

In the SHADOW *of the*
I N C A R N A T I O N

Essays on Jesus Christ in the Early Church

in Honor of

BRIAN E. DALEY, S.J.

edited by

P E T E R W . M A R T E N S



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INTRODUCTION

Peter W. Martens

The essays in this volume are offered in warm gratitude to Brian E. Daley, S.J. They serve, to be sure, as only a small expression of thanks from a handful of the many who count themselves as Brian's friends. They are centered on the topic of Jesus Christ in the early church and were commissioned on the occasion of our honoree's sixty-fifth birthday.

I cannot introduce Brian Daley more succinctly or more faithfully than by describing him as a Jesuit priest. It is the Jesuit way of life that has ordered and shaped the rest of his life, including his vocation as a scholar. Brian entered the Society of Jesus in 1964, shortly after taking his B.A., *Literae Humaniores* from Oxford University. Long before he joined the Jesuits, however, the Society had already begun to mold him. Brian attended a Jesuit high school, St. Peter's Preparatory School in New Jersey, and he earned his first college degree from another Jesuit institution, Fordham University (B.A. in Classics). After joining the Society, much of Brian's early theological education transpired at the Jesuit *Hochschule*, Sankt Georgen (Frankfurt, Germany), where he served as the research assistant to Aloys Grillmeier, S.J. Brian would

return to Oxford, where he was awarded his Doctor of Philosophy for his thesis on Leontius of Byzantium. While at Oxford he lived at Campion Hall, a private house owned and run by the Jesuits.

Much of Brian's academic service and scholarship has been woven into the fabric of major Jesuit institutions. After graduating from Oxford he taught for eighteen years at the Weston Jesuit School of Theology, one of two Jesuit seminaries in the United States. Over the years Brian has also served as a trustee at Le Moyne College, Boston College, and Fordham, and served as a member on the board of directors at Georgetown University. He was also an acting dean at Weston. He has been a member of the editorial boards of the series *Studies in Jesuit Spirituality* and of *Communio: International Theological Review*, and is an editor for *Traditio*. His Ignatian identity has also been expressed in the larger ecclesiastical community, where his dedication to reconciliation and ecumenism, integral to his understanding of Jesuit ministry, is evident. One of Brian's enduring achievements is his contribution to ecumenical dialogue. Most notably, he has faithfully served for nearly twenty-five years as a member of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation, a bilateral dialogue sponsored by Orthodox and Roman Catholic bishops of the United States.

Brian's Jesuit commitments overflow into the classroom and print. Perhaps without peer in his generation, Brian has cultivated a lifelong passion for the Christology of the early church. This is certainly not his only interest—the span of topics that he has tackled in print is remarkable, ranging from Origen's scriptural interpretation to the debates surrounding the Filioque, from early Christian eschatology to late medieval iconography of Mary, from the relationship between Boethius and Byzantine scholasticism to Ignatian spirituality, from the episcopacy in the early church to commentary on the Catholic catechism—the list goes on. And none of this exhausts the incredible breadth of topics about which Brian can effortlessly converse, which is fitting for someone who has taken to heart the Ignatian ideal of a rich, cultural humanism. Nevertheless, Jesus Christ in the early church is Brian's central academic passion. At Sankt Georgen he had the privilege of studying under the eminent scholar of patristic Christology, Aloys Grillmeier, and several years later at Oxford, he was awarded his D.Phil. for his thesis on Leontius of Byzantium, a theologian who played an integral role in the

post-Chalcedonian debates about the person of Christ. Whether in articles, translations, lectureships, books, or courses offered, Brian has continuously held before his own eyes, as well as those of his peers and students, the Christ who was contemplated, loved, and followed by early Christians.

I have entitled this volume “In the Shadow of the Incarnation.” The phrase is inspired by a stirring passage in Origen’s *On First Principles* where the Alexandrian turns his treatise with “deepest amazement” toward the mystery of the incarnation and, in particular, to Jesus’ soul (*Princ.* 2.6.1). In Origen’s cosmic vision, this soul was unique among all other primordial souls since it clung with such an indissoluble love to the Son, Word, and Wisdom of God who had created it that, having received so fully of this Son, this soul became “one spirit” with it and could fittingly be called “the Son of God.” Origen then turns toward his reader with a pastoral exhortation. Surely it does not fall to the soul of Jesus alone to become, by imitation, “one spirit” with God’s Word, Wisdom, and Truth. After all, it was Paul who also wrote: “he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit” (1 Cor 6:17) (*Princ.* 2.6.3). As the soul of Jesus practiced a loving union with God’s Word and Wisdom, so too ought Origen’s readers to turn their souls in love toward the pioneer of their salvation.

With these two loves in mind, Origen recollects the poetic lines uttered by the prophet Jeremiah: “The breath of our countenance is Christ the Lord, of whom we said that we shall live under his shadow among the nations” (Lam 4:20). The depiction of Christ as a “shadow” rouses Origen’s exegetical imagination. Shadows, he notes, are inseparable from their bodies and unswervingly mimic their movements and gestures. This is perhaps what the prophet had in mind when he was likening Christ to a “shadow”—the prophet was alluding to the action of Christ’s soul that was inseparably attached to the Word. And in the verse cited above, Jeremiah also speaks of Christ’s followers living “under his shadow among the nations.” Jesus’ disciples, Origen concludes, live under his shadow to the extent that they “imitate that soul through faith and so reach salvation” (*Princ.* 2.6.7).

This richly allusive title, “In the Shadow of the Incarnation,” serves our volume well on several levels. It is inspired by the pen of one of the

early church's most distinguished theologians, and it also refers back to these theologians, who themselves sought to live under Christ's shadow among the nations. The title also suggests more specifically the theme of this book: Jesus Christ as he was perceived through the eyes and hearts of the early church's scholars. These were theologians, after all, who were convinced that to live under the shadow of Christ also meant to reflect with unwavering gaze upon Christ.

The title also points beyond this book to our honoree. Brian Daley has not only studied Jesus Christ in the early church, he has also sought to live "in the shadow of the incarnation." Brian's students, colleagues, and friends know him not only as a teacher of Christ but also as a disciple of Christ. Formed by Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, whose sole objective is to help a person know and follow Christ more intimately, Brian lives in a religious community founded as the "Company of Jesus." In the Notre Dame community, his academic home since 1996, he presides regularly at Eucharist in the basilica. Brian gives his time generously to the *cura personalis* of students, faculty, and administration and fosters a warm relationship with his graduate students. Some of my best memories in the doctoral program at Notre Dame come from our Monday evening gatherings at a local brewing company. There Brian reserved a large corner booth and read through a Greek text from the early church with a cluster of diligent graduate students (much to the amusement of the restaurant staff). Brian's care for his students extends to his home as well. His hospitality and culinary skills are repeatedly displayed for students and faculty at the aptly-named "De Lubac House," the Jesuit residence off campus named in honor of the prolific Jesuit scholar and student of the early church, Henri de Lubac. Come Easter and Thanksgiving (and a few other occasions as well), invitations to the De Lubac House are held in high regard.

