UNIWERSYTET PAPIESKI JANA PAWŁA II W KRAKOWIE

SZKOŁA DOKTORSKA NA UNIWERSYTECIE PAPIESKIM

JANA PAWŁA II W KRAKOWIE

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The Theological Development of the Idea of Hell in the Early Greek Church. From the Beginning to Origen (A Dogmatic Study)

Rozprawa doktorska

Dyscyplina nauki teologiczne

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Kraków 2024

OPIS BIBLIOGRAFICZNY

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Tytuł: The Theological Development of the Idea of Hell in the Early Greek Church. From the Beginning to Origen (A Dogmatic Study)

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Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie

Szkoła Doktorska na Uniwersytecie Papieskim Jana Pawła II w Krakowie

Dziedzina nauki teologiczne

Dyscyplina nauki teologiczne

Kraków 2024

Liczba stron: 227

Tablice, ilustracje, aneksy: 0

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of the theological idea of hell in the early Greek Church from the beginning to Origen. It is a dogmatic study examining the relationship of thoughts about hell beginning with the Old Testament and its translation into Greek continuing through the New Testament, with a look at the terminology used to express the idea in the early biblical literature. This is followed by an examination of the writings of various early authors from late first century through the mid third century ending with Origen. Not all writings from this time are examined, only those which either directly or indirectly, touched upon expressions of the idea of hell. A review of terminology and concepts and how the theological idea of hell was expressed by each author as well as an examination of the development of the idea over time is presented.

KEY WORDS

Sheol, Septuagint, Hell, Gehenna, Hades, Tartarus, Greek Fathers, Old and New Testaments, Ignatius of Antioch, Shepherd of Hermas, Polycarp, Irenaeus of Lyons, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Letter to Diognetus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Origen

ABSTRAKT

Niniejsza praca dotyczy rozwoju teologicznej idei piekła we wczesnym Kościele greckim od początków aż do Orygenesa. Jest to studium dogmatyczne badające rozwój idei piekła, począwszy od Starego Testamentu i jego tłumaczenia na język grecki, kontynuowane przez Nowy Testament, z uwzględnieniem terminologii używanej do wyrażania tego pojęcia we literaturze biblijnej. Następnie zostaje dokonana analiza pism znaczących dla podejmowanej tematyki autorów chrześcijańskich od końca I wieku do połowy III wieku, aż do Orygenesa. Nie bada się wszystkich pism z tego okresu, lecz jedynie te, które bezpośrednio lub pośrednio dotykały wyrażeń idei piekła. Przedstawiono przegląd terminologii i koncepcji oraz sposobu wyrażania teologicznej idei piekła przez poszczególnych autorów, a także badanie rozwoju tej idei na przestrzeni czasu.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Szeol, septuagint, piekło, Gehenna, Hades, tartar, Ojcowie greccy, Stary i Nowy Testament, Ignacy Antiocheński, Pasterz Hermasa, Polikarp, Ireneusz z Lyonu, Justyn Męczennik, Atenagoras, Teofil z Antiochii, List do Diogneta, Klemens Aleksandryjski, Hipolit, Orygenes

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Introduction

To begin a discourse on the development of the Christian concept of hell several questions must be addressed. The first chapter will explore, in a general way and only as a broad foundation, the development of the concept of hell in the Old and New Testaments. It will examine the Old Testament including the Old Testament Apocrypha. It will look at the Septuagint as a legitimate Jewish text as well as the beliefs regarding the afterlife in the Old Testament. The use of the word Sheol in the Hebrew Old Testament will also be explored in such a way as to draw on the beliefs held by the people of ancient Israel. Further, it will include a look into the terms used for hell in the New Testament. The terms to be discussed are Hades, Gehenna, and Tartarus. Some of the vocabulary used in conjunction with these words will be looked at as well. Other words, such as eternal, everlasting, and unending, connected to other phrases used commonly to denote hell such as fire, punishment, and torment will be expressed in later chapters. This terminology will be examined more closely, when necessary, in relation to the theological development of the idea of hell of the writers in the early Greek Church being studied later in this work.

This is not a biblical exegesis and will not explore the topic as such. However, examination of the language and ideas common to the Old and New Testaments cannot be avoided as Catholic theology requires that all doctrine be in accord with Sacred Scripture.[1] For "Sacred Theology rests upon the Word of God, together with Sacred Tradition, as its permanent foundation."[2] Therefore biblical terminology and exploration will be addressed. It must be noted that Sheol is being looked at because in the current era Sheol is often not translated into the modern English language as hell, instead it is transliterated from the Hebrew as Sheol. The Septuagint, while at times problematic, is our starting point because "…the Church, from the very beginning, took up as her own the ancient translation of the Old Testament named after the seventy men."[3] Given that

[1] Constitutio dogmatica de divina revelatione, "Dei Verbum" (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965). See also: D. Béchard, "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, Dei Verbum," in *The Scripture Documents. An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002), 19–31. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Citta del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007), 80–83.

[2] Constitutio dogmatica de divina revelatione, "Dei Verbum," para. 24. For English translation see: Béchard, "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, Dei Verbum," 29.

[3] Constitutio dogmatica de divina revelatione, "Dei Verbum," para. 22. For English translation see:

the period in question is the early Christian Church the use of the word Hades is foundational. The basis and underlying assumption in continuing along this line would be that the use of the word Hades in the translation that was completed by 'seventy rabbis' would therefore contain the meaning inherent in Sheol. This, of course, brings to the fore an existing debate which points to alternate theologies in existence at the time of the translation. Discussion will, as such, be limited because this topic is beyond the scope of the work at hand. At this point, what is important to note is that the dispute as to whether the Greek translators of the Hebrew text held views regarding the certainty of resurrection and/or the existence of an afterlife, which would be experienced as either peace for the blessed or suffering of sinners in hell, is less about which Old Testament author(s) or translators held which beliefs and more to the point that the concept itself was already in existence. Thus, this topic of Sheol will be a part of the broader question of the netherworld or realm of the dead and not an etymological study since the question of hell encompasses much more than the root meaning of a word.

The following chapters will be organized according to time periods. The second chapter will contain the writings of the early second century. This will look at those closest to the apostolic era such as Ignatius of Antioch, *Shepherd of Hermas*, 1 & 2 Clement, and Polycarp as well as apologetical works such as those of Justin Martyr. These will be looked at in regard to their contact with apostles or the link each has to them, either personally or through tradition. Also, their use of the terms, hades and Gehenna as well as any other langue used to describe what today is understood as hell, with an explanation of the significance of the terms.

Chapter three will continue the same line of inquiry in the late second century. This will include the apologetic works *Letter to Diognetus*, Athenagoras of Athens, and Theophilus of Antioch. Also included in this time period are the writings of Irenaeus of Lyons and Clement of Alexandria. Again, a look at the terms used which refer to hell, and also a look at the links, if any, to development or use of any of the earlier writings in relation to the topic of hell.

The fourth, and final chapter, will examine the early third century. The writings of Hippolytus and Origen will be examined. The usage of terminology, the development of the terminology, and an overall look at if the ideas surrounding hell that have developed and expanded in the thinking of each writer as well as in relation to earlier thinkers. One

Béchard, "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, Dei Verbum," 29.

important note when considering the writings of Clement of Alexander, Hippolytus, and Origen, is that the topic to be examined is hell, what it entailed for each writer and not their eschatology as a whole. Especially regarding Origen. Apocatastasis will not be examined or discussed, mostly because of the controversy surrounding the definition of the Greek word ἀιώνιος or its alternate ἀΐδιος. The question of how each understood this word will be examined but the conclusion as to the duration of hell is not in the forefront of this study, if only for the reason that this study is more interested in whether each author believed in the existence of hell and if so, what they believed it to be (fire, punishment, etc.). Also, what they thought the purpose or function hell is and, if possible, why or what causes one to be consigned to hell. It is imperative to analyze the writing of each author and provide an outline of their thinking on the topic of hell.

Because this topic is still a foundational part of the current debate on the existence of hell the terms will be looked at in a rudimentary way. They will only be explored in a way to try and bring about how the concept and idea of hell was a continuation of the development of an already existing sentiment, or perhaps the outgrowth of a doctrine which was already held in a seminal form. Since the overriding point of this thesis is that the idea or concept of hell has indeed developed, a note on what is meant by development must be included. However, the meaning and usage of each word holds import. The sentences, ideas, and, above all, the specific usage of specific words are building blocks upon which ideas are formed. "Sentences are like a wall, blocking sight of the original text; words are like pillars in an arcade: they let the light come through."[4] However, when considering the topic each pillar, indeed, must be examined but not to the extent that the view of the entire structure is lost. It is also well to note that language and thought are not synonymous but are certainly intertwined.[5]

Several anthropological topics come to mind in relation to the topic of hell and will be discussed although, again, in a rudimentary fashion and only to the extent of their bearing upon the subject. Topics such as death, the underworld and the afterlife, as well as the questions about the body, spirit, and soul, apocatastasis or the intermediate state will not be analyzed. Finally, while judgement and resurrection will be touched upon as, without this hell is devoid of meaning, they will not be examined as this would lead the

[4] Jan Joosten, "Pillars of the Sacred: Septuagint Words Between Biblical Theology and Hellenistic Culture," *Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok* 83 (2018): 1.

[5] Joosten, 6.

study far asunder.

A point needs to be made at the outset that these topics were not necessarily present theologically in the minds of people in antiquity but developed into questions and beliefs over time. These topics are, of their very nature, exceedingly far reaching and can and should be addressed individually. They are integral to the discussion and must be addressed. However, this will be done in a cursory way. This thesis will only address these topics to show the causal connection to the early Greek Church and the development of the theological idea of Christian hell in the first centuries.

Finally, a word on the import of this doctrine. It must be stated from the very start that the doctrine and beliefs on the topic of hell are integral to Christianity. As R. Albert Mohler Jr. states, "…no doctrine stands alone. Each doctrine is embedded in a system of theological conviction and expression. Take out the doctrine of hell, and the entire shape of Christian theology is inevitably altered.[6]

Development

The first and, perhaps for the purposes of this thesis, most important questions to appear about the doctrine of hell in the early Christian community are, did this concept develop from ancient Israel and can it be traced in the Old Testament?[7] This is an important starting point in the investigations for several reasons. First, as stated above, Christian theology must agree with Scripture. Both Testaments must be read as a whole in the light of the Christ event. Therefore, a theological idea that is not rooted in connection with the Old Testament which was in circulation at the time of Christ would be errant. Also, the later question of Hellenization and its influence on theologies begins

[6] R. Albert Mohler Jr., "Modern Theology: The Disappearance of Hell," in *Hell Under Fire: Modern Scholarship Reinvents Eternal Punishment* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 16.

[7] For more information regarding the reliance and investigation of Jewish thought and tradition in relation to the presented work, please see the Pontifical Biblical Commission Document: Pontifical Biblical Commisision, "L'Interprétation de La Bible Dans l'Èglise" (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1993), Https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/pcb_doc_index.htm. Especially section C. *Approaches Based on Tradition*, section 2. *Approach Through Recourse to Jewish Traditions of Interpretation*; as well as Pontifical Biblical Commisision, "Le Peuple Juif et Ses Saintes Ecritures Dans La Bible Chrétienne" (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2001), Https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/pcb_doc_index.htm.

to appear long before Christianity.[8] This means, as will be shown in the discussion below regarding the Septuagint, that questions, especially those concerning language and interpretation, will arise. However, before addressing these questions, what is meant by development must be clearly understood. As a starting point, the fifth century theologian St. Vincent of Lerins makes this point on how a concept, belief, or theological conviction develops:

> …it must truly be development of the faith, not alteration of the faith. Development means that each thing expands to be itself, while alteration means that a thing is changed from one thing into another. The understanding, knowledge and wisdom of one and all, of individuals as well as of the whole Church, ought then to make great and vigorous progress with the passing of the ages and the centuries, but only along its own line of development, that is, with the same doctrine, the same meaning and the same import.[9]

In other words, "…this process will not be a development, unless the assemblage of aspects, which constitute its ultimate shape, really belongs to the idea from which they start."[10]

The development of the theological idea of hell cannot be directly traced back to the Old Testament in a linear fashion. It is erroneous to begin from this point. As Clement McNapsy S.J. writes: "There is always the temptation to treat the Old Testament exactly as we do the New, even to the point of trying to dig out precise dogmatic statements where actually there are only vague foreshadowings."[11] The topic must also be considered in a way that allows for the doctrine to develop on its own so to speak, that is: "This economy of revelation is realized in deeds and words, which are interconnected in such a way that

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[8] Johann Cook, "Contextuality and the Septuagint," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 75, no. 3 (2019): 3–4; Johann Cook, "The Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible' of the Early Church.," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 76, no. 4 (2020): 3, https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v76i4.6132; Timothy Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 54, no. 3–4 (2010): 281–301.

[9] Vincent of Lerins, "Commonitorium," ed. J.P. Minge, Patrologiae Latina 50, 1865, 667–68.

[10] John Henry Cardinal Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1981), 39.

[11] Clement J. McNaspy, "Sheol in the Old Testament," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 6.3 (1944): 326.

the works accomplished by God in the history of salvation show forth and confirm the teaching and realities signified by the words and the words in turn, proclaim the works and illumine the mystery contained in them."[12]

The doctrine of hell and its development must be looked at in a way that allows ancient beliefs and views to hold their meaning while showing how they grew and developed along various and interconnected lines of thought and doctrine. These lines of thought and doctrine, each in their own way, contribute to the thought of the early Church without robbing them of their place and meaning in history. "In the study of this subject one must not read back into the Old Testament concepts which were not held until much later in the history of doctrine."[13] It is difficult to get a full understanding of the conceptions that have culminated into the thoughts on this matter in the Early Church mainly because the question was only beginning to be discussed. As John Henry Newman points out with regard to how these ideas develop into doctrine:

> At first men will not fully realize what it is that moves them, and will express and explain themselves inadequately. There will be a general agitation of thought, and an action of mind upon mind. There will be a time of confusion, when conceptions and misconceptions are in conflict, and it is uncertain whether anything is to come of the idea at all, or which view of it is to get the start of the others. New lights will be brought to bear upon the original statements of doctrine put forward; judgement and aspects will accumulate. After a while some definite teaching emerges…[14]

In this way we see that the early Church herself had no definitive ruling on the topic and hell is not mentioned in any official capacity until the Council of Orange in AD 529 with the controversy regarding predestination.[15] Only then was there a reason for the voice of

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[12] Constitutio dogmatica de divina revelatione, "Dei Verbum," para. 2. English translation: Béchard, "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, Dei Verbum," 19–20.

[13] Harry Buis, *The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1957), 2. See also: Cook, "Contextuality and the Septuagint," 3.

[14] Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, 37.

[15] Kim Papaioannou notes that: "Only after the Second Council of Constantinople in AD 543 did the belief in hell as a real place, in which unrepentant sinners will suffer forever became a part of traditional theology." Kim Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.* (Eugene: PICKWICK

the Church, through the council, to declare that God predestines no one to hell.[16] Of course in actuality the word hell was not used at all, Denzinger translates this into English not as 'hell' but as 'evil.'[17]

But as doctrine developed the meaning of this evil has at times and in this capacity, become to be understood as hell. It would be ignorant and erroneous to state that the concept did not exist prior to this declaration. However, when looking back one must consider that the ideas and thoughts which later evolved into what is understood as hell were being discussed in relation to other matters.[18] As will be outlined below, the underworld, death, life after death, etc. were all topics which touched upon and were intertwined with hell. In order to obtain a correct understanding of the concept there must be an understanding of the "conceptual background of the ancient world prior to Christianity."[19] In so doing, heed must be taken to avoid construing that the Old Testament or "Jewish thought 'developed' toward these apocalyptic speculations or that they constitute a kind of 'perfection' of Judaism."[20]

Aim of work

There is a great need to examine the origins of the theological idea of hell. The

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Publications, 2013), xiii. However, it should be noted that his citation from Dalton (p. 73) is incorrect, the page reference should be: William J. Dalton, *Salvation and Damnation*, vol. 41, Theology Today Series (Dublin: Mercier, 1977), 75. In this note Dalton is referring to the Cannons against Origen from the Book against Origen of the Emperor Justinian in 543 *Edictum Iustiniani imp. ad Menam patr. C'polit., publicatum in Synodo Constantinopolitana, a. 543* Henricus Denzinger and Adolfus Schonmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Marum* (Barcinone: Herder, 1973), paras. 403–411.

[16] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, para. 1037.

[17] "We not only do not believe that some have been truly predestined to evil by divine power, but also with every execration we pronounce anathema upon those, if there are [any such], who wish to believe so great an evil." Henry Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, trans. Roy J. Deferrair (Fitzwilliam: Loreto Publications, 2010), 81.

The original Latin uses 'malum' and 'mali' and reads as follows: "Aliquos vero ad malum divina potestate praedestinatos esse, non solum non credimus, sed etiam, si sunt, qui tantum mali credere velint, cum omni detestation illis anathema dicimus." Denzinger and Schonmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Marum*, para. 403.

[18] See: Pontifical Biblical Commisision, "L'Interprétation de La Bible Dans l'Èglise"; Alan E. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell, Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds* (Ithica: Cornel University Press, 1993), 2; Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, chap. 1. sec. 1.

[19] Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell, Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*, 2.

[20] Bernstein, 175. See also: Pontifical Biblical Commisision, "L'Interprétation de La Bible Dans l'Èglise"; Pontifical Biblical Commisision, "Le Peuple Juif et Ses Saintes Ecritures Dans La Bible Chrétienne."

current state of the problem lies to three general camps: Universalist, Annihilationist, and Traditionalist. This study will not aim to solve the current problem, nor will it enter into the debate on any of the above conclusions. The main purpose, as stated above, is to examine what exactly each of the early Greek writers thought on the topic of hell. Because of the current academic state of discussion around the different results of hell, the study of a complete eschatology on any one of the writers will not be undertaken. To do so would be too far reaching. Instead, as stated above, the investigation will focus on how each used the terms hades and Gehenna and how said terms were used and understood. Also, how other expressions were used, for example terms intertwined with fire, such as everlasting, eternal, and unquenchable, as well as the term outer darkness. In this way a general picture will emerge as to how each writer perceived what would today be called hell.

This study is of upmost importance for many reasons, chief among them is the general misunderstanding of what hell is. The ideas and conflicts that have surrounded the differing conceptions of hell have run deeply through the Church since the early days of Christianity. Many see this beginning with Origen and steadily moving up to the present.[21] However, considering the myriad of topics that arise from this seemingly straightforward question, this fissure, which appears as a minute crack actually trails back to the time of Christ or before. The confusion among Christians today is immense. "There is a need for the clarification of the doctrine of hell, its roots, and its necessity in the spiritual call to conversion for all Christians."[22] This is indeed important because, as stated above, Christian theology is a whole. If hell disappears or becomes unnecessary, then Christian theology would be entirely altered.[23]

State of Research and Sources

The state of research to this point is minimal. Most of what is written about the theological development of the idea of hell in the writers of the early Greek Church is contained in an overall analysis of each individual writer. There is no research of a

[21] Artur Aleksiejuk and Metropolita Sawa, "Świętego Klemensa z Alekszandrii Pogląd Na Apokatastazę," *Rocznik Teologiczny LVIII* 58, no. 4 (2016): 523–44; Mohler Jr., "Modern Theology: The Disappearance of Hell," 17.

[22] Sydney Sadowski, "Modern Theological Debates of Hell in the USA," *Polonia Sacra* 25, no. 2 (64) (2021): 117.

[23] Mohler Jr., "Modern Theology: The Disappearance of Hell," 16.

specific doctrine of hell in the early Greek Church to date. Of course, within the research on each specific writer there is often mention of their eschatological viewpoint, but nothing specifically aimed at their view on hell, with the most noted exception of Origen and his conception of apocatastasis. Studies have been published on the history of hell such as Georges Minois' *Histoire des enfers*,[24] Alan E. Bernstein's *The Formation of Hell*,[25] Edward Fudge's *The Fire that Consumes*,[26] and compilations on the topic such as *Hell Under Fire*,[27] and *A Consuming Passion*.[28] From an eschatological point of view works such as Henryk Pietras' *Eschatologia Kościoła Pierwszych Czterech Wieków*,[29] Brian E. Daley's *The Hope of the Early Church,*[30] Zachery Hayes' *Visions of a Future*,[31] And R.H. Charles seminal work *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity*.[32] However, these cover the topic in broad historical strokes touching upon some, but not all, of the patristic writers, and generally also include an examination of surrounding communities and religions.

There are also works on the concept of Sheol such as, *Shades of Sheol*[33] and the doctoral thesis by Ruth Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient Near Eastern Beliefs."[34] Of course, there is extensive literature from an historical and dogmatic point of view such as the *Ancient Christian Doctrine* series,[35] as well as,

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[24] Georges Minois, *Histoire Des Enfers* (Paris: Fayard, 1991).

[25] Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell, Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*.

[26] Edward William Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2011).

[27] Chistopher W. Morgan and Robert A. Peterson, eds., *Hell Under Fire. Modenr Scholarship Reinvents Eternal Punishment* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007).

[28] Chistopher M. Date and Ron Highfield, eds., *A Consuming Passion: Essays on Hell and Immortality in Honor of Edward Fudge.* (Eugene: PICKWICK Publications, 2015).

[29] Henryk Pietras, *Eschatologia Kościoła Pierwszych Czterech Wieków* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2007).

[30] Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010).

[31] Zachary Hayes, *Visions of a Future. A Study of Christian Eschatology*, vol. 8, New Theology Studies (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1987).

[32] R.H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1899).

[33] Philip S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Nottingham: Apollo, 2002).

[34] Ruth Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs" (Harvard University, 1981).

[35] Angelo Di Berardino, ed., *We Believe in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*, vol. 5, 5 vols.,

J.N.D. Kelly's *Early Christian Doctrines*[36] and *Early Christian Creeds*.[37] The other two main areas of literature which cover, as mentioned above, the topic of apocatastasis, such as the collections of essays contained in the book *Puste Piekło?,*[38] Wacław Hryniewicz's *Świadkowie Wielkiej Nadziei,*[39] Hans Kung's *Eternal Life?*[40] and Hans urs von Balthasar's *Dare we Hope "That all Men be Saved"*[41] among many, many others. The other area of literature regards the descent of Christ to the dead such as *Christ's Decent into Hell*[42] by Lrya Pitstick, but unfortunately the focus does not pertain to hell itself.[43]

As stated above, a study of this type has not been done previously. This is a look at the topic of hell on a micro level, contained only to the Greek writers of the first two and a half centuries. The main object is to discover a common thread between these writers, if one in fact exists, and to examine how the idea was presented in their work. This is important to understanding not only the thought of each writer but also how each uses hell in their writing. It is also important to examine the terminology relied upon by each writer in relation to Scripture and through a Christian lens.

The primary sources that I will be using are the extant Greek writings of those Greek writings listed above. Not all their works will be examined, only those which contain reference to hell. Each of these sources will be outlined within the section regarding the author examined. Where the original Greek is not available the later Latin translations will be used. Both the Greek and the Latin have been reproduced in the series *Sources Chrétiennes* (publication starting 1942) but also newer English translations such as Michael Holmes *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations,*[44] and Bart

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Ancient Christian Doctrine (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2010).

[36] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012).

[37] J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1972).

[38] Majewski Józef, ed., *Puste Piekło? Spór Wokól Ks. Wacława Hryniewicza Nadziei Zbawienia Dla Wszystkich* (Warszawa: Biblioteka "WIĘZI," 2000).

[39] Wacław Hryniewicz, *Świadkowie Wielkiej Nadziei. Zbawienie Powszechne w Myśli Wczesnochrześcijańskiej* (Warszawa: VERBINUM Wydawnictwo Księży Werbistów, 2009).

[40] Hans Kung, *Eternal Life? Life after Death as a Medical, Philosophical, and Theological Problem.*, trans. Edward Quinn (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002).

[41] Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Dare We Hope "That All Men Be Saved"? With a Short Discourse on Hell*, ed. David Kipp (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988).

[42] Lyra Pitstick, *Descent into Hell John Paul II, Joseph Ratzinger, and Hans Urs Von Balthasar on the Theology of Holy Saturday* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2016).

[43] See for example: Pitstick.

[44] Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand

Erhman's *The Apostolic Fathers*.[45] The electronic version on the website "Thesaurus Linguae Graecae" is also used.

The secondary sources that are used range in date of publication. Many of the English translations of the works are contained in the series *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, which was published beginning in the late 1800's and continued up through the early 1900's. Of course, due to the specificity of the study, many sources are from the 1900's, with the exception of most material regarding Origen, as he is at the center of many modern theological debates.

Method

The theological-historical method will be used. This means that the authors will be looked at in relation to their place and time in history, in relation to other writers, and in relation to and use of Scripture itself. This will include an analysis of the words used, how the terms are used, and in what context the words are used in relation to their point in history as well as the prevalent theological thought of the time. There will also be an acknowledgement of their work from the perspective of the audience to whom the work is intended but not an in-depth examination, except where relevant.

This work will also be written and formatted using the Chicago Manual of Style 17th ed. and in adherence to English language norms. It will also be written in accordance with the spelling standards of United States English, the exceptions being quotations where the authors use British English, or the language is archaic. Quotations will never be altered to adhere to any modern convention. Finaly, as regards language, the usage of pronouns will be predominantly masculine in accordance with traditional English grammatical usage. This is done primarily to maintain coherence and fluidity of the text due to the voluminous number of quotations from decades and centuries past. Also, being that this is written as a Catholic theological work, the use of AD (Anno Domini) and BC (Before Christ) will be maintained as the standard of denoting years.

Rapids: Baker Academic, 1992).

[45] Bart Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. II, LCL 25 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Chapter 1

Biblical Terminology of Hell Reflected in the Old and New Testament

1.1. The Septuagint

To better understand the development of the idea of hell in the early Greek Church, an examination of the materials used by the early Christians is required. Again, it must be reiterated that this is an introductory chapter which only allows for a cursory examination of the materials. This work will look at the Septuagint as the accepted authoritative foundation of the Christian New Testament and the Greek writers of the early Church.[1] The term Septuagint was originally used in regard to the Pentateuch (Torah), while specialists often use the term Old Greek to refer to the translations of other books.[2] For our purposes, the term Septuagint will encompass the translations of the Hebrew Bible beyond the Pentateuch alone. There is far more to this topic than can be addressed here,

[1] See the following regarding the legitimacy of the Septuagint as a foundational text (this topic is also addressed below): Lalleman argues that the early Christian writers did not agree on a single text. They used other texts current at the time. However, he does admit that "In subsequent centuries the Early Church relied on the Septuagint as a correct translation of the Hebrew text." Pieter J. Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," *European Journal of Theology* 30, no. 1 (March 1, 2021): 52–53, https://doi.org/10.5117/EJT2021.1.004.LALLE. Whereas Harl argues for the legitimacy of the text and states that not only was it accepted it was also consider 'divinely inspired'. "De plus, un aspect de la Septante rarement envisagé dans les études habituelles nous intéressait: aprés sa naissance et une assez brève vie dans le judaïsme, la Septante avait été la Bible reçue par les premières Eglises chrétiennes, qui lui avaient reconnu l'autorité d'un texte « divinement inspiré»". Marguerite Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993): 315. See also: Cook, "Contextuality and the Septuagint," 4, 6–10; Johann Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 76, no. 4 (2020): 268, https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v76i4.6132; Francis Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 43, no. 2 (2012): 10–11, https://doi.org/10.1163/157006312X617326; Karen H. Jobes, "When God Spoke Greek: The Place of the Greek Bible in Evangelical Scholarship," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 16, no. No. 2 (2006): 219–36.

[2] W. Edward Glenny, "The Septuagint and Biblical Theology," *Themelios* 41, no. 2 (August 2016): 265; Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1989), 293; Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 10; Claude E. Cox, "Some Things Biblical Scholars Should Know About the Septuagint," *Restoration Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (2014): 86–87; Peter J. (Peter John) Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 16, no. 2 (2006): 193–94; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 296; Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 13.

however, it should be noted that the early Christians and Greek writers of the Church existed in a different time and place and at times "read into" the text what may not have been there for the Jew living in Alexandria.[3] These points will be addressed where relevant within this study, particularly when we arrive at an examination of the Hexapla of Origen.

For the time being it will suffice to acknowledge the difficulty which lies ahead in discerning the meaning of the topic. While other materials may have influenced the early Christians, it is necessary to examine the written documents. Here, a word of caution must be inserted by noting that the tradition handed down through the centuries was simultaneously an oral one.[4] Why this becomes important regarding translation is, for example, that "the Greek was not able to reproduce the sounds of the Hebrew text, whose role is so important, in particular for proper nouns and their play of assonance with common nouns."[5] This topic also becomes operative when attempting to explain some of the errors of translation based on oral interpretation or transcription, including the possibility that dictation was incorporated.[6] While this lies outside the scope of this work it should be kept in mind when discussing the development of any group of people, but especially that of the rabbinic tradition, which in later times expressed a concern regarding textual appropriation by other groups, therefore rendering the oral tradition as the best way to prevent such an occurrence.[7]

This investigation, however, will be confined to the written materials and will begin with the Septuagint. It is important to state at the outset that the Septuagint is a Jewish

[3] Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 332; Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 44–45.

[4] Zvi Ron, "Septuagint Readings as Additional Exegetical Layers," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (April 2018): 124; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 294, 298; Peter J. (Peter John) Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 52, no. 1 (March 2009): 22; Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 24.

[5] In text translation mine: „certes, le grec n'a pas pu restituer les sonorités du texte hébreu, dont le rôle est si important, notamment pour les noms propres et leurs jeux d'assonance avec des noms communs." Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 319. Also see: Elizabeth Blackfish, "Transformations in Translation: An Examination of the Septuagint Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay in the Fourth Book of the Psalter.," *Journal of Biblical Liturature* 137, no. 1 (2018): 137; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 202–3.

[6] Theo van der Louw, "The Dictation of the Septuagint Version," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 39, no. 2 (2008): 224–26; Lawrence Briskin, "Septuagint Vocabulary in the Gospels and Acts," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (July 2000): 190; J. (Johan) Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 18, no. 59 (1993): 116–18; Alexander Sperber, "New Testament and Septuagint," *Journal of Biblical Liturature* 59, no. 2 (1940): 267–73.

[7] Moshe Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," *Prooftexts* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 27.

text.[8] It is a translation of the Hebrew texts done by rabbis or translators and not the creation of something new. It was never intended to create a standalone version or independent authority of the Hebrew Bible.[9] The intention of those who created the Septuagint was to produce a Greek text[10] that "possessed the same sacred texts which their brethren in Judaea read in Hebrew."[11] It was entirely Hebrew in nature, written by Semitic men who had no intention of creating a 'Greek' or 'Alexandrian' version of the text.[12] It was in no way to be considered inferior[13] and for several centuries before New Testament times it was used and read by Greek speaking Jews.[14]

However, as always, there is the dissenting voice that claims that only the original Hebrew is legitimate. Regardless, it cannot be denied that the Greek text arose from the need of faithful Greek speaking Jews, either as an alternative or an aid in understanding the original Hebrew.[15] As is evident from the translation, the Greek is awkward and often

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[8] Cox, "Some Things Biblical Scholars Should Know About the Septuagint," 86; Jobes, "When God Spoke Greek: The Place of the Greek Bible in Evangelical Scholarship," 226.

[9] Mark S. Gignilliat, "God Speaks Hebrew: The Hebrew Text and Septuagint in the Search for the Christian Bible," *Pro Eccleasia* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 170; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 296.

[10] Marguerite Harl argues that the Greek rendering of the Hebrew is at times dismissive of the rules of the Greek leaving only an "acceptable" translation: "au prix de manquements aux règles du «bon grec» et en donnant un texte parfois seulement «acceptable»." Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 319.

See also: George P. Howard, "Introduction of Septuagintal Studies," *Restoration Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (1963): 11; Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 39; Joosten, "Pillars of the Sacred: Septuagint Words Between Biblical Theology and Hellenistic Culture," 1; Ron, "Septuagint Readings as Additional Exegetical Layers," 124. Additionally it should be noted that there are varying debates as to the reasoning for the translation in the first place such as, liturgical, educational, legal, cultural, prestige, etc. Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 2.

[11] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 27.

[12] Swete, 27, 276. Of course it should be noted that the Greek contained in the Septuagint is an Alexandrian Greek text, meaning it was the language most probably used in everyday language by the translators. See: Joosten, "Pillars of the Sacred: Septuagint Words Between Biblical Theology and Hellenistic Culture," 4. Regarding the process and language of translation see: Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church." There is also an alternative theory that sees the Greek text as Palestinian in nature as well as Alexandrian. This is a deeper and more modern development which has started to occur as Septuagint studies have begun to emerge in the area of translation studies. See the discussion of Emmanuel Tov's work in: Cook, "Contextuality and the Septuagint," 3.

[13] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 5; Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 42; J.W. Roberts, "The Language Background of the New Testament," *Restoration Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1961): 198.

[14] Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 330; K.H. Melvin, "Why Study the Septuagint," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 49, no. 3 (September 1986): 179–80; Stanley Schneider, "The Greek Translation of the Bible," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (January 2017): 25–27; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 281–301.

[15] Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 124; Cook, "Septuagint

seems to miss the mellifluous flow of the Hebrew. This is seen as an attempt to maintain adherence to the Hebrew using Greek words.[16] Of course there can be other reasons for a differentiation in translation, such as the difficulty in adhering to the original text, incompetency of the translator, the ideological motivation of the translator for changing the text, or scribal error.[17]

Here another point should be made. The Septuagint is the result of a process of translation[18] and the idea that a single translation is the only legitimate way to establish canon should perhaps be abandoned. Of course one single translation was not in existence at the time, but as can be seen today, the Christian Bible, with its various translations, does not declare certain translations as non-canonical.[19] It must be kept in mind that these translations of the Septuagint took place prior to the establishment of any canon.[20] There are some who argue that the Hebrew Old Testament canon was established before the writing of the New Testament.[21] Whether or not this is true, few would argue against the significant influence that the Septuagint held in regard to the New Testament authors or

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as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 2; Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," 109–13; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 295–97.

[16] See: Joosten, "Pillars of the Sacred: Septuagint Words Between Biblical Theology and Hellenistic Culture," 2; Blackfish, "Transformations in Translation: An Examination of the Septuagint Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay in the Fourth Book of the Psalter.," 71–86; Douglas Mangum, "Euphemism in the Biblical Hebrew and the Euphemistic 'Bless' in the Septuagint of Job.," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 76, no. 4 (2020): 4; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 199–206; Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," 109–20; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 281–301.

[17] Blackfish, "Transformations in Translation: An Examination of the Septuagint Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay in the Fourth Book of the Psalter.," 78; Mangum, "Euphemism in the Biblical Hebrew and the Euphemistic 'Bless' in the Septuagint of Job."; Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," 112; Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," 28–30.

[18] Cox, "Some Things Biblical Scholars Should Know About the Septuagint," 86; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 296.

[19] For example: "To quote Goldingay again, with approval: In practice churches accept a variety of versions of scripture that vary textually at numerous points, but they all function as versions of one canon. Our inability to justify the precise bounds of the biblical canon is a formidable problem in theory, but less so in practice." Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 48. For a further discussion on canon see: Jobes, "When God Spoke Greek: The Place of the Greek Bible in Evangelical Scholarship," 229–33; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 216; Sperber, "New Testament and Septuagint," 196; Everett Falconer Harrison, "The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies (Part I)," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 112, no. 448 (October 1955): 355.

[20] Bernard P. Robinson, "Which Book of Daniel?," *New Blackfriars* 66, no. 784 (October 1985): 424; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 206–18; Harrison, "The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies (Part I)," 346–48; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 298, 292–94; Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," 19–45. For a discussion on the definitions of canon see: Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 1–9.

[21] Glenny, "The Septuagint and Biblical Theology," 268 ff.

that the Greek writers of the Church and early Christians were using it as scripture.[22] This must be stressed at the start.

The research now being done in search of the true Christian Bible is a question for modern biblical scholars.[23] To be mired in an argument of canon misses the mark. Especially since the early Christians were not concerned with the issue. "Most Church Fathers did not intend to choose the Septuagint over the original Hebrew, but they assumed that the Septuagint captured the precise meaning of the original. Since most of these individuals did not know Hebrew, they were never confronted with the actual differences between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint."[24] Therefore, the point most important to this discussion is that it was the reading and use of the Septuagint that is found in the writings of the New Testament authors[25] as well as those of the early Greek writers.[26] As will be shown below, the strongest evidence for this statement is not only the textual similarities between the Septuagint and the New Testament but also the Hexapla of Origen (and later concerns from Jerome, which lie outside the scope of this study) clearly indicates the use of the Septuagint as the foundation of theology among the early Christians. To exclude the Septuagint or argue its legitimacy in the study of the New Testament and early Greek authors is erroneous as this was the text used in the first four centuries and for the most part without question, with the notable exceptions of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and as previously stated, Origen and Jerome. Regardless of these exceptions, the thinking contained in the writings regarding the words being examined in this study are flatly founded upon the Greek of the Septuagint and therefore

[22] While acknowledging primacy, some authors question the complete reliance or adherence to the Septuagint. See: Paul A. Himes, "Why Did Peter Change the Septuagint?: A Reexamination of the Significance of the Use of Τίθημι in 1 Peter 2:6," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 26, no. 2 (2016): 237.

See also: Briskin, "Septuagint Vocabulary in the Gospels and Acts," 190–97; Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," 113; Melvin, "Why Study the Septuagint," 179–81; Schneider, "The Greek Translation of the Bible," 27.

[23] See: Gignilliat, "God Speaks Hebrew: The Hebrew Text and Septuagint in the Search for the Christian Bible"; Jobes, "When God Spoke Greek: The Place of the Greek Bible in Evangelical Scholarship."

[24] Michael Graves quoted in: Gignilliat, "God Speaks Hebrew: The Hebrew Text and Septuagint in the Search for the Christian Bible," 168.

[25] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 356–79; Harrison, "The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies (Part I)," 352–55; Everett Falconer Harrison, "The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies [2] the Influence of the Septuagint on the New Testament Vocabulary," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 113, no. 449 (January 1956): 37–45; Howard, "Introduction of Septuagintal Studies," 160–61; Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 7.

[26] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 344–46.

its influence and importance cannot be excluded from this research.

Perhaps here it would be wise to state that the ultimate goal of the Greek writers of the early Church was not an examination of the Septuagint as is done in modern scholarship. Instead, it was indeed done in order to bring out a closer connection with the creator, to better understand Jesus Christ, the Triune God, and man's relationship to him. Within this context, the Septuagint and its place in relation to the New Testament must therefore be addressed. "Any attempt to elucidate how the two Testaments of the Christian Bible, individually and together, testify to the redeeming work of the Triune God must sooner or later address the question of the authority of the Septuagint as a witness to the biblical text and thus as a resource for doing Christian theology."[27]

1.1.2. Letter of Aristeas

The origins of the Septuagint have, until recent times, been attributed to the myth or legend,[28] that seventy[29] (or seventy-two)[30] Jewish scholars were summoned to translate the Jewish bible into Greek.[31] This Jewish Hellenistic legend comes from a primary source known as the *Letter of Aristeas,* which was written sometime between the third century BC and the first century AD by a Greek speaking Jew living in Alexandria.[32] The *Letter* maintains that King Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was seeking to enrich his royal library in Alexandria by collecting all of the books in the world.[33] At his request seventy-two

[27] J. Ross Wagner cited in: Glenny, "The Septuagint and Biblical Theology," 265.

[28] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 2–3; van der Louw, "The Dictation of the Septuagint Version," 211–12; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 218; Melvin, "Why Study the Septuagint," 174; Schneider, "The Greek Translation of the Bible," 21–23; Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 9–15.

[29] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 20; Cox, "Some Things Biblical Scholars Should Know About the Septuagint," 86.

[30] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 12–14; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 1–2; van der Louw, "The Dictation of the Septuagint Version," 220.

[31] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 2; Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 19 ff; Frederick W. (Frederick William) Danker, "Aids to Bible Study: The Septuagint: Its History," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 30, no. 4 (April 1959): 271–74.

[32] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 18–34; Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 3–7.

[33] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 4; Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 39; R.J.H.

scholars were summoned to translate the Hebrew text (Torah) into Greek. This was done and thus the Septuagint. In this regard, it is simply a Greek translation of the Hebrew text.[34] However simple this rendering may be, and regardless of the modern-day examination of the record, it must be noted that in general the early Greek writers themselves accepted this story "without suspicion."[35]

Another record of the legend or myth, which is in large part based upon the *Letter of Aristeas*[36] comes from Philo of Alexandria in the *Life of Moses* (25-44).[37] It is important to note that the *Letter of Aristeas* purports the Septuagint as a work of translation, "a translation done to the highest scholarly standards"[38] and is "in no way inferior to the original Hebrew version."[39] It also held political and cultural meaning. For Philo, the work of the translators was a spiritual undertaking.[40] He writes that, "…these translators [were] not mere interpreters but hierophants and prophets to whom it had been granted in their most honest and guileless minds to go along with the most pure spirit of Moses" (*Moses II*, 41).[41] It is interesting and, for the purpose of this work, important to note that Philo did not believe a Greek translation could deliver the exactitude of meaning contained in the Hebrew. Translations from one language to another would be impossible under normal circumstances. However, with divine assistance, which Philo believed the translators obtained,[42] the Greek translation was, in fact, "a perfect translation of the Torah, in no

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Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas (Third Century b.c. - First Century a.d.) a New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, vol. 2 (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1983), 7; Lust, "Translation Greek and the Lexicography of the Septuagint," 112; Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," 24.

[34] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 7.

[35] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 21; George Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies," *Restoration Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (1970): 157–58.

[36] Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 9–15; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 299–300.

[37] Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 15–18; Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 7–10.

[38] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 5.

[39] Simon-Shoshan, 5.

[40] Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 15; Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 8.

[41] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 8; Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 9–18.

[42] Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 11.

way inferior to the original Hebrew."[43] Philo further believed that as a result of the translation "[a]ll serious seekers of wisdom, not merely those who happened to be Jews, can now have access to it."[44] For Philo, in contrast to *Aristeas*, this was a work of "allegorical interpretation associated with an authentic Jewish faith."[45]

Of course, the process of translation or transcription becomes an issue for scholarship, and this question is by no means contained to the modern era. Right from the start, as it were, questions arose as to whether the 'writers,' 'transcribers,' or 'wise men' interpreted, altered, or changed what was written in the original Hebrew.[46] However, it is generally agreed that the Greek of the Septuagint, as stated above, is an attempt at an accurate translation. This is even apparent by Philo's insistence that the rabbis, to whom the work was tasked, were inspired. There are different versions of the myth which call another question to mind, that of whether or not the translation actually holds all of the information contained in the Hebrew, not because the authors intentionally 'hid' the sacred wisdom from non-Hebrew speakers, but rather that God himself deemed it to be 'hidden.'[47] According to Philo the translators were to neither add or subtract, nor alter in any way the Hebrew.[48] This is also reflected by Irenaeus who held, in accord with the myth, that the Rabbis were ordered by the king to work separately, having no contact with each other so as not to intentionally withhold some sacred "aspect of Scripture."[49] But again, even with the doubts as to whether or not certain words were translated or translated correctly, it must be emphasized that the Palestinian Jews at the time "presumed that the Septuagint

[43] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 9; Joosten, "Pillars of the Sacred: Septuagint Words Between Biblical Theology and Hellenistic Culture," 2–3.

[44] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 9.

[45] Above translation mine. "La lecture philonienne du Pentateuque est désormais bien connue, tant se sont multipliées les traductions de Philon et les études sur son interprétation allégorique associée à une authentique foi juive."Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 332.

[46] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 11–13; Alex Douglas, "A Call to Law: The Septuagint of Isaiah 8 and Gentile Law Observance.," *Journal of Biblical Liturature* 137, no. 1 (2018): 90; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 1–3.

[47] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 13–16.

[48] Borchardt, "The LXX Myth and the Rise of Textual Fixity," 16.

[49] Simon-Shoshan, "The Task of the Translators: The Rabbis, in the Septuagint, and the Cultural Politics of Translation," 15–16.

was a legitimate and authorized translation."[50] There are, of course, later views that hold the Hebrew bible could not be translated and therefore the Septuagint was a "catastrophe."[51] While this is a later tradition that arose, it does bring to light the difficulty which this particular study endeavors to pursue. When the subject of hell in the Septuagint comes up against a particularly Semitic word like Sheol, problems of translation can arise. To quote a later Rabbinic source "He who translates a verse literarily, lies; he who adds, blasphemes."[52] Some of this thinking developed as early patristic writers attempted to "combat the claim that the Septuagint was not a legitimate witness and interpretation of the original text."[53]

1.1.3. Versions of the Septuagint

Another point to examine is that differing Greek versions of the Hebrew text were produced. In this regard one must consider the notion of more than one Hebrew text underlying the various Greek translations or at least translations done at various times while the Hebrew text was in flux.[54] Of course, when discussing the Christian era, we know that at the time of Origen, and later Jerome, six different versions of the Greek Bible were in existence.[55] Further, the Septuagint was composed of different translations which eventually were combined into one that became an authoritative text known as the Septuagint.[56] Alongside the existence of separate versions, the topic of transmission becomes evident. The simple fact of human fallibility can and did result in errors of

[50] Simon-Shoshan, 20.

[51] Simon-Shoshan, 23–30.

[52] R. Judah in Tosefta Megillah, 3:14 המתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה בדי והמוסיף הרי זה מגדף quoted in: Simon-Shoshan, 25.

[53] Simon-Shoshan, 26.

[54] Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 297–301.

[55] Howard, "Introduction of Septuagintal Studies," 135; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 6–10.

[56] Emanuel Tov, "Some Major Israelite Figures in the Former Prophets in the Tradition of the Septuagint," *Studia Biblica Slovaca* 12, no. 1 (2020): 1; Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 44, 45; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 293–316; Cook, "Contextuality and the Septuagint," 2; Jobes, "When God Spoke Greek: The Place of the Greek Bible in Evangelical Scholarship," 220; van der Louw, "The Dictation of the Septuagint Version," 226; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 296–301.

transmission by those copying the texts,[57] not to mention problems of interpretation,[58] including an alternate theology or exegesis.[59] Some scholars have argued, much as has been expressed above, that there existed one original Septuagint.[60] The time when this original solidified would have been shortly before or during New Testament times leaving some to argue that only the Septuagint had value for the early Christians because, as was previously stated, there was not an original fixed text in Hebrew until well after this time.[61] From these original manuscripts copies were made from which "variant readings appeared as a result of copyists' errors and emendations."[62] Others argue that an original never existed.[63] Instead, the text which arose during the Christian era as the Septuagint was really a Greek text that resulted from a process of translation of differing Greek translations or Targums.[64] Whatever the 'truth' may be, it is not surprising that there is such a debate. As biblical scholars will attest, even the Hebrew Bible was composed by various authors at various times. As such, at the outset, it is acknowledged that such a problem exists. And that, for the current study, issues that may arise in this regard will be addressed in their proper place, according to the author or times to which they belong.

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[57] Henry S. Gehman, "Some Types of Errors of Transmission in the LXX," *Vetus Testamentum* 3, no. 4 (October 1953): 397, 400; Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 320–21; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church."

[58] Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience," 322; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church"; van der Louw, "The Dictation of the Septuagint Version," 211–29; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 199–202.

[59] Cook, "Contextuality and the Septuagint," 3.

[60] Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies," 155; William W. Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 146, no. 583 (July 1989): 261.

[61] This topic is too broad to expand upon here. It should be noted that a debate exists within churches and among biblical scholars as to the legitimacy, inspiration, and use of the Septuagint and in recent times has gained a depth of study which has brought a wealth of research to the fore. See: Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?"; Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies"; Howard, "Introduction of Septuagintal Studies"; Harl, "La «Bible D'Alexandrie» et Les Études Sur La Septante Réflexions Sur Une Première Expérience"; Cook, "Septuagint as a Holy Text: The First 'Bible" of the Early Church," 6–10; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 296–301.

[62] Howard, "Introduction of Septuagintal Studies," 138.

[63] Howard, 138, 141.

[64] Howard, 138, 142; Lalleman, "Does the Septuagint Contain Inspired Revelation for Christians?," 40; Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 294; Gentry, "The Septuagint and the Text of the Old Testament," 193–94; Melvin, "Why Study the Septuagint," 178; Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies," 155; Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint," 261–163; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 296–301; Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," 22–23.

1.1.4. The 'Three'

During Apostolic times three Greek versions, known as Aquila,[65] Theodotion,[66] and Symmachus,[67] appeared. These versions were produced by specific individuals who attempted a new, more precise, rendering of the Hebrew in Greek. Often these translations are referred to as the 'Three' and placed together with regard to usage. One reason for such a categorization is that all three were completed by men who were not Christians but Jews.[68] Thus, the texts have sometimes been characterized as anti-Christian or an attempt to produce a text that was in some way better and more loyal to the Hebrew.

This theory is not of import regarding this study other than to re-emphasize the importance held by early Christians and Jews regarding the Septuagint. These translations were all produced later than the Septuagint, hence, regarding the authors and writings under investigation, they have little impact on the matter with the exception of Theodotion. By the time of Origen, it was widely accepted that the translation of Daniel contained in the LXX was lacking. This appears to have been universally accepted and approved by the Church.[69] This was to such an extent that there is only one partial extant copy of the Septuagintal rendering of Daniel today.[70] As a result, there is evidence that many of the early Greek Christian writers used the Theodotion translation. From textual studies that have arisen over the past few hundred years, it has become evident that the following writers all used the Theodotian translation of Daniel in their work: Clement of

[65] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 32–42; Schneider, "The Greek Translation of the Bible," 27; Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint," 265–66.

[66] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 42–47; Schneider, "The Greek Translation of the Bible," 27–28; Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint," 266.

[67] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 47–50; Schneider, "The Greek Translation of the Bible," 28; Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint," 266.

[68] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 30–50; Peter J. Gentry, "'The Role of the "Three" in the Text History of the Septuagint' II Aspects of Interdependence of the Old Greek and the Three in Ecclesiastes.," *Aramaic Studies* 4, no. 2 (July 2006): 153; Peter J. Gentry, "Propaedeutic to a Lexicon of the Three: The Priority of a New Critical Edition of Hexaplaric Fragments.," *Aramaic Studies* 2, no. 2 (July 2004): 145.

[69] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 45; Robinson, "Which Book of Daniel?," 429; Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint."

[70] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 45; Ian Young, "Old Greek Daniel Chapter 8 About?," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 44, no. 4 (June 2020): 695–96; Clark, "Jewish Education in the Hellenistic Period and the Old Testament," 299.

Rome, Irenaeus, Hermas, Justin Martyr, and Clement of Alexandria,[71] as well as Hippolytus.[72] These writers are of particular importance to this study as they will be examined later. There has also been speculation that there was something of a Theodotian like influence on the writers of the Letter to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation, as well as the Synoptic Gospels. This textual influence may well have been the product of an earlier translation. However, as evidence of an earlier Greek translation is limited, the hypothesis is tenuous.[73] What is of importance is that all of the 'Three' are expressed by Origen in his Hexaplaric.[74] There has also come to light three more versions exhibited in the Hexapla by Origen: *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima*.[75] These lesser known versions do not play into this study but must be noted as they appear in the Hexapla. There are a myriad of later versions,[76] but these have no influence on the writers being examined and, as such, they will be left unaddressed.

1.1.5. Hexapla

This study, as stated above, will embark on the Greek writings of the early Church up to and including Origen. A word must be stated in this place regarding the materials used and an examination of Origen's beliefs regarding hell which will be investigated further. At the outset, it should be emphasized that Origen believed the use of the Septuagint to be foundational because the Church herself had sanctioned its use.[77] At the same time he believed that it would be prudent and wise to recognize the differences between the Greek Septuagint and the Hebrew texts, as well as the superiority of the other

[71] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 47.

[72] Katharina Bracht, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in Hippolytus's Commentary on Daniel," in *The Four Kingdom Motifs before and beyond the Book of Daniel.*, ed. Andrew B. Perrin et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 168.

[73] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 46–47.

[74] Swete, 56–70; Gentry, "'The Role of the "Three" in the Text History of the Septuagint' II Aspects of Interdependence of the Old Greek and the Three in Ecclesiastes.," 155; K. Hauspie, "Methodological Issues Preliminary to a Lexicon of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 81, no. 1 (April 2005): 166–67; Gentry, "Propaedeutic to a Lexicon of the Three: The Priority of a New Critical Edition of Hexaplaric Fragments.," 148–57; Combs, "The Transmission-History of the Septuagint," 266–67.

[75] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 50–53.

[76] Swete, 50–54.

[77] Swete, 57.

translations such as Aquila. Thus, Origen went about collecting all the existing Greek versions of the Old Testament and placing them in columns beside the Hebrew of that time.[78] The sheer enormity of this task has left the modern era with nothing but scant remains of the Hexapla. The work was far too laborious for copyists to tackle and therefore what remains is evidenced from various writers throughout history.[79] The importance of this work will be made apparent with Jerome, but this lies outside the focus of the current subject. Therefore, it is sufficient to say that the work of Origen differs from that of the others to be studied in that he made particular use not only of the LXX, but all other Greek translations combined with the Hebrew.[80] In this way Origen's theology is perhaps more formed by the written word as well as formed by a multiplicity of different languages than the others that came before him.

Regarding the Septuagint and the Old Greek rendering it should also be mentioned that beyond those discussed above there were other alternative texts such as the Egyptian (Hesychius)[81] and Antiochian[82] among others. Finally, it must be stated that a particular issue becomes apparent in the research to be done in this study as well as other research concerning the Septuagint with regard to specific phrases or wording within the LXX. The problem arises from the translations or lexicons available today.[83] However, the Greek and New Testament writers did not question the language of the Septuagint and accepted it as a faithful rendering of Hebrew Scripture. For the purposes of this study, a further explanation of the link between the language of Hebrew texts and that of the Septuagint will not be addressed as this falls outside the parameters of this study and will be left to scholars who concentrate on exegesis, translation, and Septuagint studies.

1.2. Death, the Underworld, and the Afterlife in the Old Testament

When addressing the topic of the underworld or afterlife, perhaps it is best to state

[78] Swete, 56–57; Gentry, "The Text of the Old Testament," 28.

[79] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 68–69; Hauspie, "Methodological Issues Preliminary to a Lexicon of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.," 166.

[80] Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 56–73.

[81] Swete, 72–73.

[82] Swete, 73.

[83] Cox, "Some Things Biblical Scholars Should Know About the Septuagint," 88–89.

from the start that what they both have in common is death. Neither term holds much meaning without it. It is also quite difficult to discuss the topic of death which is a universal term subject to vast interpretation. There is no uniform view of death, neither today nor in the Old Testament,[84] other than the absolute fact that the person who has died is no longer present in the world in a way with which one would identify as alive. In other words, death is the end of life.[85] For the Hebrew of the Old Testament God is life. It is God's breath that brings life to man (Genesis 2:7).[86] As stated above, the early Christian was looking at the Greek translation of the Bible. The Greek idea of death differs from the Hebrew. For the Hebrew, the person is a whole, a unity, one that cannot be divided.[87] Greek thinking, based on Platonic thought, sees man as consisting of two parts, one which is the spirit or soul and the second which is matter. From the Greek perspective, the body can be and, in fact, is separated at death from the spirit.[88] For the Ancient Greek thinker, death frees the soul from the matter in which it is trapped. For the Hebrew death was that which destroyed life.[89]

In the Old Testament there is of course a unique occurrence with regard to death. That of death being the result of sin. There are copious examples of this throughout the Hebrew Bible, but the most obvious of course are the following: the result of Adam and Eve's eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Genesis 2:17); the flood which wipes out not only most of humanity but almost all living creatures as well (Genesis 6:5-7); the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19); and of course the direct statement in Deuteronomy "I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse. Choose life, then that you and your descendants may live, by loving the Lord your God,

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[84] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 25; Matthew J. Suriano, "Death, Disinheritance, and Job's Kinsman-Redeemer," *Journal of Biblical Liturature* 129.1 (2010): 49.

[85] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 25–28.

[86] Johnston, 39–40; Mark T. Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 25–26; Hayes, *Visions of a Future. A Study of Christian Eschatology*, 8:29; Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Scandal of the Incarnation: Irenaeus against the Heresies*, trans. John Saward (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1990), 56; Jacob Chinitz, "Death in the Bible," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (April 2004): 98.

[87] Robin L. Routledge, "Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament," *Journal of European Baptist Studies* 9.1 (2008): 22–39; Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, 23.

[88] Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, 6–24.

