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ANTHOLOGY OF CHILIASM AND CHILLEGORISM

Appendix to the book ***«Apocalypse. Millennium (Chiliasm and Chillegorism)»***

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Section 1. TERMINOLOGY

Millennium (Lat. Mille – one thousand) – a period of one thousand years.

Millenarism or Millenarianism (Lat. millenarius – containing a thousand) is the belief in a coming, literally or figuratively, millennial fundamental transformation of society, after which all things will be changed.

Chiliasm (Greek χιλιας – one thousand) or Millennialism (Lat. mille – one thousand) – a doctrine based on the literal interpretation of the prophecy of Rev 20:1-4 about the millennial reign of Christ together with the righteous.

Chillegorism (Greek. χιλιας – one thousand; αλληγορία – allegory) – a doctrine based on the figurative interpretation of the prophecy of Rev 20:1-4 about the millennial reign of Christ together with the righteous.

Chiliasm is further subdivided into *Judeochiliasm and Premillenarism*.

Judeochiliasm is a chiliastic doctrine of the Messianic Kingdom which represents the Kingdom in an almost entirely carnal sense, with all sorts of sensual pleasures promised to the followers of the Messiah. As a rule, Judeochiliasm includes the idea of a full restoration of the ceremonial part of the Mosaic law in the Old Testament, that is, of Judaism.

Premillenarism or Premillennialism (Lat. mille – one thousand; "pre" means "before") – chiliastic teaching placing the Second Coming of Christ before the millennial reign of Christ together with the righteous.

The two types of Chillegorism are *Postmillenarism and Amillenarism*.

Postmillenarism or Postmillennialism (Lat. mille – one thousand; "post" means "after") – a type of Chillegorism which teaches that the Second Coming of Christ will occur after the millennial reign of the righteous; the reign here is understood as

something already happening or something that will happen in the future. In Postmillenarism, the Millennium is seen as not exactly a 1000 years but as an extended period of some limited duration.

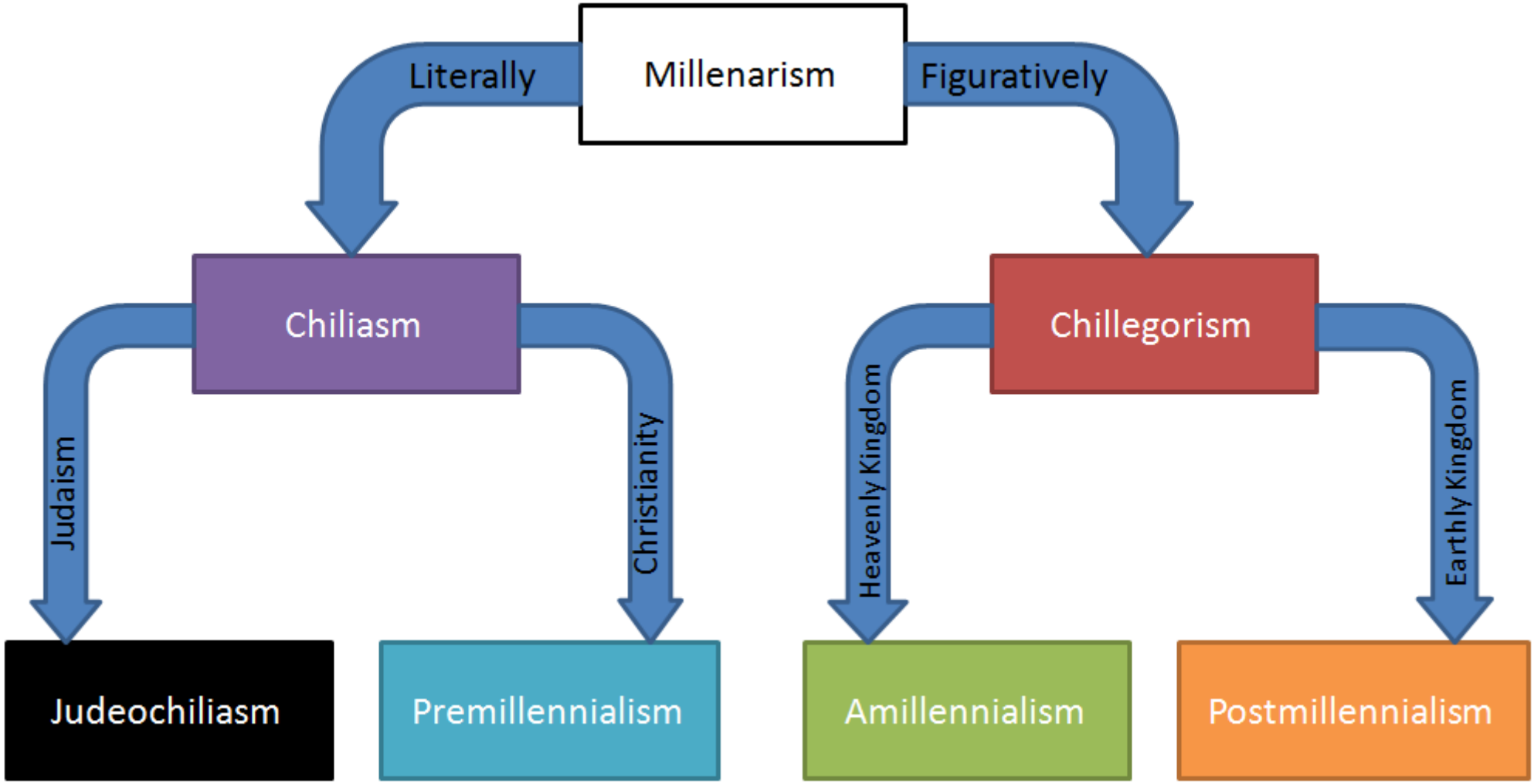
Amillenarism or Amillennialism (Lat. mille – one thousand; "a" is a negation prefix) – a type of Chillegorism which teaches that there will be no millennial reign of the righteous on earth. Amillennarists interpret the thousand years symbolically to refer either to a temporary bliss of souls in heaven before the general resurrection, or to the infinite bliss of the righteous after the general resurrection.

PS1. In modern theology, there is a tradition of using the term "Chiliasm" or "Millennialism" mainly in relation to the teachings that imply a literal interpretation of Rev 20:1-4. We will retain the same terminology here to avoid confusion. Also, a new term "Chillegorism" (i.e. "allegorical Chiliasm") is introduced as a general concept of Postmillenarism and Amillenarism.

PS2. Some authors writing on the topic use these terms incorrectly, often confusing them with each other (especially "Postmillenarism" and "Amillenarism"). However, if the reader knows the proper meaning of these terms, such errors are fairly easy to spot. So, in the citations below, we retain the terminology "as is".

Some will say that "the fundamental difference between Postmillennialism [Postmillenarism] and Amillennialism [Amillenarism] is not entirely clear" (Nikolay Kim, a priest, *The Millennial Kingdom. Exegesis and the History of Interpreting the 20th Chapter of the Apocalypse*. St. Petersburg, 2003, p. 28), or that "the term 'Amillennialism' ['Amillenarism'] is not a happy one" (Anthony A. Hoekema *Amillennialism*//The Meaning of the Millennium, 1977; see also Jay E. Adams, *The Time Is at Hand*, Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1970. pp.7-11). The real reason for such confusion lies in the incorrect definition and use of the above terms.

PS3. There are other types of chiliastic and chilleagorical doctrines (Adventism, Jehovah's Witnesses [their activities are banned or restricted in some countries], Dispensationalism, Communism, etc.). Most of them are speculative, heretical or non-Christian in their nature. A detailed analysis of these teachings is not in the scope of this book.


Millenarism
Literally
Figuratively
Chiliasm
Chillegorism
Judaism
Christianity
Heavenly Kingdom
Earthly Kingdom
Judeochiliasm
Premillennialism
Amillennialism
Postmillennialism

Section 4. AN ANTHOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT CHILIASM
(1st-5th centuries)

St. John the Evangelist, the Apostle, one of the 12 (c. 2 – c. 102)

And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself. And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS. And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great. And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished.

This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years. And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works. And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire (Rev 19:11-20:15).

St. Barnabas, the Apostle, one of the 70 (1st century)

[…] The Lord said: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth" [Gen 1:28]. This was said at the beginning about us and addressed to the Son. Next, I will show you how He, at the end of time, wrought into us the second creation. The Lord says: "Lo, I will make the last like the first" [compare Is 43:18-19; 2 Cor 5:17; Rev 21:5]. The prophet also said something to the effect: "Enter into the land flowing with honey and milk and take possession of it" [Ex 33:1; Lev 20:24]. So, we have been restored, even as the Lord says once more through another prophet: "Behold, says he, I will take out of them," that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw, "the hearts of stone and will put in them the hearts of flesh" [Ezek 11:19; 36:26]. For He had to appear in the flesh and dwell in us, since, my brothers, the abode of our hearts is a holy temple of the Lord. The Lord also says: "In what place shall I appear to the Lord my God and be glorified?" [Ps 42:2 (Ps 41:3 rus)] And then: "I will bring my confession to You in the church, among my brethren, and I will sing Your glory among the church of the saints" [Ps 22:22 (Ps 21:23 rus)]. So we are those whom the Lord has brought into the good land. But what is milk and honey? Just like the life of a baby is sustained first by honey and then by milk, so we, after being brought to life by faith in the promise and by the word of

God, shall live and rule over the earth. In the beginning, the people were commanded to multiply and rule over beasts, birds, and fish. Who can now, at this time, rule over beasts, fish, or birds of air? And we must understand that ruling implies dominion when someone controls and commands. Now, however, we do not see such dominion – yet it is promised to us. When will it take place? When will we become so perfect so as to become heirs to the covenant of the Lord (The Epistle of Barnabas, chapter 6).

Also, about the Sabbath it says in the Ten Commandments, proclaimed by the Lord to Moses face to face on Mount Sinai: "Sanctify the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and with a clean heart" [Ex 20:8; Deut 5:12; Ps 24:3-4 (Ps 23:3-4 rus)]. And in another place He says: "If my sons keep the Sabbath, then I shall pour out My grace upon them" [compare Jer 17:24-25]. Scripture also mentions the Sabbath at the beginning of the creation: "And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it" [Gen 2:2].

Children, note well what it means that He "ended his work". It means that the Lord will complete all things in six thousand years because for Him one day is like a thousand years. For He Himself testifies to that saying: "Here, the present day will be like a thousand years" [Ps 90:4 (Ps 89:5 rus); 2 Pet 3:8]. So, children, everything will be accomplished in six days, that is, in six thousand years. "He rested on the seventh day" [Gen 2:2]. It means that when His Son comes and destroys the times of the lawless one, and carries out his judgment over the wicked, changes the sun, the moon and the stars, then He will rest in perfect peace on the seventh day.

Moreover, it is written, "Sanctify it with clean hands and a clean heart" [Ps 24:4 (Ps 23:4 rus)]. So, we would be mistaken *to think* that someone could at this time sanctify this holy day of the Lord without a heart pure in every way. Therefore, to rest and to sanctify this day one must be able to do what's right, having received the promise – when there is no more lawlessness, and everything is made new by the Lord. Then, having been consecrated ourselves, we will be able to consecrate that day also.

Finally, God says to the Jews: "Your new moons and sabbaths I won't tolerate" [Is 1:13]. See what He says: "The Sabbaths that you practice now I cannot stand – only those that I have commanded and those that will come when, putting an end to everything, I will usher in the eighth day, or the beginning of the next world» Therefore, we celebrate the eighth day in joy – the day when Jesus rose from the dead and, having shown Himself to believers, ascended into heaven (The Epistle of Barnabas, chapter 15).

"The Teaching of the Lord to the Nations Through the 12 Apostles" (Didache), 1st century

Watch over your lives; your lamps must keep burning, and (let) your loins be girded. But be ready, for you do not know the hour in which your Lord will come. You must often get together exploring what is good for your souls, for the time in which you can practice your faith will not benefit you unless you are perfect by the last hour. For in the last days, false prophets and destroyers will multiply, sheep will turn into wolves, and love will turn into hatred. With the increase of lawlessness, people will start hating and persecuting each other, and then the deceiver of the world will appear like unto the Son of God and will show signs and wonders, and the earth will be given into his hands, and he will work iniquities that have never been seen before. Then the human race will be subjected to fiery trials, and many will be led astray and perish, but those who stand firm in their faith will be saved from his curse. And then the sign of the truth will appear: first, the sign of the opened sky, then the sign of the trumpet, and then the third one – the resurrection of the dead. But not all will rise (together) but as it says: "The Lord will come together with all the saints" [Zech 14:5; 1 Thess 3:13]. Then, the world will see the Lord coming down on the clouds (Didache, chapter 16).

Hymenaeus and Alexander Philetus (1st century)

The teaching of Imeneus and Alexander Philitus on the allegorical understanding of the resurrection is known from the reproach of it in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. In addition, the fallacy of this teaching is confirmed by St. Athanasius the Great (*Against the Arians*, Discourse One, 54) and other Church fathers.

But shun profane and vain babblings: for they will increase unto more ungodliness. And their word will eat as doth a canker: of whom is Hymenaeus and Philetus; Who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already; and overthrow the faith of some (2 Tim 2:16-18).

This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare; Holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made

shipwreck: Of whom is Hymenaeus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme (1 Tim 1:18-20).

St. Clement of Rome, the Apostle, one of the 70 (died c. 99)

So, do we consider it marvelous and wonderful that the Creator of all things should raise all those who have diligently served Him in hope and good faith when He will use even a bird to reveal His great promises to us? For somewhere it says: and you will raise me up, and I will praise you. Also: I fell asleep and slept but rose again because you are with me. In the same way, Job says: "You will restore this flesh of mine which suffers all this" [compare Job 42:18] (1 Corinthians, chapter 26).

So, having accepted the command, the Apostles, fully convinced through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and strengthened in their faith by the word of God, went out to preach the coming Kingdom in the fullness of the Holy Spirit (1 Corinthians, chapter 42).

All the generations from Adam until now have passed, but those who have been perfected in love by the grace of God are in the place of the godly: they will be revealed with the coming of the Kingdom of Christ. For it is written: "Enter into the earthly tabernacle for a while until My anger and indignation have passed, and I will remember the day of goodness and will bring you out of your tombs" [Is 26:20; Ezek 37:12-13] (1 Corinthians, chapter 50).

And you know, brethren, that the sojourn of our flesh in this world is of short duration, and the promise of Christ is great and wondrous, namely, peace in the future Kingdom and eternal life (2 Corinthians, chapter 5).

Let us consider that it is better to deny the temporary earthly blessings because they are small, short-lived, and perishable, and embrace those other blessings as beautiful and imperishable. For in obeying the will of Christ we shall find peace; otherwise, no one will be able to deliver us from the eternal punishment, should we scorn His commandments. And Scripture says in the book of Ezekiel that "if Noah, and Job, and Daniel rose from the dead, they would not be able to save their children who are in captivity" [Ezek 14:20]. But if even these righteous men cannot save their children by their own righteousness, then what hope do

we have for entering the Kingdom of God unless we keep our baptism pure and blameless? Or who will be our intercessor if no righteous and godly works are found in us? (2 Corinthians, chapter 6).

For as we are called in the flesh, so will we appear before the judgment seat in the flesh. Just as our Lord, the Savior, was once a Spirit but became flesh and called us in the flesh, so we shall receive our reward in this flesh. Let us love one another so that all may enter into the Kingdom of God (2 Corinthians, chapter 9).

For He who promised to reward each person according to his works is faithful. If we do what is right in the eyes of God, then we shall enter His Kingdom and receive the blessings according to the promise: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man» [1 Cor 2:9] (2 Corinthians, chapter 11).

So, let us in love and godliness expect the Kingdom of God at any moment because we do not know the day of His coming (2 Corinthians, chapter 12).

(31) […] Watch over your lives. Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return, whether in the morning or in the evening, for the Lord will come at an hour when you think not. If ye open the door – "blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching. He shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them" [Lk 12:37]. Be ye vigilant and pray so you won't fall into slumber unto death, for all the former virtues will not help you at the hour of your departure if you have strayed away from the true faith.

(32) In the last days, false prophets and Word defilers will multiply, and sheep will turn into wolves, and love into hatred; for with the increase of iniquity the love of many will grow cold, and people will hate, persecute, and betray one another. And then the deceiver of the world will come, the enemy of truth, the champion of lies, whom our Lord Jesus will slay with the Spirit of His mouth, destroying the ungodly with his word. And many will fall into temptation, but those who endure to the end will be saved. And then the sign of the Son of Man will appear in heaven followed by the trumpet sound by the archangel and the resurrection of the dead, and then the Lord will come down in the midst of clouds, sitting on His throne, with angelic hosts and all His saints – to condemn the deceiver of the world, the devil, and repay each one according to his deeds. Then the wicked will depart into eternal perdition, and the righteous will go to eternal life inheriting what no eye has seen, no ear has heard, and what

never came to a person's heart – what God prepared for those who love Him. They will rejoice in the Kingdom of God in Christ Jesus […] (Apostolic Decrees [through St. Clement, Bishop and Citizen of Rome], book 7).

St. Ignatius of Antioch, the God-Bearer (died 107)

Ignatius the God-Bearer, loved by God and Father of Jesus Christ, a saint in the church of Tralia in Asia which is chosen and worthy of God, enjoying the peace in the flesh and blood and the suffering of Jesus Christ who is our hope when we rise from the dead transformed into His image – sends his greetings in full in the manner of the Apostles and wishes you to rejoice greatly (Epistle to the Trallians, Prologue).

Therefore, do not listen to those who preach another Jesus Christ, different from the One who came from the line of David through Mary, was truly born, ate and drank, was condemned under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in view of those in heaven, earth and under the earth, and then truly rose from the dead because His Father had raised Him, and who will in the similar fashion bring to life those who believe unto Jesus Christ, for without Him we have no life which is life indeed (Epistle to the Thrallians, chapter 9).

I praise our Lord Jesus Christ who made you so wise. For I have learned that you hold steadfastly to your faith as if nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ both in flesh and spirit, being strengthened in love by the blood of Christ and and full of faith in our Lord who has truly come from the house of David according to the flesh but is the Son of God through the will and power of God. He was indeed born of the Virgin, baptized by John, and crucified for us in the flesh by Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch to fulfill all the righteousness (we are the fruit of his most blessed suffering) in order to establish a sign for the saints and the faithful through the resurrection from the dead, both among Jews and Gentiles united in one body of the Church (Epistle to the Smyrnaeans, chapter 1).

For I know and believe that He was and is in the flesh even after His resurrection. When he appeared to his followers with Peter, he said to them, "Touch me and see that I am not a bodiless spirit» They immediately touched Him and believed, being convinced by His flesh and spirit. Therefore, they despised even death and triumphed over it. Moreover, after His resurrection,

He ate and drank with them as someone in the flesh, although he was spiritually united with the Father (Epistle to the Smyrnaeans, chapter 3).

St. Hermas, the Apostle, one of the 70 (1st–2nd century)

Again the shepherd showed me many trees, some of which blossomed and others were dry.

"Do you see these trees?"

"Yes, I do, my lord", I answered. "Some of them are dry, and some are covered with leaves".

"These green trees", he said, "signify the righteous who will reach the age to come. For the coming age is like unto summer for the righteous and winter for sinners. So when the goodness of the Lord shines forth, then those who serve God will be revealed and all things will be seen. For as the fruit of every tree ripens in summer, and it becomes clear what it is, so the fruit of the righteous will be revealed and seen, and they will all be joyful in that age. Pagans and sinners are the dry trees that you saw; they will be found withered and barren in the age to come and will be burned like wood, and it will become obvious that during their lives on earth their deeds were evil. Sinners will burn because they have sinned and have not repented of their sins. And heathen will burn because they have not come to know their Creator God. Therefore, bring forth good fruit that it may ripen during that summer. Keep from the many cares of the world, and you will never sin. For those who have many cares sin a lot, troubled as they are by their worries. Such people do not serve God. How can a man who does not serve God ask and receive anything from God? Those who serve God will ask, and God will answer their petitions, but those who do not serve God will never receive anything from Him. He who has but one focus can serve the Lord because his spirit is not alienated from Him. He serves God out of a pure mind. So, if you do this, you will bear fruit in the coming age, as well as all those who obey this and bear fruit" (Shepherd, book 3, Likeness Four).

Cerinthus (1st-2nd centuries)

The writings of Cerinthus have not been preserved in full, but are known from passages and references by other writers (St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Gaius of Rome, Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, and St. Theodoret of Cyrus).

The Ebionites (1st – 7th centuries)

The works of the Ebionites are known from references to other writers (St. Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Origen, St. Hippolytus of Rome, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, St. Jerome of Stridon).

St. Polycarp of Smyrna (c. 70/80 – 155/167)

Therefore, having girded your loins, serve God in fear [Ps 2:11] and truth, leaving behind the vain rhetoric and delusions of many. Believe unto Him "that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory" [1 Pet 1:21] and allowed Him to sit at His right hand, to whom all things are subject whether in heaven or earth, and who is served by all the things that breathe, who will come as the Judge of the living and the dead and whose blood God will require of them who do not put their faith in Him. He who raised him from the dead will also raise us if we obey his will, walk in his commandments, and love what he loves, if we flee from all unrighteousness, covetousness, avarice, slander, falsehood, do not repay evil for evil, blame for blame [1 Pet 3:9], blow for blow, curse for curse, and if we remember what the Lord taught in saying: "Judge not, that ye be not judged [Mt 7:1]. Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven" [Lk 6:37; Mt 6:12, 14] (Philippians, chapter 2).

St. Papias of Hierapolis (c. 70 – 155/165)

"*Explanation of the Sayings of the Lord*" ["*Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*"] written by St. Papias has been preserved only in fragments, partly in St. Irenaeus (Against Heresies, 5, 33, 4) and in Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea (Church History, 3, 39).

St. Justin, the Philosopher and Martyr (c. 100 – 165)

«(47) [About the Ebionites.] And Triphon again inquired, "But if some one, knowing that this is so, after he recognises that this man is Christ, and has believed in and obeys Him, wishes, however, to observe these [institutions], will he be saved?"

I said, "In my opinion, Triphon, such an one will be saved, if he does not strive in every way to persuade other men, – I mean those Gentiles who have been circumcised from error by Christ, to observe the same things as himself, telling them that they will not be saved unless they do so. This you did yourself at the commencement of the discourse, when you declared that I would not be saved unless I observe these institutions."

Then he replied, "Why then have you said, 'In my opinion, such an one will be saved,' unless there are some [Or, "Are there not some," etc.] who affirm that such will not be saved?"

"There are such people, Triphon," I answered; "and these do not venture to have any intercourse with or to extend hospitality to such persons; but I do not agree with them. But if some, through weak-mindedness, wish to observe such institutions as were given by Moses, from which they expect some virtue, but which we believe were appointed by reason of the hardness of the people's hearts, along with their hope in this Christ, and [wish to perform] the eternal and natural acts of righteousness and piety, yet choose to live with the Christians and the faithful, as I said before, not inducing them either to be circumcised like themselves, or to keep the Sabbath, or to observe any other such ceremonies, then I hold that we ought to join ourselves to such, and associate with them in all things as kinsmen and brethren. But if, Triphon," I continued, "some of your race, who say they believe in this Christ, compel those Gentiles who believe in this Christ to live in all respects according to the law given by Moses, or choose not to associate so intimately with them, I in like manner do not approve of them. But I believe that even those, who have been persuaded by them to observe the legal dispensation along with their confession of God in Christ, shall probably be saved. And I hold, further, that such as have confessed and known this man to be Christ, yet who have gone back from some cause to the legal dispensation, and have denied that this man is Christ, and have repented not before death, shall by no means be saved. Further, I hold that those of the seed of Abraham who live according to the law, and do not believe in this Christ before death, shall likewise not be saved, and especially those who have anathematized and do anathematize this very Christ in the synagogues, and everything by which they might obtain salvation and escape the vengeance of fire.[The text seems to be corrupt. Otto reads: "Do anathematize those who put their trust in this very Christ so as to obtain salvation," etc.] For the goodness and the loving-kindness of God, and His boundless riches, hold righteous and sinless the man who, as Ezekiel [Ezek 33:11-20] tells, repents of sins; and reckons sinful, unrighteous, and impious the man who falls away from piety and righteousness to

unrighteousness and ungodliness. Wherefore also our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'In whatsoever things I shall take you, in these I shall judge you.'"[Grabius thinks this taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It is not in the New or Old Testament.]» (Conversation with Triphon the Jew, 47).

«(80) "I have told you, my lord", answered Triphon, "that in every way you try to guard yourself against evil by strictly following the Scriptures. Tell me, do you really believe that this place in Jerusalem will be restored, and do you hope that your people will gather here and have a blessed life with Christ along with all the patriarchs, prophets, and believers from our nation as well as those who have become our proselytes before the coming of your Christ? Or have you made this confession just to win this argument?"

"I am not so miserable, Triphon", I said, "that I should say something I don't believe. I have told you before that I and many others believe that this will actually take place, just as you are entirely convinced of. But, as I have explained, there are many Christians with a pure and Godly disposition who do not believe that. As for those who only bear the name of Christ but are in fact godless and unholy heretics, I have shown you that they are teaching what is entirely blasphemous, godless, and foolish. And so that you may know that it is not something I say only in your presence, I will record the whole of your conversation in this book inasmuch as my strength allows. And I will put the very same thoughts of mine there which I have expressed before you now. For I desire to follow no man nor any human teachings but God Himself and His teachings. If you should meet such people who call themselves Christians but do not believe this and even dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and do not accept the resurrection of the dead believing that their souls will be taken up to heaven immediately after death, then do not consider them Christians, just as a reasonable person does not consider Sadducees or similar sects – Genists, Merists, Galileans, Hellenian, Pharisees and Baptists (do not be offended if I openly speak my mind) – as Jews, as well as those Jews and Abraham’s children who only bear the name but honor God just by their lips, yet their hearts, as God Himself says, are far away from Him. As for me and other Christians who are sensible in every way, we know that there will be a resurrection of the body and a thousand-year reign in the city of Jerusalem which will be adorned, decorated and magnified as declared Ezekiel, Isaiah, and other prophets.

(81) – Isaiah speaks of this millennial Kingdom in this way: "For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. And I will rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people. And the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man

that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the LORD, and their offspring with them. And it shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD" (Is 65:17-25). I continued – from the words "for as the days of a tree are the days of my people" we gather that this is a mystical prefiguration of the Millennium. For Adam was told: "For in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Gen 2:17), but we know that when he died he was not yet a thousand. We also know the utterance: "The day of the Lord is like a thousand years" (Ps 90:4 [Ps 89:5 rus]; 2 Pet 3:8). In addition, we have someone named John, one of the Apostles of Christ, who in the book of Revelation predicted that believers in Christ would dwell in Jerusalem for a thousand years [Rev 20:6], and after that there would be a universal, that is, eternal resurrection of all the dead, and then the judgment would come even as the Lord had said: "They neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven like unto the children of God's resurrection" (Lk 20:35-36).

(82) – We still have the prophetic gifts which point to the fact that we received something that had already existed in your people. Just as there were false prophets among the holy prophets, so now we have many false teachers whom we should beware according to the command of our Lord. So we are prepared for everything, knowing that He told us in advance what would happen after His resurrection from the dead and ascension. He said that they would kill us and hate us for His name and that many false prophets and false Christs would come under His name and deceive many (Mt 10:21-22; 24:5,9,11,24). It is being fulfilled because many, under His name, are spreading godless, blasphemous, and unholy doctrines. They have taught and still teach what the evil one, the Devil, has put in their minds. We try to convince such people, as well as you, that they should reject the falsehood, being fully convinced that anyone who can speak the truth and does not do so will be condemned by God, even as God Himself testified through Ezekiel: "I have made thee a watchman unto the house of Israel. If a wicked man sins, and thou givest him not warning, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand. Yet if thou warn the wicked, thou hast delivered thy soul" (Ezek 3:17-19). Therefore we try to reason with you in accordance with Scripture out of fear, not out of lust for money, fame or pleasure: no one can blame us for anything like that, nor do we want to live in the same way as the leaders of your people whom God rebuked saying: "Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves: every one

loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards" (Is 1:23). But even if you know such people among us, you do not blaspheme Christ or the Scriptures, nor distort them on their account» (Conversation with Triphon the Jew, 80-82).

Marcion (c. 85 – 160)

Marcion's works are known from references to other writers (St. Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus).

The Alogi (2nd – 4th centuries)

The teaching of the Alogians is known from references in other writers (St. Hippolytus of Rome, Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus).

St. Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130 – 202)

Excerpt from "Five Books Against Heresies" ("Against Heresies"):
Book 1.
Chapter 26. Doctrines of Cerinthus, the Ebionites, and Nicolaitanes
1. Cerinthus, again, a man who was educated in the wisdom of the Egyptians, taught that the world was not made by the primary God, but by a certain Power far separated from him, and at a distance from that Principality who is supreme over the universe, and ignorant of him who is above all. He represented Jesus as having not been born of a virgin, but as being the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation, while he nevertheless was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men. Moreover, after his baptism, Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove from the Supreme Ruler, and that then he proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles. But at last Christ departed from Jesus, and that then Jesus suffered and rose again, while Christ remained impassible, inasmuch as he was a spiritual being.

2. Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with respect to the Lord are similar to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They use the Gospel according to Matthew only, and repudiate the Apostle Paul, maintaining that he was an apostate from the law. As to the prophetical writings, they endeavour to expound them in a somewhat singular manner: they practise circumcision, persevere in the observance of those customs which are enjoined by the law, and are so Judaic in their style of life, that they even adore Jerusalem as if it were the house of God.

3. The Nicolaitanes are the followers of that Nicolas who was one of the seven first ordained to the diaconate by the apostles. They lead lives of unrestrained indulgence. The character of these men is very plainly pointed out in the Apocalypse of John, [when they are represented] as teaching that it is a matter of indifference to practise adultery, and to eat things sacrificed to idols. Wherefore the Word has also spoken of them thus: But this you have, that you hate the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate [Rev 2:6].

Chapter 27. Doctrines of Cerdo and Marcion

1. Cerdo was one who took his system from the followers of Simon, and came to live at Rome in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the episcopal succession from the apostles downwards. He taught that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; while the one also was righteous, but the other benevolent.

2. Marcion of Pontus succeeded him, and developed his doctrine. In so doing, he advanced the most daring blasphemy against Him who is proclaimed as God by the law and the prophets, declaring Him to be the author of evils, to take delight in war, to be infirm of purpose, and even to be contrary to Himself. But Jesus being derived from that father who is above the God that made the world, and coming into Judæa in the times of Pontius Pilate the governor, who was the procurator of Tiberius Cæsar, was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judæa, abolishing the prophets and the law, and all the works of that God who made the world, whom also he calls Cosmocrator. Besides this, he mutilates the Gospel which is according to Luke, removing all that is written respecting the generation of the Lord, and setting aside a great deal of the teaching of the Lord, in which the Lord is recorded as most dearly confessing that the Maker of this universe is His Father. He likewise persuaded his disciples that he himself was more worthy of credit than are those apostles who have handed down the Gospel to us, furnishing them not with the Gospel, but merely a fragment of it. In like manner, too, he dismembered the Epistles of Paul, removing all that is said by the apostle respecting that God who made the world, to the effect that He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and

also those passages from the prophetical writings which the apostle quotes, in order to teach us that they announced beforehand the coming of the Lord.

3. Salvation will be the attainment only of those souls which had learned his doctrine; while the body, as having been taken from the earth, is incapable of sharing in salvation. In addition to his blasphemy against God Himself, he advanced this also, truly speaking as with the mouth of the devil, and saying all things in direct opposition to the truth – that Cain, and those like him, and the Sodomites, and the Egyptians, and others like them, and, in fine, all the nations who walked in all sorts of abomination, were saved by the Lord, on His descending into Hades, and on their running unto Him, and that they welcomed Him into their kingdom. But the serpent which was in Marcion declared that Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and those other righteous men who sprang from the patriarch Abraham, with all the prophets, and those who were pleasing to God, did not partake in salvation. For since these men, he says, knew that their God was constantly tempting them, so now they suspected that He was tempting them, and did not run to Jesus, or believe His announcement: and for this reason he declared that their souls remained in Hades.

4. But since this man is the only one who has dared openly to mutilate the Scriptures, and unblushingly above all others to inveigh against God, I purpose specially to refute him, convicting him out of his own writings; and, with the help of God, I shall overthrow him out of those discourses of the Lord and the apostles, which are of authority with him, and of which he makes use. At present, however, I have simply been led to mention him, that you might know that all those who in any way corrupt the truth, and injuriously affect the preaching of the Church, are the disciples and successors of Simon Magus of Samaria. Although they do not confess the name of their master, in order all the more to seduce others, yet they do teach his doctrines. They set forth, indeed, the name of Christ Jesus as a sort of lure, but in various ways they introduce the impieties of Simon; and thus they destroy multitudes, wickedly disseminating their own doctrines by the use of a good name, and, through means of its sweetness and beauty, extending to their hearers the bitter and malignant poison of the serpent, the great author of apostasy [Rev 12:9].

Book 3.

Chapter 3. A refutation of the heretics, from the fact that, in the various churches, a perpetual succession of bishops was kept up

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

all the Asiatic Churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present time – a man who was of much greater weight, and a more steadfast witness of truth, than Valentinus, and Marcion, and the rest of the heretics. He it was who, coming to Rome in the time of Anicetus caused many to turn away from the aforesaid heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received this one and sole truth from the apostles – that, namely, which is handed down by the Church. There are also those who heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and perceiving Cerinthus within, rushed out of the bath-house without bathing, exclaiming, Let us fly, lest even the bath-house fall down, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within. And Polycarp himself replied to Marcion, who met him on one occasion, and said, Do you know me? I do know you, the first-born of Satan. Such was the horror which the apostles and their disciples had against holding even verbal communication with any corrupters of the truth; as Paul also says, A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sins, being condemned of himself [Tit 3:10]. There is also a very powerful Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those who choose to do so, and are anxious about their salvation, can learn the character of his faith, and the preaching of the truth. Then, again, the Church in Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.

Chapter 11. Proofs in continuation, extracted from St. John's Gospel. The Gospels are four in number, neither more nor less. Mystic reasons for this

1. John, the disciple of the Lord, preaches this faith, and seeks, by the proclamation of the Gospel, to remove that error which by Cerinthus had been disseminated among men, and a long time previously by those termed Nicolaitans, who are an offset of that knowledge falsely so called, that he might confound them, and persuade them that there is but one God, who made all things by His Word; and not, as they allege, that the Creator was one, but the Father of the Lord another; and that the Son of the Creator was, forsooth, one, but the Christ from above another, who also continued impassible, descending upon Jesus, the Son of the Creator, and flew back again into His Pleroma; and that Monogenes was the beginning, but Logos was the true son of Monogenes; and that this creation to which we belong was not made by the primary God, but by some power lying far below Him, and shut off from communion with the things invisible and ineffable. The disciple of the Lord therefore desiring to put an end to all such doctrines, and to establish the rule of truth in the Church, that there is one Almighty God, who made all things by His Word, both visible and invisible; showing at the same time, that by the Word, through whom God made the creation, He also bestowed salvation on the men included in the creation; thus commenced His teaching in the Gospel: In the beginning was the

Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made. What was made was life in Him, and the life was the light of men. And the light shines in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not [Jn 1:1-5]. All things, he says, were made by Him; therefore in all things this creation of ours is [included], for we cannot concede to these men that [the words] all things are spoken in reference to those within their Pleroma. For if their Pleroma do indeed contain these, this creation, as being such, is not outside, as I have demonstrated in the preceding book [See 2,2]; but if they are outside the Pleroma, which indeed appeared impossible, it follows, in that case, that their Pleroma cannot be all things: therefore this vast creation is not outside [the Pleroma].

2. John, however, does himself put this matter beyond all controversy on our part, when he says, He was in this world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own [things], and His own [people] received Him not [Jn 1:10-11]. But according to Marcion, and those like him, neither was the world made by Him; nor did He come to His own things, but to those of another. And, according to certain of the Gnostics, this world was made by angels, and not by the Word of God. But according to the followers of Valentinus, the world was not made by Him, but by the Demiurge. For he (Soter) caused such similitudes to be made, after the pattern of things above, as they allege; but the Demiurge accomplished the work of creation. For they say that he, the Lord and Creator of the plan of creation, by whom they hold that this world was made, was produced from the Mother; while the Gospel affirms plainly, that by the Word, which was in the beginning with God, all things were made, which Word, he says, was made flesh, and dwelt among us [Jn 1:14].

3. But, according to these men, neither was the Word made flesh, nor Christ, nor the Saviour (Soter), who was produced from [the joint contributions of] all [the Eons]. For they will have it, that the Word and Christ never came into this world; that the Saviour, too, never became incarnate, nor suffered, but that He descended like a dove upon the dispensational Jesus; and that, as soon as He had declared the unknown Father, He did again ascend into the Pleroma. Some, however, make the assertion, that this dispensational Jesus did become incarnate, and suffered, whom they represent as having passed through Mary just as water through a tube; but others allege him to be the Son of the Demiurge, upon whom the dispensational Jesus descended; while others, again, say that Jesus was born from Joseph and Mary, and that the Christ from above descended upon him, being without flesh, and impassible. But according to the opinion of no one of the heretics was the Word of God made flesh. For if anyone carefully examines the systems of them all, he will find that the Word of God is brought in by all of them as not having become incarnate (sine carne) and impassible, as is also the Christ from above. Others consider Him to have been manifested as a transfigured man; but they maintain Him to have been neither born nor to have become incarnate; while others [hold] that He did

not assume a human form at all, but that, as a dove, He did descend upon that Jesus who was born from Mary. Therefore the Lord's disciple, pointing them all out as false witnesses, says, And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us [Jn 1:14].

[…]

7. Such, then, are the first principles of the Gospel: that there is one God, the Maker of this universe; He who was also announced by the prophets, and who by Moses set forth the dispensation of the law, – [principles] which proclaim the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and ignore any other God or Father except Him. So firm is the ground upon which these Gospels rest, that the very heretics themselves bear witness to them, and, starting from these [documents], each one of them endeavours to establish his own peculiar doctrine. For the Ebionites, who use Matthew's Gospel only, are confuted out of this very same, making false suppositions with regard to the Lord. But Marcion, mutilating that according to Luke, is proved to be a blasphemer of the only existing God, from those [passages] which he still retains. Those, again, who separate Jesus from Christ, alleging that Christ remained impassible, but that it was Jesus who suffered, preferring the Gospel by Mark, if they read it with a love of truth, may have their errors rectified. Those, moreover, who follow Valentinus, making copious use of that according to John, to illustrate their conjunctions, shall be proved to be totally in error by means of this very Gospel, as I have shown in the first book. Since, then, our opponents do bear testimony to us, and make use of these [documents], our proof derived from them is firm and true. […]

Book 5.

Chapter 1. Christ alone is able to teach Divine things, and to redeem us: He, the same, took flesh of the Virgin Mary, not merely in appearance, but actually, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in order to renovate us. strictures on the conceits of Valentinus and Ebion

[…] 3. Vain also are the Ebionites, who do not receive by faith into their soul the union of God and man, but who remain in the old leaven of [the natural] birth, and who do not choose to understand that the Holy Ghost came upon Mary, and the power of the Most High did overshadow her: Luke 1:35 wherefore also what was generated is a holy thing, and the Son of the Most High God the Father of all, who effected the incarnation of this being, and showed forth a new [kind of] generation; that as by the former generation we inherited death, so by this new generation we might inherit life. Therefore do these men reject the commixture of the heavenly wine, and wish it to be water of the world only, not receiving God so as to have union with Him, but they remain in that Adam who had been conquered and was expelled from Paradise: not considering that as, at the beginning of our formation in Adam, that breath of life which proceeded from God, having been united to what had been fashioned, animated

the man, and manifested him as a being endowed with reason; so also, in [the times of] the end, the Word of the Father and the Spirit of God, having become united with the ancient substance of Adam's formation, rendered man living and perfect, receptive of the perfect Father, in order that as in the natural [Adam] we all were dead, so in the spiritual we may all be made alive [1 Cor 15:22]. For never at any time did Adam escape the hands of God, to whom the Father speaking, said, Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness [Gen 1:26]. And for this reason in the last times (fine), not by the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but by the good pleasure of the Father, [Jn 1:13] His hands formed a living man, in order that Adam might be created [again] after the image and likeness of God.

Chapter 28. On the distinction between the righteous and the wicked; on the future apostasy under Antichrist and the end of the world.

[…]

2. […] "For they will receive a mark on their right hand and on their foreheads so that no man might buy or sell, save he that has the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name; and his number is six hundred threescore and six" (Rev 13:15-18), that is six times hundred, six times ten and six – to heal all the apostasy that happened during the six thousand years.

3. For just as the world was created in six days, so also it will last for just as many thousands of years. That's why the book of Genesis says: "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And in six days God finished all the works which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made" (Gen 2:1-2). And this saying refers to the past – how things were accomplished – and also it is a prophecy about the future. For the day of the Lord is like a thousand years, and just as the creation was accomplished in six days, so it is clear that it will end in the six thousandth year. […]

Chapter 30. Although the number of the name of the Antichrist is known, we should not make rash conclusions about this name because this number fits many names; concerning the kingdom and the doom of the Antichrist.

1. Considering all this and that this number (666) is present in all the best and ancient manuscripts (of Revelation), and John himself personally attested to this, and reason itself teaches us that the number of the name of the beast according to the Greek numeration through the letters contained therein adds up to six hundred and sixty-six, that is, it contains as many tens as hundreds and as many hundreds as units – for the repetition of number six symbolically points to the healing of all apostasy (of the Antichrist) that was at the beginning and in the middle and will be at the end of time – I don’t know how some, in their ignorance, fell into the delusion, distorting the average number of the name by subtracting from it fifty and positing one ten

instead of six tens. I think this arose from the error of the scribes, as is usually the case, since the numbers are represented in Greek letters, and the Greek letter [xi], which stands for "sixty" [ξ], can easily be changed into the Greek letter "jot" [ι]. Then, others must have accepted it without consideration using the number ten blindly, while others, through their foolishness, dared even to look for a name containing this erroneous and incorrect number. To those who have done it without any evil intent, God will grant forgiveness, I am sure. As for those who, through their vanity, search for names based on erroneous numbers or ascribe to the future Antichrist a name that they have invented, these will not go unharmed for they have deceived themselves and those who put their trust in them. And the first harm is that they have deviated from the truth and have accepted something unreal as true. Such a person will certainly entail severe punishment, prepared for those who add or take away from the words of Scripture. Also, there's another danger for those who falsely usurp the knowledge of the name of the Antichrist. For if they propose a name, and he comes under a different name, they will be easily deceived by him, (thinking) that there is no one to watch out for.

2. Therefore, such people should recognize the true number of the name and embrace it, so as not to be counted among the false prophets. But those who know the correct number revealed in Scripture, that is, 666, let them first acknowledge that the kingdom will be divided between the ten, and secondly, when these kings reign and begin to prosper and spread their kingdom, and he who has the above-mentioned number in his name suddenly appears snatching away their kingdom and bringing fear upon them, – let them acknowledge that this one is truly the abomination of desolation. This is what the Apostle says: "For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them" (1 Thess 5:3). Jeremiah predicted not only the suddenness of his coming but also the tribe from which he would come: "The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan: the whole land trembled at the sound of the neighing of his strong ones; for they are come, and have devoured the land, and all that is in it; the city, and those that dwell therein" (Jer 8:16). That's why this tribe is not listed in Revelation among the saved (Rev 7:5-8).

