneration, a weak view of justification; ecclesiology--incipient sacerdotalism), so it should be no occasion for surprise that there is much eschatological error there. This writer believes that the Church rapidly fell from New Testament truth, and this is very evident in the realm of eschatology. Only in modern times has New Testament eschatological truth been recovered. Dispensational premillennialism is the product of the post-Reformation progress of dogma. Any dispute that it has with other modern eschatological systems must be settled on the grounds of Biblical truth and not historical precedent. What causes dismay is dispensational premillennialism's recognition of this procedure (cf. Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, p. 18; ibid., Dispensationalism Today, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), pp. 66-67; John F.

in patristic interpretation.<sup>1</sup> Fourthly, it would seem wise for the modern system to abandon the claim that it is the historical faith of the Church (for at least the period considered), and instead devote its efforts to establishing that it is the heir of New Testament eschatological truth in a manner in which the Fathers studied were not. Fifthly, the findings of this thesis need to be applied to the current debate between various modern schools of premillennialism.

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Walvoord, The Rapture Question, p. 139), and then its inconsistency in pursuing a procedure which it considers illegitimate (Charles Caldwell Ryrie, The Basis of the Premillennial Faith, pp. 19-26; *ibid.*, Dispensationalism Today, pp. 67-70; John F. Walvoord, The Rapture Question, pp. 138-139). What the system needs to do is to stand firmly on its Biblical basis and to develop a viable historiography of patristic theology. It needs to abandon the historical arguments.

<sup>1</sup>And thus avoid reliance on men like Geo. N. H. Peters (see above, p. 2, n. 1), whose historical conclusions regarding premillennialism (see above, p. 14, n. 3) in the early church have been proven to be largely in error. Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hegesippus can not be claimed as premillennialists. This validates the claim of L. Berkhof, The History of Christian Doctrines, (1937; reprint ed., Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1969), p. 262, ". . . it is not correct to say, as Premillenarians do, that it (millennialism) was generally accepted in the first three centuries. The truth of the matter is that the adherents of this doctrine were a rather limited number." On the other hand, this invalidates the claim of premillennialists like John F. Walvoord, The Rapture Question, p. 137, "The early church was far from settled on details of eschatology though definitely premillennial." (Italics mine.) For a similar invalid conclusion, cf. Wallace S. Pollock, "Chiliasm in the First Five Centuries," (Dallas Theological Seminary, Unpublished Master's thesis, 1945), p. 12.



## APPENDIX I

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

#### Purpose of Appendix

The purpose of this appendix is to summarize the findings of the thesis in tabular form. This table will take the place of (lengthy) summarizations at the conclusion of each chapter.

The appendix is ordered as follows: first of all, a key to the symbols in the table; secondly, the table itself; thirdly, notes to the table which will allow the reader to discover where in the thesis the conclusions reported are to be found.

By utilizing this appendix, the reader will have access to the findings of the thesis, and will be able to garner the findings of each chapter at a glance. The conclusions of Chapters 2-5, and of the thesis itself, will apply these findings to testing the validity of the claims of Dr. Ryrie (see above, p. 1) and of men of his persuasion.

#### Key to the Symbols in the Table

##### I. Consistently applied literal interpretation(of prophecy)

- A - of Rev. 20:1-8
- C - of the national promises made to Israel

##### II. A consistent distinction between Israel and the Church

##### III. The Kingdom

- A - of unspecified duration
- B - of unspecified location
- C - related to the Second Advent
- D - related to the resurrection of believers
- E - related to the resurrection of unbelievers

## IV. The Millennial Kingdom on Earth

- A - related to the Second Advent
- B - related to the resurrection of believers
- C - related to the resurrection of unbelievers
- D - as the culmination of God's dealings with Israel
- E - as the culmination of God's dealings with the Church
- F - as distinct from the eternal kingdom

## V. The Rapture of the Church

- A - belief in
- B - imminency of

## VI. The Second Advent

- A - immediacy of
- B - distinct from a Rapture (no = no Rapture)
- C - related to the kingdom
- D - related to the judgment of believers
- E - related to the judgment of unbelievers
- F - after the Great Tribulation

## VII. A Great Tribulation through which the Church will pass

## VIII. The Resurrection of Believers

- A - a chronological distinction between the resurrection of believers and unbelievers (no = general resurrection)
- B - a chronological distinction between the resurrection of Christians and Old Testament saints
- C - related to the Second Advent (yes = not related to a Rapture)
- D - related to the Judgment
- E - related to the kingdom
- F - after the Great Tribulation