The Ignatian heritage has left an indelible mark upon Brian's life. Within the classroom, his voice is refreshingly free of ironic detachment or abrasive polemic. It is rare, indeed, to find someone today who is willing to hold a conversation with the theologians of the early church under the conviction that they are our equals, worthy of being studied and heard on their own terms, worthy of informing and forming us, worthy of even having, on occasion, the last word. While incessant de-

mands are placed upon Brian outside the classroom, he generously makes himself available to those who request his help and counsel. Despite towering erudition, Brian remains refreshingly unassuming, good-humored, and humble. And while he holds strong convictions, he speaks the truth in love. As others will testify, it is not selfish ambition that drives him, but rather his ever-growing love for Jesus Christ.

So, if Brian is in any way apprehensive about being honored with this volume, my suspicion is that this unease emerges from a conviction, which he has both taught and lived: the servant cannot be greater than his Master. But even servants can be thanked. Nor is there anything incongruous, in speaking of this Master, as this book will do, to acknowledge those who have served him well, whether they are the theologians of the early church or our honoree. If there is even the slightest suspicion that this book might signal the twilight of Brian's scholarly career, then let us clearly announce that this volume is simply a timely expression of thanks and encouragement to our teacher, colleague, and, above all, friend. *Ad multos annos!*

I have arranged the essays that follow in chronological order. The volume opens with D. Jeffrey Bingham's examination of the role that apocalyptic motifs and the book of Revelation played in the *Letter to the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*. The *Letter* was written shortly after the persecution of Christians in Lyons in 177 and is preserved by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (5.1.3–5.3.3). Bingham demonstrates that the martyr accounts in the *Letter* give voice to a wide range of apocalyptic motifs and draw extensively upon themes voiced in John's Apocalypse. From these apocalyptic perspectives on the martyrs' deaths arises a Christology that depicts the martyrs as followers of Christ the "Lamb" (Rev 14:4). Bingham argues further that the *Letter* portrays Christ the Lamb and his martyr-followers as sacrificial victims, whose self-offerings had a militaristic tenor: the martyrs shared in Christ's own combat against the Adversary, a combat that was apologetic and revelatory as Christ's martyrs demonstrated the solidity of their faith to their onlookers.

Khaled Anatolios ushers us into the early fourth century with his gentle critique of Karl Rahner's critical assessment of "classical Christology." Rahner contended that patristic Christology was overly preoccupied with ontological and not functional concerns, that is, it offered a

Christology concerned with Christ's "nature" and "person" but insufficiently attentive to the salvific work of Christ in his life, death, and resurrection *pro nobis*. With Athanasius's *On the Incarnation* in mind, Anatolios shows that in many ways this early theologian's exposition of "classical Christology" was more "functional" than even Rahner might have suspected. Anatolios concludes by taking up Rahner's recommendation to translate the basic insights of Athanasius's Christology into simple statements that have a straightforward relevance to the experience of the Christian faith today.

The next two essays explore the "Athanasius of the West," Hilary of Poitiers. Michael C. McCarthy, S.J., offers an eloquent piece on Hilary's interpretation of the Psalms. McCarthy reminds us that ancient interpreters of the Psalms, Hilary included, viewed them as the Word of God operating at a particular moment in the history of the church and the life of the individual Christian. For Hilary, McCarthy contends, the Psalms did not simply provide locutions for healing present maladies but also offered a future orientation. In particular, the return of Christ, the judgment, the final transformation, and the handing over of the kingdom to the Father formed the outermost frame of the narrative wherein Hilary interpreted the Psalms in his *Tractatus super Psalmos*.

Carl L. Beckwith, in his essay on Hilary of Poitiers, argues against the school of scholarship that maintains Hilary was a Docetist because he claimed that Christ suffered without pain. Beckwith contends that when we read Hilary's comments on Christ's suffering in the larger context of his *De Trinitate*, bearing in mind both his philosophical commitment to Stoic moral psychology and his theological adversaries, his Christology not only escapes suspicion but also emerges as a significant contribution to fourth-century patristic thought.

We return to the Greek world with Christopher A. Beeley's essay on Gregory of Nazianzus. Beeley asserts that Gregory's doctrine of Christ is wrongly summarized in the standard accounts as "dualist." Beeley argues for the predominantly unitive character of Gregory's Christology by offering a sensitive examination of whether biblical references to Christ's actions refer to one or two acting subjects, and by exploring the ramifications of a purported dualist Christology for Greg-

ory's own understanding of salvation and the Christian life. Beeley also raises (and dismisses) the claim that Gregory of Nazianzus was in any way fundamentally anti-Apollinarian.

Eustathius of Antioch, an early opponent of Arius, receives considerable attention in Kelley McCarthy Spoerl's essay. Spoerl offers a detailed examination of the trinitarian and christological features of Eustathius of Antioch's thought and compares his views with those of another early opponent of Arius, Marcellus of Ancyra. Spoerl highlights the kinship between these two pro-Nicene theologians, as well as their notable differences. She concludes by suggesting that their trinitarian and christological affinities provide clues to the emergence of Apollinarius's Christology, a later and very different Christology from within the same pro-Nicene coalition.

The next four essays touch on various facets of Augustine's Christology. Basil Studer compares Origen and Augustine on the theme of loving Christ, emphasizing the love and friendship that exists between believers and Christ. Studer focuses in particular on the practice of theology. He canvasses a wide spectrum of texts that indicate that for both Origen and Augustine, the discipline of theology was an exercise practiced in the presence of Christ and in dependence on him as the theologian quested after the vision of God.

Studer refers in his essay to a paper delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, at an International Patristics Conference (Oxford, 2003), which Williams has also contributed to this volume. Williams offers an insightful account of the *persona* of Jesus Christ in Augustine's major writings. For Augustine, the divine *sapientia* is first and foremost the joyful contemplation of God by God, but in so doing, this *sapientia* also realizes itself as *caritas*, a radically disinterested love that seeks the fruition of others in the same joy it knows. In Jesus Christ, then, we see the person of divine Wisdom-in-action, the humility of identification with the created order through the incarnation, Wisdom engaging with what is not by nature God so as to incorporate it into the divine life and make it capable of seeing what Wisdom sees. This humility is precisely what the created order needs, since our prideful self-assertion is the root of our alienation from God, and only a humility that reflects Wisdom's *caritas* can again reconcile us with God

and one another. The incarnate Christ, so Williams argues, with J.-M. Le Blond, serves as our path to and the form of the transfiguring and participatory knowledge of God for Augustine. However, the concept of Christ as *sapientia* is linked as much to spirituality as it is to Christology proper. Williams proposes that the rhetoric of Augustine's Christology sounds "Cyrilline" or unitive (as opposed to Antiochene, where the concern is to distribute the *dicta* of Jesus between the Word and the human individual Jesus) because of Augustine's own sense of the absolute dependence of the incarnate one's human speech on the single act of divine Wisdom. There is no dialogue of resistance or submission between Jesus and the Word, as there is between the Word and other human beings. Rather, the incarnation is the act of divine self-offering that concretely animates the soul-body humanity of Christ. The entire earthly life of the incarnate Son is a speaking or acting in the person of divine Wisdom, who is freely engaged in the world of historical suffering and struggle.

