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αἰών and αἰώνιος (*continued*)

## αἰώνιος.

*in Classical Greek:*

(1) *lasting for an age, eternal*: it is distinguished from αἰδιος, according to Olympiodorus in *Aristotelis meteor.* p. 146<sup>16</sup> (Stüve's ed.), as meaning *timeless*, as distinct from *everlasting*; hence, he says we call God αἰώνιος, but not αἰδιος. Plato *leg.* 904<sup>n</sup> uses it as = *eternal*, distinguishing it from ἀνώλεθρος, *that which has a beginning but no end*. It is used for *everlasting* punishment, Philodemus (1 B.C.) Περὶ Θεῶν 1. 19<sup>18</sup> (H. Diels *Abhandl. der Berlin. Akad.* 1915).

(2) *holding an office or title for life* C. P. Herm. 62.  
adv. -ίως *eternally* (Proclus).

*in LXX:*

(1) *eternal in the strict sense.*

of God Is. 26. 4. ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος: Job 33. 12.

in lib. Apocr. as a subst. of God Bar. 4. 10 τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἣν ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰώνιος, *al.* cf. Exod. 3. 15 of the name Jehovah.

of death Job 10. 21 (22) εἰς γῆν σκότους αἰώνιον.

(2) *in vague sense.*

of something lasting till the end of time, e.g. of the rainbow Gen. 9. 16 διαθήκην αἰώνιον: of the mountains Mich. 2. 9 LXX ὄρεσιν αἰώνιους: of the earth Jon. 2. 7.

of the Jewish ordinances Exod. 27. 21 νόμιμον αἰώνιον, cf. Tob. 1. 6.

of promises made to the Jews Gen. 17. 8 and will give thee the land of Canaan εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον. Is. 58. 12 ἔσται θεμέλιά σου αἰώνια: 54. 8.

even of something material (but symbolic) Ps. 23 (24). 7, 9 πύλαι αἰώνιοι.

and of that which lasts for a lifetime Job 40. 23 δοῦλος αἰώνιος, *as long as he lives*.

(3) *ancient, of old time* Ps. 76 (77). 6 (5) ἔτη αἰώνια. Is. 54. 4 αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον ἐπιλήση.

N.B. αἰδιος is found only once, of God, *eternal* Sap. 7. 26 (σοφία) ἀπαύγασμα . . . ἐστι φωτὸς αἰδίου.

αἰδιότης once, of God, *eternify* Sap. 2. 23 ὁ Θεὸς . . . εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας αἰδιότητος (*al.* ἰδιότητος) ἐποίησεν αὐτόν.

*in N.T.:*

(1) *eternal in the strict sense, i.e. without beginning and without end* Rom. 16. 26 τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ. Heb. 9. 14 τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ

Πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν τῷ Θεῷ (A.V. and R.V. of the Holy Spirit, Westcott of 'His [Christ's] spirit').

(2) *of the world hereafter.*

(a) *of the life, glory, salvation of the righteous* Matt. 19. 29 ζῶν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει. 25. 46. 2 Cor. 4. 17 αἰώνιον βάρος δοξῆς. Heb. 5. 9 σωτηρίας αἰωνίου. *Al.*

So τὰ αἰώνια 2 Cor. 4. 18 as opposed to πρόσκαιρα, but in a very wide sense *of all spiritual as opposed to temporal values.*

(b) *of the punishment of the wicked* Matt. 25. 46 ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον. 41 τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον. 2 Thess. 1. 9 ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον. *Al.*

(c) *gen.* Heb 6. 2 κρίματος αἰωνίου.

(3) *ancient, of the ages before the world was* Rom. 16. 25 μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένοι: cf. 2 Tim. 1. 9 πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, and so perhaps Tit. 1. 2 which however Lock explains 'of definite promises made in time'.

(4) *lasting for a lifetime* Philemon 15 διὰ τοῦτο ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὦραν ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχῃς, οὐκέτι ὡς δοῦλον ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ δοῦλον, but there may well be a suggestion of an everlasting union in the world to come as well as here, and so Chrys. *ad loc.*

N.B. αἰδῖος is used (1) in the true sense *eternal*, of God Rom. 1. 20 ἡ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης; (2) *of the punishment of rebel angels* (before the Last Judgement) Jude 6 δεσμοῖς αἰδῖοις (only occurs in these two passages).

*in the Fathers:*

Definition.

For a definition of the word *aeternus* (presumably αἰώνιος) v. Or. *in Rom. lib.* 6 p. 575, M. 14. 1066 C-1067 A (*v. inf.* ii. 10. 1.), and cf. αἰών *init.*

i (1) *eternal in full sense without beginning or end*, of God Clem. Rom. 65 *fin.* δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα . . . καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος (cf. *mart. Polyc.* 21). 14. 3 σε δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 20. 2 τῷ . . . δυναμένῳ . . . ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν . . . εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. Or. *prin.* 3. 1. 17 (16) ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος. *in Jo.* 10. 39 (23) p. 203 (270) ἐν αἰωνίῳ τῇ τριάδι. 13. 3 p. 215 (19) (Jo. 4. 14) ἡ γενομένη ἐν τῷ πόντι . . . πηγὴ "ἀλλεται εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν". τάχα δὲ καὶ πηδήσει μετὰ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν πατέρα· Χριστὸς γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ· ὁ δὲ μείζων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μείζων τῆς ζωῆς. Dion. Al. Περὶ Φυσ. 3 Feltoe p. 138<sup>18</sup> (he is appealing to the Epicureans) τίνα . . . τρόπον . . . τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ θεῖα καὶ ἀκήρατα καὶ αἰώνια, ὡς αὐτοὶ

φήσαιεν ἄν, σώματα, ἢ μακροαίονά γε . . . φαινόμενά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ φαινόμενα μὲν ἥλιος . . . γῆ τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἀφανῆ δὲ θεοὶ τε καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ψυχὰι, ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδὲ θέλοντες ὑπάρχειν ἀρηγήσασθαι δύνανται. Ἐλεγχ. καὶ Ἀπολογ. Feltoe p. 187<sup>1</sup> ὁ . . . θεὸς αἰώνιον ἔστι φῶς, οὔτε ἀρξάμενος, οὔτε ληξόν ποτε. οὐκοῦν αἰώνιον . . . σύνεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα. ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 2. 17 αἰώνιον φωτὸς ἀνατείλαντος (of Christ at the end of the world). 45 θεὸς . . . αἰώνιος, αἰώνιους ποιῶν. Liturgical pap. written in 4th–5th cent. ap. *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, &c. (Bell and Skeat 1925) p. 59<sup>2</sup> φιλόανθρωπον ἔχοντας δεσπότην, σὲ τὸν αἰώνιον (leg. αἰώνιον) βασιλέα ἱκετεύομεν. Meth. *symph.* 6. 2 τὴν αἰώνιον ἀπομιμησάμενος φύσιν καὶ νοητήν, ἧς . . . χαρακτήρ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Greg. Naz. *or.* 38. 8 ὅταν . . . ὁ νοῦς . . . συνέλῃ τὸ πᾶν (i.e. both beginning and end, so that the thing contemplated is both ἀναρχον and ἀθάνατον), αἰώνιον (cf. αἰών), repeated 45 (42) 4. Greg. Nyss. *c. Eun.* M. 45. 833 B Paris 2. 675 A ἀρα ψευδῆς ἀλώσεται ὁ εἰπὼν ὅτι “Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ”, ἡ ζωὴ μὲν ἔστιν, οὐκ αἰώνιος δέ; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ αἰώνιον πρόσκαιρον πάντως. *c. a.* 7. 33. 2 Αἰώνιε σῶτερ ἡμῶν “ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν θεῶν”. ?Cyr. *de Trin.* I M. 77. 1120 A Θεὸς εἰς ἔστιν . . . οὐσία ἀναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, αἰώνιος τε καὶ προαιώνιος. Jo. Dam. *fid. orth.* 2. 1 λέγεται ὁ Θεὸς αἰώνιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιώνιος· καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν αἰῶνα ἐποίησε (the use of προαιώνιος shows that αἰώνιος lacked something of the full sense of “eternity”). 1. 2 ἔστι Θεὸς ἀναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, αἰώνιος τε καὶ αἰδῖος.