## IX. The Judgment

- A - a chronological distinction between the judgment of believers and unbelievers
- B - related to the Second Advent
- C - related to the resurrection of the dead
- D - related to a cataclysmic change in the universe

y = yes

n = no

% = probably

? = possibly

?? = no conclusion can be drawn

blank square = no evidence available

	I			II	III					IV						V	
	A		C		A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B
Hegesippus					1 ??	2 ??	3 y									4 ??	5 ??
1 Clement			10 n	11 n	12 y	13 y		14 y	15 y							16 n	17 n
2 Clement				24 n	25 y	26 n	27 y	28 y								29 n	30 n
Cerinthus					38 n	39 n					40 %	41 ??			42 y		
Barnabas		45 n	46 n	47 n	48 %	49 n	50 y	51 y							52 n	53 n	54 n
Didache				61 n												68 n	69 n
Ignatius																77 n	78 n
Papias		81 n			82 n	83 n		84 y	85 ??		86 y	87 ??			88 y		
Hermas				92 n	93 y	94 y										95 n	96 n
Polycarp					100 y	101 y		102 y								103 n	104 n
Aristides					112 ??	113 ??		114 ??	115 ??								
Justin Martyr	120 y	121 n	122 n	123 n	124 y	125 n	126 y	127 y	128 y	129 y	130 y	131 y	132 n	133 y	134 n	135 n	136 n

VI						VII	VIII						IX				
A	B	C	D	E	F		A	B	C	D	E	F	A	B	C	D	
6 y		7 y	8 y	9 y													Hegesippus
18 y			19 y				20 ??	21 n	22 y		23 y						1 Clement
31 y		32 y	33 y				34 ??						35 ??	36 y		37 y	2 Clement
							43 ??				44 y						Cerinthus
55 y		56 y		57 y	58 ?	59 ??	60 ??		61 y	62 y	63 y			64 y	65 y	66 y	Barnabas
70 y	71 n				72 y	73 y	74 ??		75 y			76 y					Didache
79 y							80 ??										Ignatius
89 ??							90 %				91 y						Papias
97 n	98 n					99 y											Hermas
105 n	106 n		107 y	108 ?			109 ??				110 y			111 y			Polycarp
							116 ??	117 ??			118 ??	119 ??					Aristides
137 y	138 n	139 y	140 y	141 y	142 y	143 y	144 n	145 n	146 y	147 y	148 y	149 y	150 n	151 y	152 y	153 y	Justin Martyr

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## APPENDIX II

### IS THERE AN ESCHATOLOGICAL MILLENNIUM IN THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS?

The portion of the Epistle relevant to the question under discussion is 15.1-9,

1. "Ἐτι οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγοις, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ πρὸς Μωυσῆν κατὰ πρόσωπον. Καὶ ἁγιάσατε τὸ σάββατον κυρίου χερσὶν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. 2. καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει. "Ἐὰν φυλάξωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ μου τὸ σάββατον, τότε ἐπιθήσω τὸ ἔλεός μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. 3. τὸ σάββατον λέγει ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κτίσεως. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἠγάσεν αὐτήν. 4. προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλλοῖς ἔτεσιν συντελέσει κύριος τὰ σύμπαντα. ἢ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων. "Ἴδού, ἡμέρα κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη. οὐκοῦν, τέκνα, ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλλοῖς ἔτεσιν συντελεσθήσεται τὰ σύμπαντα. 5. Καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. τοῦτο λέγει. ὅταν ἔλθῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξει τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. 6. πέρασ γέ τοι λέγει. "Ἀγιάσεις αὐτὴν χερσὶν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. εἰ οὖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἡμέραν ἠγάσεν νῦν τις δύναται ἁγιάσαι καθαρῶς τὴν καρδίαν, ἐν πᾶσιν πεπλανήμεθα. 7. Ἴδε ὅτι ἄρα τότε καλῶς καταπαυόμενοι ἁγιάσομεν αὐτήν, ὅτε δυνησόμεθα αὐτοῖ δικαιοθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, μηκέτι οὔσης τῆς ἀνομίας, καινῶν δὲ γεγονότων πάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου. τότε δυνησόμεθα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσαι, αὐτοῖ ἁγιασθέντες πρῶτον. 8. πέρασ γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς. Τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. ὁρᾶτε, πῶς λέγει; οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης ποιήσω, ὃ ἔστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν. 9. διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς.