Williams's essay has clear links to the two that follow it. Lewis Ayres examines Augustine's *Letter* 137, in which for the first time the Bishop of Hippo uses the noun *persona* to describe Christ ("uniting both natures in the unity of his person") and likens the union between the two natures in Christ to the union of soul and body in the human being. Ayres argues that questions about the doctrine of the incarnation are for Augustine inseparable from questions about the more basic theological context in which Christian doctrine is explored and questioned. In particular, Augustine encourages his readers to cultivate a special practice of thought and contemplation as they consider the constitution of Christ's person, a practice shaped by how creation exists within God's presence and ought to exhibit the humility modeled by the incarnate Christ. The ensuing contemplation of Christ's person is less concerned with making the union of the natures comprehensible than it is with defining and reflecting upon the incomprehensibility of this union.

David R. Maxwell continues an examination of Augustine's notion of Christ's *persona* by turning to the Scythian monks' reception, or lack thereof, of Augustine's Christology as it was voiced in his *De Trinitate*. Why did the theologians of the Theopaschite controversy in the sixth century, who in most regards were ardent Augustinians, fail to draw on Augustine in their Christology? Maxwell contends that when August-

tine's Christology was located in a new context (namely, the sixth-century Nestorian controversy), his formulations took on a different meaning because they bore in several respects a superficial resemblance to certain "Nestorian" formulations, even though they were never intended to address the questions posed by the later controversy. As such, Maxwell's argument runs, the theologians of the Theopaschite controversy, otherwise enthusiastic Augustinians, explicitly embraced a Cyrilline Christology.

This collection concludes with essays by John J. O'Keefe, John A. McGuckin, and Andrew Louth. O'Keefe examines an overlooked facet of Cyril of Alexandria's later Christology—its "low" side. O'Keefe argues that Cyril's Christology, viewed against its Irenaeian and Athanasian backdrop, was profoundly driven by a particular human experience and a particular human hope: the human Christ gave Cyril the hope that the human race would one day be able to escape the violent force of bodily corruption, putrefaction, and decay. O'Keefe urges caution on two fronts. Not only should we attend to the "low" side of Alexandrian Christology alongside its undeniably "high" concerns, but we must also distinguish between varieties of "low" Christologies in the Christian theological tradition—what registers as "low" for a Christian of antiquity like Cyril might not register as low for someone with a modern, Western sensibility.

John A. McGuckin offers a focused rereading of the Chalcedonian creed, in search of its essence. He advances the thesis that this creed can easily be misread if undue accent is placed on its anathemas and on the literary and cultural remains of Leo's *Tome* that reside within it. McGuckin argues that we need to attend with greater care to the ancient patterns of thinking characteristic of the many synodical processes of the Eastern church prior to the Chalcedonian statement. These ancient patterns shaped the Chalcedonian creed into an instrument of sublime christological praise, of celebration of the good news of Christ, and of pure doxology. This creed was not primarily about the resolution of a theological condundrum, but rather, McGuckin maintains, the restatement of the soteriological mystery in doxological form that provided the correct lens for approaching such problems.

Finally, Andrew Louth turns us to Maximus the Confessor's reflections on the transfiguration of Christ. Louth shows that Origen's

reflections on the transfiguration were taken up by Maximus, but were also transformed by their twofold location—both within the developed Byzantine Christology of the sixth century, as set out in the decrees of the fifth ecumenical council, and within a modified Dionysian distinction between kataphatic and apophatic theology (i.e., the theologies of affirmation and denial). In the tradition of Origen, the ineffability of God was reconciled with his manifestation in the incarnation by emphasizing the manifold ways in which Jesus' disciples apprehended the manifestation of God; as a consequence, the notion of the inexhaustibility of God ruled out any one, true, iconic depiction of the incarnate one. For Maximus, on the other hand, this encounter with the transfigured Lord was the acknowledgment of the reality of the divine person of God, rather than a denial that qualified and limited our affirmation of the revealed images of God. God's inexhaustibility was actually found in the person-to-person experience with the dazzling radiance of the face, or divine person, of the transfigured Christ. In beholding this face or person there was a movement beyond utterance—the realm of the kataphatic and doctrinal—into silent wonder—the realm of the apophatic and iconic. Maximus's approach to the transfiguration, Louth argues, did not discard the icon as inadequate, but rather affirmed its importance by underlining the central significance in theology of not simply affirming but also beholding and contemplating.

An underlying concern of several of the essays in this volume is to correct particular misconceptions that have arisen around individual Christologies in the early church. As a group, however, all attempt to correct a larger misconception that still exists within, as well as outside of, our discipline. One of Brian Daley's deeply held convictions is that the Jesus Christ of the early church cannot be reduced to what can be gleaned from early credal statements. Brian has repeatedly stressed the need to contextualize patristic Christologies within their larger doctrinal matrices, and this is a task that we have taken to heart. The essays that follow explore, among other things, how early Christian theologians connected Jesus Christ to their other doctrinal concerns about God, the gift of salvation, and the eschaton, and how convictions about Jesus Christ informed numerous practices, including discipleship, martyrdom, scriptural interpretation, and even the practice of thinking well about Christ.



THE APOCALYPSE, CHRIST, AND
THE MARTYRS OF GAUL

D. Jeffrey Bingham

In 43 B.C., Lucius Munatius Plancus, the governor of Further Gaul and a faithful servant of Julius Caesar in the Gallic wars, founded Roman Lugdunum, as the Senate had directed. He established the city on the hill of the *Forum vetus*, the old forum, or the *fourvière* hill, the origin of modern Lyons. Lugdunum, located at the intersection of the Rhone and Saône rivers, became the capital of the three Provinces of Gaul. On the hill the Romans built two theaters, which overlook the modern city. The larger, wondrously preserved Gallo-Roman theater could seat upwards of 10,000 spectators, while the smaller, enclosed Odéon seated only 2,500. Across the Saône to the north of the *fourvière* and dedicated to Augustus in 19 B.C. by the provincial priest C. Julius Rufus lay the “Amphitheater of the Three Gauls,” nestled on the slopes of the Croix-Rousse hill of Lyons. Modified later under Hadrian’s rule (A.D. 117–38), the amphitheater hosted the usual exhibitions, contests, games, and combats.¹ Today, only meager, somewhat disappointing, portions of barely a third of the original amphitheater can be seen. This amphitheater is also the accepted location of the torture and execution

of the Christians from both Lyons and the neighboring city of Vienne, sixteen miles south of Lyons on the east bank of the Rhone.