almost adverbially *eternally* Nonn. *par.* 12. 131 (Jo. 12. 34) (we have heard) Χριστὸς . . . αἰώνιος οὐνεκα μίμνει: cf. 8. 91.

(2) of an original Divine Principle, e.g., in the system of Heraclitus, Fire Hipp. *ref.* 9. 10. 7 “τὰ . . . πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός, . . . κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον”.

(3) of the Supreme Gnostic Deity anon. *Gnost. opus* 15 ap. *Kopt.-Gnost. Schr.* (Berlin) p. 356<sup>14</sup> αἰώνιος αὐτοπάτωρ.

(4) of the natural or revealed laws of righteousness and piety and of doctrine about God and things divine Just. *Tryph.* 47 τὰς αἰώνιους καὶ φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καὶ εὐσεβείας. Or. *in Jo.* 6. 19 (11) p. 120 (104) τρίβους κυρίου αἰώνιους. 19. 9 (2) p. 291 (53) ἄπειρ ἦν “ῥήματα” (Jo. 8. 20) ζωῆς αἰώνιου καὶ διδασκαλία ἡ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ: cf. *fragm.* 39 Berlin ed. p. 515<sup>15</sup>. Heracl. ap. Or. *in Jo.* 13. 10 p. 220 (60) αἰώνιος . . . ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ . . . ἀναφαίρετος γὰρ . . . ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 8. 10 (God) νόμον αἰώνιον ὤρισεν (of the original law given to Adam). Const. ap. Gelas. *h. e.* 2. 7. 38 τῶν δῆμων πολυπληθείας . . . εἰς ἐντελῆ αἰώνιον φωτὸς ἐξάξει λαμπρότητα. Jo. Dam. *fid. orth.* 1. 1 μὴ μεταίροντες ὅρια αἰώνια, μηδὲ ὑπερβαίνοντες τὴν θείαν παράδοσιν.

(5) in neut. sing. τὸ αἰώνιον *eternity* Hipp. *ref.* 6. 54 τὸ ἀπέραντον καὶ

αἰώνιον καὶ ἀόριστον καὶ ἄχρονον. Ath. or. 1 c. *Arian*. 12 οἱ ἅγιοι . . . τὸ αἰδίων εὐαγγελίζονται τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τὸ αἰώνιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν σημαίνουσιν.

(6) *Eternal*, αἰώνιος, aeternus denote not infinite succession in time, but *timelessness* Theod. Mops. in 2 *Thess.* 1. 9 (οἷτινες δίκην τίσουσιν ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον) nam ex qualitate ipsa gravia tormenta esse ostendit, siquidem interitus (= ὄλεθρος) sunt exterminii perditionem (*a total ruin*) perficientes ex tempore, quod non ad tempus, sed aeterno sunt (Theodore regards future punishment here as, though not everlasting, 'objectively eternal, inasmuch as it belongs to a life not measured by periods of time' [Swete *ad loc.*]).

ii. *eternal in ref. to the future, without end, immortal.*

(1) *of the angels lib. Enoch* 15. 6 ὑμεῖς . . . ὑπήρχετε πνεύματα ζῶντα αἰώνια, καὶ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκοντα εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος, cf. 4.

(2) *of souls* Dion. Al. Περὶ Φύσεως 3 Feltoe p. 139<sup>2</sup> (v. i. 1).

(3) *of men and women* ps-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 19. 23 ὁ κόσμος ὄργανόν ἐστι . . . ἵνα τῷ ἐσομένῳ ἄρρени αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τίκτη δικαιῶς αἰώνιους υἱούς. as subst. οἱ αἰώνιοι, *the eternal ones, the blessed, act. Thom.* 7 παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐχίᾳ, ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται.

(4) *of Gnostic deities* Hipp. *ref.* 5. 7. 13 ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων . . . καὶ αἰώνίων . . . μακαρία φύσις, et 15 τὴν . . . αἰώνιαν οὐσίαν.

(5) *of the prophecy in the Psalms* (18 [19]. 7-9) *of the eternal law of Christ* Just. *Tryph.* 30 αἰώνιός ἐστι . . . ἡ προφητεία.

(6) *of the eternal honour bestowed on us by God in the gift of immortality* Marc. *Diad. perf. sp.* 91 τὴν τοῦ τιμήσαντος αὐτὸν ἐν τιμῇ αἰωνίῳ θέλει τιμᾶσθαι δικαιοσύνην.

(7) *of the world hereafter, existence after death* Just. *Tryph.* 81 *fin.* καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (τὰ χίλια ἔτη) τὴν καθολικὴν, καί, συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, αἰώνιαν . . . πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. *act. Thom.* 78 *fin.* τί . . . ἀποβλέπεις εἰς ταύτην τὴν πρόσκαιρον ζῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς αἰωνίας οὐδὲν ἐνθυμῆσαι; Or. in *Rom.* 6. 22-23 *lib.* 6 pp. 575-576 M. 14. 1067 A-1069 A, *vid.* (10) (1) *infra pass. Andr.* 5 ἐν ᾧ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ πρῶν ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ζῶν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἣν ἀπώλεσαν διὰ τοῦ Ἀδάμ . . ., ἐτοιμίῳ.