3. Therefore, it is more accurate and safe to wait for the fulfillment of the prophecy rather than suppose and predict possible names, for there may be many names containing the above number, and yet this question will remain unresolved. For if there are many names matching this number, which of them will be the name of the Antichrist who is to come? I say this not because of the lack of names containing the number of his name but for the sake of the fear of God and the love of truth, for the name Evanphas (ΕΥΑΝΘΑΣ) has the required number, and yet I do not claim anything about him with certainty. Also, the name Latiner (ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ) has the number 666, and the last kingdom may very well bear this name: for now the Latins do reign, yet I do not wish to boast about it. But of all the proposed names Titan seem the most appropriate – if we write down the first syllable using the two Greek vowels E and I (TEITAN). It contains the above-mentioned number and consists of six letters, each syllable

with three letters. It is an ancient and uncommon name – none of our kings were called Titan, and none of the idols openly worshiped by the Greeks and barbarians bears such a name. Yet it is honored as divine by many, so that the Sun is called Titan by the current rulers [Massuette cites Cicero and Ovid as evidence that the Sun was called Titan], and also it contains some hint of revenge and the avenger, just like he (the Antichrist) will pass himself off as the one who avenges the oppressed. Besides, it is an ancient, reasonable, and a royal name befitting a tyrant. Therefore, since the name "Teitan" has so much in its favor, the one to come (the Antichrist) might very well be called Teitan. However, I do not dare to conclusively say that it is so, knowing full well that if it was necessary to openly proclaim his name at this time, it would have been announced by that very person who had received the revelation. For revelation was granted not long before our time, almost in our age, closer to the end of the reign of Domitian.

4. He states the number of the name (of the Antichrist) so that we would be vigilant when he comes, knowing who he is; the Apostle didn't reveal his name because it is too disgraceful to be proclaimed by the Holy Spirit. For if it had been proclaimed by Him, then perhaps the Antichrist would have endured for a long time. And now, since "he was and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit and go into perdition" (Rev 17:8), as if he had never existed, his name was not declared since the name of the non-existent should not be declared. When the Antichrist has laid the world bare, having reigned for three and a half years, and has sat down in the temple of Jerusalem, then the Lord will come down from heaven in the clouds in the glory of the Father and will cast him and his subjects into the lake of fire, while the righteous will receive the Kingdom, that is, peace, the holy seventh day. He will restore the promised inheritance to Abraham, the Kingdom, in which, according to the word of the Lord, "many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 8:11).

Chapter 31. The preservation of our bodies is sealed by the resurrection and ascension of Christ; the souls of the saints are waiting for the time when their full glory will be revealed.

1. But some who say that they are believers violate the established order of the exaltation of the righteous and, by holding on to heretical teachings, do not know how to prepare themselves for the incorruptibility. For heretics, degrading the creation of God and not recognizing the salvation of their flesh by despising the promise of God and putting themselves above God in their thoughts, say that they will ascend above the heavens and above Demierge immediately after death and will go to the Mother or Father of their own invention. They reject the resurrection of the whole person and thus completely deny it in any way they can. But it isn't surprising since they do not know the order of the resurrection. But He was in the place of the dead for three days, even as the prophet says about him: "The Lord remembered His dead saints who had rested in the land of their burial, and came

down to them to raise them and save them" [See 3, 20, 4]. Just as the Lord Himself said: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Mt 12:40). And the Apostle: "Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?" (Eph 4:9). David also says in his prophecy about Him: "And thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest hell" (Ps 86:13 [Ps 85:13 rus]). After His resurrection on the third day, the Lord said to Mary, who first saw Him and fell prostrate before Him: "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God" (Jn 20:17).

2. So, if the Lord has fulfilled the law of the dead, that is, to be the firstborn among the dead, and remained in the lower parts of the earth until the third day, and then, having risen in the flesh in such a way that He even showed the wounds from the nails to the disciples, ascended to the Father, how can they say without shame that "the lower parts of the earth" just mean the world around us and that the inner man, after leaving the body behind, will go up to a heavenly place? For when the Lord "walked in the valley of the shadow of death" (Ps 23:4 [Ps 22:4 rus]), where were the souls of the dead? He then rose from the dead in His flesh and ascended to heaven: it is clear that the souls of His disciples, for whom He gave up His life, will go to the invisible place appointed to them by God and will remain there until the day of the resurrection awaiting His coming, and then, having received their new bodies and having attained to the full resurrection, that is, the bodily resurrection, even as the Lord has risen, they will come into the presence of God. "The disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master" (Lk 6:40). Therefore, just as our Teacher did not immediately depart or ascend (to heaven), but, having lingered until the time of His resurrection appointed by the Father – as was also prefigured in Jonah – rose from the dead and ascended after three days, so must we wait for the God-appointed time of our resurrection as predicted by the prophets. And, having been raised, we shall ascend to heaven if the Lord finds us worthy of it» [The following five chapters are omitted in some copies of the codes of Irenaeus. Feuardent was the first one to publish these chapters from the code of Vossius. He explained that this omission might be attributed to the medieval copyists' rejection of the doctrine on the Millenial Kingdom of Christ which the codes contained. Harvey published citations from these chapters, which were preserved in Syrian and Armenian manuscripts. Fragments of these chapters can be found in Eusebius and "Sacra Paralella" by John of Damascus.].

Chapter 32. The saints will receive rewards for their labors in the same flesh in which they suffered here on earth.

1. Because some are carried away in their thoughts by heretical teachings and do not know the commandments of God nor the mystery of the resurrection of the righteous and the Kingdom, which is the beginning of our incorruptibility and through

which those who are worthy gradually get used to abiding in God, it must be said that the righteous must first, having been raised to see God face to face, receive in the new creation the promised inheritance prepared by God for our forefathers, and reign in it, and then the judgment will come. For it is only just that they should reap the fruit of their suffering in the same creation in which they fought the good fight of faith or were subjected to sorrows, having been tested in every way, and that they should be brought back to life in the same creation, in which they were put to death for the love of God, and that they should reign in the same creation, in which they were brought to slavery. For God is rich in all things, and everything belongs to him. It is also necessary that the creation itself, restored to its primitive state, should freely serve the righteous. And this was shown by the Apostle in the Epistle to Romans: "For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom 8:19-21).

2. So also the promise of God to Abraham stands true. For He said: "Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward: For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever» And also: "Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee" (Gen 13:14-15, 17). However, Abraham did not receive even a single inch of the promised land but was always a stranger and an alien in it. And after the death of his wife Sarah, when the Hittites had offered to give him a place for her burial without any payment, he refused but bought a place for her burial with four hundred silver didrachma from Ephron the Hittite. Abraham was hoping for the fulfillment of the promise of God and did not want it to look like he was receiving from man what God had promised him as a gift. For God had said to him: "Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen 15:18). So, since God had promised him the land as an inheritance, and he did not receive it while on earth, it must mean that he and his seed – those who fear God and believe unto Him – should receive it in the resurrection of the righteous. For his seed is the Church which receives adoption by God through the Lord Jesus Christ, even as John the Baptist says: "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham" (Lk 3:8). The Apostle also says in the Epistle to Galatians: "Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise" (Gal 4:28). And he also clearly indicates in the same letter that those who believe in Christ receive Him through the promise to Abraham: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ" (Gal 3:16). And again confirming the same he said: "Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed. So then they which be of

faith are blessed with faithful Abraham" (Gal 3:6-9). So, believers will be blessed with faithful Abraham, and they are his sons. Since God had promised Abraham and his seed the land as an inheritance, but neither Abraham nor his seed (those justified by faith) received their inheritance by this time, they will receive it in the resurrection of the righteous. For God is faithful and just; that's why He said: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth" (Mt 5:5).

Chapter 33. The testimony about the same based on the promises of Christ the Savior and the blessing of Jacob according to the interpretation of Papias and the elders.

1. Therefore, before His suffering, (Christ) gave thanks, held the cup, drank from it and gave to His disciples, saying: "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (Mt 26:27-29). Thus, He Himself will renew the inheritance of the land and will restore the mystery of the glory of the sons of God, even as David says: "Thou renewest the face of the earth" (Ps 104:30 [Ps 103:30 rus]). He promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples to foreshadow both the coming inheritance of the land in which the new wine will be drunk and the bodily resurrection of His disciples. For it is the new resurrection body that will receive the cup. And He cannot represent Himself as partaking of the fruit of the vine if He is above heaven together with His own; those who are with Him cannot be without flesh, for it is the flesh, not the spirit, that can partake of the fruit of the vine.

2. For this reason, the Lord says: "Then said he also to him that bade him, When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: And thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just" (Lk 14:12-14). And also: "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life" (Mt 19:29; Lk 18:29-30). For what is the hundredfold return received in this age for feeding the poor? It takes place in the times of the Kingdom, that is, on the seventh holy day in which God rested from all his work, which is the true Sabbath of the righteous when they do nothing earthly but partake of the feast prepared by God – with all kinds of "fat things" to eat.

3. The blessing that Isaac pronounced over his younger son has the same connotation: "See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the LORD hath blessed". The field is the world. That's why he added: "Therefore God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee: be lord

over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee. Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee" (Gen 27:27-29). If anyone does not interpret this in relation to the promised Kingdom, they will surely fall into contradiction and inconsistency, just as the Jews did when they got entangled in all kinds of inconsistencies. For not only wasn't Jacob served by any nation – he served his uncle Laban in Syria for twenty years even after receiving the blessing and leaving his home. And not only didn't he become his brother's lord but bowed down to Esau, his brother, upon his return from Mesopotamia to his father's house – and offered him many gifts. Besides, how could he inherit plenty of corn and wine if he had to move to Egypt because of the famine in the land of his dwelling? And after that, he had to submit himself to Pharaoh, the king of Egypt. So, the above-mentioned blessing undoubtedly looks forward to the times of the Kingdom when the righteous will reign, having been risen from the dead, when the renewed and liberated creation will bear plenty of fruit and produce every kind of food from the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth. So even the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord, said that they had heard from him the Lord's teaching about those times: "The days will come when vineards will produce ten thousand vines, each vine will have 10 thousand branches, each branch 10 thousand twigs, each twig 10 thousand clusters, and each cluster 10 thousand berries. And each squeezed berry will produce twenty-five metretes of wine. And when one of the saints reaches out for a cluster, the other one will cry out: "I am the best one, take me and bless the Lord through me» Similarly, a wheat grain will produce 10 thousand ears, and each ear will have 10 thousand grains, and each grain will yield 10 pounds of pure flour; and other fruit trees, seeds and herbs will be fruitful in the same manner, and all the animals eating the food of the earth will live in peace with each other and complete submission to man» [These words of the elders have been preserved in the Armenian translation – an excerpt was found in an Armenian manuscript of the 12th century and published by Jean Baptiste Pitra (Specil Solesm. 1852); Harvey reprinted it in his own publication.].

4. Papias [of Hierapolis], a disciple of John [the Evangelist] and a friend of Polycarp [of Smyrna], a man of old, testifies to the same in writing in his fourth book, for he has written five books [Under the title: "Compendium of the Lord's Sayings". Eusebius, Ch. Hist. III, 39.]. He added the following: This is a trustworthy saying. When Judas the traitor did not believe this and asked how the Lord would create such an abundance of growth, the Lord said: "Those who reach those times will see it". Isaiah also speaks about these times saying: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain" (Is 11:6-9). And then again: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall

be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD" (Is 65:25). I know that some refer this to barbarians from various nations and various occupations, who, having come to faith, will unite with the righteous. But, although it is now (so) about some people who come to the one faith from various tribes, nevertheless, whatever is stated concerning the animals, will come to pass after the resurrection of the righteous, as it says: "For God is rich in all things". And it is proper that with the renewal of creation all animals should obey and submit to man, returning to their original, God-given foods, that is, to the green herbs – even as they were (initially) obedient to Adam. The prophecy about the lion eating straw points to a future time, not the present. There will be an abundance of food of high nutritional value; for if a lion can feed on straw, how much more nutrition will be found in wheat itself since lions will be getting enough by having just straw?

Chapter 34. The testimonies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel in favor of the opinion on the earthly Kingdom of the saints and a parable of the vigilant servants.

1. Isaiah clearly indicated that there would be incredible joy at the resurrection of the righteous: "Thy dead shall live, those who are in their graves shall rise, and those who are on earth shall rejoice" (Is 26:19). Ezekiel says the same thing: "I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves when I bring My people out of their tombs and put my spirit in you, and ye shall live; and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I am LORD" (Ezek 37:12-14). And also: "Thus saith the Lord GOD; I shall gather the house of Israel from the people among whom they are scattered, and shall be sanctified in them in the sight of the heathen, then shall they dwell in their land that I have given to my servant Jacob. And they shall dwell safely therein, and shall build houses, and plant vineyards; yea, they shall dwell with confidence, when I have executed judgments upon all those that despise them round about them; and they shall know that I am the LORD their God" (Ezek 28:25-26). As mentioned above, the Church is the seed of Abraham. Therefore Jeremiah lets us know that the One who in the Old Testament gathers all those who are saved from every nation, will in the New Testament raise Abraham’s children out of stones: "Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that they shall no more say, the LORD liveth, which brought up the children of Israel (out of the land of Egypt; but, the LORD liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country), and from all countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land" (Jer 23:7-8). [The words in brackets must have been mistakenly omitted by scribes while copying Irenaeus’s works.]

2. All creation will enjoy great abundance according to the will (of God) so that it will produce and bear incredible fruit as Isaiah says: "And there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers and streams of waters in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall. Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and (the light of the sun)

shall be sevenfold in that day when (the LORD) bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound" (Is 30:25-26). The words "stroke of their wound" point to the affliction with which the mankind was struck after Adam's disobedience – death. God will heal it by raising us from the dead and restoring to us the inheritance of our fathers according to Isaiah: "Thou will hope in the Lord and He will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father" (Is 58:14). The Lord says the same: "Blessed are those servants, whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them. And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants" (Lk 12:37-38). In Revelation: "Blessed and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection" (Rev 20:6). Isaiah also announced the time when it would happen: "And I said," he says, "how long God? Until the cities become empty, so that they will not be inhabited, and the houses will not be without people and the earth will remain empty: And after this, God will continue us people, and those who remain will multiply on the earth" (Is 6:11-12 LXX). And in Daniel: "Both the kingdom, and the authority, and the majesty of those who are under heaven, are given to the saints of the Most High God, and His everlasting kingdom, and all the authorities will serve Him and obey" (Dan 7:27). And so they don't mistakenly conclude that the promise is about the present, the prophet hears the following message: "You also come and stand on your lot in the end of days" (Dan 12:13).

3. And that the promises were given not only to the prophets and fathers but also to the churches made up of those nations which the Spirit also calls "islands" – since they are set in the midst of unrest and storms of blasphemy while being a quiet haven for those in danger and a refuge for those who "love what's on high (heaven)" trying to avoid the depths, i.e. delusions, – Jeremiah confirms by the following: "Hear the people, the words of the Lord, tell the distant islands, say that the Lord, who scattered Israel, will gather it and keep it, as a shepherd his flock of sheep; for the Lord has delivered Jacob and has made him out of the hand of his strongest. Therefore they shall come and rejoice in Zion, and shall come together to the goodness (of the LORD), to the land of the wheat, wine, and fruit, to flocks and sheep: and their soul shall be as a fruitful tree; and they shall hunger no more. Then shall the virgins rejoice in the assembly of young men, and the old shall rejoice: for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and will lift up and delight the souls of the priest, the sons of Levi, and My people will be satisfied with My goodness" (Jer 31:10-14). As I have shown in my previous book [See 4, 8, 3], all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and priests – for they have broken Sabbaths in the Temple, yet are innocent. Such promises clearly show that a feast will be held in the Kingdom of the righteous for all those whom God Himself will serve.

4. Concerning Jerusalem and the Kingdom of God Isaiah also says: "Thus saith the Lord: 'Blessed is he who has seed in Zion and servants in Jerusalem.' Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment" (Is 31:9; 32:1). About

the foundation on which it will be restored: "Behold, I will prepare for you carbuncles and sapphires for your foundations, and I will make thy fences of agates, and thy gates of crystals, and all thy borders of select stones. And all thy children (shall be) taught of the LORD; and great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established" (Is 54:11-14). And also: "Lo, I create joy for Jerusalem and My people. And the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and mine elect shall long enjoy the work of their hands" (Is 65:18-23).

Chapter 35. Continuation of the same topic.

1. If someone attempts to interpret the promises like these as allegory, they will end up contradicting themselves and will be exposed by the very meaning of these sayings. Such as, for instance: "Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate" (Is 6:11); "Behold, the day of the LORD cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the city and land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it" (Is 13:9); and also: "(The wicked man) shall be taken away so he won't see the glory of God" (Is 26:10). And when this has come about, "God will extend the existence of man but those that remain will be multiplied on earth; and they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them" (Is 6:12). For all these and other (words) have undoubtedly been said about the resurrection of the righteous which will take place after the coming of the Antichrist and the demise of all the nations that subjected themselves to him. At that time, the righteous will be reigning on earth, multiplying while beholding the Lord, and through Him they will learn to be the vessels of the glory of God and will enjoy communicating and communing with the holy angels in His Kingdom and remaining in fellowship with the spiritual beings. And concerning those whom the Lord will find in the flesh awaiting His return from heaven, those who have suffered persecution but have been rescued out of the hand of the evil one, the prophet says: "And the rest will multiply on the earth" [Is 6:12]. Jeremiah also speaks about the believers who will, just as the Lord taught them, serve Jerusalem and the Kingdom of (Christ) so that those who remain will multiply on the earth: "O Jerusalem, look about thee toward the east, and behold the joy that cometh unto thee from God. Lo, thy sons come, whom thou sentest away, they come gathered together from the east to the west by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the glory of God. Put off, O Jerusalem, the garment of mourning and affliction, and put on the comeliness of the glory that cometh from God for ever. Cast about thee a double garment of the righteousness which cometh from God; and set a diadem on thine head of the glory

of the Everlasting. For God will shew thy brightness unto every country under heaven. For thy name shall be called of God for ever the peace of righteousness, and the glory of God's worship. Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand on high, and look about toward the east, and behold thy children gathered from the west unto the east by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of God. For they departed from thee on foot, and were led away of their enemies: but God bringeth them unto thee exalted with glory, as children of the kingdom. For God hath appointed that every high hill, and banks of long continuance, should be cast down, and valleys filled up, to make even the ground, that Israel may go safely in the glory of God, Moreover even the woods and every sweetsmelling tree shall overshadow Israel by the commandment of God. For God shall lead Israel with joy in the light of his glory with the mercy and righteousness that cometh from him". [These words are not in Jeremiah but in the deuterocanonical book of the Prophet Baruch (Bar 4:36-37 and chapter 5 to the end)].

2. Such sayings cannot refer to the realm above heaven because it says: "For God will shew thy brightness unto every country under heaven" (Bar 5:3). They refer to the times of the Kingdom when the earth will be restored by Christ (to its primitive state) and Jerusalem will be recreated in the image of the heavenly Jerusalem, concerning which the prophet Isaiah says: "Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are continually before me" (Is 49:16). In the same way, the Apostle also says in Galatians: "But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all" (Gal 4:26). He says this not about some wandering Eon or some force that may have emanated from Pleroma and Prunica but about the Jerusalem written on the hands (of God). And this (heavenly Jerusalem) John saw coming down to the renewed earth in the book of Revelation [Rev 21:2, 10]. For after the times of the Kingdom, "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them". He tells us about the universal resurrection and judgment: "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and the books were opened. And another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death" (Rev 20:11-14). This place is called hell; the Lord calls it eternal fire (Mt 25:41). "And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire" (Rev 20:15). Further, John says: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away" (Rev

21:1-4). Isaiah says the same thing: "There will be a new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever in it" (Is 65:17-18). The Apostle testifies to the same: "For the fashion of this world passeth away" (1 Cor 7:31). Likewise, the Lord also says: "Heaven and earth pass" (Mt 5:18). With the passing of these two, the new, heavenly Jerusalem will come down to earth, according to the words of John, the disciple of the Lord. It will be adorned like a bride for her husband, and this is the Tabernacle of God in which He will dwell with His people. This (heavenly) Jerusalem was foreshadowed by the former earthly Jerusalem in which the righteous are prepared for incorruption and salvation. Moses saw a copy of this Tabernacle on the mountain, and nothing in this can be taken allegorically – everything is real, true, and essential, having been created by God for the enjoyment of the righteous. For just as surely as there is a God who raises the dead, so will every man truly rise – not allegorically, as I have repeatedly shown. And just as surely as he is raised from the dead, he will also be prepared for the incorruption and will grow and become stronger during the times of the Kingdom so that he will be able to receive the glory of the Father. After the renewal of all things, he will surely live in the city of God. For (John) says: "And he that sat upon the throne said, behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, write: for these words are true and faithful. And he said unto me, it is done" (Rev 21:5-6). This is how it should be.

Chapter 36. All people will surely rise from the dead; the world will not be destroyed but there will be different abodes for the saints according to their dignity. And all things will be subject to God the Father, and he will be all in all.

1. Since people are real (people), the place of their abode must be just as real and not reduced in any way. And this place of abode must prosper. For neither the substance nor the essence of creation is destroyed – the One who made it is faithful and true. It is the "fashion of the world" that is passing (the sin was committed in it) because this is where man has fallen. And therefore this "fashion" was temporary according to God's foreknowledge of all things, as I have already explained in my previous book [See 4, 5, 5 (?)] where I attempted to show the reason for creating the temporary things of the world. When this "fashion" passes away and the mankind is restored and strengthened enough to be ready for incorruption so that they would not decay anymore, then there will be a new heaven and a new earth in which the new man will abide forever, ever conversing with God about new things. Isaiah says that this will go on forever and ever: "For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain" (Is 66:22). And, As the elders say, those who are found worthy of the heavenly abode will at that time go there, that is, up to heaven, while others will enjoy the pleasures of the Paradise and some will enjoy the beauty of the city. Yet God will be seen everywhere as long as those who dwell there are worthy to see Him.

2. Besides, (they also say) there is a difference between the abodes of those who bore fruit a hundredfold, sixtyfold, and thirtyfold (Mt 13:3-8); some of them will be taken up to heaven, others will abide in Paradise, and others will dwell in the city. Therefore the Lord says that the Father has many mansions (Jn 14:2). For everything belongs to God who provides all with decent abodes, just as His Word says that everything is distributed by the Father according to who we are or what we deserve. And this is a table around which those invited to the wedding feast will recline. According to the elders, the disciples of the Apostles, such is the distribution and the order of salvation for those who are being saved, and through such a gradual course they are perfected: they ascend to the Son through the Spirit, and then through the Son to the Father, because the Son will hand over all His works to the Father as the Apostle says: "For he must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death". For, during the times of the Kingdom, a righteous person on earth will forget how to die: "But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all" (1 Cor 15:25-28).

3. So, John clearly foresaw the first resurrection of the righteous and their inheritance in the Kingdom on earth. The prophets spoke of this Kingdom as well. The Lord taught the same, promising his disciples to drink of the new cup with them in the Kingdom to come (Mt 26:29). And the Apostle said that the creation itself would be liberated from its slavery to corruption into the freedom of the sons of God (Rom 8:21). And in all this and through this, the same God and Father who created man and promised the fathers their earthly inheritance reveals Himself, bringing the creation out (of its slavery) and into the resurrection of the righteous, fulfilling the promises in the Kingdom of His Son, and then, out of His fatherly compassion, granting that which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man (1 Cor 2:9). For the one and only Son who accomplished the will of the Father, and the one human race in which the mysteries of God are being unfolded – the mysteries "which the angels desire to look into" (1 Pet 1:12) – cannot comprehend the wisdom of God through which His creation is being perfected. For the creation has been conformed to the image of the Son and united with Him through His body so that the firstborn Word of God descends into the creature, that is, into the (bodily) creature, and is embraced by it. On the other hand, the creature receives the Word and ascends to Him, rising above the angels, and gets conformed into the image and likeness of God [Grabe and others suppose that the conclusion of St. Irenaeus's work is missing, and has probably been lost.].

Clement of Alexandria (c. 150 – c. 215)

After all, not only our spirits but also our character, life, and body must become holy. For how else should we understand the words of Paul that the unbelieving wife sanctifies her husband and the unbelieving husband sanctifies his wife? [1 Cor 7:14] Did not the Lord give a similar answer to the one who had asked him about divorce that Moses had given them permission to divorce? The Lord said that it was done because of the hardness of heart. Did you not hear what God had said to the first man: "They shall become one flesh» "Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, committeth adultery". But after the resurrection from the dead, "they neither marry, nor are given in marriage" [Mt 19:3-9; 22:30]. About food and stomach we read the following: "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them" [1 Cor 6:13]. So he condemns those who think that they can live like goats and bulls doing nothing but eating and having sex. But if they have really attained to the resurrection state, as it is claimed, and for this reason they do not marry, then why do they not also refrain also from eating and drinking? After all, the Apostle indicated that food and stomach will not exist after the resurrection. If they have already been risen, then why are they still experiencing thirst, hunger, and physical pain – everything from which the full resurrection in Christ must set us free? What is the problem here? After all, even some idol worshippers will fast and abstain from sex. But it says: "The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink". Even sorcerers can by their sheer willpower abstain from wine, meat, and sex, and yet they worship angels and demons. Just as moderation is a form of humility which does not involve castigation of the body, so asceticism is a spiritual virtue practiced privately, not for a show (Stromata, 3,6, 47-48).

Origen (c. 185 – 254)

Excerpt from «On the First Principles»:

Book 2. Chapter 11. On Counter Promises

1. Let us now briefly see what views we are to form regarding promises. It is certain that there is no living thing which can be altogether inactive and immoveable, but delights in motion of every kind, and in perpetual activity and volition; and this nature, I think it evident, is in all living things. Much more, then, must a rational animal, i.e., the nature of man, be in perpetual movement and activity. If, indeed, he is forgetful of himself, and ignorant of what becomes him, all his efforts are directed to serve the uses of the body, and in all his movements he is occupied with his own pleasures and bodily lusts; but if he be one who

studies to care or provide for the general good, then, either by consulting for the benefit of the state or by obeying the magistrates, he exerts himself for that, whatever it is, which may seem certainly to promote the public advantage. And if now any one be of such a nature as to understand that there is something better than those things which seem to be corporeal, and so bestow his labour upon wisdom and science, then he will undoubtedly direct all his attention towards pursuits of that kind, that he may, by inquiring into the truth, ascertain the causes and reason of things. As therefore, in this life, one man deems it the highest good to enjoy bodily pleasures, another to consult for the benefit of the community, a third to devote attention to study and learning; so let us inquire whether in that life which is the true one (which is said to be hidden with Christ in God [Col 3:3], i.e., in that eternal life), there will be for us some such order and condition of existence.

2. Certain persons, then, refusing the labour of thinking, and adopting a superficial view of the letter of the law, and yielding rather in some measure to the indulgence of their own desires and lusts, being disciples of the letter alone, are of opinion that the fulfilment of the promises of the future are to be looked for in bodily pleasure and luxury; and therefore they especially desire to have again, after the resurrection, such bodily structures as may never be without the power of eating, and drinking, and performing all the functions of flesh and blood, not following the opinion of the Apostle Paul regarding the resurrection of a spiritual body [1 Cor 15:44]. And consequently they say, that after the resurrection there will be marriages, and the begetting of children, imagining to themselves that the earthly city of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, its foundations laid in precious stones, and its walls constructed of jasper, and its battlements of crystal; that it is to have a wall composed of many precious stones, as jasper, and sapphire, and chalcedony, and emerald, and sardonyx, and onyx, and chrysolite, and chrysoprase, and jacinth, and amethyst. Moreover, they think that the natives of other countries are to be given them as the ministers of their pleasures, whom they are to employ either as tillers of the field or builders of walls, and by whom their ruined and fallen city is again to be raised up; and they think that they are to receive the wealth of the nations to live on, and that they will have control over their riches; that even the camels of Midian and Kedar will come, and bring to them gold, and incense, and precious stones. And these views they think to establish on the authority of the prophets by those promises which are written regarding Jerusalem; and by those passages also where it is said, that they who serve the Lord shall eat and drink, but that sinners shall hunger and thirst; that the righteous shall be joyful, but that sorrow shall possess the wicked. And from the New Testament also they quote the saying of the Saviour, in which He makes a promise to His disciples concerning the joy of wine, saying, Henceforth I shall not drink of this cup, until I drink it with you new in My Father's kingdom [Mt 26:29]. They add, moreover, that declaration, in which the Saviour calls those blessed who now hunger and thirst, promising them that they shall be satisfied [Mt 5:6]; and many other scriptural illustrations are adduced by them, the meaning of which they do not perceive is to be taken figuratively. Then, again, agreeably to the form of

things in this life, and according to the gradations of the dignities or ranks in this world, or the greatness of their powers, they think they are to be kings and princes, like those earthly monarchs who now exist; chiefly, as it appears, on account of that expression in the Gospel: Have power over five cities [Lk 19:19]. And to speak shortly, according to the manner of things in this life in all similar matters, do they desire the fulfilment of all things looked for in the promises, viz., that what now is should exist again. Such are the views of those who, while believing in Christ, understand the divine Scriptures in a sort of Jewish sense, drawing from them nothing worthy of the divine promises.

3. Those, however, who receive the representations of Scripture according to the understanding of the apostles, entertain the hope that the saints will eat indeed, but that it will be the bread of life, which may nourish the soul with the food of truth and wisdom, and enlighten the mind, and cause it to drink from the cup of divine wisdom, according to the declaration of holy Scripture: Wisdom has prepared her table, she has killed her beasts, she has mingled her wine in her cup, and she cries with a loud voice, Come to me, eat the bread which I have prepared for you, and drink the wine which I have mingled [Prov 9:1-5]. By this food of wisdom, the understanding, being nourished to an entire and perfect condition like that in which man was made at the beginning, is restored to the image and likeness of God; so that, although an individual may depart from this life less perfectly instructed, but who has done works that are approved of, he will be capable of receiving instruction in that Jerusalem, the city of the saints, i.e., he will be educated and moulded, and made a living stone, a stone elect and precious, because he has undergone with firmness and constancy the struggles of life and the trials of piety; and will there come to a truer and clearer knowledge of that which here has been already predicted, viz., that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceeds from the mouth of God [Deut 8:3]. And they also are to be understood to be the princes and rulers who both govern those of lower rank, and instruct them, and teach them, and train them to divine things.

4. But if these views should not appear to fill the minds of those who hope for such results with a becoming desire, let us go back a little, and, irrespective of the natural and innate longing of the mind for the thing itself, let us make inquiry so that we may be able at last to describe, as it were, the very forms of the bread of life, and the quality of that wine, and the peculiar nature of the principalities, all in conformity with the spiritual view of things. Now, as in those arts which are usually performed by means of manual labour, the reason why a thing is done, or why it is of a special quality, or for a special purpose, is an object of investigation to the mind, while the actual work itself is unfolded to view by the agency of the hands; so, in those works of God which were created by Him, it is to be observed that the reason and understanding of those things which we see done by Him remains undisclosed. And as, when our eye beholds the products of an artist's labour, the mind, immediately on perceiving anything of unusual artistic excellence, burns to know of what nature it is, or how it was formed, or to what purposes it was

fashioned; so, in a much greater degree, and in one that is beyond all comparison, does the mind burn with an inexpressible desire to know the reason of those things which we see done by God. This desire, this longing, we believe to be unquestionably implanted within us by God; and as the eye naturally seeks the light and vision, and our body naturally desires food and drink, so our mind is possessed with a becoming and natural desire to become acquainted with the truth of God and the causes of things. Now we have received this desire from God, not in order that it should never be gratified or be capable of gratification; otherwise the love of truth would appear to have been implanted by God into our minds to no purpose, if it were never to have an opportunity of satisfaction. Whence also, even in this life, those who devote themselves with great labour to the pursuits of piety and religion, although obtaining only some small fragments from the numerous and immense treasures of divine knowledge, yet, by the very circumstance that their mind and soul is engaged in these pursuits, and that in the eagerness of their desire they outstrip themselves, do they derive much advantage; and, because their minds are directed to the study and love of the investigation of truth, are they made fitter for receiving the instruction that is to come; as if, when one would paint an image, he were first with a light pencil to trace out the outlines of the coming picture, and prepare marks for the reception of the features that are to be afterwards added, this preliminary sketch in outline is found to prepare the way for the laying on of the true colors of the painting; so, in a measure, an outline and sketch may be traced on the tablets of our heart by the pencil of our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore perhaps is it said, Unto every one that has shall be given, and be added [Mt 25:29 and Lk 19:26]. By which it is established, that to those who possess in this life a kind of outline of truth and knowledge, shall be added the beauty of a perfect image in the future.

5. Some such desire, I apprehend, was indicated by him who said, I am in a strait between two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better [Php 1:23]; knowing that when he should have returned to Christ he would then know more clearly the reasons of all things which are done on earth, either respecting man, or the soul of man, or the mind; or regarding any other subject, such as, for instance, what is the Spirit that operates, what also is the vital spirit, or what is the grace of the Holy Spirit that is given to believers. Then also will he understand what Israel appears to be, or what is meant by the diversity of nations; what the twelve tribes of Israel mean, and what the individual people of each tribe. Then, too, will he understand the reason of the priests and Levites, and of the different priestly orders, the type of which was in Moses, and also what is the true meaning of the jubilees, and of the weeks of years with God. He will see also the reasons for the festival days, and holy days, and for all the sacrifices and purifications. He will perceive also the reason of the purgation from leprosy, and what the different kinds of leprosy are, and the reason of the purgation of those who lose their seed. He will come to know, moreover, what are the good influences, and their greatness, and their qualities; and those too which are of a contrary kind, and what the affection of the

former, and what the strife-causing emulation of the latter is towards men. He will behold also the nature of the soul, and the diversity of animals (whether of those which live in the water, or of birds, or of wild beasts), and why each of the genera is subdivided into so many species; and what intention of the Creator, or what purpose of His wisdom, is concealed in each individual thing. He will become acquainted, too, with the reason why certain properties are found associated with certain roots or herbs, and why, on the other hand, evil effects are averted by other herbs and roots. He will know, moreover, the nature of the apostate angels, and the reason why they have power to flatter in some things those who do not despise them with the whole power of faith, and why they exist for the purpose of deceiving and leading men astray. He will learn, too, the judgment of Divine Providence on each individual thing; and that, of those events which happen to men, none occur by accident or chance, but in accordance with a plan so carefully considered, and so stupendous, that it does not overlook even the number of the hairs of the heads, not merely of the saints, but perhaps of all human beings, and the plan of which providential government extends even to caring for the sale of two sparrows for a denarius, whether sparrows there be understood figuratively or literally. Now indeed this providential government is still a subject of investigation, but then it will be fully manifested. From all which we are to suppose, that meanwhile not a little time may pass by until the reason of those things only which are upon the earth be pointed out to the worthy and deserving after their departure from life, that by the knowledge of all these things, and by the grace of full knowledge, they may enjoy an unspeakable joy. Then, if that atmosphere which is between heaven and earth is not devoid of inhabitants, and those of a rational kind, as the apostle says, Wherein in times past you walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit who now works in the children of disobedience. And again he says, We shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ in the air [Eph 2:2], and so shall we ever be with the Lord" [1 Thess 4:17].

6. We are therefore to suppose that the saints will remain there until they recognise the twofold mode of government in those things which are performed in the air. And when I say twofold mode, I mean this: When we were upon earth, we saw either animals or trees, and beheld the differences among them, and also the very great diversity among men; but although we saw these things, we did not understand the reason of them; and this only was suggested to us from the visible diversity, that we should examine and inquire upon what principle these things were either created or diversely arranged. And a zeal or desire for knowledge of this kind being conceived by us on earth, the full understanding and comprehension of it will be granted after death, if indeed the result should follow according to our expectations. When, therefore, we shall have fully comprehended its nature, we shall understand in a twofold manner what we saw on earth. Some such view, then, must we hold regarding this abode in the air. I think, therefore, that all the saints who depart from this life will remain in some place situated on the earth, which holy Scripture calls paradise, as in some place of instruction, and, so to speak, class-room or school of souls, in which they are to

be instructed regarding all the things which they had seen on earth, and are to receive also some information respecting things that are to follow in the future, as even when in this life they had obtained in some degree indications of future events, although through a glass darkly, all of which are revealed more clearly and distinctly to the saints in their proper time and place. If any one indeed be pure in heart, and holy in mind, and more practised in perception, he will, by making more rapid progress, quickly ascend to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of heaven, through those mansions, so to speak, in the various places which the Greeks have termed spheres, i.e., globes, but which holy Scripture has called heavens; in each of which he will first see clearly what is done there, and in the second place, will discover the reason why things are so done: and thus he will in order pass through all gradations, following Him who has passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, who said, I will that where I am, these may be also [Jn 17:24]. And of this diversity of places He speaks, when He says, In My Father's house are many mansions [Jn 14:2]. He Himself is everywhere, and passes swiftly through all things; nor are we any longer to understand Him as existing in those narrow limits in which He was once confined for our sakes, i.e., not in that circumscribed body which He occupied on earth, when dwelling among men, according to which He might be considered as enclosed in some one place.

7. When, then, the saints shall have reached the celestial abodes, they will clearly see the nature of the stars one by one, and will understand whether they are endued with life, or their condition, whatever it is. And they will comprehend also the other reasons for the works of God, which He Himself will reveal to them. For He will show to them, as to children, the causes of things and the power of His creation, and will explain why that star was placed in that particular quarter of the sky, and why it was separated from another by so great an intervening space; what, e.g., would have been the consequence if it had been nearer or more remote; or if that star had been larger than this, how the totality of things would not have remained the same, but all would have been transformed into a different condition of being. And so, when they have finished all those matters which are connected with the stars, and with the heavenly revolutions, they will come to those which are not seen, or to those whose names only we have heard, and to things which are invisible, which the Apostle Paul has informed us are numerous [Eph 1:20-21], although what they are, or what difference may exist among them, we cannot even conjecture by our feeble intellect. And thus the rational nature, growing by each individual step, not as it grew in this life in flesh, and body, and soul, but enlarged in understanding and in power of perception, is raised as a mind already perfect to perfect knowledge, no longer at all impeded by those carnal senses, but increased in intellectual growth; and ever gazing purely, and, so to speak, face to face, on the causes of things, it attains perfection, firstly, viz., that by which it ascends to (the truth), and secondly, that by which it abides in it, having problems and the understanding of things, and the causes of events, as the food on which it may feast. For as in this life our bodies grow physically to what they are, through a sufficiency of food in early life supplying the means of increase, but after the due height has been

attained we use food no longer to grow, but to live, and to be preserved in life by it; so also I think that the mind, when it has attained perfection, eats and avails itself of suitable and appropriate food in such a degree, that nothing ought to be either deficient or superfluous. And in all things this food is to be understood as the contemplation and understanding of God, which is of a measure appropriate and suitable to this nature, which was made and created; and this measure it is proper should be observed by every one of those who are beginning to see God, i.e., to understand Him through purity of heart.

Book 4. Chapter 2. That many deviated into heresy, not interpreting the Scriptures spiritually and poorly understanding it

8. These particulars, then, being briefly stated regarding the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures by the Holy Spirit, it seems necessary to explain this point also, viz., how certain persons, not reading them correctly, have given themselves over to erroneous opinions, inasmuch as the procedure to be followed, in order to attain an understanding of the holy writings, is unknown to many. The Jews, in fine, owing to the hardness of their heart, and from a desire to appear wise in their own eyes, have not believed in our Lord and Saviour, judging that those statements which were uttered respecting Him ought to be understood literally, i.e., that He ought in a sensible and visible manner to preach deliverance to the captives, and first build a city which they truly deem the city of God, and cut off at the same time the chariots of Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem [Zech 9:10]; that He ought also to eat butter and honey, in order to choose the good before He should come to know how to bring forth evil [Is 7:15]. They think, also, that it has been predicted that the wolf – that four-footed animal – is, at the coming of Christ, to feed with the lambs, and the leopard to lie down with kids, and the calf and the bull to pasture with lions, and that they are to be led by a little child to the pasture; that the ox and the bear are to lie down together in the green fields, and that their young ones are to be fed together; that lions also will frequent stalls with the oxen, and feed on straw [Is 11]. And seeing that, according to history, there was no accomplishment of any of those things predicted of Him, in which they believed the signs of Christ's advent were especially to be observed, they refused to acknowledge the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ; nay, contrary to all the principles of human and divine law, i.e., contrary to the faith of prophecy, they crucified Him for assuming to Himself the name of Christ. Thereupon the heretics, reading that it is written in the law, A fire has been kindled in Mine anger [Jer 15:14]; and that I the Lord am a jealous (God), visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation [Ex 20:5]; and that it repents Me that I anointed Saul to be king [1 Sam 15:11]; and, I am the Lord, who make peace and create evil [Is 45:7]; and again, There is not evil in a city which the Lord has not done [Am 3:6]; and, Evils came down from the Lord upon the gates of Jerusalem [Mic 1:12]; and, An evil spirit from the Lord plagued Saul [1 Sam 18:10]; and reading many other passages similar to these, which are found in Scripture, they did not venture to assert that these were not the Scriptures of God, but they

considered them to be the words of that creator God whom the Jews worshipped, and who, they judged, ought to be regarded as just only, and not also as good; but that the Saviour had come to announce to us a more perfect God, who, they allege; is not the creator of the world – there being different and discordant opinions among them even on this very point, because, when they once depart from a belief in God the Creator, who is Lord of all, they have given themselves over to various inventions and fables, devising certain (fictions), and asserting that some things were visible, and made by one (God), and that certain other things were invisible, and were created by another, according to the vain and fanciful suggestions of their own minds. But not a few also of the more simple of those, who appear to be restrained within the faith of the Church, are of opinion that there is no greater God than the Creator, holding in this a correct and sound opinion; and yet they entertain regarding Him such views as would not be entertained regarding the most unjust and cruel of men.

9. Now the reason of the erroneous apprehension of all these points on the part of those whom we have mentioned above, is no other than this, that holy Scripture is not understood by them according to its spiritual, but according to its literal meaning. And therefore we shall endeavour, so far as our moderate capacity will permit, to point out to those who believe the holy Scriptures to be no human compositions, but to be written by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and to be transmitted and entrusted to us by the will of God the Father, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, what appears to us, who observe things by a right way of understanding, to be the standard and discipline delivered to the apostles by Jesus Christ, and which they handed down in succession to their posterity, the teachers of the holy Church. Now, that there are certain mystical economies indicated in holy Scripture, is admitted by all, I think, even the simplest of believers. But what these are, or of what kind they are, he who is rightly minded, and not overcome with the vice of boasting, will scrupulously acknowledge himself to be ignorant. For if anyone, e.g., were to adduce the case of the daughters of Lot, who seem, contrary to the law of God, to have had intercourse with their father, or that of the two wives of Abraham, or of the two sisters who were married to Jacob, or of the two handmaids who increased the number of his sons, what other answer could be returned than that these were certain mysteries, and forms of spiritual things, but that we are ignorant of what nature they are? Nay, even when we read of the construction of the tabernacle, we deem it certain that the written descriptions are the figures of certain hidden things; but to adapt these to their appropriate standards, and to open up and discuss every individual point, I consider to be exceedingly difficult, not to say impossible. That that description, however, is, as I have said, full of mysteries, does not escape even the common understanding. But all the narrative portion, relating either to the marriages, or to the begetting of the children, or to battles of different kinds, or to any other histories whatever, what else can they be supposed to be, save the forms and figures of hidden and sacred things? As men, however, make little effort to exercise their intellect, or imagine that they possess knowledge before they really learn, the consequence is that

they never begin to have knowledge or if there be no want of a desire, at least, nor of an instructor, and if divine knowledge be sought after, as it ought to be, in a religious and holy spirit, and in the hope that many points will be opened up by the revelation of God – since to human sense they are exceedingly difficult and obscure – then, perhaps, he who seeks in such a manner will find what it is lawful to discover.