Our witness to this persecution is the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, a selection of which is preserved in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (5.1–3). The *Letter* is an account of the persecution that befell these churches in the summer of A.D. 177.² Written by one or more of the survivors of the Gallic community—some have even argued that Irenaeus was its author—the *Letter* was sent to Asia and Phrygia.³ Attempts to demonstrate that the *Letter* was a later forgery and that the persecution took place in Galatia, not Gaul, have found little sympathy.⁴ The tragedy began, perhaps, on 2 June and lasted until 1 August, the feast of the Three Gauls, commemorating the day in 12 B.C. when the altar to Rome and Augustus had been established. On this date, each year, representatives of the sixty Gallic *civitates* gathered to celebrate the cult of Rome and Augustus in Lugdunum.⁵

The *Letter* tells of the social rejection, the abuse, the accusations, arrests, and imprisonment of the Gallic believers.⁶ It recounts the public trial, the familiar charges of incest and cannibalism, and the long-drawn-out attempts to secure denials of faith. Here we learn of the firmness in faith and martyrdom of Vettius Epagathus and the torture of Sanctus, Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus; of Biblis, who having once denied Christ, died for him; of the persecution of the Phrygian Christian physician Alexander, a Roman citizen; of the brutality experienced by Ponticus, a fifteen-year-old boy; and of the martyrdom of the bishop of Lyons, Pothinus, who died in the jail at the age of ninety.

In this essay I investigate the apocalyptic motifs and role of John's Apocalypse in the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne* and explore, against this backdrop, the relationship between martyrdom and Christology.

APOCALYPTIC THEMES IN THE *LETTER*

The apocalyptic themes in this *Letter* are particularly fascinating because of the way they shape the various accounts of martyrdom of Christians from Asia and Phrygia. These martyrdoms are repeatedly

viewed as a composite, anticipatory experience of the endtime, and as an apocalyptic event of the persecution of God's people by Satan and his assistants.⁷ Mary Hope Griffin has shown that there is a tendency for apocalyptically oriented communities like that of the Christians of Lyons to use military or battle imagery when depicting martyrdom. For these communities, martyrdom was clearly seen as combat with the Devil. "The Devil was incarnate in the state."⁸ William C. Weinrich has referred to this as the "programmatic motif for the entire letter." P. Lanaro sees the *Letter* as describing an episode in Satan's great hostile combat against God. The persecution makes visible in the present, through human drama, the conflict which has its climax in eschatological catastrophe.⁹ In the *Letter*'s own words, "The adversary swooped down upon us with full force, giving us now (ἤδη) a foretaste (προοιμαάζω) of his unrestrained (ἀδεῶς) future coming."¹⁰ Charles E. Hill has helped us in his analysis of this passage to recognize the force of the rare word ἀδεῶς.¹¹ By assigning it a meaning of "freely, without restraint," as we find in the entry in Lampe (on the basis of a word group association with δέω rather than with ἀδεής),¹² the difference between the two stages of the adversary's coming is highlighted. The first coming is restrained, incomplete—a foretaste. The second is unrestrained and cataclysmic. The author(s) of our text places the narrative within an apocalyptic framework, one which understands the apocalyptic nature of the events in the sense of a restrained, first installment. The text employs the term "foretaste" (προοιμαάζω) with the sense of "to introduce beforehand, foreshadow."¹³ This same term also occurs helpfully in Irenaeus. When discussing the intermediate state of the righteous, such as Enoch and Elijah, who were translated to paradise prior to death, Irenaeus writes that "there [in paradise] shall they who have been translated remain until the final consummation [*consummation*; συντελείας] as a prelude [*coauspicor*; προοιμαάζω] to incorruptibility."¹⁴ In Lyons there is an appreciation for the concept of experiencing aspects of apocalyptic eschatology in stages; prolepsis followed by consummation, foretaste followed by fulfillment.

In regard to the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, it is not surprising to find such a connection to apocalyptic events. The association between martyrdom, persecution, and apocalyptic worldviews is well attested.

We need only recall G. W. E. Nickelsburg's discussion of religious persecution in apocalyptic texts.¹⁵ For example, Nickelsburg treats the themes of persecution and vindication of the righteous in 2 Maccabees 7 and relates them to features of apocalyptic eschatology found within apocalypses.¹⁶ In Maccabees the brothers die because of their obedience to the Torah, yet they predict that Antiochus will acclaim the one true God and that ultimately he will be punished. In contrast, they predict that they will be rescued from death through resurrection and that their righteousness will thereby be vindicated.¹⁷ Though this is a text of history and not an apocalypse, Nickelsburg argues for its grounding in apocalyptic ideas. His evidence demonstrates that

the story preserved the hope that God would avenge [the brothers'] unjust deaths by means of an *apocalyptic* catastrophe. This story is then supplemented by the Isaianic exaltation tradition, which was also used in Antiochan times. It, too, announced an *apocalyptic* judgment on Antiochus, but it delegated the execution of his judgment to the righteous whom he persecuted, thus adding to the original story the hope of post-mortem vindication for the righteous. In 1 and 2 Maccabees, this double *apocalyptic* tradition is adjusted to certain facts of history.¹⁸

Elsewhere Nickelsburg discusses the apocalypses in Daniel, Jubilees 23, and the *Assumption of Moses*. Each is composed under persecution. In each, persecution is resolved only with God's imminent judgment. But their apocalyptic concern does not cause a departure from the historical. Instead, "by describing history in such a way that they place themselves and contemporary events at the fulcrum of history and eschatology, they offer assurance to the faithful that God will indeed act and that he will act quickly."¹⁹ The apocalypses through vision, then, describe history by joining it to eschatology and by connecting the contemporary to the future, thus providing assurance to the persecuted.