(8) *of the immortality of the body*, Celsus protests against the doctrine ap. Or. *Cels.* 14 σάρκα . . . μεστὴν ὧν οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν καλόν, αἰώνιον ἀποφῆναι παραλόγως οὔτε βουλήσεται ὁ θεὸς οὔτε δυνήσεται: Or. in his answer ch 24 says that it is not the body which is buried which is eternal but the (spiritual) body which 'is raised' (quoting 1 Cor. 15. 42) μὴ βουλέσθω οὖν ὁ θεὸς παραλόγως αἰώνιον ἀποφῆναι . . . μηδὲ τὸ σπειρόμενον "ἐν φθορᾷ"

ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγειρόμενον “ἐν ἀφθαρσία”. He believes in the immortality of the soul ap. Or. *Cels.* 8. 49 (cf. 5. 14) τοῖς τούτο ἐλπίζουσιν ἔξειν αἰώνιον σὺν θεῷ, τούτοις διαλέξομαι . . . καὶ τούτου . . . τοῦ δόγματος (which includes the punishment of the wicked) . . . μηδεὶς ποτε ἀποστῆ. The Jews believed in a bodily resurrection according to Celsus ap. Or. *Cels.* 2. 77 ὁ Ἰουδαῖος αὐτῷ λέγει . . . ἐλπίζομεν . . . ἀναστήσεσθαι ἐν σώματι καὶ βιοτὴν ἔξειν αἰώνιον. Meth. *res.* 1. 32. 7 ἄποπον . . . τὸ οἶεσθαι τὸ σῶμα . . . μὴ συνέσεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὸ δεσμὸν αὐτὸ . . . εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ αἰώνιοι γινώμεθα . . . δεσμῶται κατ' αὐτοὺς φθορᾶς. 2. 21 αἰώνιους ἡμῶν τὰς σκηνὰς (Amos 9. 11), τουτέστι τὰ σώματα (+ S) . . . ἀπειλήσαμεν.

(9) *of happiness hereafter* Ps. Sol. 3. 16 οἱ . . . φοβούμενοι κύριον ἀναστήσονται “εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον”. *test. xii Patr. Dan.* 5. 11 δώσει τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτὸν εἰρήνην αἰώνιον. *As.* 6. 6 (the angel of peace) εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον (α), cf. 5. 2. Ign. *Eph.* 18 ὁ (the Cross) ἐστίν . . . ἡμῖν . . . σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. *Philae. int.* ἦν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἧτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος. *ad Polyc.* 2 ἀφθαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος: cf. *didach.* 10. 3: ps.-Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 5 ἀνάπαυσις τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰώνιοι (ζ. αἰ. *pass.*). Just. *apol.* 1. 8 τοῦ . . . αἰώνιοι καὶ καθαροῦ βίου ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς μετὰ θεοῦ . . . διαγωγῆς ἀντιποιούμεθα. 65 ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. *Τιγρῆ.* 113 ὁ μὲν (Moses) . . . πρόσκαιρον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν κληρονομίαν . . . ὁ δὲ (Christ) μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἀνάστασιν αἰώνιον ἡμῖν τὴν κατάσχεσιν δώσει. 120 τῆς αἰώνιοι βασιλείας 117 ἐν αἰώνιῳ καὶ ἀλύτῳ βασιλείᾳ Clem. *fragm.* 5 (πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βεβαπτ.) p. 223<sup>18</sup> Berl. ed. τῆς αἰώνιοι μακαριότητος. *act. Thom.* 21 ἀπὸ . . . τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ζωὴν (αἰώνιοι) κομίση (Bonnet adds ἀ. to the reading of the MS ζωὴν κομίση — ? whether ζωὴν cannot stand alone). 124 ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς ἦν προσκαιρον ζωῆς, οὗτος δὲ αἰώνιοι. Heracl. ap. Or. *in Jo.* 19. 19 (4) p. 302 (124) εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν αἰώνιοι. Or. *in Jo.* 3. 14 *fragm.* 39 Berlin ed. p. 515<sup>10</sup> ζωὴ . . . αἰώνιος ἐστὶν οὐχ ἡ κοινὴ ἧτις καὶ ἐτέροις ζῶσις ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγγυνομένη. *in Rom.* 6. 22–23 lib. 6. p. 575 M. 14. 1067 c voluit aliud esse vitam aeternam solum, et aliud vitam aeternam in Christo Jesu. ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 9. 23 αἰώνιοι ἀγαθῶν, *et al.* ps.-Clem. *ep.* Clem. 9 πρόσκαιρα δωρούμενοι αἰῶνια λήψεσθε, *al.* *hom.* 1. 7 ἀγαθῆς καὶ αἰώνιας ἐλπίδος: cf. Const. ap. Eus. *vit. Const.* 2. 35. Serapion *sacr.* 25. 16 ἀναμένοντες τὰς . . . αἰώνιοι ἐπαγγελίας “τοῦ κυρίου . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.” *act. Philipp.* 35 (6) αἰώνιας τρυφῆς. c. a. 3. 1. 5 κλέος ἔχουσα . . . παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ παρὰ θεῷ ἐν οὐρανοῖς τὸν αἰώνιοι ἔπαινον. Cyp. *in Jo.* 10. 26–28 “ζωὴν” . . . νοοῦμεν αἰώνιοι, οὐ τὴν μακροήμερουσιν, ἧς πάντες μέλλουσιν ἀπολαύειν . . . καλοὶ τε καὶ κακοί· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ διάγειν. *pass. Bartholomaei* 5 (12) Bonnet p. 139<sup>20</sup> ὅπου ἐκεῖνου μόνου βασιλεύει εἰς αἰῶνας ἡ βασιλεία . . . ὅπου ἡ μακαριότης αἰώνια ἐστὶ. *Al. pass.*

as subst. τὸ αἰώνιον *eternity* Bas. *hom. in Barl. mart.* 1 p. 139 οὐ σκοπεῖ τῶν κινδύνων τὸ πρόσκαιρον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἐπάθλων αἰώνιον.

(10) (a) *of punishment hereafter* Ps. Sol. 2. 35 κοιμῶν ὑπερηφάνους εἰς ἀπώλειαν αἰώνιον. *test. xii Patr. Reub.* 5. 5 πᾶσα γυνὴ δολιευομένη . . . εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται. *Zab.* 10. 3 ἐπὶ . . . τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπάξει Κύριος πῦρ αἰώνιον. ps-Barn. *ep.* 20. 1 ὁδὸς . . . ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰώνιου μετὰ τιμωρίας. ps.-Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 6 τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως. *Et passim.* Just. *apol.* 1. 17 πιστεύοντες . . . κατ' ἄξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἕκαστον τίσειν διὰ πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκας. 52 τῶν μὲν ἁξίων (σώματα) ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν, τῶν δ' ἀδίκων ἐν αἰσθήσει αἰωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψει, cf. 20. *act. Jo.* 107 (16) B (in note) πῦρ αἰώνιον καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν Σατὰν καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔνεδρα. Iren. *haer.* 2. 43. 2 (2. 49 : 2. 28. 7) quoniam . . . transgressoribus ignis aeternus praeparatus est, et Dominus manifeste dixit, et reliquae demonstrant Scripturae, *al. et vide* 3. 33. 2 (3. 34 : 3. 23. 3) non homini principaliter praeparatus est aeternus ignis, sed ei qui seduxit . . . hominem. *Vienn. et Lugd. ep.* ap. Eus. *h. e.* 5. 1. 26 ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαιροῦ τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεένῃ κόλασιν. *act. Thom.* 84 κατὰ κρίσιν αἰωνία. Or. *Cels.* 3. 78 ὡς φόβῳ τῶν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὀνομαζομένων αἰωνίων κολάσεων πάσης . . . βασιάνου καὶ . . . θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, *al. e.g. in Jo. fragm.* 42 (Jo. 3. 19) Berlin ed p. 517<sup>6</sup>. ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 3. 26, *et passim. pass. Andr.* 13 Bonnet p. 31<sup>7</sup> ἠτοίμασταί σοι ἡ αἰώνιος ἀπώλεια (not *annihilation* v. 7) Greg. Naz. *or.* 40. 36 (v. l. *inf.*). Greg. Nyss. *c. usur.* M. 46. 436 B Paris 2. 226 B μικρὸν τέρψαντες τὴν ὄψιν . . . αἰωνίου λύπης γίνεσθε πρόξενοι, 452 A Paris 233 D τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν, cf. *or. cat.* 40 *sub fn.*, but v. *inf.* l. c. a. 5. 6. 7 τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐστερήθη καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων ἐκπέπτωκεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς αἰωνίου (b d o Funk ἀΐδιου) κολάσεως ἐντὸς κατέστη. 7. 39. 3 ἐπανάγων . . . ἀπὸ θανάτου αἰωνίου εἰς ζωὴν αἰδίου Thdt. *h. e.* 3. 13. 5 ἀπέσβη καὶ οὗτος καὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ παρεπέμφθη θανάτῳ. *Al. pass.*