10. But lest this difficulty perhaps should be supposed to exist only in the language of the prophets, seeing the prophetic style is allowed by all to abound in figures and enigmas, what do we find when we come to the Gospels? Is there not hidden there also an inner, namely a divine sense, which is revealed by that grace alone which he had received who said, But we have the mind of Christ, that we might know the things freely given to us by God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teaches, but which the Spirit teaches? [1 Cor 2:12-16] And if one now were to read the revelations which were made to John, how amazed would he not be that there should be contained within them so great an amount of hidden, ineffable mysteries, in which it is clearly understood, even by those who cannot comprehend what is concealed, that something certainly is concealed. And yet are not the Epistles of the Apostles, which seem to some to be plainer, filled with meanings so profound, that by means of them, as by some small receptacle, the clearness of incalculable light appears to be poured into those who are capable of understanding the meaning of divine wisdom? And therefore, because this is the case, and because there are many who go wrong in this life, I do not consider that it is easy to pronounce, without danger, that anyone knows or understands those things, which, in order to be opened up, need the key of knowledge; which key, the Saviour declared, lay with those who were skilled in the law. And here, although it is a digression, I think we should inquire of those who assert that before the advent of the Saviour there was no truth among those who were engaged in the study of the law, how it could be said by our Lord Jesus Christ that the keys of knowledge were with them, who had the books of the prophets and of the law in their hands. For thus did He speak: Woe unto you, you teachers of the law, who have taken away the key of knowledge: you entered not in yourselves, and you hindered those who wished to enter in" [Lk 11:52].

11. But, as we had begun to observe, the way which seems to us the correct one for the understanding of the Scriptures, and for the investigation of their meaning, we consider to be of the following kind: for we are instructed by Scripture itself in regard to the ideas which we ought to form of it. In the Proverbs of Solomon we find some such rule as the following laid down, respecting the consideration of holy Scripture: And do, he says, describe these things to yourself in a threefold manner, in counsel and knowledge, and that you may answer the words of truth to those who have proposed them to you [Prov 22:21]. Each one, then, ought to describe in his own mind, in a threefold manner, the understanding of the divine letters – that is, in order that all the more simple individuals may be edified, so to speak, by the very body of Scripture; for such we term that common and

historical sense: while, if some have commenced to make considerable progress, and are able to see something more (than that), they may be edified by the very soul of Scripture. Those, again, who are perfect, and who resemble those of whom the apostle says, We speak wisdom among them that are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, who will be brought to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God, hidden in a mystery, which God has decreed before the ages unto our glory [1 Cor 2:6-7]; – all such as these may be edified by the spiritual law itself (which has a shadow of good things to come), as if by the Spirit. For as man is said to consist of body, and soul, and spirit, so also does sacred Scripture, which has been granted by the divine bounty for the salvation of man; which we see pointed out, moreover, in the little book of The Shepherd, which seems to be despised by some, where Hermas is commanded to write two little books, and afterwards to announce to the presbyters of the Church what he learned from the Spirit. For these are the words that are written: And you will write, he says, two books; and you will give the one to Clement, and the other to Grapte. And let Grapte admonish the widows and orphans, and let Clement send through all the cities which are abroad, while you will announce to the presbyters of the Church. Grapte, accordingly, who is commanded to admonish the orphans and widows, is the pure understanding of the letter itself; by which those youthful minds are admonished, who have not yet deserved to have God as their Father, and are on that account styled orphans. They, again, are the widows, who have withdrawn themselves from the unjust man, to whom they had been united contrary to law; but who have remained widows, because they have not yet advanced to the stage of being joined to a heavenly Bridegroom. Clement, moreover, is ordered to send into those cities which are abroad what is written to those individuals who already are withdrawing from the letter – as if the meaning were to those souls who, being built up by this means, have begun to rise above the cares of the body and the desires of the flesh; while he himself, who had learned from the Holy Spirit, is commanded to announce, not by letter nor by book, but by the living voice, to the presbyters of the Church of Christ, i.e., to those who possess a mature faculty of wisdom, capable of receiving spiritual teaching.

12. This point, indeed, is not to be passed by without notice, viz., that there are certain passages of Scripture where this body, as we termed it, i.e., this inferential historical sense, is not always found, as we shall prove to be the case in the following pages, but where that which we termed soul or spirit can only be understood. And this, I think, is indicated in the Gospels, where there are said to be placed, according to the manner of purification among the Jews, six water-vessels, containing two or three firkins apiece [Jn 2:6]; by which, as I have said, the language of the Gospel seems to indicate, with respect to those who are secretly called by the apostle Jews [Rom 2:20], that they are purified by the word of Scripture – receiving indeed sometimes two firkins, i.e., the understanding of the soul or spirit, according to our statement as above; sometimes even three (firkins), when in the reading (of Scripture) the bodily sense, which is the historical, may be preserved for the edification of the people. Now six

water-vessels are appropriately spoken of, with regard to those persons who are purified by being placed in the world; for we read that in six days – which is the perfect number – this world and all things in it were finished. How great, then, is the utility of this first historical sense which we have mentioned, is attested by the multitude of all believers, who believe with adequate faith and simplicity, and does not need much argument, because it is openly manifest to all; whereas of that sense which we have called above the soul, as it were, of Scripture, the Apostle Paul has given us numerous examples in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. For we find the expression, You shall not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treads out the grain [1 Cor 9:9]. And afterwards, when explaining what precept ought to be understood by this, he adds the words: Does God take care for oxen? Or says He it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written; that he who ploughs should plough in hope, and he that threshes, in hope of partaking [1 Cor 9:10]. Very many other passages also of this nature, which are in this way explained of the law, contribute extensive information to the hearers.

13. Now a spiritual interpretation is of this nature: when one is able to point out what are the heavenly things of which these serve as the patterns and shadow, who are Jews according to the flesh, and of what things future the law contains a shadow, and any other expressions of this kind that may be found in holy Scripture; or when it is a subject of inquiry, what is that wisdom hidden in a mystery which God ordained before the world for our glory, which none of the princes of this world knew [1 Cor 2:7-8]; or the meaning of the apostle's language, when, employing certain illustrations from Exodus or Numbers, he says: These things happened to them in a figure, and they are written on our account, on whom the ends of the ages have come [1 Cor 10:11]. Now, an opportunity is afforded us of understanding of what those things which happened to them were figures, when he adds: And they drank of that spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ [1 Cor 10:4]. In another Epistle also, when referring to the tabernacle, he mentions the direction which was given to Moses: You shall make (all things) according to the pattern which was showed you in the mount [Heb 8:5; Ex 25:40]. And writing to the Galatians, and upbraiding certain individuals who seem to themselves to read the law, and yet without understanding it, because of their ignorance of the fact that an allegorical meaning underlies what is written, he says to them in a certain tone of rebuke: Tell me, you who desire to be under the law, do you not hear the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons; the one by a bond-maid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bond-woman was born according to the flesh; but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants [Gal 4:21-24]. And here this point is to be attended to, viz., the caution with which the apostle employs the expression, You who are under the law, do you not hear the law? Do you not hear, i.e., do you not understand and know? In the Epistle to the Colossians, again, briefly summing up and condensing the meaning of the whole law, he says: Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of holy days, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath,

which are a shadow of things to come [Col 2:16-17]. Writing to the Hebrews also, and treating of those who belong to the circumcision, he says: Those who serve to the example and shadow of heavenly things [Heb 8:5]. Now perhaps, through these illustrations, no doubt will be entertained regarding the five books of Moses, by those who hold the writings of the apostle, as divinely inspired. And if they require, with respect to the rest of the history, that those events which are contained in it should be considered as having happened for an ensample to those of whom they are written, we have observed that this also has been stated in the Epistle to the Romans, where the apostle adduces an instance from the third book of Kings, saying, I have left me seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal [Rom 11:4]; which expression Paul understood as figuratively spoken of those who are called Israelites according to the election, in order to show that the advent of Christ had not only now been of advantage to the Gentiles, but that very many even of the race of Israel had been called to salvation.

14. This being the state of the case, we shall sketch out, as if by way of illustration and pattern, what may occur to us with regard to the manner in which holy Scripture is to be understood on these several points, repeating in the first instance, and pointing out this fact, that the Holy Spirit, by the providence and will of God, through the power of His only-begotten Word, who was in the beginning God with God, enlightened the ministers of truth, the prophets and apostles, to understand the mysteries of those things or causes which take place among men, or with respect to men. And by men, I now mean souls that are placed in bodies, who, relating those mysteries that are known to them, and revealed through Christ, as if they were a kind of human transactions, or handing down certain legal observances and injunctions, described them figuratively; not that anyone who pleased might view these expositions as deserving to be trampled under foot, but that he who should devote himself with all chastity, and sobriety, and watchfulness, to studies of this kind, might be able by this means to trace out the meaning of the Spirit of God, which is perhaps lying profoundly buried, and the context, which may be pointing again in another direction than the ordinary usage of speech would indicate. And in this way he might become a sharer in the knowledge of the Spirit, and a partaker in the divine counsel, because the soul cannot come to the perfection of knowledge otherwise than by inspiration of the truth of the divine wisdom. Accordingly, it is of God, i.e., of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, that these men, filled with the Divine Spirit, chiefly treat; then the mysteries relating to the Son of God – how the Word became flesh, and why He descended even to the assumption of the form of a servant – are the subject, as I have said, of explanation by those persons who are filled with the Divine Spirit. It next followed, necessarily, that they should instruct mortals by divine teaching, regarding rational creatures, both those of heaven and the happier ones of earth; and also (should explain) the differences among souls, and the origin of these differences; and then should tell what this world is, and why it was created; whence also sprung the great and terrible wickedness which extends over the earth. And whether that wickedness is found on this earth only, or in other places, is a

point which it was necessary for us to learn from divine teaching. Since, then, it was the intention of the Holy Spirit to enlighten with respect to these and similar subjects, those holy souls who had devoted themselves to the service of the truth, this object was kept in view, in the second place, viz., for the sake of those who either could not or would not give themselves to this labour and toil by which they might deserve to be instructed in or to recognise things of such value and importance, to wrap up and conceal, as we said before, in ordinary language, under the covering of some history and narrative of visible things, hidden mysteries. There is therefore introduced the narrative of the visible creation, and the creation and formation of the first man; then the offspring which followed from him in succession, and some of the actions which were done by the good among his posterity, are related, and occasionally certain crimes also, which are stated to have been committed by them as being human; and afterwards certain unchaste or wicked deeds also are narrated as being the acts of the wicked. The description of battles, moreover, is given in a wonderful manner, and the alternations of victors and vanquished, by which certain ineffable mysteries are made known to those who know how to investigate statements of that kind. By an admirable discipline of wisdom, too, the law of truth, even of the prophets, is implanted in the Scriptures of the law, each of which is woven by a divine art of wisdom, as a kind of covering and veil of spiritual truths; and this is what we have called the body of Scripture, so that also, in this way, what we have called the covering of the letter, woven by the art of wisdom, might be capable of edifying and profiting many, when others would derive no benefit.

15. But as if, in all the instances of this covering (i.e., of this history), the logical connection and order of the law had been preserved, we would not certainly believe, when thus possessing the meaning of Scripture in a continuous series, that anything else was contained in it save what was indicated on the surface; so for that reason divine wisdom took care that certain stumbling-blocks, or interruptions, to the historical meaning should take place, by the introduction into the midst (of the narrative) of certain impossibilities and incongruities; that in this way the very interruption of the narrative might, as by the interposition of a bolt, present an obstacle to the reader, whereby he might refuse to acknowledge the way which conducts to the ordinary meaning; and being thus excluded and debarred from it, we might be recalled to the beginning of another way, in order that, by entering upon a narrow path, and passing to a loftier and more sublime road, he might lay open the immense breadth of divine wisdom. This, however, must not be unnoted by us, that as the chief object of the Holy Spirit is to preserve the coherence of the spiritual meaning, either in those things which ought to be done or which have been already performed, if He anywhere finds that those events which, according to the history, took place, can be adapted to a spiritual meaning, He composed a texture of both kinds in one style of narration, always concealing the hidden meaning more deeply; but where the historical narrative could not be made appropriate to the spiritual coherence of the occurrences, He inserted sometimes certain things which either did not take place or

could not take place; sometimes also what might happen, but what did not: and He does this at one time in a few words, which, taken in their bodily meaning, seem incapable of containing truth, and at another by the insertion of many. And this we find frequently to be the case in the legislative portions, where there are many things manifestly useful among the bodily precepts, but a very great number also in which no principle of utility is at all discernible, and sometimes even things which are judged to be impossibilities. Now all this, as we have remarked, was done by the Holy Spirit in order that, seeing those events which lie on the surface can be neither true nor useful, we may be led to the investigation of that truth which is more deeply concealed, and to the ascertaining of a meaning worthy of God in those Scriptures which we believe to be inspired by Him.

16. Nor was it only with regard to those Scriptures which were composed down to the advent of Christ that the Holy Spirit thus dealt; but as being one and the same Spirit, and proceeding from one God, He dealt in the same way with the evangelists and apostles. For even those narratives which He inspired them to write were not composed without the aid of that wisdom of His, the nature of which we have above explained. Whence also in them were intermingled not a few things by which, the historical order of the narrative being interrupted and broken up, the attention of the reader might be recalled, by the impossibility of the case, to an examination of the inner meaning. But, that our meaning may be ascertained by the facts themselves, let us examine the passages of Scripture. Now who is there, pray, possessed of understanding, that will regard the statement as appropriate, that the first day, and the second, and the third, in which also both evening and morning are mentioned, existed without sun, and moon, and stars – the first day even without a sky? And who is found so ignorant as to suppose that God, as if He had been a husbandman, planted trees in paradise, in Eden towards the east, and a tree of life in it, i.e., a visible and palpable tree of wood, so that anyone eating of it with bodily teeth should obtain life, and, eating again of another tree, should come to the knowledge of good and evil? No one, I think, can doubt that the statement that God walked in the afternoon in paradise, and that Adam lay hid under a tree, is related figuratively in Scripture, that some mystical meaning may be indicated by it. The departure of Cain from the presence of the Lord will manifestly cause a careful reader to inquire what is the presence of God, and how anyone can go out from it. But not to extend the task which we have before us beyond its due limits, it is very easy for anyone who pleases to gather out of holy Scripture what is recorded indeed as having been done, but what nevertheless cannot be believed as having reasonably and appropriately occurred according to the historical account. The same style of Scriptural narrative occurs abundantly in the Gospels, as when the devil is said to have placed Jesus on a lofty mountain, that he might show Him from thence all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. How could it literally come to pass, either that Jesus should be led up by the devil into a high mountain, or that the latter should show him all the kingdoms of the world (as if they were lying beneath his bodily eyes, and adjacent to one mountain), i.e., the kingdoms of the Persians, and Scythians, and Indians? Or how could he show in

what manner the kings of these kingdoms are glorified by men? And many other instances similar to this will be found in the Gospels by anyone who will read them with attention, and will observe that in those narratives which appear to be literally recorded, there are inserted and interwoven things which cannot be admitted historically, but which may be accepted in a spiritual signification.

17. In the passages containing the commandments also, similar things are found. For in the law Moses is commanded to destroy every male that is not circumcised on the eighth day, which is exceedingly incongruous; since it would be necessary, if it were related that the law was executed according to the history, to command those parents to be punished who did not circumcise their children, and also those who were the nurses of little children. The declaration of Scripture now is, The uncircumcised male, i.e., who shall not have been circumcised, shall be cut off from his people [Gen 17:14]. And if we are to inquire regarding the impossibilities of the law, we find an animal called the goat-stag, which cannot possibly exist, but which, as being in the number of clean beasts, Moses commands to be eaten; and a griffin, which no one ever remembers or heard of as yielding to human power, but which the legislator forbids to be used for food. Respecting the celebrated observance of the Sabbath also he thus speaks: You shall sit, everyone in your dwellings; no one shall move from his place on the Sabbath day [Ex 16:29]. Which precept it is impossible to observe literally; for no man can sit a whole day so as not to move from the place where he sat down. With respect to each one of these points now, those who belong to the circumcision, and all who would have no more meaning to be found in sacred Scripture than what is indicated by the letter, consider that there should be no investigation regarding the goat-stag, and the griffin, and the vulture; and they invent some empty and trifling tales about the Sabbath, drawn from some traditional sources or other, alleging that everyone's place is computed to him within two thousand cubits. Others, again, among whom is Dositheus the Samaritan, censure indeed expositions of this kind, but themselves lay down something more ridiculous, viz., that each one must remain until the evening in the posture, place, or position in which he found himself on the Sabbath day; i.e., if found sitting, he is to sit the whole day, or if reclining, he is to recline the whole day. Moreover, the injunction which runs, Bear no burden on the Sabbath day, seems to me an impossibility. For the Jewish doctors, in consequence of these (prescriptions), have betaken themselves, as the holy apostle says, to innumerable fables, saying that it is not accounted a burden if a man wear shoes without nails, but that it is a burden if shoes with nails be worn; and that if it be carried on one shoulder, they consider it a burden but if on both, they declare it to be none.

18. And now, if we institute a similar examination with regard to the Gospels, how shall it appear otherwise than absurd to take the injunction literally, Salute no man by the way? [Lk 10:4] And yet there are simple individuals, who think that our Saviour gave this command to His apostles! How, also, can it appear possible for such an order as this to be observed, especially

in those countries where there is a rigorous winter, attended by frost and ice, viz., that one should possess neither two coats, nor shoes? And this, that when one is smitten on the right cheek, he is ordered to present the left also, since everyone who strikes with the right hand smites the left cheek? This precept also in the Gospels must be accounted among impossibilities, viz., that if the right eye offend you, it is to be plucked out; for even if we were to suppose that bodily eyes were spoken of, how shall it appear appropriate, that when both eyes have the property of sight, the responsibility of the offense should be transferred to one eye, and that the right one? Or who shall be considered free of a crime of the greatest enormity, that lays hands upon himself? But perhaps the Epistles of the Apostle Paul will appear to be beyond this. For what is his meaning, when he says, Is any man called, being circumcised? Let him not become uncircumcised [1 Cor 7:18]. This expression indeed, in the first place, does not on careful consideration seem to be spoken with reference to the subject of which he was treating at the time, for this discourse consisted of injunctions relating to marriage and to chastity; and these words, therefore, will have the appearance an unnecessary addition to such a subject. In the second place, however, what objection would there be, if, for the sake of avoiding that unseemliness which is caused by circumcision, a man were able to become uncircumcised? And, in the third place, that is altogether impossible.

The object of all these statements on our part, is to show that it was the design of the Holy Spirit, who deigned to bestow upon us the sacred Scriptures, to show that we were not to be edified by the letter alone, or by everything in it – a thing which we see to be frequently impossible and inconsistent; for in that way not only absurdities, but impossibilities, would be the result; but that we are to understand that certain occurrences were interwoven in this visible history, which, when considered and understood in their inner meaning, give forth a law which is advantageous to men and worthy of God.

19. Let no one, however, entertain the suspicion that we do not believe any history in Scripture to be real, because we suspect certain events related in it not to have taken place; or that no precepts of the law are to be taken literally, because we consider certain of them, in which either the nature or possibility of the case so requires, incapable of being observed; or that we do not believe those predictions which were written of the Saviour to have been fulfilled in a manner palpable to the senses; or that His commandments are not to be literally obeyed. We have therefore to state in answer, since we are manifestly so of opinion, that the truth of the history may and ought to be preserved in the majority of instances. For who can deny that Abraham was buried in the double cave at Hebron, as well as Isaac and Jacob, and each of their wives? Or who doubts that Shechem was given as a portion to Joseph? or that Jerusalem is the metropolis of Judea, on which the temple of God was built by Solomon? – and countless other statements. For the passages which hold good in their historical acceptation are much more numerous than those which contain a purely spiritual meaning. Then, again, who would not maintain that the command to honour your father

and your mother, that it may be well with you [Ex 20:12], is sufficient of itself without any spiritual meaning, and necessary for those who observe it? Especially when Paul also has confirmed the command by repeating it in the same words. And what need is there to speak of the prohibitions, You shall not commit adultery, You shall not steal, You shall not bear false witness, and others of the same kind? [Ex 20:13-14] And with respect to the precepts enjoined in the Gospels, no doubt can be entertained that very many of these are to be literally observed, as, e.g., when our Lord says, But I say unto you, Swear not at all [Mt 5:22,34]; and when He says, Whosoever looks upon a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart; the admonitions also which are found in the writings of the Apostle Paul, Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient towards all men, and very many others [1 Thess 5:14]. And yet I have no doubt that an attentive reader [Jn 5:39] will, in numerous instances, hesitate whether this or that history can be considered to be literally true or not; or whether this or that precept ought to be observed according to the letter or no. And therefore great pains and labour are to be employed, until every reader reverentially understand that he is dealing with divine and not human words inserted in the sacred books.

20. The understanding, therefore, of holy Scripture which we consider ought to be deservedly and consistently maintained, is of the following kind. A certain nation is declared by holy Scripture to have been chosen by God upon the earth, which nation has received several names: for sometimes the whole of it is termed Israel, and sometimes Jacob; and it was divided by Jeroboam son of Nebat into two portions; and the ten tribes which were formed under him were called Israel, while the two remaining ones (with which were united the tribe of Levi, and that which was descended from the royal race of David) was named Judah. Now the whole of the country possessed by that nation, which it had received from God, was called Judea, in which was situated the metropolis, Jerusalem; and it is called metropolis, being as it were the mother of many cities, the names of which you will frequently find mentioned here and there in the other books of Scripture, but which are collected together into one catalogue in the book of Joshua the Son of Nun.

21. This, then, being the state of the case, the holy apostle desiring to elevate in some degree, and to raise our understanding above the earth, says in a certain place, Behold Israel after the flesh [1 Cor 10:18]; by which he certainly means that there is another Israel which is not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit. And again in another passage, For they are not all Israelites who are of Israel" [Rom 9:6,8].

"For he is not a Jew who is so in appearance, nor is the circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew who is so inwardly, and the circumcision which is in the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter" (Rom 2:28-29). But the judgment of Judaism is based on an internal attribute, and it must be thought that, according to the bodily Judaism, there is also a certain

people of " Jews in secret”, from whom the soul has acquired this nobility for some unspeakable reasons. In addition, many prophecies speak about Israel and Judea, announcing their future. Can it be that the numerous promises recorded in these prophecies are base in letter, and represent nothing exalted or worthy of the divine promise – do they not require a mysterious interpretation? If the promises are spiritual, though they are made through sensible things, then those to whom these promises are made are not corporeal. But in order not to dwell long on the saying about "Judea in secret" and about Israel according to the inner man – since this is enough for people who are not inactive-we go back to the previous argument and say that James is the father of the twelve patriarchs, and these are the fathers of the founders of the people, the latter, in turn, are the fathers of all subsequent Israelites. The carnal Israelites descend in origin to the national progenitors, the progenitors to the patriarchs, the patriarchs to Jacob and his; rare. And spiritual Israelites, which the Israelites were carnal, is not come from famous families, and the birth took place out of the tribes, and the tribe from someone one who has a origin it is not, corporal, but the best – who is also descended from Isaac, Abraham's son, while all of them are built to Abraham, who, according to the Apostle, is Christ? After all, the origin of the tribes in the depths started from Christ to the same extent and all sorts of God, because Christ after God and father of all, is also the father of every soul, as Adam is the father of all people And if eve was the Apostle of the way of the Church, it is not surprising that Cain, descended from eve, and all of the following people, in origin Dating back to eve, are the images of the Church, as, in the highest sense, all descended from the Church.

22. Being taught, then, by him that there is one Israel according to the flesh, and another according to the Spirit, when the Saviour says, I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel [Mt 15:24], we do not understand these words as those do who savour of earthly things, i.e., the Ebionites, who derive the appellation of poor from their very name (for Ebion means poor in Hebrew); but we understand that there exists a race of souls which is termed Israel, as is indicated by the interpretation of the name itself: for Israel is interpreted to mean a mind, or man seeing God [Rom 9:8]. The apostle, again, makes a similar revelation respecting Jerusalem, saying, The Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all [Gal 4:26]. And in another of his Epistles he says: But you have come unto mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, and to the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, and to the Church of the first-born which is written in heaven [Heb 12:22]. If, then, there are certain souls in this world who are called Israel, and a city in heaven which is called Jerusalem, it follows that those cities which are said to belong to the nation of Israel have the heavenly Jerusalem as their metropolis; and that, agreeably to this, we understand as referring to the whole of Judah (of which also we are of opinion that the prophets have spoken in certain mystical narratives), any predictions delivered either regarding Judea or Jerusalem, or invasions of any kind, which the sacred histories declare to have happened to Judea or Jerusalem. Whatever, then, is either narrated or predicted of Jerusalem, must, if we accept

the words of Paul as those of Christ speaking in him, be understood as spoken in conformity with his opinion regarding that city which he calls the heavenly Jerusalem, and all those places or cities which are said to be cities of the holy land, of which Jerusalem is the metropolis. For we are to suppose that it is from these very cities that the Saviour, wishing to raise us to a higher grade of intelligence, promises to those who have well managed the money entrusted to them by Himself, that they are to have power over ten or five cities. If, then, the prophecies delivered concerning Judea, and Jerusalem, and Judah, and Israel, and Jacob, not being understood by us in a carnal sense, signify certain divine mysteries, it certainly follows that those prophecies also which were delivered either concerning Egypt or the Egyptians, or Babylonia and the Babylonians, and Sidon and the Sidonians, are not to be understood as spoken of that Egypt which is situated on the earth, or of the earthly Babylon, Tyre, or Sidon. Nor can those predictions which the prophet Ezekiel delivered concerning Pharaoh king of Egypt [Ezek 29-32], apply to any man who may seem to have reigned over Egypt, as the nature of the passage itself declares. In a similar manner also, what is spoken of the prince of Tyre [Ezek 26] cannot be understood of any man or king of Tyre. And how could we possibly accept, as spoken of a man, what is related in many passages of Scripture, and especially in Isaiah, regarding Nebuchadnezzar? [Is 14] For he is not a man who is said to have fallen from heaven, or who was Lucifer, or who arose in the morning. But with respect to those predictions which are found in Ezekiel concerning Egypt, such as that it is to be destroyed in forty years, so that the foot of man should not be found within it, and that it should suffer such devastation, that throughout the whole land the blood of men should rise to the knees, I do not know that anyone possessed of understanding could refer this to that earthly Egypt which adjoins Ethiopia. But let us see whether it may not be understood more fittingly in the following manner: viz., that as there is a heavenly Jerusalem and Judea, and a nation undoubtedly which inhabits it, and is named Israel; so also it is possible that there are certain localities near to these which may seem to be called either Egypt, or Babylon, or Tyre, or Sidon, and that the princes of these places, and the souls, if there be any, that inhabit them, are called Egyptians, Babylonians, Tyrians, and Sidonians. From whom also, according to the mode of life which they lead there, a sort of captivity would seem to result, in consequence of which they are said to have fallen from Judea into Babylonia or Egypt, from a higher and better condition, or to have been scattered into other countries.

23. For perhaps as those who, departing this world in virtue of that death which is common to all, are arranged, in conformity with their actions and deserts – according as they shall be deemed worthy – some in the place which is called hell, others in the bosom of Abraham, and in different localities or mansions; so also from those places, as if dying there, if the expression can be used, do they come down from the upper world to this hell. For that hell to which the souls of the dead are conducted from this world, is, I believe, on account of this distinction, called the lower hell by Scripture, as is said in the book of

Psalms: You have delivered my soul from the lowest hell. Everyone, accordingly, of those who descend to the earth is, according to his deserts, or agreeably to the position which he occupied there, ordained to be born in this world, in a different country, or among a different nation, or in a different mode of life, or surrounded by infirmities of a different kind, or to be descended from religious parents, or parents who are not religious; so that it may sometimes happen that an Israelite descends among the Scythians, and a poor Egyptian is brought down to Judea. And yet our Saviour came to gather together the lost sheep of the house of Israel; and as many of the Israelites did not accept His teaching, those who belonged to the Gentiles were called. From which it will appear to follow, that those prophecies which are delivered to the individual nations ought to be referred rather to the souls, and to their different heavenly mansions. Nay, the narratives of the events which are said to have happened either to the nation of Israel, or to Jerusalem, or to Judea, when assailed by this or that nation, cannot in many instances be understood as having actually occurred, and are much more appropriate to those nations of souls who inhabit that heaven which is said to pass away, or who even now are supposed to be inhabitants of it.

If now anyone demand of us clear and distinct declarations on these points out of holy Scripture, we must answer that it was the design of the Holy Spirit, in those portions which appear to relate the history of events, rather to cover and conceal the meaning: in those passages, e.g., where they are said to go down into Egypt, or to be carried captive to Babylonia, or when in these very countries some are said to be brought to excessive humiliation, and to be placed under bondage to their masters; while others, again, in these very countries of their captivity, were held in honour and esteem, so as to occupy positions of rank and power, and were appointed to the government of provinces – all which things, as we have said, are kept hidden and covered in the narratives of holy Scripture, because the kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hid in a field; which when a man finds, he hides it, and for joy thereof goes away and sells all that he has, and buys that field [Mt 13:44]. By which similitude, consider whether it be not pointed out that the very soil and surface, so to speak, of Scripture – that is, the literal meaning – is the field, filled with plants and flowers of all kinds; while that deeper and profounder spiritual meaning are the very hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge which the Holy Spirit by Isaiah calls the dark and invisible and hidden treasures [Is 45:3], for the finding out of which the divine help is required: for God alone can burst the brazen gates by which they are enclosed and concealed, and break in pieces the iron bolts and levers by which access is prevented to all those things which are written and concealed in Genesis respecting the different kinds of souls, and of those seeds and generations which either have a close connection with Israel or are widely separated from his descendants; as well as what is that descent of seventy souls into Egypt, which seventy souls became in that land as the stars of heaven in multitude. But as not all of them were the light of this world – for all who are of Israel are not Israel [Rom 9:6] – they grow from being seventy souls to be an important people, and as the sand by the sea-shore innumerable".

Excerpt from «Against Celsus»:

Book 2.

5. […] We have to say to him, that our Lord, seeing the conduct of the Jews not to be at all in keeping with the teaching of the prophets, inculcated by a parable that the kingdom of God would be taken from them [Mt 21:43], and given to the converts from heathenism. For which reason, now, we may also see of a truth that all the doctrines of the Jews of the present day are mere trifles and fables, since they have not the light that proceeds from the knowledge of the Scriptures; whereas those of the Christians are the truth, having power to raise and elevate the soul and understanding of man, and to persuade him to seek a citizenship, not like the earthly Jews here below, but in heaven [Php 3:20]. And this result shows itself among those who are able to see the grandeur of the ideas contained in the law and the prophets, and who are able to commend them to others.

Nepos of Egypt (between the 2nd and 3rd centuries)

The work of Nepos of Egypt "*Denunciation of the Lovers of Allegories*" ("Refutation of the Allegorists") has not been preserved. See Eusebius of Caesarea on Nepos (Church History, 7, 24).

Gaius of Rome (died c. 217)

Gaius' work "Dialogue against the Montanist Proclus" ("Against Proclus") is preserved in quotations from Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea (Church History, 2, 25; 3, 28, 31). See also: St. Hippolytus of Rome "Heads against Gaius".

St. Dionysius of Alexandria (died 265)

The work of Dionysius of Alexandria "*On the Promises*", consisting of two books, is preserved in quotations from Eusebius of Caesarea (Church History, 3, 28; 7, 24-25).

Tertullian (155/165 – 220/240)

"And what a sight we shall soon see – the coming of the Lord, recognized by all, triumphant and victorious! What rejoicing for the angels, what glory for the risen saints, what a Kingdom for the righteous, and what a magnificent new Jerusalem! And then there will be other great sights too: the day of the last and final judgment, which the heathen reject and ridicule – when the whole dilapidated world with all its inhabitants will be destroyed by fire [compare 2 Pet 3:10]! What a sight will it be!" (*On the Spectacles*, 30).

Excerpt from "*On the Resurrection of the Flesh*":

Chapter 19.

Thus, our consideration of these words (taken, of course, in their proper sense) and their meaning must ensure that the obvious prevails and that every time the error is eliminated by what is correct – if the opposing party should bring about any confusion in the form of symbolism or riddles. For some, seeing the typical prophetic utterance, which is often (though not always) given in the form of imagery and symbolism, offer distorted allegorical interpretations even to the resurrection of the dead which has been clearly revealed. They argue that death should be taken in a spiritual way. "For death, which is a familiar experience to all", they say, "is in fact not a separation of body and soul but our ignorance towards God through which a person, being dead unto God, remains in error as if in a coffin. Therefore, the true resurrection takes place when someone, having found the truth, has regained his soul and life by turning to God, and, having crushed the death of ignorance, came out of the coffin of the old man, just like the Lord had compared the scribes and Pharisees to whitewashed tombs (Mt 23:27). It follows that those who by faith have attained to the resurrection of the dead remain with the Lord after being clothed with Him in baptism". With such sly talk, they often gave a false impression that they don't deny the resurrection of the flesh. "Woe to him who did not rise in this flesh", they say (fearing to repel us by the direct denial of the resurrection). But secretly they think, "Woe to him who, while being in the flesh, did not become initiated into the heretical secret doctrine", – for this is their resurrection. Many of those who recognize the resurrection after the departure of the soul, take it allegorically, as if our coming out of the tombs means denying

this world, for this world is, so to say, the abode of the dead, that is, of those who do not know God. Many even see our coming out of the body as resurrection, saying that the body is like a tomb in which the soul is fettered in its worldly death.

Chapter 23.

Indeed, the Apostle teaches in Colossians that we who were once dead, alienated, and hostile to the Lord in spirit through our wicked deeds (Col 1:21), having been buried with Christ in baptism, were also raised with Him through faith in the power of God by which He was raised from the dead. "And you, being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses" (Col 2:12-13). And again: "Wherefore if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances?" (Col 2:20) If then he describes us as spiritually dead while admitting that we also will one day die physically, then, by considering us spiritually risen, he does not deny that we will also be raised in our bodies. For example, he says: "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God". Seek those things which are above, not below (Col 3:1-2). By this he points out that we will be raised in spirit because only through the spirit we can partake of the things that are above. We would not have to seek it or think about it if we had already possessed it. Also, he adds: "For you have certainly died for your sins, not for yourself, – and your life is now hidden with Christ in God" (Col 3:3). So, the life which is hidden has not yet been comprehended. John also says: "And it doth not yet appear what we shall be. But we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him" (1 Jn 3:2). We can't possibly be what we do not yet know, because if we had already become it, we would for sure have known. Therefore, at this time we only contemplate the object of our hope in faith; it is not yet in front of us or with us but is only an expectation. Paul writes to Galatians about this hope and this expectation: "In spirit we expect by faith the hope of our righteousness" (Gal 5:5). He does not say: "We already possess it". The righteousness of God refers here to the final judgment after which we will receive our reward. Paul, waiting for this judgment himself, writes to the Philippians: If I somehow attain to the resurrection from the dead, this does not mean that I have already attained it or become perfect (Php 3:11-12). Surely, he who was the vessel of election and the teacher of pagans had strong enough faith and knew all the mysteries and yet he adds: "I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus" (Php 3:12). And even more: "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto the inaccessible reward which I am to strive for" (Php 3:13-14). Clearly, he is talking about the resurrection of the dead, but it will come in due course, for he says to Galatians: "And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap" (Gal 6:9). And he says to Timothy about Onesiphorus: "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day" (2 Tim 1:18). He urges

him to observe the commandment purely and irreproachably until that day – until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, which will be revealed in due time by the blessed and only Ruler, King of kings (1 Tim 6:14-15), that is, by God. Peter also talks about these times in Acts: "Repent and see to it that your sins are blotted out so that the times of refreshing might come to you from the presence of God and so that He would send you the appointed Christ, whom heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets" (Act 3:19-21).

Chapter 25.

Similarly, the book of Revelation indicates a certain sequence of times which even the souls of martyrs learned to endure while crying out for vengeance and judgment from under the altar so that the world might first drink of its sufferings from the bowls of the angels, so that the harlot city would meet its doom together with the ten kings, and so that the Antichrist (Beast) and his false prophet would begin persecuting the church, and so that, after the temporary imprisonment of the devil in the abyss, the first resurrection would be announced from the heavenly thrones, after which (when the devil is finally cast into the fire), the judgement of the resurrection would be proclaimed according to the books [see Rev 6:9-11; 15:7; 16:1; 17:12; 19:19-20; 20:4-12]. So, since Scripture points out the order of the end times, connecting the whole fruit of Christian hope to the end of the age, it is clear that either everything that God has promised to us will be fulfilled at that time (and, therefore, all that the heretics promise to us on the earth is false) or – if the greatest of mysteries is our resurrection itself – that even in this case one can believe in everything predicted for the end of the world without in the least denying the above opinion. Moreover, since one resurrection is interpreted as spiritual, it follows that the other must be bodily, because if nothing had been proclaimed about the [end] times, then there would only have been one resurrection, that is, a spiritual one. But if there is a resurrection proclaimed for the end times, it must be a bodily resurrection, because no spiritual resurrection is predicted along with it. This spiritual resurrection would have to be either happening now, regardless of the difference in time, or then – at the end of the age. So, it is more fitting for us to defend the spiritual resurrection taking place at the point of our turning to faith, but we also recognize that the full resurrection will take place at the end of the age.

Excerpt from "*Against Marcion*", book 3:

Chapter 24. About the millennial Kingdom on earth

1. "Certainly," you say, "I expect from him what will be the evidence for the difference <between the two gods> – the divine kingdom of the eternal heavenly dominion. But your Christ promises to restore to the Jews their former status after returning

them to the land, and then, after death – to comfort them in the realm of the dead, that is, in the bosom of Abraham" [compare Lk 16:22]. O, what a kind god if he should, after getting appeased, restore to us that which he took away in anger! Your god [i.e. the way you portray him] both smites and heals [compare Deut 32:39; Job 5:18], causes calamities and creates the world [compare Is 45:7]! O god who is merciful even to the dead!

2. <I will comment> on the bosom of Abraham in due course. As for the restoration of Judea (which the Jews expect to happen exactly as it is described, deceived as they are by the names of places and countries), it would take a long time to investigate the manner in which the allegorical interpretation, spiritual by its outward appearance and fruit, refers to Christ and the Church. It is a subject for another book which we entitled "The Hope of the Faithful" ["De spe fidelium" is one of Tertullian's lost works]. Besides, it would be unnecessary now because we are concerned with the heavenly promise, not the earthly one.

3. After all, we confess that we have been promised [the millennial] Kingdom on earth, but <it will come> before <our ascent to> heaven, and it will be a different Kingdom <than the one that the Jews are looking for> because it is found in the city of Jerusalem which is not made by hands and which the Apostle calls "our mother from above" [compare Gal 4:26]. And after <our> resurrection, it will be brought [Croymann's conjecture. In the manuscript, this word refers to Jerusalem] from heaven to earth for a thousand years [compare Rev 20:6]. And by saying that our country, that is, our citizenship, is in heaven [compare Php 3:20], he, naturally, connects it with a certain heavenly city.

4. Ezekiel also knew about this city [compare Ezek 48:30-35], and the Apostle John saw [compare Rev 21:2, 9-14] and confirmed the word of the new prophecy which abides with our faith so as to predict that the earthly copy of this city, <shown> to us before its revelation, would become a sign. In recent times, it happened during the Eastern expedition. After all, even pagan accounts contain stories about a city floating around above Judea for forty days every morning. The apparition would gradually dissipate with the light of day, and in other cases it disappeared immediately.

5. We say that this city was prepared by God for the saints who will dwell in it after their resurrection. They will be strengthened with every kind of abundance, which is, certainly, of a spiritual nature – to compensate for everything we have denied or left behind in this present age, for, after all, it is only just and fair for God to ensure that His servants are overjoyed where they were persecuted for his name. This is the meaning of the Kingdom <under heaven> [Croymann's conjecture. In the manuscript: "heavenly"].

6. After the thousand-year Kingdom, during which the resurrection of the saints will be completed as they rise from the dead at different times according to the merits of each, and after the destruction of the world and the judgment of fire [Et mundi destructione et iudicii conflagratione commissa, demutati in atomo in angelicam substantiam <...> transferemur in caeleste

regnum. *Compare*: Et istas ego receperim causas, <...> et illam quae in conflagratione nostris placet hoc quoque transferendam puto (Sen. Nat. Quaest, III, 29,2)], we shall change in the twinkling of an eye [compare 1 Cor 15:52: ev atomo] to an angelic state, being clothed with incorruptibility <as described by the Apostle> [compare 1 Cor 15:52-53]. And we shall be taken up to the Kingdom of Heaven which is now being re-evaluated <in such a way> as if it had not been foretold by the Creator and as if it would, consequently, prove that Christ had belonged to another god, who, allegedly, was the first and only one to have revealed it.

7. Know now that this <Kingdom> was foretold by the Creator and must be considered as <staying> with the Creator. What do you think: when the seed of Abraham, after receiving the first promise that they would become as countless as the sand on the seashore, received also their calling of becoming like unto the stars [compare Gen 22:17], isn't this a sign of both earthly and heavenly blessings? When Isaac, blessing his son Jacob, says: "Therefore God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth" [compare Gen 27:28] – are these not examples of both of these mercies?

8. One should finally consider the structure of the blessing itself. Indeed, with respect to Jacob who is a symbol of a later and a better people, that is, of our people, the first promise is the promise of the heavenly dew and the second one of the earthly abundance. For we are first invited to enjoy the heavenly blessings after we have rejected the world, and thus we subsequently prove that we have been predestined to inherit also the earth. And your Gospel [i.e. the Gospel of Luke distorted by the Marcionites] also testifies: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and this will be added to you as well" [see Lk 12:31].

9. However, he first gives to Esau [Croymann's conjecture. In the manuscript: "he first promises"] the blessing of the earth and then adds to it the heavenly things by saying: "Thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above" [see Gen 27:39]. In Esau, the Jews, who are firstborn by nature yet inferior to others in love, having been satiated through the Law with earthly blessings, are redirected towards heavenly blessings through the Gospel by faith. But when Jacob sees in a dream a staircase spanning the earth and heaven, and angels ascending and descending, and the Lord standing on it [compare Gen 28:12-13], will it be reckless to interpret it as pointing to the right way to heaven [Tertullian refutes Marcion who claimed that, according to Jewish beliefs, the dead remain in hell] through which some ascend, others descend, [Croymann assumes a lacuna here: "and since the Lord is standing above, both are done by the Lord's decree"] as determined by the Lord's decree?

10. Why did he, after waking up [compare Gen 28:16] and getting terrified at this place, immediately start interpreting his dream? Having said: "How dreadful is this place!" he adds: "This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven" [compare Gen 28:17]. For he beheld Christ the Lord who is the Temple of God [see Jn 2:19-21] and the gate [see Jn 10:7], <the Lord> through whom we go to heaven. And, of course, he would not have mentioned the gates of heaven if the

Creator had made it impossible to go to heaven. But the gates are open, and there is a <road> [Croymann's insert] leading <there>, already paved by Christ, of whom Amos <says>: "He who prepares His ascension into heaven" [see Am 9:6]. Naturally, He prepared it not just for Himself but also for His own who will remain with Him.