[89] Joseph Ratzinger, *Eschatology. Death and Eternal Life*, ed. Aidan Nichols, trans. Micheal Waldstein (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 73–74.

obeying his voice, and holding fast to him" (Deuteronomy 30:19-20).[90] What is fundamental to the research at hand is that the Hebrew connection between death and sin was unique among ancient peoples.[91] The connection of sin and death leading to separation from God is a link to judgement and punishment.

Among the attributes of hell is the common understanding of hell as being part of the underworld which, for the most part, is accessible only after death. "The normative view concerning the nature of Sheol in treatises dealing with the subject maintains that 'Sheol is the shadowy insubstantial under-world, the destination of all, good and bad without discrimination.'"[92] However, some scholars argue, as will be demonstrated below, against this statement saying that Sheol "is almost exclusively reserved for those under divine judgment."[93] What is apparent and important to note here, is that Sheol, Hades, and hell all refer to an underworld and place for the dead. Those who were relegated to this sphere were often referred to as 'shades' which is the English translation of the Hebrew word Rephaim.[94]

When addressing the topic of the term Sheol or Hades in the Old Testament it is of importance to consider the cosmology of the Israelite people. There is no better place to begin than, as is said, in the beginning. And in the beginning God formed the earth and separated it from the sea and placed a dome in the sky (Genesis 1). Thus, there is an understanding that the heavens are up, and the earth is down and Sheol is below the earth.[95] "Scholars typically understand Israelite cosmology as a tripartite universe consisting of a flat circular disk ('land,' 'earth') that rested upon the mountains ('foundations') of the cosmic sea, which also surrounded the disk. Above the land were the heavens and beneath it was the underworld."[96] Cosmologically, Israel viewed Sheol

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[90] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 40–45.

[91] Johnston, 41.

[92] J. Gray, "I and II Kings," *OTL* (Great Britain, 1964) quoted in: Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 173. See also: Samuel Alfred Browne Mercer, "The Destiny of the Righteous in Israel," *Anglican Theological Review* 4.3 (1921): 185–86.

[93] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 83.

[94] It should be noted that the word Rephaim holds two meanings in the Old Testament. One meaning 'shades' and the other an ancient peoples. See the following for more details: Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 194-198; Johnston, 127–49.

[95] Jeffrey H. Pulse, "Ascending to God: The Cosmology of Worship in the Old Testament," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 79, no. 3–4 (July 2015): 221–32; Fred B. Pearson, "Sheol and Hades in Old and New Testament," *Review & Expositor* 35, no. 3 (July 1938): 304; Daniel I. Block, "Beyond the Grave: Ezekiel's Vision of Death and Afterlife," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 2 (1992): 121.

[96] Scott B. Noegel, "God of Heaven and Sheol: The 'Unearthing' of Creation," *National Association of*

as being 'down,' heaven as being 'up,' and earth is in between, therefore, to go 'down' to Sheol is equivalent to going down to hell.[97] God is 'above,' therefore, "…when a man was in distress or sorrow, or when he was evil and ungodly, he faced the reality of descending to Sheol. However, when a man died a noble, faithful, and peaceful death, he rested with his ancestors or was 'gathered to his people.'"[98] Thus, obvious similarities between the Hebrew cosmology for Sheol and the Greek translation of Hades as both are directionally down.[99] It should also be noted in passing that most of the ancient world thought in this way but a comparison of these differing forms of thought and culture is outside the scope of the study at hand.[100] Sheol is described as specifically 'down.'[101]

Professors of Hebrew (NAPH) 58 (2017): 123–24.

[97] Pulse, "Ascending to God: The Cosmology of Worship in the Old Testament," 73; Jan F. Jacko, "Struktura Symboli Wertykalnych a Ich Rola w Komunikacji Miedzykulturowej i w Zarzadzaniu (The Structure of Vertical Symbols and Their Role in Cross Cultural Communication and Management)," in *Religion in the Time of Changes*, ed. E. Klima (Łódź: Uniwersytet Łódzki. Katedra Gospodarki Przestrzennej i Planowania Przestrzennego., 2005), 179.

[98] Pulse, "Ascending to God: The Cosmology of Worship in the Old Testament," 22.

[99] It can also be seen in other texts of the Old Testament as a place of destruction. In this case, specifically for demons or evil spirits: "LXX 10:11 [Jer.] surely 'conjured up', in the late Second Temple period Jewish mind, a remembrance of future judgment awaiting evil spirits in their final abyss 'below these skies' (cf. 1 En. 21-22). Hence, Jer. 10:11's ὑποχάτωθεν 'below' uniquely renders 'under' - a rare Septuagint lexeme denoting strong emphasis. 10:11, moreover, requires that evil spirits, who are not true creators, leave the heavens above and perish below in an abyss prepared for them (e.g. 4Q510-11, 11Q11, 1 Enoch, etc.). Such language echoes Enoch's secret knowledge of an ultimate judgment for evil spirits (e.g. 1 En. 16:1-3 and 18:14-16). LXX Jer. 10:11 contains the third person aorist imperative 'let them perish' for the Hebrew imperfect 'they will perish'. Thus, unlike 10:15's and LXX 28:18's 'they will perish' for the equivalent Hebrew expression, 10:11's ἀπολέσθωσαν conveys a heightened sense of denunciation. This inference finds confirmation when compared with nearby third person aorist imperatives (cf. LXX 9:12 and 9:23-24). Consequently, LXX 10:11 reads quite readily as a pronouncement of a divine final verdict upon demons (e.g. 4Q286-287; 4Q560; 11Q11; 1 En. 16:1-3; etc.)." James Seth Adcock, "Does Jeremiah Dispel Diaspora Demons?: How Septuagint Jeremiah and 4Q71 (4QJer-b) Rewrote Their Text Structures around an Aramaic War Taunt Which Mocks Zion's Idolatry.," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 43, no. 3 (2019): 406, https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089217734747.

[100] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 69.

[101] The use of the word 'down' in relation to the word Sheol appears 24 times in the Old Testament: "No, I shall go down to Sheol to my son, mourning" (Gen. 37:35); "You would bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to Sheol" (Gen. 42:38); "…you will bring down my gray hairs in sorrow to Sheol" (Gen. 44:29); "…and your servants will bring down the gray hairs of your servant our father with sorrow to Sheol" (Gen. 44:31); "…and they go down alive into Sheol" (Nb. 16:30); "…went down alive into Sheol; the earth closed over them" (Nb. 16:33); "…he brings down to Sheol…" (1 Sam. 2:6); "…but do not let his gray head go down to Sheol in peace" (1 Kgs. 2:6); "…and you must bring his gray head down with blood to Sheol" (1 Kgs. 2:9); "…so those who go down to Sheol do not come up" (Job 7:9); "Will it go down to the bars of Sheol?" (Job 17:16); "…and in peace they go down to Sheol" (Job 21:13); "O Lord, you brought up my soul from Sheol," (Ps. 30:3); "…let them go down alive to Sheol" (Ps. 55:15); "Her feet go down to death; her steps follow the path to Sheol" (Prv. 5:5); "Her house is the way to Sheol, going down to the chambers of death" (Prv. 7:27); "Therefore Sheol has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure; the nobility of Jerusalem and her multitude go down…" (Is. 5:14); "Your pomp is brought down to Sheol" (Is. 14:11); "But you are brought down to Sheol…" (Is. 14:15); "…and sent down even to Sheol" (Is. 57:9); "On the day it went down to Sheol…" (Ez. 31:15); "…when I cast it down to

There is also the question of the underworld being associated with earth itself. However, this seems more to be a question of vocabulary as the underworld is in the depths of the earth.[102] One must take this viewpoint into consideration for this study because at times the writers of the Patristic era view hell as a place of refining with links to this life.[103] With this in mind the question remains as to whether the people of the Old Testament viewed this underworld as a place of the dead and if so were all the dead to be found there. In other words, was the underworld morally neutral?

R.H. Charles proposes that the eschatology of the ancient Hebrew arose and developed from heathen Semitic beliefs. He espouses that prior to Moses the Israelites were monoaltristic, that is, they worshiped one god among many. This time has also been characterized by a period in which there was no eschatological idea for the individual. That is to say, with regard to the afterlife, the Israelite was concerned with the destiny of the nation.[104] With Moses a shift was made to monotheism. The ideas of the dead and the afterlife "were naturally not the outcome of revelation, but were mere survivals of Semitic heathenism."[105] Charles continues that in view of this, "the individual was left to his hereditary heathen beliefs, and these can be best interpreted as part and parcel of Ancestor Worship."[106] He points to the phrase "to be gathered to my people" or "gathered to his fathers" as an indication of this ancestor worship. Other scholarship indicates that this term 'gathered to his people' indicates "joining one's ancestors in the afterlife,"[107] which lends a different tone and does not imply ancestor worship. This term is indicative of a reunion and is the reflection of ancient usage.[108] Later scholarship also shows that while a reverence for ancestors or some form of ancestor worship may have existed it is not strongly reflected in Hebrew scripture. The ancient Israelites were much more concerned

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Sheol…" (Ez. 31:16); "They also went down to Sheol with it…" (Ez. 31:17); "And they do not lie with the fallen warriors of long ago who went down to Sheol with their weapons of war…" (Ez. 32:27).

[102] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 98–114.

[103] See chapter 3 Clement of Alexandria and chapter 4 Origen.

[104] See: Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, chap. 1; Mercer, "The Destiny of the Righteous in Israel," 187.

[105] Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 19–20.

[106] Charles, 20. See also: Mercer, "The Destiny of the Righteous in Israel," 190.

[107] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 33–34.

[108] Johnston, 34.

with the life of the living than that of the dead.[109]

However, Charles states that καὶ ἀπέθανεν, "and then he died," was used in the Book of Genesis in the genealogy from Adam to Noah (Genesis 5:5-32).[110] The only exception is Enoch[111] who "walked with God; and then he was not because God took him" καὶ εὐηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκετο, ὅτι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός (Genesis 5:24).[112] Enoch is very important, especially since the pseudepigraphic book of Enoch has contributed much to the development of hell and its connection to Jewish thought. When Abraham died a unique phrase was used: "He breathed his last and was gathered to his people" or "added to his people" καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ (Genesis 25:8).[113] Again we see this phrase with regard to Moses when God says: "[And you] shall die on the mountain where you are going up and you will be gathered to your people, as your brother Aaron died on Hor Ha'har and was gathered into his people" (Deuteronomy 32:50).[114] Also: "And Jacob finished commanding his sons, and gathered his legs into his bed, and he expired, and he was gathered to his people" (Genesis 49:33).[115] This may indicate, as Charles believes, the remnants of ancestor worship or perhaps "a metaphor for national or family memory."[116] This also "may or may not have been allusions to separate spiritual existence."[117] However, a contrast can be seen between the phrases of 'gathering' and the variation that appears in different wording: "And God said to Moses, 'Behold, you are going to lie with your fathers" (Deuteronomy 31:16).[118] Also, further on when "David lay with his fathers and was buried in the city of David" (1 Kings 2:10).[119] To lie with

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[109] Johnston, 167–95.

[110] Greek text: https://www.septuagint.bible/-/genesis-5; English Holy Bible Revised Standard Version, Catholic Edition.

[111] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 199–200.

[112] https://www.septuagint.bible/-/genesis-5.

[113] Greek Text: https://www.septuagint.bible/-/genesis-25. For English translations for the following see: Chinitz, "Death in the Bible."

[114] καὶ τελεύτα ἐν τῷ ὄρει, εἰς ὃ ἀναβαίνεις ἐκεῖ, καὶ προστέθητι πρὸς τὸν λαόν σου, ὃν τρόπον ἀπέθανεν Ααρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐν᾽`Ωρ τῷ ὄρει, καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. See: https://www.septuagint.bible/-/deuteronomion-kephalaio-32.

[115]καὶ κατέπαυσεν Ἰακὼβ ἐπιτάσσων τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξάρας τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐξέλιπε καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. See: https://www.septuagint.bible/-/genesis-49.

[116] Chinitz, "Death in the Bible," 103.

[117] Chinitz, 101; 99–100.

[118]καὶ εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν· ἰδοὺ σὺ κοιμᾷ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων σου. See: https://www.septuagint.bible/-/deuteronomion-kephalaio-31.

[119]The website used for the Greek cites this as III Kingdoms Βασιλειῶν Γ΄ - καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Δαυὶδ μετὰ τῶν

one's fathers brings something else to mind and must not be dismissed. Philip Johnston points out that this term "simply takes the place of the verb 'he died.'"[120] As will be seen below, the discussion of the meaning of Sheol brings a conflict between these two thoughts, one being that Sheol is indeed a place of the dead, a netherworld so to speak and the other that Sheol is simply the grave.

However, one must take into account the use of euphemisms used by the Hebrew authors to express ideas or language that was or could possibly be taboo or offensive to the reader.[121] It cannot be denied that the Hebrew authors used poetic language and expression in the Hebrew Bible. Often the above terms were simply a metaphoric euphemistic substitution for the word death.[122] It must also be considered that the use of such language was so commonly understood by the reader that an explanation would not have been necessary.[123]

It cannot be ignored that the term 'underworld' was used throughout the Old Testament in relation to the dead. Scott Noegel argues that a better rendering of earth in Genesis 1:1 is 'heaven and underworld' and as such better explains the cosmology of the early Israelites.[124] His examples show that the Hebrew word for earth is used in conjunction with Sheol as the underworld and gives examples such as Job 10:21, Exodus 15:12, 1 Samuel 28:13 and Isaiah 8:21-22 which are all connected to the 'underworld.'[125]

A distinction must be made between the underworld and the afterlife. The underworld in and of itself and depending on the understanding of Sheol, would be a place of non-existence or a shadowy existence, whereas the afterlife would imply some kind of existence after death. With this in mind, it is evident that before Second Temple Judaism, a clear image of the afterlife was not present. The Hebrews were concerned with reward and punishment in this life. Death is portrayed as a normal and natural end: "What man

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πατέρων αὐτοῦ. https://www.septuagint.bible/-/basileion-g-kephalaio-2.

[120] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 34; Chinitz, "Death in the Bible," 100–101.

[121] Mangum, "Euphemism in the Biblical Hebrew and the Euphemistic 'Bless' in the Septuagint of Job.," 1–2.

[122] Mangum, 3.

[123] William R. Osborne, "The Early Messianic 'Afterlife' of the Tree Metaphor in Ezekiel 17:22-24.," *Tyndale Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (2013): 172.

[124] Noegel, "God of Heaven and Sheol: The 'Unearthing' of Creation."

[125] Noegel, 120.

can live and never see death" (Psalm 89:48). Both Joshua and David say: "I am about to go the way of all the earth" (Joshua 23:14; 1 Kings 2:2; cf. 2 Samuel 14:14). Death was simply a human experience. Routledge holds that at this time the belief was that man returned to dust. "Human personality was thought of as a unity, made up, primarily of flesh animated by the spirit or breath (ruach) of God. When God withdrew his ruach, life ended and the body returned to the dust (Job 34:14-15; Psalm 104:29, 146:4; Ecclesiastes 12:7)."[126] However, while a clear idea of the afterlife did not exist until later there is an emergence of thinking about what would happen to the dead. They did not cease to exist rather they existed in a shadowy underworld where there is no remembrance of Yahweh: "For in death there is no remembrance of you" (Psalm 6:5). "Are your wonders known in the darkness, or your righteousness in the land of forgetfulness" (Psalm 88:12). This line of thinking expresses an emptiness in death as well as it being of a place of moral neutrality. All the dead descend to the same place.

> "*All the patriarchs of Israel*, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and the Judges, the kings and the prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for their own part passed from such an end into darkness... With remarkable consistency they concentrated on the present world, without bothering about what was in any case a dismal, dark, hopeless hereafter."[127]

It is not until later, when thinking of the afterlife in moral terms, is there evidence of thought that might hold a connection to hell. Many scholars point to Ezekiel as the beginning of the moral attributes of Sheol. In Ezekiel, man's punishment becomes evident in his current situation. Charles states that retribution for Ezekiel is contained to the living. Good is rewarded and bad is punished and the result is material, that is good and bad are rewarded with riches, long life, children, etc. There is no later accounting. Also, a man's act constitutes his being at the moment of the act. Thus, if man performs an evil act at the moment of final judgment he will be destroyed.[128]

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[126] Routledge, "Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament," 23. See also: Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, 25.

[127] Kung, *Eternal Life? Life after Death as a Medical, Philosophical, and Theological Problem.*, 83.

[128] Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 61–64.

> Ezekiel 32 applies moral criteria to the arrangement of the netherworld. Sheol is acquiring a map. This combination of shame and segregation is the earliest reference in the Hebrew Bible to what would come to be called hell and the beginning of the Hebrew Bible's answer to Job's complaint (or a complaint that found its archetypal expression in Job), namely, that all the dead are treated equally. When it designates a separate part of Sheol, then, the pit signifies denial of honorable burial. It inflicts no punishment but confines those buried there in a place of shame.[129]

In Psalms 16, 17, 49, 73 Sheol is referred to as a place of punishment - although Charles notes that in Psalms 16 and 17 this does not regard individual retribution or consequence, but that of the community.[130] "Thus in Pss. xlix. and lxxii. Sheol is conceived as the future abode of the wicked only; heaven as that of the righteous."[131] In Psalm 73 Charles points out how the wicked will be punished in Sheol, but God will save the righteous man from the hand of Sheol. This comes from the troubling question as to why the wicked prosper. Again, here is the individual, retribution, and the question of justice for the upright man. However, as Charles points out, the psalmist does not go so far as to abandon the community (Psalm 73:13-15).[132]

The moral neutrality of death and the underworld become a question as time moves on. These questions arise and are reflected in how the realm of the dead is depicted. As stated above, Sheol begins to acquire 'a map.' In order to understand this map, we must now turn to a discussion of Sheol.

1.2.1. Sheol

"For ancient man death was not the end of life. Death constituted the transition from

[129] Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell, Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*, 165. See also: Block, "Beyond the Grave: Ezekiel's Vision of Death and Afterlife," 121–28.

[130] Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 73.

[131] Charles, 75.

[132] Charles, 76–77.

one mode of existence to another - from earthly life to afterlife in a realm of its own. In the Hebrew Bible this realm is most commonly designated שארל."[133] Further, "In death the soul dies but not in an absolute sense, according to primitive Hebrew anthropology."[134] Here is the question as to whether the dead have any knowledge of their situation - if not then Sheol cannot be seen as similar to hell. There are two views in this regard:

> "*The older view (a*) which originated in the period of Semitic heathenism, attributes to the departed a certain degree of knowledge and power in reference to the living and their affairs; the later (*b*), which is derived logically from the monotheistic doctrine of man's nature taught in Gen. ii., iii., but was unknown in prophetic times, declares that there is neither knowledge, nor wisdom, nor life in the grave."[135]

These views bring about the question of spirit regarding the soul and body. Mainly what comes to light is a question of what makes man a person, that is, what makes up his personality. If the personality is in God, meaning that personality comes from God and his life-giving breath, then man exists in three parts - soul, spirit, body. The doctrine of Genesis 2 and 3 shows that "the Old Testament attests, not a single and uniform doctrine of the soul and spirit, but two essentially distinct views of these conceptions, the earlier derived ultimately from Ancestor Worship, the later from the monotheistic account of Genesis."[136]

Thus, two beliefs about the doctrine of the eternal life provide the essential characteristics and presuppositions regarding the soul and its relation to God. First, the experience of Enoch and Elijah being taken up to God instead of dying. And second, the power of Yahweh to bring the soul back from Sheol.[137] These thoughts are only essential

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[133] Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," i.

[134] Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 39.

[135] Charles, 39. See also: Lydia Lee, "Fiery Sheol in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Revue de Qumrân* 27, no. 2 (106) (2015): 252.

[136] Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 52.

[137] Charles, 56.

to this study not in the fact that they are used to point to the existence or occurrence of resurrection but instead to show that Sheol is associated with a later concept which can be associated with the Christian concept of hell.

Much difficulty arises in trying to determine the exact definition of the term Sheol. It occurs in the Bible sixty-five or sixty-six[138] times, however, as will be seen, the use of the word provokes differing ideas. Many scholars believe the term Sheol can be translated as 'pit'[139] or 'grave,'[140] however, it is most commonly associated with the realm of the dead or the netherworld.[141] Johnston points out that the term Sheol occurs without a definite article thus rendering it a proper noun and that it "always means the realm of the dead located deep in the earth."[142] Sheol was also at times translated as hades, which will be

[138] The NRSV uses Sheol sixty-three times. See: Footnote 1 in the Introduction of Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs." Here she presents the argument for another occurrence meaning there are sixty-six. See also: Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 45; Lee, "Fiery Sheol in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 266; Routledge, "Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament," 24; Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 71.

[139] "It is likewise known as 'the pit פּוֹר' (Ezek. 26:20, 31:14, 16, 32:18, 24, 25, 29, 30; Lam. 3:53, 55; Is. 14:15, 19; Prov. 1:12, 38:17; Ps. 28:1, 30:3, 88:4, 143:7), or שׁחת (Is.38:17, 51:14; Ezek. 28:8; Job. 17:14, 33:18, 22, 24, 28, 30)." Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 35. Simcha Paull Raphael, *Jewish Views of the Afterlife* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 53; Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, 25. Philip Johnston notes that the term 'pit' in its various forms, similar to the term 'abbadon', are clearly synonyms of Sheol and also imply a place of judgment or a place for the wicked. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 83–85.

[140] Sheol "occurs sixty-five times in the Old Testament. About half of these times (thirty-one), the KJV rendered it 'grave'; most of the other occurrences were rendered 'hell.'" R. Laird Harris, "The Meaning of the Word Sheol as Shown by Parallels in Poetic Texts," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 4.4 (1961): 129–35. See also, among others: John L. McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 800; Terje Oestigaard, "The Materiality of Hell: The Christian Hell in a World Religion Context," *Material Religion* 5.3 (2006): 318; Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, 25; Routledge, "Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament," 30–32; Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 1; Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 34; Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 88.

[141] *New Catholic Engyclopedia*, Second, vol. 13 Seq-The (Detroit: Gale, 2003), 170; Routledge, "Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament," 24–34; Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2014), 982–83.

[142] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 71. Rosenberg makes a similar statement: "The substantive שׁארל is attested sixty-five times in the Bible; all but eight occurrences are in poetic texts. The noun has a qital form and is apparently considered to be feminine. It appears rarely in defective orthography and is always used without the article, i.e., as a proper noun." Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 1.

addressed below.[143] Sheol is a specific and unique term,[144] "[T]he special term שאול used in biblical Hebrew to refer to the netherworld and the realm of the dead, does not occur in any other Semitic language."[145]

The other factor of development in this concept, which has already been stated above, is that the Israelites were not concerned about individual salvation, salvation instead was aimed toward and believed to be only for the community as a whole. There was no worry or question about why evil men prospered or good men suffered. This did not present itself until later. This question of individual retribution was not addressed until the late 7th century BC with Jeremiah[146] and then later with Job. When the nation disappeared because of exile, Jeremiah established the connection between the individual and God.[147]

Others state that to translate the word Sheol as "grave" is erroneous.[148] Rosenburg points out that this translation does not fit even though other authors would try to force this interpretation: "in the Bible the concept of the grave and of Sheol or its semantic equivalents were consistently kept apart. It is only in Ezekiel (32:17-32) that the concepts of Sheol and grave merge in a visionary description."[149] Others point out that while there are some doubts, it is possible to use this term as grave, however, this occurs only in reference to Ezekiel.[150]

As Johnston demonstrates, Sheol appears in the Old Testament in four specific ways: Psalmodic, occurring twenty-one times;[151] Reflective, occurring twenty times;[152]

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[143] Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell, Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*, 139.

[144] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 77–79; Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 1.

[145] Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 1. See also: Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 44.

[146] Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 58.

[147] Charles, 61.

[148] Pearson, "Sheol and Hades in Old and New Testament," 304.

[149] Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 163. See also: Block, "Beyond the Grave: Ezekiel's Vision of Death and Afterlife."

[150] Aron Pinker, "Job's Perspectives on Death," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 35.2 (2007): 168.

[151] It occurs in Psalms sixteen times: 6:5; 9:17; 16:10; 18:5; 30:3; 31:17; 49:14; 15 (two times); 55:15; 86:13; 88:3; 89:48; 116:3; 139:8; 141:7. It occurs five other times outside the Psalms but in a similar fashion: 1 Sam. 2:6; 2 Sam. 22:6; Is. 38:10, 18; Jonah 2:2. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 71.

[152] It occurs in Job eight times: 7:9; 11:8; 14:13; 17:13, 16; 21:13; 24:19; 26:6. It occurs in Proverbs nine

Prophetic, occurring seventeen times;[153] and narrative, occurring eight times.[154] The books in which it occurs, as well as its usage, point to the fact that Sheol was specifically personal to those using the term, that it is not designated to any one time in the faith of Israel, and that it was always an indication of the underworld.[155]

In this light, then, is there a connection between Sheol and hell? It has been argued that hell is not the proper translation for Sheol as the Hebrew text does not indicate any type of punishment within the region.[156] However, there are different depths of Sheol.[157] Some scholars state there are not different compartments such as are indicated in later intertestamental writings.[158] Johnston, among other scholars, makes the argument that Sheol is a place for the ungodly, the wicked (Is. 5:14; Psalms. 9:17; 31:17; 141:7; Job 21:13), sinners (Job 24:19), the immoral (Proverbs 5:5; 7:27; 9:18), and enemies of Israel (Isaiah 14:11, 15; Ezekiel 31:15-17; 32:18-32.)[159] Those who are not considered as ungodly, Jacob, Hezekiah, and Job, also speak of descending to Sheol however, this is in terms of the just judgement of God and in the face of an unhappy or untimely death.[160] He further notes that while Sheol may have been used in referring to these people at a time of distress or suffering, it is not used later in regards to their death at the end of a long and fulfilling life.[161]

Rosenberg believes that a connection exists between Sheol and hell but that "in early post-biblical times the notion of afterlife and consequently the nature of שארל underwent

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times: 1:12; 5:5; 7:27; 9:18; 15:11, 24; 23:14; 27:20; 30:16. It occurs three times in other places: Deut. 32:22; Eccles. 9:10; Song 8:6.Johnston, 71.

[153] It occurs in Isaiah eight times: 5:14; 7:11; 14:9, 11, 15; 28:15, 18; 57:9. In Ezekiel three times: 31:15-17; 32:21, 27. It occurs twice in Hosea 13:14. Once in Amos 9:2. And once in Habakkuk 2:5. Johnston, 71.

[154] It occurs in Genesis four times: 37:35; 42:38; 44:29, 31. Twice in Numbers: 16:30, 33; and twice in 1 Kings: 2:6, 9. Johnston, 71.

[155] Johnston, 71–73.

[156] Block, "Beyond the Grave: Ezekiel's Vision of Death and Afterlife," 121–23; Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell, Death and Retribution in the Ancient and Early Christian Worlds*, 165; Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 73–75.

[157] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 73–75.

[158] Johnston, 77. Mercer however argues that all the dead go to Sheol but are in different areas of varying degrees of comfort or discomfort depending on their righteousness. Mercer, "The Destiny of the Righteous in Israel," 188–91.

[159] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 81.

[160] Johnston, 81.

[161] Johnston, 81–82.

a significant transformation and may not be used to project biblical beliefs."[162] Similar to Johnston she also points out that Sheol is used only in the context of the wicked[163] or of an untimely death,[164] and as such, the usage implies a punishment or punitive usage.[165] Thus, Sheol is always used in a negative sense with regard to the dead and if used in a cosmic sense Sheol "rarely occurs in a neutral connotation (Isaiah 7:11) and never in a positive one."[166] Pinker points out that "[t]he origin of the word *sheol* is not known; however, its closeness to the Hebrew word that means 'to ask' raises the possibility that *sheol* is a place where one can query and ask about critical matters."[167]

Johnston outlines the use and description of Sheol as a place of separation from God (Psalms 30:9; 88:5, 10-12). It is a place of forgetfulness (Psalms 6:6; 88:12; Is. 38:18; Jonah 2:5), silence (Psalms 94: 17; 115:17), and darkness (Job 10:21; Psalm 88:6, 12; cf. Lamentations 3:6; Sirach 22:11).[168] Classic views of hell are similar, but not identical to, both Hades, the mythical Greek realm of the dead, and the Hebrew Sheol. Sheol is a place from which one cannot return (Psalms 49:19; 88:12; Isiah 38:10; Jonah 2:6; Job 16:22) and it is fitted with bars (Jonah 2:6) or gates (Isaiah 38:10).[169] And while many scholars refer to Sheol as a place and final destiny for all who die, Johnston does not see this as possible. As evidence he states that the usage of Sheol as the destiny for all occurs only

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[162] Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," iii.

[163] Rosenburg cites the following as evidence: Wicked sent to Sheol: Pss. 9:18; 16:10-11; 31:18; 49:15; 55:16; Prov. 9:3-15; 15:24; 23:13; possibly 5:6; Num. 16:21-26, 30; Hos. 13:12-14; Isa. 5:8-14; 14:5-9; Ezek. 32:27. Elsewhere it is not specifically stated but implied or inferred: Pss. 18:18; 49:15-16; Isa. 38:18; Jon. 2:4; Job 14:13; Prov. 5:5; 7:27; 9:18. Rosenburg, 174–75.

[164] It is mentioned explicitly that those who have gone to Sheol have died a violent death by sword: Isa. 14:19; Ezek. 31:17; 18; 32:20-29; 32:31; Prov. 7:21; Ps. 88:4-6. Those that die prematurely from severe affliction: Isa. 38:10; 38:11; Pss. 6:3-4; 30:3; 31:8; 88:16-17. Or from intense anguish and therefore premature: Gen. 42:38; 44:31 or from mourning Gen. 37:35. Evil is the reason for the premature death two times: Gen. 44:29; Ps. 88:4. Lastly, there are four times when sinners have been taken down to Sheol alive: Num. 16:29; Isa. 5:14; Ps. 55:16; Prov. 1:12. Rosenburg, 174–75.

[165] Rosenburg, 43–44.

[166] Rosenburg, 48. See also: Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.*, 982.

[167] Aron Pinker, "Sheol," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 23.3 (1995): 168. See also: Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.*, 982.

[168] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 76; Allen Cabaniss, "The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24, and Pliny the Younger: A Note," *Vigiliae Christianae* 7, no. 2 (1953): 67.

[169] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 76; Cabaniss, "The Harrowing of Hell, Psalm 24, and Pliny the Younger: A Note," 67–68; Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.*, 982–83.

twice in the entire Old Testament, once in Psalm 89:48-49 and Ecclesiastes 9:7-10, but that these occurrences are in relation to sinful man and the absurdity of human life and thus represent being in Sheol as the result of being under judgment.[170]

Rosenberg follows in this line of thinking. She points out that while the substantive view is that Sheol is a place for all regardless of goodness or evil "[c]onsidering the fact that Sheol is mentioned far more often in other contexts with more specific intent, such generalization is not justified."[171] She goes on to support this statement with the following:

> Four times does the Bible mention a disciplined way of life as counter parallel to being remanded to Sheol. [Ps. 16:10-11; Provo 9:3-15, 15:24, 23:13; probably also in 5:6.] Explicitly it is ten times stated that the wicked are remanded to Sheol, [Num. 16:21-26, 30; Hos. 13:12-14; Isa. 5:8-14, 14:5-9; Ezek. 32:27; Pss. 9:18, 31:18, 49:15, 55:16; Job 21:7-13; probably also Job 24:19.] and may be so inferred eight more times [Pss. 18:18, 49:15-16; Isa. 38:18; Jon. 2:4; Job 14:13; Provo 5:5, 7:27,9:18.] Eighteen times is it explicitly mentioned that those who descend to Sheol die a violent death, by the sword, [Isa. 14:19; Ezek. 31:17,18, 32:20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29 (2x), 31; Provo 7:21; Ps. 88:4-6.] and three more times they die "in blood." [I King. 2:9; Ps. 30:4-10; Provo 1:12.] In four instances those who are remanded to Sheol descend there alive [Num. 16:29; Isa. 5:14; Ps. 55:16; Provo 1:12.] Five times severe affliction is the cause [Isa. 38:10,11; Pss. 6:3-4, 30:3, 31:8, 88:16-17]. Twice intense anguish is mentioned [Gen. 42:38, 44:31.] once mourning [Gen. 37:35.] and twice 'evil' appears [Gen. 44:29, Ps. 88:4.] In all instances the common denominator is premature death.[172]

This evidence leads to the conclusion that it is entirely plausible to draw a connection between Old Testament ideology and the early Christian idea of hell. Therefore, it can be seen that the theological development of Sheol holds the foundations of Christian hell. The line of thinking which points to existence after death as well as a place where people

[170] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 82–83.

[171] Rosenburg, "The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient near Eastern Beliefs," 173.

[172] Rosenburg, 174–75.

end up after death, points to a connection between Sheol and hell. The movement from the Hebrew idea of punishment of the entire people of Israel to a personal responsibility and punishment for individual guilt, strongly links the primitive and later ideas. This reveals yet another view of Sheol for the ancient Hebrew people. What is important to understand is that, while the meaning of the word seems ambiguous, the fact that it is unique among Semitic usage as well as being specifically allocated as a place for the those who have died under judgment leads to the development and connection to later interpretations. The idea of Sheol as being a place of separation from Yahweh can also imply that the experience of death can and does reach into the present life of those who are still living. It has been argued that ambiguous references to specific figures of the Old Testament being in the clutches of Sheol reflect an experience, or state of death, which one can experience during life.[173] While Johnston argues against this, it cannot be denied that for the ancient Israelite, separation from God and the community was viewed as punishment or suffering.

1.3. The New Testament

The ideas and beliefs outlined above continued into New Testament times. What has been translated into English as hell appears throughout the writings of the Gospels as well as the other writings of the New Testament. Here the terms Hades, Gehenna, and Tartarus will be examined. The problems outlined above regarding the Hebrew and the LXX do not present the same types of difficulties in the New Testament.[174] There have been arguments regarding the usage of the Aramaic in New Testament times especially as pertains to Jesus with the assumption that he spoke this language as opposed to Greek,[175] but these can be set aside. It is understood that while Jesus did probably speak Aramaic there is no reason to believe that he or the other early Christians did not speak Greek as well.[176] Aside from this is the fact that the New Testament was written in Greek and cannot be separated or "isolated from the language of the surrounding world."[177] In

[173] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 86–97.

[174] Christine Mohrmann, "Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church," *Vigiliae Christianae* 11, no. 1 (1957): 11–36.

[175] Roberts, "The Language Background of the New Testament," 196–97.

[176] Roberts, 196–97; Mohrmann, "Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church," 14.

[177] Roberts, "The Language Background of the New Testament," 197. However, it should be noted that:

addition, the LXX and New Testament share a common language. However, it also must be stated that some of the words had developed new meanings but "of the more than 5000 words in the N.T. probably less than 50 are actually new creations."[178] This becomes important as the words we are looking at were present in the Old Testament and, as such, hold meaning in relation to their time and place. It should also be noted that while the words perhaps changed in nuance,[179] they did not change in meaning. "It is this Hellenistic Jewish Greek which was the point of departure of the early Christian Greek, and which, in the form of the language of the Septuagint, enjoyed a lasting influence on the language of the Greek speaking Christians."[180] As stated above, ideas and language develop but do not change into something that was not already contained in seminal form.

In the past Hades, Gehenna, and Tartarus were all translated into English as hell. However, in the past century, with some exceptions, it has been increasingly the custom to leave these words untranslated as transliterations. While the common understanding of these words, along with their usage, is still understood today as hell[181] and are very similar, the words themselves hold various shades of meaning in their usage.[182] They are generally used in combination with other sayings such as 'outer darkness,' 'wailing and gnashing of teeth,' and 'abyss' or 'abaddon.' In his work, Papaioannou examines the term 'abyss' or 'the Abyss' as a place and gives the term importance equal to Gehenna and Hades.[183] For the purposes of this study, this term will not be examined in its own right

"However revolutionary the semantic development of many existing words might be in the Greek of the Septuagint and that of the Christians, the language is nonetheless strikingly conservative when it comes to introducing loan-words. Greek erects a barrier against any foreign influence, and one can count the Hebrew and Aramaic loan words in Early Christian Greek on the fingers of one hand. And even these few foreign elements have a tendency to disappear, or else they are used in the Liturgy; or there has been made an attempt to 'nationalize' them, as it were, by a false etymology." Mohrmann, "Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church," 29.

[178] Roberts, "The Language Background of the New Testament," 198.

[179] Mohrmann, "Linguistic Problems in the Early Christian Church," 20.

[180] Mohrmann, 14.

[181] It must be stated that since the late 17th century, there has been a growing disunity regarding the afterlife and the nature of hell. Traditionalists hold the understanding that hell is a place of conscious, eternal suffering; Conditionalists hold that the suffering will at some point cease and the 'inhabitants' of hell will be annihilated, and universalists believe that hell will eventually be empty as all will be saved. Within each of these broad categories lie manifold nuances in interpretation. Currently there is no common agreement regarding the meaning or description of hell among Christians. See: Sadowski, "Modern Theological Debates of Hell in the USA."

[182] Nick Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell: Its Nature and Development in West Semitic Thought," *Numen* 56, no. 2–3 (2009): 180.

[183] See: Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 137–74.

as this would open the discussion far beyond the scope intended. Equally, the question of Christ's preaching to the dead specifically mentioned in 1 Peter 3:19, or the descent of Christ into the "lower parts of the earth" as described in Ephesians 4:9 along with terms like, 'depths of the earth,' 'outer darkness,' 'unquenchable fire,' 'destruction,' 'punishment,' etc. will not be investigated in depth as these questions would bleed out into a vast array of other topics making the work untenable. This does not, however mean these topics will not be discussed. They will be briefly addressed as they appear in relation to Gehenna, Hades, or Tartarus and further expanded upon, where necessary and appropriate, in relation to each of the early Greek authors and their writings, but only if these topics are pertinent or relevant to their beliefs on the existence or nature of hell. Further, questions as to when judgment is to occur or if there is a double resurrection of the body will not be scrutinized. The concern here is the transition from the Old to the New Testaments, the nature of beliefs in this regard, the continued understanding or development of the terms and specifically, what Jesus himself had to say on the topic. As is widely acknowledged, Jesus says the most about hell, more so than anyone else in the New Testament.[184]

At this point the question of intertestamental writings comes to the fore. It must be acknowledged that this corpus of writings bears significant weight on the topic at hand. However, this set of writings falls far asunder from the focus of the early Greek writers. So as not to diminish the significance of them but to remember that this in an introductory chapter, these works will be examined where they pertain to the topic at hand, that being the development and understanding of hell among the early Greek writers of the Church. Thus, if the authors themselves use the writings or allude to passages then, in this context and in relation to the specific author, the works will be mentioned.

1.3.1. Hades

It must be stated at the outset that the word Hades contains various meanings. Hades was both the name of the Greek god who ruled the underworld and the name used for the realm of the underworld itself.[185] In Greek Hades means the 'unseen' place, realm, or

[184] Papaioannou, ix.

[185] D.S. Leonard Prestige and C.H. Turner, "Lexicon of Patristic Greek. Hades in the Greek Fathers," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 24, no. 96 (July 1923): 476; Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 150–51; Martin Henry, "Does Hell Still Have a

world.[186] For the Jewish Greek it held yet another meaning. Hades is the word most often used in the LXX for the translation of Sheol and sometimes 'grave' or 'pit'[187] but it did not, nor ever had, a connection with a the Greek god of the underworld or a god of any kind.[188] The question of the influence this word may have had in regard to the meaning found in the New Testament will not be addressed other than to say, as is stipulated with regard to the translation of the LXX, that for the writers of the New Testament the meaning was that of Sheol translated as Hades in the LXX.[189] However, the precise meaning of the word can vary depending on the specific pericope in which it is being used.[190]

Of course, for the purposes of this research the latter, that is the use of the word Hades to mean hell as a development of the Septuagintal meaning of Sheol, will be considered. The identification of the word with a Greek god brings to the fore the contention that may exist concerning possible Hellenistic influences on the development of the doctrine of hell.[191] As stated above, while these influences may hold some relevance they are beyond the scope of this work. However, in this regard, as addressed in connection with the translation of the Septuagint, it must be kept in mind that the work produced was wholly Jewish in nature and not an attempt to produce something Greek. The same holds true here in the New Testament. Also, having addressed the term Sheol, a note must be made in that this term was not taken into consideration by those using the Septuagint. Again, the early Church considered the Septuagint as legitimate and in no way an erroneous misrepresentation of Sacred Scripture.

Future?," *Heythrop Journal* 56, no. 1 (January 2015): 123.

[186] Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 44; Howard Horton, "The Gates of Hades Shall Not Prevail Against," *Restoration Quarterly* 5.1 (1961): 3; Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 86, 142, 235; Kim Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," *Melanesian Journal of Theology* 32, no. 2 (2016): 104–5; James Strong, *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Greek Testament; with Their Renderings in the Authorized English Version.* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1890), 86.

[187] Joseph Henry Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: American Book Company, 1889), 11. The word Sheol appears in the Hebrew Old Testament sixty-five or sixty-six times, whereas Hades occurs seventy-seven times in the LXX.

[188] Johnston, *Shades of Sheol, Death and the Afterlife in the Old Testament*, 77–79; Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 151.

[189] Prestige and Turner, "Lexicon of Patristic Greek. Hades in the Greek Fathers," 476; Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," 103.

[190] Prestige and Turner, "Lexicon of Patristic Greek. Hades in the Greek Fathers," 476.

[191] Pieter W van der Horst, "Hellenistic Parallels to the Acts of the Apostles 2:1-47," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 8, no. 25 (September 1985): 50.

Current scholarship addresses the usage of Sheol with a modern concentration on language and usage of Hebrew and Greek as well as other source languages. For the Greek writers and Christians of the early Church this was not a consideration. However, this becomes exceedingly important to the question at hand. If the Hebrew scriptures are used instead of the LXX when studying the Old Testament as the foundation of the New Testament, a startling break occurs, and interpretations become skewed. As such, the use of Sheol in the Old Testament and Hades in the New Testament starts the researcher down a path to connect the two terms, which leads to erroneous conclusions that the doctrine contained in each of the Testaments is different based on the language used.[192] The Septuagint and its use of Hades cannot be separated from the New Testament and its use of Hades. There is no discord between the two. As demonstrated above, the Septuagint was considered a faithful Hebrew text translated into Greek and as such it must be assumed that a strictly Greek form of thought concerning the word Hades was not present, although how much one can separate any Hellenistic influence is, again, debatable. Further, it should be noted that one cannot "use modern and contemporary doctrinal questions as spectacles through which to examine ancient texts, for the writers of which systematic doctrinal instruction was not necessarily a primary concern."[193]

The word Hades [ᾅδης] occurs over one hundred times in the LXX[194] and eleven times in the Greek New Testament.[195] In the New Testament it is translated in various ways such as underworld, netherworld, death, realm or place of the dead, grave, hell, or sometimes it is left as a transliteration of Hades. Paul uses Hades once (1 Cor. 15:55), other than this instance the word along with other words referring to hell are completely absent from the Pauline corpus.[196] However, this does not mean that allusions to final

[192] Pearson, "Sheol and Hades in Old and New Testament," 309–14.

[193] Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, xvii.

[194] Papaioannou, 86.

[195] Matt. 11:23, 16:18; Lk. 10:15, 16:23; Acts 2:27, 31; 1 Cor. 15:55; Rev. 1:18, 6:8, 20:13,14.

George V. Wigram, *The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament Being an Attempt at a Verbal Connecion between the Greek and the English Texts Including a Concordance to the Proper Names with Indexes Greek-English, and English-Greek* (London: Longman, Green, Brown, and Longmans, 1840), 13–14; Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell: Its Nature and Development in West Semitic Thought," 180. Papaioannou states that there are four occurrences Hades in the Synoptic Gospels, two in Acts, and five in Revelations.Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 93. The problem of 1 Cor. 15:55 will be addressed below.

[196] Finney, *Resurrection, Hell and the Afterlife: Body and Soul in Antiquity, Judaism and Early Christianity*, 160–61; Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell: Its Nature and Development in West

judgment are not present in his writings.[197] It is easy to become trapped in a discussion of translation and meaning but this can be set aside since we are dealing only with the Greek. As such, debate still arises regarding meaning. Some believe, as outlined above, that the use of Hades in the New Testament is the same as that in the Old Testament and believe it denotes a temporal death. The belief is that it does not relate to the fate of the wicked,[198] that Hades is the place of all the dead,[199] or that Hades simply means 'grave.'[200] However, there is no need to attempt to make guesses at what the New Testament authors meant when they wrote Hades. It can be assured that this word, complete with all the eschatological meaning it holds in the New Testament, was the word the authors chose in relation to the Septuagintal rendering of the term Sheol in the Old Testament.[201]

Various meanings of Hades become debatable and can be skewed by modern perspectives. If it is assumed that the meaning for the early Christians was founded in the New Testament writings, which at different stages of development had not yet solidified, it must be assumed that these writings not only bear witness to the revelation of God the Father but were in accord with Jesus, God the Son. Also, given that he is indeed the one who speaks most about Hades, the way in which he uses the word must be addressed.

To begin, Jesus has indicated that Hades is a place.[202] To what degree this place has a physicality or is strictly metaphorical is a debate to be left aside for now as the examination at hand is of the words used. In Matthew 16:18 Jesus tells us that Hades has gates: "And so I say to you, you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." However, the meaning of the word Hades as a location or as a state is not clear. A gate can be an entrance or door, and it is often used in the Old Testament in conjunction with death.[203] It has been debated that the

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Semitic Thought," 181.

[197] Henry, "Does Hell Still Have a Future?," 124.

[198] Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," 104.

[199] Papaioannou, 103,105,107; Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 96.

[200] Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," 106.

[201] Prestige and Turner, "Lexicon of Patristic Greek. Hades in the Greek Fathers," 476.

[202] David J. MacLeod, "The Sixth 'Last Thing': The Last Judgment and the End of the World (Rev 20:11-15).," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 157, no. 627 (July 2000): 326.

[203] Job 38:17 "πύλαι θανάτου"; Pss. 9:13 "πυλῶν τοῦ θανάτον"; 107:18 "πυλῶν τοῦ θανάτου".

meaning of Hades in this regard means only death[204] or the place of the dead and holds no meaning as a place of punishment.[205] Here we see the difficulty in shades of meaning. However, the phrase 'gates of Hades' also occurs in the Septuagint as a translation of Sheol.[206] Some interpret this to mean that the 'gates' are holding not only the dead within but demonic or evil forces that could be unleashed into the world.[207]

Luke 16:19-31 is perhaps the most persuasive when it comes to an example of what Jesus meant when he spoke of Hades. It is clear that this is a place of 'torments' (Luke 16:23, 24, 25, 28).[208] It is, therefore, expressed as a place of suffering and a place of fire, which brings to the fore the more 'traditional' interpretation of the meanings of Hades contained within the New Testament. Other than the rendering of the rich man in Hades, in which he cries to Abraham to send Lazarus to put water on his tongue "for I am tormented in this flame," there is no other mention of fire in relation to Hades in the New Testament.[209] Some argue that in this parable the "bosom of Abraham" is also located in Hades and point to Hippolytus who believed that Hades is a place where the righteous and unrighteous are both held.[210] Hippolytus' thought will be discussed later in this work (chapter four) but it is of importance to point out here.

Papaioannou goes further to postulate that "Hades in the NT outside the gospels... is always connected to temporal death and the grave. It is never a place of suffering, never a place of consciousness, and never the eschatological judgment of the wicked."[211] However, this dismisses the metaphorical use of Hades to depict it as a place of suffering

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[204] Horton, "The Gates of Hades Shall Not Prevail Against," 3.

[205] Joel Marcus, "The Gates of Hades and the Keys of the Kingdom (Matt 16:18-19)," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (1988): 443–44.

[206] Isa. 38:10 'Εν πύλαις ᾅδου.

[207] Marcus, "The Gates of Hades and the Keys of the Kingdom (Matt 16:18-19)," 443–46.

[208] MacLeod, "The Sixth 'Last Thing': The Last Judgment and the End of the World (Rev 20:11-15).," 316.

[209] This, of course, is baring Rev. 20:14, which mentions casting Hades into the lake of fire. In this regard Hades is not described as having a characteristic of fire or being a place in which people are within flames as it is in Luke 16:23.

[210] Ed Christian, "The Rich Man and Lazarus, Abraham's Bosom, and the Biblical Penalty of Karet ('Cut Off')," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 61, no. 2 (September 2018): 513, 517; C.E. Hill, "Hades of Hippolytus or Tartarus of Tertullian: The Authorship of the Fragment De Universo," *Vigiliae Christianae* 43, no. 2 (June 1989): 106; Ralph Cunnington, "A Re-Examination of the Intermediate State of Unbelievers," *Evangelical Quarterly* 82.3 (2010): 235. zzz page numberSee also chapter four below.

[211] Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," 113.

in Matthew 11:23 and Luke 10:15 which follows on the "Woe to you..." of Matthew 11:21 and Luke 10:13. Why such an expletive if the eschatological meaning of 'woe' is not dire? Joseph Comber suggests that Matthew 11:20-24 is clearly eschatological in nature stating that the structure of the pericope "consists of a double series of (1) pronouncement of judgment; (2) explanation for judgment; and (3) comparison of eschatological fates."[212] When addressing Capernaum Jesus alludes to Isaiah 14:13-15 which contrasts ascending to heaven and descending to Hades and Ezekiel 26:20 of being sent down to the pit.[213] In this regard, along with the indication that Hades is a location, the great chasm between Lazarus and the rich man in Luke 16:19-31 from which the rich man 'looks up' indicates that Hades is 'down.'[214] This is also the case for Capernaum which will be thrust or brought 'down to hell.'[215] Additionally, the use of down is traditionally used negatively.[216] If it is not understood in a certainly negative, dire, or eschatologically threatening way, then the meaning of heaven is also nullified. Of course, Papaioannou is a conditionalist who does not argue against the eschatological meaning implied here but rather the eternal existence of the soul and hell as a place of eternal conscious torment. An argument that falls far from the scope of this thesis.[217]

In Acts 2:27 and again in Acts 2:31, Peter's speech at Pentecost makes clear the meaning of Hades by directly quoting the Septuagintal form of Psalm 16:10[218] with a slight alteration of tense.[219] As mentioned above, modern scholars sometimes argue that

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[212] Joseph A. Comber, "The Composition and Literary Characteristics of Matt 11:20-24," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 394 (1977): 498. The entire article paints this set of verses as well as the entire gospel as one of having an eschatological tone. "Eschatological judgment is a dominant theme throughout Mattew's gospel..." Comber, 499.

[213] Benedict T. Viviano, "The Gospel According to Matthew," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1990), 653.

[214] Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 112.

[215] Matthew 11:23; Luke 10:15

[216] Jacko, "Struktura Symboli Wertykalnych a Ich Rola w Komunikacji Miedzykulturowej i w Zarzadzaniu (The Structure of Vertical Symbols and Their Role in Cross Cultural Communication and Management)," 187.

[217] See for example: Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," 115.

[218] Ps 16:8-11 in the Masoretic Text and English translations but 15:8-11 in the LXX. Peter Nagel, "The Schechina Concept(s) in Acts: The Formation Potential of Old Testament Citations," *Neotestamentica* 51, no. 1 (2017): 120.

[219] Gregory V. Trull, "Views on Peter's Use of Psalm 16:8-11 in Acts 2:25-32," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 161, no. 642 (2004): 446; Matt Queen, "The Gospel, Evangelism, and Missions: Exegetical Observations and Theological Implications of Apostolic Proclamation and Action (Acts 2:22-41)," *Sourthwestern Journal of*

the translation of the Hebrew Sheol into Hades and its development place a new meaning on the word used by Peter during this speech.[220] The question arises anew as to whether Sheol was a place for all the dead or a place of punishment. This question has been answered above and will follow below. At this juncture however, Peter's concern with prophecy is important.[221] It must be acknowledged that the point Peter was making had absolutely nothing to do with the definition of Hades and everything to do with "his contention that God raised Jesus from the dead and thus fulfilled David's prophecy concerning the Messiah and his resurrection."[222]

Further, the argument that Hades simply means death is cast asunder in Revelation where all four references to Hades appear together with death. Papaioannou believes the use of these two words used in conjunction is simply a literary device which places them together in such a way as to express a single complex idea.[223] However, this seems doubtful since Jesus holds the keys of both death and Hades (Revelation 1:18); Hades follows death (Rev. 6:8);[224] both death and Hades deliver up the dead (Revelation 20:13); and both death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire as a second death (Revelation 20:14).[225] In all four occurrences the language indicates two separate subjects. There is no doubt that these verses are negative.[226] Further, as Lambrecht points out, the beast and the false prophet are "thrown alive into the lake of fire that burns with sulfur" (Revelation

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Theology 63, no. 1 (Fall 2020): 103; Eric Puosi, "A Systematic Approach to the Christology of Peter's Address to the Crowd: (Acts 2:14-36)," *New Blackfriars* 87, no. 1009 (May 2006): 261; Trull, "Views on Peter's Use of Psalm 16:8-11 in Acts 2:25-32," 212–14.

[220] Trull points to the argument that there is dispute regarding the Septuagintal translation and that some scholars question Peter's understanding of Hades in this regard. See: Trull, "Views on Peter's Use of Psalm 16:8-11 in Acts 2:25-32," 199–200.

[221] Paul A. Himes, "Peter and the Prophetic Word: The Theology of Prophecy Traced through Peter's Sermons and Epistles.," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 21, no. 2 (2011): 230–32.

[222] Queen, "The Gospel, Evangelism, and Missions: Exegetical Observations and Theological Implications of Apostolic Proclamation and Action (Acts 2:22-41)," 104; Puosi, "A Systematic Approach to the Christology of Peter's Address to the Crowd: (Acts 2:14-36)," 259–62.

[223] Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 94; Papaioannou, "Motifs of Death and Hell in the Teaching of Jesus: Part 1 - an Examination of Hades," 112.

[224] Yarbro Collins notes that the Hebrew Sheol is used in the same way in Ps. 49:15-16 and Hosea 13:14. Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Apocolypse (Revelation)," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1990), 1005.

[225] "Death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire: Cf. 1 Cor. 15:26" Collins, 1005.

[226] Jan Lambrecht, "Final Judgments and Ultimate Blessings: The Climactic Visions of Revelation 20,11-21,8," *Biblica* 81, no. 3 (2000): 380.

19:20). Also, that shortly before Hades and Death are cast into the fire, Revelation 20:10 expresses that "the devil who had deceived them was thrown into the lake of fire and sulfur, where the beast and the false prophet were, and they will be tormented day and night forever and ever." One can hardly imagine that the fate will be different just three verses later. "Moreover, it is not to be excluded that personified Death and Hades suffer that identical judgment, since they may be taken as evil spirits, agents of the devil."[227] Further, John makes it clear that "Hades is the abode of the unrighteous as they wait for the last judgment."[228]

When looking at the last occurrence of the word Hades in the New Testament a difficulty appears. Not all Greek New Testament renderings of 1 Corinthians 15:55 contain the word ᾅδης. Some manuscripts use θάνατε instead.[229] Thus the rendering becomes an alteration of Hosea 13:14. This confuses the issue at hand as commentators then try to find a connection and reason for the alteration of Hosea by Paul. This leads to the conclusion that Paul finds no difference between death and Hades and is implying a connection between Hosea 13:14 and Isaiah 25:8 as a shared context, which, if true, means that Paul "treats Hades and Death as rhetorical synonyms."[230] Some, such as Fudge, suppose that Paul intentionally exchanges 'Hades' for death to show the "close relationship between the two."[231] Or, that he made the change out of concern of the confusion that could result from the use of Hades with a pagan god.[232] However, all note that there is a direct connection between the MT and LXX form of Hosea 13:14, and it is worth noting that the LXX retains the sense contained in the Hebrew even if the words are slightly different.[233] This is a matter of importance as it seems theologians often omit

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[227] Lambrecht, 368.

[228] MacLeod, "The Sixth 'Last Thing': The Last Judgment and the End of the World (Rev 20:11-15).," 322.

[229] Jeffrey A. Keiser, "Disarming Death: Theomachy and Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15," in *Coming Back to Life: The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortaility, Death and Life in the Acient Mediterranean*, ed. Frederick S. Tappenden, Carly Daniel-Hugues, and Bradley N. Rice (Montreal: McGill University Library and Archives, 2017), 376.

[230] Keiser, 249.

[231] Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 152.

[232] Keiser, "Disarming Death: Theomachy and Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15," 389.