N.B Clem. *paed.* 1. 8. 74. 3 has τὴν ἀπληγικίαν ψυχὴν καιρὸς ἐστὶ τρῶσαι . . . σωτηρίας, ὀλίγης ἀλγηδόνος αἰδίου κερδάναντα θάνατον. ps.-Clem. Rom. has *hom.* 1. 7 αἰδίως κολαζόμεναι. c. a. 5. 6. 7.

(b) *according to Celsus* Cels. ap. Or. *Cels.* 8. 49 τοῦτο . . . ὀρθῶς νομίζουσιν, ὡς οἱ μὲν εὖ βιώσαντες εὐδαιμονήσουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πάνπαν αἰωνίως κακοῖς συνέξονται.

(c) *and in the Greek mysteries* according to Celsus ap. Or. *Cels.* 8. 48.

(d) *according to Plato* Hipp. *ref.* 1. 19. 13 τοὺς δὲ ἐν κολάσειν ὑπάρχειν αἰωνίους, ὅσοι . . . ἄδικοι παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν βίον εἰσὶν ἐξεργασμένοι: cf. Just. *apol.* 1. 8 (*inf. h.*) and Plat. *Phaedr.* 249 A.

(e) *according to the Manichaeans* Hegem. *act. Arch.* 10 (28) πλούσιος . . . εἰάν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος . . . ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν εἰς πτωχοῦ σώμα

μεταγισθῆναι, ὥστε περιπατοῦντα . . . ἐπαιτῆσαι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνελθεῖν . . . εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον.

(f) *of the Devil's ministers', the demons', punishment act.* Thom. 76 κἀμοὶ παρέχει τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῶν ἔργων μου τὴν αἰώνιαν ἀπόλειαν. Or. in *Prov. fragm.* M. 13. 18A 'Ite in ignem aeternum . . .' (Matt. 25. 41) ostendens quia eadem species poenarum . . . hominibus, et diabolo, et angelis eius praeparata sit, licet in eadem poena diversa sit quantitas poenae.

(g) *the belief in eternal life and eternal punishment in the Creeds* (from Hahn *Bibliothek der Symbole* 1897).

*the following express a belief in eternal life without mention of punishment—*

*Baptismal creed of the ancient Church, Apostles' Creed (Roman)* (πιστεύω) εἰς . . . σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

*Creeds in the East.*

*Palestinian* Cyr. Hier. (b. A. D. 313) εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, v. M. 33 p. 533.

*Epiph.* (b. A. D. 315) *anc.* 119. 11 εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

*Syrian c. a. 7.* 41.

*Asiatic Armenian Creed* εἰς ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰς κρίσιν τοῦ αἰῶνος ψυχῶν τε καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

*Oecumenical Creed.*

*Nicene-Constantinopolitan* (381 A. D.) προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

*Creeds of individual synods.*

*Antioch* (341 A. D.) 1st formula πιστεύομεν καὶ περὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.

*the following expresses a belief in eternal punishment as well as in eternal life.*

*The Athanasian Creed* (so-called. Dated according to different critics from 6th to 9th cent.: according to Loofs and Harnack 5th or at latest early 7th cent.), οἱ καλὰ πράξαντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. οἱ δὲ κακὰ (αἱ τὰ φαῦλα) εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον (αἱ εἰς αἰωνίους κολάσεις).

(h) in the following passages the author makes clear by the use of *other words as well as αἰώνιος* that he regards the punishment as *eternal*. Herm. *past. sim.* 6. 2. 4 ἡ καταφθορά (*defectio*) . . . ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀνανεώσεώς τινος, ὃ δὲ θάνατος ἀπόλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. *mart. Polyc.* 2. 3 τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον πῦρ. *Just. apol.* 1. 8 κἀν τοῖς αὐτοῖς σώμασι μετὰ



τῶν ψυχῶν γινομένων καὶ αἰωνίαν κόλασιν κολασθησομένων; ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χιλιονταετῆ περίοδον, ὡς ἐκεῖνος (Plato) ἔφη, μόνον. *act. Jo.* 36 πῦρ ἄσβεστον καὶ σκότος μέγιστον καὶ βυθὸς κολαστηρίων καὶ ἀπειλὰς αἰώνιους. Hipp. *lib. adv. Gr. fragm.* M. 10. 801 A (v. *inf.* i). Bas. ap. Sym. Met. *serm.* 14 (*de fut. jud.*) 3 pp 551-2 τοῦτο τῆς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου τὸ τοὺς πολλοὺς . . . τέλος κολάσεως . . . ἑαυτοῖς ὑπογράψαι. εἰ γὰρ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως ἔσται ποτὲ τέλος, ζεῖ πάντως καὶ ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ. Chrys. *in Jo. hom.* 42 (41) *sub fin.* οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη κολάζεσθαι κόλασιν τέλος οὐκ ἔχουσαν, πέρασ οὐκ ἐπισταμένην . . . τύχωμεν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν. *hom.* 83 (82) 1 Ben. 8. 490 *sub fin.*, cf. *in 2 Thess. hom.* 2 Ben. 11. 519 AB εἰ . . . ὁ . . . νόμων φόβος . . . ἔχει τὴν ἰσχὺν ὥστε ἀπάγει . . . τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων, πολλῶ μᾶλλον . . . ἢ τιμωρία ἢ ἀθάνατος, ἢ κολάσις ἢ αἰδῖος' εἰ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φόβος τοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς . . . ἀπάγει . . . , πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ αἰωνίου βασιλέως; *et seq., al. saep.* *hom.* 3. 522 E τὸ αἰώνιον . . . πῶς πρόσκαιρον; Leont. Byz. *de sect.* 10. 6 (in a criticism of Origen and his followers) τὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω, καὶ παρὰ τῇ Γραφῇ πολλάκις ἐπὶ ὀρισμένου χρόνου λαμβάνεται' πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κολάσεως οὕτως οὐ δύναται ληφθῆναι. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν (Matt. 25. 46). Jo. Dam. *fid. orth.* 2. 1 αἰώνιος δὲ ζωὴ καὶ αἰώνιος κολάσις τὸ ἀτελεύτητον τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος δηλοῖ.