11. For he says: "You shall be clothed in them like in a bride's adornment" [see Is 49:18]. Thus the Spirit marvels at those who strive to enter the Kingdom of Heaven because of that ascension, saying: "They fly like unto kites [Neither the Septuagint nor the Vulgate mention kites. The Septuagint: "Who are these that fly (petantai) like unto clouds and like unto pigeons with their young (sun neossois)?" *Compare* Job 5:7: "<...>, but the kite chicks (neossoi) fly (petontai) to high places". *The original*: "as the sparks fly upward"], like clouds and like young doves fly to Me [see Is 60:8], that is, simply like doves. After all, according to the Apostle, we will be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord [see 1 Thess 4:17], that is, the Son of Man [compare Dan 7:13] who treads on the clouds and about whom Daniel testifies. So we will always be with the Lord [compare 2 Col 5:8] as long as <He is present> on earth and in heaven, summoning as witnesses even the elements for the sake of the ungrateful in both Covenants [Lit.: "promises"]: "Listen, o heaven, and give ear, o earth" [see Is 1:2].

12. And even if Scripture did not reach out to me this hand of heavenly hope time and time again, I would still have waited for this promise <from heaven> for I already have the earthly grace. I would have expected something from heaven, from God who is the Lord of both heaven and earth. So, I would have believed that Christ who had promised to give us the heavenly things belonged to Him who had also promised us earthly blessings – who had made the lesser the proof of the greater, and who had left the proclamation of this unprecedented Kingdom, if you will, to Christ alone, so that the earthly glory would be proclaimed through servants, and the heavenly glory through the Lord Himself [Croymann's conjecture. In the manuscript: "from God"].

13. But you argue that Christ is different based on the fact that He is proclaiming a new Kingdom. First, give me an example of the grace of <your god> so that I would have no reason to doubt the reliability of such a great promise in which I have put my trust. For I have been taught to be cautious. First of all, of course, you should prove that the one who, allegedly, promises to us heavenly things actually possesses some sort of heaven. For now you are inviting us to dinner but do not show us the house; you are speaking of a Kingdom but you do not show the royal palace. How does [Croymann's conjecture. In the manuscript: "Does your Christ promise a heavenly kingdom without possessing any heaven because (literally: how) he represented mankind without putting on flesh?"] your Christ promise a heavenly Kingdom without possessing any heaven? How did He represent mankind without putting on our flesh? Oh, there is a ghost in everything! Oh, what a [Croymann's conjecture. In the manuscript: "the great (promise)"] deceit with regard to the promise!

St. Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170 – 235)

Fragment from "Heads against Gaius"

(The text is quoted by Dionysius Barsalibi "Commentary on the Apocalypse" [Ms. Rich. 7185, f. 9v-10r]):

And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up and sealed the bottomless pit upon him, in order that he should not deceive the nations till the thousand years should be fulfilled: after that, he must be loosed a little season (Rev 20:2-3).

On this Gaius the heretic objected: that Satan is bound here, according to that which is written, that Christ went up into the strong man's house and bound him, and spoiled his goods for us (Mt 12:29).

Hippolytus answered this and said: If the Devil has been bound, how does he deceive the faithful and persecute and plunder men ? And if you say that he has been bound as regards the faithful, how did he draw near against Christ, Him who aid no sin? according to the text, The Prince cometh and findeth no sin in me (Jn 14:30). And if then he has been bound, how did the Lord teach us to pray, that we should be delivered front the evil one (Mt 6:13)? And why did he desire to tempt Simon and the Apostles (Lk 22:31)? And how was one who had been bound able to sift and trouble the disciples?

And truly for us the conflict is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and against the rulers of the darkness of this world (Eph 6:12). If he had been bound, he would not maintain the conflict, or catch away the word which was sown (Mt 13:19), as is said in the Parable of the Seed. That He has bound the strong man; the meaning of it is this: that He has rebuked and cast scorn on those who did not come unto Him when He went against the Devil in order to purify them from his bondage and make them sons unto the Father.

And this is proved by what He said just after, that he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad (Mt 12:30). Accordingly, in the end of times, the Devil is to be bound and to be flung into the bottomless pit (Rev 20:1-3), when the Lord comes; even as Esaias hath said, that the wicked shall be taken away in order that he see not the glory of the Lord (Is 26:10 [LXX, Syr. Hex.]).

And the number of the years is not the number of days, but it represents the space of one day (2 Pet 3:8), glorious and perfect; in which, when the King comes in glory with His slain, the creation is to shine: according to the text, The sun shall shine sevenfold (Is 30:26); while the righteous eat with Him and drink of His vine. This is the day which the Lord hath made (Ps 118:24 [Ps 117:24 rus]), which David spoke of.

Accordingly, when with the eye of the spirit John saw the glory of that day, he likened it to the space of a thousand years; according to the saying, One day in the world of the righteous is as a thousand years (2 Pet 3:8). And by the number he shows that day to be perfect, for those that are faithful.

But as for what he has said, that after the thousand years he [Satan] shall be loosed, and shall deceive the nations (Rev 20:7-8), it is this: that justly he is to be loosed, and to be cast into the burning, and to be judged (Rev 20:10); with those who from old time were gathered together with him, when he gathered the strangers of the kingdom, and Gog and Magog (Rev 20:8).

(Translated from the syriac: John Gwynn, *Hippolytus and his "Heads against Caius [Gaius]"*).

Excerpt from "On Christ and the Antichrist":

(65) Daniel also speaks about the resurrection and the Kingdom of the saints: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (Dan 12:2). Isaiah says: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise... for thy dew is as the dew of herbs" (Is 26:19 LXX). The Lord says: "The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live" (Jn 5:25). The prophet says: "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (Eph 5:14). John says: "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power. This is the second death – the lake of fire" (Rev 20:6,14). "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun shines in its glory" (Mt 13:43). He will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world" (Mt 25:34). And what will He say to the wicked? "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels (Mt 25:41) by My Father". John also says: "For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie" (Rev 22:15). Their part in the lake which burneth with fire (Rev 21:8). Similarly, Isaiah says: "And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh" (Is 66:24).

(66) Paul writes to the Thessalonians about the resurrection of the righteous: "But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in

Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess 4:13-17).

Excerpt from the "Commentary on the book of Daniel":

Book 4.

(16) But someone will ask: when will it be? (Mt 24:3) When and at what time will this man of sin be revealed, and what is the day of the Lord's coming? So the disciples wanted to learn the exact time from the Lord but He hid it from them in order to encourage them and all of us to look ahead into the future and expect the Bridegroom of heaven every day – so that they would not slack off, become careless, and, having fallen asleep, lose their eternal life on account of the Lord's delay (Mt 25:5). "Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come" (Mt 24:42; compare Mt 25:13; Mk 13:35). That's why He says: "Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he shall make him ruler over all his goods. But and if that evil servant shall say in his heart, my lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to smite his fellowservants, and to eat and drink with the drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt 24:46-51). "Therefore be ye also ready" (Mt 24:44; Mk 13:37). This is what the Lord Himself states in the Gospels while admonishing his disciples. In the same way, after the resurrection, the disciples asked Jesus again: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" He answered: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth» (Act 1:6-8).

[…]

(22) Why do you wish to know the time and day of the Lord's coming if the Savior Himself has hidden it from us? Tell me, do you know the day of your death? Why then are you curious about the end of the whole world? If the Lord in His abundant mercy had not been patient, everything would have perished long ago. See what John also says in the Apocalypse: "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for (the name of Jesus) [preaching the word of God], and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, (O Lord, our God), holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellowservants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled" (Rev 6:9-11). So, even if

martyrs who shed their blood for the sake of Christ are commanded to be patient, then why don't you persevere so that [in this way] others might be saved and so that the number of the saints who are called might increase?

(23) But so that we do not leave [here] this question unresolved – for men are curious – we will speak out of our need and about something we should not be speaking of. By calculating time from the creation of the world and from Adam, we can easily find what we are looking for. The fact is that the first coming of our Lord in the flesh happened in Bethlehem, eight days before the January calends, on Wednesday, in the forty-second year of Augustus. It was the year 5500 from Adam. He suffered in the year 33, eight [days] before the April calends, on Friday, in the 18th year [of the reign] of Tiberius Caesar during the consulship of Rufus and Rubelion and <Gaius Caesar who was [consul] for the fourth time, and Gaius Sentius Saturninus>. So, these six thousand years must be fulfilled for the Sabbath <rest, the holy day, in which "God rested from all his work which he had made" (Gen 2:3) to come>. For the Sabbath is also an image and likeness of the Kingdom of the saints which is to be revealed, even as John says in the Apocalypse – they will reign together with Christ after He comes down from heaven. Indeed, for the Lord one day is like a thousand years. So just as God created all things in six days, so six thousand years must be fulfilled. But they have not yet been fulfilled, according to John: "Five are fallen, and one is", that is, "the other is not yet come" (Rev 17:10). "The other" means the seventh day which will be the day of rest.

(24) But in any case, someone will ask: how can you prove that the Savior was born in the year 5500? Easily. What was written by Moses regarding the tabernacle of old, built in the desert, was an image and likeness of the spiritual mysteries. And indeed, with the coming of this very truth in the last days, i.e. with the coming of Christ, you can see all this fulfilled. [The Lord] commands him: "Make an Ark [of the Covenant] of shittim wood... thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about...two cubits and a half shall be the [length] thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof" (Ex 25:10-11). So, if you add it all up you will get five and a half cubits which stand for 5500 years – when the Savior, born of a Virgin, brought to the earth the Ark of His body, overlaid with pure gold on the inside, that is, with the Word, and with the Holy Spirit on the outside. And in such a way the truth and the ark were revealed. So, we must add 500 years to Christ's birth, which remain until the completion of the six thousand years, and then the end will come. John confirms that the Savior came into the world bringing an imperishable ark, that is, His body, in the year 5500: "It was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour" (Jn 19:14). This indicates half a day. Since the day of the Lord is like a thousand years, half a day is five hundred years. He could not come before this time because the yoke of the law was still there, nor at the end of the sixth [millennium] – for this is when the baptism ceases – but [precisely] after five and a half [thousand] years so that the Gospel might be preached to the whole world in the remaining half the time. And then, after the sixth day, the

present world would cease. And since the Persians reigned for 230 years, and after them, the Romans reigned with even greater glory for 300 years, it is, therefore, necessary that the fourth beast, who is stronger and mightier than all the former ones, should reign for 500 years. After this time, when the ten horns have grown out of this [kingdom] in the last days, the Antichrist will appear from among them. When he begins his fight against the saints and starts persecuting them, then we should expect the appearance of our Lord from heaven. Then He, the King of kings, will appear again, openly, and, as the Judge of judges, He will come forth with confidence and glory. In a word, everything that has already been set by God and announced through His prophets – all this will be fulfilled in due course.

[…]

(55) The king that they set up [the Antichrist], worshiped by all, made himself the abomination of desolation to the world; he will reign for a thousand two hundred and ninety days. And, as Daniel says, the abomination of desolation will last for one thousand two hundred and ninety days. "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (Dan 12:11-12). In fact, when the abomination sets in and begins its fight against saints, those who are able to endure its domination and persevere for the following forty-five days, until the end of Pentecost – only those will attain to the Kingdom of Heaven. After all, the Antichrist, intending to receive the inheritance together with Christ, will only remain for a part of this [i.e. final] Pentecost. That's why Isaiah says: "Let the ungodly be taken away, that he see not the glory of the Lord" (Is 26:10 LXX). Paul says in the letter to the Thessalonians: "The Lord shall consume [the Wicked] with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming" (2 Thess 2:8). And the Kingdom will be inherited by the saints together with Christ (compare Dan 7:27; Mt 25:34; Rev 20:6).

Commodian of Gaza (3rd century)

Excerpt from "Carmen apologeticum adversus judaeos et gentes", also known as "Carmen de duobus populis":

...The law and the prophets proclaim who is worthy of God's heaven,
And reveal the secrets of the golden age.

[…]

In addition, he adds that we will be immortal,
To enjoy what the eye hath not seen before.
After the six thousand years have passed...

Excerpt from "Instructiones adversus gentium deos pro christiana disciplina":
[…] A city will descend from heaven in the first resurrection.
And what shall we say about this heavenly creation?
We shall all rise who were faithful to Him.
They will be incorruptible, and life will be untouched by death,
There will be no more illness or sighing.
Only those will enter the city who were victorious in the times of the Antichrist
In martyrdom they have gained life forever and ever.
They will receive good things, for they have suffered through tribulations.
They will marry, and they will bring forth offspring
In the course of a thousand years, and earthly tributes will be given to them.
For the earth will bring them forth and renew them without end.
Shower rains will not come, nor will this golden fortress be touched by cold,
And there will be no siege, as it is now, nor robbery.
The city will not want the light of lamps,
For the Creator Himself will be its light, and night will be no more.
It will be twelve thousand stadia in length, width, and hight,
Its root will abide in the earth, and its head will rise to heaven.
And before the gates of the city, the sun and the moon will shine,
The evil one will be captured in anguish for the sake of nourishing the righteous,
For a thousand years God will keep him in chains. […]

St. Victorinus of Petava (230 – 303/304)

Excerpt from "On the Creation of the World":

4. On the fifth day, earth and water yielded their fruit [see Gen 1:20-23]. On the sixth day, all that was still lacking was made. Because of this, God made the man out of the earth [see Gen 2:7] and set him as the ruler over all things that God created on earth and under water [see Gen 1:28]. However, before [man], God created angels and archangels, thus setting the spiritual principle above the earthly one. The light was created before the heaven and earth. The sixth day is called Friday [Paraskeva], or the preparation for the Kingdom [see Rev 5:10; 20:4]. God created Adam in His image and likeness [see Gen 1:26]. He created angels, as well as man, after finishing all His works so that neither man nor angels could claim to have been His helpers in the creation of the world.

5. On the seventh day, God rested from all his works, and He blessed and sanctified them [Gen 2:2-3]. This day we honor above all other days because on the Day of the Lord we partake of the Bread with thanksgiving. And Friday becomes our fast so that it would not seem as if we were observing the Sabbath together with the Jews, for the Lord of the Sabbath, Christ [Mt 12:8], said through the prophets that His soul hates the Sabbaths [Is 1:13-14] because He had fulfilled the Sabbath in His body. However, even before that, He had commanded Moses about the circumcision that should be performed no later than on the eighth day [see Lev 12:3], which often falls on the Sabbath as we read in the Gospels [see Jn 7:22]. Moses, seeing that these people are hard-hearted, lifted his hands and crucified himself in the battle waged by an enemy on the Sabbath [see Is 17:8-13], so that they would be captured and learn through the strictness of the law the doctrine which they had been neglecting.

6. And that's why in the sixth psalm, David pleads with the Lord about the eighth day, asking him not to rebuke him in anger, nor chasten him in hot displeasure [Ps 6:1 (Ps 6:1-2 rus)]. This is indeed the eighth day of this coming judgment, which will be taken outside of the order of events during that week. Joshua, the successor of Moses, also broke the Sabbath. For he commanded the sons of Israel to go around the walls of Jericho with the sound of trumpets and declare war on the enemy on the Sabbath day [see Josh 6:3, 15]. Mattathias, the leader in Judea, broke the Sabbath rest, putting to death the commander Antiochus, the king of Syria, on a Sabbath and pursuing his enemies on the same day [see 1 Macc 2:25, 41, 47]. In Matthew [see Mt 12:3-5], we find a similar text. Isaiah and some of his followers [see Is 1:13; Hos 2:13] broke the Sabbath to keep the true Sabbath of the seventh millennium. Therefore, by each of these seven days, the Lord individually points to the Millennium. For it says: "For a thousand years in thine eyes are but as one day" [Ps 90:4 (Ps 89:5 rus); 2 Pet 3:8]. Therefore, each millennium is "in

the eyes of God", and there are seven eyes of the Lord, according to my calculations [Zech 4:10]. As I have mentioned earlier, this is the reason why the true Sabbath is the seventh millennium, in which Christ will reign with his elect [see Rev 20:6].

Excerpt from "Commentary on the Apocalypse":

19 *And a white horse, and one sitting upon him* shows our Lord coming with the heavenly army to reign, at Whose coming all the nations will be gathered [Rev 19:11-16], and will fall by the sword [Rev 19:21]. And others who were nobles will serve in the service of the saints [Rev 20:4]; and of these (nobles) also he shows they will be killed in the end time, at the finish of the reign of the saints, before the judgment, after the release of the devil [Rev 20:7-8]. On these all the prophets likewise agree.

20,1 *And the scarlet devil is imprisoned* and all his fugitive angels *in the Tartarus of Gehenna* at the coming of the Lord; no one is ignorant of this [Rev 20:1-3]. And after the thousand years he is released, because of the nations which will have served Antichrist: so that they alone might perish, as they deserved [Rev 20:7-10]. Then is the general judgment. Therefore he says: *And they lived*, he says, *the dead* who were written in the book of life, *and they reigned with Christ a thousand years. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has a part in the first resurrection: toward this one the second death has no power* [Rev 20:4-6]. Of this resurrection, he says: *And I saw the Lamb standing, and with him 144 thousands*, that is, standing with Christ, namely those of the Jews in the last time who become believers through the preaching of Elijah, those who, the Spirit bears witness, are virgins not only in body, but also in language [Rev 14:1-5]. Therefore, as he reminds above, the 24 elder-aged said: *Grace we bring to You, O Lord God who has reigned; and the nations are angry* [Rev 11:16-18].

20,2 At this same *first resurrection* will also appear the City and the splendid things expressed through this Scripture [Rev 21:2, 10]. Of this *first resurrection* Paul also spoke to the Macedonian church, thus: *For as we have thus said to you*, he says, *by the Word of God, that at the trumpet of God, the Lord Himself will descend from heaven for raising up; and the dead in Christ will stand first, then we who are living, as we will be taken up with Him in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and thus we will always be with the Lord* [1 Thess 4:16-17]. We have heard the trumpet spoken of; it is observed that in another place the Apostle names another trumpet. Therefore he says to the Corinthians: *At the last trumpet, the dead will rise*, will become immortal, *and we will be changed* [1 Cor 15:51-52]. He says the dead will be be raised immortal for bearing punishments, but it is shown that we are to be changed and to be covered in glory. Therefore where we hear "the last trumpet," we must understand also a first, for these are two *resurrections*. Therefore, however many were not previously to rise in the *first resurrection* and *to reign with Christ* over the world, over all nations, will rise at the last trumpet, after the thousand years, that is, in the last *resurrection*, among the

impious and sinners and perpetrators of various kinds. He rightly adds, saying: *Blessed and holy is he who has a part in the first anastasis: toward this one the second death has no power* [Rev 20:7]. For the second death is being thrown into hell.

21,1 Therefore in the kingdom and in the first resurrection appears *the holy city*, of which he speaks, *descending from heaven* [Rev 21:2, 10], *foursquare*, walled around with *stones* of different and precious and coloured and various kinds, *like fine gold*, that is, bright [Rev 21:12-20]. *In crystal*, he says, *is its street paved* [Rev 21:21]*; the river of life flowing through the middle, and springs of waters of life; the tree of life around it, making different fruits for every month* [Rev 21:1-2]*; no light of the sun is there, because of a greater glory. The Lamb*, he says, *is its light* [Rev 21:11, 23; 22:1-5].

21,2 *Its gates*, truly, *are each a single pearl, three from each part, not closed*, but to be *open* [Rev 21:21, 25]. Scripture shows many reasons for the gifts of the kings of regions and nations, (kings) who will be servants, being brought there: he speaks of the subjection of the last ones, which we have treated. But the city is not thus understood, as one (?) we have known; for we are not able to testify any further, without a guide, to that which we have heard and seen. Otherwise, the city is spoken of as all those provinces of the Eastern region promissed to the Patriarch Abraham. *Look*, he says, *to the heavens, from the place in which you are now standing* [Gen 13:14], that is, *from the great river Euphrates to the river of Egypt* [Gen 15:18]*; all the land which you see, I will give it to you and to your seed* [Gen 13:15]. Finally, the Holy Spirit says: *It will be ruled from sea to sea*, that is, from the Red Sea, which is in Arabia, to the North Sea, which is the Sea of Phoenicia, *and to the ends of the earth* [Ps 72:8 (Ps 71:8 rus)]: which are the major parts of Syria. Therefore, all these provinces are to be levelled and cleansed at the coming of the Lord and (His) brightness descending from heaven like a cloud, outshining the brightness of the sun, and are shown contained in the circuit (of its walls).

21,3 For as the Holy Spirit has also testified through Isaiah: *Like a smoke of light burning with fire; with all the glory it will be covered* [Is 4:5]; and in another place he says, *Shine, Jerusalem! For your light has come, and the glory of the Lord is risen for you. For the sun will not illuminate for you by day, nor the moon for you by night; the Lord your God will be for you an eternal light* [Is 60:1, 19-20]. And David says: *And there will be on the earth a firmament above the peaks of the mountains, and his fruit will be exalted over that of Lebanon, and they of the city will flourish like the grass of the earth* [Ps 72:16 (Ps 71:16 rus)]. And Daniel spoke of the stone cut out without hands to strike the statue having four in it, that is, gold and silver, bronze and iron, and clay in the last; and this stone, after it will have reduced the statue to dust, will become a great mountain, filling the whole earth [Dan 2:31-35]. And he interpreted the dream for the king, and says: *You are*, he says, *the gold head, and your nation. Another kingdom*, he says, *will rise, lesser than you, and there will be a third kingdom which will rule the whole earth. And the fourth kingdom: very hard and very strong, like iron which subdues everything and cuts down every tree* [Dan 2:37-40]. *And in the end*

time, he says, *like clay mixed with iron will men be mixed, and there will not be treaties nor agreement.i And in those times the Lord God will raise up another kingdom, which kingdom*, he says, *the saints of the Most High God will take up* [Dan 7:18]. *And this kingdom will not be captured by another nation; for God will strike and capture all the kingdoms of the earth, and His will remain forever* [Dan 2:44].

21,4 Paul also, speaking to the Corinthians, recalled mention of His kingdom: *He must reign until He puts His enemies under His feet* [1 Cor 15:25]. The saints are spoken of in this kingdom: *I have rejoiced* [Ps 60:6 (Ps 59:8 rus)] *just as we have have heard* [Ps 48:8 (Ps 47:9 rus)]. In the same kingdom he will find those serving a perfect faith, of whom he says: *they stood upon the sea of glass, having kitharas and bowls*, that is, firmly established upon their baptism, and having their confession in their mouth, they are rejoicing there [Rev 5:8; 14:1-5; 15:2-4].

21,5 In this kingdom, He has promised to His servants, saying: *Whoever will leave father or mother or brother or sister for the sake of My name will receive the reward of one hundred parts multiplied, both now, and also will in the future possess eternal life* [Mt 19:29; Mk 10:29-30]. In this kingdom, those who have been defrauded of their goods because of the name of the Lord, and those many killed for all crimes and in prisons?and indeed before the coming of the Lord the Holy Prophets were stoned, killed, sawn [2 Chron 24:20-21; Mt 23:35; Lk 11:51; Rom 11:3]? *they will receive their consolation* [Mt 5:5], that is, heavenly crowns and riches. In this kingdom the Lord Himself has promised *He will restore for the years in which the locust and the wingless locust and the corruption ate* [Joel 2:25]. In this, all of creation will be saved and, by the command of God, will give forth the good things hidden in it. Then the saints will receive *for bronze, gold, and for iron, silver* [Is 60:17] and precious stones. In this place, He will send to them *the riches of the sea and the excellent things of the nations* [Is 60:5]. In this kingdom, *the priests of the Lord will be called the servants of God* [Is 61:6], just as they have been called sacrilegious. In this kingdom, *they will drink wine* [Is 25:6-7] *and be anointed with ointments* [Rev 3:18] and they will be given to rejoicing.

21,6 Of this kingdom, the Lord reminded the Apostles before He suffered, saying: *I will not drink of this fruit of the vine any more, until when I will drink with you again in the coming kingdom* [Mt 26:29], which is the hundred parts multiplied, ten times, a thousand times, to greater things and better things.

And what he says of the different stones, that they will be shown by kind and by color, this speaks of men; as also it signifies the most precious variety of the faith of each man. For the *gates of pearls* he shows to be the Apostles [Rev 21:12-14, 21]. *They will not be closed* [Rev 21:25], he says: grace is given through them, and the same is never closed. In this place *they will see face to face* [1 Cor 13:12], and *one will not request of another* [Is 34:15-16]. And *the names* of the Fathers and the Apostles are to be

both on the foundations and over the gates [Rev 21:12, 14]: we have already treated of the 24 elders, and of those who are to rule in this kingdom, *they will judge the world* [1 Cor 6:2].

(Translated by Kevin P. Edgecomb)

Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea (c. 263 – 340)

Excerpt from «Church History»:

Book 2, Chapter 15.

(2) And they say that Peter – when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done – was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches. Clement in the eighth book of his Hypotyposes gives this account, and with him agrees the bishop of Hierapolis named Papias. And Peter makes mention of Mark in his first epistle which they say that he wrote in Rome itself, as is indicated by him, when he calls the city, by a figure, Babylon, as he does in the following words: The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, salutes you; and so does Marcus my son [1 Pet 5:13].

Book 3, Chapter 25.

(1) Since we are dealing with this subject it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put the holy quaternion of the Gospels; following them the Acts of the Apostles. (2) After this must be reckoned the epistles of Paul; next in order the extant former epistle of John, and likewise the epistle of Peter, must be maintained. After them is to be placed, if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time. These then belong among the accepted writings. (3) Among the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant the so-called epistle of James and that of Jude, also the second epistle of Peter, and those that are called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name.

(4) Among the rejected writings must be reckoned also the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to these the extant epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles [Didache]; and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books. (5) And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have

accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books. (6) But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of these also, distinguishing those works which according to ecclesiastical tradition are true and genuine and commonly accepted, from those others which, although not canonical but disputed, are yet at the same time known to most ecclesiastical writers – we have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those that are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has deemed worthy of mention in his writings. (7) And further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. Wherefore they are not to be placed even among the rejected writings, but are all of them to be cast aside as absurd and impious.

Book 3, Chapter 28.

(1) We have understood that at this time Cerinthus, the author of another heresy, made his appearance. Gaius, whose words we quoted above, in the Disputation which is ascribed to him, writes as follows concerning this man: (2) "But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations which he pretends were written by a great apostle, brings before us marvelous things which he falsely claims were shown him by angels; and he says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be set up on earth, and that the flesh dwelling in Jerusalem will again be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy of the Scriptures of God, he asserts, with the purpose of deceiving men, that there is to be a period of a thousand years for marriage festivals".

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

(4) "But (they say that) Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called, after him, the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name. For the doctrine which he taught was this: that the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one. (5) And as he was himself devoted to the pleasures of the body and altogether sensual in his nature, he dreamed that that kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, namely, in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion, that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying, and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims, under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace".

(6) These are the words of Dionysius. But Irenaeus, in the first book of his work *Against Heresies*, gives some more abominable false doctrines of the same man, and in the third book relates a story which deserves to be recorded. He says, on the authority of Polycarp, that the apostle John once entered a bath to bathe; but, learning that Cerinthus was within, he sprang from the place and rushed out of the door, for he could not bear to remain under the same roof with him. And he advised those that were with him to do the same, saying, Let us flee, lest the bath fall; for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within".

Book 3, Chapter 36.

(1) At that time Polycarp, a disciple of the apostles, was a man of eminence in Asia, having been entrusted with the episcopate of the church of Smyrna by those who had seen and heard the Lord. (2) And at the same time Papias, bishop of the parish of Hierapolis, became well known, as did also Ignatius, who was chosen bishop of Antioch, second in succession to Peter, and whose fame is still celebrated by a great many.

Book 3, Chapter 39.

(1) There are extant five books of Papias, which bear the title *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*. Irenæus makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following words: "These things are attested by Papias, an ancient man who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book. For five books have been written by him". These are the words of Irenaeus.

(2) But Papias himself in the preface to his discourses by no means declares that he was himself a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles, but he shows by the words which he uses that he received the doctrines of the faith from those who were their friends.

(3) He says: "But I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to faith, and springing from the truth itself. (4) If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders – what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John [Marcus (?)], the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice".

(5) It is worth while observing here that the name John is twice enumerated by him. The first one he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval, and places him among others outside of the number of the apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him a presbyter. (6) This shows that the statement of those is true, who say that there were two persons in Asia that bore the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which, even to the present day, is called John's. It is important to notice this. For it is probable that it was the second, if one is not willing to admit that it was the first that saw the Revelation, which is ascribed by name to John.

(7) And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he received the words of the apostles from those that followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the presbyter John. At least he mentions them frequently by name, and gives their traditions in his writings. These things, we hope, have not been uselessly adduced by us.

(8) But it is fitting to subjoin to the words of Papias which have been quoted, other passages from his works in which he relates some other wonderful events which he claims to have received from tradition. (9) That Philip the apostle dwelt at Hierapolis with his daughters has been already stated. But it must be noted here that Papias, their contemporary, says that he heard a wonderful tale from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that in his time one rose from the dead. And he tells another wonderful story of Justus, surnamed Barsabbas: that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no harm. (10) The Book of Acts records that the holy apostles after the ascension of the Saviour, put forward this Justus, together with Matthias, and prayed that one might be chosen in place of the traitor Judas, to fill up their number. The account is as follows: And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said [Act 1:23].

(11) The same writer gives also other accounts which he says came to him through unwritten tradition, certain strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, and some other more mythical things. (12) To these belong his statement that there will be a period of some thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this very earth. I suppose he got these ideas through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things said by them were spoken mystically in figures. (13) For he appears to have been of very limited understanding, as one can see from his discourses. But it was due to him that so many of the Church Fathers after him adopted a like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man; as for instance Irenæus and any one else that may have proclaimed similar views.

(14) Papias gives also in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who was mentioned above, and traditions as handed down by the presbyter John; to which we refer those who are fond of learning. But

now we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted the tradition which he gives in regard to Mark, the author of the Gospel. (15) This also the presbyter said: "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark".

(16) But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able".

(17) And the same writer uses testimonies from the first Epistle of John and from that of Peter likewise. And he relates another story of a woman, who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is contained in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. These things we have thought it necessary to observe in addition to what has been already stated.

Book 4, Chapter 14.

(1) At this time, while Anicetus was at the head of the church of Rome, Irenæus relates that Polycarp, who was still alive, was at Rome, and that he had a conference with Anicetus on a question concerning the day of the paschal feast. (2) And the same writer gives another account of Polycarp which I feel constrained to add to that which has been already related in regard to him. The account is taken from the third book of Irenaeus' work *Against Heresies*, and is as follows:

(3) "But Polycarp also was not only instructed by the apostles, and acquainted with many that had seen Christ, but was also appointed by apostles in Asia bishop of the church of Smyrna. (4) We too saw him in our early youth; for he lived a long time, and died, when a very old man, a glorious and most illustrious martyr's death, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, which the Church also hands down, and which alone are true. (5) To these things all the Asiatic churches testify, as do also those who, down to the present time, have succeeded Polycarp, who was a much more trustworthy and certain witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the rest of the heretics. He also was in Rome in the time of Anicetus and caused many to turn away from the above-mentioned heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the apostles this one and only system of truth which has been transmitted by the Church.

(6) And there are those that heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out of the bath-house without bathing, crying, 'Let us flee, lest even the bath fall, because Cerinthus, the

enemy of the truth, is within'. (7) And Polycarp himself, when Marcion once met him and said, 'Do you know us? replied, 'I know the first born of Satan.' Such caution did the apostles and their disciples exercise that they might not even converse with any of those who perverted the truth; as Paul also said, 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing he that is such is subverted, and sins, being condemned of himself' [Tit 3:10-11]. (8) There is also a very powerful epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those that wish to do so, and that are concerned for their own salvation, may learn the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth". Such is the account of Irenaeus.

(9) But Polycarp, in his above-mentioned epistle to the Philippians, which is still extant, has made use of certain testimonies drawn from the First Epistle of Peter.

(10) And when Antoninus, called Pius, had completed the twenty-second year of his reign, Marcus Aurelius Verus, his son, who was also called Antoninus, succeeded him, together with his brother Lucius.

Book 4, Chapter 15.

(1) At this time, when the greatest persecutions were exciting Asia, Polycarp ended his life by martyrdom. But I consider it most important that his death, a written account of which is still extant, should be recorded in this history. (2) There is a letter, written in the name of the church over which he himself presided, to the parishes in Pontus, which relates the events that befell him, in the following words:

(3) "The church of God which dwells in Philomelium, and to all the parishes of the holy Catholic Church in every place; mercy and peace and love from God the Father be multiplied. We write unto you, brethren, an account of what happened to those that suffered martyrdom and to the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution, having, as it were, sealed it by his martyrdom".

(4) After these words, before giving the account of Polycarp, they record the events which befell the rest of the martyrs, and describe the great firmness which they exhibited in the midst of their pains. For they say that the bystanders were struck with amazement when they saw them lacerated with scourges even to the innermost veins and arteries, so that the hidden inward parts of the body, both their bowels and their members, were exposed to view; and then laid upon sea-shells and certain pointed spits, and subjected to every species of punishment and of torture, and finally thrown as food to wild beasts. (5) And they record that the most noble Germanicus especially distinguished himself, overcoming by the grace of God the fear of bodily death implanted by nature. When indeed the proconsul wished to persuade him, and urged his youth, and besought him, as he was very young and vigorous, to take compassion on himself, he did not hesitate, but eagerly lured the beast toward himself, all but compelling and

irritating him, in order that he might the sooner be freed from their unrighteous and lawless life. (6) After his glorious death the whole multitude, marveling at the bravery of the God-beloved martyr and at the fortitude of the whole race of Christians, began to cry out suddenly, "Away with the atheists; let Polycarp be sought". (7) And when a very great tumult arose in consequence of the cries, a certain Phrygian, Quintus by name, who was newly come from Phrygia, seeing the beasts and the additional tortures, was smitten with cowardice and gave up the attainment of salvation. (8) But the above-mentioned epistle shows that he, too hastily and without proper discretion, had rushed forward with others to the tribunal, but when seized had furnished a clear proof to all, that it is not right for such persons rashly and recklessly to expose themselves to danger. Thus did matters turn out in connection with them.

(9) But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard of these things, continued undisturbed, preserved a quiet and unshaken mind, and determined to remain in the city. But being persuaded by his friends who entreated and exhorted him to retire secretly, he went out to a farm not far distant from the city and abode there with a few companions, night and day doing nothing but wrestle with the Lord in prayer, beseeching and imploring, and asking peace for the churches throughout the whole world. For this was always his custom.

(10) And three days before his arrest, while he was praying, he saw in a vision at night the pillow under his head suddenly seized by fire and consumed; and upon this awakening he immediately interpreted the vision to those that were present, almost foretelling that which was about to happen, and declaring plainly to those that were with him that it would be necessary for him for Christ's sake to die by fire. (11) Then, as those who were seeking him pushed the search with vigor, they say that he was again constrained by the solicitude and love of the brethren to go to another farm. Thither his pursuers came after no long time, and seized two of the servants there, and tortured one of them for the purpose of learning from him Polycarp's hiding-place. (12) And coming late in the evening, they found him lying in an upper room, whence he might have gone to another house, but he would not, saying, "The will of God be done". (13) And when he learned that they were present, as the account says, he went down and spoke to them with a very cheerful and gentle countenance, so that those who did not already know the man thought that they beheld a miracle when they observed his advanced age and the gravity and firmness of his bearing, and they marveled that so much effort should be made to capture a man like him. (14) But he did not hesitate, but immediately gave orders that a table should be spread for them. Then he invited them to partake of a bounteous meal, and asked of them one hour that he might pray undisturbed. And when they had given permission, he stood up and prayed, being full of the grace of the Lord, so that those who were present and heard him praying were amazed, and many of them now repented that such a venerable and godly old man was about to be put to death.

(15) In addition to these things the narrative concerning him contains the following account:

"But when at length he had brought his prayer to an end, after remembering all that had ever come into contact with him, small and great, famous and obscure, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour of departure having come, they put him upon an ass and brought him to the city, it being a great Sabbath. And he was met by Herod, the captain of police, and by his father Nicetes, who took him into their carriage, and sitting beside him endeavored to persuade him, saying, 'For what harm is there in saying, Lord Cæsar, and sacrificing and saving your life?' He at first did not answer; but when they persisted, he said, 'I am not going to do what you advise me'. (16) And when they failed to persuade him, they uttered dreadful words, and thrust him down with violence, so that as he descended from the carriage he lacerated his shin. But without turning round, he went on his way promptly and rapidly, as if nothing had happened to him, and was taken to the stadium. (17) But there was such a tumult in the stadium that not many heard a voice from heaven, which came to Polycarp as he was entering the place: 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man'. And no one saw the speaker, but many of our people heard the voice. (18) And when he was led forward, there was a great tumult, as they heard that Polycarp was taken. Finally, when he came up, the proconsul asked if he were Polycarp. And when he confessed that he was, he endeavored to persuade him to deny, saying, 'Have regard for your age,' and other like things, which it is their custom to say: 'Swear by the genius of Caesar; repent and say, Away with the Atheists'. (19) But Polycarp, looking with dignified countenance upon the whole crowd that was gathered in the stadium, waved his hand to them, and groaned, and raising his eyes toward heaven, said, 'Away with the Atheists'. (20) But when the magistrate pressed him, and said, 'Swear, and I will release you; revile Christ,' Polycarp said, 'Fourscore and six years have I been serving him, and he has done me no wrong; how then can I blaspheme my king who saved me?' (21) But when he again persisted, and said, 'Swear by the genius of Caesar,' Polycarp replied, 'If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, feigning to be ignorant who I am, hear plainly: I am a Christian. But if you desire to learn the doctrine of Christianity, assign a day and hear'. (22) The proconsul said, 'Persuade the people'. But Polycarp said, 'As for you, I thought you worthy of an explanation; for we have been taught to render to princes and authorities ordained by God the honor that is due, so long as it does not injure us; but as for these, I do not esteem them the proper persons to whom to make my defense'. (23) But the proconsul said, 'I have wild beasts; I will throw you to them unless you repent'. But he said, 'Call them; for repentance from better to worse is a change we cannot make. But it is a noble thing to turn from wickedness to righteousness'. (24) But he again said to him, 'If you despise the wild beasts, I will cause you to be consumed by fire, unless you repent'. But Polycarp said, 'You threaten a fire which burns for an hour, and after a little is quenched; for you know not the fire of the future judgment and of the eternal punishment which is reserved for the impious. But why do you delay? Do what you will'. (25) Saying these and other words besides, he was filled with

courage and joy, and his face was suffused with grace, so that not only was he not terrified and dismayed by the words that were spoken to him, but, on the contrary, the proconsul was amazed, and sent his herald to proclaim three times in the midst of the stadium: 'Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian'. (26) And when this was proclaimed by the herald, the whole multitude, both of Gentiles and of Jews, who dwelt in Smyrna, cried out with ungovernable wrath and with a great shout, 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the overthrower of our gods, who teaches many not to sacrifice nor to worship'. (27) When they had said this, they cried out and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon Polycarp. But he said that it was not lawful for him, since he had closed the games. Then they thought fit to cry out with one accord that Polycarp should be burned alive. (28) For it was necessary that the vision should be fulfilled which had been shown him concerning his pillow, when he saw it burning while he was praying, and turned and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, 'I must needs be burned alive'. (29) These things were done with great speed – more quickly than they were said – the crowds immediately collecting from the workshops and baths timber and fagots, the Jews being especially zealous in the work, as is their wont. (30) But when the pile was ready, taking off all his upper garments, and loosing his girdle, he attempted also to remove his shoes, although he had never before done this, because of the effort which each of the faithful always made to touch his skin first; for he had been treated with all honor on account of his virtuous life even before his gray hairs came. (31) Forthwith then the materials prepared for the pile were placed about him; and as they were also about to nail him to the stake, he said, 'Leave me thus; for he who has given me strength to endure the fire, will also grant me strength to remain in the fire unmoved without being secured by you with nails'. So they did not nail him, but bound him. (32) And he, with his hands behind him, and bound like a noble ram taken from a great flock, an acceptable burnt-offering unto God omnipotent, said, (33) 'Father of your beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of you, the God of angels and of powers and of the whole creation and of the entire race of the righteous who live in your presence, I bless you that you have deemed me worthy of this day and hour, that I might receive a portion in the number of the martyrs, in the cup of Christ, unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. (34) Among these may I be received before you this day, in a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as you, the faithful and true God, have beforehand prepared and revealed, and have fulfilled. (35) Wherefore I praise you also for everything; I bless you, I glorify you, through the eternal high priest, Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, through whom, with him, in the Holy Spirit, be glory unto you, both now and for the ages to come, Amen'. (36) When he had offered up his Amen and had finished his prayer, the firemen lighted the fire and as a great flame blazed out, we, to whom it was given to see, saw a wonder, and we were preserved that we might relate what happened to the others. (37) For the fire presented the appearance of a vault, like the sail of a vessel filled by the wind, and made a wall about the body of the martyr, and it was in the midst not like flesh

burning, but like gold and silver refined in a furnace. For we perceived such a fragrant odor, as of the fumes of frankincense or of some other precious spices. (38) So at length the lawless men, when they saw that the body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to approach and pierce him with the sword. (39) And when he had done this there came forth a quantity of blood so that it extinguished the fire; and the whole crowd marveled that there should be such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this man also was one, the most wonderful teacher in our times, apostolic and prophetic, who was bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For every word which came from his mouth was accomplished and will be accomplished.

(40) But the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the race of the righteous, when he saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and his blameless life from the beginning, and when he saw him crowned with the crown of immortality and bearing off an incontestable prize, took care that not even his body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do it and to have communion with his holy flesh. (41) Accordingly certain ones secretly suggested to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, that he should plead with the magistrate not to give up his body, 'lest,' it was said, 'they should abandon the crucified One and begin to worship this man'. They said these things at the suggestion and impulse of the Jews, who also watched as we were about to take it from the fire, not knowing that we shall never be able either to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those that are saved, or to worship any other. (42) For we worship him who is the Son of God, but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we love as they deserve on account of their matchless affection for their own king and teacher. May we also be made partakers and fellow-disciples with them.

(43) The centurion, therefore, when he saw the contentiousness exhibited by the Jews, placed him in the midst and burned him, as was their custom. And so we afterwards gathered up his bones, which were more valuable than precious stones and more to be esteemed than gold, and laid them in a suitable place. (44) There the Lord will permit us to come together as we are able, in gladness and joy to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, for the commemoration of those who have already fought and for the training and preparation of those who shall hereafter do the same. (45) Such are the events that befell the blessed Polycarp, who suffered martyrdom in Smyrna with the eleven from Philadelphia. This one man is remembered more than the others by all, so that even by the heathen he is talked about in every place".

(46) Of such an end was the admirable and apostolic Polycarp deemed worthy, as recorded by the brethren of the church of Smyrna in their epistle which we have mentioned. In the same volume concerning him are subjoined also other martyrdoms which took place in the same city, Smyrna, about the same period of time with Polycarp's martyrdom. Among them also Metrodorus, who appears to have been a proselyte of the Marcionitic sect, suffered death by fire. (47) A celebrated martyr of

those times was a certain man named Pionius. Those who desire to know his several confessions, and the boldness of his speech, and his apologies in behalf of the faith before the people and the rulers, and his instructive addresses and, moreover, his greetings to those who had yielded to temptation in the persecution, and the words of encouragement which he addressed to the brethren who came to visit him in prison, and the tortures which he endured in addition, and besides these the sufferings and the nailings, and his firmness on the pile, and his death after all the extraordinary trials, – those we refer to that epistle which has been given in the Martyrdoms of the Ancients, collected by us, and which contains a very full account of him. (48) And there are also records extant of others that suffered martyrdom in Pergamus, a city of Asia – of Carpus and Papylus, and a woman named Agathonice, who, after many and illustrious testimonies, gloriously ended their lives.

Book 7, Chapter 24.