[233] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 606–7; F.S. Malan, "The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians," *Neotestamentica* 14 (1980): 163; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, vol. 7, Sacra Pagina Series (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 575–79.

mentioning the variances in text, some state overtly that Paul never uses Hades[234] and, in some instances, claim outright that the choice of the use of Hades is erroneous and not what Paul intended.[235] Not all agree with this and write or choose versions of the text in which Paul's usage is Hades without further explanation.[236] This is a danger that may lead to choosing a specific Greek text to fit the theological idea being defended or surmised. And one can hardy find difficulty with translation as Paul wrote in Greek unlike the Gospel of Matthew which had been translated.[237] However, as will be seen, the early Christian writers such as Origin used Hades when referring to Paul's Letter showing a connection between the Apostle and the LXX.[238] This difficulty emphasizes the need to examine the works of the Greek writers of the early Church in order to fully understand the meaning of hell and its usage at this stage of development.

1.3.2. Gehenna

Similar to Hades, the term Gehenna did not develop in the New Testament era. Its usage can be seen in the Old Testament and is tied to the Valley of Hinnom. The term Hinnom occurs thirteen times in the Hebrew Old Testament.[239] There are three specific usages of the term and not always in relation to judgment or punishment: First, Gehenna or Hinnom is used as a geographical location specifically the 'valley of the sons of Hinnom' or the 'valley of Hinnom;'[240] second, it is used in relation to the religious life of

[234] Malan, "The Use of the Old Testament in 1 Corinthians," 164.

[235] F.W. Farrar, *1 Corinthians - The Pulpit Commentary*, ed. H.D.M. Spence and Joseph S. Exell (London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1913), 492.

[236] George T. Montague, *First Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 283–85.

[237] Eusebius HE 3.39.16 in Viviano, "The Gospel According to Matthew," 630.

[238] Authors such as Keiser note that there are alternate renderings of 1 Cor. 15:55, noting that Patristic writers such as John Chrysostom use what they call "a variant text." See: Keiser, "Disarming Death: Theomachy and Resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15," 376, 398.

[239] Josh. 15:8 and 18:16 (2 times in each); 2 Kings 23:10; 2 Chron. 28:3 and 33:6; Jer. 7:31, 7:32, 19:2, 19:6, and 32:35. See:Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 4.

[240] Joshua 15:8, 18:16; Neh. 11:30. See: Papaioannou, 4–5; Chaim Milikowski, "Which Gehenna? Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts," *New Testament Studies* 34 (April 1988): 238–39; Hans Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149, no. 595 (1992): 328.

Judah;[241] and third, as a place of a future war and restitution.[242] There is also a fourth category of the term in non-biblical Jewish literature which purports the next stages in the development of Gehenna.[243] As mentioned above, this fourth category will not be considered here.

Gehenna is reflected in the LXX in various Greek renderings,[244] however, of these renderings only Joshua 18:16(B) uses the form Γαιεννα which resembles the 'Gehenna' of the New Testament. "And then it goes down the Valley of Hinnom, South of the shoulder of the Jebusites, and downward to En-rogel." "καὶ καταβήσεται Γαιεννα ἐπί νώτου Ιεβουσαι ἀπὸ λιβὸς καί καταβήσεται ἐπὶ πηγὴν Ρωψηλ." Here it is used simply as a place name, the 'Valley of Hinnom' and the text has no "religious or eschatological implications."[245] However, as time went on the Valley of Hinnom acquired a meaning associated with evil, punishment, and damnation in part and most accentuated by it being the location of child sacrifice.[246] This becomes apparent with the reforms of Josiah[247] as well as Jeremiah who refers to it as the 'valley of slaughter.'[248] This sets the stage so to speak for the development of Gehenna as the eschatological place of future judgement and final destination of the wicked.[249] It has been argued that the idea was not fully developed until the New Testament and that intertestamental writing reflects the stages, first, "as a place of final punishment, later as an intermediate place and finally as a purgatory, the last

[241] Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 5–6.

[242] Papaioannou, 6–10; Milikowski, "Which Gehenna? Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts," 239.

[243] Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 12–13; Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.*, 239–41; Milikowski, "Which Gehenna? Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts," 239–41.

[244] Josh. 15:8 A and B and Neh 11:30 (S): φάραγξ Ὀνομ, Εννόμ, Εννώμ; Jer. 7:31, 32 (B): φάραγξ υἱοῦ Εννομ; Jer. 19:6 (B): πολυάνδριον υἱοῦ Εννόμ; Josh. 18:16 (A): Για Οννόμ. 2 Chr. 28:3 (B): ἐν Γαιβενθόμ; 2 Chr. 28:3 (A): Γαμβέ Εννόμ; 2 Chr. 33:6: Γεβανέ εννόμ; Josh 18:16: Γαιεννα; Josh. 18:16 (B): νάπης Σοννόμ; 2 Chr. 33:6: γῆ Βεεννόμ; Josh 18:16 (A): νάπης υιοῦ. Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 13–14.

[245] Papaioannou, 265.

[246] Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 328.

[247] 2 Kings 23:10, see: Scharen, 328.

[248] Jer. 7:30-34; 19:1-11, see: Scharen, 328–29.

[249] Scharen, 329; Augustyn Jankowski, *Eschatologia Nowego Testamentu* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2007), 146–47.

stage of development being confined to rabbinic literature."[250] Scharen argues that in the Old Testament the "idea of postmortem retribution is absent apart from a few faint hints"[251] and develops only through the apocalyptic writings of the intertestamental period. However, as is argued above, there is a definite call to Gehenna as a place of eschatological future judgement that does not have to be intertwined with a translational acceptance or interpretation with Sheol.

In the New Testament the word Gehenna is used twelve times.[252] Some argue that Gehenna differs from Hades in that Hades still held a meaning similar to Sheol as the place of all the dead but that Gehenna infers eternal punishment.[253] Others claim that the meaning of Gehenna is similar to that of the Old Testament as a physical location of the garbage dump outside of Jerusalem that was continually burning.[254] However, it seems evident that when Jesus uses Gehenna it is a negative eschatological judgment.[255] All the occurrences of Gehenna in the New Testament, with the exception of James, are spoken by Jesus and occur within the Gospels, specifically Matthew, Mark and Luke.[256] Gehenna is completely absent in the Gospel of John and does not occur in any of the Pauline texts. Stipulation as to why it is used only in this regard is that it was a term most familiar to the Jewish population and therefore not pertinent or understandable to a Greek speaking non-Hebrew audience.[257] Gehenna is "the term most frequently used in the Synoptics in

[250] Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 329.

[251] Scharen, 329.

[252] Matt. 5:22, 29, 30, 10:28; 18:9; 23:15, 33; Mark 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 12:5; James 3:6, see: Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 22; Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 330; MacLeod, "The Sixth 'Last Thing': The Last Judgment and the End of the World (Rev 20:11-15).," 316. Note that Wyatt appears to leave out Matt. 5:30. This may be an oversight or perhaps a translational issue: Wyatt, "The Concept and Purpose of Hell: Its Nature and Development in West Semitic Thought," 180. However, the word Γέενναν is used in the Greek New Testament in this pericope. Milikowsky states: "In the New Testament the word Gehenna appears eleven times, seven times in Matthew, twice in Mark, and once each in Luke and James." Milikowski, "Which Gehenna? Retribution and Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and in Early Jewish Texts," 238. He does not however, give the specific verse from Mark and also interchanges or alludes to the interchangeability of Hades and Gehenna. Strong's Greek Concordance (1067) lists 12 occurrences: γένναν 8 times; γεέννη once; and γεέννης 3 times.

[253] Jankowski, *Eschatologia Nowego Testamentu*, 147.

[254] Hans Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 2," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149, no. 596 (October 1992): 456; Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 328; Henry, "Does Hell Still Have a Future?," 124.

[255] Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 2," 457.

[256] MacLeod, "The Sixth 'Last Thing': The Last Judgment and the End of the World (Rev 20:11-15).," 316.

[257] Papaioannou, *The Geography of Hell in the Teaching of Jesus. Gehenna, Hades, the Abyss, the Outer Darkness Where There Is Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.*, 23.

relation to punishment."[258] Scharen separates the usage of Gehenna by Jesus into three categories which includes, warnings to the disciples regarding stumbling blocks,[259] warnings to the disciples regarding their own destiny,[260] and the judgment of the scribes and Pharisees.[261]

In the Gospels it is Jesus who brings us the idea of Gehenna as a place of suffering, punishment, and fiery torture. In Matthew 5:29-30 and Mark 9:45 Gehenna is used without any explanation or description. However, in Matthew 18:9 and Mark 9:43, 47-48 fire is used in associated with Gehenna.[262] Also, while Matthew 18:8 speaks only of "eternal fire"[263] alone without mention of Gehenna, Scharen observes that it is "unmistakably clear that the same destiny is in view of both verses."[264]

It seems that without the understanding of Gehenna in the context of eschatological judgment and punishment Matthew 10:28 and Luke 12:4-5 would be confusing and without much meaning. This is not as overt in Matthew who says that man should fear the "one who can destroy both soul and body in Gehenna" (Matt. 10:28). Whereas Luke says to "be afraid of the one who after killing has the power to cast into Gehenna" (Luke 12:5). Along with the teaching regarding Lazarus, which is one of the clearest in relation to Jesus' teaching about judgment in the afterlife,[265] both Matthew and Luke are clear on this aspect of judgment, especially Matthew with the vision of both body and soul.[266]

Outside of the Gospels Gehenna occurs only once in James 3:6. Here James reflects on the power of one's speech, specifically the use of the tongue, and in this way is connected to the Jesus narrative outlined above that the body can cause one to be thrown into fiery Gehenna (Mark 9:43-49), as well as the caution that to call someone a fool may result in a similar fate.[267] This reference to Gehenna bolsters the argument for separation

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[258] Papaioannou, xvi.

[259] Matt. 5:29-30; Mark 9:43-48.

[260] Matt. 5:22, 10:28; Luke 12:4-5.

[261] Matt. 23:15 and 23:33. See: Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 330.

[262] Matt. 18:9 firey Gehenna: γέενναν τοῦ πυρός. Mark 9:43 Gehenna, unquenchable fire: γέενναν, πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον. Mark 9:47-48 the fire is not quenched: γέενναν, πῦρ οὗ σβέννυται.

[263] Matt. 18:8 eternal fire: πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον.

[264] Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 335.

[265] Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 2," 458.

[266] Scharen, 462.

[267] Pheme Perkins, "Tongue on Fire: Ethics of Speech in James," *Interpretation* 74, no. 4 (2020): 372–73,

from God, emphasizing a fallen nature which, if not curbed, will result in final separation in hell.[268]

1.3.3. Tartarus

Tartarus is an interesting term that appears in the both the New and Old Testaments. It is used three times in the Old Testament[269] and only once in the New.[270] It is a Greek word and holds a Greek meaning. Tartarus in Greek mythology is the place within Hades or lower than Hades that is a place of punishment for the Titans.[271] Strong defines Tartarus as "(the deepest *abyss* of Hades); to incarcerate in eternal torment: — cast down to hell."[272] In the New Testament the choice of this unique word is a bit puzzling, however, it may have been chosen because of a mixed audience of Greeks and Jews.[273] 2 Peter 2 was written regarding false teachers and is often linked to Jude 1:6[274] with regard to the fallen angels and both also refer back to Genesis 6:1-4.[275] Some believe that Peter uses Tartarus to denote hell or a place of punishment specifically in regard to angels which had

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https://doi.org/10.1177/0020964320936404.

[268] Andrea L. Robinson, "Reflecting the Image of God through Speech: Genesis 1-3 in James 3:1-12," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 44, no. 4 (November 2020): 317.

[269] Prov. 30:16; Job 40:20, 41:32.

[270] 2 Peter 2:4.

[271] Dimitris J. Kyrtatas, "The Origins of Christian Hell," *Numen: International Review For The History Of Religions* 56.2/3 (2009): 287; C. John Collins, "Noah, Deucalion, and New Testament," *Biblica* 93, no. 3 (2012): 421; Henry, "Does Hell Still Have a Future?," 123; Daniel J. Harrington, "Jude and 2 Peter," in *Sacra Pagina Sseries*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington and Donald P. Senior (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2003), 266.

[272] Strong, *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Greek Testament; with Their Renderings in the Authorized English Version.*, para. 5020.

[273] J. Daryl Charles, "On Angels and Asses: The Moral Paradigm in 2 Peter 2," *Proceedings* 21 (2001): 3; Jerome H. Neyrey, "The Second Epistle of Peter," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1990), 1020; Thomas R. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter Jude*, vol. 37, The New American Commentary (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2003), 337; Harrington, "Jude and 2 Peter," 266.

[274] Cunnington, "A Re-Examination of the Intermediate State of Unbelievers," 232–33; Kim Papaioannou, "The Sin of the Angels in 2 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6," *Journal of Biblical Liturature* 140, no. 2 (2021): 391–408; Neyrey, "The Second Epistle of Peter," 1020; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter Jude*, 37:335; Harrington, "Jude and 2 Peter," 163.

[275] Charles, "On Angels and Asses: The Moral Paradigm in 2 Peter 2," 3; Papaioannou, "The Sin of the Angels in 2 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6," 391–408; Kenneth O. Gangel, "2 Peter," in *The Bible Knowledge Commentary. An Exposition of the Scriptures by Dallas Seminary Faculty. Old Testament and New Testament Edition*, ed. John F. Walvoord and Roy B. Zuck (Wheaton: Victor Books, 1983), 870; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter Jude*, 37:335; Harrington, "Jude and 2 Peter," 163, 266.

rebelled.[276] However, Peter writes that it is a place for the condemned angels who are to be kept there for later judgment,[277] thus making it difficult to align with Hades or Gehenna. Another problem which presents itself is that the Greek authors paid little attention to this particular word when it came to their discussions or writings on the afterlife, or they indeed considered it synonymous with Hades. The only notable exception being Hippolytus, who will be examined in chapter four of this work.[278]

1.4. Eternal

One very important aspect in regard to the meaning of hell is the question of duration. While this is indeed a modern question as it was not an immediate question for the early Christian writers until, perhaps, Clement of Alexandria (see chapter 3 below). To begin, there are two expressions in Greek that are translated very often as eternal ἀΐδιος and ἀιώνιος. Both of these words can be translated as eternal.[279] The first term ἀΐδιος is used prevalently in Greek literature during the Hellenistic period but rarely in Scripture.[280] According to Ramelli and Konstan, this term always means eternal or enduring but never in relation to punishment, death, or fire when it refers to human beings.[281] However, ἀΐδιος in Jude 6 regarding punishment but only in regard to evil angels.[282]

The second term ἀιώνιος is used throughout both the Old and New Testament.[283] The usage within Old Testament scripture points to a variation in meanings such as perpetual,

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[276] Scharen, "Gehenna in the Synoptics Part 1," 327; Gangel, "2 Peter," 870.

[277] "For God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but condemned them to the chains of Tartarus and handed them over to be kept for judgment" 2 Peter 2:4. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸσ ἀγγέλςν ἁμαρτησάντςν οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σειραῖσ ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰσ κρίσιν τηροθμένοθς. See: Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter Jude*, 37:283.

[278] See: Chapter 4 below and Hill, "Hades of Hippolytus or Tartarus of Tertullian: The Authorship of the Fragment De Universo."

[279] See: Ilaria L.E. Ramelli and David Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, Perspectives on Philosophy and Religious Thought 9 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press LLC, 2013), chap. 1.

[280] Ramelli and Konstan, 37.

[281] Ramelli and Konstan, chap. 2; Ilaria L.E. Ramelli, "Reply to Professor Michael McCymond," *Theological Studies* 76(4) (2015): 832–34; Ilaria L.E. Ramelli, "Origen, Bardaisan, and the Origin of Universal Salvation," *Harvard Theological Review* 102, no. 2 (2009): 143.

[282] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 68–69.

[283] Ilaria Ramelli and David Konstan, "Terms for Eternity: Aἰώνοσ and Ἀΐδιοσ in Classical and Christian Texts," *Nova Tellus* 24, no. 2 (December 2006): chap. 2.

permanent, ages, forever, perennial, or a long period of time. It is also used in relation to the future world or the world to come.[284] It is interesting to note that the use of this word is often in relation to God, and it has been argued that it only means 'eternal' when referring to his name.[285] And, unlike ἀΐδιος, it is always used in the negative, that is in relation to punishment, death, and fire, which is not surprising since ἀΐδιος only occurs twice in the Old Testament[286] and twice in the New.[287] The conclusion can be drawn, and is in fact by some, that ἀιώνιος cannot be interpreted strictly as meaning eternal in relation to death, fire, or punishment in Scripture or in the Greek writings of the early Church.[288] However, given the use to ἀιώνιος throughout Scripture it cannot be argued that it does not. This will be examined in each of the Greek authors below, albeit briefly, in relation to their usage of the term with words that refer to hell.

1.5. Conclusion

This first chapter outlines, in a very broad and general way, the foundations of the development of hell in the Christian tradition. The meaning of hell, as outlined above, can be seen to have grown out of very specific and unique Semitic usage as expressed by the word Sheol in the Old Testament. The transition of meaning for the early Christians began long before Jesus walked the earth and was born in and through the various translations of the Hebrew Bible in the Septuagint. This corpus of writings was used by the early Christians at the time of Christ and was considered to be a faithful translation of the Hebrew text. The text was not understood as a translation but instead was used as scripture by Greek speaking Jews of the time. This development casts no doubt that those who read the Septuagint, and later recorded the words of Jesus, were not confused about word usage nor added or confused the meaning of the words they were using.

A question that arises regarding the interchangeability of the words Hades, Gehenna, and, to a lesser extent, Tartarus will be looked at as this study continues. This will be

[284] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, chap. 2.

[285] See: Ramelli and Konstan, 37.

[286] Maccabees 10:15.2 and Wisdom 7:26.1. See: Ramelli and Konstan, 37.

[287] Romans 1:20.2 and Jude 6:4. See: Ramelli and Konstan, 50.

[288] Ramelli, "Origen, Bardaisan, and the Origin of Universal Salvation," 143; Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 50.

revealed in the writings of the early Greek authors to be examined in the following chapters. Here it is sufficient to state that the usage most often reflects the audience to which the writings are addressed. As time goes on and Christianity spreads, this movement will obtain a vocabulary which will continue to develop without losing the meaning that is rooted in Scripture.

Chapter 2

Early Second Century Writings

2.1. Ignatius of Antioch

Ignatius of Antioch was a martyr as well as a direct successor of Peter as bishop of Antioch.[1] The first century historian Eusebius is often cited in reference to Ignatius, and many authors attribute their accounts of Ignatius to Eusebius's work *Ecclesiastical History*.[2] Jerome tells us that "Ignatius, as third bishop of the church at Antioch after Peter the apostle, was condemned to the wild beasts and sent in chains to Rome in the course of a persecution instigated by Trajan."[3] It is not known why Ignatius was arrested or why he was being transferred to Rome.

The letters of Ignatius,[4] Bishop of Antioch, were written sometime between AD 98-117.[5]

[1] This is attested to by most writers and is considered to be common knowledge. For further on this topic please see any one of the following: Kenneth J. Howell, *Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna a New Translation and Theological Commentary*, Early Christian Fathers Series: 1 (Zanesville: CHResources, 2009); Ignatius of Antioch, *The Letters*, trans. Alistair Stewart, vol. 49, Popular Patristics Series (Yonkers: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2013); Virginia Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch*, ed. David Horne (New Haven: Yale University Press, n.d.); William Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985); C.P. Hammond Bammel, "Ignatian Problems," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 33, no. 1 (1982): 62–97; Allen Brent, *Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic. A Study of an Early Christian Transformation of Pagan Culture.* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019); Ruben Ioan Ivan, "The Connection between Salvation, Martyrdom, and Suffering According to St. Ignatius of Antioch," *Sudia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai. Theologia Reformata Transylvamiensis* 59, no. 1–2 (December 2014): 82–98; Edward Fudge, "The Eschatology of Ignatius of Antioch: Christocentric and Historical," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 15, no. 4 (1972): 231–37; Vincent van Altena, "Investigation into the Logistics of Ignatius's Itinerary," *Journal of European Baptist Studies* 21, no. 251–76 (2021): 51–76; Ignace d'Antioche and P.T. Camelot, *Lettres [et] Martyre de Polycarpe*, Sources Chrétiennes 10 (Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1958). Johannes Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 1 The Beginnings of Patristic Liturature* (Utrecht-Antwerp: Specturm Publishers, 1966), 63.

[2] See: Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 3.36.4ff as cited in Howell, *Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna a New Translation and Theological Commentary*; Bammel, "Ignatian Problems," 63.

[3] Jerome, *Vir. Ill. 16* as cited in Allen Brent, *Ignatius of Antioch a Martyr Bishop and the Origin of Episcopacy* (New York: Continuum, 2009), 19–20.

[4] Studies on Ignatius' letter were collected by Krzysztof Abucewicz: See: Krzysztof Abucewicz, *Ukrzyżowany Eros Ignacego Antiocheńskiego. Interpretacja w Perspektywie Historii Recepcji.* (Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach, Wydział Teologiczny, 2021).

[5] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 170; Paul Foster, "The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (Part 1)," *The Expository Times* 117, no. 12 (2006): 490–91.

There were seven authentic letters written by Ignatius on his journey to Rome from Antioch,[6] The *Letter to the Ephesians,* the *Letter to the Magnesians,* the *Letter to the Trallians,* the *Letter to the Romans,* the *Letter to the Philadelphians,* the *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, and the *Letter to Polycarp*, however, in this study we are only concerned with the letter addressed to the Ephesians.[7] The letters themselves were written to the communities through which Ignatius was traveling on his journey to martyrdom in Rome.[8] There are several themes addressed in these letters that are of interest to most who are reading Ignatius, however, it is only the theme regarding the struggle against false teachers in the Church that is of interest because it is only here that Ignatius makes a direct reference to anything that could be interpreted as hell.

2.1.1. The Letter to the Ephesians

In Chapter 11.1 of Ignatius' *Letter to the Ephesians* there is a reference to the "last times" and "coming wrath." He writes: "These are the last times. Let us then exercise restraint, let us fear God's patience, that it may not turn to condemnation for us. For either let us fear the coming wrath, or let us love the present grace - one or the other - only that we be found in Christ Jesus to possess the true life" (Eph. 11.1).[9] One could easily infer that 'condemnation' is a reference to the final judgement. While the 'coming wrath' might refer to eternal punishment, it could also be argued that this is not definitive. However, in chapter 16 there is

[6] For a discussion as to the authenticity of the letters see: Brent, *Ignatius of Antioch a Martyr Bishop and the Origin of Episcopacy*; Milton Perry Brown, *The Authentic Writings of Ignatius* (Durham: Duke Univeristy press, 1963); Ignatius of Antioch, *Corpus Ignatianum: A Complete Collection of the Ignatian Epistles, Genuine, Interpolated, and Spurious; Together with Numerous Extracts from Them, as Quoted by Ecclesiastical Writers down to the Thenth Century; in Syriac, Greek, and Latin: An English Translation of the Syriac Text, Copious Notes, and Introduction*, trans. William Cureton (St. Paul's Church Yard: Francis & John Rivington, 1849); Howell, *Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna a New Translation and Theological Commentary*, 2; Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch*; Bammel, "Ignatian Problems." Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 1 The Beginnings of Patristic Liturature*, 73.

[7] For our purposes, only the letter to the Ephesians will be studied as it is the only one that uses terms that refer to judgment. According to Jared Wick Ignatius of Antioch's letter to the Magnesians makes reference to the descent of Christ to Sheol/Hades. In regards to Wicks' and other scholarship on the topic see: Jared Wicks, "Christ's Saving Decent to the Dead: Early Withnesses from Ignatius of Antioch to Origen," *Pro Eccleasia* 17, no. 3 (2008): 283.

[8] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 1 The Beginnings of Patristic Liturature*, 64; Ignatius of Antioch, *The Letters*.

[9] Ἔσχατοι καιροί. Λοιπὸν αἰσχυνθῶμεν, φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἡμῖν εἰς κρίμα γένηται. Ἢ γαρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν, ἓν τῶν δύο μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὑρεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. Greek: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 192. English translation: Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, 71.

a more emphatic and palpable reference which more clearly refers to hell:

> Be not deceived, my brothers: corrupters of homes "will not inherit the Kingdom of God"; if then they died who did these things in the realm of the flesh, how much more if someone by evil teaching corrupts faith in God for which Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a filthy being will go into the unquenchable fire, like-wise also the person who listens to him (Eph. 16.1-2).[10]

The references quoted above both point to the existence of the underlying certainty of punishment, one in the coming wrath and the other in unquenchable fire. As stated above, some of these terms must be investigated here in the works which contain them. Therefore, a brief look at 'coming wrath' and 'unquenchable fire' as references to hell.

The first example of this inquiry is the phrase 'coming wrath' or 'the wrath to come' which Ignatius writes as 'μέλλουσαν ὀργήν'. The word ὀργή, meaning anger or wrath, is used 36 times in the New Testament[11] and about 231 times in the Old Testament. However, 'μέλλουσαν ὀργήν,' (the wrath to come) is only used twice in the New Testament and it is never used in the Old Testament.[12] In this citation Ignatius is referring to Matthew 3:7[13] in which Jesus refers to the wrath to come.[14] In this regard it seems apparent that Ignatius is using the phrase in the same manner as Jesus. There is no more explanation as the meaning, most likely for Ignatius and his audience, is quite clear.

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[10] Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου' οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐὰν πιστιν θεοῦ ἐν κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φθείρῃ, ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη. ὁ τοιοῦτος, ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τό πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ. Greek: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 196. English translation: Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, 79.

[11] Matthew 3 :7 ; Mark 3 :5 ; Luke 3 :7 ; Luke 21 :23 ; John 3:36; Romans 1:18; Romans 2:5, 2:8, 3:5, 4:15, 5:9, 9:22; 12:19, 13:4,13:5; Ephesians 2:3, 4:31, 5:6; Colossians 3:6, 3:8; 1 Thessalonians 1:10, 2:16, 5:9; 1 Timothy 2:8; Hebrews 3:11, 4:3; James 1:9, 1:20; Revelation 6:16, 6:17, 11:18, 14:10, 16:19, 19:15.

[12] Matthew 3 :7; Luke 3 :7; Paul uses ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης also translated as 'wrath to come.' Revelation 6:17 "For the great day of his wrath is come" (ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγαλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶυ). And Revelation 11:18 "and thy wrath is come" (και ηλθεν η οργη).

[13] Ignace d'Antioche and Camelot, *Lettres [et] Martyre de Polycarpe*, 81.

[14] "When he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, he said to them, "You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?" Matt. 3:7. (᾽Ιδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ἐπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς).

The second phrase is πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον, which can be translated as unquenchable or everlasting fire. While the focus of Ignatius' eschatology is not the "unquenchable fire," the use of the words shows a relation to Luke 3:17 (πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ), Matthew 3:12 (πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ), Mark 9:43 (πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον), as well as 2 Clement 17:7 (πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ).[15] Because his statements are intertwined with biblical statements, it is evident that his audience would understand the reference. The lack of explanation implies that there already existed a belief in hell as a real and concrete reality should one choose to wander from the Word. Schoedel writes that "Ignatius presents traditional Christian eschatology in a much softened form."[16] And that: "We may regard the whole of *Ephesians* 11-19 as a loosely organized unit devoted to exhortation (11.1,2; 3.1; 15.3; 16.1), frequently recalling last things and the defeat of Satan (11.1; 13.1-2; 14.2; 15.3; 16.2; 19.3), yet often digressing."[17]

What is supported in his letter is that Christians of the time already held an eschatology which included hell. However, the lack of use of the word itself might lead to the conclusion that, while the eschatology was in place, it had not developed to the point of holding the specific name hell, but instead used biblical reference 'everlasting fire.' This 'unquenchable' or 'everlasting fire' must not be confused with 'eternal fire.' While Ignatius used the term eternal life (ζωὴ αἰωνιος)[18] as well as eternal joy (χαρὰ αἰώνιος),[19] these terms are only used in the positive. He never uses the word eternal (ἀΐδιος or αἰώνιος) in relation to death, punishment, or fire.[20]

However, in light of Ignatius' writings, we see the intent of his eschatology is the salvation of Christians in Christ. As Fudge points out, "Christians must continually do battle with Satan (Eph. 13:1)."[21] While Ignatius focuses more on salvation than on what may come as the result of sin, the arguments he lays forth show that he knew of the coming wrath and was attempting to prepare Christians to escape this fate of eternal damnation and to seek to live eternally with

[15] Robert M. Grant, *Ignatius of Antioch*, vol. IV, The Apostolic Fathers a New Translation and Commentary (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966), 46–47.

[16] Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, 71.

[17] Schoedel, 71.

[18] *Epistle* 1.18 and 7.2.

[19] *Epistle* 5.1

[20] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 88–89.

[21] Fudge, "The Eschatology of Ignatius of Antioch: Christocentric and Historical," 235.

the Father.[22]

It also must be noted that one must avoid the deliberate manufacture of some sort of systematic theology arising out of Ignatius. He wrote these letters under duress as a captive on his way to Rome.[23] Aside from this fact, or because of it, one becomes aware that Ignatius knew that every Christian should seek eternal life with God and avoid the unquenchable fire.

2.2. Shepherd of Hermas

Written in the second century, *The Shepherd of Hermas* is of great importance to the early Church, so much so that at one time it was considered to be scripture.[24] It is arguably the most well-read document of the early Christian era.[25] *The Shepherd of Hermas* is a collection of visions, mandates (commandments) and similitudes (parables) that was written as a guide and warning to Christians on how to maintain a moral life and enter the kingdom of God. As late as Origin's time it was considered scripture,[26] and authors such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origin, in his early writings, considered it to be canonical.[27] In the later writings of Origin as well as in Eusebius, *Hermas* was considered to be useful reading for Christians but not part of canon. Jerome, however, was "unenthusiastic about Hermas," referring to his visions as "an apocryphal book full of stupidity" and "practically unknown among Latin readers."[28]

There are three surviving manuscripts of *Hermas* written in Greek, none of which are complete: there is the fifteenth century Codex Athous housed at the Library of the Monastery of Hagios Gregorios on Mount Athos and the University Library at Leipzig; the fourth century Codex Sinaiticus at The British Museum; and Papyrus 129 from the third century which is at

[22] Fudge, 235–36.

[23] Donald F. Winslow, "Idea of Redemption in the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 11, no. 1 (Summer 1965): 119. For a detailed account of the conditions Ignatius might have faced, see: van Altena, "Investigation into the Logistics of Ignatius's Itinerary."

[24] Robert M. Grant, *An Introduction*, vol. 1, The Apostolic Fathers a New Translation and Commentary (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964), 3; Geza Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 173.

[25] Carolyn Osiek, *Sheperd of Hermas a Commentary*, Hermeneia - a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 1.

[26] Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:3.

[27] Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 173.

[28] Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:20.

the University of Michigan.[29] All of these, plus a few other fragments written in Greek, have been joined together but still do not give us a complete account of the writing. There are two Latin versions, an Ethiopic translation, and fragments in Middle Persian and Coptic.[30]

The form of the writing is considered by some as apocalyptic or an apocryphal apocalyptic.[31] Others, however, believe it to be of a different genre altogether. Carolyn Osiek calls this "apocalyptic paraenesis"[32] which means that, according to her, *Hermas* is concerned with the well-being of the of the Church and its suffering members from a perspective that lies outside this world. It is concerned with conversion and, not only that, conversion within a certain time frame. It holds the same form as the "'parenetic salvation-judgment oracles' of the same form as those in Revelation 2-3."[33] She writes:

> The Christian apocalyptic interest in paraeneis means that the social function of apocalypticism has changed in response to situations. The spirit of apocalypticism is no longer simply expectation of the eschaton, but a look backwards to what has already happened in Christ, who is present in the church speaking through the apostles and prophets. Christian apocalyptic therefore collapses the difference between this world and the world to come, so that there is only one time, the end time.[34]

This idea of apocalypticism brings to the fore the place *Hermas* holds in regard to the theological development of hell. Hell is very often associated with apocalyptic writing, for it is here that one most often discovers writing aimed at conversion by showing and telling what the result of refusal to repentance will entail. Conversion or repentance means turning to a way

[29] See: Campbell Bonner, "A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas," *Harvard Theological Review* 18, no. 2 (April 1925): 115–27; Campbell Bonner, "A New Fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas (Michigan Papyrus 44-H)," *Harvard Theological Review* 20, no. 2 (April 1927): 105–16.

[30] Graydon F. Snyder, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, ed. Robert M. Grant, vol. 6, The Apostolic Fathers a New Translation and Commentary (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, n.d.), 1–2.

[31] Lawrence J. Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church. An Anthology of Historical Sources*, vol. One (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 53; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 445; Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 173. Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 1 The Beginnings of Patristic Liturature*, 92.

[32] Osiek, *Sheperd of Hermas a Commentary*, 11–12.

[33] Osiek, 11.

[34] Osiek, 11–12.

of living where harmony with self, fellow, and God are the aim in this life which points toward salvation at some future time.

Osiek points out that apocalyptic writing most often is the result of severe pressures on a group which places the group in dire peril of death or persecution.[35] What makes *Hermas* unique, is that it was written in a time in which persecution of the Church was not imminent. There was no certain end on the horizon for this particular group of Christians living in Rome. However, as explained above, the eschaton was still at hand, it was just not overtly present. This was a time when the waiting for Christ had become, not one of certain expectation that the Parousia would occur at any moment but had transformed into one of patient expectation. The apocalyptic suddenness had waned, but not to such an extent that Hermas himself failed to stress the certain outcome. As is expressed below, Hermas explains that metanoia must occur before the tower is finished (Hermas 103.6, 112.4), thus revealing that the eschaton, while not immediately perhaps at hand, was still looming.

The underlying tone of *Hermas* shows that, to this point, the idea of eternal damnation, as well as the life that leads to it, were already present in the society in which Hermas lived. The ideas were not new nor were they something Hermes felt exceeding compelled to explain in detail. As Osiek explains, this society had hitherto been an oral society.[36] The transition to the written word and reliance upon written documents was not the norm. It was something that was only beginning. The evidence in *Hermas* is such that this oral understanding is reflected by metaphor. This could be done because the oral tradition was already supported by such an understanding.

Hermas was not an educated man from the upper classes who would have had an extensive education in literature and writing. As evidenced in his own writing, it is likely that Hermas had the ability to write, as most other businessmen of the time had, but only to the extent that was necessary to keeping simple books. Osiek, in her explanation as to the oral nature of the society in which Hermas lived, points to the fact that "the woman church reads aloud to Hermas (vis. 1.3.3-4), and only a year later does he receive a written text, which requires two weeks of prayer and fasting from him to be able to read (2.1.3-4; 2.2.1)."[37] This, in fact, must have been a daunting task for him. However, as Patricia Cox Miller believes, this text was indecipherable

[35] Osiek, 10–12.

[36] Osiek, 13–16. See also: chapter 1

[37] Osiek, 15.

because it was "dream writing" and he was illiterate in this. She writes, "part of Hermas' 'therapy' — his initiation into *metanoia*, repentance, and so into salvation—is literacy: he must learn to read the images of dream."[38] Fifteen days later he is given the "'knowledge of writing' (*gnōsis tēs graphēs*)."[39] Hermas can only become literate through the dreams themselves, thus this is not ordinary literacy.[40]

There is evidence regarding the identity of Hermas throughout his own work. He was a former slave, now a freed man,[41] a prosperous businessman or farmer, a husband and father whose family had gone astray from the ways of virtue, and most likely a former Jew or of Jewish descent. He wrote in Greek and lived in Rome.[42] The Muratorian Canon and others speculate that he was the bother of the Roman bishop Pius I, who was Bishop of Rome from about 140-154 A.D.[43] Many suspect the work was written earlier, closer to the year 100. There is also much speculation as to the authorship of the work. Many theories held that there was more than one author, or if only one author, it was written over a long period of time. Today, most scholars put the authorship down to a single writer, who was either of Jewish descent or had been educated in the Jewish tradition, lived in Rome, and had experience or lived in the Hellenistic tradition. This is evidenced by the writing itself, as noted above, the scene of the *Shepherd of Hermas* is Rome and its environs, it was written in Greek, and has a great many references to the Old Testament.[44]

2.2.1. Hell in the Shepherd of Hermas

As with most of the early Christian writings, the word hell is not specifically used in the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Instead, Hermas uses allegory and paraenesis[45] to describe what will

[38] Patricia Cox Miller, "'All the Words Were Frightful': Salvation by Dreams in the Shepherd of Hermas.," *Vigiliae Christianae* 42, no. 4 (1988): 331, https://doi.org/ttps://doi.org/10.2307/1584281.

[39] Miller, 331.

[40] Miller, 332.

[41] Osiek, *Sheperd of Hermas a Commentary*, 21–22.

[42] Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church. An Anthology of Historical Sources*, One:52; Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 173.

[43] Snyder, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, 6:19; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 446–47. Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 1 The Beginnings of Patristic Liturature*, 92.

[44] Osiek, *Sheperd of Hermas a Commentary*, 9–10.

[45] Osiek, 11.

happen if one continues living in a way contrary to God. As is described above, one of the main premises of this thesis is that the idea of hell had developed enough theologically to this point that an understanding of what would be present at death, which Hermas translates as the ultimate separation from God after death, was already present and commonly understood. It also meant that if one were to continue with his dastardly deeds, the result would be eternal (αἰώνιον) suffering with no hope of redemption. This is what awaited the Christian, or any other person, who chose to live by the way that leads to death and did not repent.

The call to repentance and shades of the "two-ways" theology are evident throughout *Hermas*. The first example, which is a strong metaphor of hell, is in Parable 4:

> "But the Outsiders and the sinners, the withered trees that you saw, will be found to be withered and fruitless in that world, and will be burned as firewood, and will be obvious because their conduct in their life was evil. For the sinners will be burned because they sinned and did not repent, and the outsiders will be burned because they did not know the one who created them" [53.4].[46]

While the main premise of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, as stated above, is to convince the reader to choose life. The overtones are that one is forgiven in Baptism and must maintain that standard. If one strays, then one must repent.[47] If repentance does not occur, then the result is death and being burned. Here the striking reference to the common idea of hell as a place of fire and damnation is obvious and apparent. Also present here is the idea that if one does not know his creator then he faces the same fate. Separation from God either by ignorance or choice leads to "death" that is a separation from God resulting in being burned.

The next occurrence with reference to Hell also includes a reference to evil spirits or angels who are tempters:

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[46] τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ ἁμαπτλοί, ἃ εἶδες τά δένδρα τὰ ξηρά, τοιοῦτοι εὑρεθήσονται ξηροὶ καὶ ἄκαρποι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, καὶ ὡς ξύλα κατακαυθήσονται, καὶ φανεροὶ ἔσονται ὅτι ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτῶν πονηρὰ γέγονεν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καυθήσονται ὅτι ἥμαρτον καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν τὰ δὲ ἔθνη καυθήσονται ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς. *Hermes* 53.4. Greek and English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 566–67. For alternate Greek see: M. Whittaker, *Die Apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt Des Hermas [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, 2nd ed., vol. 48 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967).

[47] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 1 The Beginnings of Patristic Liturature*, 98.

> And he said to me, "Do you see this shepherd?" "I see him, sir," I replied. "This," he said, "is the angel of luxury and deception. He crushes the souls of God's servants who are empty and turns them away from the truth, deceiving them with evil desires in which they perish. **2** For they forget the commandments of the living God and live pleasurably in worthless luxury, and are destroyed by this angel, some to death and some to corruption." **3** I said to him, "Sir, I do not understand what 'to death' and what 'to corruption' mean." "Listen," he said. "The sheep that you saw happily skipping about are those people who have been turned away from God completely and have handed themselves over to the lusts of this world. Among these, therefore, there is no repentance leading to life, because they have also blasphemed against the Lord's name. For such as these, there is death. **4** But the sheep that you saw that were not skipping, but were feeding in one place, are those who have handed themselves over to acts of luxury and deception, but have not spoken any blasphemy against the Lord. These, therefore, have been corrupted from the truth; for them there is the hope of repentance, by which they are able to live. So corruption has some hope of renewal, but death has only eternal destruction" [62 1-4].[48]

Here the Angel of Repentance is telling Hermas that there is hope of salvation if only one does not blaspheme against the Lord. It appears that those who have "handed themselves over" but have not blasphemed do not hold the entire death sentence, that is to be cast into hell which the Angel calls "death," under the condition that they repent. This also leads to the following verses which describe the "angel of punishment" who punishes those who have sinned but not yet blasphemed, which leads to the imagery reminiscent of purgatory. Considering the Jewish

[48] Καὶ λέγει μοι Βλέπεις τὸν ποιμένα τοῦτον; βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὗτος, φησίν, ἄγγελος τρυφῆς καὶ ἀπάτης ἐστίν. οὗτος ἐκτρίβει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν κενῶν καὶ καταστρέφει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπατῶν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐπθυμίαις ταῖς πονηραῖς, ἐν αἷς ἀπόλλυνται. 2 ἐριλανθάνονται γὰρ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ πορεύονται ἀπάταις καὶ τρυφαῖς ματαίαις, καὶ ἀπολλυνται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου, τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν. 3 λέγω αὐτῷ κύριε, οὐ γινώσκω ἐγώ τί ἐστιν εἰς θάνατον καὶ τί εἰς καταφθοράν. Ἄκουε, φησίν ἃ εἶδες πρόβατα ἱλαρὰ καὶ σκιρτῶντα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπεσπασμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος καὶ παραδεδωκότες ἑαυτοῦς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐν τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια ζωῆς οὐκ, ὅτι προσέθηκαν κατὰ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου βλασφημίαν τῶν τοιούτων οὖν ὁ θάνατος. ἃ δὲ εἶδες μὴ σκιρτῶντα ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ βοσκόμεζα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ παραδεδωκότες μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀπαταις, εἰς δὲ τὸν κύριον οὐδὲν ἐβλασφήμησαν. οὗτοι οὖν κατεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείς ἐν τούτοις ἐλπίς ἐστι μετανοίας ἐν ᾗ δύνανται ζῆσαι. ἡ καταφθορὰ οὖν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀνανεώσεώς τινα, ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειν ἔχει αἰώνιον. *Hermes* 62.1-4. Greek and English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 584–87. Note that the manuscript used by Holmes differs slightly from: Whittaker, *Die Apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt Des Hermas [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*. Here the citation is 62.1-5.

background and various references to the Old Testament by Hermas, a parallel is not difficult to draw between this "angel of punishment" and the ruler of hell, Satan.

Here the imagery of hell and the common themes are quite striking. First, we have the angel who lures those whose souls are already "empty." Hermas asks that the difference between "to death" and "to corruption" be explained. In the explanation we see very clearly the demarcation between those believed to have a chance at redemption and those who do not. The latter are destined "to death" (θάνατον) and "eternal destruction" (ἀπώλειν ἔχει αἰώνιον). This gives a clear understanding of the underlying theme in which death, as separation from God, is eternal punishment in hell.

The question arises as to the meaning of "eternal" in *Shepherd*. The English rendering for ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειν ἔχει αἰώνιον can also be translated as: "death implies ruin in the word to come."[49] In this regard, according to Ramelli and Konstan, the term αἰώνιον or αἰώνιος follows the New Testament usage in meaning the future word rather than eternity.[50] This, however, as stated above, is not a definitive explanation. Hermas himself does not go into great detail to explain the meaning as his point is metanoia.

As Parable 6 continues paragraph 6.7 speaks again of the luxuries that lead to death. Hermas asks for clarification, and it is given him. Once more it is repeated that those who continue on the path of evil, who continue to turn from God and do not repent, will be handed over. In this statement it is clear that while there are temptations, as above with the angels who "lure" and "tempt" souls, the action is that of the individual and by their own choice they cast their fate: "the harmful luxuries mentioned above bring torments and punishments to them; and if they persist and do not repent, they bring death upon themselves."[51]

Continuing on, the same language is seen repeated several times in Parable 8.6:

> "Listen," he said. "Those whose sticks were found withered and eaten by grubs are the apostates and traitors to the church, who by their sins have blasphemed the Lord, and

[49] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 92.

[50] Ramelli and Konstan, 91–92.

[51] αὕτη οὖν ἡ τρυφὴ σύμφορός ἐστιν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ζωὴν περιποιεῖται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ· αἱ δὲ βλαβεραὶ τρυφαὶ αἱ προειρημέναι βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας περιποιοῦνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι καὶ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς περιποιοῦνται. English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 593. Greek: Whittaker, *Die Apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt Des Hermas [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 48, para. 65.7.

> in addition were ashamed of the Lord's name by which they were called. These, therefore, utterly perished to God. And you see that not one of them repented, even though they heard the words that you spoke to them, which I commanded you. From people of this sort of life has departed...So you see," he said, "that repentance from sin brings life, but failure to repent means death" [72.4; 72.6].[52]

One of the main criticisms of Hermas is his insistent repetition. This is one of the difficulties which led so many to believe in multiple authorship. But as Osiek explains this is also a mark of oral tradition.[53] But here again, Hermas expresses the need to repent. Over and over in obvious ways the choice is life or death. Many commentators point out that the overriding theme of Hermas is that forgiveness and eternal life with God is initially through Baptism.[54] There was much debate in the early Church as to whether forgiveness of sins or repentance was even possible after baptism but in the view of *Hermas* there is no confusion. *Hermas* is a call to repent. It is the possibility of forgiveness and life with God even after a lapse to sin once baptism has been received, where if repentance is sought with true desire the sinner can avoid punishment.

Because of the excessive repetition, it becomes obvious that "life" as a metaphor for living with God or in heaven and that "death" is separation from God or hell. To deny the parallel becomes increasingly more difficult. There is no other direct reference to the punishment of those who are to be "cast out" again until the ninth parable. The main function of *Hermas* is to convince the faithful to repent, not to be duplicitous, and to faithfully uphold their beliefs by virtuous actions. In Parable 9.19 again the idea of death as a place with no chance of salvation or redemption is mentioned.

"From the first mountain, the black one, are believers such as these: apostates and blasphemers against the Lord, and betrayers of God's servants. For these there is no repentance,

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[52] Ἄκουε, φησίν ὧν αἱ ῥάβδοι ξηραὶ καὶ βεβρωμέναι ὑπὸ σητὸς εὑρέθησαν, ὅτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποστάται καὶ προδόται τῆς ἐκκλησίας και βλασφημήσαντες ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτῶν τὸν κύριον, ἔτι δέ καὶ ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τό ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. οὗτοι οὖν εἰς τέλος ἀπώλοντο τῶ θεῶ. βλέπεις δε ὅτι οὐδὲ εἷς αύτῶν μετενόησε, καίπερ ἀκούσαντες τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐλάλησας, ἃ σοι ἐνετειλάμην ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ ζωὴ ἀπέστη...βλέπεις οὖν, φησίν, ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια τῶν ἀναρτωλῶν ζωὴν ἔχει, τό δε μή μετανοῆσαι θάνατον. *Hermas* 72.4; 72.6 Greek and English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 608–11.

[53] Osiek, *Sheperd of Hermas a Commentary*, 13–16.

[54] Osiek, 28–30.

but there is death, and this is why they are black, for their kind is lawless" [96.1].[55] Here the references are clear. Where there is no repentance there is death. Their blackness for their kind of lawlessness perhaps metaphorically gives us images of hell, the burning and fire of damnation, but this cannot be directly proven. Following this is the second line which states:

> And from the second mountain, the bare one, are believers such as these: hypocrites and teachers of evil. These, then, are like the first in not having the fruit of righteousness. For as their mountain is without fruit, so also people such as these have the name, but are devoid of faith, and there is no fruit of truth in them. To these, then, repentance is offered, if they repent quickly; but if they delay, their death will be with the first group [96.2].[56]

Within this context, as in the first, we see that the options remain the same following the "two ways" theology, choose life and repent or choose death and eternal suffering.

As with most ideas of hell, there go with it evil spirits or spirits of punishment. These are the fallen angels, demons, or evil spirits who carry out the damning punishments within hell. As in parable 6 with the mention of the "angel of luxury" or being turned over to the one who will inflict this punishment, parable 9 has the same overtones and references. Again, this is not directly mentioning the place or theological existence known as hell in which the punishment will be carried out, but it does fall in line with the developing idea. We see this in Parable 9.20 where it is written: "So, if they repent and do something good, they will live to God; but if they persist in their actions, they will be handed over to those women, who will put them to death" [97.4].[57] And in Parable 9.21: "But if they do not repent, they have already been handed over

[55] Εκ τοῦ πρώτου ὄρους τοῦ μέλανος οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν ἀποστάται καὶ βλάσφημοι εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ προδόται τῶν δούλων τοῦ. τούτοις δὲ μετάνοια οὐκ ἔστι, θάνατος δὲ ἔστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μέλανές εἰσι καὶ γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἄνομόν ἐστιν. Greek and English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 656–57.

[56] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὄρους τοῦ ψιλοῦ οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν· ὑποκριταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι πονηρίας. καὶ οὗτοι οὖν τοῖς προτέροις ὅμοιοί εἰσι, μὴ ἔχοντες καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης· ὡς γὰρ τὸ ὄρος αὐτῶν ἄκαρπον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄνομα μὲν ἔχουσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πίστεως κενοί εἰσι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς καρπὸς ἀληθείας. τούτοις οὖν μετάνοια κεῖται, ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνωσι, μετὰ τῶν προτέρων ἔσται ὁ θάνατος αὐτῶν. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 656–59.

[57] <ἐὰν οὖν μετανοήσωσι καὶ ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσωσι,> ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, παραδοθήσονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐκείναις, αἵτινες αὐτοὺς θανατώσουσιν. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 660–61.

to the women who take away their lives" [98.4].[58] And again in 9.22 "So these will, if they repent, live to God, but if they do not repent they will dwell with the women who do them harm" [99.4].[59] In 9.23 [100] however, we see, perhaps, a reference to the evil spirit who is the source of this punishment and responsible for carrying out the death of those who chose to turn away from God by their decision not to repent but to carry on in their own way. Once again, as Hermas is apt to do, what has already been said is repeated, but perhaps in clearer language, the need for repentance in order to avoid everlasting punishment: 100.5 "But I, the angel of repentance, am telling you, whoever holds this view must lay it aside and repent, and the Lord will heal your previous sins if you cleanse yourself of this demon. But if you do not, you will be handed over to him to be put to death" [100.5].[60]

In paragraph 9.26 [103] there are multiple references to death as the result of the inability or unwillingness to repent. While perhaps the reference to death alone is insufficient to bring about a comparison to the theological idea of hell, lines such as 9.26.2 in reference to deacons who have carried out their ministry badly, profiting from their ministry easily lead to this conclusion: "If, therefore, they persist in the same evil desire, they are dead and there is no hope of life for them. But if they turn about and fulfill their ministry purely, they will be able to live" [103.2].[61] Or in line 9.26.8 "These, therefore, are short in their faith because of their conduct toward one another, but some repented and were saved. And the rest of those who are like this can be saved, if they repent; but if they do not repent, they will meet their death at the hands of those women whose power they have" [103.8].[62]

One aspect of hell is its finality. The inability to repent after a specific point at which time

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[58] ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσιν, <δυνήσονται ζῆσαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν,> ἤδη παραδεδομένοι εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀποφερομέναις τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 660–61.

[59] οὗτοι οὖν ἐὰν] μετανοήσωσι, ζήσονται τῷ θεῷ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν πονηρευομένων εἰς αὐτούς. Greek: Whittaker, *Die Apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt Des Hermas [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*. English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 663.

[60] λέγω δ[ὲ ὑ]μ[ῖν, ὁ] ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας· ὅσοι ταύτην ἔχετε τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἀπόθεσθε αὐτὴν καὶ μετανοήσατε, καὶ ὁ κύριος ἰάσεται ὑμῶν τὰ πρότερ[α ἁμαρτήματα,] ἐὰν καθαρίσητε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ δαιμονίου· εἰ δὲ μή, παραδοθήσεσθε αὐτῷ εἰς θάνατον. Greek and English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 662–63.

[61] καὶ ἑαυτοῖς περιποιησάμενοι ἐκ τῆς διακονίας ἧς ἔλαβον διακονῆσαι· ἐὰν οὖν ἐπιμείνωσι τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, ἀπέθανον καὶ οὐδεμία αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ζωῆς· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιστρέψωσι καὶ ἁγνῶς τελειώσωσι τὴν διακονίαν αὐτῶν, δυνήσονται ζῆσαι. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 666–67.

[62] οὗτοι οὖν κολοβοί εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἣν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· τινὲς δὲ μετενόησαν καὶ ἐσώθησαν. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες δύνανται σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ἀποθανοῦνται. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 666–67.

the soul is lost completely and left to suffer the torments of eternal damnation or separation. In *Hermas* the building of the tower is where we see reference to this: "And I do not say this regarding these days, that anyone who denies the Lord from now on to be saved; but for those who denied him long ago repentance seems to be a possibility. If, however, any are about to repent, let them do so quickly, before the tower is completed, or else they will be destroyed by the women and put to death" [103.6].[63]

There are three other places in the ninth parable that make direct references to choosing life by repentance or choosing to suffer the consequence, that is death. For these excerpts, 9.32 [109.4] and 10.2 [112.4], only fragments of the Greek text are available.[64] At the end of the ninth parable, "final exhortations" are made and once again a call to repentance before the end: "Mend your ways, therefore, while the tower is still being built" [109.1].[65]

The structure of parable 9.32 "is reminiscent of the teaching in the *Mandates*."[66] Here there is a metaphor presented about keeping one's spirit, the one given to each person by the Lord, clean and undamaged.

> If, therefore, you become so upset about your garment and complain because you did not get it back undamaged, what do you think the Lord, who gave you the spirit undamaged, will do to you when you return it completely useless so that it cannot be of any use at all to its Lord? For its usefulness began to be impaired when it was corrupted by you. Will not the Lord of this spirit punish you with death because of this deed of yours?" [109.4].[67]

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[63] καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ εἰς ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω, ἵνα τις ἀρνησάμενος μετάνοιαν λάβῃ· ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι σωθῆναι τὸν μέλλοντα νῦν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις τοῖς πάλαι ἠρνημένοις δοκεῖ κεῖσθαι μετάνοια. εἴ τις οὖν μέλλει μετανοεῖν, ταχινὸς γενέσθω πρὶν τὸν πύργον ἀποτελεσθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταφθαρήσεται εἰς θάνατον. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 666–67.

[64] For 109.4 see: Whittaker, *Die Apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt Des Hermas [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, vol. 48, sec. Fragmenta (P. Oxy. 3.404). . For 110.2 see: Whittaker, vol. 48, pt. Fragmentum in F (cod. Paris. gr. 1143).

[65] 109.1 Remediate ergo vos, dum adhuc turris aedificatur. Latin and English translation : Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 676–77.

[66] Carolyn Osiek, "The Genre and Function of the Shepherd of Hermas," *Semenia* 36 (1986): 256.

[67] Si igitur tu doles de vestimento tuo, et quereris quod non illud integrum tibi dedit, et tu eum totum inutilem redigisti, ita ut in nullo usu esse possit domino suo? Inutilis enim esse coepit usus eius, cum sit corruptus a te. Nonne igitur dominus spiritus eius propter hoc factum tuum <morte te> adficient? Latin and English translation: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 676–77.

In the following citation, the Shepherd is conversing with Hermas who replies that the Lord will certainly punish, leading once again of the overall call of sinners to repentance. "All these things that are written above I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have declared and spoken to God's servants. If you believe them and hear my words, and walk in them and mend your ways, you will be able to live. But if you persist in wickedness and bearing malice—no one of this kind will live to God. Everything that I was to say I have now said to you" [110.1].[68] This is the conclusion of parable 9. The statement is definitive. There is no salvation without repentance. Those who repent will "live to God" and those who do not will perish.