(i) in the following passages, among others, *the fire is treated as physical, and the pain as largely corporeal* Just. *Tryph.* 130 ἔγνωμεν καὶ διὰ Ἡσαίου, (66. 24) τὰ κῶλα τῶν παραβεβηκότων ὑπὸ σκώληκος καὶ ἀπαύστου πυρὸς διαβιβρώσκεσθαι μέλλειν, ἀθάνατα μένοντα. Hipp. *lib. adv. Gr. fragm.* M. 10 p. 801 A (of Christ) τοῖς μὲν εὖ πράξασι δικαίως τὴν αἰδῖον ἀπόλαυσιν παρασχόντος, τοῖς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἐρασταῖς τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἀπονεύμαντος. καὶ τούτους μὲν τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον διαμένει καὶ ἀτελεύτητον, σκώληξ δὲ τις ἔμπυρος, μὴ τελευτῶν, μηδὲ σῶμα διαφθεῖρων . . . παραμένει. *c. a. i.* 3. 3 θάνατος παρὰ θεοῦ ἐλεύσεται σοι αἰώνιος ἐν αἰσθήσει πικρῶς κολαζομένη.

(j) in the following passages, among others, *the pain is regarded as largely spiritual, due to separation from God.* Iren. *haer.* 5. 27. 2 (5. 27 : 5. 27. 2) κοινωνία . . . Θεοῦ ζωὴ καὶ φῶς καὶ ἀπόλαυσις τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν . . . χωρισμὸς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ θάνατος' καὶ χωρισμὸς φωτὸς σκότος' καὶ χωρισμὸς Θεοῦ ἀποβολὴ πάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν . . . αἰώνια . . . καὶ ἀτελεύτητα παρὰ Θεοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ' καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ στέρησις αὐτῶν αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος. Cf. Jo. Dam. *C. Manich.* 44.

(k) *the pain varies in intensity according to the sin* Or. *in Prov. fragm.* M. 13. 18 A (he has just spoken of man, the Devil, and the Fallen Angels) ref. to Matt. 25. 41 'Ite in ignem aeternum . . .' alius . . . gravius ac vehementius cruciatur pro magnitudine poenarum; alius . . . remissius, cuius leviora . . . peccata sunt.

(1) on the other hand elsewhere the author *either denies or suggests doubts as to the eternity of punishment hereafter*—

(Clement of Alexandria, though claimed by Farrar [*Eternal Hope* p. 157 ed. 1892] as a supporter, is mainly concerned with the *universality of opportunity* [e.g. *fragm. in 1 Jo.* 2. 1-2 Berlin ed. vol. 3, p. 211<sup>29</sup>; *str.* 6. 6. 45. 5-6, 47. 3] rather than of *salvation*; and the passages which seem nearest to universalism, e.g. *str.* 1. 17. 86. 1, 7. 2. 12. 1-5 are inconclusive.)

*Origen*, who holds that the punishment is remedial, and not eternal, that the fire is spiritual and the food of it our sins, and that all, even Satan (*v. princ.* 3. 6. 6), will, in the ἀποκατάστασις or restoration of all things, be saved in *Rom.* 6. 23 (*J.T.S.* vol. 13, p. 368 xxxiv) “τὸ . . . χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ” οὐκ ἔταξεν ἀπλῶς “ζωὴ αἰώνιος”, ἀτελής γὰρ αὕτη νοεῖται ὅτε μὴ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐστίν . . . δηλοῦνται δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἁμαρτία τῷ βασιλευμένῳ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς δίδωσι τὸν θάνατον, καὶ οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφέρει τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον . . . ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνθυποίση καὶ τὸ “ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ” . . . ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἀποκτενοὶ ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο ζωοποιήσῃ τὸν ἀποθανόντα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. *in Rom.* 6. 1 *lib.* 5 p. 560 M. 14. 1036 D non . . . ita aeternum istud mortis esse arbitror regnum ut est vitae atque iustitiae . . . Si eadem aeternitas mortis ponatur esse quae vitae est, iam non erit mors vitae contraria, sed aequalis. Aeternum namque aeterno non contrarium erit, sed idem. *in Rom.* 6. 22-23 *lib.* 6 p. 575 M. 1066 C quod aeternitas Scripturis aliquando pro eo ponatur ut finem nesciat, aliquando . . . ut in praesenti . . . saeculo finem non habeat, habeat tamen in futuro. Aliquando temporis alicuius, vel etiam vitae unius hominis spatium aeternitas appellatur . . . Ubi vero dicit ‘vitam aeternam’, ad illud aspiciendum est quod ipse Salvator dixit: ‘Haec est . . . vita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum et quem misisti Iesum Christum’: et iterum ‘Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita’. Et . . . Apostolus . . . dicit . . . ‘semper cum Domino erimus’. Sicut ergo semper cum Domino esse finem non habet, ita et vita aeterna nullum finem habere credenda est . . . p. 575 fin., 576 M. 1067 C voluit aliud esse vitam aeternam solum, et aliud vitam aeternam in Christo Iesu. Et illi enim qui surgent in . . . opprobrium sempiternum (*Jer.* 23 40 ἀτιμίαν αἰώνιον) habebunt quidem vitam aeternam, non tamen in Christo Iesu, sed in . . . opprobrio aeterno . . . Peccatum . . . militibus suis . . . stipendia digna largitur mortem . . . p. 1068 C non ista mors quae separat corpus ab anima, sed illa qua per peccatum separatur anima a Deo . . . p. 1069 A Deus etiamsi occidere dicatur, et morti tradere, talis quaedam sit mors quae a Deo datur, ut conferat vitam. Nihil enim mali datur a bono, licet triste sit . . . prospectu tamen medendi . . . infertur (*v. Greek fragm. sup.*). *princ.* 2. 10. 4-6, esp. 4

videamus . . . quid sibi velit 'ignis aeterni' comminatio . . . videtur indicari quod unusquisque peccatorum 'flamma' sibi ipse proprii 'ignis' accendat (Is. 50. 11), et non in aliquem ignem, qui antea . . . fuerit accensus ab alio, vel ante ipsum substiterit, demergatur. Cuius ignis esca atque materia sunt nostra peccata. 1. 6. 3. in *Luc. hom.* 35 fin. (Luc. 12. 59) si . . . qui parum debet non egreditur nisi exsolvat 'minutum quadrantem. . . qui tanto debito fuerit obnoxius, infinita ei ad reddendum debitum saecula memorabuntur, cf. Berlin ed. p. 212<sup>27</sup>. in *Ps.* 36 (37: *hom.* 3. 1 M. 12. 1337 AB hoc . . . Dominus . . . pollicetur, ut exterminet . . . peccatum, ita ut . . . non iam sit peccator . . . si . . . in hac vita . . . faciamus in nobis interire peccatum . . . non indigebimus poenae ignis aeterni . . . si vero . . . contempnimus . . . divinae Scripturae verba . . . manet nos ignis ille qui praeparatus est peccatoribus (he refers also to 1 Cor. 3. 13) . . . Et, ut ego arbitror. omnes nos venire necesse est ad illum ignem. Etiam si Paulus sit aliquis vel Petrus, venit tamen ad illum ignem. in *Luc. hom.* 14 Berlin ed. p. 99<sup>7</sup>. Cf. Leont. Byz. *de sect.* 10. 6.