(1) Besides all these the two books *On the Promises* were prepared by him. The occasion of these was Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, who taught that the promises to the holy men in the Divine Scriptures should be understood in a more Jewish manner, and that there would be a certain millennium of bodily luxury upon this earth. (2) As he thought that he could establish his private opinion by the Revelation of John, he wrote a book on this subject, entitled *Refutation of Allegorists*. (3) Dionysius opposes this in his books *On the Promises*. In the first he gives his own opinion of the dogma; and in the second he treats of the Revelation of John, and mentioning Nepos at the beginning, writes of him in this manner:

(4) "But since they bring forward a certain work of Nepos, on which they rely confidently, as if it proved beyond dispute that there will be a reign of Christ upon earth, I confess that in many other respects I approve and love Nepos, for his faith and industry and diligence in the Scriptures, and for his extensive psalmody, with which many of the brethren are still delighted; and I hold him in the more reverence because he has gone to rest before us. But the truth should be loved and honored most of all. And while we should praise and approve ungrudgingly what is said aright, we ought to examine and correct what does not seem to have been written soundly. (5) Were he present to state his opinion orally, mere unwritten discussion, persuading and reconciling those who are opposed by question and answer, would be sufficient. But as some think his work very plausible, and as certain teachers regard the law and prophets as of no consequence, and do not follow the Gospels, and treat lightly the apostolic epistles, while they make promises as to the teaching of this work as if it were some great hidden mystery, and do not permit our simpler brethren to have any sublime and lofty thoughts concerning the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord, and our resurrection from the dead, and our being gathered together unto him, and made like him, but on the contrary lead them to hope

for small and mortal things in the kingdom of God, and for things such as exist now – since this is the case, it is necessary that we should dispute with our brother Nepos as if he were present".

Farther on he says:

(6) "When I was in the district of Arsinoe, where, as you know, this doctrine has prevailed for a long time, so that schisms and apostasies of entire churches have resulted, I called together the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages – such brethren as wished being also present – and I exhorted them to make a public examination of this question. (7) Accordingly when they brought me this book, as if it were a weapon and fortress impregnable, sitting with them from morning till evening for three successive days, I endeavored to correct what was written in it. (8) And I rejoiced over the constancy, sincerity, docility, and intelligence of the brethren, as we considered in order and with moderation the questions and the difficulties and the points of agreement. And we abstained from defending in every manner and contentiously the opinions which we had once held, unless they appeared to be correct. Nor did we evade objections, but we endeavored as far as possible to hold to and confirm the things which lay before us, and if the reason given satisfied us, we were not ashamed to change our opinions and agree with others; but on the contrary, conscientiously and sincerely, and with hearts laid open before God, we accepted whatever was established by the proofs and teachings of the Holy Scriptures. (9) And finally the author and mover of this teaching, who was called Coracion, in the hearing of all the brethren that were present, acknowledged and testified to us that he would no longer hold this opinion, nor discuss it, nor mention nor teach it, as he was fully convinced by the arguments against it. And some of the other brethren expressed their gratification at the conference, and at the spirit of conciliation and harmony which all had manifested".

Book 7, Chapter 25.

(1) Afterward he [Dionysius] speaks in this manner of the Apocalypse of John.

"Some before us have set aside and rejected the book altogether, criticising it chapter by chapter, and pronouncing it without sense or argument, and maintaining that the title is fraudulent. (2) For they say that it is not the work of John, nor is it a revelation, because it is covered thickly and densely by a veil of obscurity. And they affirm that none of the apostles, and none of the saints, nor any one in the Church is its author, but that Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called after him the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name. (3) For the doctrine which he taught was this: that the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one. And as he was himself devoted to the pleasures of the body and altogether sensual in his nature, he dreamed that that kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, namely, in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion; that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying, and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims,

under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace. (4) But I could not venture to reject the book, as many brethren hold it in high esteem. But I suppose that it is beyond my comprehension, and that there is a certain concealed and more wonderful meaning in every part. For if I do not understand I suspect that a deeper sense lies beneath the words. (5) I do not measure and judge them by my own reason, but leaving the more to faith I regard them as too high for me to grasp. And I do not reject what I cannot comprehend, but rather wonder because I do not understand it".

(6) After this he [Dionysius] examines the entire Book of Revelation, and having proved that it is impossible to understand it according to the literal sense, proceeds as follows:

"Having finished all the prophecy, so to speak, the prophet pronounces those blessed who shall observe it, and also himself. For he says, 'Blessed is he that keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who saw and heard these things'. (7) Therefore that he was called John, and that this book is the work of one John, I do not deny. And I agree also that it is the work of a holy and inspired man. But I cannot readily admit that he was the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, by whom the Gospel of John and the Catholic Epistle were written. (8) For I judge from the character of both, and the forms of expression, and the entire execution of the book, that it is not his. For the evangelist nowhere gives his name, or proclaims himself, either in the Gospel or Epistle".

(9) Farther on he adds:

"But John never speaks as if referring to himself, or as if referring to another person. But the author of the Apocalypse introduces himself at the very beginning: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave him to show unto his servants quickly; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bore witness of the word of God and of his testimony, even of all things that he saw' [Rev 1:1-2]. (10) Then he writes also an epistle: 'John to the seven churches which are in Asia, grace be with you, and peace' [Rev 1:4]. But the evangelist did not prefix his name even to the Catholic Epistle; but without introduction he begins with the mystery of the divine revelation itself: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes' [1 Jn 1:1]. For because of such a revelation the Lord also blessed Peter, saying, 'Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto you, but my heavenly Father' [Mt 16:17]. (11) But neither in the reputed second or third epistle of John, though they are very short, does the name John appear; but there is written the anonymous phrase, 'the elder'. But this author did not consider it sufficient to give his name once and to proceed with his work; but he takes it up again: 'I, John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and in the patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus' [Rev 1:9]. And toward the close he speaks thus: 'Blessed is he that keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who saw and heard these things'.

(12) But that he who wrote these things was called John must be believed, as he says it; but who he was does not appear. For he did not say, as often in the Gospel, that he was the beloved disciple of the Lord, or the one who lay on his breast, or the brother of James, or the eyewitness and hearer of the Lord. (13) For he would have spoken of these things if he had wished to show himself plainly. But he says none of them; but speaks of himself as our brother and companion, and a witness of Jesus, and blessed because he had seen and heard the revelations.

(14) But I am of the opinion that there were many with the same name as the apostle John, who, on account of their love for him, and because they admired and emulated him, and desired to be loved by the Lord as he was, took to themselves the same surname, as many of the children of the faithful are called Paul or Peter. (15) For example, there is also another John, surnamed Mark, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Barnabas and Paul took with them; of whom also it is said, 'And they had also John as their attendant' [Act 13:5]. But that it is he who wrote this, I would not say. For it not written that he went with them into Asia, but, 'Now when Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem' [Act 13:13]. (16) But I think that he was some other one of those in Asia; as they say that there are two monuments in Ephesus, each bearing the name of John. (17) And from the ideas, and from the words and their arrangement, it may be reasonably conjectured that this one is different from that one. (18) For the Gospel and Epistle agree with each other and begin in the same manner. The one says, 'In the beginning was the Word' [Jn 1:1]; the other, 'That which was from the beginning' [1 Jn 1:1]. The one: 'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father' [Jn 1:14]; the other says the same things slightly altered: 'Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes; which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the Word of life – and the life was manifested' [1 Jn 1:1-2]. (19) For he introduces these things at the beginning, maintaining them, as is evident from what follows, in opposition to those who said that the Lord had not come in the flesh. Wherefore also he carefully adds, 'And we have seen and bear witness, and declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also' [1 Jn 1:2-3]. (20) He holds to this and does not digress from his subject, but discusses everything under the same heads and names some of which we will briefly mention. (21) Any one who examines carefully will find the phrases, 'the life,' 'the light,' 'turning from darkness,' frequently occurring in both; also continually, 'truth,' 'grace,' 'joy,' 'the flesh and blood of the Lord,' 'the judgment,' 'the forgiveness of sins,' 'the love of God toward us,' the 'commandment that we love one another,' that we should 'keep all the commandments'; the 'conviction of the world, of the Devil, of Anti-Christ,' the 'promise of the Holy Spirit,' the 'adoption of God,' the 'faith continually required of us,' 'the Father and the Son,' occur everywhere. In fact, it is plainly to be seen that one and the same character marks the Gospel and the Epistle throughout.

(22) But the Apocalypse is different from these writings and foreign to them; not touching, nor in the least bordering upon them; almost, so to speak, without even a syllable in common with them. (23) Nay more, the Epistle – for I pass by the Gospel – does not mention nor does it contain any intimation of the Apocalypse, nor does the Apocalypse of the Epistle. But Paul, in his epistles, gives some indication of his revelations, though he has not written them out by themselves.

(24) Moreover, it can also be shown that the diction of the Gospel and Epistle differs from that of the Apocalypse. (25) For they were written not only without error as regards the Greek language, but also with elegance in their expression, in their reasonings, and in their entire structure. They are far indeed from betraying any barbarism or solecism, or any vulgarism whatever. For the writer had, as it seems, both the requisites of discourse – that is, the gift of knowledge and the gift of expression – as the Lord had bestowed them both upon him.

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

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

St. Athanasius the Great (296 – 372/373)

And the disciples, wishing to know the time of the events spoken of, pleaded with the Lord: "When will this be? And what is the sign of Your coming" [Mt 24:3]? Having heard what the Savior had revealed about the end of the world, they wished to know the time of His coming so they would not be deceived but would be able to teach others. And indeed, having heard this, they helped the Thessalonians not to fall into error. Therefore, when someone has attained a perfect knowledge of such things, he will have a solid and sound understanding of the faith. And should someone reinterpret this to mean something else, he will soon fall into heresy. Hymenaeus and Alexander departed from the truth, saying that the resurrection had already taken place [1 Tim 1:19-20; 2 Tim 2:16-18]. And later Galatians did the same, having loved the circumcision (*Against the Arians*, Discourse One, 54).

St. Methodius of Patara and Olympus (c. 260 – 312)

Excerpt from "*The Feast of the Ten Virgins*":

Discourse I, Markella.

Chapter 5. Christ, having kept his flesh uncorrupted by sin, encourages us to remain virgins. Compared to other saints, virgins are few.

What did the Lord, the truth and light, do after His coming (into the world)? Having taken our flesh, he kept it pure – in its virginity. In the same way, we who wish to be like God and Christ should try to remain virgins. For the likeness of God consists in abstaining from corruption. And that the incarnate Word should become the first virgin, the first priest, and the first prophet in the Church is explained in the book of Revelation by John who was inspired by Christ. For he said: "And I looked, and, lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Zion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having *His name and* his Father's name [the added words: "*His name and*" are found in some copies of the Apocalypse] written in their foreheads". And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps: and they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth. These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth (Rev 14:1-4). Moreover, notice how precious virginity is in the eyes of God: they have been redeemed from among all people as the first-born of God and the Lamb, and there is no deceit in their lips; they are blameless and follow the Lamb wherever he goes (Rev 14:4-5). By this, he wishes to impress upon us the idea that in this number, that is, one hundred and forty-four thousand, the number of virgins has been revealed to us since ancient times, while the number of all other saints is indefinitely great. For it is remarkable that he added about others: "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number..." (Rev 7:9). So, as I have mentioned before, he talks about the countless multitudes of other saints, and virgins are very few compared to those who make up the countless multitudes. [...]

Discourse VI, Agatha.

Chapter V. The reward of virginity.

Such is the triumph of our sacrament, o beautiful virgins; such is the sacred rite of those initiated into the mystery of virginity; such are the rewards of the pure striving for chastity (Wis 4:2). I become the bride of the Word and I receive the eternal

crown of incorruption and my Father's riches as a dowry; and I always triumph, having been crowned with brilliant and unfading colors of wisdom, rejoicing in heaven with Christ, the Rewarder, being near the One eternal and infinite King. I became the candle-bearer for the unsetting Sun and sing a new song among the archangels, glorifying the new grace of the Church. For the host of virgins always follows the Lord and triumphs with Him, wherever He might be. This is what John also refers to in speaking of the one hundred and forty-four thousand (Rev 7:4). So, march ye, o young daughters of the coming ages! March on, and fill up your vessels with the truth! For the time has come to get up and go out to meet the Bridegroom. Walk ye boldly, abstaining from the amusements and charms of this world, which entice and captivate the soul; for you will receive what was promised. "I swear by Him who showed us the way of life" [Exameter verse on v. 47 of the so-called "Golden Verses" by Pythagoras].

This wreath has been woven with prophecies; I have picked them at the prophetic meadows, and I bring them unto you, Aretha. [...]

Discourse 9, Tisiana.

Chapter 1. Virginity is the main decoration of the true tabernacle. "What is the meaning of the seven days, in which the Jews were commanded to celebrate the feast of tabernacles?" That the end of this seven-day cycle is unknown, for there's no one who has been shown the time of the end of the world. The world is still in the making.

Aretha, o beloved beauty of all lovers of virginity! I plead with you to help me so I won't have any lack of things to say after having delivered so many diverse speeches. Therefore, I drop all introductions and preliminary speeches, so that I would not, having spent so much time in compiling them properly, deviate from the very subject of my discourse – that virginity is most glorious, respectable, and magnificent. God, wishing to teach the true Israelites how to celebrate and honor the true Feast of Tabernacles, explains this in the book of Leviticus, showing that everyone should, above all, adorn his tabernacle with purity. I will quote the very words of Scripture to make it clear to everyone that fighting the good fight of purity is pleasing unto God. "And on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when you reap the harvest of your land, celebrate the feast of the Lord for seven days; and the eighth day is the day of rest. And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows, and agnus of the brook [Αγνος vitex, or Komapicha, the pure lamb or chaste tree, a plant, which by its very name reflects the title of this work: περι αγνείας. This fragrant plant is a shrub, described by Plato in "Fedra", 230. Pliny Hist. Nat. 24.19. It is also mentioned in the Holy Scripture. Leviticus 23:40, in the translation of the 70 scholars, mentions the branches of the agnos tree (άγνυ κλαδυς) separately from other listed branches – it is the tree, under the

shadow of which the feast of the virgins took place]; and ye shall rejoice before the LORD your God for seven days. It shall be a perpetual statute for your generations. Ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month. Ye shall dwell in booths seven days. All that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths: that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought you ["them" in the Bible] out of the land of Egypt. I am the LORD your God" (Lev 23:39-43). Of course, the Jews (hovering over the letter of Scripture like bumblebees hover around leafy vegetables and unlike bees that hover around flowers and fruits), will claim that these words and precepts refer to the tabernacle of their own making, as if God would be pleased with those perishable and diverse ornaments, which they construct from tree branches. Yet, they do not grasp all the wealth of the future blessings, for all this is nothing but a breath and a symbol, foreshadowing the resurrection of our fallen tabernacle on earth, which we received back immortal in the seventh millennium [from the creation of the world] and which we will celebrate in the great feast of true tabernacles in the new and undying world, when all the harvests of the land will be gathered in and people will no longer give birth and be born, and when God rests from all his creative works. For just as in six days God created heaven and earth and completed all his works in the world, and just as he rested on the seventh day from all the works of his hands and blessed the seventh day and sanctified it (Gen 2:1-2), and just as we were transformatively commanded by the Lord to celebrate in the seventh month when the earthly fruits have been gathered, so God, having truly completed the universe, will rejoice over us (Ps 104:31 [Ps 103:31 rus]) when this world has reached the seventh millennium. Now everything is still run by God's mighty will and incomprehensible power, the earth is still producing its fruit, and the waters still gather in their pools, the light is still separated (from darkness), and the number of people on the earth is still growing, the sun is still rising to govern the day, and the moon to govern the night (Gen 1:16); four-footed animals, beasts, and reptiles still come out of the earth, and birds and fish still come out of the water. But then, in the seventh month, on the great day of resurrection, when the times have been fulfilled and God has finished creating the world, our feast of tabernacles will be held in honor of the Lord, for which symbols and shadows were given in the book of Leviticus. They must be made clear for us to comprehend the revealed truth. As Scripture says, the wise will hear and increase learning and comprehend proverbs and the interpretation, the words of the wise and their dark sayings (Prov 1:5-6). Therefore, let those Jews be ashamed who do not comprehend the depths of the Scriptures, thinking that the law and prophets spoke only of the earthly things. Striving towards earthly things, they prefer external riches to spiritual wealth. The Scripture, however, contains images of a twofold kind concerning the past and future, yet, these miserable people rejected all this and embraced the shadows of the future as if they related to the past. So, about the slaying of the lamb they still believe that the sacrament of the slaughtered lamb is but a remembrance of the salvation of their fathers out of Egypt when they were redeemed from death by the blood sprinkled on the doorposts while all the first-born in Egypt were smitten. They did not grasp that it was

also a foreshadowing, a type of Christ being slaughtered, by whose blood the sealed and protected souls will be saved from the wrath (of God) when the universe is burned and the first-born of Satan are destroyed. The punishing hand of angels will not touch those who have the seal of his blood on them.

Chapter 2. The type, the symbol, the truth, – law, grace, glory. Man was created immortal. – Death was introduced until sin is done away with.

I have given this as an example of how the Jews, by interpreting what was given to them through the past, lost all hope of future blessings and did not acknowledge either the foreshadowing types, or symbols, or the very image of truth. However, the law is a type and a shadow pointing to the image, that is, to the Gospel, and the Gospel is an image of the truth itself. For the ancients and the law prophetically prefigured for us the characteristics of the Church, and the Church is a shadow of the characteristics of the coming ages. Therefore, having accepted Christ who said: "I am the truth" (Jn 14:6), we are convinced that the shadows and types are now gone, and we reach out for the truth, proclaiming its true symbols. For we still know in part as if through a glass, darkly, because perfection has not yet come to us (that is, the Kingdom of Heaven and resurrection), after which everything partial will cease (1 Cor 13:10-12). Then, our tabernacles will be firmly established, when, after the union and fusion of bones and flesh, the body will rise again. Then we will indeed celebrate the day of joy before the Lord, when we have received the new tabernacle, which will no longer decay or be reduced to the dust (Dan 12:2). Our tabernacles were once indestructible, yet were shaken and fell because of the transgression, and God destroys our sin through death, so that the sinful person, immortal as he is in spite of the sin living in him, would not remain condemned forever. That's why man is subjected to death though he is neither mortal nor corruptible. The soul is separated from the flesh so that through death sin could no longer live in the one who died. So, after death and extermination of sin, I rise again in immortality and sing praise unto God who saves (his) children through death. And I will lawfully celebrate His honor by adorning my tabernacle – the flesh – with good works, just as the (Gospel) virgins did with their five burning lamps (Mt 25:7).

Chapter 3. How should we, then, prepare ourselves for the future resurrection?

When I am tested on the first day of the resurrection, will I bring forth to God what was commanded? Have I adorned myself with virtues as if with good fruit? Am I overshadowed by the branches of virginity? Think of the resurrection as of setting up your tabernacle. Imagine that this tabernacle is made of your good deeds. So, I anticipate the first day, that is, the day I will stand before the judgment seat. Have I adorned my tabernacle with what was commanded? Does it have the things we are told to attain

in this world, which I could present to God? Let us, then, consider the following. It says that on the first day we should take the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows, and agnus of the brook, and rejoice before the LORD your God [for seven days] (Lev 23:40). The Jews, who are uncircumcised in heart, interpret the goodly trees to be the lemon tree due to its size and are not ashamed to say that God, who is not pleased with all the animals in the world as burnt offerings, as well as all frankincense, could be glorified by a lemon tree. And besides, o stubborn ones, if the lemon tree is goodly, isn't the vine even more so? And what about the pomegranate? Isn't the apple tree and other fruit trees much more beautiful than lemon? Solomon, listing all these beautiful trees in the Song of Songs (Song 4:13), left out the lemon. But those foolish people are clearly in error, not understanding (what is being said here) about the tree of life, which had previously grown in Paradise and now has been cultivated for everyone by the Church. It yields its beautiful and lovely fruit of faith. This is the fruit we must all bear when we appear before the judgment seat of Christ on the first day of the Feast. And if we do not have this fruit, we will not be able to celebrate with God and, according to John, will not be able to participate in the first resurrection (Rev 20:6). For the tree of life is the first-born Wisdom. It is, as the prophet says, the tree of life for those who acquire it and the stronghold for those who rely on it as on the Lord (Prov 3:18 LXX). It is a tree planted by the streams of water which yields its fruit in season (Ps 1:3) – the doctrine and the wisdom proclaimed in due time for those who come to the waters of redemption. But how can one celebrate if he never believed unto Christ, never knew Him as the source and the tree of life, if he cannot present to God his tabernacle adorned with the most beautiful of fruits? How will he rejoice? Do you wish to know what this fruit is? Consider the words of our Lord Jesus Christ – how much more beautiful they are than (the words of) the sons of men (Ps 45:2 [Ps 44:3]). The law that came through Moses was a beautiful fruit, but it wasn't as beautiful as the Gospel. For it was only a type and shadow of the things to come, but the Gospel is the very truth and grace of life. The fruit that the prophets bore was goodly indeed, but not as goodly as the fruit of incorruption cultivated by this (Gospel).

Chapter 4. The mind, when cleansed of its evil, becomes discerning. The adornment of the soul and the order of virtues. Love is a tree with many fruit-laden branches. – Virginity is *the highest of adornments. – Even the way we use marriage should be chaste.*

"On the first day one should take the boughs of goodly trees and branches of palm trees" (Lev 23:40) – this admonition tells us to be diligent in practicing the divine teaching, by which the soul is cleansed and adorned, defeating its passions, while its sins are being swept out of the way like garbage. For to enter this feast we must be cleansed and adorned, having abundantly supplied ourselves with good deeds through the good fight of faith, because the mind, cleansed by our diligent labors on the earth as we

struggle to keep ourselves from various dark thoughts becomes more discerning of the truth. In the same way, the Gospel widow found her silver coin after sweeping the house clean and throwing away all the garbage (Lk 15:9; Mk 12:42), that is, the passions that darken and overwhelm the soul and multiply through self-indulgence and negligence. And so, whoever wishes to partake of the feast of tabernacles and dwell together with the saints, let him, first of all, bear this beautiful fruit, which is faith. After that, let him bring palm branches – the diligent study and application of Scriptures – and next, the blossoming boughs of thick trees of love, which (the Scripture) instructs us to bring after the palm branches by aptly associating love with thick boughs, because love is indeed like a thick and branchy fruit-laden tree, without any empty or bare spaces. It is covered with good fruit all over – both the branches and the trunk. Love is exactly like this: it is never empty or barren. For even if I sell my possessions and give them to the poor, and if I give up my body to be burned, and if I have enough faith to move the mountains, but no love, then I am nothing (1 Cor 13:2-3). So, love is a fruitful tree and the thickest one of all because of its abundant and most blessed gifts. What else are we advised to bring? Willow branches, says he, calling them the truth, because the righteous, according to the prophet, grow like unto grass in water, and like unto willows beside the streams of water (Ex 44:4), blossoming with wisdom. In addition to all this, we are commanded to take up the branches of the willow of the brook (agnos) as adornment, since this tree by its very name [the innocent lamb or the chaste one] points to virginity, which is an adornment for all the above-mentioned virtues. So, let those who lack self-control and reject virginity through their lust depart! For how can one enter the feast of Christ who has not decorated his tabernacle with the branches of virginity, this blessed God-given tree, with which all those who wish to partake of this feast and participate in Christ's marriage must clothe themselves and gird up their loins? Now, understand, o ye most beautiful virgins, the very Scriptures and commandments, and see how the Word (of God) made virginity the sum total of all the above-mentioned virtues, teaching how beautiful and desirable this purity will be at the resurrection of the dead and that no one will receive the promised blessings without it. Primarily, it is we, the virgins, who cultivate this purity and offer it to the Lord. However, those who live like virgins with their spouses do the same; they bring to God, as it were, the offshoots from the trunk, bearing the fruit of chastity without reaching and without touching the upper and greater branches. Nevertheless, they still produce some branches of virginity for God, however small. As for those who are lustful, even though they avoid adultery, yet show no moderation with the one lawful wife, how they will celebrate this feast, how will they rejoice when they have not adorned their tabernacles, that is, their flesh, with the branches of "agnos" and did not heed what was said: "They that have wives be as though they had none?" (1 Cor 7:29).

Chapter 5. The mystery of tabernacles.

Therefore, I say that those who persevere in their faith and have great prudence should zealously pursue virginity as the most wholesome and most glorious (of all). For in the new and everlasting world, those who are not adorned with the branches of virginity, will not achieve rest, as they have not fulfilled the commandments of God stated in the law and will not enter the promised land without having first celebrated the feast of tabernacles. Those who have celebrated the feast in their tabernacles will enter the holy land, having departed from the so-called tabernacles to go to the very temple and the city of God, that is, they will go on to the highest and most glorious joy, prefigured by the Jewish types and shadows. For even as they, having left the land of Egypt and begun their sojourn, came to dwell in tabernacles [a reference to the village of Succoth, where the Israelites camped while wandering in the desert (Ex 12:37; Num 33:5) and which means "tabernacle" (Heb. Succoth): tent, tabernacle, booth], and from where they proceeded to the promised land. So do we. And I, having departed from here and having come out of Egypt – this earthly life – first reach the resurrection, the true feast of tabernacles, and I set up my own tabernacle, adorned with the fruit of virtue on the first day of the feast of the resurrection, at the time of the judgment, while celebrating together with Christ the Millennium of peace, also called the seven days, or the true Sabbath. Then, following Jesus who passed through heaven (Heb 4:14), I, in the same manner, go to the promised land, that is, to heaven, having rested at the feast of tabernacles without remaining in tabernacles. That is, my (bodily) tabernacle does not remain the same, but will, after the Millennial Kingdom, change from the human and perishable to the angelic state, high in grandeur and beauty, and then, finally, we, the virgins, will go on from this marvelous abode (σκηνης, Ps 41:5 LXX) after the feast of the resurrection – to the greater and the better, to the very house of God above heaven, "with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holyday", as the Psalmist says (Ps 42:4 [Ps 41:5 rus]). [...]

Excerpt from "*On the Ressurection*":

So what did Moses, the theologian, do when he established the mysterious feast of tabernacles (in) the book of Leviticus? (Lev 23:39) Did he really mean that we should be celebrating before the Lord in the manner of the Jews, who understand the Scriptures so superficially that they interpret it as though God could be pleased with those booths made of fruit, branches, and leaves, which so quickly wither and perish? I doubt. What, then, was the purpose of establishing the feast of tabernacles? It was given as a sign of the true tabernacle, subjected to corruption through our transgression and destroyed by sin. God promised to restore it and raise it indestructible, so that we would indeed celebrate the great and glorious feast of tabernacles in our resurrection, when our (bodily) tents, having been mended and adorned with immortality and harmony, would come out of the

earth incorruptible, when, according to the true prophecy (Ezek 37:4), the dry bones, having been fused together, would harken unto the life-giving voice of the Creator and great Artist, who will renew and weave the flesh together not with the former bonds but entirely with those that are imperishable and indestructible. I once saw a fire on the Olympus (a mountain in Lycia) coming out by itself from the surface of the earth and up to the very top of the mountain, and near that fire there was an agnos tree, blossoming, green, and shady as if it had been growing by the riverside. Though by its very nature it belongs to perishable things, destructible by fire – and it is impossible to be made of flammable substance and not burn – how can this tree not only remain untouched by fire but also bloom even more and get greener, whereas it should, by its very nature, burn? And besides, the fire was by its very roots. When I was throwing the branches from the surrounding forest into the place where the fire came out, they would immediately flare up and burn to ashes. Tell me, why does this tree, though it cannot survive even the heat of the sun but withers unless watered and irrigated, not only withstand the hot flames but also live and thrive? What is the significance of this miracle? God set this up as a sign and prefiguration of the coming day, so that we would clearly know that when everything is engulfed by fire (from heaven), the bodies that are adorned with virginity and godliness will be led by Him through the fire, as if through cold water, without suffering any harm. Truly, o merciful and generous Lord, "the creature that serveth thee, who art the Maker increaseth his strength against the unrighteous for their punishment, and abateth his strength for the benefit of such as put their trust in thee" (Wis 16:24). By your will, the fire offers coolness without causing any harm to those whom you yourself have prepared for salvation, and, on the contrary, the water will be hotter than fire, for nothing can resist your invincible power and might. You made everything out of nothing, therefore, you change and transform all things as your own to fulfill your good purpose, for you are the one and only God.

Excerpt from "*On Created Things*":

After many fables about the eternity of the universe, Origen adds the following: it was not since Adam, as some claim, that man, who had not existed before, was created for the first time and entered into the world, nor did the creation of the world begin six days before the creation of Adam. If anyone wishes to disagree with this, let him first consider whether it is not better to reckon (one day) from the creation of the world as one age [i.e. millennium], according to the book of Moses, if we accept it in this form, just as the prophet proclaims: "From everlasting to everlasting, thou art God; for a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night?" (Ps 90:2, 4 [Ps 89:3, 5 rus]; 2 Pet 3:8). If in the eyes of God a thousand years is but one day, then there are six days between the creation of the world and the day of rest, that is, our time, according to the experts in the art of time-keeping. Therefore, they say that the six thousandth year, which started with the creation of Adam,

is still in progress, and judgment will come in the seventh millennium. Thus, there are altogether thirteen days between our time and the beginning of the world, when God created the heaven and the earth, before which, according to their insane opinion, God wasn't creating anything, thus forfeiting the glory of the Almighty Creator. [In the original "Father", but it should probably be read as "Creator" in the context of this discourse – the opinion of the publishers of this work. See Migne, p. 344]. If indeed only thirteen days have passed in the eyes of God since the creation of the world, why does it say in the Wisdom of Sirach: "Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of eternity?" (Sir 1:2). This is what Origen is trying to point out, but watch out for his empty talk.

Lucius Lactantius (c. 250 – c. 325)

Excerpt from "*The Divine Institutes*", book 7:

14. [...] (4) Plato and many other philosophers, who did not know the beginning of things nor the time when the world was made, said that thousands of ages must have passed since the moment when this beautiful world came into existence. In this, they probably followed the Chaldeans, who, as Cicero claimed in his first book *On Divination* [See Cicero. *On Divination*, 1.19.36], were talking nonsense as if they had been keeping records of [what was known to them] for four hundred and seventy thousand years. Since they did not consider that they could be exposed, they were sure they could go on telling lies without restraint. (5) But we, who are led to the knowledge of the truth by the Holy Scriptures, know both the beginning and the end of the world, which we will discuss now at the close of this volume, for we spoke of the beginning in the second book [see 2.8 et seq.]. (6) So, let those philosophers, who suggest that thousands of centuries have elapsed since the foundation of the world, know that the sixth millennium has not yet ended. After this particular number of years, everything will inevitably end, and the state of human affairs will change for the better. And we should present arguments in favor of this so as to make things clear.

(7) As testified in the treasury of the Holy Scriptures, God completed this wonderful creation and the first elements of nature in six days, and on the seventh day, He rested from all his labors and sanctified everything [that was created]. (8) This is the Sabbath day [sabbati], called in Hebrew by its very number, making the number seven correct and perfect [See Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies*, 5.28.3; 30.4; 33.2]. After all, the seven days [in a week] repeat themselves over and over again, forming annual cycles [orbes annorum]. Also, the seven stars [septem stellae] that do not set and the seven stars [septem sidera] called the wandering stars – their different speed and inconsistent movement are believed to be the causes of a wide variety of things and

times. (9) So, since the works of God were completed in six days, the earth must also remain in this state for six ages, that is, for six thousand years. For the great day of God is limited to a cycle of a thousand years, as the prophet said, "For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday" [Ps 90:4 (Ps 89:5 rus); 2 Pet 3:8]. (10) Just as God worked on the creation of this wonderful world for six days, so His worship and truth must work for six thousand years, while evil is prevailing and reigning. (11) And again, since, having completed his creation, God rested and blessed [the created world] on the seventh day, it is necessary that all the evil should be eliminated from the face of the earth by the end of the sixth millennium and justice should reign for a thousand years. And then we will have peace and rest from all our labors, which will last until the end. (12) But this will only happen after He reveals [i.e. makes visible] His order of things.

We have repeatedly emphasized that small and insignificant things often serve as types and shadows of something larger, and therefore our ordinary day, from sunrise to sunset, is an image of that great day that concludes the millennial cycle of time. (13) In the same way, the creation of a mortal man is a type and shadow of creating the future heavenly nation. After all, just as God, having created everything pertaining to our sustenance, made man last of all and brought him into the world on the sixth day, as if to a fully prepared house, so now, on this great sixth day, the word of God creates man anew, that is, a holy nation, made through the teachings and instructions of God. (14) And just as God formed from the earth the mortal and imperfect men to dwell in this world for a thousand years, so now, in this earthly age, man is made perfect so that he would, after his resurrection, dwell in this world for a thousand years.

[…]

24. (1) Let me now add what remains to be said. The Son of the Most High and Almighty God will come to judge the living and the dead, as Sibyl testifies and affirms:

Here, among the mortals, confusion will reign in all the earth.
For one day the Almighty will come and sit down on His throne
And judge the souls of the living and the dead – judgment for the whole world.
[The Sibylline Books, 8.81-83]

(2) When he destroys injustice and begins His great judgment, He will raise from the dead all those righteous who departed from the beginning, and will abide among His people for a thousand years, reigning over them in righteousness. This was foreshadowed by yet another Sibyl, prophesying in a frenzy:

Mortal man, hearken – the Lord imperishable reigns!
[The Sibylline Books, Excerpt 4]

(3) Those who remain alive in their bodies will not die but will during the same thousand years give birth to an infinite number of people, and their offspring will be holy and pleasing to God. And those who rise from hell [ab inferis] will be leaders among the living like judges. (4) The Gentiles will not disappear entirely, but some will remain until the victory of God – to participate in the triumph of the righteous and remain under the yoke of eternal slavery. (5) At the same time, the prince of demons who is behind all evil will be chained and will be kept in bonds by the heavenly powers for a thousand years while justice reigns in the circle of the earth so that no evil would prevail against the people of God. (6) When the [Son of God] comes, the righteous will gather from all over the earth, and, after the judgment, the holy city [civitas sancta] will appear in the center of the earth, in which the Creator God himself will dwell together with the righteous. Sibyl speaks about this city in the following way:

The city, chosen by God, was made to shine so brightly –
Brighter than the stars in the sky and the Sun together with the Moon.
[The Sibylline Books, 5.420-421]

(7) At that time, the darkness that covered and veiled the skies will be removed. And the Moon will acquire the radiance of the Sun and will no longer wane. The Sun will be seven times brighter than now. The earth will reveal its fertility and will by itself bear much fruit. The cliffs of the mountains will drip with honey, the rivers will overflow with milk. As a result, the world will rejoice, and the nature of all things, redeemed and liberated from the power of evil, wickedness, crime, and deceit will be jubilant. (8) At that time, no animal will feed on blood, no bird will hunt its prey, but all will be peaceful and meek. Lions and calves will share a common stall, wolves will not slay the sheep, nor will they look for meat; kites and eagles will harm no one, and children will play with snakes. (9) Then, finally, something else will appear, which, according to the poets, was there before, back in the golden age during the reign of Saturn. They were mistaken speaking of the future things, foretold by the prophets, as if they had referred to the past. For from the Divine Spirit, a vision was granted to the eyes of the prophets, and they saw when all this would take place and come about. (10) When these prophecies got spread by word of mouth, those uninitiated in the mysteries, who did not know to what time they were referring, concluded that everything that could not have taken place during the rule of man had been fulfilled in the days of old.

(11) But when the wicked religions are destroyed and the transgression is wiped out, the land will be subdued to God,

The rowers will abandon the sea, and the floating pines will no longer
Carry the goods – for the earth will pour its abundance in every place;
The land will no longer suffer the hoe, nor the vineyard suffer the sickle;

The mighty husbandman will set the oxen free from their yoke.
[Virgil. Bucolics. Eclogues, 4.38-41]
And then,
The fields will slowly turn golden with ears of grain so tender,
And the uncultivated vine will overhang with its red clusters;
The oak-tree, though hard with its bark, will drip dewy honey;
The wool will not be treacherous anymore, nor fool us by its varying shades,
The ram, if desired, will change the color of the fleece into the soft-crimson purple
Or into the golden saffron,
And in the fields, the purple will willingly clothe the lambs;
The goats will freely bring home their udders, heavy with milk,
And formidable lions will no longer endanger the flocks.
[Virgil. Bucolics. Eclogues, 4.28-30; 42-45; 21-22]
(12) This is what the poet predicted based on the songs of the Cumaean Sibyl. The words of the Erythraean Sibyl:
Sheep will graze in the mountains together with wolves,
and wild leopards will roam in pastures together with goats.
The calf can safely dwell with the bear in its pen,
The meat-eating lion will like an ox feed on straw in a manger.
And will the snake and the baby sleep safely together in the same bed?
[The Sibylline Books, 3.788-791; 794]
(13) And in another place she speaks of the coming abundance:
As recompense, the mortals will receive great joy from God.
For the earth, trees, and pastures will yield
Their perfect fruit, and then there will be plenty of
Sweet honey, wine, snow-white milk, and bread –
The bread, which is the most important thing, the highest good for us mortals.
[The Sibylline Books, 3.619-623]
(14) And the other one speaks in much the same way:

Then, the heavenly milk will pour down on those with a pure soul –
On those who have placed all their hopes on the Creator,
The Most High, on those who offer him glory and faith.
[The Sibylline Books, 5.281-283]

(15) So, people will live in peace, enjoy abundance, and rule together with God. Kings will come from the ends of the world to bring their gifts and offerings to honor and glorify the great King, whose name will be known and revered by all the peoples under heaven and all the kings ruling over the earth.

25. (1) This is what, according to the prophets, will happen in the future. I didn't think it was necessary to reference their words and testimonies here, otherwise, there would be no end to this book, and the size of it would not allow for so many quotes. Besides, the reader might be averted by the fact that I had collected the sayings of all the prophets and quoted them here as evidence even though so many of them say the same thing and speak in the same spirit. Besides, I wished to support what I was saying not with a reference to our Scripture, but above all, to other scriptures, and to show that not only we but also those who are persecuting us have some truth, which they refuse to accept. (2) If anyone wishes to understand this in more depth, let him draw from the true source – in it, they will find more surprising things than what we have described in these books.

(3) Perhaps someone will ask now about the time when all this will take place. As I have already mentioned, this change will come after six thousand years [See 7.14.6], and the final day of our complete exodus [from the world] is drawing near. (4) The signs that will foreshadow this event are described by the prophets. In fact, they gave us the signs according to which we should be alert on certain days and wait expectantly for the end. (5) As to the exact timing, you can learn about it from those who studied the Holy Scriptures and numerous histories and figured out how many years have elapsed since the beginning of the world. Although they often disagree, and the number of years is different for each one of them, yet the end seems to be no more than two hundred years away. (6) Everything seems to point to the close destruction and the end of the world, but, apparently, we shouldn't fear anything like that until the city of Rome stands unharmed. (7) But when this capital of the world falls and Rome is reduced to "a miserable street", as the Sibyls predicted [*The Sibylline Books, 8.165*], who then will doubt that the end of all human affairs and the circle of the earth has come? (8) Until now, this city has withstood everything, and we must pray to the God of heaven that, if His commands and precepts can at all be postponed, the tyrant who is to perpetrate such an evil by blowing out this candle and destroying that which will bring the end of the world, should come no earlier than expected.

(9) For now, let's go back to what remains to be said.

26. (1) As we said earlier [See 7.24.5], the prince of demons will be defeated at the beginning of the holy reign of God. However, when the Millennium of the holy Kingdom comes to an end, that is, at the end of the seventh millennium, he will be set free again and will rise in rebellion, instigating all the nations ruled over by the righteous ones to wage war against the holy city. And all these countless hordes of Gentiles will gather from all over the earth to lay a siege to that city. (2) Then, the wrath of God will fall upon the Gentiles again, and He will destroy them all from first to last. He will start with smiting the earth, and after a mighty earthquake, the mountains of Syria will crumble, the valleys will sink, and city walls will collapse all around. God will stop the Sun in the sky for three days, so it would not go down but would continue shining. He will strike down the enemy and the wicked nations with unbearable scorching heat, as well as with brimstone, rockfalls, and drops of fire. Their souls will melt in flames, their bodies will be crushed by falling rocks, and they will kill themselves with swords. And the mountains will be filled with corpses, and the fields will be covered with bones. (3) God's people will, however, hide in the hollows of the land for three days, until the wrath of God against the Gentiles has been fulfilled and the final judgment has been wrought. (4) Then, the righteous ones will come out of their hiding and find everything covered with corpses and bones. The wicked will perish entirely, and there will be no other nation on the face of the earth except the people of God. Then, for seven long years, forests will stand unharmed, and stones will not fall from the mountains. The armies of the Gentiles will be destroyed, and there will be no more war but eternal peace and rest. (5) When the Millennium is over, God will renew the earth; the skies will be rolled up, and the face of the earth will be changed. And God will make people like unto angels, and they will be white as snow. And they will forever abide in the sight of God the Almighty and worship and serve the Lord forever. (6) At that time, the second and general resurrection will take place, and the wicked will rise to receive everlasting punishment. They are those who worship man-made things, who do not know the Lord, the Parent of the world, and deny Him. (7) But their master will also be exposed together with his minions and sentenced to eternal perdition. All the multitudes of sinners will burn together with him in the eternal fire as punishment for their crimes in full view of the angels and the righteous.

(8) Such is the teaching of the holy prophets, which we, Christians, hold on to. Such is our wisdom, ridiculed as foolishness and idle talk by those who worship perishable things and indulge in empty philosophies. After all, we do not have the habit of defending it publicly, but, following the command of God, being peaceful and quiet, keep His mystery hidden within our circles and avoid stubborn and passionate arguments with those who are far from the truth, who mercilessly attack God and His religion, not wishing to comprehend it but rather to ridicule and accuse it. (9) For the mystery must be kept hidden with all diligence, especially by us who bear the name of faith. (10) But those [pagans] condemn this silence of ours as conspiracy, and, therefore, come up with these abominable lies about honest and innocent people, believing in what they themselves invented.

Marcellus of Ancyra (died 373)

The teaching of Marcellus is known to a greater extent from references in other writers (Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea, St. Athanasius the Great, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus).

«Now I, following the sacred scriptures, believe that there is one God and his only-begotten Son, the Word, who is always with the Father and has never had a beginning, but is truly of God – not created, not made, but forever existent, forever reigning with God and his Father, "of whose kingdom", as the apostle testifies, "there shall be no end" [Lk 1:33].

[...] This faith, which I have both learned from the sacred scriptures and been taught by godly parents, I preach in God's church and have now written down for you, keeping a copy for myself. I also request that you enclose a copy of it in your letter to the bishops, so that none of those who do not know me and my accusers well will be deceived by paying attention to what they have written. Farewell!» (Letter to Julius, the Bishop of Rome [see St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Panarion*, 72]).

St. Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306 – 373)

"In the same way, he understood a thousand years symbolically as a pointer to the eternal life in all its infinity... He distinguished between the first and the second resurrections since there are two ranks of saints in the Old and New Testaments. By this he showed that the New Testament saints would rise first, and the Old Testament saints second. The resurrection, however, will be one event and will occur simultaneously..." (Discourse 96. On repentance).

St. Basil the Great (c. 330 – 379)

«(4) Next comes Apollinarius, who is no less a cause of sorrow to the Churches. With his facility of writing, and a tongue ready to argue on any subject, he has filled the world with his works, in disregard of the advice of him who said, "Beware of making many books" [Eccles 12:12]. In their multitude there are certainly many errors. How is it possible to avoid sin in a

multitude of words? [cf. Prov 10:19] And the theological works of Apollinarius are founded on Scriptural proof, but are based on a human origin. He has written about the resurrection, from a mythical, or rather Jewish, point of view; urging that we shall return again to the worship of the Law, be circumcised, keep the Sabbath, abstain from meats, offer sacrifices to God, worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, and be altogether turned from Christians into Jews.