In the last parable, 10, we see the conclusion, with Hermas at home and the Shepherd warning him to maintain his attitude of repentance to continue to walk faithfully as he has been because "all who fulfill his commandments will have life, and the one who does so will have great honor with the Lord" [112.4].[69] As always, the entreaty to the way of life is laid out and is followed by the way of death. "But all who do not keep his commandments are running away from their own life and oppose him. But such people have their own honor before God. So those who oppose him and do not follow his commandments hand themselves over to death, and every one of them is guilty of his or her own blood" [112.4].[70] In this last statement, the threats come to fruition. Throughout the writing being put to death at the hands of the women, or the angel of luxury and evil spirits, here the full weight is revealed and the responsibility for their death is their own.[71]

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is perhaps the most expressive of the idea of hell to this point in early Christianity. It bears the mark of Jewish thought but is clearly Christian in nature. It comes also on the tail end of the Jewish apocalyptic period. The intertestamental period was coming to a close. Canon was being defined and cemented. *Hermas* was to fall outside Canon, as stated above, but still held weight in the community, was widely read, and was considered

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[68] <ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προγεγραμμένα> ἐγὼ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας ἔδειξα καὶ ἐλάλησα τῷ δούλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐὰν πεισθῆτε [ἐν] αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκούσητε τῶν ῥημάτων μου <καὶ πορευθῆτε ἐν αὐτοῖς> καὶ κατορθώσητε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν, ζῆσαι δύνασθε. ἐὰν δὲ παραμείνητε τῇ δολιότητι καὶ μνησικακίᾳ, οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων ζήσει τῷ θεῷ. ταῦτα πάντα λελάληται ὑμῖν τὰ ῥήματα. Greek and English translation: Holmes, 678–79.

[69] Quicumque autem mandata huius efficiunt, habebunt vitam, et hic apud dominum magnum honorem. Latin and English translation: Holmes, 680–81.

[70] Quicumque vero huius mandata non servant, fugiunt a sua vita et adversus illum <sunt, hic autem apud dominum habet honorem suum. Quicumque ergo guerint adversus illum,> nec mandata eius sequuntur, morti se tradunt, et unusquisque eorum reus fit sanguinis sui. Latin and English translation: Holmes, 680–83.

[71] Osiek, "The Genre and Function of the Shepherd of Hermas," 260.

by many as having authority or at the very least was significantly influential.

Perhaps the significance of the ability of *Hermas* to give us the imagery of hell lies in its apocalyptic style. Because the apocalyptic uses parables this imagery is easier to maintain. However, the structure of *Hermas* lends to support an oral tradition within which the "two ways" theology, prominent in the Jewish apocalyptic, comes through clearly. Beyond this, the call to repentance, which distinguishes *Hermas*, leads to a fully Christian rendering of the debates that were swirling around the early Christian environs. *Hermas* in its language and style point to the already existing theology of hell, much to the point that little clarification was necessary.

2.3. Clement of Rome and Second Clement

2.3.1. Clement of Rome

1 Clement or the *First Epistle of Clement* is an intertestamental writing that was composed sometime around AD 96 to 98.[72] This letter is considered to be "the most important 1st-century Christian document outside the New Testament."[73] It's authorship appears to be undisputed as early source documents "unanimously ascribed [the letter] to Clement of Rome."[74] Modern scholarship follows suit with most acknowledging that the letter was probably written by Pope St. Clement I of Rome.[75]

Clement himself is identified as the fourth Pope or the third after Peter.[76] Whether he was of Jewish origin or Greek, a freedman of the household of the Emperor's cousin or, as Origen claims, the Clement that Paul mentions in Philippians, is disputed as there is conflicting source information.[77] However, it is acknowledged that he "is the first of the successors of Peter of

[72] J.N.D. Kelly and M.J. Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4. P.F. Beatrice, "Clement of Rome, Letters Of.," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, ed. Angelo Di Berardino (Grand Rapids: IVP Academic, 2014), 549.

[73] Kelly and Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 4.

[74] Beatrice, "Clement of Rome, Letters Of.," 549.

[75] Kelly and Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 4.

[76] Charles George Herbermann, ed., "Clement," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 4: Clandestinity-Dioce Chancery*, 1914, 13; Kelly and Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 3–4.

[77] Kelly and Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 4; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 35. Herbermann, "Clement," 15.

whom anything is known, and is the first of the 'Apostolic Fathers.'"[78] Irenaeus writes that "having seen and conversed with the Apostles, Clement was a repository of the their teaching and tradition."[79] Tertullian and Hegesippus tell us that Clement was ordained by Peter.[80]

The First Letter of Clement to the Corinthians was written from the Church of Rome and not from Clement himself, this is reflected by the fact that Clement is not mentioned in the letter.[81] It is a letter of admonition regarding the schism that was developing in the Corinthian church. It is a call from Rome to the Corinthian church to maintain unity for the sake of all. This letter is often cited as the foundation for the authority of Rome over other churches and to some extent papal primacy.[82] For our purposes however, this is not the point of focus.

Clement uses the word hades (ᾅδης[83] or ᾅδου[84]) in chapter 4.12 and again chapter 51.4. The word he uses is only of interest to us because of its context. In both chapters Clement is referring to the Septuagint. In both instances there is a clear reference to Numbers 16. Clement writes: "Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram down alive into Hades, because they revolted against Moses, the servant of God" [4.12].[85] Later he writes: "For it is good for a person to confess his transgressions rather than to harden his heart, as the heart of those who rebelled against Moses the servant of God was hardened. Their condemnation was made very clear, for they went down to Hades alive and death will be their shepherd" [51.3-4].[86]

Both of these references are to the Old Testament and quoted from the Septuagint. The

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[78] Herbermann, "Clement," 12.

[79] Herbermann, 13; Kelly and Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 3; Pope Benedict XVI, *Church Fathers from Clement of Rome to Augustine* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2008), 7.

[80] Harold Bertram Bumpus, *The Christological Awareness of Clement of Rome and Its Sources* (Cambridge: University Press of Cambridge, 1972), 36; Herbermann, "Clement," 13.

[81] Bumpus, *The Christological Awareness of Clement of Rome and Its Sources*, 34; Pope Benedict XVI, *Church Fathers from Clement of Rome to Augustine*, 8.

[82] Pope Benedict XVI, *Church Fathers from Clement of Rome to Augustine*, 7–11; Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 41–47; Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 159–83.

[83] Brittany Burnette and Terri Moore, eds., *A Reader's Lexicon of the Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2013), 24, 50.

[84] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 50, 114.

[85] Ζῆλος Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρὼν ζῶντας κατήγαγεν εἰς ᾅδου διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν. Holmes, 50–51.

[86] Καλὸν γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν παραπτωμάτων ἢ σκληρῦναι τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐσκληρύνθη ἡ καρδία τῶν στασιασάντων πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν, ὧν τὸ κρίμα πρόδηλον πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν, ὧν τὸ κρίμα πρόδηλον ἐγενήθη. «Κατέβησαν γὰρ εἰς ᾅδου ζῶντες», καὶ «θάνατος ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς». Holmes, 112–15.

question as to the development of the theological idea of hell is difficult to discuss at this point. First, because we do not know the exact origin of Clement. Was he more influence by Jewish thinking or Hellenistic? If he were of Jewish origin, we could conclude that his references were to Sheol and render a Jewish Christian trajectory, pointing to something similar to what has been mentioned above regarding the idea of place for the dead, to which, in this reference, points to everlasting torment. An everlasting torment that would not see the resurrection of the body. One would have to know more about his origins in order to render any kind of determination of the theological trajectory of his thinking. Second, the references are to the Old Testament and as such we can discern, if nothing else, a reference to Sheol or the nether world. More than this we cannot claim. Clement does not have any other reference to eternal damnation, punishment, or suffering. To descend to the netherworld or Hades alive suggests to the modern mind a clear reference to hell but to the Corinthians we cannot be sure. Clement makes no New Testament references to hell, Hades, the netherworld, or Gehenna.

Some, however, conclude that *1 Clement* does in fact follow the New Testament in the message of salvation and damnation. Brian Daily states that: "For the author of *1 Clement*, in any case, both the future punishment of the unfaithful and the future reward of the just are guaranteed by God's fidelity to his promises (11.1; 34.3; 7, 35.2-3.)"[87] This, however, is not the common conclusion, not because there is no credence to the idea but because not much attention is paid to the eschatology of *1 Clement*.

1 Clement does leave us with a very Christian understanding of maintaining unity and living an upright life which will lead to Christ. Its main focus is to bring the Corinthians back into a unified, charitable community. And while there is reference to the afterlife, this is not its main focus or main message. Therefore, while *1 Clement* does in fact have an eschatology which leans toward establishing an understanding of hell as being present and an existing part of the theology of the Church in the first century, it is not conclusive and can only be used in a cursory manor.

2.3.2. Second Clement

2 Clement, also known as the Second Epistle of Clement, was attributed to Clement of

[87] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 10.

Rome. According to most scholars *2 Clement* was not written by the same author who composed *1 Clement* and it is not a letter. It is, in fact, the oldest sermon or homely outside the New Testament.[88] There is a theory that "*2 Clement*, dating from 98-100, is a discourse given to the Corinthian church by the presbyters who owed their restitution to the intervention of *1 Clement*."[89] This, however, is not the commonly held view. While it's authorship is unknown it has been dated to the early half of the second century, most authors placing it closer to the middle of the that century.[90] The association with *1 Clement* could be attributed to the fact that the two works were circulated together and by the fifth century were included in the *Codex Alexandrinus*.[91] During the first centuries, much like *1 Clement*, *2 Clement* was considered or read as part of the New Testament. The two are put together as early as Eusebius. He mentions the letter but later rejects it as "unauthentic on the grounds that it is not cited by early writers."[92] Copies of the text that still exist are the Codex Alexandrinus from the 5th century, Codex Hierosolymitanus from 1056, and the Syriac translation 1169-1170, *1 Clement* is preserved in these as well.[93]

2 Clement is a much shorter discourse and has a much more apocalyptic stance. There are five clear references to what could be identified, directly or indirectly, as a reference to hell. Each of these references have a correlation to the Old Testament. One author writes that *2 Clement* is usually described as a homily based on Isaiah 54.1.[94] *2 Clement* also has more references to the apocalyptic New Testament writings. "For example, a loosely reproduced version of Matthew 10:16 is followed by a dialogue unknown to the canonical evangelist..."[95] "For the Lord says, 'You will be like lambs among the wolves.' But Peter answered and said to him, 'What if the wolves tear the lambs to pieces?' Jesus said to Peter, 'After the lambs are dead, let them fear the wolves no longer, and as for you, do not fear those who, though they kill you,

[88] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 183; Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 163.

[89] Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity*, 166.

[90] Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 163; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 133; Cyril C. Richardson, ed., *Early Christian Fathers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966), 183.

[91] Andrew F. Gregory, "2 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," in *Reception of the New Testament*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 251.

[92] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 184.

[93] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 135–36.

[94] Gregory, "2 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," 251.

[95] Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 164.

are not able to do anything else to you, but fear the one who, after you are dead, has the power to cast soul and body into the flames of hell' [5.2-4]."[96]

The "flames of hell" here is translated from the Greek γέεναν πυρός. As was mentioned about, the author of *2 Clement* uses a New Testament rendering. This, again, as in *1 Clement* does not necessarily show a trajectory in development in the theological rendering of hell, but what it does do is provide context for the movement from Sheol toward Gehenna. The movement from the Judaic thinking toward a fully Christian thought based on the words of Jesus.

The next mention of hell is in the next chapter. It begins with "No servant can serve two masters" [6.1] For what good is it, if someone gains the whole world but forfeits his life?" [6.2].[97] Again, *2 Clement* much more so than *1 Clement* draws on the New Testament. The following shows the development toward a choice between God and punishment: "For if we do the will of Christ, we will find rest; but if we do not — if we disobey his commandments— then nothing will save us from eternal punishment" [6.7].[98] Eternal punishment (αἰωνίου κολάσεως) coincides with Gehenna in this regard and is a natural progression. Here is an example of salvation / damnation. While carrying the weight of the New Testament it is again, a naturally occurring example of the development of thought in the direction which will merge Gehenna with the notion of eternal punishment. This, however, is not conclusive and is challenged by those who believe that the reference to punishment and the idea contained therein is too widespread to prove any theory that the author is basing his writing on the New Testament.[99]

The next reference follows in chapter 7.6 and is repeated again toward the end of the work in chapter 17.5: *"*For concerning those who have not kept the seal, he says: their worm will not die and the fire will not be quenched and they will be a spectacle for all flesh."[100] Here is a

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[96] 2 λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος Ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. 3 ἀποκριθείς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει Ἐὰν οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; 4 εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτέννοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὑνῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰν γέεναν πυρός. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 142–45.

[97] A reference to Matthew 6:24 and 6:26, Mark 8:36, and Luke 9:25 and16:13. Λέγει δὲ ὁ κύριος Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν. τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐάν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλονκερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ. Holmes, 144–45.

[98] ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὑρήσομεν ἀνάπαυσιν εἰ δέ μήγε, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ῥύσεται ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως, ἐὰν παρακούσωμες τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ. Holmes, 144–45.

[99] Gregory, "2 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," 276.

[100] τῶν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησίν, τὴν σφραγῖδα Ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ

reference to both the Old Testament (Isaiah 66:24) and the New (Mark 9:48). There is disagreement here, however, some claim that there is absolutely no reference to the Gospel of Mark as this quotation is almost word for word from the Septuagint.[101]

The last occurrence is similar to the above: "But the righteous, ... when they see those who have gone astray and denied Jesus by their words or by their actions are being punished with dreadful torments in unquenchable fire..." [17.7][102] Whether or not these are based solely on the Old Testament is not significant as the references are close enough to the New Testament to warrant reflection on the progression of thought. There will be punishment by torments in unquenchable fire.

2 Clement in its eschatological thinking is summed up nicely by Vermes who states that, "2 Clement is concerned with determining the moment of the eschatological D-day, the time of God's final manifestation..."[103] This homily shows that the idea of hell, by this time, is reflected in the early Christian writings. The idea of unquenchable fire, the worm that does not die, and eternal punishment are already contained and not even questioned as an eschatological fact of the coming judgement.

2.4. Justin Martyr

Justin Martyr was a convert to Christianity who wrote various works in the defense of Christianity to a non-Christian audience. What we know of him is derived mostly from what he tells of himself in his own writings.[104] He was born sometime between 100 and 110[105] in

σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 146–47, 160–61.

[101] Gregory, "2 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," 274.

[102] οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι... ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχήσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους διὰ τῶν λόγων ἢ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ... Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 160–63.

[103] Vermes, *Christian Beginnings from Nazareth to Nicaea*, 165.

[104] Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, ed. Thomas B. Falls, vol. 6, Fathers of the Church (New York: Christian Heritage, 1948), 9.

[105] Sara Parvis and Paul Foster, *Justin Martyr and His Worlds* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1966), xiii; Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*.

Flavia Neapolis in Syria Palaestina[106] (*First Apology* 1.1), which today is known as Nablus.[107] He converted to Christianity around the year 130, which can be gleaned from his writing.[108] In the *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin quotes Trypho as saying he is a "Hebrew of the circumcision, a refugee from the recent war" (*Dialogue* 1.3.)[109] Minns and Parvis point out that this is generally believed to refer to the Jewish Revolt led by Simon bar Kokhba that occurred between 132 and 135AD.[110] In whatever manner the information is viewed, it places Justin's conversion squarely in the early 130s. Justin, as his name bears witness, was martyred sometime between the years 163 and 168. Eusebius's *Chronicon* places his death in the year 154, while the *Chronicon Paschale* marks it in the year165, however, "neither pretends to be a hard date."[111] The Syrian Chronical marks his death as 165 A.D. while others hold it to be during the "reign of Marcus Aurelius - probably somewhere between 163 and 167."[112]

Justin wrote various works, three of which we know to be authentic; the *Apology on Behalf of Christians*, the *Second Apology*, and *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. Justin's *Apology on Behalf of Christians,*[113] commonly referred to as the *First Apology,* was written sometime between 138 and 156, although most place the date of writing to 153-155.[114] His second work is called *The Second Apology* [115] and was written sometime between 147 and 161.[116] Parvis

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[106] Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, ed. Dennis Minns and P.M. Parvis, Oxford Early Christian Tests (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 32; Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, 6:9.

[107] Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, 6:9.

[108] Arthur J. Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*, vol. 17, Supplements to Novum Testamentum (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), 1; Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, 6:12.

[109] Τρύφων, φησί, χαλοῦμαι· εἰμὶ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἐκ περιτομῆς, φυγὼν τὸν νῦν γενόμενον πόλεμον. Georges Archambault, *Justin Dialouge Avec Tryphon, Text Grec, Traduction Française Introduction, Notes et Index*, vol. Tome 1 (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909), 104.

[110] Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 33.

[111] Justin Martyr, 32. See also: Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*, 17:1; Justin Martyr, *Works Now Extant of S. Justin the Martyr*, vol. 40, Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church (Oxford: J.H. and Jas. Parker; F. and J. Rivington, 1861), ii.

[112] L.W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought* (Cambridge: Unversity Press, 1967), 13.

[113] Ἰ ΟΥΣΤΙΝΟΥ ἈΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ Ὑ ΠΕΡ ΧΠΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ἈΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΗ

[114] There are various dates given for the writing of the *First Apology*, for further discussion on this topic please see: Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 37; Justin Martyr, xiii.

[115]Pars Secunda

[116] Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks;*

and Foster place the date closer to 154-155.[117] There is controversy over these dates as some consider the *Second Apology* to be an appendix to the *First* or perhaps written by some of Justin's students after his execution.[118] If this is true then the date of writing would be sometime between 169 and 180.[119] The *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*[120] is Justin's third authentic work. It was written sometime between 153 and 161. The dates for this work are somewhat easier to pin down as Justin himself refers to his *First Apology* in the *Dialogue* (120.6) thereby proving it must have been written around the same time or after the *First Apology*.[121] There are various other works which Justin completed or have been attributed to him, however, the three listed above are the only surviving works which scholars agree are genuinely his and therefore are the ones that will be examined here.[122]

2.4.1. Hell in the works of Justin Martyr

In his three authentic works Justin mentions what we would interpret as hell fifteen times and Gehenna twice. These will be cited below and will be examined only when there is an inference to or interpretation as hell. Justin also refers to the "conflagration" which will not be discussed as this is a reference to the final judgment which, while necessary to the subject

Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God, 6:115.

[117] Parvis and Foster, *Justin Martyr and His Worlds*, xiii.

[118] "Paul Parvis addresses the notorious problem of the relation of the apologies to one another... He argues here that what we currently know as the *Second Apology* was produced by Justin's pupils after his sudden death at the hands of the Roman authorities, from portions that he himself excised from his first apology, to take account of, among others, the condemnation of Valentinians." Parvis and Foster, 3.

[119] Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, 6:115.

[120]ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΕΤΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΑ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ

[121] Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 153; Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, 6:139; Parvis and Foster, *Justin Martyr and His Worlds*, xiii.

[122] There are various works attributed to Justin. Of these, the three mentioned above are the only surviving works to date which scholarship attributes definitively to Justin. Other lost or unknown works include *Handbook (Syntagma) Against All the Heresies*, this is referred to by Justin himself in the *First Apology* (cf. 26.8). In his work *Against the Heresies* Irenaeus refers to a work by Justin called *Against Marcion*. There are six other works attributed to Justin by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Church History*. These are: Two *Apologies* which may or may not be those we consider to be authentic, *Against the Pagans, Against Pagans* (also referred to as *Refutation*), *On the Soul*, *The Harpist* (=*Psaltes*), and *On the Soul*. There are nine other works attributed to Justin that come to us in *Parisinus graecus* 450 as well as *Against the Pagans* (=*Ad Graecos*) and *Letter to Diognetus* which were often included with the works of Justin but now is clear do not belong to his authorship. For more information see: Parvis and Foster, *Justin Martyr and His Worlds*; Barnard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought*, 172.

of hell, must be dealt with separately as Justin provides two different accounts of the final days. One depicts the "conflagration" in the *Apology* and another referring to a Millennial Jerusalem in the *Dialogue*.[123]

Justin also speaks at length about demons, wicked or evil spirits, the serpent and the Devil. Again, while this subject is central to our idea and understanding of Hell, these exist beyond the confines of the everlasting eternal fire which is associated with the eschatological hell. Demonology will therefore remain outside the purview of this examination but will be used as evidence when it is referenced in direct connection with the topic at hand.

2.4.2. The First Apology

There are twelve separate references to Hell in the *First Apology*. The first is in Chapter 12:

> 12.1 Yet we more than all peoples are your allies and fellow soldiers for peace, since we think it impossible for one who does evil, or is grasping, or a schemer, to escape God's notice and that each goes to eternal punishment or salvation just as his actions deserve. 12.2 For if all people knew this no one would choose evil even for a little, knowing that he is going to be condemned to eternal fire, but he would restrain himself in every way and adorn himself with virtue so that he might obtain good things from God and be saved from the regions of punishment.[124]

What can be seen here are the two aspects which depict the idea of hell as it stood in the early centuries. In this case, a bit more development of the idea can be seen because Justin is making a point to non-Christians. Eternal punishment (αἰωνίαν κόλασιν) is the simplified basis of hell. The two ideas Justin is expressing here are: First, that each person, by his actions determines

[123] For a discussion on the topic of millennialism in the *Dialogue* please see: Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy a Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 401–9.

[124] 12.1 Ἀρωγοὶ δ᾽ ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχοι πρὸς εἰρήνην πάντων μᾶντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ταῦτα δοξάζομεν, ὡς λαθεῖν θεὸν κακοεργὸν ἢ πλεονέκτην ἢ ἐπίβουλον ἀδύνατον εἶναι καὶ ἕκαστον ἐπ᾽ αἰωνίαν κόλασιν ἢ σωηρίαν κατ᾽ ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων πορεύεσθαι. 12.2 εἰ γάρ οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, οὐκ ἄν τις τὴν κακίαν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἠρεῖτο, γινώσκων πορεύεσθαι ἐπ᾽ αἰωνίαν διὰ πυρὸς καταδίκην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἑαυτὸν συνεῖχε καὶ ἐκόσμει ἀρετῇ ὅπως τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τύχοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν κολαστηρίων ἀπηλλαγμένος εἴη. Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 100–103.

his place in eternity. It has been argued that Justin uses the word αἰωνίαν as meaning the world to come, but there is no evidence that it does not mean eternal.[125] He adds nothing to the term and states it in his writings as if it is already understood by his audience.

The second idea is that knowledge of the outcome, that is eternal punishment in fire (αἰωνίαν διὰ πυρὸς καταδίκην), should prevent the person from committing any act that would result in said eternal punishment. What is, however, also very well expressed in this instance is that the choice to do evil is within the grasp of the one who is acting. Therefore, Justin appeals to non-believers that Christians would not do anything evil because they know the consequences of such action and that the logical assumption to make would be that anyone with this knowledge would never "choose evil even for a little while."

The next mention of hell or eternal punishment occurs is in chapter 15.2: "And: 'If your right eye causes you to stumble, pluck it out, for it is better for you to enter the Kingdom of Heaven with one eye, than with two eyes to be sent to eternal fire."[126] Here, hell is depicted as eternal fire (αἰώνιον πῦρ). In this instance, Justin does not use the exact language of the Gospels, it is clearly a mix between Mt. 5:29, 18:9 and Mk. 9:47. However, he uses the phrase eternal fire in used as expressed in the New Testament.[127] This is an example of Justin's use of the Gospel materials. Throughout his writing the assumption is made clear that the works or sources he is using have authoritative value.[128] As in this example, the link to the Apostles as well as a reliance on these materials demonstrate the underlying acceptance in the Christian community of hell as eternal fire.

Justin, once more, demonstrates his reliance upon the Apostles in the quote from chapter 16 below. The text is a mix of Mt. 24:5 and Mt. 7:15, 16, 19. However, in this instance there is a much stronger tie to some other source writings, possibly the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which Justin uses in combination with the Gospels.[129] "16.12 Then there will be weeping and

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[125] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 97.

[126] 15.2 καὶ· 'Εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτόν, συμφέρει γάρ σοι μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν (208 a) τῶν οὐρανῶν ἢ μετὰ τῶν δύο πεμφθῆναι εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 112–13.

[127] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 96.

[128] A.J. Bellinzoni describes at length the connections of the Gospels and other patristic materials to the writings of Justin Martyr. Please see the conclusion of his book for an expansion on this idea: Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*, 17:139–42.

[129] Willis A. Shotwell, *The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr* (London: S.P.C.K., n.d.), 27; Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*, 17:95.

gnashing of teeth, when, while the just shine like the sun, the unjust are sent to the eternal fire. 16.13 For many will come in my name outwardly clothed in the skins of sheep but inwardly being ravenous wolves; from their works you will know them. And every tree which does not produce good fruit is cut down and thrown on the fire."[130] The language and imagery used here is reminiscent of the *Shepherd of Hermas*. This is not to suggest Justin used *Hermas* as a source material, but rather to draw a line toward a connection with the Gospels and the underlying trend of Christian thinking.

The wording of the following citation shows strong, if not identical, usage of language from not only the Gospels, but, as in the above chapter, other source materials such as 2 Clement and the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies:[131] "19.7 Do not fear those who kill you and after this are not able to do anything. Fear rather the one who is able after death to send both soul and body to Gehenna. 19.8 And Gehenna is a place where those are going to be punished who live unjustly and do not believe that these things will happen just as God taught through Christ."[132] Along with the language similarities to the Gospel, the concept is repeated that after death punishment will occur for the unjust or those who do evil. Again, included in this thinking is that the choice to do something unjust is realized as unjust by the one who is taking the action. That which would prevent this behavior, that is, a belief based on the fear of everlasting punishment in Hell for which the perpetrator has been warned through Christ, is ignored.

This idea, which has already been discussed, is reiterated in the following passage: "21.6 But, as we said before, the evil demons did these things. But we have been taught that only those who live holy and virtuous lives close to God are made divine, and we believe that those who live wickedly and do not reform are punished in eternal fire."[133] In this section, Justin states plainly the Christian belief. Eternal fire once more is the depiction of hell. Of course,

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[130] 16.12 τότε κλαυθμὸς ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων ὅταν οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι λάμφωσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πέμπωνται εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ. 16.13 Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἥξουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἔξωθεν μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ ὄντες λύκοι ἅρπαγες· ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώ (210 a) σεσθε αὐτούς. πᾶν δὲ δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καλόν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται. Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 118–21.

[131] Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*, 17:107–11; Shotwell, *The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr*, 24.

[132] 19.7 καί 'Μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι ποιῆσαι, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν.' 19.8 ἡ δὲ γέεννά ἐστι τόπος ἔνθα κολάζεσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδίκως βιώσαντες καὶ μὴ πιστεύοντες ταῦτα γενήσεσθαι, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξε. Justin Martyr, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr: Apologies*, 128–29.

[133] 21.6 ἀλλ' ὡ προέφημεν, οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες ταῦτα ἔπραξαν. ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δὲ ἡμεῖς δεδιδάγμεθα τοὺς ὁσίως καὶ ἐναρέτως ἐγγὺς θεῷ βιοῦντας, κολάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκως καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντας ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ πιστεύομεν Justin Martyr, 136–37.

here, the use of demons is considered. Justin quite frequently shows the link between men who are influenced by evil demons and the resulting choice to live an unjust or wicked life. However, the choice to either live by virtue or to repent remain with the evildoer and as such, a refusal to do so will result in eternal punishment in everlasting fire.

Along the lines of demons and punishment, Justin continues with the following: "28.1 For the leader of the evil demons is called by us Serpent, and Satan, and the Devil, as you are able to learn by examining our writings, whom Christ indicated beforehand will be sent into the fire with his army and with the human beings who follow him to be punished for an unending age."[134] It is interesting to note two points. The first is that Justin reinforces his argument by referring to "our writings." This connects his writings and thinking to the Christians of his time and this particular line of thought as clearly accepted by the community. The second point is that of "Serpent, and Satan, and the Devil," which are terms that are directly tied to the imagery of hell, will also be "punished for an unending age" (κολασθησομένους τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα.) Even if Justin were using the word αἰώνιον to mean ages, the phrase above lends itself to unending ages, or eternity. Again, unending punishment combined with the Devil begin to move toward a development of hell that one sees today in modern belief and in the writing of Justin it is not questioned.

The following text draws in another example of what has already been seen above. Hell is "punishment through eternal fire" (κόλασιν διὰ πυρὸς αἰωνίαν) to those who do not repent. "45.6 But even if you read these words with hostile intent, you can do nothing further, as we said before, than kill which bears no harm to us, but which works punishment through eternal fire to you and to all who are unjustly hostile and are not converted."[135] Also, note that Justin's statement that those who "are not converted" will fall to the same punishment, should not be construed as a statement that all who are not Christian will go to hell. While this, in fact, is a possible interpretation of this sentence it will not be addressed here as it falls outside the purview of this work.

Next, there is a combination and a repetition of what has already been mentioned above:

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[134] 28.1 Παρ᾽ ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν κακῶν δαιμόνων ὄφις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων ἐρευνήσαντες μαθεῖν δύνασθε· ὃν εἰς τὸ πῦρ πεμφθήσεσθαι (215 b) μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων ἀνθρώπων κολασθησομένους τὸν ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα προεμήνυσεν ὁ Χριστός. Justin Martyr, 158–59.

[135] 45.6 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς ἐχθροὶ ἐντεύξεσθε τοῖσδε τοῖς λογοις, οὐ πλέον τι δύνασθε, ὡς προεφημεν, τοῦ φονεύειν, ὅπερ ἡμῖν μὲν οὐδεμίαν βλάβην φέρει, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐχθραίνουσι καὶ μὴ μετατιθεμένοις κόλασιν διὰ πυρὸς αἰωνίαν ἐργάζεται. Justin Martyr, 198–99.

> 52.3 For the prophets proclaimed beforehand his two comings: one, indeed, which has already happened, as of a dishonoured and suffering human being, but the second when it is proclaimed that he will come with glory from the heavens with his angelic army, when also he shall raise the bodies of all human beings who have existed, and he shall bestow incorruptibility on those of the worthy but those of the unjust he will send to the everlasting fire, everlastingly subject to pain, with the evil demons.[136]

Once again, along with the final judgment, all of humanity will be divided between those that are just and unjust, and those who are unjust will be sent to "everlasting fire... subject to pain, with the evil demons."

In a continuation, chapter 52 again addresses the eternal fire. "52.7 And what kind of consciousness and punishment the unjust are going to be, hear the things said similar in this regard. 52.8 They are these: 'Their worm shall not cease, and their fire shall not be quenched. 52.9 And then they shall repent when they shall gain nothing."[137] Also, the language used is very similar to Mark 9:48 "Where their worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched."

The last reference to hell in the *First Apology* simply reiterates what has been said before.

> 54.2 For when they heard through the prophets that the future coming of Christ was proclaimed and that the impious among human beings were going to be punished by fire, they threw many so-called sons of Zeus into the discussion, considering they would be able to bring it about that human beings would consider the things said about Christ to be a marvelous fable, and similar to the things said by the poets.[138]

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[136] 52.3 δύο γὰρ αὐτοῦ παρουσίας προεκήρυξαν οἱ προφῆται - μίαν μέν, τὴν ἤδη γενομένην, ὡς ἀτίμου καὶ παθητοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ὅταν μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀγγελικῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς παραγενήσεσθαι κεκήρυται, ὅτε καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀνεγερεῖ πάντων τῶν γενομένων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀξίων ἐνδύσει ἀφθαρσίαν, τῶν δ ἀδίκων ἐν αἰσθήσει αἰωνίᾳ μετὰ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψει. Justin Martyr, 210–11.

[137] 52.7 ἐν αἷᾳ δὲ αἰσθήσει καὶ κολάσει γενέσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἄδικοι, ἀκούσατε τῶν ὁμοίως εἰς τοῦτο εἰρημένων. 52.8 ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· ‘Ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ παυθήσεται, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται.’ 52.9 καὶ τότε μετανοήσουσιν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ὠφελήσουσι. (229 a) Justin Martyr, 210–13.

[138] 54.2 ἀκούσαντες γὰρ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κηρυσσόμενον παραγενησόμενον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ κολασθησομένους διὰ πυρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, προεβάλλοντο πολλοὺς λεχθῆναι λεγομένους υἱούς τῷ Διΐ, νομίζοντες δυνήσεσθαι ἐνεργῆσαι τερατολογίαν ἠγήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ

Throughout the *First Apology* Justin uses language consistent with the New Testament. The ideas are linked to earlier writings as well showing how eternal punishment in fire continues to hold as a real consequence for sin. There is little doubt that this is how hell is understood both for Justin and his audience at this point.

2.4.3. The Second Apology

Justin's *Second Apology* contains only three references to hell. The first one is found in chapter 1:

> 1.2 For, apart from those who have accepted that the unjust and licentious will be punished in eternal fire and that the virtuous and those who lived like Christ come to dwell with God in absence of suffering, apart that is, from those who have become Christians, everyone everywhere who is corrected by a father or neighbour or child or friend or brother or husband or wife, because it is difficult to change and because of the love of pleasure and because it is difficult to turn toward the good *** And our enemies the wicked demons suborn such judges as these—their subjects and devotees—to kill us.[139]

Here the same is repeated that, in contrast to those who will be saved, the unjust will be "punished in eternal fire," (αἰωνίῳ πυπί κολασθήσεσθαι). Also, the reference "our enemies the wicked demons" continues entangling the image of Hell with demons and the Devil. But it is also interesting to note that there seems to be a development of thought in contrast to what was seen above in Ch. 19.8 of the *First Apology*. Justin acknowledges the difficulty in turning toward the good as well as the influences of "wicked demons" and the sway they hold over

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ὅμοια τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεχθεῖσι. Justin Martyr, 218–19.

[139] 1.2 πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὃς ἂν σωφρονίζηται ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἢ γείτονος ἢ τέκνου ἢ φίλου ἢ ἀδελφοῦ ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς (χωρὶς τῶν πεισθέντων τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀκολάστους ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κολασθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναρέτους καὶ ὁμοίως Χριστῷ βιώσαντας ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ θεῷ—λέγομεν δὲ τῶν γενομένων Χριστιανῶν) διὰ τὸ δυσμετάθετον καὶ φιλήδονον καὶ δυσκίνητον πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὁρμῆσαι καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι δαίμονες, ἐχθραίνοντες ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους δικαστὰς ἔχοντες ὑποχειρίους καὶ λατρεύοντας, φονεύειν ἡμᾶς παρασκευάζουσιν. Justin Martyr, 270–73.

human beings. With this language there can be seen evidence of the Christian struggle as well as the need for redemption and correction by fellow Christians.

Next Justin calls on his readers to embrace right reason. The knowledge of hell explained as punishment by eternal fire should be enough, it seems to him, to call those living senseless lives to return to right reason. He expresses this clearly here: "2.2 But when she learnt the teachings of Christ she came to her senses, and tried to persuade her husband to come to his, reporting what she had been taught, and telling him of the punishment in eternal fire that will come to those who live senselessly and not according to right reason."[140]

Justin's final citation in the Apologies regarding hell or its description is in chapter 7. This is the longest portion of the work dedicated to the topic. In it Justin draws all the elements which have been discussed above together:

> 7.2 For as we have indicated, the demons have always been at work to stir up hatred against all those who, in any way at all, have taken pains to live according to reason and to flee from evil. 7.3 It is hardly surprising, then, that the demons we expose are at work to stir up much more hatred against those who live not according to a part of the spermatic reason but according to the knowledge and contemplation of the whole reason, that is, of Christ. Imprisoned in eternal fire, they shall reap a fitting punishment and retribution. 7.4 For if they are even now overpowered by human beings who call upon the name of Jesus Christ, this is an indication of the further punishment in eternal fire which will come to them and to those who serve them. 7.5 For that this would be so all the prophets foretold, and Jesus our teacher taught.[141]

This chapter not only sums up what has been mentioned above, it makes clear that the "name of Jesus Christ" will overcome demons and aid those who call on his name. This Justin connects

[140] 2.2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἐσωφρονίσθη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πείθειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τὰ διδάγματα ἀναφέρουσα τήν τε μέγγουσαν τοῖς οὐ σωγρόνως καὶ μετὰ λόγου ὀρφοῦ βιοῦσιν ἔσεσφαι ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα. Justin Martyr, 272–73.

[141] 7.2 ὠ γὰρ ἐσημάναμεν, πάντας τοὺς κἂν ὁπωσδήποτε κατὰ λόγον βιοῦν σπουδάζοντας καὶ κακίαν φεύγειν μισεῖσθαι ἀεὶ ἐνήργησαν οἱ δαίμοες. 7.3 οὐδὲν δὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ τοὺς οὐ κατὰ σπερματικοῦ λόγου μέρος ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς λόγου ὅ ἐστι Χριστοῦ, γνῶσιν καὶ θεωρίαν πολὺ μᾶλλον μισεῖσθαι οἱ δαίμονες ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐνεργοῦσιν, οἵ τῆν ἀξίαν (196b) κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν κομίσονται ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἐγκλεισθέντες. 7.4 εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἤδη διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠττῶνται, δίδαγμά ἐστι τῆς καὶ μελλούσης αὐτοῖς λατρεύουσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι ἐν πυρὶ αἰωνίῳ κολάσεως. 7.5 οὕτως γὰρ καὶ οἱ προφῆται πάντες προεκήρυξαν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος ἐδίδαξε. Justin Martyr, 298–99.

with the prophets, as well as the teachings of Jesus, giving credence to the idea that this line of thinking has its roots in the community of believers. In the following section *The Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* will be examined along with its use of similar language and ideas.

2.4.4. Dialogue with Trypho the Jew

There are two instances in the *Dialogue with Trypho* in which Justin mentions Hell. They are as follows:

> 5.3 "On the other hand," he continued, "I do not claim that any soul ever perishes, for this would certainly be a benefit to sinners. What happens to them? The souls of the devout dwell in a better place, whereas the souls of the unjust and the evil abide in a worse place, and there they await the judgement day. Those, therefore, who are deemed worthy to see God will never perish, but the others will be subjected to punishment as long as God allows them to exist and as long as He wants them to be punished."[142]

Here is an example of the discussion that develops around millenniumism.[143] While, this topic will not be discussed at length, it does tend to muddy the waters, so to speak, regarding the picture of Hell that has been, thus far, expounded and is consistent with the early Greek writings. The point may be made, however, that because Justin is discussing the topic with a Jew, it is possible that he is considering the Jewish conception of Sheol, which he may have been familiar with, as he alludes to a time of separation and suffering before punishment. However, this combined with the idea that the sinner will exist as long as God allows them to and also to be punished for as long as God wants, tends to throw new light on the topic. This

[142] Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φημὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐγώ· ἔρμαιον γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῖς κακοῖς. ἀλλὰ τί; τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν κρείττονί ποι χώρῳ μένειν, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκους καὶ πονηρὰς ἐν χείρονι, τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐκδεχομένας χρόνον τότε. οὕτως αἱ μέν, ἄξιαι τοῦ θεοῦ φανεῖσαι, οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἔτι· αἱ δὲ κολάζονται, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ. Archambault, *Justin Dialouge Avec Tryphon, Text Grec, Traduction Française Introduction, Notes et Index*, Tome 1:30. English translation: Justin Martyr, *The First Apology; The Second Apology; Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks; Discourse to the Greeks; The Monarchy; or the Rule of God*, 6:157.

[143] For a deeper discussion on this topic see: Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy a Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, 401–9.

begins to move toward a hell that is eternal yet has the possibility of an end for certain souls, thus leading to a discussion of Annihilationism, even though he begins by saying "I do not claim that any soul ever perishes." However, as Kaye points out, "there is no absolute contradiction between the two statements; which may be reconciled by saying, that God wills the punishment to be eternal."[144] There is the possibility that the punishment of the wicked may have an end, but it seems that this is excluded by Justin's language. Kaye further elaborates that: "The bodies of the bad will also be rendered immortal, in order to endure the eternity of suffering to which they are destined. The place of future punishments he calls by the name Gehenna."[145] Because these topics regarding hell are alluded to only in this one place, they will not be developed further beyond speculation in this investigation. However, neither can they be discounted completely as irrelevant.

The final mention of hell is in Chapter 45.3 "At this second Advent of Christ, some will be condemned to suffer eternally in the fires of Hell, while others will be eternally free from suffering, corruption, and sorrow."[146] The line of thinking followed in this quote agrees with what is written in the Apologies. It is a return to the entrenched idea of Hell as a place of eternal suffering in fire.

In looking at Justin's work and its reference to hell, two divergent thoughts appear. The first, seen in the *Apologies,* is that hell consists of the place where evildoers will be punished for eternity in everlasting fire. However, in the *Dialogue* he states that at the judgement fire will destroy everything as in the time of Noah. When God will punish men for a time and then destroy them along with evil angels and demons and they will cease to exist.[147] It must be realized that Justin was not confused on his beliefs or that of Christians, but that he was in fact writing to suit his audience. "Justin's language varies according to his theme, not according to his stage of development as a Christian Philosopher."[148]

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[144] John Kaye, *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr* (London: F. and J. Rivington, 1853), 102.

[145] Kaye, 102.

[146] καὶ ὁ θάνατος καταφρονηθῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν πιστευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ εὐαρέστως ζώντων παύσηται τέλεον, ὕστερον μηκέτ' ὤν, ὅταν οἱ μὲν εἰς κρίσιν καὶ καταδίκην τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαύστως κολάζεσθαι πεμφθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ καὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ ἀλυπίᾳ [cf. Apoc., XXI, 4]. Archambault, *Justin Dialouge Avec Tryphon, Text Grec, Traduction Française Introduction, Notes et Index*, Tome 1:200–202. English translation: Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy a Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, 215.

[147] Barnard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought*, 167.

[148] Barnard, 168.

What Justin writes regarding hell in his three authentic works also coincides with what is written in the Gospels and reflects the sayings of Jesus. It must be noted that Justin did not rely on the Gospels as we understand them today, as Canon had not been established. "Justin lived during the relatively short period of transmission between the time when the Apostolic Fathers were still dependent, at least in part, on oral tradition and the time when Irenaeus assumed the authority of the Fourfold Gospel about 180."[149] However, the frequent quotation of scripture and the similarities in his writing shows that Justin was, no doubt, familiar with the sayings of Jesus and the narrative material available to him at the time.[150] He was also, as is pointed out above, familiar with other patristic writings in circulation at the time.

All of this points to Justin's overall awareness of Christian beliefs as well as his participation in the teaching of this belief. This bolsters the argument that the thought on hell reflected in his writings demonstrates how the concept of hell was developing at the time. Justin was a prominent teacher in Rome and there is reason to believe that he and his students developed "catechisms, manuals for instruction against heresies, [and] harmonistic texts of the synoptic gospels."[151] There also exists a link to Alexandria showing Justin's influence throughout the Christian world of the time.[152] This should support the assumption that Justin did in fact reflect in his writings the set of beliefs commonly held among Christians regarding hell and do provide a reliable picture of the development of this belief to this point in time.

2.5. Polycarp and the Martyrdom of Polycarp

2.5.1. Polycarp

Polycarp of Smyrna is perhaps one of the most important figures of the early Christian church and is considered by both Irenaeus and Eusebius "to be a significant link in the chain

[149] Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*, 17:4.

[150] For an in depth discussion on the use of material available to Justin, as well as a comprehensive comparison of the language used by Justin with that of the Gospels see: Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin Martyr*.

[151] Bellinzoni, 17:141.

[152] Bellinzoni, 17:141.

of apostolic tradition."[153] Polycarp was martyred when he was 86 years old.[154] While there is speculation as to the date of his death, the length of his life puts him in touch with the sub-apostolic era.[155] The year of his death ranges from 155 to 168.[156] There is, however, debate amongst historians as to the exact date. The theory that Polycarp was a disciple of the apostle John puts his death closer to 150 and his birth around the year 70. Because this thesis wishes to show that hell and the belief in what hell is has a common understanding from apostolic times, this question is pertinent to the discussion.

While the only surviving work that is attributed to Polycarp of Smyrna is the *Letter to the Philippians*, other letters may have been written by him. There is, however, no surviving evidence other than the references Irenaeus made about Polycarp writing letters to other churches, which shows that he knew of them.[157] Polycarp was a well-known figure in the Church during his lifetime and what we know of him comes to us, not only from his Letter to the Philippians, but from the letters of Ignatius and the writings of Irenaeus and Eusebius as well.[158] Also, among the writings that bear witness to Polycarp is *The Martyrdom of Polycarp.*

There are two questions of interest with Polycarp. The first is, of course, any reference he may have made regarding hell in his *Letter to the Philippians* and statements recorded in the work *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*. The second question of equal importance is his connection, if any, with the sub-apostolic church. This question will help bolster the general thesis that the theological idea of hell had been developed to the extent that it was an already accepted idea that needed no explanation. Also, that Polycarp's "existence and his writings stand on guard against attempts to claim that during the second century Christianity was completely

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[153] Michael W. Holmes, "Polycarp of Smyrna, Letter to the Philippians," *The Expository Times* 118, no. 2 (November 2006): 53; Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:64; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 272; William R. Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, vol. 5, The Apostolic Fathers A New Translation and Commentary (Camden: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967), 3.

[154] J.B. Lightfoot, *Clement, Ignatius, & Polycarp Pt 2*, vol. 1, The Apostolic Fathers (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1889), 437; Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:64; Holmes, "Polycarp of Smyrna, Letter to the Philippians," 53.

[155] Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:13.

[156] Grant, 1:64; Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:49; Holmes, "Polycarp of Smyrna, Letter to the Philippians," 53; Lightfoot, *Clement, Ignatius, & Polycarp Pt 2*, 1:438; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 272.

[157] Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:3.

[158] Schoedel, 5:3. See also: Ignatius of Antioch, *The Letter of Ignatius to Polycarp,* and *The Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans*; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; Irenaus, *Adversus haereses*; as well as Tertullian, *De Praescriptione* 32.

transformed."[159]

2.5.2. The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians

The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians was written in response to a request from the Philippians themselves, as is seen in chapter 3 of his letter: "I am writing you these comments about righteousness, brothers, not on my own initiative but because you invited me to do so" [3.1].[160] As well as Chapter 13 in which Polycarp tells the Philippians that he is sending his own letter along with the one from Ignatius which they had requested.[161]The letter itself is one of exhortation calling the Philippians to follow Christ Jesus and the way of life he passed onto them through the Apostle Paul. He also addresses "*The Matter of Valens*"[162] who was a presbyter among them. Overall, the letter is mostly intent on calling the people to follow the way of the Lord and this is grounded firmly upon sacred scripture, to which he eludes, if not quotes directly, throughout the letter.[163] The Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians has only one reference to hell specifically, and in this case, he uses the word "Hades" ᾅδου. In the first chapter he writes: "I also rejoice because your firmly rooted faith, renowned from the earliest times, still perseveres and bears fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ, who endured for our sins, facing even death, whom God raised up, having loosed the birth pangs of Hades" [1.2].[164] The phrase "birth pangs of Hades" is a reference to Acts 2:24.[165] However, Schoedel notes further that "death" not "Hades" is used in Acts 2:24 and perhaps this juxtaposition with 1 Peter 1:8 reflected in the following line: "Though you have not seen him, you believe in him with an

[159] Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:64.

[160] Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ὑ μεῖς προεπεκαλέσασ με. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 282–83.

[161] Holmes, 297.

[162] Holmes, 293.

[163] There is much discussion regarding Polycarp's use of Scripture, arguing for both his contact with the apostle John and his knowledge of the importance of the books of the New Testament. See, for example, the introduction to the following translation works for more information: Holmes, 272–77; Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:3–6.

[164] καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ῥίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων καταγγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ καρποφορεῖ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃς ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου καταντῆσαι, ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεός, λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾅδου·. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 280–81.

[165] Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:13.

inexpressible and glorious joy..." [1.3][166] is Polycarp drawing on "Petrine" material which "greatly increases the likelihood that he knew the book of Acts."[167] Schoedel continues by showing the parallel to Psalm 18.4 (cf. 116:3) in the Septuagint referring to the expression "pangs of death" followed by "pangs of Hades" to Polycarp's writing, however, he discounts the conclusion that his reference or that of Acts "is a variant of 'an old kerygmatic formula.'"[168] These statements show the connection with Polycarp and his familiarity with the New Testament, which in turn give Polycarp contact with the apostolic era as well as authority. However, one must remember that the New Testament was not formed by canon until much later.[169]

While the references may seem to be of little significance, other than to establish authority or placement and familiarity with the New Testament writings, it could be argued that "[w]hen he quotes Christian books from memory we can be sure that they were generally accepted in his day..."[170] This gives support to the argument that the ideas contained within the writings of the Christian books, as well as the letter of Polycarp himself, and the ideas contained therein were generally accepted ideas and beliefs. Or, at least, if not accepted, certainly not foreign to the audience.

His contact with the apostle John is perhaps secondary but not altogether unimportant. If Polycarp had contact with the apostle, and was in fact one of his disciples, he would have been greatly influenced by his teaching and thus it would be carried on through Polycarp and his work. While neither hypothesis can be confirmed it is easy enough to reach a conclusion without stretching too far that Polycarp did indeed hold and carry to the next century those ideas held by the Christians who walked with Jesus.

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[166] εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ,... Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 280–81.

[167] Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:13.

[168] Schoedel, 5:13.

[169] The canon of Scripture is first listed by the Council of Laodicea (ca. 360) followed by Innocent I's Letter *Consulenti Tibi* to Exsuperius, Bishop of Toulouse (405) and by Gelasius I's Decree of Gelasius (time unknown). Further, it was not until the General Council of Trent Fourth Session (8 April 1546) that the Canon of Scripture was listed as recognized by the Council in the Decree of Reception of the Sacred Books and Apostolic Traditions. See: J. Neuner and Jacques Dupuis, eds., *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, Seventh (New York: Alba House, 2000), 98, 102.

[170] Robert M. (Robert McQueen) Grant, "Polycarp of Smyrna," *Anglican Theological Review* 28, no. 3 (July 1946): 146.

2.6. Martyrdom of Polycarp

The Martyrdom of Polycarp was not written by Polycarp but is an account of his martyrdom that was written within a year of his death (15.1) by eyewitnesses (18.3).[171] This letter from the Church at Smyrna "is the oldest written account of a Christian martyrdom outside the New Testament."[172] It is also considered to be the "first of the martyr acts from the early Church."[173] The exact date of Polycarp's martyrdom, when *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* was written, and who was the actual author of the work, are all questions of debate. These questions, along with the specific mention of or allusion to Hell used within the context of the martyrdom account, are all pertinent to further unraveling the process by which the analysis of the question of the development of the idea of hell progressed or was sustained within the first centuries.

As is stated in the section above on the Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians*, the year of his death ranges from 150 to 168.[174] We find the first clue to his death from the work itself:

> Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second [day] of the emerging month of Xanthicus, seven [days] before the calends of March, on a great Sabbath, in [the] eighth hour. And he was arrested by Herod in [the] high priesthood of Philip [the] Trallian, Statius Quadratus being proconsul, but while Jesus Christ reigns throughout the ages, to whom [be] the glory, honour, majesty, [and] eternal dominion, from generation to generation. Amen (21).[175]

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[171] Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:46–85; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 298–333.

[172] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 298.

[173] Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:47.

[174] Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Oxford: University Press, 2013), 191–200; Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:78–79; Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:64; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 272; Lightfoot, *Clement, Ignatius, & Polycarp Pt 2*, 1:438; Holmes, "Polycarp of Smyrna, Letter to the Philippians," 53; Massey Hamilton Shepherd, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, as Told in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium," in *Early Christian Fathers*, ed. Cyril C. Richardson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 144; Massey Hamilton Jr. Shepherd, "The Letter of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to the Philippians," in *Early Christian Fathers*, ed. Cyril C. Richardson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 121.

[175] Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων, σαββατῳ̄ μεγαλῳ̣, ὥρᾳ ὀγδόῃ συνελήφθη ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμή, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος

Given the description of the date laid out above, that is, "the second [day] of the emerging month of Xanthicus, seven [days] before the calends of March, on a great Sabbath" (21), as well as, the mention of Trallian and, more specifically, Statius Quadratus, the exact day of his martyrdom has been established with astonishing precision by some as February 23, 155 or February 22, 156.[176] Eusebius accounts the martyrdom of Polycarp to have occurred in 166 or 167, however, most modern scholars discount this as a legitimate date.[177] There is also speculation of a later date,[178] however, as Holmes notes "a date as late as 177 (the year which several Christians were martyred in Lyons; cf. Eusebius Church History 5.1.1-63) is intrinsically unlikely."[179] It must be kept in mind that chapter 21 of the martyrdom account is considered a later addition to the text by many[180] and therefore "clearly great caution is necessary in using it for dating the martyrdom of Polycarp."[181]

As stated above, chapter's 15 and 18 refer to *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* having been written within one year of his death by eyewitnesses. "And when a great flame blazed forth, we to whom it was granted to see - saw a miracle. And we were preserved in order to announce to the rest the things that had happened" (15.1).[182]

This chapter informs us that the date of writing must have been within a time not far removed from the event considering the eyewitness was still living. Chapter 18 shows the

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αἰώνιος ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν, ἀμήν. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 238.[328] English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 269.

[176] See: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 301–2; Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:78–79.

[177] Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:71; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 301; Chadwick, *The Early Church*, 29; Shepherd, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, as Told in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium," 147.

[178] Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 191.

[179] Polycarp, 191; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 301.

[180] For a more thorough look at the question of chapter 21 as a later addition please see: Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 301–2; Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 328–30; Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:71; Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:78.

[181] Schoedel, *Polycarp, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias*, 5:78.

[182] μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός, θαῦμα εἴδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη οἳ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 322. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 260–61.

writing to be within proximity of the event by about a year: "Gathering there together with gladness and joy, so far as possible, the Lord will permit us to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both for the commemoration of those previous contestants and for the training and preparation of ones to come" (18.3).[183]

The information as to the time of Polycarp's death and when the account was written lead to many conclusions. But primary to this research, as stated previously, the time of writing and language used shows (as will be demonstrated below) the acceptance and integration of Hell in of second century Christian thinking. Beyond the information available to the modern reading in the work itself, Eusebius used *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* in his writings.[184] This squarely places the work to have been written prior to the early to mid-fourth century.

The debate over when *The Martyrdom* was written continue even into modern scholarship. Some argue the text to be a forgery, others that it is a legitimate work, while still others claim it to be a "'theologized' authentic witness event."[185] The authenticity of the work itself, that is, was it a factual event that took place as the writer tells us, is for our purposes, of less importance than the language used and the date from which the writing, forgery or otherwise, emerged. The language used to depict the common understanding of hell, as will be demonstrated below, shows that the idea was present and accepted by individuals of that time.

Who the actual author of the letter was, is of far less significance to the topic, however, it must briefly be addressed. The letter itself states in the inscription that it is from "[t]he church of God sojourning at Smyrna."[186] This depicts that the community is the author. However, there is debate regarding this as chapter 20.1 points to Marcion as a possible author: "You indeed, then, revealed that the happenings might be revealed to you at length. But we, for the

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[183] Ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἵς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησίν τε καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 326. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 264–65.

[184] Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 171; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 300–301; Grant, *An Introduction*, 1:70–71; Shepherd, "The Martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, as Told in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium," 144.

[185] Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 186.

[186] Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 306. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 240–41.

present, have reported in summary through our brother Marcion."[187] And in 20.2 to Evarestus: "Those of us salute you. Likewise, Evarestus, the one having written, with his whole household."[188]

The above citations can be disputed at length.[189] The question of who Marcion was, whether he was the author or simply the scribe or perhaps the person who carried the letter to the church of Philomelium. The same is asked of Evarestus, and while the information is pertinent to the academy and the historicity of the text, in this investigation the question as to who these individuals were and their function regarding the text hold a completely different value. That value is contained in the information of the letter. It was written to a community from a community. The individuals were given value in the letter as members of the community which, in turn, lends itself to the reasonable assumption that both communities held the same or similar beliefs. And that the language as well as the concepts contained therein were understandable and accepted by both communities. As Hartog points out, "Even if Marcion uniquely served as 'the primary author,' the character of the letter remains communal."[190] This is a shared response and a "social or collective memory."[191] The account is written with first person plural pronouns and "mirrors the traditions, religious experiences, and 'demands and challenges' of the community."[192] All of which give weight and support to the thesis that hell was recognized and unquestioned as a common understanding of the community and second century Christianity.

There are only two passages (Ch. 2.3 and Ch. 11.2) within the text that refer to hell. Neither passage uses the word Hades. However, as has been seen to be typical of this period, the references are to eternal punishment αἰώνιον κόλασιν, and the eternal αἰώνιον fire or fire which

[187] Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἠξιώσατε διὰ πλειόνων δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μεμηνύκαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκίωνος. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 328. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 266–67.

[188] Προσαγορεύετε πάντας τους ἁγίους. ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεί. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 328. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 266–67.

[189] Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 165–67.

[190] Polycarp, 166.

[191] Polycarp, 166.

[192] Polycarp, 166.

is not extinguished σβεννύμενον.