The apocalyptic themes in the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne* are not exhausted in the concept of the proleptic experience of the adversary's coming. Denis M. Farkasfalvy's treatment of the *Letter's* Christology brings important additional elements to the foreground.²⁰

One of them is clarified by the *Letter's* introduction to its citation of Romans 8:18 and its use of that verse. In this passage of the *Letter* the martyrs hasten to Christ in their deaths, and this haste “demonstrates [ἐνδείκνυμι] that the sufferings of the present times are not comparable to the future glory which is to be revealed in us.”²¹ The general apocalyptic notion of future glory drives the martyrs as they embrace suffering. This idea of glory is common in accounts that join persecution and apocalyptic themes, and is listed by K. Koch as one of the typical motifs of apocalyptic texts.²² As already noted, the brothers of 2 Maccabees endured death after predicting their eschatological vindication and delivery. What is remarkable about the *Letter's* use of Romans 8:18, however, is its emphasis that “the suffering of the martyrs *manifests* the truth of the saying that the future glory is incomparable to our present suffering. This *manifestation*, of course, displays an anticipated glory amidst actual suffering, glory perceivable only to the eye of faith.”²³ Here Farkasfalvy orients us, through another aspect of the *Letter*, to an idea already addressed above. The believers of Lyons and Vienne understood their period of persecution as a prolepsis of apocalyptic events. The adversary's coming is upon them, though in a restrained manner, and the future glory is being manifested in events of the flesh, though in a manner visible only to the spiritual eye. The *Letter* certainly brings the adversary into the present. And the *Letter* “brings both the expected glory and the truth of Scripture into evidence, almost within reach, although without suppressing its eschatological dimension.”²⁴

Two other apocalyptic themes in the *Letter* deserve mention. First is the theme of the victor's crown, “the crown of incorruptibility,” a reward that appears three times in the *Letter*.²⁵ Recognizing that this imagery has both Jewish and Hellenistic roots, Farkasfalvy draws attention to its New Testament background (1 Cor 9:25; 1 Pet 5:4; 2 Tim 4:6–8; Rev 2:10; James 1:12). The language of 1 Peter 5:4 makes the eschatological identity of the crown explicit—its reception is linked to the Chief Shepherd's appearance, an important apocalyptic motif of the mediator who appears to accomplish final redemption.²⁶ The *Letter* alludes to this verse when it specifically mentions that the maiden Blandina, the victorious athlete in her martyrdom, had defeated Satan

who had come: she “had overcome the adversary in many contests, and through her conflicts had won the crown of incorruptibility.”²⁷ It is particularly stunning to note the language of 1 Peter 5:4 and that of the *Letter* as it relates to the story of Blandina. In 1 Peter we find: “you *will* obtain the unfading crown of glory” when Christ appears, emphasizing the future reality. Not so for Blandina. She “was crowned” with the crown, emphasizing the already received award. Once more, we see that apocalyptic events are viewed proleptically in Lyons at the time of the persecution.

Second is the theme of renewed life. This repeatedly occurs in the epistle, and we find it associated with the motifs of restoration, rebirth, and resurrection. To begin with, the martyrs hope for the eschatological resurrection or bodily restoration. At one point in the narrative the Romans refuse to allow the bodies of the dead martyrs to be buried. Instead, they eventually cremate them and scatter the ashes in the Rhone. The *Letter* reports that the Romans “did this as though they could overcome God and deprive the martyrs of their restoration.”²⁸ Here the *Letter* attests to the hope of resurrection that strengthened the martyrs’ advance toward the end. But, the concept of life is not exhausted in the notion of eschatological resurrection. Quite pointedly, the *Letter* expressed the conviction that the martyrs received life from God at their death,²⁹ and that in the renewed faith of those who had previously borne no witness, those who had been dead in their denial were restored to life in their confession and martyrdom.³⁰ In other imagery within the *Letter*, the martyrs have not been victimized in their deaths but rather transported to a “bridal banquet” and “eternal fellowship with the living God.”³¹ For the martyrs of Gaul, the motif of renewed life, common to apocalyptic eschatology, is not purely future. Life is found in bearing witness, in martyrdom. In the Amphitheater of the Three Gauls, apocalyptic eschatology has disrupted the violent games of the Romans.

While it may, then, have been an exaggeration for Ernst Käsemann to have stated that “apocalyptic was the mother of all Christian theology,” it seems appropriate to say that for the Christians of Lyons and Vienne, apocalyptic was the mother of martyrdom, of witness.³² It brought forth the living. In the *Letter* this is made very clear in striking

terms, immediately after the stories of the deaths of Maturus and Sanctus and the seemingly never-ending suffering of Blandina. These stories make repeated references to the eschatological crown, indicating that the apocalyptic event of the mediator's coming to reward the faithful had imparted courage to them. Because of these martyrs the faithless became faithful and the dead were brought to life: "The dead were restored to life through the living; the martyrs brought favour to those who bore no witness, and the virgin Mother [the Church] experienced much joy in recovering alive those whom she had cast forth still-born."³³

THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN IN THE *LETTER*

Motifs of apocalyptic eschatology are clearly present in the *Letter*, and their important function repeatedly emerges. But apocalyptic eschatology is present in the *Letter* in a way other than by motif. John's Apocalypse also plays a role in its composition. While the *Letter's* use of Scripture has received some attention,³⁴ to my knowledge no one has treated in a concentrated fashion the role of the book of Revelation within it.

The first citation from John's Apocalypse occurs in an account concerning Vettius Epagathus (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.9–10). He is a young man who, we are told, loved God and neighbor and walked blamelessly, and he is even compared to Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist (Luke 1:6). Vettius Epagathus, though not yet arrested himself, spoke in defense of Christians, was interrogated by the prefect, confessed his own Christianity, and, full of the same Holy Spirit who had filled Zechariah (Luke 1:67), was martyred. By fullness of love he manifested the filling of the Spirit and with pleasure laid down even his own life in defense of his fellow Christians. This, of course, calls forth the words of John in 1 John 3:16: "By this we know love, that he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." Immediately following the implicitly drawn parallel between Vettius Epagathus and Jesus Christ comes the citation from Revelation 14:4 making the parallel explicit: "He was and is a true disciple of Christ, 'following the Lamb wherever he goes.'"

Those of whom John speaks in Revelation 14 are the 144,000 standing with the Lamb on Mount Zion. They are chaste, blameless, tell the truth, and have not received the number of the Beast on their foreheads (Rev 13:16–17). Instead, they have the name of the Lamb and the Father (14:1–5). Vettius Epagathus is set before the reader as the one who imitates the Lamb in his death on behalf of others and as a member of the eschatological community of the blameless, who are aligned not with the Beast but with the Lamb. That community is not merely eschatological, however. Its membership already includes the faithful of Lyons and Vienne. Mount Zion upon which the Lamb and the 144,000 stand has become, in this proleptic moment, the Croix-Rousse hill.