What could be more ridiculous? Or, rather, what could be more contrary to the doctrines of the Gospel? Then, further, he has made such confusion among the brethren about the incarnation, that few of his readers preserve the old mark of true religion; but the more part, in their eagerness for novelty, have been diverted into investigations and quarrelsome discussions of his unprofitable treatises» (Letter 255 (263). To Those in the West [To the Westerns]).

«(2) I have been specially moved to desire union with you by the report of the zeal of your reverences in the cause of orthodoxy. The constancy of your hearts has been stirred neither by multiplicity of books nor by variety of ingenious arguments. You have on the contrary, recognised those who endeavoured to introduce innovations in opposition to the apostolic doctrines, and you have refused to keep silence concerning the mischief which they are causing. I have in truth found great distress among all who cleave to the peace of the Lord at the various innovations of Apollinarius of Laodicea. He has all the more distressed me from the fact that he seemed at the beginning on our side. […] So meanly and poorly has he dared to explain the blessed hope laid up for all who live according to the Gospel of Christ, as to reduce it to mere old wives' fables [cf. 1 Tim 4:7] and doctrines of Jews [see Tit 1:14]. He proclaims the renewal of the Temple, the observance of the worship of the Law, a typical high priest over again after the real High Priest, and a sacrifice for sins after the Lamb of God Who takes away the sin of the world [Jn 1:29]. He preaches partial baptisms after the one baptism, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the Church which, through its faith in Christ, has not spot or wrinkle, or any such thing [Eph 5:27]; cleansing of leprosy after the painless state of the resurrection; an offering of jealousy [Num 5:18] when they neither marry nor are given in marriage; show-bread after the Bread from heaven; burning lamps after the true Light. In a word, if the law of the Commandments has been done away with by dogmas [cf. Eph 2:15], it is plain that under these circumstances the dogmas of Christ will be nullified by the injunctions of the law. At these things shame and disgrace have covered my face, and heavy grief has filled my heart. Wherefore, I beseech you, as skilful physicians, and instructed how to discipline antagonists with gentleness, to try and bring him back to the right order of the Church, and to persuade him to despise the wordiness of his own works; for he has proved the truth of the proverb "in the multitude of words there wants not sin" [Prov 10:19]. Put boldly before him the doctrines of orthodoxy, in order that his amendment may be

published abroad, and his repentance made known to his brethren» (Letter 257 (265). To Eulogius, Alexander, and Harpocration, the bishops of Egypt, in exile).

St. Philastrius of Brescia (dead 387)

Excerpt from «The Book of Heresies», chapter 59:

There is another sect of chiliasts, otherwise members of the millennial generation, who teach thus: at the coming of Christ from heaven, for a thousand years He comes the second time for us so we were in the flesh, have multiplied and eaten every day in this world, as it is now; don't know the law of the flesh in heaven, that is the reward of immortality; but He will not be back to this fleeting and transitory world; this the Lord spoke in the gospel to the Jews: you are mistaken, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God, for in the resurrection they neither marry, neither are married, but are like Angels of God in heaven [Mt 22:29-30]. And the Apostle also says: For the Kingdom of God is not food and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit [Rom 14:17].

St. Gregory the Theologian (329 – 389)

«Our bosom evil, Eunomius, is no longer content with merely existing; but unless he can draw away everyone with him to his ruinous heresy, he thinks himself an injured man. All this, however, is endurable. The most grievous item of all in the woes of the Church is the boldness of the Apollinarians, whom your Holiness has overlooked, I know not how, when providing themselves with authority to hold meetings on an equality with myself. However, you being, as you are, thoroughly instructed by the grace of God in the Divine Mysteries on all points, are well informed, not only as to the advocacy of the true faith, but also as to all those arguments which have been devised by the heretics against the sound faith; and yet perhaps it will not be unseasonable that your Excellency should hear from my littleness that a pamphlet by Apollinarius has come into my hands, the contents of which surpass all heretical pravity. For he asserts that the Flesh which the Only-begotten Son assumed in the Incarnation for the remodelling of our nature was no new acquisition, but that that carnal nature was in the Son from the beginning. And he puts forward as a witness to this monstrous assertion a garbled quotation from the Gospels, namely, No man

hath Ascended up into Heaven save He which came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven [Jn 3:13]. As though even before He came down He was the Son of Man, and when He came down He brought with Him that Flesh, which it appears He had in Heaven, as though it had existed before the ages, and been joined with His Essence. For he alleges another saying of an Apostle, which he cuts off from the whole body of its context, that The Second Man is the Lord from Heaven [1 Cor 15:47]. Then he assumes that that Man who came down from above is without a mind, but that the Godhead of the Only-begotten fulfils the function of mind, and is the third part of this human composite, inasmuch as soul and body are in it on its human side, but not mind, the place of which is taken by God the Word. This is not yet the most serious part of it; that which is most terrible of all is that he declares that the Only-begotten God, the Judge of all, the Prince of Life, the Destroyer of Death, is mortal, and underwent the Passion in His proper Godhead; and that in the three days' death of His body, His Godhead also was put to death with His body, and thus was raised again from the dead by the Father. It would be tedious to go through all the other propositions which he adds to these monstrous absurdities» (Epistle 2 [202]. To Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople).

«I desire to learn what is this fashion of innovation in things Concerning the Church, which allows anyone who likes, or the passerby [Ps 80:12 (Ps 79:13 rus)], as the Bible says, to tear asunder the flock that has been well led, and to plunder it by larcenous attacks, or rather by piratical and fallacious teachings. For if our present assailants had any ground for condemning us in regard of the faith, it would not have been right for them, even in that case, to have ventured on such a course without giving us notice. They ought rather to have first persuaded us, or to have been willing to be persuaded by us (if at least any account is to be taken of us as fearing God, labouring for the faith, and helping the Church), and then, if at all, to innovate; but then perhaps there would be an excuse for their outrageous conduct. But since our faith has been proclaimed, both in writing and without writing, here and in distant parts, in times of danger and of safety, how comes it that some make such attempts, and that others keep silence?

The most grievous part of it is not (though this too is shocking) that the men instil their own heresy into simpler souls by means of those who are worse; but that they also tell lies about us and say that we share their opinions and sentiments; thus baiting their hooks, and by this cloak villainously fulfilling their will, and making our simplicity, which looked upon them as brothers and not as foes, into a support of their wickedness. And not only so, but they also assert, as I am told, that they have been received by the Western Synod, by which they were formerly condemned, as is well known to everyone. If, however, those who hold the views of Apollinarius have either now or formerly been received, let them prove it and we will be content. For it is evident that they can only have been so received as assenting to the Orthodox Faith, for this were an impossibility on any other

terms. And they can surely prove it, either by the minutes of the Synod, or by Letters of Communion, for this is the regular custom of Synods. But if it is mere words, and an invention of their own, devised for the sake of appearances and to give them weight with the multitude through the credit of the persons, teach them to hold their tongues, and confute them; for we believe that such a task is well suited to your manner of life and orthodoxy.

[…] I would they were even cut off that trouble you [Gal 5:12], and would reintroduce a second Judaism, and a second circumcision, and a second system of sacrifices. For if this be done, what hinders Christ also being born again to set them aside, and again being betrayed by Judas, and crucified and buried, and rising again, that all may be fulfilled in the same order, like the Greek system of cycles, in which the same revolutions of the stars bring round the same events? For what the method of selection is, in accordance with which some of the events are to occur and others to be omitted, let these wise men who glory in the multitude of their books shew us.

But since, puffed up by their theory of the Trinity, they falsely accuse us of being unsound in the Faith and entice the multitude, it is necessary that people should know that Apollinarius, while granting the Name of Godhead to the Holy Ghost, did not preserve the Power of the Godhead. For to make the Trinity consist of Great, Greater, and Greatest, as of Light, Ray, and Sun, the Spirit and the Son and the Father (as is clearly stated in his writings), is a ladder of Godhead not leading to Heaven, but down from Heaven. But we recognize God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and these not as bare titles, dividing inequalities of ranks or of power, but as there is one and the same title, so there is one nature and one substance in the Godhead.

But if anyone who thinks we have spoken rightly on this subject reproaches us with holding communion with heretics, let him prove that we are open to this charge, and we will either convince him or retire. But it is not safe to make any innovation before judgment is given, especially in a matter of such importance, and connected with so great issues» (Epistle 3 [101]. To Cledonius the Presbyter, against Apollinaris – the first discourse).

«And what can anyone contend further? They who take away the Humanity and the Interior Image cleanse by their newly invented mask only our outside [Mt 23:25-26], and that which is seen; so far in conflict with themselves that at one time, for the sake of the flesh, they explain all the rest in a gross and carnal manner (for it is from hence that they have derived their second Judaism and their silly thousand years delight in paradise, and almost the idea that we shall resume again the same conditions after these same thousand years); and at another time they bring in His flesh as a phantom rather than a reality, as not having been subjected to any of our experiences, not even such as are free from sin; and use for this purpose the apostolic expression, understood and spoken in a sense which is not apostolic, that our Saviour was made in the likeness of Men and found in fashion

as a Man [Php 2:7], as though by these words was expressed, not the human form, but some delusive phantom and appearance» (Epistle 4 [102]. To Cledonius against Apollinaris – the second discourse).

Apollinaris of Laodicea (c. 310 – c. 390)

Some of the works of Apollinarius of Laodicea are known only by mention in other writers (St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, St. Jerome of Stridon, St. Theodoret of Cyrus).

Excerpt from «Detailed Exposition of Faith»:

[…] 10. So, someone who takes suffering to God's power, of the wicked. For the Lord of glory appeared in human form, showing firsthand on earth the human economy. By his deeds He fulfilled the Law for humanity, by his sufferings he resolved the [bonds] of suffering, By his death he destroyed death, and By his resurrection he raised up life. We look forward to His glorious coming from heaven for the sake of life and the judgment of the world, when the resurrection of the dead will be accomplished, so that all will be rewarded according to their worth.

[…] 29. We confess the sufferings of the Lord in the flesh, the resurrection by the power of His deity, the ascent to heaven, and His glorious coming, when he will come to judge the living and the dead, and for the eternal life of the saints.

[…] 32. So, we believe in one God, the beginning, the God of the Law and the gospel, just and good, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, true God, true image of the true God, the Creator of all things visible and invisible, the only begotten Son of God Begotten and eternal Word, living and existing efficient and always co-exists with the Father, and one Holy spirit. And we believe in the glorious coming of the Son of God, who took flesh from the virgin, suffered suffering and death for our sake, rose on the third day, and was taken to heaven; we believe in His glorious future coming, and in one Holy Church, and in the forgiveness of sins, and in the resurrection of the flesh and eternal life.

[…] 35. One God is the Father, one Deity, and the Son is also God as the true image of the One, and one Deity because Of his birth and the nature that He has from the Father. The son is one Lord, as is the Holy Spirit, who sends down the dominion of the Son to the sanctified creation. The son was at peace, having received the flesh of the virgin, which he filled with the Holy Spirit for the sanctification of us all. Having given up his flesh to death for the sake of the universal resurrection, He destroyed

death by his resurrection. He ascended to heaven, exalting and glorifying man in Himself, and will come a second time to restore eternal life in us who keep and fulfill His commandments.

Tychonius Africanus (died 390/400)

The book "*Commentary on the Apocalypse*" in its full form has not been preserved, but it is partially included in the "Commentary on the Apocalypse" by St. Jerome of Stridon (see below), and is also reflected in the compilation book "Commentary on the Apocalypse" by St. Beatus of Lieban ("Apocalypse of Saint-Sever").

«...and the remainder of a thousand years is a thousand years. Six days is the age of the world, which is 6000 years. In the remainder of the sixth day, that is, a thousand years, the Lord was born, suffered, and rose again. The remainder of the thousand years is also called the thousand years of the first resurrection. As for the remainder of sixth day, i.e. three hours, is a day, one of the three days of burial (i.e., the finding of Christ in the tomb), and the rest sixth great day, in which the resurrected Church, is a day – a thousand years.

...And the first seven days are seven thousand years. For six days God worked, and on the seventh day he rested from all his works, and blessed and sanctified him [Gen 2:2-3]. But the Lord says: my Father is still doing [Jn 5:17]. For as God created this world in six days, so the spiritual world, that is, the Church, builds up in the course of six thousand years, having to cease on the seventh day, which He blessed and created for ever» (The Book of the Seven Rules for Studying and Understanding the Holy Scriptures [*The Book of Rules*], Rule 5. Concerning the Times).

St. Epiphanius of Cyprus (died 403)

[28. Against Cerinthians]

«1. Now Cerinthus in turn, the founder of the so-called Cerinthians, has come from this bestial seed, bringing the world his venom. But almost nothing different from Carpocrates is spouting out into the world, just the same harmful poisons. For he slanderously gives the same account of Christ as Carpocrates, that he was born of Mary and Joseph's seed, and likewise that the

world was made by angels. In the inculcation of his teaching he differs from Carpocrates in no way except only in this, that he adhered in part to Judaism. He, however, claims that the Law and prophets have been given by the angels, and the law-giver is one of the angels who have made the world. Cerinthus lived in Asia and began his preaching there. I have already said of him that he too preached that the world was not created by the first, supreme power – and that when 'Jesus,' the offspring of Mary and the seed of Joseph, had grown up, 'Christ,' meaning the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, came down to him in the Jordan from the God on high, revealing the unknowable Father to him, and through him to his companions. And therefore, because a power had come to him from on high, he performed works of power. And when he suffered, the thing that had come from above flew away from Jesus to the heights. Jesus has suffered and risen again but the Christ who had come to him from above flew away without suffering – that is, the thing which had descended in the form of a dove – and Jesus is not Christ […].

6. In turn this Cerinthus, fool and teacher of fools that he is, ventures to maintain that Christ has suffered and been crucified but has not risen yet, but he will rise when the general resurrection of the dead comes. Now this position of theirs is untenable, both the words and the ideas. And so, in astonishment at those who did not believe in the coming resurrection of the dead, the apostle said, 'If the dead rise not, then is Christ not raised' [1 Cor 15:16]; 'Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die' [1 Cor 15:32] and, 'Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners'[1 Cor 15:33]. Again, he likewise gives their refutation to those who say that Christ is not risen yet by saying, 'If Christ be not raised, our preaching is vain and our faith is vain. And we also are found false witnesses against God, because we testified against God that he raised up Christ, if so be that he raised him not up' [1 Cor 15:14-15]. For in Corinth too certain persons arose to say there is no resurrection of the dead, as though it was apostolic preaching that Christ was not risen yet and the dead are not raised (at all). For their school reached its height in this country, I mean Asia, and in Galatia as well. And in these countries I also heard of a tradition which said that when some of their people died too soon, without baptism, others would be baptized for them in their names, so that they would not be punished for rising unbaptized at the resurrection and become the subjects of the authority that made the world. And the tradition I heard of says that this is why the same holy apostle said, 'If the dead rise not at all, why are they baptized for them?' [1 Cor 15:29] But others explain the text satisfactorily by saying that, as long as they are catechumens, the dying are allowed baptism before they die because of this hope, showing that the person who has died will also rise, and therefore needs the forgiveness of his sins through baptism. Some of these people have preached that Christ is not risen yet, but will rise together with everyone; others, that the dead will not rise at all [Cf. Acts of Paul 8.1.12 (H-S II p. 254)]. Hence the apostle has come forward and given the refutation of both these groups and the rest of the sects at once on the subject of resurrection. And in the testimonies that he gave in full he produced the sure proof of the resurrection, salvation and hope of the dead by saying, 'This corruptible must put on incorruption,

and this mortal must put on immortality' [1 Cor 15:33], and again, 'Christ is risen, the first fruits of them that slept' [1 Cor 15:20]. This was to refute both kinds of sects at once and truly impart the unsullied doctrine of his teaching to anyone who wanted to know God's truth and saving doctrine. […]

8. But they are called Merinthians too, I am told. Whether the same Cerinthus was also called Merinthus I have no idea; or whether there was someone else named Merinthus, a colleague of his, God knows! I have already said that not only he himself at Jerusalem often opposed the apostles; but his supporters did it, and in Asia. But it makes no difference whether it was he or whether it was another colleague who supported him, whose views were similar, and who acted with him for the same ends. The whole perversity of their teaching is of this sort and they are called both Cerinthians and Merinthians. […]» (*Panarion*, 28).

[30. Against Ebionites]

«1. Following these and holding views like theirs, Ebion, the founder of the Ebionites, arose in the world in his turn as a monstrosity with many forms, and practically represented in himself the snake-like form of the mythical many-headed hydra. He was of the Nazoraeans' school, but preached and taught other things than they. For it was as though someone were to collect a set of jewellery from various precious stones and an outfit of varicoloured clothing and tog himself up conspicuously. Ebion, in reverse, took any and every doctrine which was dreadful, lethal, disgusting, ugly and unconvincing, thoroughly contentious, from every sect, and patterned himself after them all. For he has the Samaritans' unpleasantness but the Jews' name, the opinion of the Ossaeans, Nazoraeans and Nasaraeans, the form of the Cerinthians, and the perversity of the Carpocratians. And he wants to have just the Christians' title – most certainly not their behaviour, opinion and knowledge, and the consensus as to faith of the Gospels and Apostles! But since he is midway between all the sects, as one might say, he amounts to nothing. The words of scripture, 'I was almost in all evil, in the midst of the church and synagogue' [Prov 5:14], are applicable to him. For although he is Samaritan, he rejects the name because of its objectionability. And while professing himself a Jew, he is the opposite of the Jews – though he does agree with them in part as I shall prove later with God's help, through the proofs of it in my rebuttal of them.

2. For this Ebion was contemporary with the Jews, and since he was with them, he was derived from them. In the first place, he said that Christ was conceived by sexual intercourse and the seed of a man, Joseph – I have already said that he agreed with the others in everything, with this one difference, his adherence to Judaism's Law of the Sabbath, circumcision, and all the other Jewish and Samaritan observances. But like the Samaritans he goes still further than the Jews. He added the rule about taking care not to touch a gentile; and that every day, if a man has been with a woman6 and has left her, he must immerse himself in water – any water he can find, the sea or any other. Moreover, if he should meet anyone while returning from his immersion and

bath in the water, he runs back again for another immersion, often even with his clothes on! This sect now forbids celibacy and continence altogether, as do the other sects which are like it. For at one time they prided themselves on virginity, presumably because of James the Lord's brother, and so address their treatises to 'elders and virgins'. Their origin came after the fall of Jerusalem. For since practically all who had come to faith in Christ had settled in Peraea then, in Pella, a town in the 'Decapolis' [Cf. Mt 4:25] the Gospel mentions, which is near Batanaea and Bashanitis – as they had moved there then and were living there, this provided an opportunity for Ebion. And as far as I know, he first lived in a village called Cocabe in the district of Qarnaim – also called Ashtaroth – in Bashanitis. There he began his evil teaching – the place, if you please, where the Nazoraeans I have spoken of came from. For since Ebion was connected with them and they with him, each party shared its own wickedness with the other. Each also differed from the other to some extent, but they emulated each other in malice. But I have already spoken at length, both in other works and in the other Sects, about the locations of Cocabe and Arabia.

3. And at first, as I said, Ebion declared that Christ is the offspring of a man, that is, of Joseph. For a while now, however, various of his followers have been giving conflicting accounts of Christ, as though they have decided on something untenable and impossible themselves. But I think it may be since they were joined by Elxai – the false prophet I mentioned earlier in the tracts called 'Sampsaeans,' 'Ossenes' and 'Elkasaites' – that they tell an imaginary story about Christ and the Holy Spirit as he did. For some of them even say that Adam is Christ – the man who was formed first and infused with God’s breath. But others among them say that he is from above; created before all things, a spirit, both higher than the angels and Lord of all; and that he is called Christ, the heir of the world there. But he comes here when he chooses, as he came in Adam and appeared to the patriarchs clothed with Adam's body. And in the last days the same Christ who had come to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, came and donned Adam's body, and appeared to men, was crucified, rose and ascended. But again, when they choose to, they say, 'No! The Spirit – that is, the Christ – came to him and put on the man called Jesus'. And they get all giddy from making different suppositions about him at different times.

They too accept the Gospel according to Matthew. Like the Cerinthians and Merinthians, they too use it alone. They call it, 'According to the Hebrews,' and it is true to say that only Matthew expounded and preached the Gospel in the Hebrew language and alphabet in the New Testament.

But some may already have replied that the Gospel of John too, translated from Greek to Hebrew, is in the Jewish treasuries, I mean the treasuries at Tiberias, and is stored there secretly, as certain Jewish converts have described to me in detail. […]

17. But he is making a completely false accusation, this horrid serpent with his poverty of understanding. For 'Ebion', translated from Hebrew to Greek, means 'poor'. For truly he is poor, in understanding, hope and actuality, since he regards Christ

as a mere man, and thus has come to hope in him with poverty of faith. They themselves, if you please, boastfully claim that they are poor because they sold their possessions in the apostles' time and laid them at the apostles' feet, and went over to a life of poverty and renunciation [Cf. Act 4:34-35]; and thus, they say, they are called 'poor' by everyone. But there is no truth to this claim of theirs either; he was really named Ebion. I suppose the poor wretch was named prophetically by his father and mother. And how many other dreadful, false, observances they have, chockfull of wickedness! When one of them falls ill or is bitten by a snake, he gets into water and invokes the names in Elxai – of heaven, earth, salt, water, winds, 'angels of righteousness' as they say, bread and oil – and begins to say, 'Come to my aid and rid me of my pain!' But I have already indicated, even before this, that Ebion did not know of these things. After a time his followers became associated with Elxai, and they have the circumcision, the Sabbath and the customs of Ebion, but Elxai's delusion. Thus they believe that Christ is a manlike figure invisible to human eyes, ninety-six miles – or twenty-four schoena, if you please! – tall; six schoena, or twenty-four miles wide; and some other measurement through. Opposite him the Holy Spirit stands invisibly as well, in the form of a female, with the same dimensions. 'And how did I find the dimensions?' he says. 'I saw from the mountains that the heads were level with them, and from observing the height of the mountain, I learned the dimensions of Christ and the Holy Spirit'. I have already spoken of this in the Sect, 'Against Ossaeans'. I have put it down here though, in passing, lest it be thought that I fail from forgetfulness to mention characteristics of any nation and sect which are also found in others. […]

24. And again, when St. John himself was preaching in Asia, it is reported that he did an extraordinary thing as an example of the truth. Although his way of life was most admirable and appropriate to his apostolic rank and he never bathed, he was compelled to approach the bath by the Holy Spirit who said, 'Look what is at the bath!' To his companions' surprise he actually went to the bathing-room, approached the attendant who took the bathers' clothes, and asked who was inside in the bathing room. And the attendant stationed there to watch the clothes – some people do this for a living in the gymnasia – said to St. John, 'Ebion is inside'. But John understood at once why the Holy Spirit's guidance had impelled him to approach the bath, as I said – as a memorial to leave us the truth's advice as to who Christ's servants and apostles are, and the sons of that same truth, but what the vessels of the evil one are, and the gates of hell; though these cannot prevail against the rock, and God's holy church which is founded on it. Becoming disturbed at once and crying out John said in an aside audible to all – as a testimony in evidence of undefiled doctrine – 'Let's get out of here in a hurry, brothers, or the bath may fall and bury us along with the person who is inside in the bathing room, Ebion, because of his impiety'. And no one need be surprised to hear that Ebion met John. The blessed John had a very long life, and survived till the reign of Trajan. But anyone can see that all the apostles distinguished Ebion's faith (from their own), and considered it foreign to the character of their preaching. […]» (*Panarion*, 30).

[42. Against Marcionites]

«1. Marcion, the founder of the Marcionites, taking his cue from Cerdo, appeared in the world as a great serpent himself and became the head of a school by deceiving a throng of people in many ways, even to this day. The sect is still to be found even now, in Rome and Italy, Egypt and Palestine, Arabia and Syria, Cyprus and the Thebaid – in Persia too moreover, and in other places. For the evil one in him has lent a great deal of strength to the deceit.

He was a native of Pontus – I mean of Helenopontus and the city of Sinope, as is commonly said of him. In early life he supposedly practiced celibacy, for he was a hermit and the son of a bishop of our holy catholic church. But in time he unfortunately became acquainted with a virgin, cheated the virgin of her hope and degraded both her and himself, and for seducing her was excommunicated by his own father. For because of his extreme piety his father was one of those illustrious men who take great care of the church, and was exemplary in the exercise of his episcopal office. Though Marcion begged and pleaded many times, if you please, for penance, he could not obtain it from his own father. For the distinguished old bishop was distressed not only because Marcion had fallen, but because he was bringing the disgrace on him as well. As Marcion could not get what he wanted from him by fawning, unable to bear the scorn of the populace he fled his city and arrived at Rome itself after the death of Hyginus, the bishop of Rome. (Hyginus was ninth in succession from the apostles Peter and Paul). Meeting the elders who were still alive and had been taught by the disciples of the apostles, he asked for admission to communion, and no one would grant it to him. Finally, seized with jealousy since he could not obtain high rank besides entry into the church, he reflected and took refuge in the sect of that fraud, Cerdo. […]

3. […] He denies the resurrection of the flesh like many of the sects; he says that resurrection, life and salvation are of the soul only. […]

4. But this is not all. He rejects both the Law and all the prophets, and says that the prophets have prophesied by the inspiration of the archon who made the world. And he says that Christ has descended from on high, from the invisible Father who cannot be named, for the salvation of souls and the confusion of the God of the Jews, the Law, the prophets, and anything of the kind. The Lord has gone down even to Hades to save Cain, Korah, Dathan, Abiram, Esau, and all the gentiles who had not known the God of the Jews. But he has left Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and Solomon there because, as he says, they recognized the God of the Jews, the maker and creator, and have done what is congenial to him, and did not devote themselves to the invisible God. They even permit women to administer baptism! For, given that they even venture to celebrate the mysteries in front of catechumens, everything they do is simply ridiculous. As I indicated, Marcion says resurrection is not of

bodies but of souls, and he assigns salvation to these and not to bodies. And he similarly claims that there are reincarnations of souls, and transmigrations from body to body. […]» (*Panarion*, 42).

[51. Against Alogi <Alogians>]

«[…] 3. Now these Alogi say – this is what I call them. They shall be so called from now on, and let us give them this name, beloved, Alogi. For they believed in the heresy for which <that> name <was a good one>, since it rejects the books by John. As they do not accept the Word which John preaches, they shall be called Dumb [Alogi]. As complete strangers to the truth's message they deny its purity, and accept neither John's Gospel nor his Revelation.

And if they accepted the Gospel but rejected the Revelation, I would say they might be doing it from scrupulousness, and refusing to accept an "apocryphon" because of the deep and difficult sayings in the Revelation. But since they do not accept the books in which St. John actually proclaimed his Gospel, it must be plain to everyone that they and their kind are the ones of whom St. John said in his General Epistles, "It is the last hour and ye have heard that Antichrist cometh; even now, lo, there are many Antichrists" [1 Jn 2:18]. For they offer excuses [for their behavior]. Knowing, as they do, that St. John was an apostle and the Lord's beloved, that the Lord rightly revealed the mysteries to him, and <that he> leaned upon his breast, they are ashamed to contradict him and try to object to these mysteries for a different reason. For they say that they are not John's composition but Cerinthus', and have no right to a place in the church. […]» (*Panarion*, 51).

[72. Against Marcellians]

«1. In his own turn Marcellus was born – all these people came at once – at Ancyra. Still <alive> till our day, he died about two years ago. He too caused a division in the church from the start of his career, and gave a slight adumbration of this when – due to the Arians' irritation with him over his anti-Arian pamphlet, if you please – he was compared with Sabellius and Navatus. For this reason he is also attacked by certain <orthodox> for partly believing, as I said, in Sabellius' nonsense.

Some have said in his defense, however, that this was not so; they maintained that he had lived rightly and held orthodox opinions. There has therefore been a great deal of controversy about him. His secret thoughts are known only to God. But either because they did not know his mind, or because they were giving his actual ideas, his converts and pupils would not confess the three entities, which is what the truth is – that there is one Godhead and one Glory, a co-essential Trinity with no differentiation of its own glory. It is a perfect Trinity and one Godhead, one power, one essence, and neither an identity nor a subordination.

But when he wanted in the worst way to prove his point to certain persons, he showed that <his> opinions were like those of Sabellius; hence this group too is refuted like a sect and counted as one. But again, I subjoin a copy of the exposition of his argument that Marcellus wrote, supposedly in his own defense, to Julius, the blessed bishop of Rome. From his defense [itself], and the document, it will be evident that his beliefs differed from the true faith. For if he did not think otherwise, why did he decide to offer a defense – if words which were issued by him were not right and disturbed certain people, and had brought <him> to this defense? […]» (*Panarion*, 72).

[77. Against Apollinarians]

«1. Though it is painful to me in the anticipation, directly after these another doctrine different from the faith sprang up. I cannot tell with what intent, but it was to make sure that the devil would not leave <the church untroubled>, for he is constantly disturbing the human race and, as it were, warring on it, by putting his bitter poisons into its choice foods. And as though he were dumping its bitterness into honey, <he is introducing the heresy> even through people who are admired for their exemplary lives and always renowned for their orthodoxy. For this is the work of the devil, who envied our father Adam at the beginning and is the enemy of all men – as certain wise men have said, envy is always the opponent of great successes. And so, not to leave me and God's holy church untroubled but constantly in an uproar and under siege, the devil planted certain occasions for [it] even through persons of importance.

For certain persons – people, indeed, who were originally ours, who held high position, and who have always been esteemed by myself and all orthodox believers, have seen fit to remove the mind from Christ's human nature and say that our Lord Christ took flesh and a soul at his coming, but not a mind – that is, that he did not take full humanity. I cannot say how they have contributed to the world with this, or who of their predecessors they learned it from – or what benefit they have derived from it or conferred on me, on their hearers, and on God's holy church, by causing us nothing but disturbance and division among ourselves, and grief, and the loss of our mutual affection and love. For they have abandoned the following and the righteousness of the sacred scriptures, and the simple profession – the faith of the prophets, Gospels and apostles – and introduced a sophistical, fictitious doctrine, and a series of many dreadful teachings with it, so that they are examples of the scripture, "They shall turn away from sound doctrine and give heed unto fables and empty words" [2 Tim 4:3; 1 Tim 1:4.].

2. It was the elderly and venerable Apollinarius of Laodicea, whom I, the blessed Pope Athanasius, and all the orthodox had always loved, who originally thought of this doctrine and put it forward. When some of his disciples told me about it I did not at first believe that a man like himself had introduced this doctrine to the world, and I waited patiently, with hopeful expectation, till

I could learn the facts of the matter. For I thought that his pupils who were coming to me from him had not understood the profound <utterances> of so well educated and wise a man and teacher, and had not learned this from him but had made it up on their own. For even among the ones who were visiting me, a great deal was in dispute. Some of them dared to say that Christ had brought his body down from on high. But the heresy stayed in people's heads and drove them to shocking lengths, for others denied the doctrine that Christ had received a soul. But some even dared to say that Christ's body was co-essential with his Godhead, and threw the east into great turmoil; it became necessary to call a council on their account and condemn persons of this kind. […]

36. …Others have reported the venerable man as saying that we will live for a thousand years in the first resurrection, doing the same things we do now – observing the Law and the other ordinances, for example, engaging in all the activities of daily life, and taking part in marriage, circumcision and the rest. I simply can't believe this of him, but some have reported him as having said this, and insisted on it.

And it is plain that this millennium has been described in John's Revelation, and that the book has been believed by the majority, and the orthodox. But when the majority and orthodox read the book they know about the spiritual meanings, and take its spiritual statements as true <in the spiritual sense>, and believe that they must be given a profound explanation. For this is not the only profound utterance in Revelation; there are many others besides. […]» (*Panarion*, 77).

St. Sulpicius Severus (363 – 410/429)

«1. How great blessedness, among heavenly gifts, belongs to holy virginity, besides the testimonies of the Scriptures, we learn also from the practice of the Church, by which we are taught that a peculiar merit belongs to those who have devoted themselves to it by special consecration. For while the whole multitude of those that believe receive equal gifts of grace, and all rejoice in the same blessings of the sacraments, those who are virgins possess something above the rest, since, out of the holy and unstained company of the Church, they are chosen by the Holy Spirit, and are presented by the bishop at the altar of God, as if being more holy and pure sacrifices, on account of the merits of their voluntary dedication. This is truly a sacrifice worthy of God, inasmuch as it is the offering of so precious a being, and none will please him more than the sacrifice of his own image. For I think that the Apostle especially referred to a sacrifice of this kind, when he said, "Now, I beseech you, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God" [Rom 12:1]. Virginity, therefore, possesses

both that which others have, and that which others have not; while it obtains both common and special grace, and rejoices (so to speak) in its own peculiar privilege of consecration. For ecclesiastical authority permits us to style virgins also the brides of Christ; while, after the manner of brides, it veils those whom it consecrates to the Lord, openly exhibiting those as very especially about to possess spiritual marriage who have fled away from carnal fellowship. And those are worthily united, after a spiritual manner, to God, in accordance with the analogy of marriage, who, from love to him, have set at nought human alliances. In their case, that saying of the apostle finds its fullest possible fulfillment, "He who is joined to the Lord, is one spirit" [1 Cor 6:17].

2. For it is a great and a divine thing, almost beyond a corporeal nature, to lay aside luxury, and to extinguish, by strength of mind, the flame of concupiscence, kindled by the torch of youth; to put down by spiritual effort the force of natural delight; to live in opposition to the practice of the human race; to despise the comforts of wedlock; to disdain the sweet enjoyments derived from children; and to regard as nothing, in the hope of future blessedness, everything that is reckoned among the advantages of this present life. This is, as I have said, a great and admirable virtue, and is not undeservedly destined to a vast reward, in proportion to the greatness of its labor. The Scripture says, "I will give to the eunuchs, says the Lord, a place in my house and within my walls, a place counted better than sons and daughters; I will give them an eternal name, and it shall not fail" [Is 56:5]. The Lord again speaks concerning such eunuchs in the Gospel, saying, "For there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" [Mt 19:12]. Great, indeed, is the struggle connected with chastity, but greater is the reward; the restraint is temporal, but the reward will be eternal. For the blessed Apostle John also speaks concerning these, saying that they follow the Lamb wherever he goes" [Rev 14:4]. This, I think, is to be understood to the following effect, that there will be no place in the court of heaven closed against them, but that all the habitations of the divine mansions will be thrown open before them.

3. But that the merit of virginity may shine forth more clearly, and that there may be a better understanding as to how worthy it is of God, let this be considered, that the Lord God, our Saviour, when, for the salvation of the human race, he condescended to assume mankind, chose no other than a virgin's womb, that he might show how virtue of this kind especially pleased him; and that he might point out the blessedness of chastity to both sexes, he had a virgin mother, while he himself was ever to remain in a like condition. He thus furnished in his own person to men, and in the person of his mother to women, an example of virginity, by which it might be proved, with respect to both sexes, that the blessed state of purity possessed the fullness of divinity, for whatever dwelt in the Son was also wholly in the mother. But why should I take pains to make known the excellent and surpassing merit of chastity, and to set forth the glorious good of virginity, when I am not ignorant that many have discoursed on this subject, and have proved its blessedness by most conclusive reasons, and since it can never be a matter of doubt to any

reflecting mind, that a thing has all the more merit, the more difficult it is of accomplishment? For if any one judges chastity to be of no moment or only of small consequence, it is certain that he is either ignorant of the matter, or is not willing to incur the trouble it implies. Hence it comes to pass that those always derogate from the importance of chastity, who either do not possess it, or who are unwillingly compelled to maintain it.

4. Now, therefore, since we have set forth, although in few words, both the difficulty and the merit of purity, great care must be taken lest a matter which in itself implies great virtue, and is also destined to a vast reward, should fail to produce its proper fruits. For the more precious every sort of thing is, the more it is guarded with anxious solicitude. And since there are many things which fail to secure their proper excellence, unless they are assisted by the aid of other things, as is, for instance, the case with honey, which, unless it is preserved by the protection of wax, and by the cells of the honeycombs, and is indeed, to state the matter more truly, sustained by these, loses its deliciousness and cannot exist apart by itself; and again as it is with wine, which, unless it be kept in vessels of a pleasant odor, and with the pitch frequently renewed, loses the power of its natural sweetness; so great care must be taken lest perchance some things may be necessary also to virginity, without which it can by no means produce its proper fruits, and thus a matter of so great difficulty may be of no advantage (while all the time it is believed to be of advantage), because it is possessed without the other necessary adjuncts. For unless I am mistaken, chastity is preserved in its entirety, for the sake of the reward to be obtained in the kingdom of heaven, which it is perfectly certain no one can obtain who does not deserve eternal life. But that eternal life cannot be merited except by the keeping of all the divine commandments, the Scripture testifies, saying, "If you will enter into life, keep the commandments" [Mt 19:17]. Therefore no one has that life, except the man who has kept all the precepts of the law, and he who has not such life cannot be a possessor of the kingdom of heaven, in which it is not the dead, but the living who shall reign. Therefore virginity, which hopes for the glory of the kingdom of heaven, will profit nothing by itself, unless it also possess that to which eternal life is promised, by means of which the reward of the kingdom of heaven is possessed. Above all things, therefore, the commandments which have been enjoined upon us must be kept by those who preserve chastity in its entireness, and who are hoping for its reward from the justice of God, lest otherwise the pains taken to maintain a glorious chastity and continence come to nothing. No one acquainted with the law does not know that virginity is above the commandment or precept, as the Apostle says, "Now, as to virgins, I have no precept of the Lord, but I give my advice" [1 Cor 7:25]. When, therefore, he simply gives advice about maintaining virginity, and lays down no precept, he acknowledges that it is above the commandment. Those, therefore, who preserve virginity, do more than the commandment requires. But it will then only profit you to have done more than was commanded, if you also do that which is commanded. For how can you boast that you have done more, if, in respect to some point, you do less? Desiring to fulfill the Divine counsel, see

that, above all things, you keep the commandment: wishing to attain to the reward of virginity, see that you keep fast hold of what is necessary to merit life, that your chastity may be such as can receive a recompense. For as the observance of the commandments ensures life, so, on the other hand, does the violation give rise to death. And he who through disobedience has been doomed to death cannot hope for the crown pertaining to virginity; nor, when really handed over to punishment, can he expect the reward promised to chastity.

5. Now, there are three kinds of virtue, by means of which the possession of the kingdom of heaven is secured. The first is chastity, the second, contempt of the world, and the third, righteousness, which, as when joined together, they very greatly benefit their possessors, so, when separated, they can hardly be of any advantage, since every one of them is required, not for its own sake only, but for the sake of another. First of all, then, chastity is demanded, that contempt of the world may more easily follow, because the world can be more easily despised by those who are not held fast in the bonds of matrimony. Contempt of the world, again, is required, in order that righteousness may be maintained, which those can with difficulty fully preserve who are involved in desires after worldly advantages, and in the pursuit of mundane pleasures. Whosoever, therefore, possesses the first kind of virtue, chastity, but does not, at the same time, have the second, which is contempt of the world, possesses the first almost to no purpose, since he does not have the second, for the sake of which the first was required. And if any one possesses the first and second, but is destitute of the third which is righteousness, he labors in vain, since the former two are principally required for the sake of the third. For what profits it to possess chastity in order to contempt of the world, and yet not to have that on account of which you have the other? Or why should you despise the things of the world, if you do not observe righteousness, for the sake of which it is fitting that you should possess chastity, as well as contempt for the world? For as the first kind of virtue is on account of the second, and the second on account of the third, so the first and the second are on account of the third; and if it does not exist, neither the first nor the second will prove of any advantage.

6. But you perhaps say here, "Teach me, then, what righteousness is, so that knowing it, I may be able more easily to fully practice it". Well, I shall briefly explain it to you, as I am able, and shall use the simplicity of common words, seeing that the subject of which we treat is such as ought by no means to be obscured by attempts at eloquent description, but should be opened up by the simplest forms of expression. For a matter which is necessary to all in common ought to be set forth in a common sort of speech. Righteousness, then, is nothing else than not to commit sin; and not to commit sin is just to keep the precepts of the law. Now, the observance of these precepts is maintained in a two-fold way — thus, that one do none of those things which are forbidden, and that he strive to fulfill the things which are commanded. This is the meaning of the following statement: "Depart from evil, and do good" [Ps 34:14 (Ps 33:15 rus)]. For I do not wish you to think that righteousness consists simply in not doing

evil, since not to do good is also evil, and a transgression of the law takes place in both, since he who said, "Depart from evil" said also, "and do good". If you depart from evil, and do not do good, you are a transgressor of the law, which is fulfilled, not simply by abhorring all evil deeds, but also by the performance of good works. For, indeed, you have not merely received this commandment, that you should not deprive one who is clothed of his garments, but that you should cover with your own the man who has been deprived of his; nor that you should not take away bread of his own from one who has it, but that you should willingly impart of your bread to him who has none; nor that you should not simply not drive away a poor man from a shelter of his own, but that you should receive him when he has been driven out, and has no shelter, into your own. For the precept which has been given us is "to weep with them that weep" [Rom 12:15]. But how can we weep with them, if we share in none of their necessities, and afford no help to them in those matters on account of which they lament? For God does not call for the fruitless moisture of our tears; but, because tears are an indication of grief, he wishes you to feel the distresses of another as if they were your own. And just as you would wish aid to be given you if you were in such tribulation, so should you help another in accordance with the statement, "Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do even so to them" [Mt 7:12]. For to weep with one that weeps, and at the same time to refuse to help, when you can, him that weeps, is a proof of mockery, and not of piety. In short, our Saviour wept with Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus, and proved the feeling of infinite compassion within him by the witness of his tears [Jn 11:35-37]. But works, as the proofs of true affection soon followed, when Lazarus, for whose sake the tears were shed, was raised up and restored to his sisters. This was sincerely to weep with those who wept, when the occasion of the weeping was removed. But he did it, you will say, as having the power. Well, nothing is demanded of you which it is impossible for you to perform: he has fulfilled his entire duty who has done what he could.

7. But (as we had begun to remark) it is not sufficient for a Christian to keep himself from wickedness, unless he also has fulfilled the duties implied in good works, as is very distinctly proved by that statement in which the Lord threatened that those will be doomed to eternal fire, who, although they have done no evil, have not done all that is good, declaring, "Then will the king say to those who are on his right hand: depart from me, you cursed, into eternal fire, which my Father has prepared for the devil and his angels; for I was hungry, and you gave me not to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me no drink" [Mt 25:41-42], with what follows. He did not say, "Depart from me, you cursed, because you have committed murder, or adultery, or theft"; for it is not because they had done evil, but because they had not done good, that they are condemned, and doomed to the punishments of the eternal Gehenna; nor because they had committed things which were forbidden, but because they had not been willing to do those things which had been commanded. And from this it is to be observed what hope those can have, who, in addition, do some of those things which are forbidden, when even such are doomed to eternal fire as have simply not done the things which are

commanded. For I do not wish you to flatter yourself in this way — if you have not done certain things, because you have done certain other things, since it is written, Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, has become guilty of all" [Jm 2:10]. For Adam sinned once, and died; and do you think that you can live, when you are often doing that which killed another person, when he had only done it once? Or do you imagine that he committed a great crime, and was therefore justly condemned to a severer punishment? Let us consider, then, what it was he really did. He ate of the fruit of the tree, contrary to the commandment. What then? Did God punish man with death for the sake of the fruit of a tree? No: not on account of the fruit of the tree, but on account of the contempt of the commandment. The question, therefore, is not about the nature of the offense, but about the transgression of the commandment. And the same being who told Adam not to eat of the fruit of the tree, has commanded you not to speak evil, not to lie, not to detract, not to listen to a detractor, to swear not at all, not to covet, not to envy, not to be drunken, not to be greedy, not to render evil for evil to any one, to love your enemies, to bless them that curse you, to pray for them that malign and persecute you, to turn the other cheek to one smiting you, and not to go to law before a worldly tribunal, so that, if any one seeks to take away your goods, you should joyfully lose them, to flee from the charge of avarice, to beware of the sin of all pride and boastfulness, and live, humble and meek, after the example of Christ, avoiding fellowship with the wicked so completely that you will not even eat with fornicators, or covetous persons, or those that speak evil of others, or the envious, or detractors, or the drunken, or the rapacious. Now, if you despise him in any such matter, then, if he spared Adam, he will also spare you. Yea, he might have been spared with better reason than you, inasmuch as he was still ignorant and inexperienced, and was restrained by the example of no one who had previously sinned, and who had died on account of his sin. But after such examples as you possess, after the law, after the prophets, after the gospels, and after the apostles, if you still set your mind on transgressing, I see not in what way pardon can be extended to you.