The purpose of the Epistle of Barnabas is to demonstrate that the Church is the heir of the covenant which YHWH made with the nation of Israel

at Sinai.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of this theological promise, the Epistle then proceeds to demonstrate that many aspects of the Old Testament cultus never had any relevance to Israel, but were only applicable to the Church.<sup>2</sup>

Within this overall purpose, the thesis of 15.1-9 is that the Sabbath is irrelevant to Israel, but relevant only to the Church<sup>3</sup> (in as much as only the eschatological Sabbath is acceptable to God, and in this, only the Church will participate). How does the author develop the argumentation leading to this conclusion? In 15.1-2, he presents two Old Testament directives concerning the Sabbath. The first is a command ('keep it holy'); the second is a promise ('mercy') derived from obedience to the first precept. In 15.3, he states that there were four prerequisites for the origin of the Sabbath: 1) the act of creation; 2) the completion of creation; 3) rest from creation; 4) the sanctification of the Seventh Day. In 15.4-8, the writer then describes when the last three prerequisites will be fulfilled. At this point, the author adopts the assumption that

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<sup>1</sup>In fact, the Epistle explicitly states that Israel lost the covenant at the point of its inception (4.6-8). For this reason, the church is the new people of God, in fulfilment of the promises to the patriarchs (5.7). cf. 2.6; 3.6; 6.19; 13.1.

<sup>2</sup>The following aspects of the Old Testament cultus are shown to have only relevance to the Church: 1) the Sacrifices (2.4-10; 7.1-8.7); 2) Fasting (3.1-6); 3) the Covenant (4.6-8; 13.1-14.9); 4) the National Promises (6.8-19); 5) Circumcision (9.1-9); 6) Dietary Laws (10.1-12); 7) National Messiah (12.10-11); 8) the Sabbath (15.1-9); 9) the Temple (16.1-10).

<sup>3</sup>cf. Albert Hermans, "Le Pseudo-Barnabé est-il millénariste?" Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 35(1959):869, "La Thèse de l'auteur ne peut donc être que la suivante: le troisième précepte du décalogue ne demande pas la sanctification du septième jour, mais celle du huitième; les Juifs 'accumuleraient péché sur péché' en disant que le sabbat est à la fois leur bien et le nôtre!."

the days of creation adumbrate world history.<sup>1</sup> The second prerequisite, the completion of creation, will be in six thousand years (15.4).<sup>2</sup> The third prerequisite, rest from creation, will be at/after the Second Advent when Jesus destroys the Lawless One, judges the wicked, and changes the astronomical phenomena (15.5).<sup>3</sup> The fourth prerequisite, the sanctification of the Seventh Day, is not presently being fulfilled,<sup>4</sup> but will be fulfilled when : 1) Christians are justified; 2) Christians

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<sup>1</sup>On the widespread acceptance of this assumption in Jewish thought, cf. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, s. v. "χλιας" by Eduard Lohse, 9(1974):467-469; Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George Arthur Buttrick, s. v. "Millennium," by M. Rist, 3: 381-382; Albert Hermans, "Le-Pseudo-Barnabé est-il millénariste?", pp. 854-858; Arnold D. Ehlert, A Bibliographic History of Dispensationalism, (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1965), pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup>cf. 2 Enoch 33.1 - 2, "And I (God) appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that the first seven revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours." It may well be that the author is directly dependent on this passage, cf. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, 2 vols., ed. R.W. Charles, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1913), vol. 2: The Pseudepigrapha, p. 427. On the interpretation of the passage in 2 Enoch, cf. ibid., p. 451; Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s. v. "σάββατον," by Eduard Lohse, 7(197):19-20; J.W. Bailey, "The Temporary Messianic Reign in the Literature of Early Judaism," Journal of Biblical Literature 53 (A34):180-181. To adopt this scheme, the writer employs three methods: 1) the allegorical interpretation of the days of creation--extending them into the future, 2) the transposing of the aorist (συνετέλεσεν, κατέπαυσεν) into the future tense (συντελέσει, καταπαύσεται), and 3) a faulty exegesis of Ps. 90.4. cf. William H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," Andrews University Seminary Studies 4(1966): 169 - 170.