In the following passages Origen suggests that the fear of eternal punishment may be in some cases salutary, and the publication of the truth therefore dangerous *Cels.* 6. 26 εἰς . . . τὰ ὑπερέκεινα αὐτῆς (κολάσεως) οὐ χρήσιμον ἀναβαίνειν διὰ τοὺς μόγεις φόβῳ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως κἀν συστέλλοντας. in *Jer. hom.* 20 (19). 4 συγκρίνωμεν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, τί λυσιτελεῖ τῇ μονογάμῳ . . . οἶσθαι . . . αἰωνίῳ κολάσει παραδίδοσθαι τὴν δίγαμον ἵνα μείνη μονόγαμος, ἢ γνῶναι τὸ ἀληθές καὶ διγαμησαί; (to Origen the eternal is that which lives for ever, and that is God, and 'eternal life' is 'to know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent' [Jo. 17. 3]. No evil can be eternal, only good, for God is good. That is—eternity denotes not quantity merely but quality: and so we call righteousness eternal [*vid.* i. 4], but not wickedness, and things spiritual, but not things earthly and material, which are πρόσκαιρα only [*vid.* iii. 1]).

*Cyril of Jerusalem cat. myst.* 5. 9.

*Diodorus of Tarsus* quoted by Ebedjesu ap. *Assemanum Bibl. Orient.* vol. 3 pt. i p. 324 (ex *lib. de Oeconomia*) Lat. trans. from Syriac Poena . . . iniquis, non tamen perpetua . . . sed ut aliquo exiguo tempore iuxta . . . mensuram delicti . . . torqueantur.

*Gregory of Nazianzus* alludes to this view as tenable, though not held by himself—*or.* 40. 36 (πῦρ) ὃ τῷ ἀκοιμήτῳ σκώληκι συντέτακται μὴ σβεννύμενον, ἀλλὰ διαιωνίζον τοῖς πονηροῖς . . . εἰ μὴ τῷ φίλον κἀνταῦθα νοεῖν τοῦτο φιλανθρωπότερον, καὶ τοῦ κολάζοντος ἐπαξίως. In *or.* 39 19 τελευταῖον βάπτισμα has been taken to mean Purgatory, but Mason (A. J.) *Purgatory*

p. 20 gives good reason for believing that it refers to a cleansing after the resurrection.

*Basil in Is.* 9. 19 p. 554.

*Gregory of Nyssa*, following Origen, believes in a final ἀποκατάστασις, or restoration, of all created spirits, Satan included. God purifies all in a refining fire. By this κάθαρσις Gregory does not mean Purgatory, for it takes place not between death and judgement but after the resurrection (cf. *Cyr. H. cat.* 15, 21), and deals not with the imperfectly good, but with the bad. When it is complete God will be 'all in all' (1 Cor. 15. 28, cf. 54 and 56), and a chorus of praise will arise from all creation (or. *cat.* 26 *sub fin.*, 35, cf. Srawley's ed. p. xxiii and *reff.*). *de an. et res.* M. 46. 157 CD Paris 3. 259 AB ἐπειδὴν . . . πᾶν ὅσον νόθον . . . εἰς ἀφανισμὸν ἔλθῃ, τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐκδαπανήσαντος τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ παραδοθέν, τότε καὶ τούτοις εὐτροφῆσει ἢ φύσις . . . μακρᾶς ποτε περιόδου τὸ κοινὸν εἶδος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν θεοθεν ἐπιβληθὲν ἀπολαβοῦσα, and pp. 157 AB, 160. *ib.* M. 101 B Paris 227 D εἰ δ' εἰς αἰώνιον τι διάστημα ἡ ἄσχετος ἐκείνη ὀδύνη παραταθείη, τίς ἐκ τῆς ὕστερον ἐλπίδος ὑπολέλειπται παραμυθία, ᾧ πρὸς ὅλον αἰῶνα συνδιαμετρεῖται ἡ κόλασις; *et seq.* ad M. 104 *fin.* Paris 229 *fin.* (cf. *de an. et res.* M. 46. 152 AB Paris 3. 254 CD 255 A: *or. de mort.* M. 46. 524 B Paris 3. 634 D: *hom. opif.* ch. 21: *in illud: Quando sibi* M. 44. 1313 A Paris 2. 12 BC.

*John Chrysostom* advises that prayer, alms, and memorials be offered for the dead sinner, who is in Hell (v. *in Philipp.* p. 217 A), not in Purgatory, *in Act. Apost. hom.* 21 Ben. 9. 174 D-176 E, a very interesting passage: *in Philipp. hom.* 4 (3) Ben. 11. 217-218: *in 1 Cor. hom.* 41 Ben. 10. 393 AB.

*Theodore of Mopsuestia* Syriac fragment ap. Assemanum B. Or. vol. 3 pt. i p. 323 mali . . . postquam poenarum vi atque metu resipuerint . . . tum demum fruitionem divinae liberalitatis merebuntur. Nunquam enim dixisset: 'Donec reddas novissimum quadrantem,' nisi fieri posset ut pro peccatis poenas solventes ab iis liberemur; neque . . . 'vapulabit multis,' et 'vapulabit paucis', nisi poenam peccatis commensam solventes finem tandem habituri essent. Latin fragment ap. Mar. Mercatorem M. (P.L.) 48. 232 ubi iam loco muneris resurrectio putabitur, si poena sine correctione resurgentibus inferatur? *et paul. inf.* Quis . . . ita demens ut tantum bonum credat materiam fieri resurgentibus infiniti supplicii? Phot. *bibl. cod.* 81 says that Theodore 'held a strange doctrine about the resurrection of sinners'. (For the Latin Fathers v. Mason *Purgatory* p. 23 *seq.*)

(Two things should be remembered about these passages, [1] that no *definitive* doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all men was taught by any one except Origen and Gregory of Nyssa [and even they are not

absolutely consistent *vid.* a], and two writers of doubtful orthodoxy, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The others here cited maintain the doctrine of eternal punishment in general, but are unwilling to admit the impossibility of its mitigation or remission in individual cases in answer to prayer, especially at the Eucharist, and alms-giving ;

[2] that some of these passages have been held to refer to Purgatory. That this is not true of all is obvious, that it is true of any seems very doubtful when we remember what a small part the doctrine of Purgatory [in the strict sense as a purgation between death and the Day of Judgement] plays in the theology of the Greek Fathers ; cf. Mason *Purgatory* pp. 14, 18, 21 and Harnack *Hist. of Dogma* Eng. Trans. vol. 3 p. 189 note 1.)