8. Do you flatter yourself on account of the attribute of virginity? Remember Adam and Eve fell when they were virgins, and that the perfect purity of their bodies did not profit them when they sinned. The virgin who sins is to be compared to Eve, and not to Mary. We do not deny that, in the present life, there is the remedy of repentance, but we remind you rather to hope for reward, than to look for pardon. For it is disgraceful that those should ask for indulgence who are expecting the crown of virginity, and that those should commit anything unlawful who have even cut themselves off from things lawful; for it must be remembered that it is lawful to contract an alliance by marriage. And as those are to be praised who, from love to Christ, and for the glory of the kingdom of heaven, have despised the tie of wedlock, so those are to be condemned who, through the pleasure of incontinence, after they have vowed themselves to God, have recourse to the Apostolic remedy. Therefore, as we have said, those who decline marriage despise not things unlawful, but things lawful. And if that class of people swear, if they speak evil of

others, if they are detractors, or if they patiently listen to detractors, if they return evil for evil, if they incur the charge of covetousness with respect to other people's property, or of avarice in regard to their own, if they cherish the poison of revenge or envy, if they either say or think anything unbefitting against the institutions of the law or the Apostles, if with a desire of pleasing in the flesh, they exhibit themselves dressed up and adorned, if they do any other unlawful things, as is only too common, what will it profit them to have spurned what is lawful, while they practice what is not lawful? If you wish it to be of advantage to you, that you have despised things lawful, take care that you do not any of those things which are not lawful. For, it is foolish to have dreaded that which is in its nature less, and not to dread that which is intrinsically more [or not to avoid those things which are interdicted, while such things as are permitted meet with contempt]. For the Apostle says, "She that is unmarried cares for the things of the Lord, how she may please God, that she may be holy both in body and spirit; but she who is married cares for the things of this world, how she may please her husband" [1 Cor 7:34]. He thus affirms that the married woman pleases her husband by thinking of worldly things, while the unmarried woman pleases God, inasmuch as she has no anxiety about the things of the world. Let him tell me, then, whom she desires to please, who has no husband, and yet cares for the things of the world? Shall not the married woman, in such a case, be preferred to her? Yes, since she by caring for the things of the world pleases at least her husband, but the other neither pleases her husband, since she does not have one, nor can she please God. But it is not fitting that we should pass over in silence that which he said: "The unmarried woman cares for the things of the Lord, how she may please God, that she may be holy both in body and spirit" [she cares, he says, for the things of the Lord; she does not care for the things of the world, or of men, but for the things of God]. What, then, are the things of the Lord? Let the Apostle tell: "Whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise of doctrine" [Php 4:8]: these are the things of the Lord, which holy and truly apostolic virgins meditate upon, and think of, day and night, without any interval of time. Of the Lord is the resurrection of the dead, of the Lord is immortality, of the Lord is incorruption, of the Lord is that splendor of the sun which is promised to the saints, as it is written in the Gospel, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" [Mt 13:43]: of the Lord are the many mansions of the righteous in the heavens, of the Lord is the fruit which is produced, whether thirty fold, or sixty fold, or an hundred fold [Mt 13:8]. Those virgins who think on these things, and by what works they may be able to merit them, think of the things of the Lord. Of the Lord, too, is the law of the new and old testament, in which shine forth the holy utterances of his lips; and if any virgins meditate without intermission on these things, they think of the things of the Lord. In that case, there is fulfilled in them the saying of the prophet: "The eternal foundations are upon a solid rock, and the commands of God are in the heart of the holy woman" [Sir 26:24 Vulgate]. […]» (A letter to his sister Claudia concerning virginity).

St. Jerome of Stridon (342 – 419/420)

Excerpt from «Commentary on the Book of Isaiah»:

Chapter 30

Is 30:26. *Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the LORD bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound*.

[…] So, on the day of the annihilation of many, will fall when lifted up and proud, and those who believed at the sky his mouth, to know that they are the earth, the light of the moon as the light of the sun: when you give the Lord a new heaven and a new earth will come the way of the world, so the moon and sun will receive the award for his work and his ways. For the creation awaits with hope the coming sons of God because the creation itself will be liberated from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God [Rom 8:19, 21], although some, meaning by these tools of light, claim that they are devoid of feelings. This way the moon will receive the light of the sun. And there is nothing surprising in this opinion about a very bright element, which is given control of the night, when it is also written about the saints: the righteous will be enlightened like the sun [Mt 13:43]. And the sun will receive an all-powerful light, as was the light of the seven days when the world was first created (although the seven days LXX were not translated), when the Lord will bind the wound of his people or heal the contrition of his people, when it is fulfilled: "removed the grief and sadness and groaning" [Is 35:10]: when joining the full number of Gentiles will be saved all Israel or when will vengeance for those whose souls are under the altar crying, until avenge blood our from living on the earth [Rev 6:10]. And take this into account that he did not say "when he will heal the destruction of his people Israel or Jacob", but simply: "his people" to mean all who serve God. Some refer this place and all that is contained in this division of promises to the heavenly Jerusalem and to the conversion of those who dwell in it, when it is fulfilled that which is written: heaven and earth are mimoidet [Mt 24:35]. Others refer it to the time of Elijah and say that it is the same as what was written above: and your eyes will see your mentor and your ears will hear the word behind the speaker [Is 30:20-21]: then from the mountains and hills, according to the fables of the poets about the Golden age of Saturn, streams of milk will flow and the leaves of trees will drip the purest honey. Those who accept this will also accept, in accordance with the Jewish error, the fable about the Savior's thousand-year earthly Kingdom, not understanding that the revelation of John under the cover of the letter contains the secret mysteries of the Church.

Chapter 54

Is 54:11-13. *O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted, behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the LORD; and great shall be the peace of thy children.*

[…] He now says the Church, first humiliated and poor, with neither the law nor the prophets nor the word of God and pokolbasitsja from the storm or the former unsteady, exposed to many tempests of the world and udavshihsya among the various delusions of idols, who had no Comforter, and all in vain spent a fortune on doctors, – [he tells her] that He himself will come, descend, and build on earth the heavenly Jerusalem, which in John's revelation is called the bride and the wife of the lamb, having a light like a precious stone, like Jasper and crystal, and a great wall, and twelve gates inscribed with the names of the tribes of Israel, of which three were from the East, and three from the North, and three from the South, and three from the West; and the wall rested on twelve bases, which was all built of Jasper stone and each base of the walls had special stones – the first Jasper, the second sapphire, the third Chalcedon, the fourth Smaragd, the fifth sardonyx, the sixth carnelian, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth Topaz, the tenth chrysopras, the eleventh hyacinth, the twelfth amethyst. As we read this, we exclaimed and said: o depth of the wisdom and understanding of God! as if his fate had not been tried and his existence had not been investigated. Who is the mind of the Lord, or who is his adviser [Rom 11:33-34]? And again: who is wise, and understands this, and is sensible, and knows this [Hos 14:10]? Let those who love the dead letter and prepare for a thousand years delicious viands for eating and intemperance, of whom God is the womb, and glory in their shame [Php 3], who, after the glorious second coming of the Saviour, expect marriage, and children at the age of a hundred, and the iniquity of circumcision, and the blood of victims, and the eternal Sabbath, and who falsely say to Israel: let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we will reign. […]

Chapter 55

Is 55:2-3. *Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.*

To prevent anyone from thinking that the hearing to which the word of God calls is carnal and not spiritual, they are promised benefits that are not carnal, but spiritual. […] Therefore, the Lord does not promise the soul, according to the chiliasts, a rich state, and attractive food, and bodily fatness, and pheasants, and stuffed turtledoves, sweet drinks, whole wine, beautiful

wives, lots of children, but […] He adds: listen, and your soul will live [Is 55:3]. The promise of all good things is eternal life. If you want to listen and your soul will live forever, then I will give you an eternal Covenant, faithful to the mercy of David. […]

Chapter 58

Is 58:14. *Then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it*.

[…] By the good things of the earth that are on high, which the son of Jacob eats, we must understand those that the eye has not seen, and the ear has not heard, and that have not come into the heart of man [1 Cor 9]. It is written about them in the Epistle to the Hebrews: for those who say so show that they are seeking the Fatherland. And if they had in mind the Fatherland from which they came, they would have had time to return. But they sought a better Fatherland, that is, the heavenly Jerusalem [Heb 11:14-16]. From this we learn that we must reject the fable of a Millennium in which marriage and food and a way of life on earth are promised again. For if when they are risen they neither marry nor encroach, but are like the angels [Mt 22:30], as the sons of the resurrection, and if of the belly and food the Apostle says: food for the belly and the belly for food: God will also abolish this and that [1 Cor 6:13]: then how, with an incorruptible, spiritual, and immortal body, will we again seek the vices of the former, mortal, and corruptible flesh? And this we say, not because we deny the essential properties of the glorified body, but because we completely exclude the former works in those who are like angels. […]

Chapter 66

Is 66:19-20. *And they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles. And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the LORD out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the LORD.*

[…] The Jews and inheriting the Jewish misconception of the Ebionites received due to the low degree of understanding the name of the poor [Ebjonim means poor], and all pending millennial enjoyments, understand horses, and four, and carriages and clothing stretchers or chairs, and sleeping quarters, and mules, and lesaca, and carts and various tools for the movement, as it is written, in that it sense that at the end of the world, when Christ comes to reign in Jerusalem, and the temple is rebuilt, and will stab their Jewish victims, it will return from all over the world the sons of Israel, and not on horses, but on mules Numidian. Those who had the senatorial dignity and took the place of superiors, from the British, Spaniards, Gauls, and the most remote of

the Morini people, and from where the two-horned Rhine divides, will arrive in carts, met by all the peoples who are prepared to serve them.

Excerpt from «Commentary on the Book of Daniel»:

Chapter 7

Dan 7:17-18. *These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom.*

Four kingdoms, of which we have spoken above were earthly. For all that is out of the earth will return to the earth (Eccles 3:20). But the saints will not have an earthly Kingdom, but a heavenly one. Let the tale of the Millennium stop!

Excerpt from «Commentary on the Book of Zechariah»:

Chapter 14

Zech 14:16. *And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles*.

The prophet says that all who remain of the Nations that have come against Jerusalem will go annually to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and celebrate the feast of tabernacles. The Jews vainly promise themselves that this will be fulfilled during the thousand-year Kingdom, the celebration of which is predestined by this festival. […]

Zech 14:18-19. *And if the family of Egypt go not up, and come not, that have no rain; there shall be the plague, wherewith the LORD will smite the heathen that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles. This shall be the punishment of Egypt, and the punishment of all nations that come not up to keep the feast of tabernacles*.

He who belongs to Egypt and other Nations, so long as Egypt remains pagan, will never ascend to Jerusalem; and since he cannot ascend, and cannot take a step toward the exalted, the rain of the Lord's blessing will not be given to him. And it will be the greatest sin of Egyptian, Assyrian, Chaldean, Syrian, Moabite and Ammonites, if they don't want to go out of his land and ascend to Jerusalem, through tabernacles to enter Jerusalem and find eternal abode, and if they do not cease to be a people of other Nations will not become Israelites, in whom there is no guile [Jn 1:47]. All this we have considered very quickly; the Jews and those who think in our Jewish way – of course, they are no longer ours, for they are Judaizing – expect that all this will be fulfilled in a tangible way, (of course, and the restoration of circumcision and marriage life) during the millennial Kingdom, so that the curse that is written on them is not fulfilled: Cursed is the barren one who does not give seed in Israel [Deut 7:14], and

blessed is he who has a tribe in Zion and household people in Jerusalem [Is 31:1]. But if this interpretation is correct, are all those who will be virgins during the millennial Kingdom subject to a curse and eternal infertility, or must they marry to avoid the curse?

Excerpt from «Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew»:

Chapter 19

Mt 19:29-30. *And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life. But many that are first shall be last; and the last shall be first.* - This place coincides with the word of the Saviour with which he speaks: *Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household [Mt 10:34-36].*

Therefore, he who, for the sake of faith in Christ and the preaching of the gospel, leaves with contempt all the inclinations and riches and pleasures of the world, will receive a hundred times more and will have eternal life. Regarding this word of the Lord, many accept the doctrine of the millennial Kingdom after the Resurrection, saying that then we will receive a hundred times more than what we left, and that we should be given eternal life as a reward. They do not understand that if the promise is honourable in relation to the rest, it would be shameful in relation to wives that he who forsakes one wife for the sake of the Lord should receive a hundred in the future. Thus, the meaning is that he who forsakes the carnal for the sake of the Saviour will receive the spiritual, which in comparison with the value of his merit will be as small as a number compared to a number a hundredfold. Therefore the Apostle says that those who have left only a small house and insignificant fields in one area, are as if they have nothing, but have everything [2 Cor 6:10].

Excerpt from «Commentary on the Apocalypse» (the second edition of the "Commentary on the Apocalypse" by St. Victorinus of Petava with inserts from "Interpretation on the Apocalypse" by Tychonius Africanus), comment to Chapter 20:

Rev 20:1-3. *And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.*

In those years Satan will be bound, from the first coming of Christ until the end of the age; and they are called the millennia, according to the mode of expression in which the part denotes the whole, as in the place where the word which He commanded in a thousand generations is mentioned, though they are not a thousand [Gen 17:9; 1 Chron 16:15; Ps 105:8 (Ps 104:8 rus)]. Moreover, he [John] says that he [the angel] cast him [Satan] into the abyss; he says this because the devil, excluded from the hearts of believers, began to possess the wicked, in whose hearts, blinded day after day, he is shut up as if in a deep abyss. And he closed it, he says, and put a seal on it, so that it would no longer tempt the Nations before the thousand years should be completed. He locked the door behind him, as it is said, that is, he forbade and restricted the seduction of those who belong to Christ. He also put a seal on it, because it hides who belongs to the side of the devil and who belongs to the side where Christ is. Because we don't know who seems to be worth it, if they don't fall off, and those at the bottom, it is unclear whether they are to rise. Especially since he says that he is bound and silent, and he cannot deceive the Nations; the Nations mean the Church, for we see that of them it is itself formed, and which, being deceived, he previously held; until, according to him, the thousand years are completed, that is, what remains of the sixth day, namely, the sixth era, which lasts for a thousand years, and after that he must be released for a short time. A short time means three years and six months, in which the devil will avenge himself with all the power of the Antichrist against the Church. Finally, according to him, after the devil is released, and begins to deceive the peoples of the world, and will provoke a war against the Church, the number of enemies of which will be like the sand of the sea [see Rev 20:7].

Rev 20:4-5. *And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.*

There are two resurrections. But the first resurrection is the present [resurrection] of the soul by faith, which does not allow people to pass through the second death. Of this resurrection the Apostle says: If you are raised up with Christ, then look for the things that are above [Col 3:1].

Rev 20:6. *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years*.

I do not think that the rule of a thousand years is eternal; in other words, if it is to be understood in this way, they cease to rule when the thousand years are over. But I will put forward what my abilities allow me to judge. The tenfold number signifies the ten commandments, and the hundred establishes the crown of virginity: for he who must keep the obligations of virginity

completely, must and faithfully observe the commandments of the Decalogue [of Moses], and must curb the imperfections of character or impure thoughts within the heart so that they cannot rule over him, such is the true priest of Christ and who has reached the fullness of a Millennium, is believed to reign with Christ; and indeed in his case the devil is bound. But for one who is entangled in the vices and dogmas of heretics, [for him] in this case the devil is released. However, he says that when the thousand years are over, he is released; thus the number of perfect saints who have the glory of virginity in body and mind reaches its fullness; after the coming of the Kingdom of one hateful, many, lured by the love of earthly things, will be cast down, and together with him thrown into the lake of fire.

Rev 20:8-10. *And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever*.

This applies to the last trial. And after a while the earth became holy, at least where the dead bodies of virgins had recently been, when they entered into the eternal Kingdom with the immortal King, since they are those who are not only virgins in body, but also with equal inviolability have also protected themselves in language and thought from evil, and for this, as he shows, will live in joy forever with the Lamb.

Excerpt from «Lives of Famous Men»:

Chapter 9. John

John, the apostle whom Jesus most loved, the son of Zebedee and brother of James, the apostle whom Herod, after our Lord's passion, beheaded, most recently of all the evangelists wrote a Gospel, at the request of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus and other heretics and especially against the then growing dogma of the Ebionites, who assert that Christ did not exist before Mary. On this account he was compelled to maintain His divine nativity. But there is said to be yet another reason for this work, in that when he had read Matthew, Mark, and Luke, he approved indeed the substance of the history and declared that the things they said were true, but that they had given the history of only one year, the one, that is, which follows the imprisonment of John [the Baptist] and in which he was put to death. So passing by this year the events of which had been set forth by these, he related the events of the earlier period before John was shut up in prison, so that it might be manifest to those who should diligently read the volumes of the four Evangelists. This also takes away the discrepancy which there seems to be between John and the others.

He wrote also one Epistle which begins as follows "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes and our hands handled concerning the word of life" which is esteemed of by all men who are interested in the church or in learning. The other two of which the first is "The elder to the elect lady and her children" and the other "The elder unto Gaius the beloved whom I love in truth", are said to be the work of John the presbyter to the memory of whom another sepulchre is shown at Ephesus to the present day, though some think that there are two memorials of this same John the evangelist. We shall treat of this matter in its turn when we come to Papias his disciple.

In the fourteenth year then after Nero Domitian having raised a second persecution he was banished to the island of Patmos, and wrote the Apocalypse, on which Justin Martyr and Irenaeus afterwards wrote commentaries. But Domitian having been put to death and his acts, on account of his excessive cruelty, having been annulled by the senate, he returned to Ephesus under Pertinax and continuing there until the time of the emperor Trajan, founded and built churches throughout all Asia, and, worn out by old age, died in the sixty-eighth year after our Lord's passion and was buried near the same city.

Chapter 17. Polycarp

Polycarp disciple of the apostle John and by him ordained bishop of Smyrna was chief of all Asia, where he saw and had as teachers some of the apostles and of those who had seen the Lord. He, on account of certain questions concerning the day of the Passover, went to Rome in the time of the emperor Antoninus Pius while Anicetus ruled the church in that city. There he led back to the faith many of the believers who had been deceived through the persuasion of Marcion and Valentinus, and when Marcion met him by chance and said "Do you know us", he replied, "I know the firstborn of the devil". Afterwards during the reign of Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus in the fourth persecution after Nero, in the presence of the proconsul holding court at Smyrna and all the people crying out against him in the Amphitheater, he was burned. He wrote a very valuable Epistle to the Philippians which is read to the present day in the meetings in Asia.

Chapter 18. Papias

Papias, the pupil of John, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote only five volumes, which he entitled Exposition of the words of our Lord, in which, when he had asserted in his preface that he did not follow various opinions but had the apostles for authority, he said "I considered what Andrew and Peter said, what Philip, what Thomas, what James, what John, what Matthew or any one else among the disciples of our Lord, what also Aristion and the elder John [Marcus (?)], disciples of the Lord had said, not so much that I have their books to read, as that their living voice is heard until the present day in the authors

themselves". It appears through this catalogue of names that the John who is placed among the disciples is not the same as the elder John whom he places after Aristion in his enumeration. This we say moreover because of the opinion mentioned above, where we record that it is declared by many that the last two epistles of John are the work not of the apostle but of the presbyter.

He is said to have published a *Second coming of Our Lord or Millennium*. Irenaeus and Apollinaris and others who say that after the resurrection the Lord will reign in the flesh with the saints, follow him. Tertullian also in his work *On the hope of the faithful*, Victorinus of Petau and Lactantius follow this view.

Blessed Aurelius Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430)

Excerpt from *Sermo* 259.19:

Therefore, this eighth day is a type of the renewed life at the end of the age, the seventh day being the future rest of the saints, for on that day God will reign on earth together with his saints, as Scripture says.

Excerpt from «On the City of God»:

Book 20.

Chapter 6. What is the First Resurrection, and What the Second

After that He adds the words, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father has life in Himself; so has He given to the Son to have life in Himself" [Jn 5:25-26]. As yet He does not speak of the second resurrection, that is, the resurrection of the body, which shall be in the end, but of the first, which now is. It is for the sake of making this distinction that He says, "The hour is coming, and now is. Now this resurrection regards not the body, but the soul. For souls, too, have a death of their own in wickedness and sins, whereby they are the dead of whom the same lips say, Suffer the dead to bury their dead" [Mt 8:22], — that is, let those who are dead in soul bury them that are dead in body. It is of these dead, then — the dead in ungodliness and wickedness — that He says, "The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live". "They that hear", that is, they who obey, believe, and persevere to the end. Here no difference is made between the good and the bad. For it is good for all men to hear His voice and live, by passing to the life of godliness from the death of ungodliness. Of this death the Apostle Paul says, "Therefore all are dead, and He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves,

but unto Him which died for them and rose again" [2 Cor 5:14-15]. Thus all, without one exception, were dead in sins, whether original or voluntary sins, sins of ignorance, or sins committed against knowledge; and for all the dead there died the one only person who lived, that is, who had no sin whatever, in order that they who live by the remission of their sins should live, not to themselves, but to Him who died for all, for our sins, and rose again for our justification, that we, believing in Him who justifies the ungodly, and being justified from ungodliness or quickened from death, may be able to attain to the first resurrection which now is. For in this first resurrection none have a part save those who shall be eternally blessed; but in the second, of which He goes on to speak, all, as we shall learn, have a part, both the blessed and the wretched. The one is the resurrection of mercy, the other of judgment. And therefore it is written in the psalm, "I will sing of mercy and of judgment: unto You, O Lord, will I sing" [Ps 101:1 (Ps 100:1 rus)].

And of this judgment He went on to say, "And has given Him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man" [Jn 5:27]. Here He shows that He will come to judge in that flesh in which He had come to be judged. For it is to show this He says, "because He is the Son of man". And then follow the words for our purpose: "Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment" [Jn 5:28-29]. This judgment He uses here in the same sense as a little before, when He says, "He that hears my word, and believes in Him that sent me, has everlasting life, and shall not come into judgment, but is passed from death to life" [Jn 5:24]; i.e., by having a part in the first resurrection, by which a transition from death to life is made in this present time, he shall not come into damnation, which He mentions by the name of judgment, as also in the place where He says, "but they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment", i.e., of damnation. He, therefore, who would not be damned in the second resurrection, let him rise in the first. For "the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live", i.e., shall not come into damnation, which is called the second death; into which death, after the second or bodily resurrection, they shall be hurled who do not rise in the first or spiritual resurrection. For "the hour is coming" (but here He does not say, "and now is", because it shall come in the end of the world in the last and greatest judgment of God) "when all that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth". He does not say, as in the first resurrection, "And they that Hear shall live". For all shall not live, at least with such life as ought alone to be called life because it alone is blessed. For some kind of life they must have in order to hear, and come forth from the graves in their rising bodies. And why all shall not live He teaches in the words that follow: "They that have done good, to the resurrection of life", — these are they who shall live; "but they that have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment", — these are they who shall not live, for they shall die in the second death. They have done evil because their life has been evil; and their life

has been evil because it has not been renewed in the first or spiritual resurrection which now is, or because they have not persevered to the end in their renewed life. As, then, there are two regenerations, of which I have already made mention — the one according to faith, and which takes place in the present life by means of baptism; the other according to the flesh, and which shall be accomplished in its incorruption and immortality by means of the great and final judgment — so are there also two resurrections — the one the first and spiritual resurrection, which has place in this life, and preserves us from coming into the second death; the other the second, which does not occur now, but in the end of the world, and which is of the body, not of the soul, and which by the last judgment shall dismiss some into the second death, others into that life which has no death.

Chapter 7. What is Written in the Revelation of John Regarding the Two Resurrections, and the Thousand Years, and What May Reasonably Be Held on These Points

The evangelist John has spoken of these two resurrections in the book which is called the Apocalypse, but in such a way that some Christians do not understand the first of the two, and so construe the passage into ridiculous fancies. For the Apostle John says in the foresaid book, "And I saw an angel come down from heaven... Blessed and holy is he that has part in the first resurrection: on such the second death has no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years" [Rev 20:1-6].

Those who, on the strength of this passage, have suspected that the first resurrection is future and bodily, have been moved, among other things, specially by the number of a thousand years, as if it were a fit thing that the saints should thus enjoy a kind of Sabbath-rest during that period, a holy leisure after the labors of the six thousand years since man was created, and was on account of his great sin dismissed from the blessedness of paradise into the woes of this mortal life, so that thus, as it is written, "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" [2 Pet 3:8], there should follow on the completion of six thousand years, as of six days, a kind of seventh-day Sabbath in the succeeding thousand years; and that it is for this purpose the saints rise, viz., to celebrate this Sabbath. And this opinion would not be objectionable, if it were believed that the joys of the saints in that Sabbath shall be spiritual, and consequent on the presence of God; for I myself, too, once held this opinion. But, as they assert that those who then rise again shall enjoy the leisure of immoderate carnal banquets, furnished with an amount of meat and drink such as not only to shock the feeling of the temperate, but even to surpass the measure of credulity itself, such assertions can be believed only by the carnal. They who do believe them are called by the spiritual Chiliasts, which we may literally reproduce by the name Millenarians. It were a tedious process to refute these opinions point by point: we prefer proceeding to show how that passage of Scripture should be understood.

The Lord Jesus Christ Himself says, "No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man" [Mk 3:27] — meaning by the strong man the devil, because he had power to take captive the human race; and meaning by his goods which he was to take, those who had been held by the devil in various sins and iniquities, but were to become believers in Himself. It was then for the binding of this strong one that the apostle saw in the Apocalypse "an angel coming down from heaven, having the key of the abyss, and a chain in his hand. And he laid hold", he says, "on the dragon, that old serpent, which is called the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years" [Rev 20:1-2], — that is, bridled and restrained his power so that he could not seduce and gain possession of those who were to be freed. Now the thousand years may be understood in two ways, so far as occurs to me: either because these things happen in the sixth thousand of years or sixth millennium (the latter part of which is now passing), as if during the sixth day, which is to be followed by a Sabbath which has no evening, the endless rest of the saints, so that, speaking of a part under the name of the whole, he calls the last part of the millennium — the part, that is, which had yet to expire before the end of the world — a thousand years; or he used the thousand years as an equivalent for the whole duration of this world, employing the number of perfection to mark the fullness of time. For a thousand is the cube of ten. For ten times ten makes a hundred, that is; the square on a plane superficies. But to give this superficies height, and make it a cube, the hundred is again multiplied by ten, which gives a thousand. Besides, if a hundred is sometimes used for totality, as when the Lord said by way of promise to him that left all and followed Him "He shall receive in this world an hundredfold" [Mt 19:29; Mk 10:30]; of which the apostle gives, as it were, an explanation when he says, "As having nothing, yet possessing all things" [2 Cor 6:10], — for even of old it had been said, "The whole world is the wealth of a believer" [Prov 17:6] — with how much greater reason is a thousand put for totality since it is the cube, while the other is only the square? And for the same reason we cannot better interpret the words of the psalm, "He has been mindful of His covenant for ever, the word which He commanded to a thousand generations" [Ps 105:8 (Ps 104:8 rus)], than by understanding it to mean "to all generations".

"And he cast him into the abyss" [Rev 20:3], — i.e., cast the devil into the abyss. By the abyss is meant the countless multitude of the wicked whose hearts are unfathomably deep in malignity against the Church of God; not that the devil was not there before, but he is said to be cast in there, because, when prevented from harming believers, he takes more complete possession of the ungodly. For that man is more abundantly possessed by the devil who is not only alienated from God, but also gratuitously hates those who serve God. "And shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled" [Rev 20:3]. "Shut him up", — i.e., prohibited him from going out, from doing what was forbidden. And the addition of "set a seal upon him" seems to me to mean that it was designed to keep it a secret who

belonged to the devil's party and who did not. For in this world this is a secret, for we cannot tell whether even the man who seems to stand shall fall, or whether he who seems to lie shall rise again. But by the chain and prison-house of this interdict the devil is prohibited and restrained from seducing those nations which belong to Christ, but which he formerly seduced or held in subjection. For before the foundation of the world God chose to rescue these from the power of darkness, and to translate them into the kingdom of the Son of His love, as the apostle says [Eph 1:4; Col 1:13]. For what Christian is not aware that he seduces nations even now, and draws them with himself to eternal punishment, but not those predestined to eternal life?

And let no one be dismayed by the circumstance that the devil often seduces even those who have been regenerated in Christ, and begun to walk in God's way. For "the Lord knows them that are His" [2 Tim 2:19], and of these the devil seduces none to eternal damnation. For it is as God, from whom nothing is hid even of things future, that the Lord knows them; not as a man, who sees a man at the present time (if he can be said to see one whose heart he does not see), but does not see even himself so far as to be able to know what kind of person he is to be. The devil, then, is bound and shut up in the abyss that he may not seduce the nations from which the Church is gathered, and which he formerly seduced before the Church existed. For it is not said "that he should not seduce any man", but "that he should not seduce the nations" — meaning, no doubt, those among which the Church exists — "till the thousand years should be fulfilled", — i.e., either what remains of the sixth day which consists of a thousand years, or all the years which are to elapse till the end of the world.

The words, "that he should not seduce the nations till the thousand years should be fulfilled", are not to be understood as indicating that afterwards he is to seduce only those nations from which the predestined Church is composed, and from seducing whom he is restrained by that chain and imprisonment; but they are used in conformity with that usage frequently employed in Scripture and exemplified in the psalm, "So our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until He have mercy upon us" [Ps 123:2 (Ps 122:2 rus)], — not as if the eyes of His servants would no longer wait upon the Lord their God when He had mercy upon them. Or the order of the words is unquestionably this, "And he shut him up and set a seal upon him, till the thousand years should be fulfilled"; and the interposed clause, "that he should seduce the nations no more", is not to be understood in the connection in which it stands, but separately, and as if added afterwards, so that the whole sentence might be read, "And He shut him up and set a seal upon him till the thousand years should be fulfilled, that he should seduce the nations no more", — i.e., he is shut up till the thousand years be fulfilled, on this account, that he may no more deceive the nations.

Chapter 8. Of the Binding and Loosing of the Devil

"After that", says John, "he must be loosed a little season" [Rev 20:3]. If the binding and shutting up of the devil means his being made unable to seduce the Church, must his loosing be the recovery of this ability? By no means. For the Church predestined and elected before the foundation of the world, the Church of which it is said, "The Lord knows them that are His" [2 Tim 2:19], shall never be seduced by him. And yet there shall be a Church in this world even when the devil shall be loosed, as there has been since the beginning, and shall be always, the places of the dying being filled by new believers. For a little after John says that the devil, being loosed, shall draw the nations whom he has seduced in the whole world to make war against the Church, and that the number of these enemies shall be as the sand of the sea. "And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them. And the devil who seduced them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever" [Rev 20:8-10]. This relates to the last judgment, but I have thought fit to mention it now, lest any one might suppose that in that short time during which the devil shall be loose there shall be no Church upon earth, whether because the devil finds no Church, or destroys it by manifold persecutions. The devil, then, is not bound during the whole time which this book embraces — that is, from the first coming of Christ to the end of the world, when He shall come the second time — not bound in this sense, that during this interval, which goes by the name of a thousand years, he shall not seduce the Church, for not even when loosed shall he seduce it. For certainly if his being bound means that he is not able or not permitted to seduce the Church, what can the loosing of him mean but his being able or permitted to do so? But God forbid that such should be the case! But the binding of the devil is his being prevented from the exercise of his whole power to seduce men, either by violently forcing or fraudulently deceiving them into taking part with him. If he were during so long a period permitted to assail the weakness of men, very many persons, such as God would not wish to expose to such temptation, would have their faith overthrown, or would be prevented from believing; and that this might not happen, he is bound.

But when the short time comes he shall be loosed. For he shall rage with the whole force of himself and his angels for three years and six months; and those with whom he makes war shall have power to withstand all his violence and stratagems. And if he were never loosed, his malicious power would be less patent, and less proof would be given of the steadfast fortitude of the holy city: it would, in short, be less manifest what good use the Almighty makes of his great evil. For the Almighty does not absolutely seclude the saints from his temptation, but shelters only their inner man, where faith resides, that by outward temptation they may grow in grace. And He binds him that he may not, in the free and eager exercise of his malice, hinder or destroy the faith of those countless weak persons, already believing or yet to believe, from whom the Church must be increased

and completed; and he will in the end loose him, that the city of God may see how mighty an adversary it has conquered, to the great glory of its Redeemer, Helper, Deliverer. And what are we in comparison with those believers and saints who shall then exist, seeing that they shall be tested by the loosing of an enemy with whom we make war at the greatest peril even when he is bound? Although it is also certain that even in this intervening period there have been and are some soldiers of Christ so wise and strong, that if they were to be alive in this mortal condition at the time of his loosing, they would both most wisely guard against, and most patiently endure, all his snares and assaults.

Now the devil was thus bound not only when the Church began to be more and more widely extended among the nations beyond Judea, but is now and shall be bound till the end of the world, when he is to be loosed. Because even now men are, and doubtless to the end of the world shall be, converted to the faith from the unbelief in which he held them. And this strong one is bound in each instance in which he is spoiled of one of his goods; and the abyss in which he is shut up is not at an end when those die who were alive when first he was shut up in it, but these have been succeeded, and shall to the end of the world be succeeded, by others born after them with a like hate of the Christians, and in the depth of whose blind hearts he is continually shut up as in an abyss. But it is a question whether, during these three years and six months when he shall be loose, and raging with all his force, any one who has not previously believed shall attach himself to the faith. For how in that case would the words hold good, "Who enters into the house of a strong one to spoil his goods, unless first he shall have bound the strong one?" [Mt 12:29] Consequently this verse seems to compel us to believe that during that time, short as it is, no one will be added to the Christian community, but that the devil will make war with those who have previously become Christians, and that, though some of these may be conquered and desert to the devil, these do not belong to the predestinated number of the sons of God. For it is not without reason that John, the same apostle as wrote this Apocalypse, says in his epistle regarding certain persons, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have remained with us" [1 Jn 2:19].

But what shall become of the little ones? For it is beyond all belief that in these days there shall not be found some Christian children born, but not yet baptized, and that there shall not also be some born during that very period; and if there be such, we cannot believe that their parents shall not find some way of bringing them to the laver of regeneration. But if this shall be the case, how shall these goods be snatched from the devil when he is loose, since into his house no man enters to spoil his goods unless he has first bound him? On the contrary, we are rather to believe that in these days there shall be no lack either of those who fall away from, or of those who attach themselves to the Church; but there shall be such resoluteness, both in parents to seek baptism for their little ones, and in those who shall then first believe, that they shall conquer that strong one, even though unbound — that is, shall both vigilantly comprehend, and patiently bear up against him, though employing such wiles and putting

forth such force as he never before used; and thus they shall be snatched from him even though unbound. And yet the verse of the Gospel will not be untrue, "Who enters into the house of the strong one to spoil his goods, unless he shall first have bound the strong one?" For in accordance with this true saying that order is observed — the strong one first bound, and then his goods spoiled; for the Church is so increased by the weak and strong from all nations far and near, that by its most robust faith in things divinely predicted and accomplished, it shall be able to spoil the goods of even the unbound devil. For as we must own that, "when iniquity abounds, the love of many waxes cold" [Mt 24:12], and that those who have not been written in the book of life shall in large numbers yield to the severe and unprecedented persecutions and stratagems of the devil now loosed, so we cannot but think that not only those whom that time shall find sound in the faith, but also some who till then shall be without, shall become firm in the faith they have hitherto rejected and mighty to conquer the devil even though unbound, God's grace aiding them to understand the Scriptures, in which, among other things, there is foretold that very end which they themselves see to be arriving. And if this shall be so, his binding is to be spoken of as preceding, that there might follow a spoiling of him both bound and loosed; for it is of this it is said, "Who shall enter into the house of the strong one to spoil his goods, unless he shall first have bound the strong one?"

Chapter 9. What the Reign of the Saints with Christ for a Thousand Years Is, and How It Differs from the Eternal Kingdom

But while the devil is bound, the saints reign with Christ during the same thousand years, understood in the same way, that is, of the time of His first coming. For, leaving out of account that kingdom concerning which He shall say in the end, "Come, you blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you" [Mt 25:34], the Church could not now be called His kingdom or the kingdom of heaven unless His saints were even now reigning with Him, though in another and far different way; for to His saints He says, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world" [Mt 28:20]. Certainly it is in this present time that the scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God, and of whom we have already spoken, brings forth from his treasure things new and old. And from the Church those reapers shall gather out the tares which He suffered to grow with the wheat till the harvest, as He explains in the words "The harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered together and burned with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offenses" [Mt 13:39-41]. Can He mean out of that kingdom in which are no offenses? Then it must be out of His present kingdom, the Church, that they are gathered. So He says, "He that breaks one of the least of these commandments, and teaches men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven: but he that does and teaches thus shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" [Mt 5:19]. He speaks of both as being in the kingdom of heaven, both the man who does

not perform the commandments which He teaches — for "to break" means not to keep, not to perform — and the man who does and teaches as He did; but the one He calls least, the other great. And He immediately adds, "For I say unto you, that unless your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees", — that is, the righteousness of those who break what they teach; for of the scribes and Pharisees He elsewhere says, "For they say and do not" [Mt 23:3]; — unless therefore, your righteousness exceed theirs that is, so that you do not break but rather do what you teach, "you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven" [Mt 5:20]. We must understand in one sense the kingdom of heaven in which exist together both he who breaks what he teaches and he who does it, the one being least, the other great, and in another sense the kingdom of heaven into which only he who does what he teaches shall enter. Consequently, where both classes exist, it is the Church as it now is, but where only the one shall exist, it is the Church as it is destined to be when no wicked person shall be in her.

Therefore the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, even now His saints reign with Him, though otherwise than as they shall reign hereafter; and yet, though the tares grow in the Church along with the wheat, they do not reign with Him. For they reign with Him who do what the apostle says, "If you be risen with Christ, mind the things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God. Seek those things which are above, not the things which are on the earth" [Col 3:1-2]. Of such persons he also says that their conversation is in heaven [Php 3:20]. In fine, they reign with Him who are so in His kingdom that they themselves are His kingdom. But in what sense are those the kingdom of Christ who, to say no more, though they are in it until all offenses are gathered out of it at the end of the world, yet seek their own things in it, and not the things that are Christ's? [Php 2:21]

It is then of this kingdom militant, in which conflict with the enemy is still maintained, and war carried on with warring lusts, or government laid upon them as they yield, until we come to that most peaceful kingdom in which we shall reign without an enemy, and it is of this first resurrection in the present life, that the Apocalypse speaks in the words just quoted. For, after saying that the devil is bound a thousand years and is afterwards loosed for a short season, it goes on to give a sketch of what the Church does or of what is done in the Church in those days, in the words, "And I saw seats and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given" [Rev 20:4]. It is not to be supposed that this refers to the last judgment, but to the seats of the rulers and to the rulers themselves by whom the Church is now governed. And no better interpretation of judgment being given can be produced than that which we have in the words, "What you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" [Mt 18:18]. Whence the apostle says, "What have I to do with judging them that are without? Do you not judge them that are within?" [1 Cor 5:12] "And the souls", says John, "of those who were slain for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God", — understanding what he afterwards says, "reigned with Christ a thousand years" [Rev 20:4], — that is,

the souls of the martyrs not yet restored to their bodies. For the souls of the pious dead are not separated from the Church, which even now is the kingdom of Christ; otherwise there would be no remembrance made of them at the altar of God in the partaking of the body of Christ, nor would it do any good in danger to run to His baptism, that we might not pass from this life without it; nor to reconciliation, if by penitence or a bad conscience any one may be severed from His body. For why are these things practised, if not because the faithful, even though dead, are His members?

Therefore, while these thousand years run on, their souls reign with Him, though not as yet in conjunction with their bodies. And therefore in another part of this same book we read, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth and now, says the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; for their works do follow them" [Rev 14:13]. The Church, then, begins its reign with Christ now in the living and in the dead. For, as the apostle says, "Christ died that He might be Lord both of the living and of the dead" [Rom 14:9]. But he mentioned the souls of the martyrs only, because they who have contended even to death for the truth, themselves principally reign after death; but, taking the part for the whole, we understand the words of all others who belong to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.

As to the words following, "And if any have not worshipped the beast nor his image, nor have received his inscription on their forehead, or on their hand" [Rev 20:9], we must take them of both the living and the dead. And what this beast is, though it requires a more careful investigation, yet it is not inconsistent with the true faith to understand it of the ungodly city itself, and the community of unbelievers set in opposition to the faithful people and the city of God. "His image" seems to me to mean his simulation, to wit, in those men who profess to believe, but live as unbelievers. For they pretend to be what they are not, and are called Christians, not from a true likeness but from a deceitful image. For to this beast belong not only the avowed enemies of the name of Christ and His most glorious city, but also the tares which are to be gathered out of His kingdom, the Church, in the end of the world. And who are they who do not worship the beast and his image, if not those who do what the apostle says, "Be not yoked with unbelievers?" [2 Cor 6:14] For such do not worship, i.e., do not consent, are not subjected; neither do they receive the inscription, the brand of crime, on their forehead by their profession, on their hand by their practice. They, then, who are free from these pollutions, whether they still live in this mortal flesh, or are dead, reign with Christ even now, through this whole interval which is indicated by the thousand years, in a fashion suited to this time.

"The rest of them", he says, "did not live" [Rev 20:5]. For now is the hour when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live [Jn 5:25]; and the rest of them shall not live. The words added, "until the thousand years are finished", mean that they did not live in the time in which they ought to have lived by passing from death to life. And therefore, when the day of the bodily resurrection arrives, they shall come out of their graves, not to life, but to judgment, namely, to

damnation, which is called the second death. For whosoever has not lived until the thousand years be finished, i.e., during this whole time in which the first resurrection is going on — whosoever has not heard the voice of the Son of God, and passed from death to life — that man shall certainly in the second resurrection, the resurrection of the flesh, pass with his flesh into the second death. For he goes to say "This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that has part in the first resurrection" [Rev 20:5-6], or who experiences it. Now he experiences it who not only revives from the death of sin, but continues in this renewed life. "In these the second death has no power". Therefore it has power in the rest, of whom he said above, "The rest of them did not live until the thousand years were finished"; for in this whole intervening time called a thousand years, however lustily they lived in the body, they were not quickened to life out of that death in which their wickedness held them, so that by this revived life they should become partakers of the first resurrection, and so the second death should have no power over them.