That the community of the Gallic martyrs is associated with the apocalyptic 144,000 is also made clear at the beginning of the *Letter*, which describes how the believers were barred from the baths, public square, and all other social places and markets (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.5). Revelation 13, in parallel, describes how the people of the apocalyptic times cannot trade in the marketplaces unless they have the Beast's mark (13:16–17). Furthermore, "the whole earth" follows the Beast in Revelation 13:3, while in the *Letter* (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.5) the Adversary who swoops down upon Lyons and Vienne prepares his own people to be poised against God's people. The Beast's abusive community is described as "the whole people," and the Christians are brought before "the entire population."³⁵

Continuing to associate the Gallic martyrs with the apocalyptic community of blessing, the *Letter* contrasts the faithful with the unfaithful believers and states that the former manifested countenances of joy, majesty, and beauty, to the degree that they bore their shackles as if they were lovely ornaments fit "for a bride adorned" with golden embroidery.³⁶ This language is dependent on the epithalamium of Psalm 45:12–15 and the apocalyptic use to which John puts that imagery in Revelation 19:7 and 21:2, 9. The one who is "as a bride adorned" for her husband, the Lamb in John's Apocalypse, has clothed herself with the fine, bright, pure linen of righteousness. She is the New Jerusalem who descends from heaven upon the new earth with the radiance and clarity of precious jewels and crystal. Her descent marks the blessed apocalyptic presence of God with humanity that vanquishes sorrow, death,

and suffering. Already in A.D. 177 this city had descended upon the earth of the Amphitheater of the Three Gauls and included within its population the martyrs whose blood stained its dust. Of Blandina, it is said, in a manner which maintains the imagery, that she rejoiced and glorified in her death as if she had been invited to a “bridal supper.” An angel in Revelation 19:9 proclaims to John that those invited to “the marriage supper” of the Lamb are blessed. Blandina in her death has already been seated at the Lamb’s apocalyptic nuptial feast. The martyrs of Lyons are those who know and already wear the “wedding garment” and experience blessings associated with it.³⁷ Though the martyrs experience inexpressible torment, they also, remarkably, experience relief from their suffering. Their association with the marriage and its feast, with its victory over suffering, brings to them anesthetic strengthening, refreshment, and even a cure (cf. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.19, 22, 23, 24, 28).

Toward the end of the *Letter* (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.57–63) another reference to the end of John’s Apocalypse appears. The accusers of the Christians are described as exercising wanton violence, hatred, and cruelty against the Christians in the manner in which they treat the bodies of the martyrs after their deaths. The bodies of those who had been strangled in the prison were thrown to the dogs (Ps 79:2), while the bodies of those who had been burnt and torn apart were left unburied and guarded for six days. Eventually they were cremated and the remains cast into the Rhone. Drawing on the language of Psalm 79:3–4, some of the Romans are described as raging and gnashing their teeth at the bodies in a continuation of their vengeance. Within this context the *Letter* loosely cites Revelation 22:11: “Let the wicked be wicked still and the righteous righteous still.”³⁸ The Gallic Christians viewed this passage as a prophecy that was fulfilled in the desecration of the bodies of their martyrs.

But there is more to the Romans’ defilement of the bodies of the martyrs than this. In Revelation 11:1–13 the prophecy of the two witnesses is recorded. For 1260 days they will be given power to prophesy with great testifying powers. When they finish their testimony the apocalyptic beast who arises from the pit will kill them, “and their dead

bodies will lie in the street” (11:8). For three and a half days an international procession of people will view their bodies and refuse to bury them, rejoicing and celebrating in apparent vengeance the death of the prophets who had tormented them. After three and a half days the two prophets are raised by God from the dead and are translated to heaven.

The author(s) of the *Letter* wants the reader to understand that the Gallic “martyrs” are, in a proleptic manner, the apocalyptic witnesses and martyrs prophesied in Revelation 11. They share the bodily desecration and endure together the rage, celebration, and mocking of the people. They also share the apocalyptic beast as the leader of the wickedness. The *Letter* states, prior to its account of the desecration and citation of Revelation 22:11, that the people were led forward by “the wild beast,” a synonym for the adversary who appears at the beginning of the *Letter* (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.5); this adversary shows up again as “the Devil” and “the evil one” (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.6; 5.1.25, 35), and makes a final appearance at the end as the beast (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.2.6). It is with reference to the apocalyptic beast who governs the whole persecution that the multiple references to the beasts that maul the martyrs are to be understood.³⁹ The beasts are the tools of *the* beast.

Finally, we should make mention of the apparent discrepancy between the prophecy given to John and the Gallic persecution. While it could be argued that the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne were not raised *bodily*, and as such, this marks a decisive difference between the *Letter* and Revelation 11, it could also be argued that such a discrepancy is beside the point. The Gallic martyrs are, after all, given life, because faithful witness *is* life, while faithless denial is death. They have been crowned and seated at the feast. With such a reading, moreover, eschatological tension is heightened. The Gallic martyrs still await bodily resurrection in parallel with the two mysterious witnesses in Revelation 11. As was the case with those witnesses, who remained dead for three and half days before God breathed life into them (cf. 11:7–11), so too with the Gallic martyrs, who await consummative resurrection and restoration.

The *Letter to the Churches of Lyons and Vienne* clearly demonstrates, then, the centrality not only of apocalyptic motifs but also of the Johan-

nine Apocalypse in the lives and deaths of the martyrs of Gaul. The perspectives and motifs in John's text undoubtedly strengthened those who underwent the tortures, as well as helping the survivors interpret what had taken place. Apocalyptic motifs and literature affect communities both prospectively as they undergo martyrdoms and retrospectively as they attempt to come to terms with them.

CHRISTOLOGY: THE SACRIFICIAL LAMB

But what of the Christology of the *Letter* that arises out of its apocalyptic motifs and its particular dependence on the Apocalypse of John? Of course, it includes the notion of Jesus Christ as Lord in fellowship with God the Father and his Spirit (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.3, 34), who, to return to Farkasfalvy, "is actively present in the life of the Church and the individual Christian."⁴⁰ He is the Lord who is "both crucified and glorious, both present in history and still to come, 'a noble and victorious athlete' who continues to be involved in bloody fighting, repeated trials, and unceasing tribulations."⁴¹ His "glorious life belongs to a realm other than this earth," but in martyrdom there is already participation in that glory.⁴² Undoubtedly, Farkasfalvy's great contribution has been to orient us to "the image of Christ, present on every page of the document" from Lyons, which is the image not "of the suffering but of the glorious Christ."⁴³ More can be said, however.

In his magisterial study on martyrdom and persecution in the early church, W. H. C. Frend comments that behind the practice of martyrdom was a theology that proclaimed that the martyrs "were seeking by their death to attain to the closest possible imitation of Christ's passion and death. This was the heart of their attitude, Christ himself suffered in the martyr."⁴⁴ This comment is the springboard for my present discussion of the Christology of the *Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, and in particular, its use of Revelation 14:4, where it speaks of those who follow Christ, the "Lamb." There are two such references in the *Letter*. Frend has already identified the first, where Vettius Epagathus is depicted as one who conducts himself as a disciple, a follower of Christ, the Lamb, by imitating him in death.⁴⁵ The second, not

mentioned by Frend, is the imagistic depiction of Blandina as the bride of the Lamb (Rev 19:7; 21:2, 9) at the apocalyptic wedding feast of the Lamb.⁴⁶ The image of Blandina the bride evokes the image of the groom, the Lamb, just as the image of Vettius Epagathus, the follower, evokes the image of the Lord, the Lamb, who gives himself to death. The question is the significance of these references to the Lamb and his followers in the *Letter*. Do they suggest a sacrificial aspect to Christ's death?