(m) Some Fathers speak at times of the souls of the wicked as being, after punishment, annihilated Just. *Tyrph.* 5 p. 223 C αἱ δὲ κολάζονται, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ θεὸς ἐθέλη (according to one interp., but v. note in Otto, and contrary passage in Justin *vid.* a). Iren. *haer.* 2. 56. 1 (2. 64 : 2. 34. 3) qui in modica temporali vita ingrati exstiterunt ei qui eam praestitit iuste non percipient ab eo in saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum (Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment*, p. 188, interprets that the unthankful 'deprives himself of continuance in that which alone is life', cf. 1 Jo. 5. 12). ps.-Clem. *Rom. hom.* 3. 6 á . . . μὴ μετανοήσαντες διὰ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς κολύσεως καὶ τὸ τέλος ἔξουσιν . . . μεμετρημένου αἰῶνος τὸ πέμπτον (?) πυρὶ αἰωνίῳ κολασθέντες ἀποσβεσθήσονται (cf. M. note in loc., 59 : 7. 7 : 16. 10) : but he asserts eternal punishment quite clearly *hom.* 11. 11, *al.* (cf. Arnobius *adv. gent. lib.* 2 pp. 66, 109 ed. Heraldus 1605).

also Heracleon ap. Or. *in Jo.* 13. 60 (59) p. 275 (417).

iii (1) of persons and things eternal and spiritual as opposed to things material, earthly, temporal *act.* Thom. 159 ἀνάγομαι . . . πρὸς τὸν . . . θεόν μου Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, . . . πρὸς ἐκείνον τὸν . . . ἀνάξαντά με εἰς μεγαλοσύνην αἰώνιον. Dion. Al. Περὶ Φύσεως 3 Feltoe p. 138<sup>13</sup> (he is speaking of the Epicureans) τίνα . . . τρόπον . . . τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ . . . αἰώνια . . . σώματα, ἢ μακράϊωνά γε . . . φαινόμενά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ· φαινόμενα μὲν ἥλιος . . . γῆ τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἀφανῆ δὲ θεοὶ τε καὶ δαίμονες καὶ ψυχαί ; (he does not admit that the sun, earth, &c. are truly eternal, only quasi-eternal (so Plat. *Tim.* 37 D says that 'to bestow this attribute (of eternity αἰώνιος) in its fullness upon a creature was impossible', i.e. the created universe is not eternal : cf. *Epinomis* 981 E). Ath. *de Incarn.* 5 οἱ . . . ἄνθρωποι ἀποστραφέντες τὰ αἰώνια, καὶ συμβουλία τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς τὰ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐπιστραφέντες. Did. Al. *de Trin.* 2. 10. p. 106<sup>b</sup> (231) τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀναφθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ (the Holy Spirit) αἰωνίαν χάριν. c. a. 2. 60. 1 πῶς . . . οὐ πολέμιος θεοῦ ὁ περὶ τὰ πρόσκαιρα μὲν . . . σπουδάζων, τῶν δὲ αἰώνιων ἀμελῶν ; Nonn. *pat.* (Jo. 4.

10) 4. 46 αἰώνιον ἦτεες αὐτὸν ζῶν ὕδωρ. ps.-Dion. Ar. *D.N.* 10. 3 ἴσμεν . . . κυριώτερον τὰ ὄντα τῷ αἰῶνι, καὶ τὰ ἐν γενέσει τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ λεγόμενα καὶ δηλούμενα. χρῆ τοιγαροῦν οὐχ ἀπλῶς συναΐδια Θεῷ τῷ πρὸ αἰῶνος οἰεσθαι τὰ αἰώνια λεγόμενα (the *qualitative* sense of αἰώνιος as belonging only to that what has true Being is very marked in this passage).

(2) in the gnostic system (Theodotos [Valentinian]), Clem. *ex. Theod.* 64 (τὰ πνευματικά) ἔρχονται, αἰῶνες νοεροὶ γενόμενα, εἰς τοὺς νοερούς καὶ αἰώνιους γάμους τῆς συζυγίας. anon. *Gnost. opus* 13 ap. *Kopt. Gnost. Schr.* (Berlin) p. 353<sup>28</sup> of that which *exists*, is as opposed to that which does not truly exist, ὕλη matter. Hipp. *ref.* 5. 7. 37 τὰ πάσης κακίας ἀπηλλαγμένα αἰώνια χωρία.

(3) in the Docetic system Hipp. *ref.* 8. 10. 1 τοῖς τοῦ φωτὸς αἰώνιους χαρακτηρησι. The Only Son, though generated (*ref.* 8. 9. 2) is described 8. 10. 5 as ὁ μονογενὴς παῖς ἄνωθεν αἰώνιος *al.* 10. 16. 3 τὸ . . . τῶν αἰώνων φῶς . . . καταβὰν . . . ἄνωθεν ἰδεῶν αἰώνιων ἀπεμάξατο κάτω (εἰς) τὸ χάος τὰς μορφάς.

(4) in the system of Heraclitos Hipp. *ref.* 9. 9. 4 ἐστὶ παῖς τὸ πᾶν καὶ δι' αἰῶνος αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τῶν ὄλων.

iv (1) of what is less than everlasting, increate, eternal (in the true sense) ps.-Dion. Ar. *D.N.* 10. 3 οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀπολύτως ἀγένητα καὶ ὄντως αἰδία πανταχοῦ φησω (sc. τὰ λόγια) αἰώνια . . . ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ τό' Ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι (Ps. 23 [24]. 7, 9) . . . τοῖς λογίοις δὲ ἐστ' ὅτε καὶ ἔγχρονος αἰὼν δοξάζεται, καὶ αἰώνιος χρόνος, cf. for fuller account of this passage αἰὼν *Definitions sub init.*

(2) of praise which is eternal, because its object, God, is eternal, but not strictly unceasing ps.-Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 9 δῶμεν . . . αὐτῷ (Θεῷ) αἶνον αἰώνιον.

(3) of an eternal, ever-memorable distinction, glory, achievement, memory Ign. *ad Polyc.* 8 ἵνα δοξασθῆτε αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ. Eus. *vit. Const.* 1. 3. 2 μνήμῃς . . . αἰώνιαι (-οις A) τὰς τῶν τιμωμένων ἀρετὰς παραδιδόναι: cf. 3. 33. *Const. ad S. C.* 12. 4 διαδέχεται . . . τόνδε τὸν βίον μνήμη διαρκῆς καὶ αἰώνιος δόξα.

in a complimentary sense of a deceased Emperor Ath. *apol. ad Const.* 2 τὸν . . . μακαρίας μνήμης καὶ αἰώνιου Κώνσταντα τὴν ἀδελφόν σου.

(4) of an eternal, indelible disgrace, reproach test. xii *Patr. Reub.* 6. 3 εἰς ὄλεθρον Βελίαρ καὶ ὄνειδος αἰώνιον. *Lev.* 15. 2 λήψεσθε αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον παρὰ τῆς δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ. Or. *de vol.* 29. 7 πολλοὶ . . . ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὸ Χριστοῦ εὐγενῶς ὄνομα φέρειν εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον καταπεπτώκασιν.