<sup>3</sup>cf. 4 Ezra 7.39, "For thus shall the Day of Judgment be: (A day) whereon is neither sun, nor moon, nor stars;"

<sup>4</sup>The writer calls to witnesses to this assertion: 1) experience (15.6), and 2) Scripture (15.8). The implication of the Jews not fulfilling the Sabbath is that they are receiving no mercy from God (cf. 15.2). That is why the writer can emphasize the Christian's role in fulfilling the Sabbath.

are resurrected and rule the earth,<sup>1</sup> 3) there is no more sin; 4) there is a new universe; 5) God causes everything to rest; and 6) God makes the beginning of the Eighth Day, i.e. - when God begins another world (15.6-8). When this is done, the new Sabbath, which is acceptable to God, will have been instituted. In 15.9, the writer applies this teaching -- Christians presently observe the Eighth Day, which foreshadows the new Sabbath, because this is when Christ arose and ascended. Therefore, the implication is that the Christians, in observing the forerunner of the acceptable Sabbath, observe the acceptable day of rest,<sup>2</sup> while the Jews, in observing the creative Sabbath, observe an unacceptable Sabbath.

In the light of the argument of the passage, can one conclude that the author was a premillennarian? Probably not, for the following reasons. First of all, one must realize that a belief in six millennia of world history in no way obligates one to posit a seventh millennium in world history. In other words, the most modern scholarship can do is to assume that the Seventh Day, in the writer's thought, is a millennium since there is no prima facie evidence for it. One must not assume the

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<sup>1</sup>This is deduced from (. . . ἀπολαμβάντες την ἐπαγγελίαν, . . .). The ἐπαγγελία is inextricably bound up with the resurrection of Christians (5.7) and their ruling the earth (6.17).

<sup>2</sup>cf. Albert Hermans, "Le Pseudo-Barnabé est-il millénariste?", p. 853, "Comme tous les biens eschatologiques, le sabbat futur est déjà anticipé dans la vie chrétienne. Le dimanche chrétien est un sabbat du nouveau monde et, par conséquent, les chrétiens accomplissent le précepte du décalogue en célébrant avec joie le huitième jour." cf. C.K. Barrett, "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews." in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1956), p. 370, "The only point that is really clear here is perhaps the only point that Barnabas really wished to make: the Jews with their Sabbaths are in the wrong, the Christians with their Sundays are in the right!"

part (six millennia) for the whole (seven millennia). Secondly, the concept of 'rest from creation' is given within the chronological framework of the Second Advent (15.5) and the beginning of the Eighth Day (15.8). There is no reason to divide these two periods chronologically within the framework of 15.5-8 -- in fact, the concept of 'rest' in 15.7 unites these periods as temporally synonymous. Therefore, the Eighth Day can be said to begin at the Second Advent. In other words, the Seventh Day is eschatologically the beginning of the Eighth Day. Therefore, there is no interval (millennial or otherwise) between the Seventh and Eighth Days. Thirdly, the chronological unity of 15.5-8 is further attested by two parallel ideas in 15.5 and 15.7: the removal of sin and the new creation. Fourthly, if one posits a distinction between the Seventh and Eighth Days, one has to assume that God intervenes twice -- in 15.5 and 15.8.<sup>1</sup> Yet, there is no evidence to warrant this assumption. Fifthly, the absence of a millennium in the Chapter in no way detracts from its anti-sabbatarianism.<sup>2</sup> The whole point of the Chapter is that the Eighth Day is the acceptable Sabbath. In the light of this, the seventh Day plays no appreciable role. If the Seventh Day were a millennium that millennium is insignificant. Sixthly, the writer understands the Eighth Day to be the beginning of another world (15.8) -- a world introduced by significant changes in the present physical universe. In the light of this, it seems best to understand the Eighth Day as eternity, and since the Seventh Day is synonymous with the Eighth, the Seventh Day would also

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<sup>1</sup>cf. *ibid.*, p. 863.

<sup>2</sup>cf. William H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," p. 168.

be eternity.