I propose that the communities of Lyons and Vienne must have read the text in a way that understood the Lamb of the Apocalypse as a sacrificial victim. By depicting a martyr such as Vettius Epagathus as following the "Lamb," all martyrs are being depicted as sacrificial victims approaching their martyrdom. By implication, such an understanding of the followers of the Lamb as sacrificial victims also sheds light on how the "Lamb" itself was understood: its slaughter is a sacrifice. There is additional evidence for this reading of the Lamb imagery in the *Letter*. In particular, by dying for God in imitation of Christ, the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne believed their deaths were sacrificial.⁴⁷ For instance, the *Letter* (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.40–41) speaks of Maturus and Sanctus as those who, in the end, were "sacrificed" (θύω), and of Blandina hanging from a "tree" (ξύλον) seemingly in the form of a "cross" (σταυρός). In this scene, those witnessing her death recognized in her a sacrifice, like Christ, "who was crucified for them." This description of Blandina on the tree (which usually, unfortunately, is translated as "post") of course looks back to Deuteronomy 21:23 and reflects a Christian interpretation evident in Acts 5:30 and Galatians 3:13.⁴⁸ Both Peter and Paul apply the prophecy of the curse that comes to all who hang "on a tree" (Deut 21:23) to Christ and his crucifixion. Christ became "a curse for us," thereby accomplishing redemption. Finally, we should also note the passage (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.52) that describes Attalus's flesh as roasting. The odor that arises is described as that of a burning sacrifice (κίσις).⁴⁹ Both Attalus and Alexander "were sacrificed" (θύω) at the end.⁵⁰ Blandina, the *Letter* says, was also "offered in sacrifice" (θύω).⁵¹

Exactly how martyrs perceived their sacrificial offering is not entirely clear. Scholarship over the last thirty years has suggested diverse

emphases and taxonomies.⁵² Frances M. Young, in her brief comments on Blandina, may point us in the right direction.⁵³ Young categorizes her death as “Martyrdom as Aversion Sacrifice,” that is, the martyr shares in Christ’s combat against the Adversary and his agents. This taxonomy fits well with the evidence gathered in this essay, since the community that produced the *Letter* interpreted its persecution in terms of the drama of eschatological conflict between Satan and God. Overcoming the Devil was assured in dying for God (cf. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.23, 27). This had been the pattern established by Christ, and the pattern was now continued by his followers, with one notable exception: in the deaths of Christ’s followers we are no longer on Golgotha but on the Croix-Rousse within the eschatological battle described in John’s Apocalypse.

This eschatological battle was largely about ideology: about faith against sight, virtue against evil, reality against illusion. The battle was, to be more precise, apologetic and revelatory. Several times in the *Letter*, martyrdom is presented as an argument by Christians against the worldly ideology of the persecutors and the Adversary. Martyrdom *proves* (ἐπιδείκνυμι) that temporal suffering does not compare to eschatological glory (cf. Rom 8:18; *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.6). Vettius Epagathus gives his life in *defense* (ἀπολογέω) of his fellow Christians, who are falsely charged with atheism and impiety (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.9, 10). Through Blandina’s witness Christ *proves* (ἐπιδείκνυμι) that those things viewed contemptuously by the Adversary’s agents are actually glorious (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.17). The suffering of Sanctus, which is the suffering of Christ in him, *shows* (ὑποδείκνυμι) that nothing frightening or painful occurs where the Father’s love and Christ’s glory are present (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.23). Again, Blandina’s sacrifice is equated to Christ *convincing* (πείθω) believers that martyrs “will have eternal fellowship with the living God” (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.41). In this way, then, in their suffering and their deaths they are already participating in something otherworldly, something eschatological, something beyond the bitter confines of the temporal moment under the scorching rays of the Gallic summer sun and the vile contempt of the Romans. The victorious age to come, although masked and costumed in defeat, makes a measured, uninvited appearance at the Romans’ bloody feast.

CONCLUSION

The tortures that took place in second-century Lyons were certainly, from the perspective of the Christian communities involved, events associated with athletic competition (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.42) and gladiatorial combat (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.40), both of which were seen as anticipatory eschatological struggles against the Evil One. But in the Amphitheater of the Three Gauls we are not only seated within a stadium or around a field. We are within a temple.

The followers of the Lamb placed the passion and death of Christ at the center of their Christology and discipleship. By employing their own understanding of sacrificial suffering as imitation of Christ, we can see that for them, Christ was fundamentally the slaughtered, sacrificial lamb whose death was expiatory but also revelatory and apologetic. Christ's sacrificial offering of himself manifested surprising, shocking, and apparently irrational, unsubstantiated claims to a world deceived by the powers of darkness. Martyrdom and sacrifice brought light within that darkness.

For the martyrs of Gaul, the Apocalypse and leading apocalyptic motifs portray an existence in which the eschatological conflict has been made, in some measure, present, and which requires for victory a return to the model of warfare established in Jerusalem three generations before. This Lamb was slain in sacrifice, and it was this Lamb who appeared to John the Seer (Rev 5:6) and whom the martyrs followed (Rev 14:4). Such a portrayal of the death of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne clearly exhibits an early Christian exegesis of the Apocalypse and an early Christology centered upon sacrifice.

NOTES

I offer this essay in celebration of Brian Daley's immense contribution to patristic eschatology and Christology. In particular, I am grateful for his *Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*, which has immeasurably formed my own understanding of the early Christian hope.

1. J. Guey and A. Audin, "L' Amphithéâtre des Trois Gaules à Lyons," *Gallia* 20 (1962): 177-45; 21 (1963): 125-54; 22 (1964): 37-61; A. Audin and M. Le

Glaz, "L' Amphithéâtre des trios Gaules, première campagne," *Gallia* 28 (1970): 67–89; A. Audin and M. Le Glaz, "Découvertes archéologiques récentes à Lyons, métropoles des Gaules," *Bulletin Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1966): 96–109; J. Guey, "Les inscriptions (et à propos des inscriptions) de l' Amphitheater," in *Les Martyrs de Lyons (177): Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Lyon, 20–23 septembre 1977*, ed. J. Rougé and R. Turcan (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1978), 107–9. For the critical edition of the *Letter I* I have used *Eusébe de Césarée Histoire Ecclesiastique Livres V–VII*, SC 41, ed. G. Bardy (Paris: Cerf, 1955), 6–23. English translations include H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 62–85 (with Greek text), and *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. G. A. Williams, rev. and ed. A. Louth (London: Penguin, 1989), 139–49. All biblical quotations are from the RSV; emphases are mine.