(5) *of the laws, covenants, promises of God, which, though themselves unchanging, may be affected by the disobedience &c. of men, and are not therefore strictly everlasting test.* xii Patr. Reub. 6. 12 of Levi and his seed ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος, al. : cf. Ben. 10. 4 δότε αὐτὰ τοῖς τέκνοις . . . εἰς κατάσχεν αἰώνιον.

(6) *living, perennial, of fountains* Ps. Sol. 17. 21 "πηγαὶ συνεσχέθησαν" αἰώνιοι ἐξ "ἀβύσσων", cf. Gen. 8. 2.

v (1) *of something which lasts for an indefinitely long period.*

e.g. *the long sleep of death test.* xii Patr. Iss. 8. 9 ὑπνωσεν ὑπνον αἰώνιον (not literally *eternal*, when the author believes in immortality, v. Charles Testaments &c. Translation p. xcvi): cf. Dan. 7. 1 (c. β, A), Jos. 20. 4 (β, S).

(2) *of something which will last to the end of the world (present) Const.* Apost. 5. 19. 7 τοῦτο (the sacrifice of the Altar) ὑμῖν ἔστω νόμιμον αἰώνιον ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

(3) *gen.* Const. ad S. C. 25. 4 τσαῦται . . . ἐγένοντο σφαγαὶ ὄσαι, εἰ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγένοντο, ἰκανὰς εἶναι πρὸς αἰωνίαν εἰρήνην. Eus. p. e. 10. 5 p. 474 c (concerning the Hebrew letters) τρισκαίδεκατον στοιχείον ἐστὶ τὸ Μῆμ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν (really = water) ἔπειτα Νοῦν, ὃ ἐστὶν αἰωνία (really = fish). εἶτα Σάμχ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται βοήθεια (= prop) ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον, Ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰωνία βοήθεια.

vi *as a complimentary title, Immortal, of the Emperor and Empress* Ath. syn. 3 "αἰώνιον" . . . αὐτὸν "βασιλέα" εἰρήκασιν οἱ τὸν Υἱὸν αἰδίου ἀρνούμενοι praef. ad fidem (4th Sirmian May 22, 359 A.D.), ap. Ath. syn. 8 Ἐξετέθη ἡ πίστις . . . ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ . . . βασιλέως Κωνσταντίου Αἰγούστου, τοῦ αἰωνίου, σεβαστοῦ. act. conc. Chalc. (451 A.D.) pars 1 ep. 20 ap. Hard. act. conc. 2. 36 A τῷ δεσπότη Ἐοδοσίῳ . . . αἰωνίῳ βασιλεῖ. ep. 24 p. 40 B Δεσπότη ἐμῷ Οὐαλεντινιανῷ αἰωνίῳ Αἰγούστῳ. ep. 21 p. 36 D Ἐοδοσίῳ . . . αἰεὶ βασιλεῖ υἱῷ Γάλλα Πλακιδίᾳ . . . αἰωνία βασιλῆς, καὶ μήτηρ (mother of Emperor).

adv. -ως *eternally, everlastingly, for ever, of God* ps.-Clem. Rom. hom. 19. 11 πρόσεστιν . . . τῷ θεῷ . . . τὸ ζῆν, καὶ τὸ ζῆν αἰωνίως: of Baptism Did. Al. de Trin. 2. 14 p. 125<sup>b</sup> (273 init.) τὸ . . . αὐθεντικὸν βάπτισμα . . . ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας αἰωνίως ἐλευθεροῖ (or perh. *divinely* v. note in M.).

*of things which have being in themselves as opposed to things created* ps.-Just. confut. Arist. 52 τὰ γενητὰ . . . καὶ φθαρτὰ αἰωνίως οὐ ζῶσι.

*of future happiness* Eus. eccl. th. 3. 15 p. 184 αὐτῷ ζωῇ . . . ὄντι ζησόμενοι αἰωνίως. c. a. 2. 55. 2. 6. 30. 7 ἀναπανόμενοι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . .

αἰωνίως. Anast. Sin. *quaest.* 21 p. 285 εἰ εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ κτισθέντα κατὰ βραχίως (leg. βεβραίως) καὶ αἰωνίως ἔξουσιν.

of future punishment ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 15. 11 ὁ παρὰ τοῦτο ποιῶν (i.e. maintaining that there are other gods but the one true God) αἰωνίως ἔχει κολασθῆναι, cf. 16. 2. Ath. *apol. c. Asian.* 88 μᾶλλον ἐλόμενοι πρὸς ὀλίγον αἰσχυνθῆναι ἢ αἰωνίως τὴν τῶν συκοφαντῶν ὑπομέναι τιμωρίαν. Jo. Dam. *c. Manich.* 41 ἐγκαλέσατε μᾶλλον (Θεῷ) αἰωνίως κολάζοντι.

loosely always, of something which has an indefinitely long continuance ps.-Clem. Rom. *hom.* 19. 23 ὁ κόσμος ὄργανόν ἐστι . . . ἵνα τῷ ἐσομένῳ ἄρρηνι αἰωνίως ἢ θήλεια τίκτηρ δικαίους αἰωνίους υἱούς. Meth. *synp.* 9. 2 τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἁμάρτημα λύσαντος θανάτῳ, ἵνα μὴ ἀθανάτως ἀμαρτωλὸς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ᾖν . . . αἰωνίως κατάκριτος γενηθῆ. E. C. E. OWEN.

## ST ROBERT OF MOLESME

THE history of the origin of the Abbey of Molesme in 1075 and of the years there which preceded the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098, less, be it observed, than a quarter of a century, is admittedly a little difficult to unravel. Some learned authorities would detect a trace of chauvinism in William of Malmesbury's high estimate of the part played by St Stephen Harding in the great movement initiated from Molesme, an estimate which might seem to relegate to the background both St Robert and St Alberic. However this may be, this travelled man of Dorset, a *puero Schereburniae monachus*—'était-il réellement profès ou n'était-il tenu que par la promesse de son oblation, impossible de savoir'<sup>1</sup>—*sermone comis, facie jucundus, animo semper in Domino laetus*,<sup>2</sup> of whom Helinandus of Froidmont writes in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, obviously accepting William's estimate: *Pertinet ad gloriam Angliae quod talem virum genuerit qui hujus religionis auctor fuit et mediator. Is fuit Hardingus*;<sup>3</sup> he it was of whom the *Exordium Magnum*, in a context in which the author describes himself as a monk of Clairvaux in touch with the *seniores* of his house—a work written not earlier certainly than 1186, but probably not much later<sup>4</sup>—testifies: *Primus inter primos ferventissimo studio laboravit ac modis omnibus instituit ut locus et Ordo Cisterciensis institueretur*.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, in the *Exordium Parvum*, for which St Stephen himself was chiefly respon-

<sup>1</sup> Othon *Les Orig. Cisterc.* p. 129 (*Revue Mabillon*, 1932-1933).

<sup>2</sup> Guill. Malm. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* iv, *De Cisterciensibus*, ap. Stubbs *Rer. Britann. Script.* ii pp. 380 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Helid. *Frigid. Mont. Chron.* i 47 an. 1099, ap. *P.L.* ccxii 990.

<sup>4</sup> Watkin Williams *Studies in St Bernard of Clairvaux* p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> *Exord. Magn.* I xv.