Chapter 2.3 shows merit in the martyr's actions. Hartog translates the chapter as follows: "And giving attention to the grace of Christ, they despised the earthly torments, redeeming [exemption from] eternal punishment through one hour. And the fire of the inhuman torturers was cool to them, for they set before [their] eyes escape from the eternal and never-extinguished [fire]."[193]

Holmes translation, as stated above, differs slightly: "And turning their thoughts to the grace of Christ they despised the tortures of this world, purchasing at the cost of one hour an exemption from eternal punishment. And the fire of their inhuman torturers felt cold to them, for they set before their eyes the escape from that eternal fire which is never extinguished..."[194] In both translations the same theme is apparent. hell is depicted as, which is consistent with the time period, "eternal punishment," and "never-extinguished fire."

"But Polycarp [said], 'You threaten with a fire that burns for an hour, and after a short while is extinguished. For you do not know the fire of the coming judgement and of [the] everlasting punishment that is being reserved for the ungodly" [11.2].[195] This shows that, consistent with other writings of this time, Hell is depicted as a place or existence of eternal punishment in everlasting fire. The difference we see in the martyrdom account is, not only the belief of the eyewitness as to what awaited Polycarp as well as his torturers, but Polycarp himself states the Christian held belief to his persecutors. Again, as stated in relation to the other writings, which have been heretofore examined, as with other Christian ideas, hell was held concretely as a belief. There is no questioning or debate. The statements are made with the simple understanding that these are the things to come. Of course, here the threat of the Parousia is not eminent as perhaps it is with earlier writings. As time elapsed leading Christians further away from the event of Christ, the urgency of the coming judgement diminished. The reality of the judgment itself did not lessen any however, and as time moved on from the first

[193] καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ψυχρόν τὸ τῶν ἀπηνῶν βασανιστῶν' πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 308. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 242–43.

[194] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 309.

[195] ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ'ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον, ἀγνοεῖσ γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεσς τοῖσ ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. Holmes, 317–19. English translation: Polycarp, *Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 254–55.

through the second century, the knowledge and certainty of Hell continued solidly in Christian understanding.

2.7. Conclusion

The beginning of the second century shows that the theology or thinking about hell had not yet developed beyond a reliance on Scripture. It was still an idea that was not fully formed among the early writers. All the above writers use the terms contained in the New Testament. The references are either imagery of fire or suffering and, while at times can be interpreted as the present, it is understood to be in the world to come. This was the end of the apocalyptic era, when an oral tradition was still in effect. The movement to a reliance on the written word was still developing and the meaning held in the apocalyptic literature was waning. The above writers refer to hell as fire, punishment, and separation from God. In this regard, it appears that this though has not developed beyond the New Testament. No interpretation is attempted, and the writers seem to assume that the audience to which they are writing, will understand the tone and import of their texts.

Chapter 3

Late Second - Early Third Century Writings

3.1. Letter to Diognetus

The *Letter to Diognetus* has an interesting history. Its origin, author, as well as the time and place it was written are all unknown.[1] Originally it was thought to be the work of Justin Martyr, however this has since been disabused.[2] What we can say about the work is that it bares similarities to several second-century apologetic writings,[3] with some drawing the conclusion that it is the work of Hippolytus.[4] The Church Fathers make no mention of the it[5] nor is there any record of the letter or its contents until the middle ages when it was discovered in a fish market by a young Latin cleric.[6] Later it was destroyed by fire, but there were copies in existence which have been saved.[7] Given that, however, most scholars place the date of writing sometime in the late second or third century.[8]

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[1] Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "Heaven-Borne in the World: A Study of the Letter to Diognetus," in *In Defence of Christianity: Early Christian Apologists* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014), 127; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 688; Henry G. Meecham, *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), 3; Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II:122–29; Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 205; Darryl W. Palmer, "Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century," *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 3 (1983): 237–38.

[2] Petersen, "Heaven-Borne in the World: A Study of the Letter to Diognetus," 126; Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:125–26; Meecham, The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes, 5, 16, 61–62; Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, 205–6; R.H. Connolly, "The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to Diognetus," The Journal of Theological Studies 36, no. 144 (October 1935): 347–53.

[3] Petersen, "Heaven-Borne in the World: A Study of the Letter to Diognetus," 127, 135–37; Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:124–26; Robert M. Grant, Greek Apologists of the Second Century (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1988), 178.

[4] Connolly, "The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to Diognetus."

[5] Holmes, The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations, 688; Paul Foster, "The Epistle to Diognetus," The Expository Times 118, no. 4 (2007): 162; Meecham, The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes, 3; Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:127; Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, 205.

[6] Foster, "The Epistle to Diognetus," 162; Petersen, "Heaven-Borne in the World: A Study of the Letter to Diognetus," 124; Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:128.

[7] Petersen, "Heaven-Borne in the World: A Study of the Letter to Diognetus"; Holmes, The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations, 689–90; Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:128; Meecham, The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes, 68; Grant, Greek Apologists of the Second Century, 178; Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, 205.

[8] Meecham, The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes, 16–19;

The part of the letter that is of interest is chapter 10.7-10.8. This poses a particularly interesting problem as there is a break after 10.8. At this point in the text there is a note in the manuscript margin that reads "and here the copy has a break."[9] This break is of interest for several reasons which will be addressed below. For the time being, the one passage which refers to hell states:

> 10.7 Then you will see that though your lot is on earth, God lives in heaven, then you will begin to declare the mysteries of God; then you will both love and admire those who are punished because they refuse to deny God; then you will condemn the deceit and error of the world; when you realize what is the true life in heaven, when you despise the apparent death here on earth, when you fear the real death, which is reserved for those who will be condemned to the eternal fire that will punish to the very end those delivered to it. 10.8 Then you will admire those who for righteousness' sake endure the transitory fire, and you will consider them blessed, when you comprehend that other fire...[10]

This section of the tenth chapter specifically refers to punishment that can be considered as punishment in hell. It is the "real death" as opposed to the "apparent death here on earth." It is specifically for those that are "to be condemned to the eternal fire that shall punish those delivered over to it unto the end." This passage articulates the second coming, judgment and punishment in eternal fire πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον which seems to be understood generally as hell.

Meecham notes that the author of Diognetus refers to judgment in general terms, the one exception being this statement.[11] He points to the certainty of this judgment which is

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Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:127; Holmes, The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations, 687–89; Grant, Greek Apologists of the Second Century, 178.

[9] Ehrman, The Apostolic Fathers, II:125, 154; Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, 222.

[10] τότε θεάσῃ τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὅτι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται, τότε μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ, τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι θεὸν καὶ θαυμάσεις, τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώσῃ, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν <ἐπιγνῷς,> ὅταν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάτου καταφπονήσῃς, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως θάνατον φοβηθῇς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθησομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους κολάσει. 8. τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης 'θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ' <πρόσκαιρον,> καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνῷς '...'. Holmes, The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations, 712–13.

[11] Meecham, The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes, 42.

evident "in most Christian writers of the period."[12] Meecham also notes that there are some who believe that Diognetus contradicts himself concerning this Judgment, claiming that Diognetus himself says that force is not one of God's attributes (vii. 4). However, Meecham defends this by clearly pointing out that Diognetus thought this judgment was not from God but rather the consequence of sin. "Judgement is less the forcible exertion of God's power over men than the just and inevitable 'reward' of sin in 'punishment and death' (ix, 2)."[13] This language shows that the author of Diognetus concludes that punishment is the result of judgment, it is eternal, it is freely chosen by man himself, and that this punishment of the "real death" is eternal.

While Diognetus does reference both the New Testament, at times directly, and the Old Testament indirectly,[14] his lack of citation, or even acknowledgement of the scriptures, reflect both that apologists of this time rarely cited scripture directly and had little reason to do so since the gentile audience would find no value or authority to these sources.[15]

As stated above, there is a clear break at the end of the tenth chapter. It is believed that the section of the letter which follows most likely belongs to another work.[16]As such we cannot be certain if the author wrote more on the topic. Most agree that since the author addresses the questions he laid out in the beginning, there would not have been much more to this part of the work but, of course, of this we cannot be certain.[17] If, in fact, this hypothesis is true, then we can state the subject of eternal fire was understood by the reader and did not need additional explanation. But again, due to the break, this is only speculation.

In the first chapter of this thesis many terms for hell were investigated. In Diognetus we see the term: πῡρ τό αἰώνιον. This particular term and its interpretation are important. Meecham, Holmes, Richardson, and Ehrman all translate πῡρ τό αἰώνιον as 'eternal fire.'[18] In this regard it can be assumed that eternal fire was understood as hell. The

[12] Meecham, 42.

[13] Meecham, 42.

[14] Meecham, 53–58.

[15] Meecham, 56.

[16] Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 689; Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II:122–26.

[17] Meecham, *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes*, 136; Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 669, 713; Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II:124, 154–55; Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 222.

[18] Meecham, *The Epistle to Diognetus: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes*, 88–89;

question does arise as to the use of the word eternal αἰώνιον and its meaning. As already stated, it has been argued that in this sense it means in the world to come rather than eternal.[19] However, it is used in relation to the real death ὄντως θάνατον as opposed to the apparent (δοκοῦντος) death here on earth. This terminology has a finality to it, thus the interpretation as the world to come has sense but the interpretation as eternity seems a better interpretation given the finality and sense of the passage.

Of course, a particular problem arises as two types of fire are discussed. That of the eternal fire to the end and that of fire for a season which must be endured and also counted as blessed in receiving it. There should be no confusion in this as the fire that must be endured for a time refers to the earlier sentence, which is a reflection on those who suffered for the sake of Christ "then shalt thou both love and admire those that are punished because they will not deny God" [10.7]. Of course, as stated above it is difficult to discuss any further implications or in-depth revelations as the passage is not complete.

One can assume that this imagery was generally understood. That, at the time of the writing, the author as well as his audience had a general idea of the terminology as well as its implications. Again, considering the letter is addressed to a Greek audience, it can be assumed that the fire of punishment after death recalled the fires of hades, which would hold significance for a Greek audience. The lack of evidence does not prove the point, but it must be remembered that this terminology was being worked out and as such it should be assumed that the question as to the exact nature of hell, which is neither the point of the letter nor its focus, was just not a question in the mind of the reader of the letter.

3.2. Athenagoras of Athens

Another Christian apologist from the late second century is Athenagoras of Athens.[20] Two works are attributed to this author; *Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis* and *De resurrectione*. Only the *Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis* concerns this thesis as the other, while speaking of the resurrection, does not address the topic of hell as such.

Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers Greek Texts and English Translations*, 712–13; Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II:154–55; Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 221.

[19] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 91.

[20] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 291–92.

Similar to the Epistle of Diognetus, it is difficult to specify much about the author or his work due to the fact that the earliest manuscript dates to the tenth century.[21]Again, similar to Diognetus there is scant mention of the manuscript among authors of the time and no mention of the work by the Church Fathers.[22]

Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis in known in English as either *Embassy* or *Plea for the Christians*, was written sometime between the years 176 and 180.[23] Chapter 31 is where mention of eternal damnation is found in Athenagoras. Here he is responding to the accusation of "impious feasts and forbidden intercourse between the sexes."[24] The accusation was cannibalism from which the early Christians often had to defend themselves, mostly because only the baptized were allowed to participate in the Eucharist and the secrecy of the ritual brought about suspicion and accusation among those who were not allowed access to the Eucharistic meal.[25]

Athenagoras' defends the practice in the following:

> If we were persuaded that our life here below was the only one we would live, there would be reason to suspect us of wrong doing in serving flesh and blood and yielding to the temptations of gain or lust. But since we are aware that God knows what we think and say both night and day and that he who is totally light sees also what is in our hearts; and since we are persuaded that when we depart this present life we shall live another life better than that here, a heavenly one, not earthly, so that we may then abide with God and with his help remain changeless and impassible in soul as though we were not body, even if we have one, but heavenly spirit; and, alternatively, since we are convinced that, if we fall with the rest of men, we shall live another life worse than that here in realms of fire (for God did

[21] Richardson, 291.

[22] Richardson, 290.

[23] Richardson, 191–92; William R. Schoedel, "Christian 'Atheism' and the Peace of the Roman Empire," *Church History* 42, no. 3 (1973): 309; L.W. Barnard, "The Embassy of Athenagoras," *Vigiliae Christianae* 21, no. 2 (May 1967): 88–90; Leslie Barnard, "Notes on Athenagoras," *Latomus* 31, no. 2 (1972): 413–15; T.D. Barnes, "The Embassy of Athenagoras," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 26, no. 1 (April 1975): 111–14; Robert M. (Robert McQueen) Grant, "Irenaeus and Hellenistic Culture," *Harvard Theological Review* 42, no. 1 (January 1949): 42; Rick Perhai, "Chiliasm in the Early Church until Nicea: Apologists," *The Journal of Ministry & Theology* 16, no. 2 (2012): 99; Palmer, "Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century," 243.

[24] Alexander Roberts, James Donalsdson, and Aurtur Cleveland Coxe, eds., *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, Ante-Nicene Fathers. (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), 145.

[25] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 293.

> not create us like sheep or beasts of burden, and it would not be incidental if we were to be destroyed and disappear); since all this is so, it is not likely that we should want to do evil and deliver ourselves up to the Judge to be punished.[26]

Athenagoras makes several things clear. First, that human beings will have an 'afterlife,' one which he refers to as a 'another' life, and that there is an explicit distinction between the soul of a human and that of an animal. He also makes clear that there will be two ways in which people will exist in this other life, either one of unity with God or "a worse one in fire" and that this is a "life" of punishment. Hence, we see the continuing theme of judgment, fire, and punishment which is echoed throughout the early Church.

Secondly, and perhaps more important for this study, is the implication that the human soul is immortal, and that the human being consist of a physical body and immortal soul.[27] The distinction between the human soul and that of an animal or created being is clear: "for God did not create us like sheep or beasts of burden, and it would not be incidental if we were to be destroyed and disappear." As such, the question arises, what becomes of the human whose choice is against God? Athenagoras states that for such a person a worse life in fire awaits, making clear his argument that Christians would surely not do the things they are accused of for fear of a just punishment in hell.

Athenagoras does not write much concerning hell, but what he does write is clear. It should always be kept in mind that the apologists were writing for a specific audience who had a very different idea of the afterlife. Thus, we see the very clear distinction between body and soul and that while this distinction is important to the Christian, it does

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[26] εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον βιώσεσθαι ἐπεπείσμεθα, κἂν ὑποπτεύειν ἐνῆν δουλεύοντας σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι ἢ κέρδους ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἐλάττους γενομένους ἁμαρτεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφεστηκέναι μὲν οἷς ἐννοοῦμεν, οἷς λαλοῦμεν καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸν θεὸν οἴδαμεν, πάντα δὲ φῶς αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν ὁρᾶν, πεπείσμεθα <δὲ> τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀπαλλαγέντες βίου βίον ἕτερον βιώσεσθαι ἀμείνονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐπουράνιον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἂν μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ σὺν θεῷ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν οὐχ ὡς σάρκες κἂν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐράνιον πνεῦμα μένωμεν, ἢ συγκαταπίπτοντες τοῖς λοιποῖς χείρονα καὶ διὰ πυρὸς (οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς πρόβατα ἢ ὑποζύγια, πάρεργον καὶ ἵνα ἀπολοίμεθα καὶ ἀφανισθείημεν, ἔπλασεν ὁ θεός), ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἐθελοκακεῖν οὐδ' αὐτοὺς τῷ ὁ θεός), ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἐθελοκακεῖν οὐδ' αὐτοὺς τῷ μεγάλῳ παραδιδόναι κολασθησομένους δικαστῇ (*Legatio* 31.4.) Athenagoras, *Legatio and De Resurrectione*, trans. William Schoedel, Oxford Early Christian Tests (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 76–79.

[27] Robert M. Grant, "Athenagoras or Pseudo-Athenagoras," *Harvard Theological Review* 47, no. 2 (April 1954): 122. Here in Athenagoras we see the expression of the immortality of the soul centuries prior to the Second Lateran Council which declared that the soul is immortal. Lateran Council V; The Human Soul (against the Neo-Aristotelians). DS 1440s; Denzinger 738; See: Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, 237; Perhai, "Chiliasm in the Early Church until Nicea: Apologists," 99.

not result in a disunity. One point that Athenagoras makes, which is indeed interesting, is that man will surely be resurrected with flesh (σάρκες) but even though we will have this flesh it will be in spirit (πνεῦμα). Athenagoras does not explain what this means. There is further discussion on the resurrection of the body in the treaties *On the Resurrection,* however, there is no discussion of hell in that work.

While there is not much to discuss when it comes to Athenagoras and his thoughts on hell, it is sufficient to see that he follows with the other Greek writers of the time with the same terminology and ideas. This does not show much of a development in the theology of hell, but it does express a consistency which is quite important.

3.3. Theophilus of Antioch

Another second century apologist is Theophilus of Antioch. He wrote three books under the title *To Autolycus*, written to a private person, as well as a broader audience, regarding the defense of the Christian faith.[28] The date of the work is sometime after 180 and is only surmised from his reference to the death of Marcus Aurelius.[29] While evidence of Theophilus' writings survive in reflections or direct references of other early Christian writers, there is little known about the author and there are no surviving manuscripts until the 10th century.[30]

Book 1.14 is where the first reference to hell is found. He writes the following:

> If you will, you too must obey him and believe him, so that after disbelieving now you will not be persuaded later, punished with eternal tortures. These tortures were predicted by the prophets, but later poets and philosophers stole them from the holy scriptures in order to make their own teaching seem trustworthy. In any case, however, they too foretold the punishments to come upon the ungodly and

[28] Robert M. Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), ix; Perhai, "Chiliasm in the Early Church until Nicea: Apologists," 100; Palmer, "Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century," 246.

[29] Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*, ix; Palmer, "Atheism, Apologetic, and Negative Theology in the Greek Apologists of the Second Century," 246; Robert M. Grant, "The Problem of Theophilus," *Harvard Theological Review* 43, no. 3 (July 1950): 179.

[30] Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*, xix; Deirdre Joy Good, "Rhetoric and Wisdom in Theophilus of Antioch," *Anglican Theological Review* 73, no. 3 (1991): 323–24; Grant, "The Problem of Theophilus," 180.

the incredulous, so that these punishments might be attested to all and no one might say, 'We did not hear nor did we know' [cf. *Kerygma Petri*, fr. 3].

If you will, you too must reverently read the prophetic writings. They will be your best guides for escaping the eternal punishments and for obtaining the eternal benefits of God. For *he who gave the mouth for speech and formed the ear for hearing and made eyes for vision* [Exod. 4:11; Ps. 93:9] will examine everything and will judge justly, *rewarding each one in accordance with what he deserves* [Rom. 2:6]. *To those who with endurance seek imperishability through good works, he will give eternal life* [Rom. 2:7], joy, peace, rest and the totality of good things *which eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor have they entered the heart of man* [1 Cor. 2:9]. But to the unbelieving, who despise and *disobey the truth but obey unrighteousness* [Rom. 2:8], when they are full of adulteries and fornications and homosexual acts and greed and *lawless idolatry* [1 Pet. 4:3], there will come *wrath and anger, tribulation and anguish* [Rom. 2:8f.], and finally eternal fire will overtake such men [I 14].[31]

What is seen in this first reference is quite clear. To go against God, to do what one is commanded not to do, will result in eternal punishment (αἰωνίοις τιμωρίαις). Further he clarifies that this will be eternal fire (πῦρ αἰώνιον). In keeping with the language of the other apologists, Theophilus continues with what is understood and described in modern language as hell.

A problem arises in Book II Chapter 27. Theophilus, brings answers to the question

[31] ἀπόδειξιν οὖν λαβὼν τῶν γινομένων καὶ προαναπεφωνημένων οὐκ ἀπιστῶ, ἀλλὰ πιστεύω πειθαρχῶν θεῷ· ᾧ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ σὺ ὑποτάγηθι πιστεύων αὐτῷ, μὴ νῦν ἀπιστήσας πεισθῆς ἀνιώμενος, τότε ἐν αἰωνίοις τιμωρίαις.

Ὧν τιμωριῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν μεταγενέστεροι γενόμενοι οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἔκλεψαν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, γενόμενοι οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἔκλεψαν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, εἰς τὸ δόγματα αὐτῶν ἀξιόπιστα γενηθῆναι. πλὴν καὶ αὐτοὶ προεῖπον περὶ τῶν κολάσεων τῶν μελλουσῶν ἔσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀπίστους, ὅπως ᾖ ἐμμάρτυρα πᾶσιν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἰπεῖν τινας ὅτι οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ ἔγνωμεν.

Εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ σὺ ἔντυχε φιλοτίμως ταῖς προφητικαῖς γραφαῖς· καὶ αὐταί σε τρανότερον ὁδηγήσουσιν πρὸς τὸ ἐκφυγεῖν τὰς αἰωνίους κολάσεις καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ γὰρ δοὺς στόμα εἰς τὸ λαλεῖν καὶ πλάσας οὖς εἰς τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ ποιήσας ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸ ὁρᾶν ἐξετάσει τὰ πάντα καὶ κρινεῖ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀποδιδοὺς ἑκάστῳ κατὰ ἀξίαν τῶν μισθῶν. τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν διὰ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ζητοῦσι τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσεται ζωὴν αἰώνιον, χαράν, εἰρήνην, ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ πλήθη ἀγαθῶν, ὧν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη· τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις καὶ καταφρονηταῖς καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, ἐπὰν ἐμφύρωνται μοιχείαις καὶ πορνείαις καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίαις καὶ πλεονεξίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρείαις, ἔσται ὀργὴ καὶ θύμος, θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία· καὶ τὸ τέλος τοὺς τοιούτους καθέξει πῦρ αἰώνιον. Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*, 18–21.

of man's immortality. He says that God created man both immortal and mortal.[32] His thinking, much like that of other early writers, is that God gives man immortality. Here he expresses that this is all a result of man's freely choosing between a life with God or a life of sin.[33] He writes: "For as by disobedience man gained death for himself, so by obedience [cf. Rom. 5:18-19] to the will of God whoever will can obtain eternal life for himself. For God gave us a law and holy commandments; everyone who performs them can be saved [cf. Matt. 19:25] and, attaining to the resurrection [cf. Heb. 11:35], can *inherit imperishability* [1 Cor. 15:50] [II 27].[34]

While Theophilus follows through with the imperishability of man he does not address the immortality of the those who have fallen. This may be due to his difficulty with the resurrection (I 13) and his struggle with an adequate defense. While he does address the topic briefly, it is lacking.[35]

He states only "that God is powerful enough to bring about the general resurrection of all men" [I 13].[36] Grant purports that he does address this stating: "In the resurrection is included every man (I 13), even those who are dead (II 38)."[37] While he does not go into depth on the topic, his understanding of eternal suffering in hell is a clear indication of his belief.[38]

Further in Book II chapter 36, Theophilus quotes the Sybil, first with a mention of Hades, which can be seen as understood in the Greek sense but Theophilus believes that she "was inspired by God in the same way as the prophets (II 9)"[39] and seems to support what she is saying:[40] "You offer sacrifices to demons who are in Hades" [II 36].[41]He

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[32] Grant, 238–39.

[33] James D. Tabor, "The Theology of Redemption in Theophilus of Antioch," *Restoration Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1975): 166–67.

[34] ἔδωκεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν νόμον καὶ ἐντολὰς ἁγίας, ἅς πᾶς ὁ ποιήσας δύναται σωθῆναι καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τυχὼν κληρονομῆαι τὴν ἀφθαρσίν. Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*, 70–71.

[35] Robert M. Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus," *Harvard Theological Review* 40, no. 4 (October 1947): 233; Tabor, "The Theology of Redemption in Theophilus of Antioch," 167. Parsons disagrees with Grant and believes Theophilus' rhetorical devices are useful for the time in which he was writing. Stuart E. Parsons, "Coherence, Rhetoric, and Scripture in Theophilus of Antioch's Ad Autolycum," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 53, no. 1–4 (Spring-Winter 2008): 155, 169.

[36] ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι τὴν καθολικὴν ἀνάστασιν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων. Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*, 18–19.

[37] Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus," 252.

[38] Tabor, "The Theology of Redemption in Theophilus of Antioch," 162–64.

[39] Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus," 241.

[40] Carl Curry, "Theogony of Theophilus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 42, no. 4 (1988): 318.

[41] δαίμοσι τὰς θυσίας ἐποιήσατε τοῖσιν ἐν ἅδῃ·. Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*, 88–89.

further quotes the Sybil, stating that those who do not know God as king and continue on in a way which calls God's judgment upon them will suffer in what can be understood very clearly as hell.

> Therefore a flame of burning fire is coming upon you;
> You will be burned in flames daily forever,
> Put to shame for your false useless idols.
> But those who worship God, the true and eternal,
> Receive life, for eternal time
> Dwelling in the luxuriant garden of paradise,
> Eating sweet bread from the starry heaven [II 36].[42]

Theophilus goes on to say that these statements of the Sybil are true: "Now that these statements are *true* and useful and *just* and *lovely* [Phil. 4:8] is obvious to all men, and also those who act in evil fashion must necessarily be punished in accordance with their actions."[43] The punishment being, as outlined above, eternal fire. Finally, in the last chapter (38) of book II, Theophilus outlines that the prophets, poets and philosophers all believe in the conflagration and just punishment of the wicked, among other things. The question of the immortality of the body for those who sin is left to the side and not addressed but it seems as though Theophilus believes the eternal suffering of the wicked is obvious and states that "All these matters will be understood by everyone who seeks for the Wisdom of God and is pleasing to him through faith and righteousness and good deeds."[44]

The eschatology of Theophilus is at times unclear along with the rest of his theology.

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[42] τοὔνεκεν αἰσθομένοιο πυρὸς σέλας ἔρχετ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶσ'
λαμπάσι καυθήσεσθε δι' αἰῶνος τὸ πανῆμαρ,
ψευδέσιν αἰσχυνθέντες ἐπ' εἰδώλοισιν ἀχρήστοις.
οἱ δὲ θεὸν τιμῶντες ἀληθινὸν ἀέναόν τε
ζωὴν κληρονομοῦσι, τὸν αἰῶνος χρόνον αὐτοί
οἰκοῦντες παραδείσου ὁμῶς ἐριθηλέα κῆπον,
δαινύμενοι γλυκὺν ἄρτον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος. Grant, 92–93.

[43] ὅτι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀληθῆ καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ δίκαια καὶ προφιλῆ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τυγχάνει, δῆλόν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ κακῶς δράσαντες ἀναγκαίως ἔχουσιν κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων κολασθῆναι. Grant, 92–93.

[44] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνήσει πᾶς ὁ ζητῶν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εὐαρεστῶν αὐτῷ διὰ πίστεως καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀγαθοεργίας. Grant, 98–99.

Grant goes to lengths to point this out.[45] However, his eschatology does derive from earlier Christian writers and, while Grant insists that Theophilus is greatly influenced by Hellenistic Jewish thought along with the Stoics because of the use of the terms ἐκπύρωσις and ἀποκατάστασις, he does admit that the teaching of Theophilus "is grounded in a literal interpretation of the New Testament."[46]

In Theophilus there is a continuation of what the early Church believed about hell. It is a place of eternal punishment, freely chosen by man, as well a one which is of eternal fire. The resurrection of the body and Theophilus understanding of the immortality of man, add to the existing understanding of hell as a place where the man who walks away from God shall be punished in flames for all eternity.

3.4. Irenaeus of Lyons

Irenaeus of Lyons lived in the latter half of the second century.[47] There is very little actually recorded about his life and although his *Adversus Haereses* was written sometime between 174 and 189,[48] it does not appear until Erasmus published the Latin translation of *Adversus Haereses* in 1526.[49] Irenaeus is important to this study for many reasons, but a fundamental one is his methodology. Irenaeus relies on the use of scripture and tradition in outlining his arguments against heretics, as well as of the Rule of Faith,[50] all of which enhances the link to his place in the line of succession leading from the

[45] Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus."

[46] Grant, 255.

[47] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*; Alexander Roberts and James Donalsdson, eds., *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, vol. 1, The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325 (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co., 1885), 646.

[48] Robert M. Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, The Early Christian Fathers (New York: Routledge, 1997), 6; Richard Hemmerdinger and Bertrand Marcel, "Trois Nouveaux Fragments de l'Adversus Haereses de Saint Irenee," *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Und Die Kunde Der Älteren Kirche* 53, no. 3–4 (n.d.): 254; Mary Ann Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 9–10; Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, ed. W.W. Harvey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857), vii; Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus," 227–28.

[49] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 343–57; Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, ix.

[50] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 3. Donovan writes: Because he is convinced that the Scriptures belong to the Christian community in such a way that any valid interpretation must be consistent with the faith of the community, an authoritative interpretation of the faith for him includes authoritative interpretation of the faith for him include authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures." Donovan, 5.

Apostle John to Polycarp and directly to Irenaeus himself.[51] Irenaeus tells of his own personal contact with Polycarp.[52] As Richardson states: "Through them he could almost join hands with Jesus himself..."[53] In this way Irenaeus participated in the school of John. "Seen against the background of this school, Irenaeus no longer appears as a bolt out of the blue at the end of the second century, but rather a faithful witness to a tradition of theology that is remarkably consistent, profound, and dynamic."[54] Grant says that Irenaeus does not represent "the whole of second-century Christianity, but he does represent the majority of views outside of Alexandria..."[55] Irenaeus himself states the importance of this succession by opening his 'Rule of Truth' or 'Rule of Faith' with the supposition that the Church "has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith..." (LIB/GR.1.2.1; MASS I.x.1).[56]

Also, important to note is the use of New Testament materials as well as materials written by other writers of the early Greek Church such as I Clement, Justin Martyr, and Shepherd of Hermas, and Ignatius of Antioch among others.[57] As stated from the beginning of this thesis, these connections are of the upmost importance for they show that this line of thinking was a continuation from the beginning. Irenaeus, more than most writers to this point, draws on the sources of these early Greek writers as well as the New Testament and is a close reflection of modern methodologies.

Irenaeus wrote several works, the most important of which, for this study, is *On the Detection and Refutation of Knowledge Falsely So Called*, better known as *Against the*

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[51] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 347; Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1–4; Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 9.

[52] Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 2–4; Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:646; Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, vii.

[53] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 353.

[54] John Behr, "St. Irenaeus of Lyons and the School of John," *Phronema* 34, no. 2 (2019): 2.

[55] Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1.

[56] παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα (GR.I.ii) et ab Apostolis, et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem (LIB. I.ii). Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, 90. NOTE: Harvey places this in chapter 2 of Book 1, whereas the English translation is located in chapter 10 of Book one (Mass. I.x.1). See: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:679.

The Rule of Faith is that in which Irenaeus demonstrates and believes that the truth of the Church is passed on and does not change. His belief that the Valentinians had changed, altered or disfigured the truth of the faith is one reason for his writing *AH.* For a discussion on the Rule of Faith see: Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 11–12; Thomas C.K. Ferguson, "The Rule of Truth and Irenaean Rhetoric in Book 1 of 'against Heresies,'" *Vigiliae Christianae* 55, no. 4 (2001): 372.

[57] Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 352–53; Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1; Th.-André Audet, "ORIENTATIONS THÉOLOGIQUES CHEZ SAINT IRÉNÉE: Le Contexte Mental d'une ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΑΛΗΘΗΣ," *Traditio* 1 (1943): 15, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0362152900017505.

Heresies or *Adversus Haereses.* It was written primarily as a treaties against the Valentinians as, in Irenaeus' view, it was the most dangerous the of heresies which existed at that time.[58] *Adversus Haereses* consists of five books which lay out the true faith as well as address various heresies.[59]

When thinking of Irenaeus, the topic of hell does not usually come to mind. It will be shown below where Irenaeus addresses the topic in reference to other topics, however, based on what he writes, his understanding of the subject is clear. When addressing the topic of hell in his books it is always in relation to those who have sinned and are unrepentant or in reference to the Devil and his angels for whom hell was created. The vocabulary used by Irenaeus on the topic is as follows: Book I has passages that refer to everlasting fire as well as Hades. Book II addresses hell, hellfire, eternal fire, and everlasting fire. Book III eternal fire, everlasting fire, hell and the belly of hell. Book IV has passages that address eternal fire, everlasting fire, hell, everlasting perdition, everlasting death, and everlasting destruction. Book V speaks about the final state of sinful man in more detail and holds a reference to John's 'lake of fire,' unquenchable fire, eternal fire, everlasting fire, the eternity of the soul in hell, as well as the idea of a self-chosen separation from God. Irenaeus does mention Hades and the depths of the earth and Christ's descent as well as a warning to sinners. However, he mainly writes about Christ's descent regarding Marcion but gives no interpretation of the orthodox faith on this point since he was more concerned with Marcion and his mutilation of Scripture. Not all the aforementioned terminology will be addressed in each specific book as sometimes there is only a passing use of the word and most often it is a citation of Scripture. But where the terminology clearly reveals Irenaeus' conception of hell the passage will be addressed.

3.4.1. Adversus Haereses Book 1

The first passage where hell is mentioned in *Adversus Haereses* is Book 1.1.10, which lays out the beliefs that the Church holds, or as Irenaeus states to "contrast orthodox unity with heterodox diversity."[60] He writes within his "Rule of Faith": "that He may

[58] Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 6.

[59] Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:640–47; Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 349–54.

[60] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 15.

send ‘spiritual wickedness,’ and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, together with the ungodly, and unrighteous, and wicked, and profane among men, into everlasting fire” (MISS. I.x.1).[61]

This chapter is of interest for many reasons, primary among them, for our purposes, is that this is a statement of what the Church believes as the ‘Rule of Faith.’[62] This continues to be important, not just for the fact that Irenaeus is outlining the truth in adherence to scripture but in the fact, in relation specifically to hell, that those who choose to defy God and continue in wickedness will be recipients of an everlasting fire (αἰώνιον πῦρ). This in contradiction to the Valentinian belief that those who do not poses the spiritual spark of life and are not chosen, will be destroyed along with all matter (*AH* 1.7, 1 and 5).[63] Irenaeus is consistent throughout his work with this conception, as will be seen below.

Irenaeus also uses the word hades in Book I. Here Irenaeus is arguing against Marcion’s belief that the body itself cannot be saved and that Christ saved sinners who had died in the Old Testament:

> 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 (inferos), and on their running unto Him, and that they welcomed Him into their kingdom. But the serpent which is 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

[61] καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηταϊ τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους [τοὺς] παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ. (GR./LIB I.ii) Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, 91. English translation (MASS I.x.1): Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:680.

[62] Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 49–50.

[63] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 35.

Hades (inferos) (MASS. 1.27.3).[64]

In this chapter Irenaeus does not defend or define hell or hades but simply is pointing out the errors of Marcion. However, it is clear here that Irenaeus believes and expects that those who do evil and do not repent, even those who came before Christ, will stay in hell, while those who did not do evil and have repented will join the Lord. He will later refer to Death and Hades as a place where all are held until the final judgment. This emphasizes Irenaeus belief in an intermediate state.

3.4.2. Adversus Haereses Book 2

Unfortunately, there are only parts of the Greek manuscripts preserved for *Adversus Haereses* Book 2. However, the Latin has survived. Irenaeus does not focus on hell in this book but has a passing reference to "the eternal fire which the Father has prepared for the devil and his angels,"[65] of Matthew 25:41 as well as Luke's rich man in hell (MASS. 2.24.4). Further on he states very clearly that we do not know many things and must leave them in the hands of God:

> Since, therefore, we know but in part, we ought to leave all sorts of [difficult] questions in the hands of Him who in some measure, [and that only,] bestows grace on us. That eternal fire, [for instance,] is prepared for sinners, both the Lord has plainly declared, and the rest of the Scriptures demonstrate. And that God fore-knew that this would happen, the Scriptures do in like manner demonstrate,

[64] Super blasphemiam autem quæ est in Deum, adjecit et hoc, vere Diaboli os accipiens, et omnia contraria dicens veritati: Cain et eos qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomitas, et Ægyptios, et similies eis, et omnes omnino gentes, quæ in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos, et accurrissent ei, et in suum assumpsisse regnum; Abel autem et Enoch, et Noe, et reliquos justos, et eos qui sunt erga Abraham Patriarchas, cum omnibus Prophetis, et his qui placuerunt Deo, non participasse salutem, qui in Marcione fuit serpens præconavit. Quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, Deum suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentare eum suspicati non accurrerunt Jesu, et propterea remansisse animas ipsorum apud inferos dixit (LIB. I.25.1; GR I.29) Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, 218–19. English (MASS. 1.27.2) translation: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:726–27.

[65] Et ignis autem œternus, quem prœparavit Pater diabolo et angelis ejus. (LIB 2.6.1; GR 2.6) Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, 268. English (MASS. 2.7.3): Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:759.

> since He prepared eternal fire from the beginning for those who were [afterwards] to transgress [His commandments]; but the cause itself of the nature of such transgressors neither has any Scripture informed us, nor has an apostle told us, nor has the Lord taught us. It becomes us, therefore, to leave the knowledge of this matter to God, even as the Lord does of the day and hour [of judgment], and not to rush to such an extreme of danger, that we will leave nothing in the hands of God, even though we have received only a measure of grace [from Him in this world] (II.28.7).[66]

Here Irenaeus puts forth Scripture as the measure by which we know that God has prepared eternal fire for those who transgress his commands. For Irenaeus this is not debatable since the Lord has taught us this truth, as to the rest, meaning those who will be punished there, must be left to God. Of course, Irenaeus' methodology is what holds his argument together. And finally in Book II, Irenaeus takes the time to spell out the teaching of Scripture, stating that the Lord taught that those who do not love their enemies are in danger of hell-fire (ignem gehennæ) and goes on to cite Matthew 25:41 again and also Mark 9:44 saying that "He shall send the unrighteous, and those who do not the works of righteousness, into everlasting fire, where their worm shall not die, and the fire shall not be quenched" (MASS. 2.32.1).[67]

Irenaeus does not bother to expand on this or explain further. For him, what Scripture says is the truth and does not need clarification. Through this, as in the rest of the passages which cite Matthew 25:41, this image of eternal fire and suffering holds the meaning of hell for Irenaeus.

3.4.3. Adversus Haereses Book 3

[66] Quoniam quidem transgressoribus ignis æternus præparatus est, et Dominus manifeste dixit, et reliquæ demonstrant Scripturæ. Et quoniam præsciit Deus hoc futurum, similiter demonstrant Scripturæ, quemadmodum et ignem æternum his qui transgressuri sunt, præparavit ab initio: ipsam autem causam naturæ transgredientium, neque Scriptura aliqua retulit, nec Apostolus dixit, nec Dominus docuit. Dimittere itaque oportet agnitionem hanc Deo, quemadmodum et Dominus horæ et diei; nec in tantum periclitari, uti Deo quidem concedamus nihil, et hæc ex parte accipientes gratiam. (LIB 2.43.3; GR 2.49).Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, 356–57. English (MASS. 2.7.7) Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:831.

[67] mittet *in ignem œternum, ubi vermis ipsorum non morietur, et ignis non exstinguetur*. (LIB. 2.48.4; GR. 2.56) Sancti Irenaei, *Vol. 1 Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque Adversus Haereses*, 372. English (MASS. 2.32.1) Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:845.

In Book three of *Adversus Haereses*, the statement of the 'Rule of Faith' is seen once more along with Irenaeus' insistence that the truth is found nowhere other than in the Catholic Church. This time, he writes in the context of the authority and the right interpretation of the Church.[68] Irenaeus makes clear the line of tradition and authority under which Scripture should be interpreted. He refers to Jesus as Savior and Judge: "The Saviour of those who are saved and the Judge of those who are judged, and sending into eternal fire those who transform the truth, and despise His Father and His advent" (3.4.2).[69] As will be seen throughout his writing, Irenaeus most often uses references to Scripture when referring to hell. He quotes Acts 2:27 "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell" (3.12.2);[70] Matthew 10:28 "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to send both soul and body into hell" (3.18.5);[71] and, a reference to Jonah 2:2, "I cried by reason of mine affliction to the Lord my God, and He heard me out of the belly of hell" (3.20.1).[72]

Later in Book 3 a very clear picture of hell starts to emerge. Here Irenaeus begins to develop his thinking on the topic. Whereas before, he relied solely on Scripture, here he begins to explain what is before him:

> And this same thing does the Lord also say in the Gospel, to those who are found upon the left hand: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which my Father has prepared for the devil and his angels;" indicating that eternal fire was not originally prepared for men, but for him who beguiled man, and caused him

[68] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 63–66.

[69] Σωτῆρα τῶν σῳζομένων καὶ Κριτὴν τῶν κρινομένων καὶ πέμποντα εἰς πῦρ αἰώνιον τοὺς παραχαράκτας τῆς ἀληθείς καί καταφρονητὰς τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 3*, ed. L. Doutreleau and A. Rousseau, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 211 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1974), 49. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:863.

[70] ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην οὐδὲ. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 3*, 2:181. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:889.

[71] "Μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβήθητε δέ μᾶλλον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν." Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 3*, 2:357–59. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:923.

[72] "Εβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεόν μου, καὶ εἰσήκουσέν μου ἐκ κοιλίας ᾅδου" Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 3*, 2:387. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:929.

> to offend—for him, I say, who is chief of the apostasy, and for those angels who became apostates along with him; which [fire], indeed, they too shall justly feel, who, like him, persevere in works of wickedness, without repentance, and without retracing their steps (3.23.3).[73]

It is clear that while the eternal fire was not made for man, there will be a consequence for the wickedness and unrepentance of sinners and this fire will be eternal (αἰώνιον). Irenaeus is focused more on Christ and his final victory over death and doesn't focus on the differences between physical death and an absolute death which will come after judgment.[74] However, it is clear that this is punishment for sin, that those who do not repent will experience this as a result of judgment and that this is in fire for eternity (πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον).

3.4.4. Adversus Haereses Book 4

In *Adversus Haereses* Book 4, Irenaeus looks to see how the New Testament outlines what was prophesied in the Old Testament.[75] But equally important, and for this study vastly more on point, is that in this section of *Adversus Haereses* Irenaeus argues that while the human body is matter, and immortality concerns man as such, free will becomes paramount and the final judgement therefore leads either to eternity with God or suffering in everlasting fire.[76] There is reference to Christ's descent into hell (IV.27.2) but similar to 1 Peter 3:19-20, to which he is referring, there is simply a reference to the regions beneath the earth. It is, however, again shown in this chapter that those who sin will be sent into eternal fire (4.27.4; 4.28.1; 4.40.1; 4.40.2). In quiet a lengthy section Irenaeus, basing his thoughts upon scripture, shows that those who chose to sin will be cast away and separated from the presence of God. He writes:

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[73] Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῖς ἐξ εὐωνύμων εὑρισκομένοις φησίν· "Πορεύεσθε, κατηραμένοι, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Πατήρ μου τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ", σημαίνων ὅτι οὐ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προηγουμένως ἡτοίμασται τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπατήσαντι καὶ προσκόψαι φησίν· ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ τοῖς συναποστᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἀγγέλοις· ὅπερ δικαίως ἀπολήψονται καὶ οἱ ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἀμετανοήτως καὶ ἀνεπιστρόφως τοῖς τὴ κακίας ἐπιμένοντες ἔπιμένοντες ἔργοις. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 3*, 2:453–55. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:942.

[74] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 92.

[75] Donovan, 98.

[76] Donovan, 101.

As then the unrighteous, the idolaters, and fornicators perished, so also is it now: for both the Lord declares, that such persons are sent into eternal fire; and the apostle says, “Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, not effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.” And as it was not to those who are without that he said these things, but to us, lest we should be cast forth from the kingdom of God, by doing any such thing, he proceeds to say, “And such indeed were ye; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God.” And just as then, those who led vicious lives, and put other people astray, were condemned and cast out, so also even now the offending eye is plucked out, and the foot and the hand, lest the rest of the body perish in like manner. And we have the precept: “If any man that is called brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one go not to eat.” And again does the apostle say, “Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of mistrust. Be not ye therefore partakers with them.” And as then the condemnation of sinners extended to others who approved of them, and joined in their society; so also is it the case at present, that “a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.” And as the wrath of God did then descend upon the unrighteous, here also does the apostle likewise say: “For the wrath of God shall be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of those men who hold back the truth in unrighteousness.” And as, in those times, vengeance came from God upon the Egyptians who were subjecting Israel to unjust punishment, so is it now, the Lord truly declaring, “And shall not God avenge His own elect, which cry day and night unto Him? I tell you, that He will avenge them speedily.” So says the apostle, in like manner, in the Epistle to the Thessalonians: “Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation on them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled rest with us, at the revealing of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven with His might angels, and in a flame of fire, to take vengeance upon those who know not God, and upon those that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall also be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord,

> and from the glory of His power; when He shall come to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in all them who had believed in Him (4.27.4).[77]

Through the use of Scripture, Irenaeus continuously describes the punishment of sinners in terms of being cast out from the kingdom of God into eternal fire. But here it must be mentioned that Irenaeus views hell as the separation from God, which will become paramount in Book 5, therefore, to be "cast forth from the kingdom of God" is to be sent to hell as is implied by the reference to Mark 9:47 and Matthew 18:9 as well as "punishment with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord."

In Chapter 28 he writes against those who focus solely on the abundant grace of God but do not take into consideration His judgement.

> Inasmuch, then as in both Testaments there is the same righteousness of God [displayed] when God takes vengeance, in the one case indeed typically, temporarily, and more moderately; but in the other, really, enduringly, and more rigidly: for the fire is eternal, and the wrath of God which shall be revealed from

[77] Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ οἱ ἄδικοι καὶ εἰδωλολάτραι καὶ πόρνοι ζωὴν ἀπώλεσαν, οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθα, τοῦ μὲν Κυρίου εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον πεμφθήσεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους φήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου· "Ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε" εἰπόντος, "ὅτι ἄδικοι Θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσι; Μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε εἰδωλολάτραι οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται οὔτε κλέπται οὔτε πλεονέκται οὔτε μέθυσοι οὔτε λοίδοροι οὔτε ἅρπαγες βασιλείας Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν"· καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξωτέρους τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγει, ἵνα μὴ ἐκβλιθῶμεν ἐκτὸς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοιοῦτό τι ἐργασάμενοι, ἐπήνεγκε· "Καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε· ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε, ἀλλὰ ἡγιάσθητε, ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν." Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ ἐξαφωρίζοντο οἱ φαῦλα πράσσοντες καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διαφθείροντες, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὀφθαλμός τε ἐξαίρεται ὁ σκανδαλίζων καὶ ποὺς καὶ χείρ, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ συναπόληται σῶμα· καὶ ἔχομεν τὴν ἐντολήν· "Ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ὀνομαζόμενος πόρνος ἢ πλεονέκτης ἢ ἐδωλολάτρης ἢ λοίδορος ἢ μέθυσος ἢ ἅρπαξ, τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεσθίεις"· καὶ πάλιν φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος· "Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις· διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας· μὴ οὖν γίνεσθε συμμέτοχοι αὐτῶν." Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετεῖχον τιμωρίας ὅτι συνευδόκουν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνανεστρέφοντο, οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθα "μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα δολοῖ". Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ εἰς τοὺς ἀδίκους ὀργὴ κατέβαινε Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁμοίως ὁ ἀπόστολός φησιν· "Ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ Θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων". Καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀδίκως ζημιοῦντας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκδίκησις ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐγίνετο, οὕτως καὶ ἐνταῦθα, τοῦ μὲν Κυρίος εἰπόντος· "Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶς ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βοώντων αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός; Ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει", τοῦ δὶ ἀποστόλου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς οὕτως· "Εἴπερ δίκαιον", φήσαντος, "παρὰ Θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν καί ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν μεθ' ἡμῶς, ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς υὴ εἰδόσι Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσι τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμαθῆναι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύσασιν." Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, ed. L. Doutreleau et al., Sources Chrétiennes 100 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1965), 749–55. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1032–33.

> heaven from the face of our Lord (as David also says, "But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth"), entails a heavier punishment on those who incur it—the elders pointed out that those men are devoid of sense, who [arguing] from what happened to those who formerly did not obey God, do endeavor to bring in another Father, setting over against [these punishments] what great things the Lord had done at His coming to save those who received Him, taking compassion upon them; while they keep silence with regard to His judgment; and all those things which shall come upon such as have heard His words, but done them not, and that it were better for them if they had not been born, and that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the judgment than for that city which did not receive the word of His disciples (4.28.1).[78]

Here again the same idea of punishment and separation from God as eternal and in fire. There is also the differentiation between a lighter punishment, understood as that of those who may repent or the fire which may help the sinner return to God, and that of eternal punishment for those who do not repent and continue in their separation from God.

The following paragraph continues with the same theme:

> For as, in the New Testament, that faith of men [to be placed] in God has been increased, receiving in addition [to what was already revealed] the Son of God, that man too might be a partaker of God; so is also our walk in life required to be more circumspect, when we are directed not merely to abstain from evil actions, but even from evil thoughts, and from idle words, and empty talk, and scurrilous-language: thus also the punishment of those who do not believe the Word of God,

[78] Τῆς αὐτῆς οὖν οὔσης δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκαῖ τε καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεῖ μὲν τυπικῶς καὶ προσκαίρως καὶ μετρίως, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀληθῶς καὶ αἰωνίως καὶ ἀποτόμως - αἰώνιον γὰρ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἡ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀποκαλυπτομένη ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ "ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου" ἡμῶν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Δαυίδ φησιν· "Πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦτας κακὰ τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι ἐκ γῆ τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν", πλείονα τὴν τιμωρίαν παρέχει τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτήν - πάνυ ἀνοήτους ἐδείκνευν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τοὺς ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς πάλαι ἀπειθοῦσι τῷ Θεῷ πειρῶντας ἄλλον παρεισσάγειν Πατέρα, ἀντιτιθέντας μὲν ὅσα ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τὸ σῶσαι τοὺς δεξαμένους αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πεποίηκεν ἐλεήσας αὐτούς, σιωπῶντας δὲ περὶ τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα συμβήσεται τοῖς ἀκούσασι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ποιήσασι, καὶ ὅτι καλὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθησαν, καὶ ὅτι "ἀνεκτότερον Σοδόμοις καὶ Φομόρροις ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ τὸν λόγον τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 755–57. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1034.

> and despise His advent, and are turned away backwards, is increased; being not merely temporal, but rendered also eternal. For to whomsoever the Lords shall say, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," these shall be damned for ever (IV.28.2).[79]

In summation of the doctrine above he writes:

> Paul also refers to this event when he says, "if, however, it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you that are troubled rest with us, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, with His mighty angels, and in a flame of fire." Others again, speaking of Him as a judge, and [referring], as if it were a burning furnace, [to] the day of the Lord, who "gathers the wheat into His barn, but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire," were accustomed to threaten those who were unbelieving, concerning whom also the Lord Himself declares, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which my Father has prepared for the devil and his angels." And the apostle in like manner says [of them], "Who shall be punished with everlasting death from the face of the Lord, and from the glory of His power, when He shall come to be glorified in His saints, and to be admired in those who believe in Him" (4.33.11).[80]

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of hell understood by Irenaeus. For him there is

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[79] Ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ καινῇ ἡ εἰς Θεὸν πίστις ηὐξήθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων, προσθήκην λαβοῦσα τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἵζα καὶ ἄνθρωπος γένηται μέτοχος Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀκριβεια τῆς ἀναστροφῆς ἐνετάτη, οὐ μόνον τῶν κακῶν ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι κελευομένων ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πονηρῶν διαλογισμῶν καὶ ἀργῶν ῥημάτων καὶ εὐτραπελιῶν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ ὄλεθρος τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀτιμαζόντων αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν καὶ ὑποστρεφόντων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐπλεονάσθη, μηκέτι πρόσκαιρος ἀλλ' αἰώνιος γενόμενος. Οἷς γὰρ ἂν εἴπῃ ὁ Κύριος· "Πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ κατηραμένοι, εἰς τὸ πῦρ αἰώνιον", οὗτοι ἔσονται ἀεὶ κατακεκριμένοι. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 757–59. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1034–35.

[80] περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ Παῦλός φησιν· "Εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ Θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖ θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλῖψιν καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἄνεσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν φλογὶ πυρός"·

οἱ δὲ Κριτὴν λέγοντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν Κυρίου ὡς κλίβανον καιομέανην, ὃς "συνάγει τὸν σῖτον εἰν τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ ", ἠπείλουν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι, περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριός γησι· "Πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ κατηραμένοι, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὅ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Πατήρ μου τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ", καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ὁμοίως φησίν· "Οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν ὀλέθρου αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς πιστεύσασιν'. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 827–29. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1050.

a judgment and a punishment for those who transgress the law of God. It is understood clearly as a punishment of eternal fire, as is described in the Scriptures. He holds this image in accord with the Gospels and the teachings of Christ as well as his apostles.

In chapters 36-40 of Book IV, Irenaeus highlights human freedom and God as the judge of all.[81] He uses the word hell (hades ᾅδου), which we will also see later in the work, in relation to Matthew 11:23-24: "'And thou, Capernaum,' He said, 'is it that thou shall be exalted to heaven? Thou shalt go down to hell. For if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained unto this day. Verily I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment than for you'" (4.36.3).[82]

Also, there is use of eternal darkness, in this sense the opposite of the eternal light of God. The following excerpt once again points to the truth as Irenaeus sees it, that hell is a self-chosen consequence. That those who choose to be with God and seek his goodness will find eternal rest in His light and those who do not choose eternal darkness.

> For as in the case of this temporal light, those who shun it do deliver themselves over to darkness, so that they do themselves become the cause to themselves that they are destitute of light, and do inhabit darkness; and, as I have already observed, the light is not the cause of such an [unhappy] condition of existence to them; so those who fly from the eternal light of God, which contains in itself all good things, are themselves the cause to themselves of their inhabiting eternal darkness, destitute of all good things, having become to themselves the cause of [their consignment to] an abode of that nature (IV.39.4).[83]

[81] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 129.

[82] "Καὶ οὐ δέ, Καφαρναούμ", ἔφη, "μὴ ἕως οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθήσῃ; Ἕως ᾅδου καταβήσῃ· ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγενήθησαν αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν σοί, ἔμεινεν ἂν μέχρι τῆς σήμερον· πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, Σοδόμοις ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἢ ὑμῖν" Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 891–93. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1064.

[83] Ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ προσκαίρῳ φωτὶ τούτῳ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῖς αἴτιοι ὅτι ἀποστεροῦνται τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ κατοικοῦσι σκότος, καὶ οὐ τὸ φῶς αἴτιον αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκήσεως, καθὼς προέφαμεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ τὸ αἰώνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ φεύγοντες φῶς τὸ ἐμπεριεκτικὸν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἰτίαν αἰώνιον σκότος κατοικήσουσιν ἐστερημένοι πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἑαυτοῖς αἴτιοι τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκήσεως γεγονότες. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 973. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1080.

In the next chapter Irenaeus outlines that, again, the one God will separate the good from the bad and has also prepared the eternal fire for the devil and apostate angels.[84] Here is also eternal fire and outer darkness, that which is chosen by the individual in his free will.

> It is therefore one and the same God the Father who has prepared good things with Himself for those who desire His fellowship, and who remain in subjection to Him; and who has the eternal fire for the ringleader of the apostasy, the devil, and those who revolted with him, into which [fire] the Lord has declared those men shall be sent who have been set apart by themselves on His left hand. And this is what has been spoken by the prophet, "I am a jealous God, making peace, and creating evil things;" thus making peace and friendship with those who repent and turn to Him, and bringing [them to] unity, but preparing for the impenitent, those who shun the light, eternal fire and outer darkness, which are evils indeed to those persons who fall into them (IV.40.1).[85]

He continues with various references to Matthew 25:32-42, as well as Matthew 13:40-43 again making the point that the fire was not originally intended for man but for Satan and his angels:

> If, however, it were truly one Father who confers rest, and another God who has prepared the fire, their sons would have been equally different [one from the other]; one, indeed, sending [men] into the Father's kingdom, but the other into eternal fire. But inasmuch as one and the same Lord has pointed out that the whole human race shall be divided at the judgment, "as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats," and that to some He will say, "Come, ye blessed of My Father,

[84] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 135.