In conclusion, then, it seems best to conclude that Barnabas was not a premillennarian. The existence of an eschatological Millennium in the author's thought can only be an assumption of modern scholarship. Even if it did exist in his thought, it obviously played no significant role. In the light of the unity of the Seventh and Eighth Days, if a millennium were to exist, it would only be the threshold to, but within, eternity.<sup>1</sup> It would be no interval between the present age and the eternal state. Therefore, the millennium, were it to exist in Barnabas' thought, would in no way be similar to that period in dispensational premillennialism.

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<sup>1</sup>This seems to be similar to Justin Martyr's thought. See above, p.83, n. 5.

### APPENDIX III

#### HERMAS AND THE GREAT TRIBULATION

The texts under consideration which lead to the conclusion that Hermas probably believed in an eschatological tribulation through which the Church would pass are Vision 2.2.7; 4.1.1,5-10; 4.2.4-5 and 4.3.6,

μακάριοι ὑμεῖς, ὅσοι ὑπομένετε τὴν θλίψιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ὅσοι οὐκ ἀρνήσονται τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. . . .

4.1.1. Ἦν εἶδον, ἀδελφοί, μετὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι τῆς προτέρ-  
δράσεως τῆς γενομένης, εἰς τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐπερχομένη-  
ης. . . . 5. καὶ προσέβην μικρὸν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἰδοὺ, βλέπω  
κονιορτῶν ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἠρξάμην λέγειν ἐν ἑμαυτῷ.  
Μήποτε κτήνη ἔρχονται καὶ κονιορτῶν ἐγείρουσιν; οὕτω δὲ ἦν  
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίου. 6. γινομένου μείζονος καὶ μείζονος  
κονιορτοῦ ὑπενόησα εἶναι τι θεῖον. μικρὸν ἐξέλαμψεν ὁ ἥλιος  
καὶ ἰδοὺ, βλέπω θηρίον μέγιστον ὡσεὶ κητός τι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀκρίδες πύρινα ἐξεπιρεύοντο. ἦν δὲ τὸ θη-  
ρίον τῷ μήκει ὡσεὶ ποδῶν ρ', τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἶχεν ὡσεὶ κερά-  
μου. 7. καὶ ἠρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἐρωτᾶν τὸν κύριον, ἵνα με  
μελυτρώσῃται ἐξ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπανεμνήσθην τοῦ ῥήματος οὗ  
ἀκηκόειν. Μὴ διψυχήσεις, Ἑρμᾶ. 8. ἐνδυσάμενος οὖν, ἀδελ-  
φοί, τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μνησθεις ὧν ἐδίδαξέν με με-  
γαλείων, θαρσήσας εἰς τὸ θηρίον ἑμαυτὸν ἔδωκα. οὕτω δὲ ἤρ-  
χετο τὸ θηρίον ῥοίζω, ὥστε δύνασθαι αὐτὸ πόλιν λυμᾶναι.  
9. ἔρχομαι ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τηλικοῦτο κῆτος ἐκτείνει  
ἑαυτοῦ χαμαὶ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ γλῶσσαν προέβαλλεν καὶ ὅλως οὐκ  
ἐκινήθη, μέχρις ὅτε παρήλθον αὐτό. 10. εἶχεν δὲ τὸ θηρίον  
ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χρώματα τέσσαρα. μέλαν, εἶτα πυροειδὲς καὶ  
καὶ αἱματώδες, εἶτα χρυσοῦν, εἶτα λευκόν.

4.2.4. μεγάλην θλίψιν ἐκπέφευγας διὰ τὴν πίστιν σου καὶ ὅτι  
τηλικοῦτο θηρίον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐδιψύχησας. 5. ὑπάγε οὖν καὶ ἐξ-  
ήγησαι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τὰ μεγαλεῖα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπε  
αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τύπος ἐστὶν θλίψεως τῆς μελλού-  
σης τῆς μεγάλης. ἔαν οὖν προετοιμάσησθε καὶ μετανοήσητε ἐξ  
ὅλης καρδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον, δυνήσεσθε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν,  
ἔαν . . . τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν δουλεύσητε τῷ κυ-  
ρίῳ ἀμέμπτως.

4.3.6. . . ἔχετε καὶ τὸν τύπον τῆς θλίψεως τῆς ἐρχομένης μεγάλης. ἔάν δε ὑμεῖς θελήσητε, οὐδὲν ἔσται.