Chapter 10. What is to Be Replied to Those Who Think that Resurrection Pertains Only to Bodies and Not to Souls

There are some who suppose that resurrection can be predicated only of the body, and therefore they contend that this first resurrection (of the Apocalypse) is a bodily resurrection. For, say they, "to rise again" can only be said of things that fall. Now, bodies fall in death. There cannot, therefore, be a resurrection of souls, but of bodies. But what do they say to the apostle who speaks of a resurrection of souls? For certainly it was in the inner and not the outer man that those had risen again to whom he says, "If you have risen with Christ, mind the things that are above" [Col 3:1-2]. The same sense he elsewhere conveyed in other words, saying, "That as Christ has risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life" [Rom 6:4]. So, too, "Awake you that sleep, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light" [Eph 5:14]. As to what they say about nothing being able to rise again but what falls, whence they conclude that resurrection pertains to bodies only, and not to souls, because bodies fall, why do they make nothing of the words, "You that fear the Lord, wait for His mercy; and go not aside lest you fall" [Sir 2:7]; and "To his own Master he stands or falls" [Rom 14:4]; and "He that thinks he stands, let him take heed lest he fall?" [1 Cor 10:12] For I fancy this fall that we are to take heed against is a fall of the soul, not of the body.

If, then, rising again belongs to things that fall, and souls fall, it must be owned that souls also rise again. To the words, "In them the second death has no power", are added the words, "but they shall be priests of God and Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years" [Rev 20:6]; and this refers not to the bishops alone, and presbyters, who are now specially called priests in the Church; but as we call all believers Christians on account of the mystical chrism, so we call all priests because they are members of the one Priest. Of them the Apostle Peter says, "A holy people, a royal priesthood" [1 Pet 2:9]. Certainly he implied, though in a passing and incidental way, that Christ is God, saying priests of God and Christ, that is, of the Father and the Son, though it was

in His servant-form and as Son of man that Christ was made a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec [Ps 110:4 (Ps 109:4 rus)]. But this we have already explained more than once.

Chapter 11. Of Gog and Magog, Who are to Be Roused by the Devil to Persecute the Church, When He is Loosed in the End of the World

"And when the thousand years are finished, Satan shall be loosed from his prison, and shall go out to seduce the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and shall draw them to battle, whose number is as the sand of the sea" [Rev 20:7]. This then, is his purpose in seducing them, to draw them to this battle. For even before this he was wont to use as many and various seductions as he could continue. And the words "he shall go out" mean, he shall burst forth from lurking hatred into open persecution. For this persecution, occurring while the final judgment is imminent, shall be the last which shall be endured by the holy Church throughout the world, the whole city of Christ being assailed by the whole city of the devil, as each exists on earth. For these nations which he names Gog and Magog are not to be understood of some barbarous nations in some part of the world, whether the Getae and Massagetae, as some conclude from the initial letters, or some other foreign nations not under the Roman government. For John marks that they are spread over the whole earth, when he says, "The nations which are in the four corners of the earth", and he added that these are Gog and Magog. The meaning of these names we find to be, Gog, "a roof", Magog, "from a roof", — a house, as it were, and he who comes out of the house.

They are therefore the nations in which we found that the devil was shut up as in an abyss, and the devil himself coming out from them and going forth, so that they are the roof, he from the roof. Or if we refer both words to the nations, not one to them and one to the devil, then they are both the roof, because in them the old enemy is at present shut up, and as it were roofed in; and they shall be from the roof when they break forth from concealed to open hatred. The words, "And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and encompassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city" [Rev 20:8], do not mean that they have come, or shall come, to one place, as if the camp of the saints and the beloved city should be in some one place; for this camp is nothing else than the Church of Christ extending over the whole world. And consequently wherever the Church shall be — and it shall be in all nations, as is signified by "the breadth of the earth", — there also shall be the camp of the saints and the beloved city, and there it shall be encompassed by the savage persecution of all its enemies; for they too shall exist along with it in all nations — that is, it shall be straitened, and hard pressed, and shut up in the straits of tribulation, but shall not desert its military duty, which is signified by the word "camp".

Chapter 12. Whether the Fire that Came Down Out of Heaven and Devoured Them Refers to the Last Punishment of the Wicked

The words, "And fire came down out of heaven and devoured them" [Rev 20:9], are not to be understood of the final punishment which shall be inflicted when it is said, "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire" [Mt 25:41]; for then they shall be cast into the fire, not fire come down out of heaven upon them. In this place "fire out of heaven" is well understood of the firmness of the saints, wherewith they refuse to yield obedience to those who rage against them. For the firmament is "heaven", by whose firmness these assailants shall be pained with blazing zeal, for they shall be impotent to draw away the saints to the party of Antichrist. This is the fire which shall devour them, and this is "from God"; for it is by God's grace the saints become unconquerable, and so torment their enemies. For as in a good sense it is said, "The zeal of Your house has consumed me" [Ps 69:9 (Ps 68:10 rus)], so in a bad sense it is said, "Zeal has possessed the uninstructed people, and now fire shall consume the enemies" [Is 26:11]. "And now", that is to say, not the fire of the last judgment. Or if by this fire coming down out of heaven and consuming them, John meant that blow wherewith Christ in His coming is to strike those persecutors of the Church whom He shall then find alive upon earth, when He shall kill Antichrist with the breath of His mouth [2 Thess 2:8], then even this is not the last judgment of the wicked; but the last judgment is that which they shall suffer when the bodily resurrection has taken place.

Chapter 13. Whether the Time of the Persecution or Antichrist Should Be Reckoned in the Thousand Years

This last persecution by Antichrist shall last for three years and six months, as we have already said, and as is affirmed both in the book of Revelation and by Daniel the prophet. Though this time is brief, yet not without reason is it questioned whether it is comprehended in the thousand years in which the devil is bound and the saints reign with Christ, or whether this little season should be added over and above to these years. For if we say that they are included in the thousand years, then the saints reign with Christ during a more protracted period than the devil is bound. For they shall reign with their King and Conqueror mightily even in that crowning persecution when the devil shall now be unbound and shall rage against them with all his might. How then does Scripture define both the binding of the devil and the reign of the saints by the same thousand years, if the binding of the devil ceases three years and six months before this reign of the saints with Christ? On the other hand, if we say that the brief space of this persecution is not to be reckoned as a part of the thousand years, but rather as an additional period, we shall indeed be able to interpret the words, "The priests of God and of Christ shall reign with Him a thousand years; and when the thousand years shall be finished, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison"; for thus they signify that the reign of the saints and the bondage of the devil shall cease simultaneously, so that the time of the persecution we speak of should be contemporaneous neither with

the reign of the saints nor with the imprisonment of Satan, but should be reckoned over and above as a superadded portion of time. But then in this case we are forced to admit that the saints shall not reign with Christ during that persecution.

But who can dare to say that His members shall not reign with Him at that very juncture when they shall most of all, and with the greatest fortitude, cleave to Him, and when the glory of resistance and the crown of martyrdom shall be more conspicuous in proportion to the hotness of the battle? Or if it is suggested that they may be said not to reign, because of the tribulations which they shall suffer, it will follow that all the saints who have formerly, during the thousand years, suffered tribulation, shall not be said to have reigned with Christ during the period of their tribulation, and consequently even those whose souls the author of this book says that he saw, and who were slain for the testimony of Jesus and the word of God, did not reign with Christ when they were suffering persecution, and they were not themselves the kingdom of Christ, though Christ was then pre-eminently possessing them. This is indeed perfectly absurd, and to be scouted. But assuredly the victorious souls of the glorious martyrs having overcome and finished all griefs and toils, and having laid down their mortal members, have reigned and do reign with Christ till the thousand years are finished, that they may afterwards reign with Him when they have received their immortal bodies. And therefore during these three years and a half the souls of those who were slain for His testimony, both those which formerly passed from the body and those which shall pass in that last persecution, shall reign with Him till the mortal world come to an end, and pass into that kingdom in which there shall be no death. And thus the reign of the saints with Christ shall last longer than the bonds and imprisonment of the devil, because they shall reign with their King the Son of God for these three years and a half during which the devil is no longer bound.

It remains, therefore, that when we read that "the priests of God and of Christ shall reign with Him a thousand years; and when the thousand years are finished, the devil shall be loosed from his imprisonment" [Rev 20:6-7], that we understand either that the thousand years of the reign of the saints does not terminate, though the imprisonment of the devil does — so that both parties have their thousand years, that is, their complete time, yet each with a different actual duration approriate to itself, the kingdom of the saints being longer, the imprisonment of the devil shorter, — or at least that, as three years and six months is a very short time, it is not reckoned as either deducted from the whole time of Satan's imprisonment, or as added to the whole duration of the reign of the saints, as we have shown above in the sixteenth book regarding the round number of four hundred years, which were specified as four hundred, though actually somewhat more; and similar expressions are often found in the sacred writings, if one will mark them.

Chapter 14. Of the Damnation of the Devil and His Adherents; And a Sketch of the Bodily Resurrection of All the Dead, and of the Final Retributive Judgment

After this mention of the closing persecution, he summarily indicates all that the devil, and the city of which he is the prince, shall suffer in the last judgment. For he says, "And the devil who seduced them is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, in which are the beast and the false prophet, and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever" [Rev 20:10]. We have already said that by the beast is well understood the wicked city. His false prophet is either Antichrist or that image or figment of which we have spoken in the same place. After this he gives a brief narrative of the last judgment itself, which shall take place at the second or bodily resurrection of the dead, as it had been revealed to him: "I saw a throne great and white, and One sitting on it from whose face the heaven and the earth fled away, and their place was not found" [Rev 20:11]. He does not say, "I saw a throne great and white, and One sitting on it, and from His face the heaven and the earth fled away", for it had not happened then, i.e., before the living and the dead were judged; but he says that he saw Him sitting on the throne from whose face heaven and earth fled away, but afterwards. For when the judgment is finished, this heaven and earth shall cease to be, and there will be a new heaven and a new earth. For this world shall pass away by transmutation, not by absolute destruction. And therefore the apostle says, "For the figure of this world passes away. I would have you be without anxiety" [1 Cor 7:31-32]. The figure, therefore, passes away, not the nature.

After John had said that he had seen One sitting on the throne from whose face heaven and earth fled, though not till afterwards, he said, "And I saw the dead, great and small: and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of the life of each man: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their deeds" [Rev 20:12]. He said that the books were opened, and a book; but he left us at a loss as to the nature of this book, "which is", he says, the "book of the life of each man". By those books, then, which he first mentioned, we are to understand the sacred books old and new, that out of them it might be shown what commandments God had enjoined; and that book of the life of each man is to show what commandments each man has done or omitted to do. If this book be materially considered, who can reckon its size or length, or the time it would take to read a book in which the whole life of every man is recorded? Shall there be present as many angels as men, and shall each man hear his life recited by the angel assigned to him? In that case there will be not one book containing all the lives, but a separate book for every life. But our passage requires us to think of one only. "And another book was opened", it says.

We must therefore understand it of a certain divine power, by which it shall be brought about that every one shall recall to memory all his own works, whether good or evil, and shall mentally survey them with a marvellous rapidity, so that this

knowledge will either accuse or excuse conscience, and thus all and each shall be simultaneously judged. And this divine power is called a book, because in it we shall as it were read all that it causes us to remember. That he may show who the dead, small and great, are who are to be judged, he recurs to this which he had omitted or rather deferred, and says, "And the sea presented the dead which were in it; and death and hell gave up the dead which were in them" [Rev 20:13]. This of course took place before the dead were judged, yet it is mentioned after. And so, I say, he returns again to what he had omitted. But now he preserves the order of events, and for the sake of exhibiting it repeats in its own proper place what he had already said regarding the dead who were judged. For after he had said, "And the sea presented the dead which were in it, and death and hell gave up the dead which were in them", he immediately subjoined what he had already said, "and they were judged every man according to their works". For this is just what he had said before, "And the dead were judged according to their works".

Chapter 15. Who the Dead are Who are Given Up to Judgment by the Sea, and by Death and Hell

But who are the dead which were in the sea, and which the sea presented? For we cannot suppose that those who die in the sea are not in hell, nor that their bodies are preserved in the sea; nor yet, which is still more absurd, that the sea retained the good, while hell received the bad. Who could believe this? But some very sensibly suppose that in this place the sea is put for this world. When John then wished to signify that those whom Christ should find still alive in the body were to be judged along with those who should rise again, he called them dead, both the good to whom it is said, "For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God" [Col 3:3], and the wicked of whom it is said, "Let the dead bury their dead" [Mt 8:22]. They may also be called dead, because they wear mortal bodies, as the apostle says, "The body indeed is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness" [Rom 8:10]; proving that in a living man in the body there is both a body which is dead, and a spirit which is life. Yet he did not say that the body was mortal, but dead, although immediately after he speaks in the more usual way of mortal bodies [Rom 8:11]. These, then, are the dead which were in the sea, and which the sea presented, to wit, the men who were in this world, because they had not yet died, and whom the world presented for judgment. "And death and hell", he says, "gave up the dead which were in them". The sea presented them because they had merely to be found in the place where they were; but death and hell gave them up or restored them, because they called them back to life, which they had already.

And perhaps it was not without reason that neither death nor hell were judged sufficient alone, and both were mentioned — death to indicate the good, who have suffered only death and not hell; hell to indicate the wicked, who suffer also the punishment of hell. For if it does not seem absurd to believe that the ancient saints who believed in Christ and His then future coming, were kept in places far removed indeed from the torments of the wicked, but yet in hell, until Christ's blood and His descent into these

places delivered them, certainly good Christians, redeemed by that precious price already paid, are quite unacquainted with hell while they wait for their restoration to the body, and the reception of their reward. After saying, "They were judged every man according to their works" [Rev 20:13], he briefly added what the judgment was: "Death and hell were cast into the lake of fire" [Rev 20:14]; by these names designating the devil and the whole company of his angels, for he is the author of death and the pains of hell. For this is what he had already, by anticipation, said in clearer language: "The devil who seduced them was cast into a lake of fire and brimstone". The obscure addition he had made in the words, "in which were also the beast and the false prophet" [Rev 20:10], he here explains, "They who were not found written in the book of life were cast into the lake of fire" [Rev 20:15]. This book is not for reminding God, as if things might escape Him by forgetfulness, but it symbolizes His predestination of those to whom eternal life shall be given. For it is not that God is ignorant, and reads in the book to inform Himself, but rather His infallible prescience is the book of life in which they are written, that is to say, known beforehand.

Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus (386 – 457)

«The magnanimous one promised to grant not something perishable and not temporary, but eternal enjoyment of goods, because the Kingdom of God and our Saviour will not be earthly and determined by the appointed time, as Cerinthus and others like Him taught. They imagined a thousand-year period, perishable amusements and various kinds of sensuality, and above all, sacrifices and Jewish festivals. And we expect a life that doesn't age. For the Lord says: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" [Dan 12:2]; and again, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world" [Mt 25:34]; and "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" [Mt 5:3]; and "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" [Mt 5:10]. And he commanded the divine Apostles, while preaching, to say: "The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you" [Lk 10:9]. And in another place he said to them, "If I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me" [Jn 12:32]. And again: "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also" [Jn 14: 2-3]. And again: "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life" [Jn 6:54]. And conversing with the Father, he said: "Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world" [Jn 17:24]. Having

learned this, the divine Apostle said: "Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord" [1 Thess 4:17]; and again: "It is a faithful saying: For if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he also will deny us" [2 Tim 2:11-12]. In the Epistle to the Romans had a saying, "For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ" [Rom 5:17]; and again: "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal" [2 Cor 4:17-18].

And the top of the good things is that the promised life is free from sin, because when the bodies rise incorruptible and the souls accept immutability, sin will no longer have any place. When sin is taken away and the devil with demons is committed to Gehenna, then the labors of feats, the fear of being defeated, the concern for victory will cease, and the worthy will be given a carefree and blissful life, they will enjoy spiritual and divine light, or rather, they will become light-bearing themselves. For then, says the Lord, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun" [Mt 13:43]» (*A Brief Exposition of Divine Dogmas*, chapter 21. Concerning the promises).

Andreas of Caesarea (5th century)

Excerpt from «Commentary on the Apocalypse»:

Chapter 28. Concerning the Angel Wrapped in a Cloud and a Rainbow Who is Foretelling the End of the World

[…] "But in the days ofthe voice ofthe seventh angel when he is about to sound the trumpet and the mystery of God will be fulfilled, as he announced to his servants the prophets" (Rev 10:7).

From these is signified, I think, that after the passage ofthe six ages during the days of the seventh age, meaning the time of the seventh trumpet, the things said by the holy prophets to happen before the end of time will receive their end. The good news is the fulfillment of thèse things by the préparation ofthe repose ofthe saints.

Chapter 54. How the Angel Explained to Him the Mystery that was Seen

[…] "They are also seven kings. Five of whom fell, one is, the other has not yet corne, and when he cornes he must remain only a little while" (Rev 17:10).

The Blessed Hippolytus understood these to mean ages, of which five have passed by, the sixth still stands, during which the apostle saw these things and the seventh, which is after the 6,000 years, has not yet come, but coming it must remain a little while. And these things thusly (are as follows) [St. Hippolytus of Rome, Commentary on the book of Daniel, 4, 23]. If, as Irenaeus says, just as seven days had been created, in the same manner also seven heavens and seven angels ruling over the rest [St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Against Heresies, 5, 28, 3; 5, 30, 4; 5, 33, 2; cf. 1, 5, 2], and it seems thèse things that are said by us are readily received by those hearing them, that also the seven famous kingdoms are the famous ones from the beginning until now, of which five already have fallen and the sixth during which the Revelation was seen, was the one during the old Rome, and the seventh has not yet come, (i.e.) the one in the New; the statement about the world-wide Babylon would well be accomplished in the capital city until the Antichrist, reigning for a little while, as compared to the previous (kingdoms), some of which ruled more than five hundred years, and others more than one thousand. After all, every chronological number is short compared to the future everlasting kingdom of the saints. […]

Chapter 60. How Satan Was Bound From the Crucifixion of Christ Until the End Time, and About the One Thousand Years

"And I saw an angel coming downfrom heaven, holding in his hand the key of the bottomless abyss and a great chain. And he seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and threw him into the abyss, and bound and sealed over him, so that he would not deceive the nations, until the thousand years were ended. After these he must be loosed for a short time" (Rev 20:1-3).

Here he narrates the destruction of the devil which had taken place during the Master's passion, in which he who appeared to be strong, having bound us (as) his spoils, one stronger than he, Christ our God, redeemed us from his hands, condemning him to the abyss. This is shown by the démons calling upon him not to be cast into the abyss. Demonstrating proof that he has been bound is the disappearance of idolatry, the destruction of the temples of idols and the disappearance of the defilement upon the altars and the universal knowledge of the divine will. And the great Justin says that at the coming of Christ the devil was to first realize that he had been condemned to the abyss and to the Gehenna of fire. It is possible therefore, I suppose, that the sentence of Christ against the devil is understood on account of the aforementioned things that were said before. An angel administers such a sentence, it says, in order to show that he (the devil) is both weaker than thèse ministering powers in terms of power and that

from the beginning in vain he boldly ruled over ail. He (John) called the restraint of his evil activity chain for our clarification. By the number one thousand years by no means is it reasonable to understand so many (years). For neither concerning such things of which David said, the word which he commanded for a thousand generations [Ps 105:8 (Ps 104:8 rus)] are we able to count out these things as ten times one hundred, rather (they are understood) to mean many (generations). Here also, we infer the number one thousand to indicate either a great many or perfection. For these things require many years for the purpose of preaching the gospel everywhere in the entire world and the seeds of piety to take root in it. They (the one thousand years) indicate perfection because during these (years) being removed from a childish way of life under the Law we have been called into perfect manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. The one thousand years, therefore, is the time from the year of the Incarnation of the Lord until the coming of the Antichrist. Thus, the one thousand years that were referred to may be such as what we have explained, either ten times one hundred, as some have thought, or these might fall short (of one thousand years). For it is (left) to God alone, who knows to what extent his forbearance is expedient for us, and in this way he determined the duration of life. After which (binding of the devil) the Antichrist will disturb the entire world, containing in himself the activity of the Originator of Evil, and pouring out the crop of his poisonous wickedness among people, since he sees the unalterablity of his own punishment. From whose deeds the redeeming, all-merciful (Christ) God will rescue us, from the punishment he haspreparedfor him and his angels, and He will show (us to be) partakers of eternal blessings prepared for those who opposed him (the devil) unto the shedding of blood, for to Him belongs mercy upon those who rely on Him, and thanksgiving and adoration by all the Holy Powers, together with the Father and the Life Giving Spirit unto the ages of ages. Amen.

Chapter 61. About the Thrones Prepared for Those Who Kept the Undeniable Confession of Christ

"And I saw thrones, and they were seated on them, andjudgment was given to them, and the souls of those who had been beheadedfor their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God, and who had not worshiped the beast nor its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or on their hand, and they came to life, and reigned with Christ a thousand years" (Rev 20:4).

Already teaching thrones have been given to the holy apostles through whom the nations hâve been enlightened. They will be given, according to the divine promise also in the future for judging those who rejected the gospel preaching, as David said, For there the tribes went up, the tribes ofthe Lord, to witnessfor Israel, and after that, for there sat thrones for judgment [Ps 122:4-5 (Ps 121:4-5 rus)]. And to the rest ofthe holy martyrs, those who suffered on behalf of Christ and did not accept the mark ofthe spiritual beast, the devil, the mark, that is, the image of his apostasy, judgment was given, that is to say, authority to judge, through which until now, as we see, those who are glorified with Christ will judge the demons, until the consummation the

present age, (the saints) being venerated by pious kings and faithful rulers, and manifesting God-given power against every bodily ailment and demonic activity. That the devil, the Antichrist and the false prophet act in partnership with each other, just as by their deeds, even so by their names, is clearly shown by the things through which each of them is called beast, and from the fact that this dragon, that is, Satan, manifests seven heads and ten horns with as many diadems placed on him. And the fact that the beast coming up oui ofthe sea, that is, the Antichrist appears in the same form additionally confirms (that he shares) this same will and activity for the destruction ofthe deceived ones. Those liberated from them by Christ, according to the manner mentioned above, will co-reign until his second coming, afterwards enjoying thèse divine promises to an even greater degree.

Chapter 62. What is the First Resurrection and What is the Second Death

"And the rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who has a share in the first resurrection! Over such ones the second death has no power, but they will be priests of God and of Christ, and they will reign with him a thousand years" (Rev 20:5-6).

From the divine Scriptures we are taught (that there are) two lives and two types of deadness, that is to say, deaths. The first life is the transitory and fleshly one after the transgression of the commandment but the other one is eternal life promised to the saints after heeding the divine commandments of Christ. And in like manner, (there are) two deaths: the one transitory of the flesh and the other (death) through sins leading to the full payment in the age to corne, which is the Gehenna of fire. And we know there is a difference among the dead. For on the one hand, there are those to be avoided concerning which Isaiah says, The dead will not see life [Is 26:14], that is, those bringing stench and deadness by (their) conduct, and on the other hand, those praiseworthy ones who in Christ mortify the activities of the body [Rom 8:13; Col 3:5], who are crucified with Christ and are dead to the world. Therefore those unacceptable dead, those not buried with and raised with Christ, through baptism, but those remaining in (state of) death by sins, will not live with him until the completion of the one thousand years, that is, the perfect number extending from the first coming until the second (coming) in glory, as it has been said above, but having been born from the earth [Rom 6:4; Col 2:12] only and not by the Spirit [Jn 3:31], they will return to the earth [Jn 3:6, 8]. Their death becomes the beginning of their future punishment. Those who have a share in the first resurrection, that is, in the rising out of deadening thoughts and mortifying actions, these are blessed. For the second death will have no power over them, that is never ending punishment, but instead, they will exercise priesthood and reign with Christ, as we see it, these things signifying to us (a period of) one thousand years until the loosening of Satan and the deception of the nations, not as being then deprived of the kingship, but as more certainly and very clearly they will possess it by the passage of these temporal things and arrivai of eternal things.

For the time will be short after the loosening of the devil until the judgment against him and the punishment of Gehenna. Therefore, they will be priests of God and of Christ is thought to be a repetition of the foregoing. For things are seen now through the trial and the end resuit of things, the rewards of the saints and wonders were destined to be then when they had been seen by the Evangelist, as was said. So then, since there are two deaths, it is necessary to understand that there are also likewise two resurrections. First, then, physical death, given as the penalty given for humankind's disobedience, the second, eternal punishment. The first resurrection is being brought to life out of deadly deeds, the second, the transformation from bodily corruption into incorruption.

Chapter 63. Concerning Gog and Magog

"And when the thousand years ended, Satan will be loosed from his prison, and will come out to deceive the nations which are at the four corners of the earth, that is, Gog and Magog, and gather them for battle. The number is like the sand of the sea" (Rev 20:7).

Some, I don't know how, explain the aforementioned time of one thousand years as the three and a half years from the baptism of Christ until his ascension into heaven, after which they conjectured that the devil is to be loosed. Others said that after the completion of the six thousand years, the first resurrection of the dead is granted only to the saints, so that in this earth, in which they displayed endurance, they will enjoy delight and honor for one thousand years, and after that the universal resurrection will occur, not of the just only but also of the sinners. It is unnecessary to note that the Church has accepted none of these. We, therefore, listening to the Lord saying to the Sadducees that the righteous will be like angels ofGod in heaven [Mt 22:30; Mk 12:25; Lk 20:36], and to the Apostle who said, The kingdom of God is notfood and drink [Rom 14:17], thus we took the one thousand years to be the time of the preaching of the gospel. For as it had been written above, it is not necessary to understand the one thousand (years) so much by the (literal) number. For neither what is being said in the Canticles, a man will lay down one thousand pièces of silver for Us fruit, nor, one thousand to Solomon and two hundred to those who keep his fruit [Song 8:11-12], meant this number, but (it means) the great quantity and the perfection in harvest, just as hère also the harvest of the faith in perfection (is implied) after which the son of perdition, the man of lawlessness [2 Thess 2:3], will come in order that all will be judged, those who did not believe the truth but approved of injustice [2 Thess 2:12] according to the Apostle and according to the word of the Lord (who) said I hâve corne in the name ofmy Father and you did not receive me. Another will corne in his own name and him you will receive [Jn 5:43]. So then, as it was said, when Satan is loosed from his prison he will deceive ail the nations and he will arouse Gog and Magog into war for the desolation of the entire inhabited world. […]

Section 7. CHILLEGORISM AND ITS VARIATIONS

Chillegorism does not fall under one general definition acceptable to its adepts, and, therefore, it is difficult to come up with a summary of this doctrine. To understand the diversity of chillegorical approaches, it makes sense to consider the classification of Chillegorism in its main forms.

There are several types of Chillegorism:

1. Postmillenarism

The common feature of all postmillennial views is the assumption that the Kingdom of the righteous will be unfolding on earth "without Christ". In other words, the second coming and the personal presence of Jesus Christ are "not necessary" for establishing this Kingdom.

1.1 The perfect Postmillenarism (the first resurrection has already happened).

1.2 The imperfect Postmillenarism (the first resurrection has not yet happened).

2. Amillenarism

The common denominator for all amillenaristic views is the denial of the Kingdom of the righteous on earth before the general resurrection.

2.1 The perfect Amillenarism (the first resurrection has already happened).

2.2 The imperfect Amillenarism (the first resurrection will happen simultaneously with the second one).

Each of the listed types of Chillegorism has its own subspecies, which often radically differ from each other due to the lack of agreement between chillegorists. We will consider the main subspecies of Chillegorism below and list their corresponding spokesmen with the characteristics of each specific doctrine.

1.1 The perfect Postmillenarism

* Hymenaeus and Alexander Philetus (1st century) taught that "the resurrection has already taken place" [See 2 Tim 2:16-18; 1 Tim 1:18-20].

* Marcellus of Ancyra (died 373) taught that the Kingdom of Christ was established at his first coming, and that this Kingdom would end after a thousand years [See A.V. Kartashev, *Ecumenical Councils*, The First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea, 325, The Theology of Marcellus; Victor Kapitanchuk, *Holy Fathers on the Millennial Kingdom (Chiliasm)*; Vyacheslav Manyagin, *The Apology of the Kingdom of Christ*].

* Tychonius Africanus (died 390/400) held to the same doctrine as Marcellus of Ancyra but believed that the Millennium should be interpreted as 500 years from the first coming of Christ to the year 6000 from the creation of the world – that is, the year of the end of the world [*Commentary on the Apocalypse; The Book of the Seven Rules for Studying and Understanding Scripture*, Rule 5. Concerning the Times].

* Blessed Jerome of Stridon (342 – 419/420) adopted and popularized the teachings of Tychonius Africanus [*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, <The Second edition of the Commentary on the Apocalypse, St. Victorinus of Petava>, chapter 20]. Jerome equated the first resurrection with baptism [*Commentary of the Book of Isaiah*, Is 65:19-20] or with the resurrection of souls through faith [*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Rev 20:4-5]. The imprisonment of Satan was seen as restraining of his actions against Christians [ibid., Rev 20:1-3; Rev 20:6]

* Blessed Aurelius Augustine of Hippo (354 – 430). At first, he held to Premillenarism [*Sermo* 259.19; *On the City of God*, book 20, chapter 7]. Then, influenced by Tychonius Africanus, he changed his views in favor of Postmillenarism [*On the City of God*, book 20, chapters 6-15]. He saw the first resurrection as the resurrection of souls through faith [ibid., chapters 6, 10]. He interpreted the Millennium in two ways: as 500 years before the year 6000, just like Tychonius, or as "all the remaining years of this age, so that the full number would show the fullness of time" [ibid., chapter 7]. Having switched from Premillenarism to Postmillenarism, Augustine did not hold to this doctrine very strictly, since in the same treatise (*On the City of God*), which was undoubtedly influenced by Origen, he also showed his penchant for Amillenarism, specifically about the reign of holy souls in heaven [ibid., chapter 9]. He interpreted the defeat and imprisonment of the devil as his being bound in the hearts of the wicked [ibid., chapter 7].

* Andreas of Caesarea (5th century) held similar views to those of Augustine – the devil is imprisoned since the crucifixion of Christ, and "it is more prudent to see the thousand years not simply as a number of years but as either many years or the number of perfection" [*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, chapter 60], or as the duration of the Gospel preaching [ibid., chapter

63]. The first resurrection consists in "resurrecting from mortal thoughts and dead works", and it is simultaneously our resurrection together with Christ in baptism [ibid., chapter 62]. The saved ones will reign through baptism with Christ until his second coming, as it is revealed [ibid, chapter 61]. Many commentators adopted this point of view. One of them is Oleg Stenyaev, the priest (1961 - ...) [*Conversations about the Apocalypse*, conversation 29].

* Oikumenius (6th century) believes that the Millennium is a period of 3.5 years from the baptism of Jesus Christ to his ascension [see also Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentary of the Apocalypse*, <the longer version>, chapter 63].

* Peter John Olivi (c. 1248 – 1298) taught that the spiritual Kingdom would be established in the 13th century. Most likely, he was influenced by Joachim of Fiore (c. 1130 – 1202).

* John Wycliffe (1320/1324 – 1384) believed that the Millennium ended around 1000 AD, and then Satan was set free. This opinion was probably shared by John Purvey (c. 1354 – 1414/1428), Martin Luther (1483 – 1546), Abraham Calovius (1612 – 1686), and Johannes Cocceius (17th century).

* Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270 – 1349) associated Rev 20:1 with a dispute between Emperor Henry V and Pope Callixtus II.

* Sebastian Meher (16th century) believed that the Millennium lasted from the birth of Christ until the Turks invaded Europe, i.e. until the 14th century.

* Franc Junius (16th century) held that the Millennium spans the time from the Apocalypse until Pope Gregory VII, that is, until the 11th century.

* Johannes Fox (16th century) believed that the Millennium lasted from 300 to 1300 or approximately from the era of Emperor Constantine until the Turkish invasion of Europe [see also bishop Peter Ekaterinovsky, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, chapter 20].

* Durham (17th century) believed that the Millennium started in 300 and ended in 1560, i.e. at the time of the Reformation.

* Ludovicus ab Alcasar (17th century) believed Emperor Constantine was the angel who had captured Satan and put him in chains. He thought that the Millennium started in his time and would last until the end of the world. He was followed by Hugo Grotius (17th century), Hammond (17th century), Bossuet (17th century), Hervaus (17th century), Verse (17th – 18th century).

* Wetstein (18th century) taught that the Millennium started with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 and lasted until Shimon Bar-Kokhba, i.e. until 135.

* Harenberg (18th century) believed that the Millennium coinsided with the time of the Church, that is, from the fall of Jerusalem until the end of the world.

* Fedor Yakovlev (died 1853) identified the Kingdom with the inner life of the Church, and the Millennium with longevity ["Apostles", issue 2].

* St. Ignatius Brianchaninov, bishop (1807 – 1867), taught that the first resurrection was happening through two sacraments – baptism and penance. Through them the believers reign ["A Word on Death"].

* Macarius Bulgakov, the metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna (1816 – 1882), held that "the term 'Millennial Kingdom of Christ' covers the entire and indefinite period from the very beginning of the blessed Kingdom of Christ on earth, or, more precisely, from the time when the faith of Christ became great, triumphant, and dominant in the world under Constantine and until the end of the age" [*The Dogmatic Theology of the Orthodox Church*, §267].

* Franz Sales Tiefenthal (1840 – 1917) placed the Millennium between the death of Attila in 453 and the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

* St. Panteleimon of Optina [Pavel Arzhanykh] (1868 – 1937) believed that the Devil was imprisoned in the 7th-8th centuries and would remain in chains until the 16th-18th centuries. Martyrs will rise 2.5 years before the second coming [*The Beginning and End of Our Earthly World (The Experience of Uncovering the Prophecies of the Apocalypse)*, part 2, discourse 8].

* St. Nikolay Vinogradov (1876 – 1937) taught that "the apocalyptic Millennium is taken either as an indefinite number of years – the whole time (one thousand generations) between the incarnation of Christ and the coming of the Antichrist before the very end, or as the shortest period of time, that is, one day" [*On the Eternal Destiny of the World and Man*].

* Dimitry Voznesensky, archbishop (1871 – 1947), followed Andreas of Caesarea in his opinion that a thousand years was the time-frame between the incarnation and the coming of the Antichrist. But he also sided with Nikolay Orlov in his tendency toward Amillenarism, picturing the first resurrection as "the transition (resurrection) of the godly from their earthly life to the life in heaven, from humiliation and suffering to glory before the throne of God" [*The Apocalypse from the 20th Century Perspective*, chapter 20].

* Archbishop Averky Taushev (1906 – 1976) and Hieromonk Seraphim Rose (1934 – 1982) share the position of Andreas of Caesarea and Macarius Bulgakov ["*The Apocalypse in the Teachings of Ancient Christianity*"; archbishop Averky (Taushev), "*The Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John the Evangelist: the History of Writing, the Rules for Interpretation and Analysis of the Text*"; hieromonk Seraphim (Rose), "*The Signs of the Times. The Mysteries of the Apocalypse*", "*Orthodoxy and the Religion of the Future*"].

* Beale (20th century) sees the Millennium as the time of the Church on the earth, while also favoring Amillenarism and the teaching that the souls of believers will resurrect in heaven and will reign there with Christ.

* Nikolay Kim, a priest (1960 - ...) suggested "a way of interpreting the Millennium as 1000 years of peace and not arguing about the Millennium", that is, a period between the 3rd-4th centuries until the 20th century. He accepted the "old dogmatic way" of interpreting the Millennium, apparently seeing it as a wide array of chillegorical views [*The Millennial Kingdom. Exegesis and the History of Interpreting the 20th Chapter of the Apocalypse*. Saint-Petersburg, 2003, pp. 252, 292].

* Andrey Gorbunov, a priest (20th century – ...) teaches that the Millennial Kingdom of Christ is the Church militant and triumphant in heaven. After the end of the world, the general resurrection, and Judgment, the Church will enter into the eternal Kingdom of glory. The first resurrection is seen as the resurrection of souls, or spiritual rebirth – a man's coming alive in Christ, or the life of the righteous in heaven. Believing that the Millennium will be realized on earth, he also leans toward Amillenarism ["What agreement has the Kingdom of Christ with Chiliasm?"; "How I wish that you had really begun to reign"]. He was supported in this opinion by Hegumen Barsanuphius Samarin, archimandrite Rafael Karelin, and monk Constantin.

* Georgy Gorodentsev, archpriest (20th century - ...) first held to Premillenarism but after much study switched to Chillegorism [*On the Heresy of Chiliasm*]. He teaches that "after the Edict of Milan [313], the nations comprising the Roman Empire and then many other peoples, including the Slavic ones, achieved spiritual resurrection through the sacrament of baptism" [*Chiliasm is a heresy condemned by the Church*]. The first resurrection is the resurrection of souls; the soul is raised through the sacrament of baptism; Christian martyrs rise through "the baptism of blood"; saints reign over their carnal passions; the second Rome (Byzantium) and the third Rome (Holy Russia) existed for about one thousand years, and, consequently, "the Millennial Kingdom of saints on earth has, in a certain sense, happened twice in the history of mankind" [*On the Heresy of Chiliasm*].

1.2 The imperfect Postmillenarism

* Joseph Mead (1586 – 1638/1639) arrived at the date of the beginning of the Millennium by adding 1260 years of the apocalyptic period to the year 400. Mead’s doctrine of "progressive Chiliasm" became the basis for the imperfect Postmillenarism [N. Kim, *The Millennial Kingdom. Exegesis and the History of Interpreting the 20th Chapter of the Apocalypse*. St. Petersburg, 2003, p. 296].

* Daniel Whitby (1638 – 1726) taught that the world would be converted to faith through the Gospel by gradual evolution. The Jews would return to the Holy Land, and the papacy and Islam would be defeated. As a result of the universal acceptance of the Good News, a Millennium of peace, justice, and happiness will come about – the so-called "golden age" of civilization. At the end of this period, Christ will return for the Last Judgment [N. Kim, *The Millennial Kingdom. Exegesis and the History of the Interpretation of the 20th Chapter of the Apocalypse*, St. Petersburg, 2003. pp. 27-28, 296].

* Campegius Vitringa (1659 – 1722) and Jacques Abbadi (1654 – 1727), following Whitby, saw the Millennial Kingdom as the result of future church reforms. The same idea was apparently picked up by Spener (17th-18th centuries), Drissens (17th-18th centuries), Joachim Lange (1670 – 1744), and Pastorini (18th century).

* Johann Bengel (1687 – 1752) introduced the idea of a double Millennium that the imprisonment of Satan would happen in 1836-2836, the Millennial Kingdom in 2836-3836, and the end of the world with the Last Judgement in 3836. This opinion was shared by Johann Heinrich Jung Stilling (1740 – 1817), who also introduced an allegorical Millennium starting in 1836.

* Sergius Bulgakov, a priest (1871 – 1944), considers the first resurrection as the "coming alive" of the souls of the deceased righteous (the bodies are not resurrected at this time), which will occur after Christ's spiritual appearance to defeat the Antichrist and bind Satan. The Kingdom is viewed as an era in the history of the Church when Satan is bound and inactive. After that, the second coming and the general resurrection will take place [*The Apocalypse of John. An Experiment in Dogmatic Interpretation*].

* Alexander Evlenga (20th century - ...) believes that the death of Antichrist will be followed not by the second coming but by the appearance of Christ "for a short time". Then, after 1000 years, he will make another appearance. Evlenga shares certain views of Andreas of Caesarea and other postmillenarists about the Byzantine Empire lasting for a 1000 yeats and that the Millennium is a time between the baptism of Russia in 988 and Perestroika in 1988 [*Reflections on Chiliasm*].

2.1 The perfect Amillenarism

* Marcion (c. 85 – 160) taught that only souls will resurrect, rejecting the bodily resurrection. He followed the teachings of Simon Magus (1st century) and Cerdo (1st-2nd centuries) [See. St. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies*, 1, 27; St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Panarion*. Against the Marcionites, Heresies 22 and 42].

* Origen (c. 185 – 254) further developed the Amillenarism of Marcion in his teaching about the reign of the saints in heaven while rejecting the idea of the Kingdom of the righteous coming down to the earth [*On the First Principles*, book 2, chapter 11; *Against Celsus*, book 2, chapter 5]. This teaching was later supported by Gaius of Rome (died c. 217) [See Eusebius], St. Dionysius of Alexandria (died 265) [See Eusebius], and Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 263 – 340) [*Church History*, volume 3, chapter 28; volume 7, chapters 24-25].

* Emanuel Swedenborg (1688 – 1772) taught about the reign of saints in heaven but denied the bodily resurrection [*The Open Apocalypse*, chapter 20].

* In A.P. Lopukhin's *Explanatory Bible* (1904 – 1913), the first resurrection refers to the state of the righteous souls reigning in heaven, that is, "they can be guides and helpers to the Christians who are still fighting the good fight of faith on the earth. The souls find in this a new source of joy and blessing" [Rev 20:4-5].

* Sickenberger (20th century) interprets the first resurrection as the ascension of the souls of martyrs into heaven. The Millennium is for him "a symbolic number".

* Giblin (20th century), Tadros Malaty (20th century) see the Millennium as the life of saints in heaven.

* Daniil Sysoev, a priest (1974 – 2009), taught that the first resurrection is the life and reign of the righteous souls in heaven [*Conversations on the Apocalypse*, chapter 20].

2.2 The imperfect Amillenarism

* Cerinthus (1st-2nd centuries) believed that Jesus Christ "has not yet risen but will rise when the general resurrection of the dead takes place" [See St. Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Panarion*, Against Cerinthians, or Merinthians, Heresies 8 and 28, §6], i.e. he denied the first resurrection. At the same time, he also said something quite different: "Jesus suffered and rose from the dead, but Christ, who had descended upon Him, went up to heaven without suffering. And the one who came down from heaven in the form of a dove is Christ, but Jesus is not Christ" [ibid., §1; St. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies*, book 1, chapter 26].

* St. Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306 – 373) believed that the first resurrection would occur simultaneously with the second and both would constitute "one resurrection". The Millennium signifies "the immensity of eternal life" [Discourse 96. On repentance].

* Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus (386 – 457) expressed similar views on the Millennium to those of St. Ephrem's. [*A Brief Exposition of Divine Dogmas*, chapter 21].

* Kraft (20th century) describes the first resurrection as the resurrection of the martyrs and sees the second one as the judgment over all the dead, which basically means that he denies the Millennium.

The above classification of Chillegorism cannot be final, and there are two main reasons for this. First, some chillegorists do not express their views in full or clearly enough, which makes it difficult to assess them properly. Secondly, some chillegorists unconsciously mix Postmillenarism and Amillenarism in their teachings. The second reason has to do with the fact that up to this day, no detailed classification of Chillegorism has been suggested, and without it is difficult to navigate the chaos of chillegoristic interpretations, even for those who adhere to this teaching. It can be assumed that the classification provided will bring some clarity to the problem in question.

Other books by Valeriy Sterkh

Apocalypse. Interpretation of the XXI century

Explication of John's Revelation, the most mysterious book of the New Testament, containing prophetic eschatalogical visions of the future preceding the end of the word. This interpretation is a combination of the ancient patristic tradition with a more contemporary approach which is based on the prophecies already fulfilled.

Apocalypse. Millennium (Chiliasm and Chillegorism)

Deals with one of the most mysterious passages from John's Revelation, chapter 20, which describes the Millennial Kingdom. The book also features the analysis of the interpretative tradition for this prophesy based on the written sources, some of which are quoted for the first time for the purposes of this research.

Biblical Chronology

It is an attempt to reconstruct biblical dates and chronology. For this purpose, chronological calculations had to be made all over again to see how they match with each other. The results were very satisfactory. The calculations and explanations are presented in a simple way, so that anyone could verify them. In conclusion, the book addresses some of the issues related to reforming the Church calendar and suggests possible solutions.

United Gospel

This work is an experiment in connecting the four canonical Gospels into one narrative. The content of the work consists only of words and phrases found in the four Gospels; consequently the resulting text is entirely assembled from the canonical Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Hence its name: "United Gospel".

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