[85] Εἷς οὖν καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς Πατήρ, ὁ τοῖς μὲν γλιχομένοις αὐτοῦ τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ προσμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποταγῇ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἡτοιμακὼς ἀγαθά, τῷ δὲ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς ἀποστασίς διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς συναποστᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἀγγέλοις τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ ἡτοιμακώς, εἰς ὃ πεμφθήσεσθαι ἔφη ὁ Κύριος οὺς εἰς τὰ ἀριστερὰ διακριθέντας. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου· "Ἐγὼ Θεὸς ζηλωτής, ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά ", ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς μετανοοῦντας καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ἕνωσιν σουντιθέμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς μὴ μετανοοῦντας, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶς, πῦρ αἰώνιον καὶ ἐξώτερον σκότος ἡτοιμακώς, ἅτινά ἐστι κακὰ τοῖς ἐμπεσοῦσιν εἰς αὐτά. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 975. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1080.

receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you," but to others, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which My Father has prepared for the devil and his angels," one and the same Father is manifestly declared [in this passage], "making peace and creating evil things," preparing fit things for both; as also there is one Judge sending both into a fit place, as the Lord sets forth in the parable of the tares and the wheat, where He says, "As therefore the tares are gathered together, and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the end of the world. The Son of man shall send His angels, and they shall gather from His kingdom everything that offendeth, and those who work iniquity, and shall send them into a furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the just shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." The Father, therefore, who has prepared the kingdom for the righteous, into which the Son has received those worthy of it, is He who has also prepared the furnace of fire, into which these angels commissioned by the Son of man shall send those persons who deserve it, according to God's command (4.40.2).[86]

In the following chapter Irenaeus explains further that: "Inasmuch as the Lord has said that there are certain angels, [viz. those] of the devil, for whom eternal fire is prepared; and as, again, He declares with regard to the tares, 'The tares are the children of the wicked one' it must be affirmed that He has ascribed all who are of the apostasy to him who is the ringleader of this transgression" (4.41.1).[87]

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[86] Εἰ δὲ ἄλλος ἦν ὁ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν χαριζόμενος Πατὴρ καὶ ἄλλος ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἡτοιμακὼς Θεός, διάφοροι ἂν ἐγένοντο καὶ Υἱοί, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βασιλείαν πέμπων, ὁ δὲ εἰς αἰώνιον πῦρ. Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Κύριος διακρίνειν ἐμήνυσε πᾶν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ κρίσει, "ὥσπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων", καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐρεῖ· "Δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ Πατρός μου, κληρονομήσατε τήν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείν", τοῖς δέ· "Πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ κατηραμένοι, εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ, ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Πατήρ μου τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ", εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Πατὴρ φανερώτατα δείκνυται, "ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά ", προητοιμακὼς τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἁρμόζοντα, καθάπερ καὶ εἷς κριτὴς τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν πέμπων χώραν.

Καθὼς ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ζιζανίων καὶ τοῦ σίτου παραβολῆς ἐμήνυσεν ὁ Κύριος, εἰπών· "Ὥσπερ γὰρ συλλέγεται τὰ ζιζάνια καὶ πυρὶ κατακαίεται, οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος· ἀποστελεῖ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλέξουσιν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων· τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῶν." Ὁ οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν προητοιμακὼς τοῖς δικαίοις Πατήρ, εἰς ἣν ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀξίους, οὗτος καὶ τὴν κάμινον ἡτοίμασε τοῦ πυρός, εἰς ἣν βαλοῦσι τοὺς ἀξίους οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπεσταλμένοι ἄγγελοι κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 977–79. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1080–81.

[87] Ἐπειδὴ ἀγγέλους τινὰς εἴρηκε τοῦ διαβόλου, οἷς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ ἡτοίμασται, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν ζιζανίων φησὶν ὅτι "τὰ ζιζάνιά εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ " ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν ὅτι τοὺς τῆς ἀποστασίας

There are several points that Irenaeus is making with these quotes of Scripture and the discussion, however, it is very clear that hell is a choice of the individual, that those who sin and choose to walk away from God will be cast into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.

3.4.5. Adversus Haereses Book 5

For Irenaeus, the salvation of the flesh is of the upmost importance in Book 5.[88] The Incarnation and the unity of Christ with man in that regard lead not only to salvation and everlasting life with God, but equally to eternal damnation which one will also experience in the flesh. Common to second-century writers was the idea that there is a moral death, this is the death as the result of sin.[89] However, Irenaeus "does not distinguish between physical death and moral death, but between physical death and the total, final death of the human composite. Sin causes that death."[90]

> For those things which have been predicted by the Creator alike through all the prophets has Christ fulfilled in the end, ministering to His Father's will, and completing His dispensations with regard to the human race. Let those persons, therefore, who blaspheme the Creator, either by openly expressed words, such as the disciples of Marcion, or by a perversion of the sense [of Scripture], as those of Valentinus and all the Gnostics falsely so called, be recognized as agents of Satan by all those who worship God; through whose agency Satan now, and not before, has been seen to speak against God, even Him who has prepared eternal fire for every kind of apostasy. For he did not venture to blaspheme his Lord openly of himself; as also in the beginning he led man astray through the instrumentality of the serpent, concealing himself as it were from God. Truly has Justin remarked: That before the Lord's appearance Satan never dared to blaspheme God, inasmuch as he did not yet know his own sentence, because it

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ἅπαντας προσέγραψεν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀρχηγῷ γεγονότι ταύτης τῆς παραβάσεως. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 4*, 983. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1082.

[88] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 141.

[89] Donovan, 159.

[90] Donovan, 160.

> was contained in parables and allegories; but that after the Lord's appearance, when he had clearly ascertained from the words of Christ and His apostles that eternal fire has been prepared for him as he apostatized from God of his own free-will, and likewise for all who unrepentant continue in the apostasy, he now blasphemes, by means of such men, the Lord who brings judgment [upon him] as being already condemned, and imputes the guilt of his apostasy to his Maker, not to his own voluntary disposition. Just as it is with those who break the laws, when punishment overtakes them: they throw the blame upon those who frame the laws, but not upon themselves. In like manner do those men, filled with a satanic spirit, bring innumerable accusations against our Creator, who has both given to us the spirit of life, and established a law adapted for all; and they will not admit that the judgment of God is just (5.26.2).[91]

It is clear from the above passage that hell has been prepared for the devil and his angels. Here we also see examples of Satan's control and influence over those who choose to walk away from God. And Irenaeus also makes clear that the punishment these choose to bring upon themselves is, in fact, just.

In Chapter 27 Irenaeus fiercely defends human free will and, again, points to hell as being self-chosen as well as being separation from God.[92] He cites scripture with the

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[91] Τά γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεμιουργοῦ προρρηθέντα ὁμοίως διὰ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, ταῦτα ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ τέλει ἐπετέλεσεν, ὑπουργήσας τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς θελήματι καὶ ἐκπληρώσας τὴν κατ' ἀνθρωπότητα οἰκονομίαν. Οἱ οὖν βλασφημοῦντες τὸν Δεμιουργόν, ἢ αὐτολεξεὶ καὶ φανερῶς ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, ἢ κατὰ παρατροπὴν τῆς γνώμης ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ πάντες οἱ ψευδώνυμοι γνωστικοί, ὄργανα τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὑπό πάντων τῶν θεοσεῶν γνωσθήτωσαν εἶναι, δι' ὧν ὁ Σατανᾶς νῦν σαὶ οὐ τὸ πρότερον ἐπεχείρησε λοιδορῆσαι Θεὸν τὸν πῦρ αἰώνιον ἡτοιμακότα πάσῃ τῇ ἀποστασίᾳ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν γυμνῶς οὐ τολμᾷ βλασφημεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Δεσπότην, καθώς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διά τοῦ ὄφεως ἐξηπάτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς λανθάνων τὸν Θεόν. Καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος εἶπεν ὅτι πρὸ μέν τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας οὐδέποτε ἐτόλμησεν ὁ Σατανᾶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν Θεόν, ἅτε μηδέπω εἰδὼς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάκρισιν, διὰ τὸ ἐν παραβολαῖς καὶ ἀλληγορίαις ὑπό τῶν προφητῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρῆσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρὶου ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλον αὐτοῦ μαθὼν ἀναφανδὸν ὅτι πῦρ αἰώνιον αὐτῷ ἡτοίμασται κατ' ἰδίαν γνώμην ἀποστάντι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμετανουήτως παραμείνασιν ἐν τῇ ἀποστασίᾳ, διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων βλασφημεῖ τὸν τὴν κρίσιν ἐπάγοντα Κύριον, ὡς ἤδη κατακεκριμένος, καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀποστασίας τῷ ἐκτικότι αὐτὸν ἀποκαλαεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ, ὡς καὶ οἱ παραβαίνοντες τοὺς νόμους, ἔπειτα δίκας διδόντες, αἰτιῶνται τοὺς νομοθέτας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑαυτούς" οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὗτοι διαβολικοῦ πνεύματος πλήρεις μυρίας κατηγορίας ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ πεποιηκότι ἡμᾶς καὶ Πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἡμῖν χαρισαμένῳ καὶ νόμον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἁρμόζοντα θέντι, καὶ οὐ θέντι, καὶ οὐ θέλουσι δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Διὸ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα παρεπινοοῦσι Πατέρα μήτε φροντίζοντα μήτε προνοοῦντα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἢ καὶ συνευδοκοῦντα πᾶσι ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, ed. L. Doutreleau, B.C. Mercier, and A. Rousseau, vol. 2, Sources Chrétiennes 153 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 333–39. EnRoberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1149–50.glish:

[92] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 165.

metaphor of the wheat and the tares, and the goats that are sent into the unquenchable fire prepared by God for Satan.

> If the Father, then, does not exercise judgment, [it follows] that judgment does not belong to Him, or that He consents to all those actions which take place; and if He does not judge, all persons will be equal, and accounted in the same condition. The advent of Christ will therefore be without an object, yea, absurd, inasmuch as [in that case] He exercises no judicial power. "For He came to divide a man against his father, and the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law;" and when two are in one bed, to take the one, and to leave the other; and of two women grinding at the mill, to take one and leave the other: [also] at the time of the end, to order the reapers to collect first the tares together, and bind them in bundles, and burn them with unquenchable fire, but to gather up the wheat into the barn; and to call the lambs into the kingdom prepared for them, but to send the goats into everlasting fire, which has been prepared by His Father for the devil and his angels. And why is this? Has the Word come for the ruin and for the resurrection of many? For the ruin, certainly, of those who do not believe Him, to whom also He has threatened a greater damnation in the judgment-day than that of Sodom and Gomorrha; but for the resurrection of believers, and those who do the will of His Father in heaven (5.27.1).[93]

In the following paragraph, Irenaeus makes it clear that this punishment is everlasting and eternal.[94] This is shown by the contrast between eternal good with God which, in turn, makes logical sense that punishment will also be eternal. And, once again,

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[93] Εἰ γάρ οὐ κρίνει ὁ Πατήρ, ἤτοι οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ ἢ συνευδοκεῖ τοῖς γινομένοις πᾶσιν˙ καί, εἰ οὐ κρίνει, πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ ἔσονται καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ λογισθήσονται κώρᾳ˙ περισσὴ οὖν ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐναντία τῷ υή κρίνειν αὐτόν˙ "ἦλθεν γάρ διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ νύμγην κατὰ τῆς πενθερὰς ", καὶ δύο ὄντων ἐπὶ μιᾶς κλίνης τὸν ἕνα παραλαβεῖν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀφεῖναι, καὶ δύο ἀληθουσῶν ἐν ἑνὶ μύλῳ τὴν μίαν παραλαβεῖν καὶ τήν ἑτέρας ἀφεῖναι, καὶ ἐς τῷ τέλει κελεῦσαι τοῖς θερισταῖς συλλέξαι πρῶτον τὰ ζιζάνια καὶ δεσμεῦσαι κατακαῦσαί τε πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ τὸν δέ σῖτον συναγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμνοὺς εἰς τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην βασιλείαν ἀνακαλέσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐρίφους εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψαι τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τί γάρ; Ὁ Λόγος ἦλθεν "εἰς πτῶσιν καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν", εἰς πτῶσιν μὲν τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ, οἷς καὶ πλεῖον τίμημα ἢ Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρων ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἠπείλησεν, εἰς ἀνάστασιν δὲ τῶν πιστευόντων καὶ ποιούντων τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:339–41. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1050–51.

[94] Perhai, "Chiliasm in the Early Church until Nicea: Apologists," 107.

punishment is self-imposed by the individual choosing to walk away from God.

> And to as many as continue in their love towards God, does He grant communion with Him. But communion with God is life and light, and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store. But on as many as, according to their own choice, depart from God, He inflicts that separation from Himself which they have chosen of their own accord. But separation from God is death, and separation from light is darkness; and separation from God consists in the loss of all the benefits which He has in store. Those, therefore, who cast away by apostasy these forementioned things, being in fact destitute of all good, do experience every kind of punishment. God, however, does not punish them immediately of Himself, but that punishment falls upon them because they are destitute of all that is good. Now, good things are eternal and without end with God, and therefore the loss of these is also eternal and never-ending. It is in this matter just as occurs in the case of a flood of light: those who have blinded themselves, or have been blinded by others, are for ever deprived of the enjoyment of light. It is not, [however], that the light has inflicted upon them the penalty of blindness, but it is that the blindness itself has brought calamity upon them: and therefore the Lord declared, "He that believeth not is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God;" that is, he separated himself from God of his own accord. "For this is the condemnation, that light is come into this world, and men have loved darkness rather than light. For every one who doeth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth comes to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that he has wrought them in God (V.27.2).[95]

[95] Καὶ ὅσα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τηρεῖ φιλίαν, τούτοις τὴν ἰδίαν παρέχει κοινωνίαν· κοινωνία δὲ Θεοῦ ζωὴ καὶ φῶς καὶ ἀπόλαυσις τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀναθῶν. Ὅσα δὲ ἀφίσταται κατὰ τήν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τούτοις τὸν προῃρημένον ὑπ' αὐτῶν χωρισμὸν ἐπάγει· χωρισμὸς δὲ Θεοῦ θάνατος, καὶ χωρισμὸς φωτὸς σκότος, καὶ χωρισμὸς Θεοῦ ἀποβολὴ πάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν. Οἱ οὖν διὰ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἀποβαλόντες τὰ προειρημένα, ἅτε ἐστερημένοι πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν πάσῃ κολάσει καταγίνονται, τοῦ Θεοῦ μὲν προηγητικῶς μὴ κολάζοντος, ἐπακολουθούσης δὲ ἐκαίνοις τῆς κολάσεως διὰ τὸ ἐστερῆσθαι πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Αἰώνια δὲ καὶ ἀτελεύτητα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαθά, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ στέρησις αὐτῶν αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, ὡς, διηνεκοῦς ὄντος τοῦ φωτός, οἱ τυφλώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων τυφλωθέντες διηνεκῶς ἀπεστέρηνται τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπολαύσεως, οὐ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπιφέροντος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν τῇ τυφλώσει τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς τυφλώσεως ἐπαγούσης τὴν μοχθηρίαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Κύριος ἔλεγεν· "Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ χρίνεται" τουτέστιν οὐ χωρίζεται τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἥνωται γὰρ διὰ τῆς πίτεως τῷ Θεῷ· "ὁ δὲ μὴ πιστεύων", φησίν, "ἤδη κέκριται, ὅτι μὴ πεπίστευκεν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ", τουτέστιν ἀφώρισεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐθαιρέτῳ. "Αὕτη γάρ", φησίν, "ἐστὶν ἡ κρίσις, ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἠγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ

Here a word on Irenaeus use of eternal. It has been argued by some that his use of the word αἰώνιος for eternal means in the word to come, as argued above, and that the use of eternal αἰώνιος when referring to God holds a different meaning than when used in conjunction with punishment. However, it would appear that in the fragment above, that Irenaeus uses eternal without end, αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, signifying eternity. He uses this phrase both in relation to things of God and to punishment in fire.

Ramelli argues that because this section of Irenaeus' writing is a fragment, one cannot determine the context in which the phase is used. Perhaps it is not his writing but that of someone else.[96] While this is a most important observation, it appears as though the use of αἰώνιος throughout the writing of Irenaeus is consistent. To this point, with repetition and Scripture as his evidence, he indicates that those who choose, by their own free will, to walk away from God will experience the eternal effects of this choice. However, as stated above, Irenaeus was not writing about his conception of hell, which should be kept in mind. However, αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος seems clear, it means endless, eternity without end.

The above theme is carried forward in the following chapter (28):

> Inasmuch, then, as in this world (αἰῶνι) some persons betake themselves to the light, and by faith unite themselves with God, but others shun the light, and separate themselves from God, the Word of God comes preparing a fit habitation for both. For those indeed who are in the light, that they may derive enjoyment from it, and from the good things contained in it; but for those in darkness, that they may partake in its calamities. And on this account He says, that those upon the right hand are called into the kingdom of heaven, but that those on the left He will send into eternal fire for they have deprived themselves of all good (5.28.1).[97]

φῶς. Πᾶς γάρ ὁ φαῦλα πράσσων μισεῖ τὸ φῶς καὶ οὐκ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα φανερωθῇ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα ὅτι ἐν Θεῷ ἐστιν εἰργασμένα.” Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:343–47. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1151–52.

[96] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 93.

[97] Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ οἱ μὲν προστρέχουσι τῷ φωτὶ καὶ διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἑνοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, οἱ δὲ ἀφίστανται τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀφορίζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔρχεται ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν οἴκησιν ἑπάγων, τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τὸ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ σκότει πρὸς τὸ μετέχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ μοχθηρίς. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησι τοὺς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀνακαλέσεσθαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βασιλείν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψειν·

Irenaeus makes clear that the choice to move toward God and the light is available even now to those who freely choose it. It is equally clear that the opposite is also true. Both are available now, meaning the choices the individual makes today has consequences in the world to come. The consequences for those who chose to walk away from God will be eternal fire αἰώνιον πῦρ.

Irenaeus continues this line of thinking as he writes about the end of times and the Antichrist saying that: "wherefore also shall he deservedly 'be cast into the lake of fire'" (5.28.2).[98]

In the next paragraph Irenaeus makes the claim, which leads many to believe that he believed in or proposed the doctrine of millennialism also known as chiliasm.[99] This claim leads to an explanation which touches on the difference between the fire in which the just will be purified and refined as opposed to that of eternal fire for those who reject God: "And for this cause tribulation is necessary for those who are sacred, that having been after a manner broken up, and rendered fine, and sprinkled over by the patience of the Word of God, and set on fire [for purification], they may be fitted for the royal banquet" (5.28.4).[100] Here he quotes Ignatius of Antioch as an example of becoming purified for God: "I am the wheat of Christ, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of God" (5.28.4).[101]

In Chapter 29, there is again mention of fire, but it is one which will come upon the earth for six-thousand years. It can be understood that this is a different fire, Irenaeus had already made clear that the reward of living with God will be eternal light just as the fiery punishment will eternal. In Chapter 30 he continues with his discussion of the Antichrist stating: "But when this Antichrist shall have devastated all things in this world, he will

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ἑαυτοὺς γὰρ πάντων ἐστέρησαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:347–49. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1152.

[98] διὸ καὶ δικαίως εἰς τὴν λίμνην βληθήσεται τοῦ πυρός. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:351. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1152–53.

[99] Perhai, "Chiliasm in the Early Church until Nicea: Apologists," 107–8.

[100] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ θλῖψις ἀναγκαία τοῖς σῳζομένοις, ἵνα, τρόπον τινὰ λεπτυνθέντες καὶ συμφυραθέντες διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πυρωθέντες, ἐπιτήδειοι ἔσονται εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὐωχίαν. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:361.

[101] "σῖτός εἰμι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς Θεοῦ ἄρτος εὑεθῶ." Irénée de Lyon, 2:361–63. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1154.

reign for three years and six months, and sit in the temple at Jerusalem; and then the Lord will come from heaven in the clouds, in the glory of the Father, sending this man and those who follow him into the lake of fire" (V.30.4).[102]

In Chapter 31 Irenaeus defends the preservation of our bodies as orthodox. He addresses what can be called the intermediate state and Christ's descent into the depths of earth for the liberation of those who died before his coming:

> But the case was, that for three days He dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says concerning Him: "And the Lord remembered His dead saints who slept formerly in the land of sepulture; and He descended to them, to rescue and save them." And the Lord Himself says, "As Jonas remained three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth." Then also the apostle says, "But when He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth?" This, too, David says when prophesying of Him, "And you have delivered my soul from the nethermost hell;" and on His rising again the third day, He said to Mary, who was the first to see and to worship Him, "Touch Me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father, and unto your Father (V.31.1).[103]

Following this, he once again addresses what appears to be the intermediate state, quoting scripture (Revelation 20:12-15 as well as Matthew 25:41) regarding a general resurrection prior to the judgment which will lead to the ultimate eternal end, either with

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[102] Ἐρημώσαντος δὲ τούτου πάντα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ βασιλεύσαντός τε ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ καὶ καθίσαντος εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ναόν, ἐλεύσεται ὁ Κύριος ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐπὶ νεφελῶν ἐν δόξῃ Παττρός, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ὑπακούοντας αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς πέμπων. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:387. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1159.

[103] Νυνὶ δέ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐφοίτησεν οὗ ἦσαν οἱ τετελευτηκότες, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης φησι περὶ αὐτοῦ· "Ἐμνήσθη Κύριος τῶν ἁγίων νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι αὐτούς, σῶσαι αὐτούς." Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κύριος· "Ὥσπερ", φησίν, "ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας, οὕτως ἔσται ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ καρδιά τῆς γῆς." Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος αὐτοῦ φησιν· "Τὸ δέ ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς;" Τοῦτο καὶ Δαυιδ εἰς αὐτόν προφητεύων εἶπεν· "Καὶ ἐρρύσω τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐξ ᾅδου κατωτάτου." Ἀναστὰς δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τῇ πρώτως ἰδούσῃ αὐτὸν Μαριᾳ καὶ προσκυνησάσῃ ἔλεγεν· "Μὴ ἅπτου μου, οὔπω γάρ ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ἀλλὰ πορεύου πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτοῖς· ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου καὶ Πατέρα ὑμῶν."Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:391–93. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1160.

God or in the fire of hell.

> And he sets forth, too, the things connected with the general resurrection and the judgment, mentioning "the dead, great and small." "The sea," he says, "gave up the dead which it had in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead that they contained; and the books were opened. Moreover," he says, "the book of life was opened, and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works; and death and hell were sent into the lake of fire, the second death." Now this is what is called Gehenna, which the Lord styled eternal fire. "And if any one," it is said, "was not found written in the book of life, he was sent into the lake of fire" (V.35.2).[104]

Here death and hell contain the dead and, further, he points out that this is Gehenna, accordingly, those who are not in the book of life will be thrown into the lake of fire. This seems to be the clearest expression of the idea of hell in his writing since he does call this Gehenna. Specifically, the Gehenna to which the Lord called eternal fire. This is of importance because it could be construed that there are two such fires, the first of purification for sinner and saved alike and the second, that of the second death outlined in Revelation 20:14, is a different fire or judgment, separate from what Jesus is speaking about. However, Irenaeus makes it clear here that there is no difference, that Jesus is speaking about the ultimate fire when he says Gehenna.

Throughout the work Irenaeus uses the term wrath of God, usually when citing scripture. However, it cannot be discerned if this is always in relation to hell, or that the wrath of God pertains to the ultimate punishment that Irenaeus refers to as everlasting or eternal fire or punishment. In the last chapter of book 5 he states that men shall actually be raised, and the world will not be annihilated. Thus, stating that the evil will be sent to

[104] Καὶ τὰ λοιπὸν τῆς καθολικῆς ἀναστάσεώς τε καὶ κρίσεως ἐκδιηγεῖται, λέγων "τοὺς νεκρούς, τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς μικρούς". "Ἔδωκε" γάρ, φησίν, "ἡ θάλασσα τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἔδωκαν τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βιβλία ἠνοίχθησαν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς", φησίν, "ἠνοίχθη τὸ βιβλιον, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. Καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός, καὶ εἶναι τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς τὸν δεύτερον θάνατον." Αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ καλουμένη γέεννα, ἣν καὶ ὁ Κύριους εἴρηκε πῦρ αἰώνιον. "Καὶ εἴ τις", φησίν, "οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος, ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός. Irénée de Lyon, *Contre Les Hérésies, Livre 5*, 2:445–47. English: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 1: The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, 1:1172.

hell for eternity and not be annihilated.

It can be concluded that Irenaeus did believe in hell as everlasting fire of punishment for those who freely chose to walk away from God. This choice is one of following the flesh as opposed to the Spirit. The Spirit, according to Irenaeus, leads to God and eternity with him, while following sin and the flesh leads to this separation.[105] The importance he places on the resurrection of the body shows that all men will be resurrected physically and not annihilated.

3.5. Clement of Alexandria

Titus Flavius Clemens, known as Clement of Alexandria (AD150-215)[106] wrote around the turn of the third century.[107] Clement authored several works: *Protrepticus, Paedagogos, The Stromata*, and *Who is the Rich Man that Shall be Saved?* There are also a number of fragments of his writing that remain embedded in the writings of others. For the most part this study is only interested in the works of Clement which have reference to hell or what may be interpreted as hell. As such, the following will be investigated: Book I of *Protrepticus,* Book III of *Paedagogus,* Books V, VI, and VII of *The Stromata*, two citations from the Fragments one from *Catena* from Nicetas Bishop of Heraclea and a fragment from the *Barocc. MS.* Maximus the Confessor which refers to a work by Clement called *On Care for the Soul*, as well as a section of *Who is the Rich Man that Shall be Saved?*

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[105] Donovan, *One Right Reading?: A Guide to Irenaeus*, 160.

[106] As with all the early writers, the exact date of his life is in question. See: M. David Litwa, "You Are Gods: Deification in the Naassene Writer and Clement of Alexandria," *Harvard Theological Review* 110, no. 1 (January 2017): 132; Daniel Lee Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son" (St. Andrews, University of St. Andrews, 2016), 8–10; Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 166–67; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 44; Jasper Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," in *In Defence of Christianity. Early Christian Apologists*, ed. Jacob Engberg, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, and Jorg Ulrich, vol. 15, Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2014), 139–58; Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 272; Pope Benedict XVI, *Church Fathers from Clement of Rome to Augustine*, 27; John Randall Sachs, "Apocatastasis in Patristic Theology," *Theological Studies* 54, no. 4 (December 1993): 618; Clayton N. Jefford, "Clement of Alexandria and Gnosis: A Dissertation in Review," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 20, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 382; Daniel Jugrin, "The Way of ἈΝΆΛΥΣΙΣ: Clement of Alexandria and the Platonic Tradition," *Studia Philosophiae Christianae UKSW* 52, no. 2 (2016): 72.

[107] Litwa, "You Are Gods: Deification in the Naassene Writer and Clement of Alexandria," 132.

3.5.1. Protrepticus

Clement authored the *Exhortation to the Heathen* known also under the name *Protrepticus* sometime between 190-197.[108] In this writing Clement tries to sway his audience to abandon their false ways by pointing out the errors inherent in their way of living.[109] While some argue that it was written to convert pagans to Christianity, others propose the theory that it was a call for Christians who had returned to their pagan beliefs to come back to the fold.[110] In either case it is a call to conversion.

In chapters 9 and 10 of Book I of the *Exhortation to the Heathen (Protrepticus*) Clement refers to hell twice. First in Chapter 9, when referring to Matthew 25:41-46, Clement writes in regard to those choosing to walk away from God: "He bestows salvation, you sink into destruction; He confers everlasting life, you wait for punishment, and prefer the fire which the Lord 'has prepared for the devil and his angels'" (*Protrepticus* IX.83.2).[111] As has been seen with other writers of this time, Clement alludes to hell by using this particular verse of Matthew.

In Chapter X he again does not so much as use the word hell or hades but speaks of punishment after death. Here there is no mention of an 'eternal' punishment or 'eternal' fire but fire and punishment after death is the overriding theme.

> "And you know not that, of all truths, this is the truest, that the good and godly shall obtain the good reward, inasmuch as they held goodness in high esteem; while, on the other hand, the wicked shall receive meet punishment. For the author

[108] Paul Robert Saieg, "Non-Logical Methods of Persuasion in Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus.," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (2015): 261; Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 140; Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son," 55; Peter W. Ensor, "Clement of Alexandria and Penal Substitutionary Atonement," *The Evangelical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (January 2013): 23.

[109] Saieg, "Non-Logical Methods of Persuasion in Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus.," 264.

[110] Saieg, 266; Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 167; Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 140; Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son," 13–14; Ensor, "Clement of Alexandria and Penal Substitutionary Atonement," 23.

[111] Ζωὴν δωρεῖται αἰώνιον, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἀναμένετε, καὶ "τὸ πῦρ" δὲ προσκοπεῖτε, "ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ." Clément d'Alexandrie, *Protreptique*, ed. Claude Mondésert (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1949), 150–51. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 427.

> of evil, torment has been prepared; and so the prophet Zecharias threatens him: "He that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee; lo, is not this a brand plucked from the fire?" What an infatuated desire, then, for voluntary death is this, rooted in men's minds! Why do they flee to this fatal brand, with which they shall be burned, when it is within their power to live nobly according to God, and not according to custom? For God bestows life freely; but evil custom, after our departure from this world, brings on the sinner unavailing remorse with punishment" (X.90.1-3).[112]

Here the punishment referred to comes "after our departure from this world." This brings a clear image of hell, although the word hell, as with most of the writers to this point, is not used. The French renders a similar saying but slightly different. "For God gives life, while perverse custom, after departure from this world, mixes vain repentance with punishment."[113] This gives the impression that those who do not, in fact, repent being subject to punishment. This is important because, as will be explained below, Clement seems to allude to a redeeming punishment.[114] However, if one does not repent does Clement still believe that redemption is possible?

3.5.2. Pædagogus

Pædagogus, was written shortly after the *Exhortation,* most likely around 197.[115] The purpose was perhaps to convert pagans, or to help those who had converted to

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[112]νοῦς φροῦδος, ὦτα ἀχρεῖα, φροντίδες κεναί, καὶ οὐκ ἴοτε ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὅτι ἄρα οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ἀγαθῆς τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τεύξονται τἀγαθὸν τετιμηκότες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων πονηροὶ τῆς καταλλήλου τιμωρίας, καὶ τῷ γε ἄρχοντι τῆς κακίας ἐπήρτηται κόλασις. Ἀπειλεῖ γοῦν αὐτῷ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας "ἐπιτιμήσαι ἐν σοὶ ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ˙ οὐκ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο δαλὸς ἐξεσπασμένος ἐκ πυρός;" Τίς οὖν ἔτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄρεξις ἔγκειται θανάτου ἑκουσίου; Τί δὲ τῷ δαλῷ θανατηφόρῳ τούτῳ προσπεφεύγασιν, μεθ οὗ καταφλεχθήσονται, ἐξὸν βιῶναι καλῶς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος; Θεὸς μὲν γὰρ ζωὴν χαρίζεται, ἔθος δε πονηρὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν μετάνοιαν κενὴν ἅμα τιμωρίᾳ προστρίβεται... (X.90.1-3). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Protreptique*, 158–59. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 431.

[113]Car Dieu donne la vie, tandis que la coutume perverse, après le départ d'ici-bas, mêle au châtiment un vain repentir..." Clément d'Alexandrie, *Protreptique*, 158–59. English translation mine.

[114] Minois, *Histoire Des Enfers*, 172–74.

[115] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 168; Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 140; Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son," 155; Ensor, "Clement of Alexandria and Penal Substitutionary Atonement," 24.

Christianity to keep Christ in front of them as their only and most perfect Instructor.[116] This work contains only one reference to hell. It occurs in the eleventh chapter of Book III. "And if you require the reason, it will further tell you, 'For by the beauty of woman many have gone astray, and at it affection blazes up like fire;" the affection which arises from the fire which we call love, leading to the fire which will never cease in the consequence of sin" (*Pædagogus* XI).[117] It can only be assumed that Clement is speaking of fire as the punishment of sin in the afterlife, although often Clement's writing is not entirely clear weather punishment will occur before or after death.[118] This becomes interesting as later it will be seen that Clement alludes to punishment as being corrective, meaning that the punishment will in fact at some point cease. This is not the case here. It might be concluded from this that Clement did in fact hold an idea of punishment that never ends for those, as above, who are unrepentant. Or it could simply be that what Clement thought on punishment in the afterlife developed over time.

3.5.3. Stromata

The *Stromata* is a set books written on various miscellaneous topics. The first part was written around the year 194 and was most likely finished around the year 202.[119] Books five and six of the *Stromata* refer to hell, with a reference in Book two on Christ's decent into hades. There is a theory that Book I chapter 27 indicates that the punishment of the afterlife is only one of correction,[120] however the text refers more to correction of sinners in this life, thus, to conclude that (in this particular section) it applies to the

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[116] Saieg, "Non-Logical Methods of Persuasion in Clement of Alexandria's Protrepticus.," 167; Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 141; Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son," 16; Ensor, "Clement of Alexandria and Penal Substitutionary Atonement," 24.

[117]Κἂν πύθῃ τὴν αἰτίαν, προσεπεξηγήσεταί σοι· "ἐν γὰρ κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἀπεπλανήθησαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου φιλία ὡς πῦρ ἀνακαίεται," εἰς πῦρ ἄγουσα ἀκατάπαυστον διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἡ ἐκ πυρὸς ὁρμωμένη φιλία, ἣν ἔρωτα κεκλήκασιν. Clément d'Alexandrie, *Le Pédagougue Liver III*, trans. Claude Mondésert, Chantal Matray, and Henri-Irénée Marrou, Sources Chrétiennes 158 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 160. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 622.

[118] Sachs, "Apocatastasis in Patristic Theology," 618.

[119] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 168; Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 140; Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son," 12; Ensor, "Clement of Alexandria and Penal Substitutionary Atonement," 27.

[120] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 46; Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 273.

afterlife is speculative.

3.5.3.1. Stromata Book 5

In Book V, Clement speaks about the Greeks plagiarizing the philosophy of the Hebrews, who he refers to as 'Barbarians.'[121] Here Clement outlines the thinking of the Greeks and their interpretation of Tartarus, which he describes as being 'borrowed' from the Hebrew Gehenna. This becomes very important to the argument below as Clement not only claims that the Barbarian (Hebrew) wisdom came before the Greek religions, but also argues that Christianity was ever present before Judaism.[122] Clement writes in the opening lines: "Let us add in completion what follows, and exhibit now with greater clearness the plagiarism of the Greeks from the Barbarian philosophy" (*Stromata* V.14).[123]

Regarding hell, Clement writes in the same chapter: "Punishments after death, on the other hand, and penal retribution by fire, were pilfered from the Barbarian philosophy both by all the poetic Muses and by the Hellenic philosophy" (*Stromata* Book V Ch. XIV).[124] Here Clement gives the example from Plato's *Republic* pointing to its derivation from Scripture and Moses:

> "Then these men fierce and fiery to look on, standing by, and hearing the sound, seized and took some aside; and binding Aridæus and the rest hand, foot, and head, and throwing them down, and flaying them, dragged them along the way,

[121] Henry Chadwick, "Clement of Alexandria General Introduction," in *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2006), 20; Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 145–46; Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 273; Jelle Wytzes, "Paideia and Pronoia in the Works of Clemens Alexandinus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 9, no. 2 (July 1955): 151.

[122] Hyldahl, "Clement of Alexandria; Paganism and Its Positive Significance for Christianity," 145–47.

[123] Greek: τὰ δ' ἑξῆς <προς>αποδοτέον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας Ἑλληνικὴν κλοπὴν σαφέστερον ἤδη παραστατέον (*Stromata* V.14.89.1.) Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata Buch I-VI*, ed. Otto Stahlin (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1939), 384. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 984.

[124]Greek: Τάς τε αὖ μετὰ θάνατον κολάσεις καὶ τὴν διὰ πυρὸς τιμωρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας ἥ τε ποιητικὴ πᾶσα μοῦσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ φιλοσοφία ὑφείλετο. Stromata V.14.90.4-5. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata Buch I-VI*, 385. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 984.

> tearing their flesh with thorns." For the fiery men are meant to signify the angels, who seize and punish the wicked. "Who maketh," it is said, "His angels spirits; His ministers flaming fire." It follows from this that the soul is immortal for what is tortured or corrected being in a state of sensation lives, though said to suffer. Well! Did not Plato know of the rivers of fire and the depth of the earth, and Tartarus, called by the Barbarians Gehenna, naming, as he does prophetically, Cocytus, and Acheron, and Pyriphlegethon, and introducing such corrective tortures for discipline?[125] (*Stromata* Book V.14.)

This connection is important because Clement did indeed use the Old as well as the New Testaments showing the connection between the two. The argument that Clement viewed the punishments of hell as a place of correction seems to be clearly reflected here.[126]

3.5.3.2. Stromata Book 6

Book VI chapter 6 does address the topic of hell but only in relation to Christ's descent into hades. This poses a problem or perhaps an interesting question. As stated above, there is a belief that Clement, other than the above reference, alludes to a purifying or redemptive punishment. In some cases, it is difficult to conclude whether the punishment is during this lifetime or after death. Here, the discussion is clearly after death. He states the following:

> Wherefore the Lord preached the Gospel to those in Hades. Accordingly the

[125]"ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἄνδρες ἄγριοι, διάπυροι ἰδεῖν, παρεστῶτες, καταμανθάνοντες τὸ φθέγμα, τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ παραλαβόντες ἦγον, τὸν δὲ Ἀριδαῖον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμποδίσαντες χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας καὶ κεφαλήν, καταβαλόντες καὶ ἐκδείραντες, εἷλκον παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτὸς ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες." οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρες οἱ διάπυροι ἀγγέλους αὐτῷ βούλονται δηλοῦν, οἳ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἀδίκους κολάζουσιν· "ὁ ποιῶν" ,φησί, "τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.» ἔπεται δὲ τούτοις τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀθάνατον. τὸ γὰρ κολαζόμενον ἢ παιδευόμενον ἐν αἰσθήσει ὂν ζῇ, κἂν πάσχειν λέγηται. τί δ'; οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ Πλάτων καὶ πυρὸς ποταμοὺς καὶ τῆς γῆς τὸ βάθος, τὴν πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων Γέενναν καλουμένην Τάρταρον ποιητικῶς ὀνομάζων, Κωκυτόν τε καὶ Ἀχέροντα καὶ Πυριφλεγέθοντα καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα εἰς τὴν παίδευσιν σωφρονίζοντα παρεισάγων κολαστήρια; Stromata V.14.90.6 - 91.3 Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata Buch I-VI*, 385–86. English**:** Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 984–85.

[126] Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 273.

Scripture says, “Hades says to Destruction, We have not seen His form, but we have heard His voice.” It is not plainly the place, which, the words above say, heard the voice, but those who have been put in Hades, and have abandoned themselves to destruction, as persons who have thrown themselves voluntarily from a ship into the sea. They, then, are those that hear the divine power and voice. For who in his senses can suppose the souls of the righteous and those of sinners in the same condemnation, charging Providence with injustice?[127]

But how? Do not [the Scriptures] show that the Lord preached the Gospel to those that perished in the flood, or rather had been chained, and to those kept “in ward and guard”? And it has been shown also, in the second book of the *Stromata*, Ch. IX that the apostles, following the Lord, preached the Gospel to those in Hades. For it was requisite, in my opinion, that as here, so also there, the best of the disciples should be imitators of the Master; so that He should bring to repentance those belonging to the Hebrews, and they the Gentiles; that is, those who had lived in righteousness according to the Law and Philosophy, who had ended life not perfectly, but sinfully. For it was suitable to the divine administration, that those possessed of greater worth in righteousness, and whose life had been pre-eminent, on repenting of their transgressions, though found in another place, yet being confessedly of the number of the people of God Almighty, should be saved, each one according to his individual knowledge.[128]

And, as I think, the Saviour also exerts His might because it is His work to save;

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[127]Διόπερ ὁ κύριος εὐηγγελίσατο καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἅιδου. Φησὶ γοῦν ἡ γραφή· “Λέγει ὁ Ἅιδης τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ· εἶδος μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἴδομεν, φωνὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν.” Οὐχ ὁ τόπος δή που φωνὴν λαβὼν εἶπεν τὰ προειρημένα, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ἐν “Ἅιδου καταταγέντες καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες καθάπερ ἔκ τινος νεὼς εἰς θάλασσαν ἑκόντες ἀπορρίψαντες, αὐτοὶ τοίνυν εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπακούσαντες τῆς θείας δυνάμεώς τε καὶ φωνῆς· ἐπεὶ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἐν μιᾷ καταδίκῃ καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτωλῶν ὑπολάβοι εἶναι ψυχάς, ἀδικίαν τῆς προνοίας καταχέων; (*Stromata* VI. 6.44.23 - 45.1-9) Clément d’Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, Sources Chrétiennes, no 446 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1999), 150–52. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1044.

[128] Τί δ’; οὐχὶ δηλοῦσιν εὐηγγελίσθαι τὸν κύριον τοῖς τε ἀπολωλόσιν ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ πεπεδημένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ τε καὶ φρουρᾷ; Δέδεικται δὲ κὰν τῷ δευτέρῳ Στρωματεῖ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀκολούθως τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἅιδου εὐηγγελισμένους· ἐχρῆν γάρ, οἶμαι, ὥσπερ κἀπερ κἀνταῦθα, οὕτως δέ κἀκεῖσε τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν μαθητῶν μιμητὰς γενέσθαι τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἵν’ ὅ μὲν τοὺς ἐξ Ἑβραίν, οἵ δὲ τὰ ἔθνη εἰς ἐπιστροθὴν ἀγάγωσι, τουτέστιν τοὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ τῇ κατὰ νόμον καὶ κατὰ φιλοσοφία βεβιωκότας μέν, οὐ τελείς δέ, ἀλλ’ ἁμαρτητικῶς διαπεραναμένους τὸν βίον. Τουτὶ γάρ ἔπρεπεν τῇ θείᾳ οἰκονομίᾳ τοὺς ἀξίαν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκότας ἐν δικαιοσύῃ καὶ προηγουμένως βεβιωκότας ἐπί τε τοῖς πλημμεληθεῖσι μετανενοηκότας, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ τύχωσιν ἐξομολογούμενοι, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντας τοῦ παντοκράτορος κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκάστου γνῶσιν σωθῆναι. (*Stromata* VI, 45.4- 46.1) Clément d’Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 152–54. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1044–45.

which accordingly He also did by drawing to salvation those who became willing, by the preaching [of the Gospel], to believe on Him, wherever they were. If, then, the Lord descended to Hades for no other end but to preach the Gospel, as He did descend; it was either to preach the Gospel to all or to the Hebrews only. If, accordingly, to all, then all who believe shall be saved, although they may be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there; since God's punishments are saving and disciplinary, leading to conversion, and choosing rather the repentance than the death of a sinner; and especially since souls, although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies, are able to perceive more clearly, because of their being no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh.[129]

If, then, He preached only to the Jews, who wanted the knowledge and faith of the Saviour, it is plain that, since God is no respecter of persons, the apostles also, as here, so there preached the Gospel to those of the heathen who were ready for conversion. And it is well said by the Shepherd, "They went down with them therefore into the water, and again ascended. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive. But those who had fallen asleep, descended dead, but ascended alive." Further the Gospel says, "that many bodies of those that slept arose," — plainly as having been translated to a better state. There took place, then, a universal movement and translation through the economy of the Savior.[130]

One righteous man, then, differs not, as righteous, from another righteous man, whether he be of the Law or a Greek. For God is not only Lord of the Jews, but

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[129] Ἐνεργεῖ δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ ὁ σωτήρ, ἐπεὶ τὸ σῴζειν ἔργον αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ οὖν καὶ πεποίηκεν, τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεῦσαι βεβουλημένους διὰ τοῦ κηρύγματος, ὅποι ποτ' ἔτυχον γεγονότες, ἑλκύσαδ εἰς σωτηρίαν. Εἰ γοῦν ὁ κύριος δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον εἰς Ἅιδου κατῆλθεν ἢ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίσασθαι, ὥσπερ κατῆλθεν, ἤτοι πάντας ἐηγγελίσατο ἢ μόνους Ἑβραίους. Εἰ μὲν οὖν πάντας, σωθήσονται πάντες οἱ πιστεύσαντες, κἂν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ὄντες τύχωσιν, ἐξομολογησάμενοι ἤδη ἐπεὶ σωτήριοι καὶ παιδευτικαὶ αἱ κολάσεις τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν ἄγουσαι καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν θάνατον αἱρούμεναι, καὶ ταῦτα καθαρώτερον διαρᾶν δυναμένων τῶν σωμάτων ἀπηλλαγμένων ψυχῶν πάθεσιν ἐπισκοτῶνται, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι ἐπιπροσθεῖσθαι σαρκίῳ (*Stomata* VI 46.1-3). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 154. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1045.

[130] Εἰ δὲ Ἰουδαίους μόνον εὐηγγελίσατο, οἷς ἔλειπεν ἡ διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπιγνωσίς τε καὶ πίστις, δῆλόν που ὡς ἄρα ἀπροσωπολήπτου ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καθάπερ ἐνταῦθα, οὕτως κἀκεῖ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐπιτηδείους εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν ἐηγγελίσαντο, καὶ καλῶς εἴρηται τῷ Ποιμένι· "Κατέβησαν οὖν <μετ'> αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ζῶντες κατέβησαν καὶ ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν." Ναὶ μὴν καὶ σώματά φησι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολλὰ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἀνεστάσθαι, εἰς ἀμείνω δηλονότι μετατεθειμένων τάξιν. Γέγονεν ἄρα τις καθολικὴ κίνησις καὶ μετάθεσις κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος (*Stromata* VI, 46.4- 47.1). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 154–56. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1045.

of all men, and more nearly the Father of those who know Him. For if to live well and according to the law is to live, also to live rationally according to the law is to live; and those who lived rightly before the Law were classed under faith, and judged to be righteous,—it is evident that those, too, who were outside of the Law, having lived rightly, in consequence of the peculiar nature of the voice, though they are in Hades and in ward, on hearing the voice of the Lord, whether that of His own person or that acting through His apostles, with all speed turned and believed. For we remember that the Lord is "the power of God," and power can never be weak.[131]

So I think it is demonstrated that the God being good, and the Lord powerful, they save with a righteousness and equality which extend to all that turn to Him, whether here or elsewhere. For it is not here alone that the active power of God is beforehand, but it is everywhere and is always at work. Accordingly, in the *Preaching of Peter*, the Lord says to the disciples after the resurrection, "I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you worthy of me," whom the Lord wished to be apostles, having judged them faithful, sending them into the world to the men on the earth, that they may know that there is one God, showing clearly what would take place by the faith of Christ; that they who heard and believed should be saved; and that those who believed not, after having heard, should bear witness, not having the excuse to allege, We have not heard.[132]

What then? Did not the same dispensation obtain in Hades, so that even there, all

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[131]Δίκαιος τοίνυν δικαίου καθὸ δίκαιός ἐστιν οὐ διαφέρει, ἐάν τε νομικὸς ᾖ ἐάν τε Ἕλλην· οὐ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων μόνων, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεὸς κύριος, προσεχέστερον δὲ τῶν ἐγνωκότων πατήρ. Εἰ γὰρ τὸ καλῶς βιοῦν καὶ νομίμως ἐστὶ βιοῦν καὶ τὸ εὐλόγως βιοῦν κατὰ νόμον ἐστὶ βιοῦν, ὀρθῶς δὲ βεβιωκότες οἱ πρὸ νόμου εἰς πίστιν ἐλογίσθησαν καὶ δίκαιοι εἶναι ἐκρίθησαν, δῆλόν που καὶ τοὺς ἐκτὸς νόμου γενομένους διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδιότητα, ὀρθῶς βεβιωκότας, εἰ καὶ ἐν Ἅιδου ἔτυχον ὄντες καὶ ἐν φρουρᾷ, ἐπακούσαντας τῆς τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς, εἴτε τῆς αὐθεντικῆς εἴτε καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐνεργούσης, ᾗ τάχος ἐπιστραφῆναί τε καὶ πιστεῦσαι. Μεμνήμεθα γὰρ ὅτι δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ὁ κύριος· καὶ οὐκ ἄν πορε ἀσθενήσαι δύναμις (*Stromata* VI, 47.2 - 3). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 156–58. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1045–46.

[132] Οὕτως οἶμαι δείκνυσθαι ἀγαθὸν μὲν τὸν θεόν, δυνατὸν δὲ τὸν κύριον σῴζειν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἰσότητος τῆς πρὸς ἐπιστρέγοντας εἴτε ἐνταῦθα εἴτε καὶ ἀλλαχόθι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μόνον ἡ ἐνεργητικὴ φθάνει, πάντῃ δέ ἐστι καὶ ἀεὶ ἐργάζεται. Αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Πέτρου Κηρύγματι ὁ κύριός φησι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς μετὰ τήν ἀνάστασιν· "Ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα, μαθητὰς κρίνας ἀξίους ἐμοῦ, οὓς ὁ κύριος ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἀποστόλους πιστοὺς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους, γινώσκειν ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν, διὰ τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστεως ἐμῆς δηλοῦντας τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅπως οἱ ἀκούσαντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ πιστεύσαντες ἀκούσαντες μαρτυρήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔχοτες ἀπολογίαν εἰπεῖν· "οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν" (*Stromata* VI. 47.4- 48.2) Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 158. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1046.

the souls, on hearing the proclamation, might either exhibit repentance, or confess that their punishment was just, because they believed not? And it were the exercise of no ordinary arbitrariness, for those who had departed before the advent of the Lord (not having the Gospel preached to them, and having afforded no ground from themselves, in consequence of believing or not) to obtain either salvation or punishment. For it is not right that these should be condemned without trial, and that those alone who lived after the advent should have the advantage of the divine righteousness. But to all rational souls it was said from above, "Whatever one of you has done in ignorance, without clearly knowing God, if, on becoming conscious, he repent, all his sins will be forgiven him." "For, behold," it is said, "I have set before your face death and life, that ye may choose life." God says that He set, not that He made both, in order to the comparison of choice. And in another Scripture He says, "If ye hear Me, and be willing, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye hear Me not, and are not willing, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things."[133]

Again, David expressly (or rather the Lord in the person of the saint, and the same from the foundation of the world is each one who at different periods is saved, and shall be saved by faith) says, "My heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced, and my flesh shall still rest in hope. For Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor wilt Thou give Thine holy one to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me the paths of life, Thou wilt make me full of joy in Thy presence."[134]

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[133] Τί οὖν; Οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν Ἅιδου ἡ αὐτὴ γέγονεν οἰκονομία; Ἵνα κἀκεῖ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀκούσασαι τοῦ κηρύγματος ἢ τὴν ματάνοιαν ἐνδείξωνται ἢ τὴν κόλασιν δικαίαν εἶναι, δι᾽ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν, ὁμολογήσωσιν. Ἦν δ᾽ ἂν πλεονεξίας οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἔργον τοὺς προεξεληλυθότας τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, μὴ εὐηγγελισμένους μηδὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν αἰτίαν παρασχομένους κατὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι ἢ μή, ἤτοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἢ τῆς κολ́σεως μετασχεῖν. Οὐ γάρ που θέμις τοὺς μὲν ἀκρίτως καταδεδικάσθαι, μόνους δὲ τοὺς μετὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς θείας ἀπολελαυκέναι δικαιοσύνης. Πάσαις δ᾽ ἄνωθεν ταῖς ψυχαῖς εἴρηται ταῖς λογικαῖς· "Ὅσα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τις ὑμῶν ἐποίησεν μὴ εἰδὼς σαφῶς τὸν θεόν, ἐὰν ἐπιγνοὺς μετανοήσῃ, πάντα αὐτῷ ἀφεθήσεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματα." "Ἰδοὺ γάρ· φησί, τέθεικα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ζωήν, ἐκλέξασθαι τὴν ζωήν", πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἐκλογῆς τεθεῖσθαι λέγων ὁ θεός, οὐ πεποιηκέναι ἄμφω. Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ λέγει· "Ἐὰν ἀκούσητέ μου καὶ θελήσητε, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀκούσητέ μου μηδὲ θελήσητε, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα (*Stomata* VI. 48.11 - 49.4). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 158–61. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1046.

[134] Πάλιν δὲ ἄντικρυς ὁ Δαβιδ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ ὁσίου (εἷς δὲ οὗτος ἐκ μεταβολιῆς κόσμου, πᾶς ὁ διαφόροις χρόνοις διὰ πίστεως σωθείς τε καὶ σωθησόμενος)· "Ηὐφράνθη μου ἡ καρδία καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι, φησίν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς Ἅιδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν· ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς· πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου" (*Stromata* VI. 49.5-14). Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates VI*, 160–62. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*,

The are several points to be discerned from the rather lengthy quote above. First, we see that Clement clearly believes that those who came before Christ should be afforded the same chance at redemption through the Lord as those who came after Jesus had blessed the earth with the Good News of salvation. From these points it can be seen that redemption, of course only for those who are willing and ready to convert, is possible from hell.[135] The statement that "since God's punishments are saving and disciplinary, leading to conversion, and choosing rather the repentance than the death of a sinner; and especially since souls, although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies, are able to perceive more clearly, because of their being no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh" makes clear Clement's belief that first, God wants all to be redeemed and second, that it is possible, if not easier, for the soul to freely choose God after death.

3.5.3.3. Stromata Book 7

Book VII of the *Stromata* poses a difficulty in the search for Clement's idea of hell. Hans urs Von Balthasar states that Book VII chapter 12 shows that those "who have hardened their hearts will be compelled to repent by the necessary chastisements... About others, however, I shall remain silent."[136] Clement seems to view the fire of punishment as something that can occur in everyday life to bring the sinner back to God. He also does not speak of this fire as eternal nor punitive, as Clement sees Christ as the teacher who will bring men to absolute goodness.[137] Sachs says the following: "Once delivered from all punishment which had to be suffered as a 'salutary' chastisement due to sin, the soul finally attains 'that perfect end which is without end' in the contemplation of God 'with true understanding and certainty' and is thereby transformed, healed, and divinized in a 'final restoration.'"[138] Part of the difficulty lies in that Clement uses the term apokatastasis as many as 16 times.[139] However he uses the term in many different ways not always meaning what the term is associated with today, that of universal restoration

1044–46.

[135] Wytzes, "Paideia and Pronoia in the Works of Clemens Alexandinus," 153.

[136] von Balthasar, *Dare We Hope "That All Men Be Saved"? With a Short Discourse on Hell*, 238.

[137] Sachs, "Apocatastasis in Patristic Theology," 618–20.

[138] Sachs, 619.

[139] Sachs, 619.

in God.[140] However, to this point in his writing, and some would argue overall, Clements "whole theology of divine punishment leads precisely in that direction."[141]

3.5.4. Fragments

Another, and what would probably be the clearest example of Clement's thinking about hell, is outlined in a fragment from Maximus the Confessor entitled "On Care for the Soul." It has been cited as a work by Clement of the same name.[142] "All souls are immortal, even those of the wicked, for whom it were better that they were not deathless. For, punished with the endless vengeance of quenchless fire, and not dying, it is impossible for them to have a period put to their misery."[143] This 'fragment' is troublesome in its authenticity. As Crosby notes, this 'fragment' of Clement of Alexandria most likely belongs to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies,[144] although many give authorship to Clement of Alexandria.[145]

This seems to produce a problem when examining the thinking of Clement in regard to hell. If this fragment belongs to Clement of Alexandria, then his thinking can be seen to contain both the belief of eternal damnation as well as hell as place of corrective punishment. If this fragment belongs instead to the pseudo-Clementine homilies, then his idea, as stated above, seems to lead toward that of only a redemptive punishment leading

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[140] Sachs, 619.

[141] Sachs, 619.

[142] Daniel J. Crosby, "The Tyranny of Authority: Eternal Damnation in the Fragments of Clement of Alexandria" (Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College, 2017), 1.

[143] Ἀθάνατοι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ, καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, αἷς ἄμεινον ἦν μὴ ἀφθάρτους εἶναι. Κολαζόμεναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσβέτου πυρὸς ἀπεράντῳ τιμωρίᾳ καὶ μὴ θνήσκουσαι, ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ ἑαυτῶν τέλος λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν. The cited text comes originally from John Potter, ed. *Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Quae Exstant,* vol. 2 (Oxford: Sheldonian Theater, 1715), 1020. Cited from: Crosby, 1. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 580.