2. For discussions of dating which range from A.D. 175 to several years after 177 (but within the reign of Marcus Aurelius), cf. T. D. Barnes, "Eusebius and the Date of the Martyrdom," in *Les Martyrs de Lyons (177)*, 137–41, and P. Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens des iie. et iiiie. siècles* (Paris: Cerf, 1961), 62–63. The date of 177 appears to most scholars to be given in a straightforward manner by Eusebius in *Hist. Eccl.* 5, pref.

3. Cf. the arguments of Nautin, *Lettres et écrivains chrétiens*, 54–59; R. M. Grant, *Eusebius the Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 118–19; A. Rousseau, *Irénée de Lyons Contre les Hérésies Livre IV*, SC 100.1 (Paris: Cerf, 1965), 258–61; R. M. Grant, "Eusebius and the Martyrs of Gaul," in *Les Martyrs de Lyons (177)*, 132; Oecumenius (PG 119.536C–D).

4. Cf. J. W. Thompson, "The Alleged Persecution of the Christians at Lyons in 177," *American Journal of Theology* 16 (1912): 358–84; P. Allard, "Une nouvelle théorie sur le martyre des chrétiens de Lyons," *Revue des Questions Historiques* 93 (1913): 53–67; J. Colin, *L'Empire des Antonius et les martyrs gaulois de 177* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1964); idem, "Martyrs grecs de Lyons ou martyrs galates? (Eusebe, Hist. Eccl. v. 1)," *L'antiquité classique* 33 (1964): 108–15; J. Jouassard, "Aux origins de l'église de Lyons," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 11 (1965): 1–8; A. Audin, "Les martyrs de 177," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 11 (1966): 343–67; cf. William C. Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981), 207, a.1.

5. Cf. W. H. C. Friend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), 8. Cf. the argument of J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 320–49, that an act of the senate in 177–78 substituted Christians as sacrificial volunteers or gladiators at the festival in Lyons. The deaths of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne are commemorated by Jerome and Ado on 2 June.

6. Cf. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution*, 1–30, for a convenient summary.
7. Cf. K. Koch, “What Is Apocalyptic? An Attempt at a Preliminary Definition,” in *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, ed. P. D. Hanson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 26.
8. Mary Hope Griffin, “Martyrdom as a Second Baptism: Issues and Expectations for the Early Christian Martyrs,” Ph.D. Thesis (Los Angeles: University of California, 2002), 169.
9. Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom*, 187; P. Lanaro, “Temi del martiro nell’ antichità Christiana. I martiri di Lione,” *Studia Patavina* 14 (1967): 206.
10. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.5.
11. Charles E. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum: Patterns of Future Hope in Early Christianity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 109–10. One need not, however, join him in the connection he makes with Rev 20:2. The sense in which the adversary is restrained in his first coming is that of a prolepsis. It is an anticipation of a future eschatological/apocalyptic event. The adversary promises through proleptic experience, but does not fulfill or consummate, his ultimate brutality.
12. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), s.v. “ἀδεῶς.”
13. Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. “προοιμαῖζω.”
14. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.5.1 (SC 153, 66.28–29).
15. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972). Here, at least, is where Frankfurter also sends us when he wishes to substantiate his claim that “[t]he extreme behavior of the Christian martyr-sects certainly reflects an ideology based in Jewish apocalyptic traditions of righteous sufferers and the heavenly favors they earned” (D. Frankfurter, “The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories,” in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, ed. J. C. Vanderkam and W. Adler [Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum and Fortress, 1996], 168).
16. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 93–111.
17. Cf. Koch, “What Is Apocalyptic?” 26.
18. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 109. Emphasis added.
19. *Ibid.*, 42.
20. Denis M. Farkasfalvy, “Christological Content and Its Biblical Basis in the Letter of the Martyrs of Gaul,” *Second Century* 9 (1992): 5–25.
21. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.6.
22. Koch, “What Is Apocalyptic?” 28–29. Cf. Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom*, for further treatment of the theme of glory in the *Letter* (188–91).
23. Farkasfalvy, “Christological Content,” 21–22. Emphasis his.

24. *Ibid.*, 10. A. Breckelmans's argument that the *Letter's* use of Rom 8:18 presents Paul's eschatological notion of glory in a non-eschatological sense and views it instead as merely present or immediate reward, fails to account for the way in which apocalyptic eschatology operates in accounts of persecution. Cf. A. Breckelmans, *Martyrerkränze: Eine symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchung im frühchristlichen Schrifttum* (Rome: Liberia Editrice dell' Università Gregoriana, 1965), 59. Cf. also Weinrich, *Spirit and Martyrdom*, 188–89, 191.

25. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.36, 38, 42.

26. Cf. Koch, "What Is Apocalyptic?" 27–28.

27. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.42. Again, the point needs to be made that in the worldview of the *Letter*, the apocalyptic event of the Redeemer's coming to reward the faithful is already taking place in the martyr's experience in 177 in the Amphitheater of the Three Gauls. As Farkasfalvy says, "While their share seems to be death and defeat, they obtain glory and life" (Farkasfalvy, "Christological Content," 12).

28. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.63.

29. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.2.7.

30. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.45.

31. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.41, 55.

32. Ernst Käsemann, *New Testament Questions of Today*, trans. W. J. Montague (London: SCM Press, 1969), 102; cf. 137.

33. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.45.

34. Farkasfalvy, "Christological Content," has treated the biblical basis for its Christology.

35. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.7–8.

36. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.35.

37. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.48.

38. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.58.

39. E.g., *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.38, 41, 42, 47, 50, 55, 56, 59; 2.2.

40. Farkasfalvy, "Christological Content," 23.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, 27.

44. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution*, 15.

45. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.3.10, in Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution*, 15.

46. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.35.

47. Cf. E. A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 54–55.

48. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs, 75*; Williams and Louth, *Eusebius*, 14.

49. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 29, and Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, 54, catch the correct meaning, but Williams and Louth, *Eusebius*, 146, with “reek,” miss it, as does Bardy, SC 41:20.

50. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.51.

51. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.56; cf. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 81.

52. Cf. Robert J. Daly, *Christian Sacrifice: The Judaeo-Christian Background before Origen* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1978); Frances M. Young, *The Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers from the New Testament to John Chrysostom*, Patristic Monograph Series, no. 5 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979); T. Hermans, *Origène: Théologie sacrificielle du sacerdoce des chrétiens* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996).

53. Young, *Use of Sacrificial Ideas in Greek Christian Writers*, 227–28.