There are five lines of evidence which lead one to the conclusion that Hermas probably thought of this tribulation in eschatological terms. First of all, there is the use of stereotyped eschatological terms, about which O'Hagan comments,

. . . even if we understand the Great Tribulation to Come of the Visions as most probably a trial of faith, must we see it as the ultimate persecution? That is, is it to be truly eschatological? The answer seems to be yes . . . Firstly because of the terminology. Θλίψις used of the great and final tribulation is based with so much else in the apocalyptic tradition upon Daniel 10,12. The word and idea are taken up in Mt. 24,21; Mk. 13,24; Apoc. 7,14 and Sib. 3,187. That the tribulation is qualified by the term "great" in Dan., Mt., Apoc., and Sib., as in Hermas, tends to class the expression as stereotyped. And finally the use of ἐρχόμενος and μέλλων, two words so strongly leaning to the eschatological, leaves little doubt that the Great Trial to Come of Hermas is indeed no intermediate persecution.

Secondly, the eschatological elements present lead to a similar conclusion,

. . . the clearly eschatological elements introduced by the author into vis. 4 affect our understanding of the Θλίψις to come. The colours in the head of the monster in vis. 4,3 together with their symbolism are clearly from the general and cosmic eschatology of Judaism. Most significant for us is that the explanation of the four colours is fitted in exactly between the two Great Tribulation texts from the fourth Vision! Beyond the general significance of this fact, and to exemplify it, we call attention to the verse vis. 4,3,3: . . . Sure reference to the final eschatological trial, significant for the cosmos, and because of the ἐν αἵματι significant also for the human race. The next verse, vis. 4,3,4, is a further example despite some obscurity. It says that Christians have to be tried as gold in the fire: . . . The significant words are "sorrow and tribulation"; ἀποβαλεῖτε πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ στενοχωρίαν. Parallel to the dross which the gold casts off are not our sins and evil tendencies, as we might have expected, but sorrow and troubles! Σιωπῶντα is counterbalanced by στενοχωρίαν. With these words Hermas introduces the es-

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<sup>1</sup> A. P. O'Hagan, "The Great Tribulation to Come in the Pastor of Hermas," Studia Patristica 3(1959):309-310; cf. R. J. Bauckham, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas," Journal of Theological Studies 25 (1974):35-40.



chatological; his purifying fire stands at the doorway to another world, and through it, as the text says, we are to gain entrance to the tower, the eschatological world to come, the transfigured Church.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, the paradox involved also leads to this conclusion,

To the threat of this tribulation Christians may react in two different ways: their faith may waver (doublemindedness) (xxiii.4) or they may repent and prepare themselves to face it (xxiii.5). The double-minded will be 'hurt' (xxiii.4) by the great tribulation and thereby experience God's wrath (xxiii.6). The repentant, on the other hand, will put complete trust in the Lord (xxiii.4f.), face the tribulation with courage (xxiii.8) and 'escape' (xxiii.4).

It should be noticed that this result is precisely the opposite of what it should be if the great tribulation were simply a period of persecution. In that case, the doubleminded,<sup>2</sup> those who apostatize, would escape, while the faithful would suffer.<sup>2</sup>

Fourthly, the effect produced leads to this conclusion,

The concept of the great tribulation is further explained by the device of the four colours on the monster's head. The first and last colours represent the two aeons" 'this world in which you live' and 'the age to come, in which the elect of God shall live' (xxiv.2,5). . . . Hermas' symbolic use of the colour white . . . , it represents the eschatological purity of the Church. The great tribulation is therefore the means of transition from this age to the next . . . The function of the two intermediate colours is to explain how this transition is effected. Red symbolizes the effect of the great tribulation on 'this world': 'The colour of fire and blood means it is necessary for this world to be destroyed by blood and fire' (xxiv.3). Gold represents its effect on the Church, a purifying effect by which Christians are made 'useful in the construction of the tower.', i.e. fit to be part of the eschatological Church of the next world (xxiv.4).<sup>3</sup>

Fifthly, the finality of denial in the Tribulation--the fact that there is no further opportunity for repentance during/after the Tribulation, suggests the finality of God's dealing with the Church (Vision 2.2.7-8).

There are three lines of evidence which could lead one to deny

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<sup>1</sup>A. P. O'Hagan, "The Great Tribulation to Come in the Pastor of Hermas," p. 310.