[144] Ps.-Clementine Homily XI, chapter XI: "...For the soul even of the wicked is immortal, for whom it were better not to have it incorruptible. For, being punished with endless torture under unquenchable fire, and never dying, it can receive no end of its misery." Philip Schaff, ed., *Volume 8: The Twelve Patriarchs, Excerpts and Epistles, the Clementia, Apocrypha, Decretals, Memoirs of Edessa and Syriac Documents, Remains of the First Age*, Ante-Nicene Fathers (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1885), 1000. ἀθάνατος γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, οἷς ἄμεινον ἦν μὴ ἄφθαρτον αὐτὴν ἔχειν. κολασομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἀπεράντῳ τιμωριᾳ καὶ μὴ θνῄσκουσα, ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ αὑτῆς τέλος λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχει. Ps.-Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 11.11.2. Crosby, "The Tyranny of Authority: Eternal Damnation in the Fragments of Clement of Alexandria," 2.

[145] Fudge, *The Fire That Consumes. A Biblical and Historical Study of the Doctrine of Final Punishment*, 272.

to salvation.[146] Perhaps this question of provenance can be left to the historians and from the theological side it can be stated that the question of the fragment may bear witness to the theology of the time showing that hell was thought to be a place of everlasting punishment and that Clement is an outlier in his theological thought. Of course, it must still be maintained that Clement does not give a definitive statement on the belief that all will be restored or that many will exist with the torments of everlasting fire.

3.5.4. Who is the Rich Man That Shall be Saved?

The final citation which discusses hell in Clement is found in the work: *Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?* This work was written after *Stromata* and was written to help those who were wealthy move toward salvation.[147] In chapter 24 Clement writes the following:

> You may even go against wealth. Say, "Certainly Christ does not debar me from property. The Lord does not envy." But do you see yourself overcome and overthrown by it? Leave it, throw it away, hate, renounce, flee. "Even if thy right eye offend thee," quickly "cut it out." Better is the kingdom of God to a man with one eye, than the fire to one who is unmutilated. Whether hand, or foot, or soul, hate it. For if it is destroyed here for Christ's sake, it will be restored to life yonder.[148]

This statement is simply a reiteration of the Gospel (Mk. 9:47; Mt. 18:9). It is difficult to glean Clement's understanding, although one could say that he does not doubt the word

[146] Crosby, "The Tyranny of Authority: Eternal Damnation in the Fragments of Clement of Alexandria," 3.

[147] Worden, "Clement of Alexandria: Incarnation and Mission of the Logos-Son," 31.

[148]Greek: Δύνασαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπίπροσθεν εἶναι; φράσον καὶ οὐκἀπάγει σε Χριστὸς τῆς κτήσεως, ὁ κύριος οὐ φθονεῖ. ἀλλ' ὁρᾷσ σεαυτὸν ἡττώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνατρεπόμενον; ἄφες, ῥῖψον. μίσησον, ἀπόταξαι, φύγε· «κἂν ὁ δέξιός σου ὀφθαλμὸς σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ταχέως ἔκκοψον αὐτόν·» αἱρετώτερον ἑτεροφθάλμῳ βασιλεία θεοῦ ἢ ὁλοκλήρῳ τὸ πῦρ· κἂν χεὶρ κἂν ποὺς κἂν ἡ ψυχή, μίσησον αὐτήν. ἂν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀπόληται ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, <ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται> (*quis dives salvetur* 24.1-2). Clemens Alexandrinus, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ed. L. Fruchtel and O. Stahlin, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Berlin: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, 1970), 159–91. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1250.

of the Lord and sees the fire as a real punishment.

In chapter 33 Clement, while warning his readers about judging who is and who is not worthy, says to be careful, for one may be mistaken. In his warning he writes in a very traditional way about the punishment by fire:[149] "For though sparing, and aiming at testing, who will receive meritoriously or not, it is possible for you to neglect some that are loved by God; the penalty for which is punishment of eternal fire" (33.3).[150]

The last example comes from chapter 37:

> For this also He came down. For this He clothed Himself with man. For this He voluntarily subjected Himself to the experiences of men, that by bringing Himself to the measure of our weakness whom He loved, He might correspondingly bring us to the measure of His own strength. And about to be offered up and giving Himself a ransom, He left for us a new Covenant-testament: My love I give unto you. And what and how great is it? For each of us He gave His life, -- the equivalent for all. This He demands from us in return for one another. And if we owe our lives to the brethren, and have made such a mutual compact with the Saviour, why should we any more hoard and shut up worldly goods, which are beggarly, foreign to us and transitory? Shall we shut up from each other what after a little shall be the property of the fire? Divinely and weightily John says," He that loveth not his brother is a murderer," the seed of Cain, a nursling of the devil. He has not God's compassion. He has no hope of better things. He is sterile; he is barren; he is not a branch of the ever-living supercelestial vine. He is cut off; he waits the perpetual fire.[151]

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[149] Sachs, "Apocatastasis in Patristic Theology," 118.

[150]Greek: ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φείδεσθαι καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι δοκιμάζειν τοὺς εὐλόγως ἢ μὴ τευξομένους ἐνδέχεταί σε καὶ θεοφιλῶν ἀμελῆσαί τινων, οὗ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον κόλασις ἔμπυρος αἰώνιος· (*quis dives salvetur* 33.3). Clemens Alexandrinus, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 3:159–91. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1255. See also: Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 46.

[151]Greek: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς κατῆλθε, διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπον ἐνέδυ, διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἑκὼν ἔπαθεν, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν οὓς ἠγάπησε μετρηθεὶς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀντιμετρήσῃ. καὶ μέλλων σπένδεσθαι καὶ λύτρον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδιδοὺς καινὴν ἡμῖν διαθήκην καταλιμπάνει· "ἀγάπην ὑμῖν δίδωμι τὴν ἐμήν." τίς δέ ἐστιν θήκην καταλιμπάνει· «ἀγάπην ὑμῖν δίδωμι τὴν ἐμήν. » τίς δέ ἐστιν αὕτη καὶ πόση; ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑκάστου κατέθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὅλων· ταύτην ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἀνταπαιτεῖ. εἰ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὀφείλομεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν συνθήκην πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα ἀνθωμολογήμεθα, ἔτι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια καὶ παραρρέοντα, καθείρξομεν ταμιευόμενοι; ἀλλήλων ἀποκλείσομεν, ἃ μετὰ μικρὸν ἕξει τὸ πῦρ; θείως γε καὶ ἐπιπνόως ὁ Ἰωάννης "ὁ μὴ φιλῶν" φησὶ "τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐστί," σπέρμα τοῦ Κάιν, θρέμμα τοῦ διαβόλου, θεοῦ

What is shown above again alludes to a state of suffering for an extended time in fire. It would be difficult to conclude that this is a corrective punishment with a chance of some relief in the end.

Overall, the writing of Clement brings the first hint at the question of eternal suffering in the afterlife. As noted above, Clement does not forcefully claim that all suffering, during this life and the one after, is only corrective. He also does not forcefully claim that it is not. Clement is where the idea of hell begins to peak the minds of the early Greek writers in the sense of understanding how God's love could relate to such an end. It seems that Clement shows that this torment of suffering, during life or thereafter, falls to the choice of the one suffering. That should one repent, then the suffering would be corrective, however, if one does not repent it would continue.

3.6 Conclusion

The closing of the second century begins to see a development in the idea of hell in many regards. The theology of the above writers continues to stay grounded in the reference to Scripture, however, questions begin to arise about the meaning of the resurrection of the flesh, the fire of Gehenna which Jesus speaks about, love of God, and the meaning behind the punishment in the afterlife. Part of this development comes from the need to defend Christian thinking, as seen with the apologists. Part comes from the theologians themselves reflecting on the love of God, the self-will of man, and the forces of evil which are beyond each person. As time is moves on, the thoughts regarding the afterlife are further addressed. This second half of the second century is where new questions arise, and new thinking is developed in response.

σπλάγχνον οὐκ ἔχει,ἐλπίδα κρειττόνων οὐκ ἔχει, ἄσπορός ἐστιν, ἄγονός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστι κλῆμα τῆς ἀεὶ ζώσης ὑπερουρανίας ἀμπέλου, ἐκκόπτεται, τὸ πῦρ ἄθρουν ἀναμένει (*quis dives salvetur* 37.3-6). Clemens Alexandrinus, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 3:159–91. English: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 2: Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)*, 1257.

Chapter 4

Early to Mid-Third Century Writings

4.1. Hippolytus

While little is known of the early life of Hippolytus, it is believed that he was born sometime between 170-175.[1] Hippolytus, it is believed, was a student of Irenaeus, whether through direct contact with him or through reading his works it is not known.[2] Of course, this is important in that it is often clear that Hippolytus relies on the theology of Irenaeus and the connection to Irenaeus also ties Hippolytus to Christ through a line of succession from Irenaeus to Polycarp to John who was a disciple of Jesus.[3] What is perhaps known of him, but is still disputed, is that he brought schism to the church and set himself up as pontiff (becoming the first anti-pope) until the persecutions of Maximus, at which time he was exiled, recanted of his error and died in Sardinia around the year 235-239 to be counted among the martyrs of the Church.[4]

Hippolytus was a prolific writer. He wrote on a myriad of topics including Scripture, morality, and dogma as well as topics such as geography and history.[5] Much of his work was

[1] Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, eds., *New Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 6 Fri-Hoh*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomas Gale, 2003), 858.

[2] Alexander Roberts, James Donalsdson, and Cleveland Coxe, eds., *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 3; Johannes Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus* (Westminster: Christian Classics, Inc., 1986), 163; Connolly, "The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to Diognetus," 347; Henryk Pietras, "Pośmiertelna Kariera Św. HIpolita," *Vox Patrum* 32 (1997): 63.

[3] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 7; Connolly, "The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to Diognetus," 349–52.

[4] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 6; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 38; Kelly and Walsh, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 11; Oskar Skarsaune, "The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries - except Clement and Origen," in *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation. From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)*, ed. Magne Sæbø (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 434; Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 164; Pietras, "Pośmiertelna Kariera Św. HIpolita," 61–63.

[5] Skarsaune, "The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries - except Clement and Origen," 434; Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 163–64.

lost due, in part, to the fact that Hippolytus wrote in Greek at a time when Latin was the dominant language of the Church. However, many fragments have survived, some of which have been preserved through other authors.[6] The question of authorship regarding many of his works is still debated among scholars.[7] This is in part due to most of his work being lost but it is also due to the fact that Hippolytus himself does not acknowledge or mention these writings in the authentic fragments that have survived. One example of where he does claim his writing as his own is his work *Christ and the Antichrist* which he references and calls his own in his *Commentary on Daniel*.[8] Another example of the difficulty with authenticity of authorship is seen in the fragment *On the Psalms*. This is attributed to Hippolytus because of a statue of Hippolytus on which is engraved a list of writings.[9] However, St. Jerome, for example, who was familiar with the writing does not acknowledge him as the author.[10] However, regarding the works below, it is important to note that verification of authorship is somewhat of a secondary issue. Even if authorship is dubious, the writing still reflects the thinking of the time period and is therefore pertinent to this study.[11]

4.1.1. About Christ and the Anti-Christ

Hippolytus wrote a work entitled *About Christ and the Anti-Christ*[12] around the year 200.[13] It is the most "comprehensive discussion on the problem of the antichrist in patristic

[6] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 166; Pietras, "Pośmiertelna Kariera Św. HIpolita."

[7] Skarsaune, "The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries - except Clement and Origen," 434; A. Whealey, "Hippolytus' Lost 'de Universo' and 'de Resurrectione:' Some New Hpyotheses," *Vigiliae Christianae* 50, no. 3 (1996): 244; A. Whealey, "Pseudo-Justin's 'De Resurrectione': Athenagoras or Hippolytus?," *Vigiliae Christianae* 60, no. 4 (November 2006): 420–30; Pietras, "Pośmiertelna Kariera Św. HIpolita"; Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, vol. XXXI, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae. Formerly Philosophia Paturm. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 1–2.

[8] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 171.

[9] Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*; Pietras, "Pośmiertelna Kariera Św. HIpolita," 64; Pierre Nautin, *Hippolyte et Josipe Contribution a l'histoire de La Littérature Chrétienne Du Troisième Siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1947), 17–18.

[10] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 175.

[11] Skarsaune, "The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries - except Clement and Origen," 434–35.

[12] See: Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 38–39; A.J. Visser, "A Bird's-Eye View of Ancient Christian Eschatology," *Numen* 14, no. Fasc. 1 (March 1967): 13–15.

[13] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 170.

literature."[14] Hell is mentioned in this work but only in relation to scripture. In chapter 17 he cites Isaiah 14:12-17.[15] This citation is a reference to hades, which modern translations render as Sheol. Further on in chapter 45 he writes about John the Baptist as the forerunner of Christ in all things,[16] even in his descent to preach to those captive in hades, so that he might imitate Christ in all things.[17] And in chapter 53 he quotes Isaiah 14.[18]

In chapter 65 Hippolytus states, again using scripture, what can be interpreted as his belief, that those who choose God will rise again to eternal life and those who don't will be punished in hell.[19] He quotes Daniel 12:2 "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."[20] Again, it may be questioned as to the use of everlasting or eternal. Hippolytus uses ζωὴν αἰώνιον for everlasting life and αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον for everlasting punishment. The term αἰώνιον is used for both. In this way it can be understood as eternal or everlasting. As outlined in previous chapters, while this may be disputed, it seems clear that Hippolytus understands the scriptural meaning. In the same chapter he continues citing John saying: "Blessed and holy is the one who shares in the first resurrection. The second death has no power over these" (Revelation 20:6).[21] He continues on to explain: "For the second death is the lake of fire that burns" (Revelation 21:18).[22] He ends the chapter with the strong statement that seems to leave no doubt as to his

[14] Quasten, 171.

[15] For English translation see: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 207–8. For Greek see: H. Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897), 12–14.

[16] Hill, "Hades of Hippolytus or Tartarus of Tertullian: The Authorship of the Fragment De Universo," 113.

[17] For English see: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 213. For Greek: Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2*, 29.

[18] For English see: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 215. For Greek see: Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2*, 35.

[19] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 39; Frederick C. Grant, "The Eschatology of the Second Century," *The American Journal of Theology* 21, no. 2 (1917): 204.

[20] καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ χώματος ἀναστήσονται, οὗτοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ οὗτοι εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον. Greek: Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2*, chap. 65.2-3. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 218.

[21] Ἰωάννης δὲ λέγει· „μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν. Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2*, chap. 65.9-11. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 218.

[22] ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν. Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and*

belief in a hell that is punishing and everlasting, again by quoting Scripture:

> But what saith He to the wicked? "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, which my Father hath prepared." And John says, "Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie; for your part is in the hell of fire." And in like manner also Esaias: "And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me. And their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh."[23]

Hippolytus seems to understand the meaning outlined in Scripture. Here hell is described as one of fire (γέενναν τοῦ πυρός) which is unquenchable (αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται).

4.1.2. Philosophumena

In another work by Hippolytus entitled *The Refutation of all Heresies* or *Philosophumena*, Hippolytus lays out the beliefs and philosophies of various Greek writers. Of the ten books which were written around the year 222, toward the end of the Hippolytus' life, only eight remain, books II and III have been lost.[24]

In book I Hippolytus mentions hades (Ἅιδου) in reference to Plato's belief in the immortality of the soul and postmortem judgements,[25] as well as Epicurus's rejection of any

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Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2, chap. 65.10-11. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 218.

[23] πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνόμους τί φησιν; „πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἰκατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ." Ἰωάννης δὲ λέγει· „ἔξω οἱ κύνεσκαὶ οἱ φαρμακοὶ καὶ οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλολάτραι καὶ πᾶς φιλῶν καὶ ποιῶν ψεῦδος", ὅτι „τὸ μέρος ὑμῶν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός". ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἡσαΐας φησίν· „καὶ ἐξελεύσονται καὶ ὄψονται τὰ κῶλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν παραβεβηκότων ἐν ἐμοί·ὅτι ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί." Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2*, chap. 65.16-24. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 218–19.

[24] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 166; Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 130–31.

[25] For English see: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 18. For Greek see: Hippolytus and M. Marcovich, *Hippolytus.*

such postmortem trials.[26] There is no other mention of hell in the remaining books with the exception of the very strong statement at the end of Book 10. Here, again, it seems very clear what Hippolytus believes about hell:

> Such is the true doctrine in regard of the divine nature, O ye men, Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye Latins, who lead armies, and all ye that inhabit Europe, and Asia, and Libya. And to you I am become an adviser, inasmuch as I am a disciple of *the* benevolent Logos, and *hence* humane, in order that you may hasten and by us may be taught who the true God is, and *what* is His well-ordered creation. Do not devote your attention to the fallacies of artificial discourses, nor the vain promises of plagiarizing heretics, but to the venerable simplicity of unassuming truth. And by means of this knowledge you shall escape the approaching threat of *the* fire of judgment, and the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus, where never shines a beam from the irradiating voice of the Word! You *shall escape* the boiling flood of hell's eternal lake of fire, and the eye ever fixed in the menacing glare of *fallen* angels chained in Tartarus as punishment for their sins; *and you shall escape* the worm that ceaselessly coils for food around the body whose scum has bred *it*.[27]

The first thing within this particular writing is the use of the word Tartarus (Ταρτάρου).[28] As stated above, it may have been because Hippolytus was writing on the topic of Greek

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Refutatio Omnium Haeresium [Patristische Texte Und Studien 25] (Berlin: Refutatio, 1986), bk. 1.19.11-12.

[26] For English see: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 21. For Greek see: Hippolytus and Marcovich, *Hippolytus. Refutatio Omnium Haeresium [Patristische Texte Und Studien 25]*, bk. 1.22.5.

[27] Τοιοῦτος ὁ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀληθὴς λόγος, ὦ ἄνθρωποι Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι, Χαλδαῖοί τε καὶ Ἀσσύριοι, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες, Ἰνδοί τε καὶ Αἰθίοπες, Κελτοί τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες Λατῖνοι, πάντεστε οἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην, Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην κατοικοῦντες. οἷς σύμβουλος ἐγὼ γίνομαι, φιλανθρώπου Λόγου ὑπάρχων μαθητὴς [καὶ] φιλάνθρωπος, ὅπως προσδραμόντες διδαχθῆτε παρ' ἡμῶν, τίς ὁ ὄντως θεὸς καὶ <τίς> ἡ τούτου εὔτακτος δημιουργία, μὴ προσέχοντες σοφίσμασιν ἐντέχνωνλόγων, μηδὲ ματαίοις ἐπαγγελίαις κλεψιλόγων αἱρετικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀληθείας ἀκόμπου ἁπλότητι σεμνῇ. Δι' ἧς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκφεύξεσθε ἐπερχομένην πυρὸς κρίσεως ἀπειλήν, καὶ Ταρτάρου ζοφεροῦ ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον, ὑπὸ Λόγου φωνῆς μὴ κατα καὶ Ταρτάρου ζοφεροῦ ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον, ὑπὸ Λόγου φωνῆς μὴ καταλαμφ<θ>έν, καὶ βρασμὸν ἀεννάου λίμνης γεννητρίας φλογός, καὶ ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν <φοβερὸν> ὄμμα, ἀεὶ μένον ἐν ἀπειλῇ, καὶ σκώληκα, σώματος ἀπουσίαν, <ἀπαύστως> ἐπιστρεφόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκβράσαν σῶμα ὡς ἐπιστροφήν. Hippolytus and Marcovich, *Hippolytus. Refutatio Omnium Haeresium [Patristische Texte Und Studien 25]*, bk. 10.34.1-3. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 152–53.

[28] See chapter one on Tartarus.

philosophy and was using Greek terms. However, he is also citing scripture in this regard as can be seen with the allusion to Jude 1:6 and fallen angels. The imagery is quite strong making it easy to conclude that, for Hippolytus, hell is a place of fallen angels suffering punishment for their sins, it is a fiery, gloomy place, and it is separation from God.

4.1.3. Commentary of Proverbs

In the *Commentary on Proverbs* Hippolytus writes about hell and Tartarus in the following way:

> Wherefore, in order to teach us this, he uses the examples of Sheol (Hades), and the love of women, and hell (Tartarus), and the earth that is not filled with water. And water and fire, indeed, will never say, "It is enough." And the grave (Hades) in no wise ceases to receive the souls of the unrighteous men; nor does the love of sin, in the instance of the love of women, cease to be given to fornication, and it becomes the betrayer of the soul. And as Tartarus, which is situated in a doleful and dark locality, is not touched by a ray of light, so is every one who is the slave of sin in all the passions of the flesh like the earth not filled with water, he is never able to come to confession, and to the laver of regeneration, and like water and fire, never says, "It is enough."[29]

Hippolytus states again that hell will be dark and gloomy and is the place for all those who are a slave of sin and the passions. He does continually use the Greek word Tartarus as well as Hades, but here does not differentiate between the two. They both are the place of punishment for those who choose evil.

[29] „ᾅδης καὶ ἔρως γυναικὸς καὶ τάρταρος καὶ γῆ οὐκ ἐμπιπλαμένη ὕδατος, καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ οὐ μὴ εἴπωσιν ἀρκεῖ". ὃν γὰρ τρόπον ὁ ᾅδης οὐ διαλείπει δεχόμενος ψυχὰς ἀνόμων ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ ὁ ἔρως τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὡς γυναικός, παύσεται ἐκπορνεύων, προδότης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ὥς τις γενόμενος. τάρταρος δὲ ἀεὶ ἐν λυγρώδει καὶ ζοφώδει τόπῳ ὑπάρχων, οὐ καταλαμβάνεται ὑπὸ ἀκτῖνος φωτός· οὕτως ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ ἐν παντὶ πάθει σαρκὸς „τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ δουλεύων" ὡς „γῆ μὴ ἐμπιπλαμένη ὕδατος" μηδέποτε εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ „λουτρὸν παλινγενεσίας" ἐλθεῖν δυνάμενος, ὡς „ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ μὴ λέγοντα ἀρκεῖ". Achelis, *Hippolyt's Kleinere Exegetische and Homiletische Schriften [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 1.2*, pt. Die (meist echten) Fragmente des Vaticanus 1802, 164-165. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 174.

4.1.4. Commentary on Daniel, On Luke, On the Psalms, and Expository Treatise against the Jews.

Hippolytus mentions the descent of Christ into hell in his *Commentary on Daniel*, (chapter 10.16)[30] written around the year 204,[31] and also in his work entitled: *On Luke* (chapter 23).[32] This does not concern this thesis as the passage gives no indication on the nature of hell or Hippolytus's thoughts on the matter and therefore will not be investigated here. Also, in his *Commentary on the Psalms* regarding psalm 4:15,[33] he mentions the descent alive into Hades but, again, no description or any other information on the topic is given. Further, in his *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* Hades is mentioned three times (para. 2, 3) all in relation to the prophetic reflection of Christ in the psalms.[34]

4.1.5. De Universo

The last and probably most significant for this study is that of a work attributed to Hippolytus is entitled *Against Plato, on the Cause of the Universe*[35] most commonly referred to by its Latin title *De Universo*. There continues to be controversy regarding authorship[36] even though it appears that Hippolytus himself refers to this work at the end of the *Philosophumena* (10:32), Jerome refers to it as his work, and it is listed on the statue of Hippolytus which contains the list of his works.[37] In this work there is a rather lengthy section devoted to a very vivid description of hell:

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[30] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 190.

[31] Bracht, "The Four Kingdoms of Daniel in Hippolytus's Commentary on Daniel," 167; Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 171–73. For more regarding the eschatology of Hippolytus in this writing see: Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 39.

[32] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 194.

[33] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 175; Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 202.

[34] Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 219, 220.

[35] See: Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, 39–40.

[36] See: Hill, "Hades of Hippolytus or Tartarus of Tertullian: The Authorship of the Fragment De Universo."

[37] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 195.

And this is the passage regarding demons. But now we must speak of Hades, in which the souls both of the righteous and the unrighteous are detained. Hades is a place in the created system, rude, a locality beneath the earth, in which the light of the world does not shine; and as the sun does not shine in this locality, there must necessarily be perpetual darkness there. This locality has been destined to be as it were a guard-house for souls, at which the angels are stationed as guards, distributing according to each one's deeds the temporary punishments for (different) characters. And in this locality there is a certain place set apart by itself, a lake of unquenchable fire, into which we suppose no one has ever yet been cast; for it is prepared against the day determined by God, in which one sentence of righteous judgment shall be justly applied to all. And the unrighteous, and those who believed not God, who have honoured as God the vain works of the hands of men, idols fashioned (by themselves), shall be sentenced to this endless punishment. But the righteous shall obtain the incorruptible and unfading kingdom, who indeed are at present detained in Hades, but not in the same place with the unrighteous. For to this locality there is one descent, at the gate whereof we believe an archangel is stationed with a host. And when those who are conducted by the angels appointed unto the souls have passed through this gate, they do not proceed on one and the same way; but the righteous, being conducted in the light toward the right, and being hymned by the angels stationed at the place, are brought to a locality full of light. And there the righteous from the beginning dwell, not ruled by necessity, but enjoying always the contemplation of the blessings which are in their view, and delighting themselves with the expectation of others ever new, and deeming those ever better than these. And that place brings no toils to them. There, there is neither fierce heat, nor cold, nor thorn; but the face of the fathers and the righteous is seen to be always smiling, as they wait for the rest and eternal revival in heaven which succeed this location. And we call it by the name *Abraham's bosom*. But the unrighteous are dragged toward the left by angels who are ministers of punishment, and they go of their own accord no longer, but are dragged by force as prisoners. And the angels appointed over them send them along, reproaching them and threatening them with and eye of terror, forcing them down into the lower parts. And when they are brought there, those appointed to that service drag them on to the confines of hell. And those who are so near hear incessantly the agitation, and feel the hot smoke. And when that vision is so near, as they see the

terrible and excessively glowing spectacle of the fire, they shudder in horror at the expectation of the future judgment, (as if they were) already feeling the power of their punishment. And again, where they see the place of the fathers and the righteous, there are also punished there. For a deep vast abyss is set there in the midst, so that neither can any of the righteous in sympathy think to pass it, nor any of the unrighteous dare to cross it.

Thus far, then, on the subject of Hades, in which the souls of all are detained until the time which God has determined.[38]

In the above citation there is a very clear statement of how Hippolytus sees hell. There are several points of interest, one of which is that hell is a holding place for all the dead, righteous and unrighteous alike, until the final judgement.[39] It is under the earth and is dark. It also resembles that of the Old Testament Sheol in that there are levels. The description here is also

[38] καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ περὶ δαιμόνων λόγος. περὶ δὲ ᾅδου ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. ὁ ᾅδης τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κτίσει ἀκατασκεύαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμου οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει. φωτὸς τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ μὴ καταλάμποντος ἀνάγκη σκότος διηνεκῶς τυγχάνειν. τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὡς φρούριον ἀπενεμήθη ψυχαῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ κατεστάθησαν ἄγγελοι, φρουροὶ, πρὸς τὰς ἑκάστου πράξεις διανέμοντες τὰς τῶν τόπων προσκαίρους κολάσεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ τόπος ἀφώρισταί τις λίμνης πυρὸς ἀσβέστου ἐν ᾧ μὲν οὐδέπω τινὰ καταρερίφθαι ὑπειλήφαμεν, ἐσκευάσθαι δὲ εἰς τὴν προωρισμένην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾗ δικαίας κρίσεως ἀπόφασις μία πᾶσιν ἀξίως προσενεχθῇ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄδικοι καὶ θεῷ ἀπειθήσαντες τά τε μάταια ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατεσκευασμένα εἴδωλα, ὡς θεὸν τιμήσαντες ταύτης τῆς ἀϊδίου κολάσεως ὡς αἴτιοι μιασμάτων γενόμενοι προκριθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀνεκλείπτου βασιλείας τύχωσιν, οἳ ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ νῦν μὲν συνέχονται ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ὡς καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι. μία γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον κάθοδος, οὗ τῇ πύλῃ ἐφεστῶτα ἀρχάγγελον ἅμα στρατιᾷ πεπιστεύκαμεν, ἣν πύλην διελθόντες οἱ καταγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταγδιελθόντες οἱ καταγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταγμένων ἀγγέλων οὐ μιᾷ ὁδῷ πορεύονται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι εἰς δεξιὰ φωταγωγούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων κατὰ τόπον ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενοι ἄγονται εἰς χωρίον φωτεινὸν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαιοι πολιτεύονται, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κρατούμενοι ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ὁρωμένων ἀγαθῶν θέας ἀεὶ ἀπολαύοντες καὶ τῇ τῶν ἑκάστοτε καινῶν ὁρωμένων προσδοκίᾳ ἡδόμενοι κἀκεῖνα τούτων βελτίονα ἡγούμενοι, οἷς ὁ τόπος οὐ καματηφόρος γίνεται, οὐ καύσων οὐ κρύος οὐ τρίβολος ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν πατέρων δικαίων τε ὁρωμένη ὄψις πάντοτε μειδιᾷ ἀναμενόντων τὴν μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ αἰωνίαν βίωσιν ἐν οὐρανῷ· τοῦτον δὲ ὀνόματι κληΐζομεν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἀριστερὰ ἕλκονται ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν οὐκέτι ἑκουσίως πορευόμενοι ἀλλὰ μετὰ βίας ὡς δέσμιοι ἑλκόμενοι, οἷς οἱ ἐφεστῶτες ἄγγελοι ἐπιγελῶντες διαπέμπονται ἐπονειδίζοντες καὶ φοβερῷ ὄμματι ἐπαπειλοῦντες καὶ εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη ὠθοῦντες, οὓς ἀγομένους ἕλκουσιν οἱ ἐφεστῶτες ἕως πλησίον τῆς γεέννης, ἧς ἐγγίονες ὄντες τοῦ μὲν βρασμοῦ ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπακούουσι καὶ τοῦ τῆς θέρμης ἀτμοῦ οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσιν, αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐγγίονος ὄψεως τὴν φοβερὰν καὶ ὑπερβαλλόντως ξανθὴν θέαν τοῦ πυρὸς ὡς τὴν φοβερὰν καὶ ὑπερβαλλόντως ξανθὴν θέαν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁρῶντες καταπεπλήγασι, τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως ἤδη δυνάμει κολαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν τῶν δικαίων χῶρον καὶ τοὺς δικαίους ὁρῶσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κολαζόμενοι· χάος γὰρ βαθὺ καὶ μέγα ἀνὰ μέσον ἐστήρικται, ὥστε μήτε δίκαιον συμπαθήσαντα προσδέξασθαι μήτε ἄδικον τολμήσαντα διελθεῖν. οὗτος ὁ περὶ ᾅδου λόγος, ἐν ᾧ αἱ ψυχαὶ πάντων κατέχονται ἄχρι καιροῦ, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὥρισεν ἀνάστασιν τότε πάντων ποιησάμενος. Karl Holl, *Fragmente Vornicanischer Kirchenvater Aus Den Sacra Parallela* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), 137–39. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 221–22.

[39] Hill, "Hades of Hippolytus or Tartarus of Tertullian: The Authorship of the Fragment De Universo," 105, 108.

very similar to that of the description of Tartarus above.[40] The one thing very clear in Hippolytus is that there are angels appointed to guard the abode. These ideas will bring the question of the intermediate state to mind, this will not be examined here but must be mentioned because Hippolytus has this as a function of hell.

The following comes from the final remaining fragment of *De Universo* attributed to Hippolytus:

> and to the lovers of iniquity shall be given eternal punishment. And the fire which is unquenchable and without end awaits these latter, and a certain fiery worm which dieth not, and which does not waste the body, but continues bursting forth from the body with unending pain. No sleep will give them rest; no night will soothe them; no death will deliver them from punishment; no voice of interceding friends will profit them. For neither the righteous seen by them any longer, nor are they worthy of remembrance.[41]

Again, this is a very vivid image of hell and what it will contain. Eternal punishment (αἰώνιον κόλασιν) and the fire is without end (πῦρ ἄσβεστον). Among the early Greek writers featured in this study, Hippolytus has the most to say about hell as far as the description. He is very clear about the punishment being everlasting, the fire unquenchable, and that hell is a place of complete darkness. There can be no doubt that Hippolytus believes this is the end for sinners. He also says that this place has no one in it as those who await the final judgment are held nearby. This may bring forth more questions but for the time being it has been shown what, according to Hippolytus, the terrain of hell looks like.

4.2. Origen

[40] Hill, 115.

[41] τοῖς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἐρασταῖς τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἀπονέμοντος καὶ τούτοις μὲν τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον διαμένει καὶ ἀτελεύτητον, σκώληξ δέ τις ἔμπυρος μὴ τελευτῶν μηδὲ σῶμα διαφθείρων ἀπαύστως ὀδύνην ἐκ σώματος ἐκβράσσων παραμένει. τούτους οὐχ ὕπνος ἀναπαύσει, οὐ νὺξ παρηγορήσει οὐ θάνατος τῆς κολάσεως ἀπολύσει, οὗ παράκλησις συγγενῶν μεσιτευσάντων ὀνήσει. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δίκαιοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁρῶνται οὐδὲ μνήμης γίνονται ἄξιοι, (91-97). Holl, *Fragmente Vornicanischer Kirchenvater Aus Den Sacra Parallela*, 141. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Coxe, *Volume 5: The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.*, 222–23.

Origen was born in or around the year 185 in Alexandria[42] and died in Tyre from the effects of sever torture in the year 253.[43] He is one of the most well-known figures when it comes to the eternal restoration of all to God (apocatastasis) known as universalism.[44] He is recognized as the successor of Clement of Alexandria and as an amazing scholar both in terms of his range of writing and the originality of his thinking.[45] Much is known about Origen and his life thanks to the writings of Eusebius,[46] as well as those of Gregory the Wonderworker, Jerome, and Photius.[47]

Because of the extent of Origen's writings, only those that focus on the topic of hell will be examined in detail. It must be stated at the outset that there will be no discussion of apocatastasis. The focus of this work remains on hell and Origen's writing about it. There are four primary terms that will be explored, hell, hades, Gehenna, as well as fire (eternal, unquenchable, etc.) A fifth term will be examined in relation to its baring on Origen's concept or thinking regarding hell, that is, outer darkness.

To begin, there are several passages in which Origen uses the word hades in relation to Greek mythology. These passages will be noted where appropriate with little explanation as they do not apply to this research. Other passages will be noted when the citation of scripture mentions terms that relate to hell, i.e. hades, Gehenna, eternal fire, etc. these will only be noted regarding the work in which they may be located. It must be mentioned that this in not exhaustive. Origen uses these phrases many times, but have no bearing on the topic at hand, hence, they will be left unmentioned.

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[42] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 37; Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, trans. Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti, Sources Chrétiennes 252 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1978), 10; Allan Menzies, ed., *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, vol. IX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 291. Origen, *Origen Homilies on Jeremiah Homily on 1 Kings*, trans. John Clark Smith, vol. 28, The Fathers of the Church a New Translation (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998), xiii.

[43] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 40; Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:291. Origen, *Origen Homilies on Jeremiah Homily on 1 Kings*, 28:xiv.

[44] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 87–91; Sachs, "Apocatastasis in Patristic Theology," 620–40; Ramelli, "Origen, Bardaisan, and the Origin of Universal Salvation."

[45] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 37; Minois, *Histoire Des Enfers*, 94.

[46] See: Eusebius of Caesarea, *Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. C.F. Cruse (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 191–96, 198, 202, 208, 213–14, 219, 221; Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 37.

[47] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 37.

4.2.1. De Principiis

De Principiis, written between the years of 220-230, is perhaps the first manual of dogma or Christian system of theology ever written.[48] However, there is little left of the original work and those which do remain have at times included doubtful additions.[49] In this work Origen expands on the topic of hell beginning in his prologue. The original Greek is lost so reliance is upon the Latin translation by Rufinus. In the fifth paragraph of the prologue the following is stated:

> After these points, also, the apostolic teaching is that the soul, having a substance and life of its own, shall, after its departure from the world, be rewarded according to its deserts, being destined to obtain either an inheritance of eternal life and blessedness, if its actions shall have procured this for it, or to be delivered up to eternal fire and punishments, if the guilt of its crimes shall have brought it down to this: and also, that there is to be a time of resurrection from the dead, when this body, which now "is sown in corruption, shall rise in incorruption," and that which "is sown in dishonour will rise in glory" (*De Principiis* prologue 5.)[50]

Here there is no discussion of the meaning of hell but it is clear that "eternal fire and punishments" will be the consequence of sin.[51] At this point a review of which words Origen used to describe eternal fire must be left to the side since the original Greek is not available. This will, however, be addressed later in this chapter.

In chapter five Origen writes on the topic of Justice and Goodness. Here he writes the

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[48] Quasten, 57. Although it could be argued that Irenaeus was the first to form a systematic theology for Christians.

[49] Quasten, 58.

[50] Post haec iam quod anima substantiam uitamque habens propriam, cum ex hoc mundo discesserit, pro suis meritis dispensabitur, siue uitae aeternae ac beatitudinis hereditate potitura, si hoc ei sua gesta praestiterint, siue igni aeterno ac suppliciis mancipanda, si in hoc eam scelerum culpa detorserit; sed et quia erit tempus resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc, quod nunc *incorruptione seminatur, surget in incorruptione,* et quod *seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria*. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 82. English translation : Alexander Roberts, James Donalsdson, and Frederick Crombie, eds., *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, Ante-Nicene Fathers. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869), 4.

[51] See: Minois, *Histoire Des Enfers*, 94–95.

following: “Why do they not rather hear the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospels, preparing fire for the devil and his angels?”[52] In the same section Origen uses the term ‘outer darkness’ quoting Matthew 22:12,13.

> …and then ordered his servants, “*Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth*.” Let them tell us who is that king who entered in to see the guests, and finding one among them with unclean garments, commanded him to be bound by his servants, and thrust out into outer darkness... Nay, what else is there so unjust charged by them against the God of the law as to order him who had been invited by His servants, whom He had sent to call good and bad alike, to be bound hand and foot, and to be thrown into outer darkness, because he had on unclean garments? (*De Principiis* - chapter 2, 2).[53]

The tenth chapter of Book 2 contains an explicit statement on the subject of hell. Entitled: “On the Resurrection, and the Judgment, the Fire of Hell, and Punishment.” this chapter begins with a discussion on the resurrection of the body:

> But since the discourse has reminded us of the subjects of a future judgment and of retribution, and of the punishments of sinners, according to the threatenings of holy Scripture and the contents of the Church's teaching — viz., that when the time of judgment comes, everlasting fire, and outer darkness, and a prison, and a furnace, and other punishments of like nature, have been prepared for sinners— let us see what our

[52] Quin potius audiant in euangeliis patrem domini nostri Iesu Chrisit ignem praeparantem diabolo et angelis eius.Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 294. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 99.

[53] *Tunc ait ministris: Ligantes ei pedes et manus mittite eum foras in tenebras exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.* Dicant nobis: quis est iste rex, qui ingressus est uidere disumbentes et inueniens inter eos quandam sordidis indumentis iubet eum uinctum per ministros suos in tenebras exteriores detrudi... quid aliud est quod iusto deo obiciunt, immo quid tale est quod in deo legis criminantur, quale est ut eum, qui ab his seruis quos ipse miserat uocare bonos et malos fuerat inuitatus, iuberet eum pro sordidioribus indumentis uinctum manibus pedibusque in exteriores tenebras preacipitari? Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 294–96. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 100.

opinions on these points ought to be.[54]

Again, because the text comes to us in Latin which translates the everlasting fire as *ignis aeternus*, that is eternal fire, a definitive statement on the meaning cannot be given here. Overall, however, the tone is clear, punishment will come after judgment. In the next paragraph Origen outlines how the body will be resurrected, regarding those who have sinned he says:

> ...that even the body which rises again of those who are to be destined to everlasting fire or to severe punishments, is by the very change of the resurrection so incorruptible, that it cannot be corrupted and dissolved even by severe punishments. If then, such be the qualities of that body which will arise from the dead, let us now see what is the meaning of the threatening of eternal fire.[55]

Here is the heart of the problem. What exactly is meant by "the threatening of eternal fire?" The following paragraph reads:

> We find in the prophet Isaiah, that the fire with which each one is punished is described as his own; for he says, *"Walk in the light of your own fire, and in the flame which you have kindled."* By these words it seems to be indicated that every sinner kindles for himself the flame of his own fire, and is not plunged into some fire which has been already kindled by another, or was in existence before himself. Of this fire the fuel and food are our sins, which are called by the Apostle Paul *"wood, and hay, and stubble."* And I think that, as abundance of food, and provisions of a contrary kind and amount, breed fevers in the body, and fevers, too, of different sorts and duration, according to

[54] Sed quoniam nos sermo commonuit de iudicio futuro et de retributione ac suppliciis pecatorum secundum quod comminantur sanctae scripturae et ecclesiastica praedicatio continet, eo quod iudicii tempore ignis aeternus et tenebrae exteriores et carcer et caminus et alia his similia peccatoribus praeparata sint, uideamus quid etiam de his sentiri oporteat. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 374. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 136.

[55] ita tamen ut etiam eorum, qui ad ignem aeternum uel ad supplicia destinandi sunt, per ipsam resurrectionis permutationem ita corpus incorruptum sit quod resurgit, ut ne suppliciis quidem corrumpi ualeat ac dissolui. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 382. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 140.

> the proportion in which the collected poison supplies material and fuel for disease (the quality of this material, gathered together from different poisons, proving the causes either of a more acute or more lingering disease); so, when the soul has gathered together a multitude of evil works, and an abundance of sins against itself, at a suitable time all that assembly of evils boils up to punishment, and is set on fire to chastisements; when the mind itself, or conscience, receiving by divine power into the memory all those things of which it had stamped on itself certain signs and forms at the moment of sinning, will see a kind of history, as it were, of all the foul, and shameful, and unholy deeds which it has done, exposed before its eyes: then is the conscience itself harassed, and, pierced by its own goads, becomes an accuser and a witness against itself. And this, I think, was the opinion of the Apostle Paul himself, when he said, *"Their thoughts mutually accusing or excusing them in the day when God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel."* From which it is understood that around the substance of the soul certain tortures are produced by the hurtful affections of sins themselves.[56]

Here Origen clearly begins to lay out a pattern of thinking which points to a theology of hell that is the result of the individual himself and not prepared or inflicted upon him by another. He continues this line of thinking in the following paragraph which should be produced in full because of the important line of thinking. Origen brings the tortures of hell into the present with comparisons to which all can relate:

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[56] Si ergo ita se habet qualitas eius corporis, quot resurget a mortuis, uideamus nunc quid sibi uelit ignis aeterni comminatio. Inuenimus namque in Esaia propheta designari uniuscuiusque proprium esse ignam quo punitur; ait enim: *Ambulate in lumine ignis uestri et in flamma, quam accendistis uobismet ipsis.* Per quos sermones hoc uidetur indicari, quod unusquisque peccatorum flammam sibi ipse proprii ignis accendat, et non in aliquem ignem, qui antea iam fuerit accensus ab alio uel ante ipsum subtiterit, demergatur. Cuius ignis esca atque materia sunt nostra peccata, quae ab apostolo Paulo *ligna et faenum et stipula* nominantur. Et arbitror quod sicut in corpore escae abundantia et qualitas uel quantitas cibi contraria febres generat, et febres diuersi uel modi uel temporis secundum eam mensuram, quam intemperies collecta materiam suggesserit ac fomitem febrium (quae materiae qualitas, ex diuersa intemperie congregata, causa uel acerbioris morbi uel prolixioris existit): ita anima cum multitudinem malorum operum et abundantiam in se congregauerit peccatorum, conpetenti tempore omnis illa malorum congrgatio efferuescit ad supplicium atque inflammatur ad poenas; cum etiam mens ipsa uel consientia per diuinam uirtutem omnia in memoriam recipiens, quorum in semet ipsa signa quaedam ac formas, cum peccaret, expresserat, et singulorum, quae uel foede ac turpiter gesserat uel etiam impie commiserat, historiam quandam scelerum suorum ante oculos uidebit expositam: tunc et ipsa conscientia propriis stimulis agitatur atque conpungitur et sui ipsa efficitur accusatrix et testis. Quod ita sensisse etiam Paulum apostolum puto cum dicit: *Inter se inuicem cogitationibus accusantibus aut etiam defendentibus in die, qua iudicabit deus occulta hominum secundum euangelium meum per Iesum Christum.* Ex quo intellegitur quod circa ipsam animae substantiam tormenta quaedam ex ipsis peccatorum noxiis affectibus generantur. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 382–84. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 140–41.

And that the understanding of this matter may not appear very difficult, we may draw some considerations from the evil effects of those passions which are wont to befall some souls, as when a soul is consumed by the fire of love, or wasted away by zeal or envy, or when the passion of anger is kindled, or one is consumed by the greatness of his madness or his sorrow; on which occasions some, finding the excess of these evils unbearable, have deemed it more tolerable to submit to death than to endure perpetually torture of such a kind. You will ask indeed whether, in the case of those who have been entangled in the evils arising from those vices above enumerated, and who, while existing in this life, have been unable to procure any amelioration for themselves, and have in this condition departed from the world, it be sufficient in the way of punishment that they be tortured by the remaining in them of these hurtful affections, i.e., of the anger, or of the fury, or of the madness, or of the sorrow, whose fatal poison was in this life lessened by no healing medicine; or whether, these affections being changed, they will be subjected to the pains of a general punishment. Now I am of opinion that another species of punishment may be understood to exist; because, as we feel that when the limbs of the body are loosened and torn away from their mutual supports, there is produced pain of a most excruciating kind, so, when the soul shall be found to be beyond the order, and connection, and harmony in which it was created by God for the purposes of good and useful action and observation, and not to harmonize with itself in the connection of its rational movements, it must be deemed to bear the chastisement and torture of its own dissension, and to feel the punishments of its own disordered condition. And when this dissolution and rending asunder of soul shall have been tested by the application of fire, a solidification undoubtedly into a firmer structure will take place, and a restoration be effected (II.X.5).[57]

[57] Et ne satis tibi difficilis huius rei intellectus appareat, considerari possibil est ex his passionum uitiis, quae animabus accidere solent, id est cum uel flammis amoris exuritur anima uel zeli aut liuoris ignibus maceratur, aut cum irae agitatur insania uel tristitiae inmensitate consumitur, quomodo horum malorum nimietates aliquanti intolerabiliter ferentes, mortem subire quam huiuscemodi cruciatus perpeti tolerabilius habuere. Requires sane si his, quitiiorum malis istis, quae supra diximus, inretiti sunt nec emendationis aliquid in hac uita adhuc positi comparare sibimet potuerunt et ita ex hoc mundo abscesserunt, sufficiat illis ad poenam quod illis ipsis perdurantibus in se noxiis affectibus cruciantur, id est irae uel furoris uel insaniae uel maeroris, quorum utique mortiferum uirus nullo in hac uita emendationis medicamento mitigatum est; an his affetibus immutatis generalis poenae stimulis uexabuntur,

Sed et aliam suppliciorum speciem intellegi arbitror posse, quia sicut sentimus soluta corporis membra atque a suis inuicem diuulsa conpagibus inmensi doloris generare cruciatum, ita cum anima extra ordinem atque conpagem uel eam armoniam, qua ad bene agendum et utiliter sentiendum a deo creata est, fuerit inuenta nec sibimet ipsi rationabilium motuum conpagine consonare, poenam cruciatumque putanda sit suimet ipsius ferre

Here it could be believed that Origen is speaking of apocatastasis. First, as in the above paragraph, Origen points to the effects of passions on the person. These passions and sins are what burn in the person. These 'pains of hell' so to speak, are not inflicted on the sufferer. Also, he seems to allude to a general punishment separate from the punishment of one's own sins. However, this is not elaborated upon here. It is when these are all burned away, meaning his own sin, that is the "*wood, and hay, and stubble*" of St. Paul, that a new "structure will take place, and a restoration be effected."

In paragraph six of the same chapter, Origen again writes about the possibility of restoration. He continues to describe what the fire of hell means:

> There are also many other things which escape our notice, and are known to Him alone who is the physician of our souls. For if, on account of those bad effects which we bring upon ourselves by eating and drinking, we deem it necessary for the health of the body to make use of some unpleasant and painful drug, sometimes even, if the nature of the disease demand, requiring the severe process of the amputating knife; and if the virulence of the disease shall transcend even these remedies, the evil has at last to be burned out by fire; how much more is it to be understood that God our Physician, desiring to remove the defects of our souls, which they had contracted from their different sins and crimes, should employ penal measures of this sort, and should apply even, in addition, the punishment of fire to those who have lost their soundness of mind! Pictures of this method of procedure are found also in the holy Scriptures. In the book of Deuteronomy, the divine word threatens sinners with the punishments of fevers, and colds, and jaundice, and with the pains of feebleness of vision, and alienation of mind and paralysis, and blindness, and weakness of the reins. If any one, then, at his leisure gather together out of the whole of Scripture all the enumerations of diseases which in the threatenings addressed to sinners are called by the names of bodily maladies, he will find that either the vices of souls, or their punishments, are figuratively indicated

discidii, et inconstantiae suae atque inordinationis sentire supplicium. Quaeque animae dissolutio atque diuulsio cum adhibiti ignis ratione fuerit explorata, sine dubio ad firmiorem sui conpagem instaurationemque solidatur. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 384–86. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 141–42.

by them. To understand now, that in the same way in which physicians apply remedies to the sick, in order that by careful treatment they may recover their health, God so deals towards those who have lapsed and fallen into sin, is proved by this, that the cup of God's fury is ordered, through the agency of the prophet Jeremiah, to be offered to all nations, that they may drink it, and be in a state of madness, and vomit it forth. In doing which, He threatens them, saying, that if any one refuse to drink, he shall not be cleansed. By which certainly it is understood that the fury of God's vengeance is profitable for the purgation of souls. That the punishment, also, which is said to be applied by fire, is understood to be applied with the object of healing, is taught by Isaiah, who speaks thus of Israel: *"The Lord will wash away the filth of the sons or daughters of Zion, and shall purge away the blood from the midst of them by the spirit of judgment, and the spirit of burning."* Of the Chaldeans he thus speaks: *"You have the coals of fire; sit upon them: they will be to you a help."* And in other passages he says, *"The Lord will sanctify in a burning fire"* and in the prophecies of Malachi he says, *"The Lord sitting will blow, and purify, and will pour forth the cleansed sons of Judah"* (II.X.6).[58]

Here there are two important points. The first is that it appears that Origen believes that

[58] Multa sunt etiam alia quae nos latent, quae illi soli cognita sunt, qui est medicus animarum nostrarum. Si enim ad corporis sanitatem pro his uitiis, quae per escam potumque collegimus, necessariam habemus interdum austerioris ac mordacioris madicamenti curam, nonnumquam uero, si id uitii qualitas depoposcerit, rigore ferri et sectionis asperitate indigemus, quodsi et haec suppergressus fuerit morbi modus, ad ultimum conceptum uitium etiam ignis exurit: quanto magis intellegendum est medicum nostrum deum uolentem diluere uitia animarum nostrarum, quae ex peccatorum et scelerum diuersitate collegerant, uti huiuscemodi poenalibus curis, insuper etiam ignis inferre supplicium his, qui sanitatem animae perdiderunt?

Cuius rei imagines etiam in scripturis sanctis referuntur. Denique in Deuteronomio sermo diuinus peccatoribus comminatur quod febribus et frigoribus et aurugine puniatur, et occulorum uacillationibus et mentis alienatione et paraplexia et caecitate ac debilitate renium cruciandi sint. Si qui ergo ex otio de omni scriptura congreget omnes languorum commemorationes, quae in comminatione peccatoribus uelut corporearum aegritudinum applellationibus memorantur, inueniet quod animarum uel uitia uel supplicia per haec figuraliter indicentur. Vt autem intellegamus quia ea ratione, qua medici adiutoria languentibus adhibent, ut per curas reparent sanitatem, etiam deus agit circa eos, qui lapsi sunt et deciderunt, indicio est illud, quod per Hieremian prophetam iubetur calix furoris dei propinari omnibus gentibus, ut bibant et insaniant et euomant. In quo comminatur dicens quia si qui noluerit bibere, non mundabitur. Ex quo utique intellegitur quod furor uindictae dei ad purgationem proficiat animarum. Quoniam autem et ea poena, quae per ignem inferri dicitur, pro adiutorio intellegitur adhiberi, Esaias docet, qui de Israhel quidem sic dicit: *Abluet dominus sordes filiorum et filiarum Sion, et sanguinem expurgabit e medio ipsorum spiritu iudicii et spiritu adustionis.* De Chaldaeis autem sic dicit: *Habes carones ignis, sede super eos, hi erunt tibi adiutorio,* et in aliis dicit: *Sanctificabit eos dominus in igne ardenti*, et in Malachia propheta ita dicit: *Sedens dominus conflabit sicut aurum et argentum populum suum, conflabit et purgabit et fundet purgatos filior Iuda.* Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 386–90. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 142–43.

those who are in error and do not see this error due to the depth of their sin, or if they have lost soundness of mind, God will use this fire to burn out the evil and sin. And the second is that this is done in order to cure or heal the person. One point, however, is difficult in this writing and leads to a different consideration. Origen writes: "that the cup of God's fury is ordered, through the agency of the prophet Jeremiah, to be offered to all nations, that they may drink it, and be in a state of madness, and vomit it forth. In doing which, He threatens them, saying, that if any one refuse to drink, he shall not be cleansed." The problem here is that, it seems, there is always the moment of choice for the individual. What will happen to those who chose not to drink? They shall not be cleansed; they shall not be restored.

The seventh paragraph addresses another punishment but this time as a separation from the Holy Spirit. He writes: "But the fate also which is mentioned in the Gospels as overtaking unfaithful stewards, who, it is said, are to be divided, and a portion of them placed along with unbelievers, as if that portion which is not their own were to be sent elsewhere, undoubtedly indicates some kind of punishment on those whose spirit, as it seems to me, is shown to be separated from the soul."[59] He goes on explain that this separation can be described in three ways. First, is the separation of the spirit from the soul outlined above. The spirit meaning that which was given in baptism or by grace. Second, that by his own freewill, man can choose to fall from the image and likeness of God which was given to him at his creation, and this can be separated from the person. And third, that the person can be separated from the guardian angel who was assigned to him. These separations leave him among the unbelievers. And what is the fate of the unbelievers? This question is not addressed here.

In paragraph eight, Origen addresses a topic that heretofore has not been addressed, that of the outer darkness to which Jesus referred.[60] He writes:

> But the outer darkness, in my judgment, is to be understood not so much of some dark atmosphere without any light, as of those persons who, being plunged in the darkness of profound ignorance, have been placed beyond the reach of any light of the

[59] Sed et illud, quod de dispensatoribus non bonis in euangelio dictum est, qui diuidendi dicuntur, et pars eorum cum infidelibus poni, tamquam ea pars, quae ipsorum propria non sit, aliorsum mittenda, sine dubio genus aliquod indicat poenae eorum, quorum, ut mihi uidetur, separandus ab anima spiritus indicatur. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 390–92. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 143–44.

[60] Matthew 8:12, 22:13, 25:30.

> understanding. We must see, also, lest this perhaps should be the meaning of the expression, that as the saints will receive those bodies in which they have lived in holiness and purity in the habitations of this life, bright and glorious after the resurrection, so the wicked also, who in this life have loved the darkness of error and the night of ignorance, may be clothed with dark and black bodies after the resurrection, that the very mist of ignorance which had in this life taken possession of their minds within them, may appear in the future as the external covering of the body. Similar is the view to be entertained regarding the prison.[61]

Here it is outlined that the bodily resurrection will reflect the state of the sinner. This has been interpreted as another example of the use of allegory.[62] However, as is seen above with Irenaeus, the body will indeed be resurrected and as Origen implies, the judgment will come at this time and not before.

Book 3 of *De Principiis* has only two references to hell. The first is found in Chapter 1 paragraph 6 of the Greek which refers to Matthew 25:41 "Depart, you cursed, into everlasting fire."[63] There has been emphasis on Origen's use of the word αἰώνιον, but it should come as no surprise that here he uses this term as he is quoting Scripture.[64] The second reference to hell is in chapter 2 paragraph 5 when he refers to Matthew 16:18 and one such as Peter, against whom the gates of hell will not prevail.[65] Book 4 contains only one reference to hell. Here, Origen points to hades as a place that has more than one area depending on the sin a person commits. He writes:

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[61] Se et exteriores tenebras, ut ego opinor, non tam aerem aliquem obscurum et sine ullo lumine intellegendum puto, quam de his, qui profundae ignorantiae tenebris inmersi extra omne rationis et intellegentiae lumen effecti sunt. Videndum quoque est, ne forte etiam illud isste sermo significet, quod sicut sancti corpora sua, in quibus sancte et pure in huius uitae habitatione uixerunt, lucida et gloriosa ex resurrectione suscipient, ita et impii quique, qui in hac uita errorum tenebras et noctem ignorantiae dilexerunt, obscuris et atris post resurrectionem corporibus induantur, ut ea ipsa caligo ignorantiae, quae in hoc mundo interiora eorum mentis obsederat, in futuro per exterius corporis appareat indumentum. Similiter quoque etiam de carcere sentiendum est. Origène, *Traité Des Principes, Tome I. Livres I et II. Introduction, Texte Critique de La Version de Rufin, Traduction*, 392. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 144.

[62] See: Minois, *Histoire Des Enfers*, 96–97.

[63] προεύεσθε οἱ κατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον. Origène, *Traité Des Principes Tome III (Livres III et IV)*, trans. Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti, Sources Chrétiennes 268 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1980), 38. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 167.

[64] See: Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 126.

[65] Origène, *Traité Des Principes Tome III (Livres III et IV)*, 174; Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 233.

> And perhaps as those here, dying according to the death common to all, are, in consequence of the deeds done here, so arranged as to obtain different places according to the proportion of their sins, if they should be deemed worthy of the place called Hades; so those there dying, so to speak, descend into this Hades, being judged deserving of different abodes—better or worse—throughout all this space of earth... (*De Principiis* 4.1.24).[66]

Origen seems to allude to hell as a place where all go after death. In this regard it resembles Irenaeus thinking about the first death, the Tartarus of Hippolytus, and the Jewish Old Testament view of Sheol. This can be seen in from the Latin of Rufinus. He translates the same section as follows:

> 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*" (*De Principiis*, IV, I, 23).[67]

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[66] Τάχα δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἀποθνῄσκοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πεπραγμένων οἰκονομοῦνται, εἰ κριθεῖεν ἄξιοι τοῦ καλουμένου χωρίου ᾅδου, τόπων διαφόρων τυγχάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· οὕτως οἱ ἐκεῖθεν, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, ἀποθνῄσκοντες εἰς τὸν ᾅδην τοῦτον καταβαίνουσι, κρινόμενοι ἄξιοι τῶν τοῦ παντὸς περιγείου τόπου διαφόρων οἰκητηρίων... Origène, *Traité Des Principes Tome III (Livres III et IV)*, 378. English translation: Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 174.

[67] Fortassis enim sicut hi, qui de hoc mundo secundum communem istam mortem recedentes pro actibus et meritis suis dispensantur, prout digni fuerint iudicati, alii quidem in locum, dqui dicitur inferus, alii in sinus abraham et per diuersa quaeque uel loca uel mansiones: ita etiam ex illis locis uelut ibi, si dici potest, morientes, a superius in hunc inferum descendunt. Nam ille inferus, ad quem hinc morientium animae deducuntur, credo ob hanc distinctionem inferus inferior ab scriptura nominatur, sicut dicit in psalmis: *Et liberasti animam meam de inferno inferiori*. Origène, *Traité Des Principes Tome III (Livres III et IV)*, 378. English translation : Roberts, Donalsdson, and Crombie, *Volume 10: Translation of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Writings of Origen.*, 333.

It is not clear however, given the differences in translation and the fragments of Greek, what the thought of Origen is in this particular instance. That death is common to all is clear, however, to where these souls go after this common death is not; to Hades, from which all shall be judged, or as the Latin implies, some to hell and others to the 'bosom of Abraham'? It appears in this regard that the deeds committed before death decide on the place of the sinner in hell. This hades has levels depending on the acts one committed in life and in this way resembles the Sheol of the Old Testament in its layers and depths. However, because of the difficulties with translation and the limited fragments, it is not possible to state with certainty what the belief actually is. Also, it must be considered the Origen himself is subject to development of thought, so it is paramount that his later writings are examined.

4.2.2. The Letter to Julius Africanus

The letter Julius Africanus is another work of Origen that has survived intact. It was written around the year 240AD and addresses the canonicity of certain passages in the Book of Daniel.[68] Here Origen only mentions Gehenna in relation to the words of Jesus spoken in Matthew 23:33: "You serpents, you generation of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of Gehenna?"[69]

4.2.3. Contra Celsum

Perhaps his most important apologetical work is the treatise *Against Celsus* written after a friend requested that he write on the topic in the year 246.[70] It is a refutation of a treatise *True Discourse* written by Celsus which has been lost, however, as a result of Origen's work almost the entirety of this work by Celsus can be reproduced.[71] There are many references to hell in

[68] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 74.

[69] Ὄφεις, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, πῶς φύγητε ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς γεέννης; J.P. Minge, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 1844, loc. Vol. 11, page 68, line 18.

[70] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 53; Origène, *Contre Celse Tome I (Livers I et II)*, trans. Marcel Borret, Sources Chrétiennes 132 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 15.

[71] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 52.

this work. However, while mentioning the chapters which hold reference to the topic, only those that bear a direct meaning on this study will be mentioned as to do otherwise would be imprudent.

In book 1 of Against Celsus only chapter 66 mentions the 'helmet of hades' (Ἄϊδος κυνέην).[72] In book 2, chapters 16,[73] 17,[74] and 55,[75] all refer to hades in the sense of Greek mythology. Chapter 56[76] refers again to Hades in relation to the heroes who went down to Hades. Origen does not give us a description or any theological thinking in relation to hades as such but outlines the differences between the death of Jesus by crucifixion and the possibility of the Greek heroes falsifying their stories about their descent. It is more a reflection on the truth of the death and resurrection of Christ and not about hell as such. Chapter 62 mentions Psalm 16 and Acts 2:25-28 in reference to the resurrection of Jesus.[77] In chapter 43 in relation to a remark made by Celsus concerning the resurrection Origen writes:

> Celsus next addresses to us the following remark: "You will not, I suppose, say of him, that, after failing to gain over those who were in this world, he went to Hades to gain over those who were there." But whether he like it or not, we assert that not only while Jesus was in the body did He win over not a few persons merely, but so great a number, that a conspiracy was formed against Him on account of the multitude of His followers; but also, that when He became a soul, without the covering of the body, He dwelt among those souls which were without bodily covering, converting such of them as were willing to Himself, or those whom He saw, for reasons known to Him alone, to be better adapted to such a course.[78]

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[72] Origène, *Contre Celse Tome I (Livers I et II)*, 262.

[73] Origène, 326–31.

[74] Origène, 330–33.

[75] Origène, 414–17.

[76] Alexander Roberts and James Donalsdson, eds., *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872), 59–61; Origène, *Contre Celse Tome I (Livers I et II)*, 418–21.

[77] Origène, *Contre Celse Tome I (Livers I et II)*, 428–29.

[78] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτα λέγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅτι οὐ δή που φήσετε περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ πείσας τοὺς ὧδε ὄντας ἐστέλλετο εἰς ᾅδου πείσων τοὺς ἐκεῖ. Κἂν μὴ βούληται οὖν, τοῦτό φαμεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν σώματι ὢν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἔπεισεν ἀλλὰ τοσούτους, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πειθομένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ γυμνὴ σώματος γενόμενος ψυχὴ ταῖς γυμναῖς σωμάτων ὡμίλει ψυχαῖς, ἐπιστρέφων κἀκείνων τὰς βουλομένα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ ἃς ἑώρα δι' οὓς ᾔδει αὐτὸς λόγους ἐπιτηδειοτέρα. Origène, 382–83. English translation: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 45.

As was seen in Irenaeus and Hippolytus, Origen expresses the belief in as the intermediate state of souls without bodies. Also, here it seems that Origen is stating that for those who were in Hades at the time of Christ's descent, conversion was possible. Origen's idea of Hades as a holding place for all souls and the possibility of redemption prior to the final judgment is also present here. However, there is a caveat, those who are willing or for reasons known to Jesus himself, will be converted. It is not clear that all will be converted.

In Book 3 there is one mention of hell which can be found in chapter 32 and that is only in relation to the quote of Psalm 16 and Acts 2:25-28.[79] Book 4 does not mention hell directly, with the exception of chapter 77 which refers to one such as Peter against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail.[80] Chapters 13 and 21 should also be mentioned. Both chapters refer to fire as a form of purification. Chapter 13 is a response to the point that Celsus makes about "*God coming down like a torturer bearing fire*."[81] He therefore finds it prudent to explain what is meant by this fire. He writes that fire will burn up wickedness and that the sins of man are its fuel.[82] This is the same as was written in *De Principiis*, that the sins of each man are the fuel ('wood, hay, stubble' of St. Paul mentioned above) of this fire. Chapter 21 speaks to the same regarding what has taken place already, specifically referring to fire as the purifying of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the destruction of the world.[83] In this, Origen argues that the predictions of such a future are divinely inspired. There is not enough in either of these chapters to firmly state that Origen views hell as a purification process because he is speaking to specific statements by Celsus regarding the Old Testament. In this regard, he does say that this fire was a purification of the world. Further, the fire of hell as a purification process seems to be what he alludes to throughout his works.

In Book 5 chapters 15 and 16 do address this topic. Chapter 15 states the following:

[79] Προειπὼν ἐπ';ὐτῶν τοῖσ ἀπιστοῦσιν αὐτῷ Ἰοθδαίοις «Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, κἀγὼ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.» Καὶ «Ἔλεγέ γε τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ», καὶ τῶν προφητῶν προκηρυξάντων τὸ τοιοῦτο διὰ πλειόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦ «Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς τὸν ᾅδην οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.» Origène, *Contre Celse Tome II (Livres III et IV)*, Sources Chrétiennes 136 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968), 76–77.

[80] Origène, 174–75.

[81] Θεὸς καταβήσεται δίκην βασανιστοῦ πῦρ φέρων. Origène, 214–15.

[82] Origène, 212–15.

[83] Origène, 232–35.

Observe, now, here at the very beginning, how, in ridiculing the doctrine of a conflagration of the world, held by certain of the Greeks who have treated the subject in a philosophic spirit not to be depreciated, he would make us, *"representing God, as it were, as a cook, hold the belief in a general conflagration;"* not perceiving that, as certain Greeks were of the opinion (perhaps having received their information from the ancient nation of the Hebrews), it is a purificatory fire which is brought upon the world, and probably also on each one of those who stand in need of chastisement by the fire and healing at the same time, seeing it *burns* indeed, but does not *consume*, those who are without a material body, which needs to be consumed by that fire, and which burns and consumes those who by their actions, words, and thoughts have built up wood, or hay, or stubble, in that which is figuratively termed a *"building."* And the holy Scriptures say that the Lord will, like a refiner's fire and fullers' soap, visit each one of those who require purification, because of the intermingling in them of a flood of wicked matter proceeding from their evil nature; who need fire, I mean, to refine, as it were, (the dross of) those who are intermingled with copper, and tin, and lead. And he who likes may learn this from the prophet Ezekiel. But that we say that God brings fire upon the world, not like a cook, but like a God, who is the benefactor of them who stand in need of the discipline of fire, will be testified by the prophet Isaiah, in whose writings it is related that a sinful nation was thus addressed: *"Because you have coals of fire, sit upon them: they shall be to you a help."* Now the Scripture is appropriately adapted to the multitudes of those who are to peruse it, because it speaks obscurely of things that are sad and gloomy, in order to terrify those who cannot by any other means be saved from the flood of their sins, although even then the attentive reader will clearly discover the end that is to be accomplished by these sad and painful punishments upon those who endure them. It is sufficient, however, for the present to quote the words of Isaiah: *"For My name's sake will I show Mine anger, and My glory I will bring upon you, that I may not destroy you."* We have thus been under the necessity of referring in obscure terms to questions not fitted to the capacity of simple believers, who require a simpler instruction in words, that we might not appear to leave unrefuted the accusation of Celsus, that "*God introduces the fire (which is to destroy the world), as if He were a cook.*"[84]

[84] Ὅτι δὲ οὐχ ὡς μάγειρόν φαμεν τὸ πῦρ ἐπιφέρειν τὸν θεὸν ἀλλ᾽ ὡς θεὸν εὐεργέτην τῶν χρηζόντων πόνου καὶ πυρός μαρτυρήσει καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται λελέχθαι πρός τι ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν· "Ὅτι ἔχεις ἄνθρακας πυρός, καθίσαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς· οὗτοι ἔσονταί σοι βοήθεια". Οἰκονομούμενος δ᾽ ὁ λόγος ἁπμόζοντα

This points to the belief Origen holds regarding the purifying fire which will be fueled by the sins of those who have done evil. Chapter 16 continues this line of speaking:

> The following, moreover, are his ideas regarding the fire which is to be brought upon the world by God, and the punishments which are to befall sinners. And perhaps, as it is appropriate to children that some things should be addressed to them in a manner befitting their infantile condition, to convert them, as being of very tender age, to a better course of life; so, to those whom the word terms *"the foolish things of the world,"* and *"the base,"* and *"the despised,"* the just and obvious meaning of the passages relating to punishments is suitable, inasmuch as they cannot receive any other mode of conversion than that which is by fear and the presentation of punishment, and thus be saved from the many evils (which would befall them). The Scripture accordingly declares that only those who are unscathed by the fire and the punishments are to remain—those, viz., whose opinions, and morals, and mind have been purified to the highest degree; while, on the other hand, those of a different nature— those, viz., who, according to their deserts, require the administration of punishment by fire— will be involved in these sufferings with a view to an end which it is suitable for God to bring upon those who have been created in His image, but who have lived in opposition to the will of that nature which is according to His image. And this is our answer to the statement, *"All the rest of the race will be completely burnt up, but they alone are to remain."*[85]

πλήθεσιν ἐντευξομένοις τῇ γραφῇ ἐπικεκρυμμένως μετὰ σοφίας λέγει τὰ σκυθρωπὰ εἰς φόβον τῶν μή δυναμένων ἄλλως ἐπιστρέψειν ἀπὸ τῆς χύσεως τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων˙ πλὴν καὶ οὕτως ὁ πηρῶν εὑρήσει ἐμφαινόμενον τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ ἐπιπόνων ἐπαγόμενον τοῖς ἀλγοῦσι τέλος. Ἀρκεῖ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος παραθέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου τό˙ “Ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος δείξω σοι τὸν θυμόν μου, καὶ τὰ ἔνδοξά μου ἐπάξω ἐπὶ σέ, ἵνα μὴ ἐξολοθρεύσω σε.” Ἠναγκάσθημεν δέ τὰ μὴ ἁρμόζοντα τοῖς ἁπλούστερον πιστεύουσι καὶ δεομένοις τῆς ἁπλουστέρας ἐν λόγοις οἰκονομίας αἰνίξασθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν ἀνεξέλεγκτον ἐᾶν τὴν τοῦ Κέλσου κατηγορίαν, λέγοντος˙ Ἐπειδὰν ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκῃ τὸ πῦρ. Origène, *Contre Celse Tome III (Livres V et VI)*, trans. Marcel Borret, Sources Chrétiennes 147 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1969), 52–53. English translation: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 282–83.

[85] ...καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπείληγε περὶ τοῦ ἐπαγομένου πυρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν συμβησομένων τοῖς ἁμαρτήσασι. Καὶ τάχα ὥσπερ τοῖς παισὶν ἁρμόζει τινὰ λέγεσθαι κατάλληλα τῇ νηπιότητι αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὡς παῖδας κομιδῇ νηπίους ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, οὕτως οἷς ὠνόμασεν ὁ λόγος μωροῖς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἀγενέσι καὶ ἐξουδενωμένοις ἡ πρόχειρος ἁρμόζει περὶ τῶν κολάσεων ἐκδοχή, οὐ χωροῦσιν ἄλλην ἢ τὴν διὰ φόβου καὶ φαντασίας τῶν κολάσεων ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν ἀποχήν. Ὁ λόγος οὖν μόνους μὲν ἀγεύστους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ κολάσεών φησι διαμενεῖν τοὺς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένους˙ τοὺς δὲ μή τοιούτους, κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν χρήζοντας τῆς διὰ πυρὸς κολάσεων οἰκονομίς, ἐν τούτοις ἐπί τινι τέλει φησὶν

While he argues that fire is indeed for purification, he also seems to argue for annihilationism, for "*all the rest of the race will be completely burnt up."* It is also not completely clear that all will be unified with God. Origen seems to imply some kind of freewill in which those who have strayed or been separated from God through their sins still have the possibility of clinging to them and not repenting.

In Book 6 chapter 25 this line of thinking regarding fire and purification is continued:

> Moreover, Celsus says that the diagram was *"divided by a thick black line, and this line he asserted was called Gehenna, which is Tartarus."* Now as we found that Gehenna was mentioned in the Gospel as a place of punishment, we searched to see whether it is mentioned anywhere in the ancient Scriptures, and especially because the Jews too use the word. And we ascertained that where the valley of the son of Ennom was named in Scripture in the Hebrew, instead of "valley," with fundamentally the same meaning, it was termed both the valley of Ennom and also Geenna. And continuing our researches, we find that was termed "Geenna," or the valley of Ennom," was included in the lot of the tribe of Benjamin, in which Jerusalem also was situated. And seeking to ascertain what might be the inference from the heavenly Jerusalem belonging to the lot of Benjamin and the valley of Ennom, we find a certain confirmation of what is said regarding the place of punishment, intended for the purification of such souls as are to be purified by torments, agreeably to the saying: *"The Lord comes like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap: and He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver and of gold."*[86]

ἔσεσθαι, ὃ τῷ θεῷ ἁρμόζει ἐπάγειν τοῖς "κατ' εἰκόνα" αὐτοῦ πεποιημένοις καὶ παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς "κατ' εἰκόνα" φύσεως βεβιωκόσι. Καὶ τοῦτα δὲ πρὸς τό· Τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ἐξοπτήσεσθαι γένος, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους διαμενεῖν. Origène, *Contre Celse Tome III (Livres V et VI)*, 52–55. English translation: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 284–85.

[86] Ἔτι δὲ ὁ Κέλσος *μελαίνῃ γραμμῇ παχείᾳ φησὶ διειλημμένον εἶναι τὸ διάγραμμα, καίταύτην ἔφασκεν εἰρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν Γέεννα, οὖσαν καὶ Τάρταρον*. Τὴν δὲ Γέενναν ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γεγραμμένην ὡς κολαστήριον εὑρόντες, ἐζητήσαμεν, εἴ που τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων ὠνομάσθη, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπείπερ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι χρῶνται τῶ ὀνόματι. Εὕρομεν δὲ ὅπου μὲν Φάραγγα "υἱοῦ Ἐννὸμ" ὀνομαζομένην ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑβραϊκῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ Φάραγξ μεμαθήκαμεν ὅτι κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑποκειμένου ἐλέγετο ἡ Φάραγξ Ἐννὸμ καὶ ἡ Γέεννα. Ἐπιτηροῦντες δὲ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα εὑρίσκομεν καὶ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ τῆς φυλῆς Βενιαμὶν τὴν Γέενναν ἢ Φάραγγα Ἐννὸμ κατειλεγμένην, οὗ ἦν καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ ἐξετάζοντες τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ εἶναι ἐπουράνιον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου Βενιαμὶν μετὰ τῆς Φάραγγος Ἐννὸμ εὑρίσκομέν τι εἰς τὸν περὶ κολάσεων τόπον, μεταλαμβανομένων εἰς τὴν μετὰ βασάνου κάθαρσιν τῶν τοιωνδὶ ψυχῶν κατὰ τὸ "Ἰδοὺ κύριος εἰσπορεύεται ὡς πῦρ χωνευτηρίου καὶ ὡς ποία πλυνόντων· καὶ καθιεῖται χωνεύων καὶ καθαρίζων ὡς τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ὡς τὸ ἀργύριον." Origène, *Contre Celse Tome III (Livres V et VI)*, 242–43. English translation: Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*,

There is no contradiction here to what Origen wrote in chapter 16, but perhaps another dimension is added. While he does speak of purification, he is clear that this place is meant for "*such souls* which are to be purified by torments." So, it seems that Origen again, states that this is a postmortem place for purification of souls, but he does not emphatically state a purification of *all* souls.

In Chapter 26 Origen continues to discuss the matter describing a process of purification but also stating that this doctrine should not be explained to all but reserved for the intelligent.[87] The only other mention of hell can be found in chapter 42,[88] however, this is about the region of Tartarus in relation to Homer and Greek mythology. In chapters 70-72 Origen discusses the notion of fire in that God is a consuming fire. In this sense he does not speak to hell directly but states, again, that sin can be described as the fuel for this fire. In this sense God consumes with fire each person's sins. He also makes clear that this fire does not destroy the soul of man.[89] And in Book 8 chapter 68, there is mention of Tartarus in relation to Greek mythology.[90]

4.2.4. Commentary on [the Gospel of] St. Matthew

Origen wrote twenty-five books on the gospel of Matthew sometime after the year 244.[91] Unfortunately, only books 10-17 concerning Matthew 13:36-22:33 have survived in the original Greek, although an anonymous translation which addresses verses 16:13- 27:65 does exist.[92] In chapter 2 of Book 10, Origen discusses the topic of the end times in writing about the explanation of Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:36-43).

363–64.

[87] See: Minois, *Histoire Des Enfers*, 95; Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 364; Origène, *Contre Celse Tome III (Livres V et VI)*. See: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?2042:001:5331177.

[88] Origène, *Contre Celse Tome III (Livres V et VI)*, 279–85; Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 380–82.

[89] Origène, *Contre Celse Tome III (Livres V et VI)*, 352–65; Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 412–15.

[90] Roberts and Donalsdson, *Volume 23: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Origen Contra Celsum*, 551–52.

[91] Quasten, *Patrology Vol. 2 - The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, 48.

[92] Quasten, 48.

> And at the end of things, which is called *"the consummation of the age,"* there will of necessity be a harvest, in order that the angels of God who have been appointed for this work may gather up the bad opinions that have grown upon the soul, and overturning them may give them over to fire which is said to burn, that they may be consumed. And so the angels and servants of the Word will gather from all the kingdom of Christ all things that cause a stumbling-block to souls and reasonings that create iniquity, which they will scatter and cast into the burning furnace of fire. Then those who become conscious that they have received the seeds of the evil one in themselves, because of their having been asleep, shall wail and, as it were, be angry against themselves; for this is the *"gnashing of teeth."* [Matthew 13:42] Wherefore, also, in the Psalms it is said, "*They gnashed upon me with their teeth*."[93]

Once again, Origen points out that the sins of people will be the fuel for the fire at the second coming. Here Origen makes clear that the angels will take everything that caused the sinner to stumble and throw it into the fire. However, it does not appear that Origen goes all the way in saying that sinners will be forgiven and united with God. Instead, he points out that those who have sinned, by taking the seeds of the evil one – by their own choice – will be conscious of this and will suffer as a result. This is consistent with his thinking that the sinner suffers because of his freely chosen sin.

In chapter 3 he continues:

> Some one may inquire how some speak about the difference of light among the righteous, while the Saviour on the contrary says, *"They shall shine as one sun."* I think, then, that at the beginning of the blessedness enjoyed by those who are being saved

[93] Δεήσει δὲ γενέσθαι ἐπι τέλει τώαγμάτων ὃ καλεῖται *συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος* θερισμόν, ἵν' οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοι ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναλέξωνται τὰ προσπεφυχόρα τῇ ψυχῇ φαῦλα δόγματα καὶ παραδῶσιν αὐτὰ εἰς ἀνάλωσιν, τῷ λεγονένῳ | καίειν πυρὶ ἀνατρέποντες αὐτά. Καὶ οὕτω *συλλέξουσιν* οἱ τοῦ λόγου ἄγγελοι καὶ ὑπηρέται ἐκ πάσης τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ *βασιλείας πάντα* τὰ ἐνυπάρχοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς *σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀνομίαν ποιοῦντας* λογισμοὺς, οὕστινας ἀναλίσκοντες *βαλοῦσιν εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς* τὴν καιομένην˙ ἔνθα καὶ οἱ συναισθηθέντες ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὸ κοιμᾶσθαι τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰληφέναι κλαύσονται καὶ ὡσπερεὶ ἑαυτοῖς θυμωθήσονται. Τοῦτο γὰρ *ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων*.Origène, *Commentaire Sure l'évangile Selon Matthieu. Tome I (Livres X et XI)*, trans. Robert Girod, Sources Chrétiennes 162 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 146–49. English translation: Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:414–15.

(because those who are not such are not yet purified), the difference connected with the light of the saved takes place: but when, as we have indicated, he gathers from the whole kingdom of Christ all things that make men stumble, and the reasonings that work iniquity are cast into the furnace of fire, and the worse elements utterly consumed, and, when this takes place, those who received the words which are the children of the evil one come to self-consciousness, then shall the righteous having become one light of the sun shine in the kingdom of their Father. For whom will they shine? For those below them who will enjoy their light, after the analogy of the sun which now shines for those upon the earth? For, of course, they will not shine for themselves. But perhaps the saying, *"Let your light shine before men,"* [Matthew 5:16] can be written *"upon the table of the heart,"* according to what is said by Solomon, in a threefold way; so that even now the light of the disciples of Jesus shines before the rest of men, and after death before the resurrection, and after the resurrection *"until all shall attain unto a full-grown man,"* [Ephesians 4:13] and all become one sun. Then shall they shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.[94]

This is strong language in support of Origen's thinking of the purification of all souls. As stated above, this will not be investigated. It will be mentioned here that the description of hell continues to be the same in that those who must still suffer for their wrongdoing will suffer the effects of fire. The question then remains, is this suffering eternal? It seems here that it might not be, the only doubt is that he writes that those things that are a stumbling-block for men will be gathered from the Kingdom of Christ. Would this leave those outside of Christ to suffer as stated above? Perhaps not as he ends the section writing that the disciples of Jesus shine for all men who will become one sun. It should be considered that an earlier Origen was not able to

[94] Ζητήσει οὖν τις πῶς οἱ μὲν περὶ διαφοράς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς διχαίοις λέγουσι φωτὸς, ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ τοὐναντίον· *ὡς εἷς ἥλιος λάμψουσιν.* Ὑπολαμβάνω οὖν ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σῳζομένοις μακαρισμῶν, ὅτι οὐδέπω ἐκαθάρθησαν οἱ μὴ τοιοῦτοι, τὰ τῆς διαφορᾶς γίνεται τοῦ τῶν σῳζομένων φωτός· ἐπὰν δὲ, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, συλλεγῇ *ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας* ὅλης Χριστοῦ *πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες τὴν ἀνομίαν* λογισμοὶ βληθῶσιν *εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς* καὶ καταναλωθῇ τὰ κείρονα καὶ τούτων γινομένων εἰς συναίσθησιν ἔλθωσιν οἱ παραδεξάμενοι τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ πονηροῦ λόγους, τότε ἕν γενόμενοι ἡλιακὶν φῶς οἱ *δίκαιοι λᾰ̃ψουσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν*. Τίνι δὲ *λάμψουσιν* ἢ τοῖς ὑποδεεστὲροις ἀπολαὺσουσι τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτῶν, ἀνάλογον τῷ νῦν λάμπειν τὸν ἥλιον τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς; Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἑαυτοῖς *λάμψουσι*, Μήποτε δὲ καὶ τὸ "λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων" ἀπογράψασθαι δυνατόν ἐστιν "ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς καρδίας" κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον τῷ Σολομῶντι τριχῶς, ὥστε καὶ νῦν λάμπειν τὸ φῶς τῶν Ἰησοῦ μαθητῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μετὰ τήν ἔξοδον πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσες καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἕως ἂν καταντήσωσιν οἱ πάντες "εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον" καὶ γὲνωνται πάντες εἷς ἥλιος· τότε *λάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν*. Origène, *Commentaire Sure l'évangile Selon Matthieu. Tome I (Livres X et XI)*, 150–53. English translation: Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:415.

come to the conclusion that all will be saved but a later Origen appears to. However, this conclusion is nowhere written in relation to his discussion or mention of hell and therefore cannot be stated with complete surety in this study, although many will agree that his eschatology leads to that conclusion.

In chapter 12, Origen once again brings up the topic of the wicked being cast into the fire. Here however, there is no reflection on the meaning of this fire or whether it will be everlasting.

> And those who attended to the net which was cast into the sea are Jesus Christ, the master of the net, and *"the angels who came and ministered unto Him,"* [Matthew 4:11] who do not draw up the net from the sea, nor carry it to the shore beyond the sea—namely, to things beyond this life, unless the net be filled full, that is, unless the *"fullness of the Gentiles"* has come into it. But when it has come, then they draw it up from things here below, and carry it to what is figuratively called the shore, where it will be the work of those who have drawn it up, both to sit by the shore, and there to settle themselves, in order that they may place each of the good in the net into its own order, according to what are here called *"vessels,"* but cast without and away those that are of an opposite character and are called bad. By *"without"* is meant the furnace of fire as the Saviour interpreted, saying, *"So shall it be at the consummation of the age. The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous and shall cast them into the furnace of fire."* [Matthew 13:49-50] Only it must be observed, that we are already taught by the parable of the tares and the similitude set forth, that the angels are to be entrusted with the power to distinguish and separate the evil from the righteous; for it is said above, *"The Son of man shall send forth His angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all things that cause stumbling, and them that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth."* [Matthew 13:42] But here it is said, *"The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous and shall cast them into the furnace of fire."*[95]

[95] Οἱ δὲ διακονησάμενοι *τῇ βληθείσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν σαγήνῃ* ὁ κύριός ἐστι τῆς σαγήνης Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ οἱ προσελθόντες *ἄγγελοι* καὶ διακονησόμενοι αὐτῶ, οἵτινες οὐκ ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν σαγήνην οὐδὲ φέρουσιν *ἐπὶ τὸν ἔξω αὐγιαλόν*, τὰ ἔξω τοῦ βίου πράγματα, ἐὰν μὴ πληρωθῇ ἡ σαγήνη, τουτέστι "τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν" εἰς αὐτὴν "εἰσέλθῃ". Ὅταν δὲ εἰσέλθῃ, τότε αὐτὴν ἀναβιβάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τῇδε καὶ κάτω πραγμάτων, καὶ φέρουσιν *ἐπὶ τὸν* τροπικῶς καλούμενον *αἰγιαλόν*· ἔνθα ἔργον ἔσται τῶν ἀναβιβασάντων αὐτὴν καὶ καθίσαι παρὰ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ ἱδρύσαι ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαῖ, ἵνα ἕκαστον μὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σαγήνην καλῶν εἰς τὸ

Origen does not explain what is meant by this. However, once again, it is difficult to understand how this imagery could be interpreted other than that sinners will be cast into hell. But, as seen above, this hell is a place of purification, for an indeterminate amount of time, and a place where the tortures come from the sinner himself. Nothing is added above to change this line of thinking.

In Book 12 chapter 3 it seems, once again, that Origen sees hell or hades as a place where souls are held in an intermediate state prior to the second or final judgment. He writes the following: "And especially when, at the time of the passion, He became a sign to the robber who obtained favour from Him to enter into the paradise of God; after this, I think, descending into Hades to the dead, '*as free among the dead*.'"[96]

In chapter 11 he writes about the Holy Church, all the apostles and the perfect as being included in the saying in Matthew 16:18 that the "gates of hell will not prevail against it."[97] In chapter 12 he describes the "Gates of Hades" as being every sin and every false doctrine.

> But when we have understood how each of the sins through which there is a way to Hades is a gate of Hades, we shall apprehend that the soul, which has *"spot or wrinkle or any such thing,"* [Ephesians 5:27] and because of wickedness is neither holy nor blameless, is neither a rock upon which Christ builds, nor a church, nor part of a church which Christ builds upon the rock. But if any one wishes to put us to shame in regard to these things because of the great majority of those of the church who are thought to believe, it must be said to him not only "*Many are called, but few chosen*;" [Matthew

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οἰκεῖον τάγμα καταστήσωσι κατὰ τὰ ὀνομαζόμενα ἐνταῦθα αὐτῶν ἀγγεῖα, τὰ δὲ ἐναντίως ἔχοντα καὶ *σαπρὰ καλούμενα ἔξω βάλωσι*. Τὸ δὲ ἔξω ἡ κάμινός ἐστι τοῦ *πυρός*, ὡς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡρμήνευσεν εἰπών· *Οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος· ἐξελεύσονται οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀφοριοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ μέσου τῶν δικαίων καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός*. Πλὴν τηρητέον ὅτι ἤδη διὰ τῆς τῶν ζιζανίων παραβολῆς καὶ τῆς προκειμένης ὁμοιώσεως διδασκόμεθα ὅτι ἄγγελοι μέλλουσι πιστεύεσθαι τὸ διακρῖναι καὶ διαχωρίσαι τοὺς φαύλους ἀπὸ τῶν δικαίων· ἀνωτέρω μὲν γὰρ λέγεται ὅτι "ἀποστελεῖ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀθρώπου τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλέξουσιν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶς ὀδόντων" Ἐνταῦθα δέ, ὅτι *ἐξελεύσονται οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀγοριοῦσι τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκ μέου τῶν δικαίων καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τῦ πυρός.* Origène, *Commentaire Sure l'évangile Selon Matthieu. Tome I (Livres X et XI)*, 186–89. English translation: Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:420.

[96] καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πάθους γέγονεν ἅμα τῷ εὐεργετουμένῳ λῃστῇ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ τοῦτο (οἶμαι) καταβαίνων εἰς ᾅδου πρὸς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὡς «ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος». E. Klostermann, *Origenes Werke, Vol. 10.1-10.2*, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, 40.1-40.2 (Leipzig: Teubner, n.d.). Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?2042:030:8511. English translation: Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:451.

[97] Klostermann, *Origenes Werke, Vol. 10.1-10.2*. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?2042:030:32500.

22:14] but also that which was said by the Saviour to those who come to Him, as it is recorded in Luke in these words, "*Strive to enter in by the narrow door, for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in through the narrow door and shall not be able*;" [Luke 13:24] and also that which is written in the Gospel of Matthew thus, "*For narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leads unto life, and few be they that find it.*" [Matthew 7:14] Now, if you attend to the saying, "*Many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in and shall not be able*," [Luke 13:24] you will understand that this refers to those who boast that they are of the church, but live weakly and contrary to the word. Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengthens them. [Philippians 4:13] And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades; but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, "*I am the door*," [John 10:9] have razed from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called "*fornication*," through which fornicators go, and another "*denial*," through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any "*knowledge which is falsely so called*," [1 Timothy 6:20] has built a gate of Hades— Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another.[98]

[98] Νοήσαντες δὲ ὡς ἑκάστη τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, δι' ὧν ἔστιν ἐν ᾅδου γενέσθαι, πύλη ἐστὶν ᾅδου, καταληψόμεθα ὅτι ἡ ἔχουσα «σπῖλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων» καὶ διὰ τὴν κακίαν μηδὲ «ἁγία» μηδὲ «ἄμωμος» τυγχάνουσα ψυχὴ οὔτε πέτρα ἐστίν, ἐφ' ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς οἰκοδομεῖ, οὔτε ἐκκλησία οὔτε ἐκκλησίας μέρος, ἣν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν ὁ Χριστὸς οἰκοδομεῖ. ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς ταῦτα δυσωδομεῖ. ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς ταῦτα δυσωπεῖν ἡμᾶς βούληται διὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν πιστεύειν νομιζομένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, λεκτέον αὐτῷ οὐ μόνον τὸ «πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί», ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τοὺς προσιόντας αὐτῷ λελεγμένον (ὡς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εἴρηται) οὕτως ἔχον· «ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς θύρας, ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν (διὰ τῆς στενῆς) καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσι», καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον δὲ γεγραμμένον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ῥητέον·

In this rather long excerpt Origen outlines different areas of hell for different sins. In this way he paints a picture that hell is developed by the individual. This follows on the above discussion as sins being the fodder to the fire of God and that each will be burnt according to those sins which he himself perpetrated as fuel for the fire.

Chapter 13 speaks to the gates of hades and the gates of Zion contrasted.[99] Here it is outlined, as stated in the above chapter, that every sin is a gate of hell and death, and every good deed or act of righteousness is a gate of Zion. The imagery which arises here are the gates of heaven and hell. But also, it seems that there is a possible movement between the two. One sin bringing the person down and one act of righteousness bringing him up. This adds to the impression that Origen sees hades as either a place where the dead are received before the last judgment or also the idea that souls can be saved even after they have gone down to hades.[100] Chapter's 14, 32, and 33 speak about Peter in relation to virtues, the keys to the kingdom and the gates of hell.

What seems to be clear in Origen's thinking is that death is related to Hades. And at times it is something which can be experienced while one is still alive. In this regard he points out the differences in the vocabulary scripture uses in relation to hell. One can see death (or hades) and taste it as well, he can be brought down alive to hades, and can be followed by death and hades as well as be swallowed up. In chapters 24 and 25 of Book 12 Origen addresses the well-known saying that if eye or foot or hand offend it shall be cut off so as not to drag the entire body into hell (Matthew 18:8-9). Origen outlines this as meaning that the faculties of the soul which can be cast aside in order to enter into life. And in chapter 5 of Book 14 once again Origen refers to the gates of hades and Peter.

«ὅτι στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὑρίσκοντες αὐτήν». προσέχων δὲ τῷ «ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσι» συνήσεις ὅτι τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐχοῦντας μὲν εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀσθενῶς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν λόγον βιοῦντας ἀναφέρεται. οἱ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἰσχύοντες εἰσελθεῖν τῶν ζητούντων εἰσελθεῖν, τῷ πύλας ᾅδου κατισχύειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύοιεν ὧν δὲ πύλαι ᾅδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν, οὗτοι ζητοῦντες εἰσελθεῖν ἰσχύσουσι, «πάντα ἰσχύοντες «ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι» αὐτοὺς «Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ». καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι, ὥσπερ αἱ πόλεων πύλαι ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν ἑκάστη οἰκεῖα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον αἱ τοῦ ᾅδου πύλαι ὀνομασθεῖεν ἂν κατὰ τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· ὡς μίαν μὲν ὀνομάζεσθαι πύλην ᾅδου πορνείαν, δι' ἧς ὁδεύουσιν οἱ πορνεύοντες, ἑτέραν δὲ ἄρνησιν, δι' ἧς ἀρνησίθεοι εἰς ᾅδου καταβαίνουσιν *** ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν ἑτεροδόξων καὶ γεννησάντων ψευδώνυμόν τινα γνῶσιν ᾠκοδόμησεν ᾅδου πύλην, ἄλλην μὲν Μαρκίων καὶ Βασιλίδης ἄλλην καὶ Οὐαλεντῖνος ἄλλην. Klostermann. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?2042:030:36835. English translation: Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:457.

[99] Klostermann, *Origenes Werke, Vol. 10.1-10.2*. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?2042:030:39993.

[100] Paweł Zieja, "Doktryna Piekła i Zbawienie," *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne* 30, no. 2 (2021): 100.

4.2.5. Commentary on the Gospel of John

Origen composed his Commentary on the Gospel of John over a period of several years starting in the year 226 and of the perhaps thirty-two books written only eight remain.

Book I chapter 34 (chapter 31 *Sources Chrétiennes*) there is reference to Christ's descent into hell in the sense that since he is without blemish or sin and that he will be free among the dead.[101] There is a comment in chapter 3 of Book 5 regarding Peter against whom the gates of hell will not prevail.[102] In chapter 18 of Book 6 Origen, in his allegorical fashion, brings the untying of Christ's sandals by John to represent two things. One sandal is the assumption of Christ in his bodily form, and the other is his descent to the dead in hades. And makes it clear that the incarnation of Jesus as well as his death and descent into hell explain why he is both Lord of the living and the dead.

4.2.6. Homilies on Jeremiah and 1 Kings 28

The Homilies on Jeremiah were delivered by Origen sometime around the year 240 AD.[103] Most of these homilies are only in the Latin translation, however, there are almost 21 complete homilies in Greek.[104] Within these surviving Greek homilies hades is mentioned 4 times in the *Homilies on Jeremiah* and multiple times in the *Homilies on 1 Kings 28*. The *Homilies on 1 Kings* will not be discussed as the main topic is not hell itself but Christ's descent into hades.

In the *Homilies on Jeremiah* hades is mentioned a few times briefly. Homily 2.1 is worth mentioning as it pertains to Wisdom 1:13-14, which says that hades is not on earth.[105] Homily 7.3.3 makes reference to Baruch 3:9-13, that the enemies of Israel and God are in Hades.[106]

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[101] Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:314–16; Origène, *Commentaire Sur Saint Jean Tome I (Livers I-V)*, trans. Cécile Blanc, Sources Chrétiennes 120 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1966), 167–69.

[102] Menzies, *Volume 9: Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325.*, IX:346; Origène, *Commentaire Sur Saint Jean Tome I (Livers I-V)*, 376–77.

[103] Origen, *Origen Homilies on Jeremiah Homily on 1 Kings*, 28:xv.

[104] Origen, 28:xv.

[105] Origen, 28:23.

[106] Origen, 28:72.

Homily 18.2.3 speaks about Samuel (1 Kgs. 28) and, interestingly, makes a comment that he was sent there not because of his sins but as an "observer and contemplator of the mysteries of the matters below the earth."[107] The occurrence of Gehenna is coupled with the reference to eternal fire and outer darkness is in the *Homilies on Jeremiah* 12.5. Here he is speaking of the punishment of sinners. This punishment is not only to correct the sinner, but it is for the good of the community. Earlier in the same homily Origen points out that separation of the sinner from the righteous is a punishment as well as good for the community.[108]

This has not been a completely exhaustive study as hades, Gehenna, and Tartarus are written about in most of Origen's writings. However, the above excerpts give a fairly good look at his thinking in regard to hell. It is a place to which one descends after death. It is a place of fire, suffering, and punishment that occurs without a fleshly body. That which burns is the sin each person has accumulated during life and this fire burns in a purifying capacity. The one very difficult question that remains is the idea of eternal fire.

Origen was an exegete. He used the words of the Septuagint and the Gospels. Eternal fire (πῦρ ἀιώνιον) is used in the same manner as it is used in the Gospels. Ramelli argues that the "fire that cannot be quenched" or "inextinguishable fire" of the New Testament Gehenna (Mk. 9:43) is only an expression used by the New Testament authors to differentiate the fire of the world from the fire of the world to come "that no human being can extinguish."[109] This may be a good interpretation, however, it is an interpretation. What can be said is that the question of eternity does create a problem in the examination of Origen's thought concerning hell. If ἀιώνιον is taken to mean eternal and not ages, then it is not at all clear that the fire of hell will end. If the sins of all mankind are the fodder for this fire, then it must at some point burn out since the sins will eventually be burned up. And while Origin's writing seems to lead in this direction it is not completely clear that this is a valid conclusion.

[107] οὐ δικαζόμενος ἵνα ἐν ᾅδου γένηται, ἀλλ' ἵνα γένηται κατάσκοπος καὶ θεωρητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν καταχθονίων. Origène, *Homélies Sur Jérémie, Vol. 1-2*, ed. P. Nautin, Sources Chrétiennes 232, 238 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1976). Retrieved from http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?2042:009:33411. English translation: Origen, *Origen Homilies on Jeremiah Homily on 1 Kings*, 28:190.

[108] See: Homily 12.3-5 Origen, *Origen Homilies on Jeremiah Homily on 1 Kings*, 28:95.

[109] Ramelli and Konstan, *Terms for Eternity: Aiônios and Aïdios in Classical and Christian Texts*, 126.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter contains only two authors, Hippolytus and Origen. Both write about hell in accordance with the earlier writers using scripture to outline their beliefs. For Hippolytus, however, hell remains a place which is filled with fire and punishment. Although Hippolytus uses Tartarus as a description for the holding place for the death prior to the second judgment, he still continues to show hell as the final movement after judgment for the sinner. Origen moves further, developing the idea of hell as a place of separation as well as one that is or has the potential for movement. Both heaven and hell hold this possibility for those in the afterlife. And while Origen does not definitively express hell as limited in the sense of time, he does not emphasize eternity without end. For Origen the fires of hell burn the sins of the person and therefore are for purification. Both authors indicate movement in the development of the theological idea of hell.

Conclusion

This study of the theological development of the idea of hell in the early Greek Church from the beginning to Origen has made clear several conclusions. The idea of hell did indeed develop among the early Christian thinkers during this period and there are several points which have reaching implications. To begin, a clear link can be seen in the process of translation from the Hebrew to the Greek. As expressed in each of the writers, the reliance was first and foremost on Scripture and, at times, on the works of earlier writers. In the movement from the Hebrew Old Testament to the Septuagint, it can be seen that, for the early Church, there was no difficulty in understanding the translation as the word of God. For them the LXX was foundational. It was also theologically in agreement with the Hebrew text. It must be stressed and remembered that the word Sheol, does not exist in any other Semitic language, it is unique and holds the same form and ideas in seminal form that are expressed by the later Christian writers who mention hell. Thus, reveling a link to earlier Hebrew eschatological thinking.

The ideas of hell remained consistent in the early Church, with the first authors depending on Scripture and giving no real explanation or expansion on the meaning of hell in their writings. It appears that there was either an assumption that the communities to which they were writing already understood the meaning of hell, or, most likely, this assumption was not a specific theological thought on the part of the author. The use of hell was simply a reflection of what Christ himself had expressed in the Gospels.

For these early writers, and the later ones as well, there are several consistent conclusions in the general understanding of what hell is. Hell is located below the earth. It is a place of separation from God, which is the result of sin. With the later authors, beginning with Justin and moving on through Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen, this separation was expressed as self-chosen by the individual. This can also be somewhat surmised in Hermas, however his apocalyptic style makes this less obvious as his writing is directed toward conversion. The choice was the decision to sin and move away from God. Therefore, this separation bears the marks of individual responsibility. The writing of these early authors points to the fact that it is not a punishing God who seeks to torture the sinner in everlasting fire, but the person himself who, through his own free choice to sin, will spend time suffering as a self-chosen consequence. This adds another dimension to the idea of

hell. For the Fathers, it was important to stress, as Irenaeus does, that hell was not created for man but for Satan and his angels. This is also seen in most of the other early writers through the usage of Scripture (most often through Matthew 25:41). And all of them understood that the Biblical mentions of hell, especially the words of Jesus himself, were rife with eschatological meaning.

And of course, hell is a place of fire. Again, there is real no discussion of what this fire is or what it meant, how it functioned, or what, if anything, it symbolized in the early days of the Church. With Hermas and his apocalyptic writing, it is simply an expression through imagery and symbolism of the torments to come. With other authors this is expressed through the use of the Gospels and the word Gehenna. Clement of Alexandria explicitly explains to his audience that the Greek interpretation of this region, with its fiery torture, was originally found in Hebrew Scripture. Thus, showing a strong connection in the development of thought from Scripture to the conception which had not so much developed but rather, had begun to unfold in the consciousness of the early communities. Origen is really the first to give an explanation of this fire, although the idea and thought of what it might mean begins to appear as early as Irenaeus. The explanation by Origen follows on the development of the idea that the road to hell, so to speak, is self-chosen. The sins themselves, which are the result and consequence of individual choices to move away from God, are what cause the fire to burn. The sins are the fuel of this fire. This is perhaps one area in which Origen began to have difficulties with the idea of an eternal punishment in hell. How can hell continue forever if the sins are consumed by the fire?

The intent of the early writers, however, was not to place fear in the heart of the reader or audience, but to encourage metanoia, that is, change and the call to repentance. This is seen most strongly in the early writers such as Ignatius, Clement, and Polycarp, but most famously in Hermas. It is also used by the early apologists as proof against the many crimes of which the early Christians were accused. Why would a Christian risk eternal punishment in the afterlife for a moment of temporary freedom in this life?

In this study the word eternity αἰώνιον or αἰώνιος becomes important. In the early stages it does not seem to pose a problem for the writers since they were simply quoting or reflecting an expression contained in Scripture. Their audiences seem to understand its meaning and it can be traced back to the New and Old Testament alike. The argument that the early writers did not mean eternity but rather a very long time, poses several problems. The first of which is that there is evidence that eternity was the intended meaning. The early writers used the word

αἰώνιον or αἰώνιος as it is used in Scripture, and they use it equally to mean eternal when speaking about God and life as well as eternal when speaking about fire, punishment, and death. It is also used together with other words such as in Justin, ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα meaning unending eternity, Irenaeus, αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος meaning eternity without end, and in Diognetus αἰώνιος is given a meaning of eternity and finality when used in conjunction with the real death ὄντως θάνατον. The example of the idea, as expressed by Polycarp at his death, further gives credence to the meaning of eternity by the writers when he expresses that it makes no sense that a person would choose an hour of freedom from fire on this earth in exchange for an eternity in fire in the afterlife. However, the argument is not at all clear and definitive conclusions cannot be simply drawn. Development works in this way. The ideas which had been expressed with certainty and without question begin, either by the individual theologian or through discourse with an opponent, to expand. This can be seen with Justin.

Some of the writers leave Scripture to explain the meaning of eternity but this seems to change beginning with Justin and moving into the end of the second century. Although in one sense he uses αἰώνιος to mean unending he opens the idea that hell is either not eternal or that suffering within hell is not eternal. He does not develop the idea nor come to a conclusion, but the troubling nature of hell begins to crack open in the minds of the early thinkers. As time goes on, the meaning of eternal suffering and eternal fire becomes a question. Is suffering truly without end? If not, what happens to the sinner? Ideas leading to apocatastasis as well as annihilationism begin to appear at the margins. These ideas are not always addressed directly. A problem in the development of this idea is that often the writer meets this point while defending something else which is not connected with hell.

Another question that begins to arise in the development of the idea of hell is the purpose of the suffering in hell. With Irenaeus, who was intent on defending the physical reality of the resurrection in the flesh, the free choice of the individual is paramount. He also speaks of a double fire, one for purification of the sinner and saved alike and another in Gehenna, the one of which Jesus speaks. With Clement of Alexandria and later Hippolytus and Origen, an explanation of the purpose for this suffering begins to appear. Clement of Alexandira alludes to the idea of punishment as being corrective. In his theology this correction will at some point come to an end. However, the fact that this was an emerging idea for Clement he does not forcefully argue for this conclusion but neither does he argue forcefully against it. The idea of purification is also seen strongly in Origen leading to the conclusion that, had he continued his theology to the end, he would have come to a firm belief in apocatastasis and the restoration of

all to God.

The main point of this thesis is indeed about development. It is not confined to the thinking of one or another theologian but to the overall development of the idea in the collective theological consciousness that is passed one to another and formed by a process of intellectual struggle. This development must not, and truly cannot, be examined from a modern perspective. The ideas of today create problems in this regard. Not only were the ideas themselves in a process of development but the language, terminology, and method of expression were as well. It was neither clear nor precise and was formed under the theological pressure of changing norms as well as conflict and confrontation with heresy. Doctrine is generally formed through defense against heresy and theological conflicts, this is expressed rather clearly in the early Church.

In this regard, later philosophical and theological questions begin to edge themselves into the minds of the early thinkers. One such problem developed among many in the early Church was the problem of Christ's descent into the underworld. The modern questions which develop about this are the intermediate state, the second judgment, and the meaning of time. The authors themselves would not have put them into these categories but through examination of what is written these questions can be seen in a seminal stage.

Christ's descent brings about difficulty for many of the early writers. The questions that seem to tug at their minds beginning with Irenaeus but can also be seen in Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen. One question is about death and judgment and another, is a question about time. These problems are reflected by many writers who state that hell is a place where all who have died on earth descend to await the final judgment. This difficulty arises as each thinker struggled with writings such as those of John, where death and hades will be thrown into the lake of fire (Revelation 2:14) or by Peter himself in his own writing (1 Peter 3:19) or that of Luke's (Acts 2:24) which mention Christ's descent. Also, Paul's mention of Christ's descent into the underworld (Ephesians 4:9). Difficulty with levels of this hell, which Origen mentions, arising perhaps from parable of Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham and the rich man in hell (Luke 16:19-31). Sometimes this difficulty is reflected in the use of the word Tartarus which was understood as the place the angels who had rebelled against God were to be kept for judgment and held in eternal chains (2 Peter 4).

Regarding death and judgment, the question is about hell as a place for all to be held after the first, that is, earthly death to await a later punishment arose among the early thinkers. For

Clement and probably Origen as well, this question brought forth the difficulty, which is never directly expressed, about the question of time. Clement seems to struggle with the concept. Christ did in fact descend and redeem those who came to him but does this only apply to those who came before Christ? Does this then open the possibility as hell as a place for purification and conversion? Clement and Origen seem to think so. Through his writing Clement seems to write in general terms making it, at times, though not always, difficult to understand if he is speaking of a purification while the sinner is still alive or after he has died.

The problems with which the early authors struggled were first and foremost against heresies and controversies which were present at the time. Hell for them is something that, for the earliest writers, does not present itself as a question. For the later writes of this period, starting with Irenaeus, it starts to appear on the edges of controversy bringing it to the conscious attention of Origen. It begins to be addressed in ways that will move on through history. The idea of hell brings with it difficulty with questions of the eternity of the soul, the intermediate state, apocatastasis, millennialism, annihilationism, and free-will.

It also important to note several difficulties with the texts and manuscripts themselves. The transition from the oral transmission of the texts to the written poses a problem of understanding, verification, and meaning. This can be seen with the earliest writers and brings about questions that can only be addressed by supposition. Further, the transmission of written texts poses questions of reliability in some of the translations and copying of texts. Some texts survive only in the Latin. For those that survive both in the Latin and Greek differences in interpretation already begin to appear. This leads to difficulties in the verification of what the author meant. Other problems arise in this area as can be seen, most notably, with the English translation which attributes what is possibly the work of Pseudo-Clementine writings to a much later Clement of Alexandria. This error of translation or authorship has given to the later Clement a very strong statement on the nature and existence of hell, one which is not reflected in the rest of his writings.

To add to the above difficulty, when examining the fragments of particular authors which have survived it becomes paramount to use caution as it cannot be certain that what is written in the text was actually the opinion of the author. It could very well be a segment in which the author was stating the argument of another as evidence to support his ideas or an attempt to refute it, however, due to the lack of the complete document it simply cannot be determined with certainty.

Because this work has been focused on the theological development of the idea of hell in the early Greek Church, possibilities for further research remain. It is important to exam the same time period from the perspective of the early Latin writers. Also, the study must move beyond the early third century into the era when the topic of hell became a discussion of the Councils and in the consciousness of the Church. What can be gleaned from this look at the early Greek Fathers, is that hell is a fundamental part of the eschatological thinking from the start. Its expression in the literature of the early Church must be taken seriously and seen as a real possibility, not only in the minds and writings of the earlies authors but also in the communities to which they wrote. The theological thinking of hell holds a very important place in the overall theology of the Church.

What can be gleaned from the above study regarding the early Christians is that what the average early Christian believed was most likely what drove the Fathers' own reflections. The early thinkers were writing in response to problems that were arising in the early communities. The late first century was a time of movement, of waning expectation in the Parousia. Christ had not returned, and apocalyptic sentiment was in its final stages. An obvious reflection from these documents is that the audience to whom each theologian was writing, fully understood hell as a postmortem punishment for sins committed in life. It was considered a fiery eternal torment, a place where there is grinding and gnashing of teeth, in the outer darkness. The communities themselves held early ideas about the afterlife. Jewish Christians would perhaps vary in beliefs from Greek Christians. However, as time went on differing views and heresies arose, not so much in relation to hell but in relation to the resurrection.

The late second century writings show community ideas were shifting. Gnostic influences and the meaning of forgiveness prior to death or after baptism were beginning to form. The early Christians were focused on salvation, resurrection, and seeking to understand the Christ event. The writers reflect this in their letters. The apologists clearly show that the early Christians held beliefs in goodness and would not risk everlasting punishment for a short won pleasure on earth.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from the early Christians and their beliefs reflected in the writings outlined above, is that theology and ideas about hell reflect the individual's ideas about God. How one views God is reflected in his ideas about hell. Was God an unmerciful, punishing God waiting for the Christian to sin so that he could be punished forever in a terrible tormenting fire? Or was the God of the Christians one who was a loving, merciful Father who called his children to himself. One who continued, as from the time of

Moses, saying, choose life rather than death. When the early writers were struggling with the problem of hell, it was not so much from the standpoint of justice but rather from the perspective of their view of a loving, merciful God who sent his only Son into this world of conflict and struggle to save us, once and for all.

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