<sup>2</sup>R. J. Bauckham, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas," p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>ibid., pp. 32-33.

that the Tribulation is eschatological. First of all, it is possible that the warning about Tribulation was given to forestall the possibility of wealthy Christians apostatizing in the face of persecution from the Roman government because of their business interests (Vision 1.1.8, where temporal and fiscal cares are contrasted with the eschatological; Vision 3.6.5-6).<sup>1</sup> Such a tribulation would not be eschatological. Secondly, the structure of the Book, in keeping with the purpose of the Book, may well indicate that the tribulation was not eschatological--the latter part of the Book may indicate that the apostasy, about which an alarm was raised, in fact took place, and therefore the tribulation was not eschatological.

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<sup>1</sup>Such a concern about the debilitating influence of wealth is expressed elsewhere in the Book, e.g. Mandates 5.2.2; 10.1.2; 12.2.1. On the possible background which led to this concern, cf. D. W. Riddle, "The Messages of the Shepherd of Hermas," Journal of Religion 7(1927):576, "The Shepherd of Hermas is a book of discipline. . . . Written in an era of peace between persecutions, it was designed to meet a situation which experience showed was acute whenever it obtained. It was not the days of persecution which were dangerous for the church, but the days of peace. To be sure, when persecution threatened there were many who were ready to fall away, but these were persons who had come into the community when days of peace made this easy. It was in the days of peace that ease, wealth, and luxury brought problems to the churches, and chief among these problems was that of discipline." Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 568-569, ". . . it is well to put his attitude toward wealth and business over against the social situation known to have obtained with special acuteness in his particular time. If he developed these attitudes in the years between 140 and 154, they represent impressions of a critic of the society of Rome during the period of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. This was exactly the period when the role of the freedman became of special importance; the time when the tradition which denied to the patrician families the right to engage in trade was due to the rapid changes in the economic situation, steadily impoverishing the older families and lifting to positions of wealth the nouveaux riches of the lower classes. . . . It should go without saying that in the day when the wealth of the Empire was at its height, this wealth especially in the capital city, had worked deep changes in the social standards of the people. It is hardly to be expected that in such a changing world the constituency of the churches would be unaffected. It is against such a background as this that the teaching of Hermas concerning wealth and business obtain their force."

Snyder comments,

Visions I-IV presuppose a 'tribulation to come' (2.2.7; 2.3.4; 4.1.1; 4.2.4f.; 4.3.6), while Vision V-Similitude X presuppose a persecution in the past which produced apostates and those who denied the Lord (Similitude 8.6.4; 9.19.1).

Thirdly, in Vision 2.3.4, it is evident that Maximus had apostatized before and could do so again (πάλιν).<sup>2</sup> There is no qualitative difference between the θλίψεις, and therefore the one would not be eschatological.

In summary, however, the arguments for the Tribulation being eschatological are more valid, especially since the first two arguments for the opposing position depend upon presuppositions, generally unverifiable, of dating and composite authorship.

The evidence for the Church passing through the Tribulation is as follows.<sup>3</sup> First of all, ἐκφεύγει is equivalent in meaning to ὑπομένειν.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, the purpose of the Tribulation is to purify the Church, therefore, she will pass through it.<sup>5</sup> Thirdly, Hermas, as a prototype of the Church, confronts the Beast, the prototype of the Tribulation (Vision 4.4.8-9). Fourthly, in Vision 4.3.4, ἐν αὐτοῖς (the better attested

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. Grant, ed. The Apostolic Fathers, 6 vols., (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964-1968), 6:3.

<sup>2</sup>"ἔρεϊς δὲ Μαξιμῶ. Ἴδοῦ, θλίψεις ἔρχεται. ἔὰν σοι φανῆ, πάλιν ἄρνησαι."

<sup>3</sup>R.J. Bauckham, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas," p. 35, "Hermas' emphasis, however, is rather on the experience of the righteous during the great tribulation."

<sup>4</sup>A.P. O'Hagan, "The Great Tribulation to Come in the Pastor of Hermas," pp. 307-308.

<sup>5</sup>R.J. Bauckham, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas," pp. 32-33.

reading),<sup>1</sup> emphasizes the presence of the Church in the fire and the blood, i.e., in the judgment of the world.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. Grant, ed., The Apostolic Fathers, 6:59

<sup>2</sup>R.J. Bauckham, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas," p. 33.

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