Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective

Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday

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4. *Vile Bodies: Paul and Augustine on the Resurrection of the Flesh*

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The body that you gave breakfast to this morning, the body that helped you navigate your automobile, the body with which you at this moment occupy your chair is, according to Augustine, the very same body that will dwell in the heavens and see God. This is an extraordinary claim. It was scarcely coherent, and it was certainly unscientific, when he presented it in A.D. 428, in the closing book of *City of God.* And he was scarcely helped in formulating it by having to base his position on an exegesis of Paul, especially 1 Cor. 15:50: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God."

I propose, in this paper, to investigate the significance of the body as a theological concept. Christian thought on the human body reveals the fundamental orientation of its ideas of redemption: What is a person? What is his ultimate fate? What is salvation (and saved *from* what)? I shall proceed by presenting an antiphonal exegesis of Paul and of Augustine — Paul, because his letters stand as our earliest statement of a redemptive mythology that we (though not he) could deem "Christian"; Augustine, the fountainhead of Western Christianity, because he based his notions (virtually contrary to those of Paul) on close and careful readings of the apostle. To do this, however, I shall first have to sketch the contextual parameters of their respective religious cultures: Hellenistic science on the one hand, and Jewish restoration theology on the other.

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To begin with the Greeks: Antiquity's picture of the physical universe passed through the writings of Aristotle and the Hellenistic astronomers, though the speculations of Plato and of the Stoics also come into play.[1] We trace their influence in the West through such writers as Cicero and Seneca; later, Celsus, Ps.-Aristotle, and Plutarch; finally, in the concise pagan catechism of Sallustius, *On the Gods and the World.* Popular expressions of philosophical and scientific high culture appear in astrological handbooks and the magical papyri; we see them in the stone star-map encoded in the tauroctonies of the empire's mithraea; in the Jerusalem Temple the outer curtain was embroidered with the map of heaven, and near Tiberias, pious Jews placed the sky gods of the zodiac on their synagogue's mosaic floor.[2] This imagined architecture of the cosmos, in other words, was apparently ubiquitous and, in a sense, theologically ecumenical. It could accommodate the various mythologies of antiquity — pagan, Jewish, and eventually Christian.

We should envisage a series of concentric glass spheres. The outermost and uppermost is also the most divine, the realm of celestial ether and the fixed stars. As we move inward, or downward, we encounter motion: the spheres of the five planets known to antiquity, the sun, and the moon. Below the moon, in contrast to the harmony and increasing perfection of the upper spheres, matter grew thick, sinister, maddeningly mutable; demons, the souls of the dead, Necessity congested the sublunar atmosphere. Below this, finally, at the center of the world where the heaviest matter had sunk, stood earth. This model of the universe was presupposed and confirmed by science and astrology, by astral tours, by dreams and visions.

Its architecture encoded a consistent hierarchy of order and of value: the good was "up"; the less good, indeed the bad, was "down." But simple experience imposed an anomaly, for on the earth was man. Various mythologies attempted to explain what he was doing there — a hostage taken in a cosmic border skirmish, a terminus to the fall of the soul — but the fact that he was there at all disrupted the elegance of this picture. Man had mind; his true self, the soul, if properly trained, was drawn to reason, virtue, and the (literally) higher realities. But this true self was trapped in the immediate material environment of the body, with its demeaning and distracting urges. Cosmology and anthropology were thus coordinate realms: man was a miniature and reversed image of the cosmos. The truly real and spiritual was inner; and the soul, trapped in uneasy juxtaposition to the body, individually expressed that same fault line that divided the universe in two at the moon. And this anthropology implied, in turn, a soteriology. Salvation was *from* life in the sublunar realm; it lay in ascent to (or back to) the divine realm of the upper world.[3]

This model of both man and the universe, then, implied a redemption that would be *in principle* nonterrestrial and nonsomatic. It is both individual (the fate of each person after death) and, in the more sophisticated versions such as that of Plotinus, nonindividual (man's soul is part of Soul; it may be oned with the One, and so on). It is also nonhistorical. Time and the cosmos do not alter; man moves through them. The cosmos is a medium for redemption, but the focus of redemption is the soul.

Jewish restoration theology presents a different map of reality, a different concept of salvation, a different arena of redemption, and, concomitantly, a different view of the human and the divine. The Jewish Bible begins with God creating the universe and ends, at 2 Chronicles, with a call to rebuild the Temple and to make *aliyah.* "Thus says Cyrus king of Persia: The Lord, the God of heaven, . . . has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem. . . . Whoever is among you of all his people, may the Lord his God be with him. Let him go up" (36:23). These two narrative poles of the Bible establish the typological field of later Jewish eschatology. Put plainly: when final redemption comes, it will come as a renovation of creation, and a new Temple and new Jerusalem figure prominently.[4]

1. The theory of the spheres can be traced to Eudoxus, a younger contemporary of Plato; Aristotle assumes it in the *Metaphysics* (11.8), and in *De caelo* chap. 5. Good introductions to this literature may be found in J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler* (New York, 1953), 9-206; and P. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde,* vols. 1 and 2 (Paris, 1954-59, orig. pub. 1908). On the religious implications of this model of the universe, see E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian* (New York, 1970), esp. 5-29; Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston, 1963), 3-47.

2. On the temple's outer curtain, which "portrayed a panorama of the heavens," see Josephus *J.W.* 5.212, 214. He notes that this curtain did not display the signs of the zodiac — presumably, as David Ulansey speculates, to avoid any implication of astrology ("The Heavenly Veil Torn: Mark's Cosmic *Inclusio,*" *BARev* [forthcoming 1991]). On the Beth Alpha mosaic, see esp. E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York, 1953- 68), 1:241-53; plates in vol. 3, no. 640; on astronomical symbols more generally, including evidence from Jewish inscriptions and amulets, see vol. 12.2, chap. 12.

3. See, e.g., Sallustius *On the Gods* 4, on the Milky Way as the zone at which body subject to passion begins; cf. 13, where he comments, given the incorporeal nature of divinity, that "the World *ought* to be incorporeal too." Porphyry *De antro nymph.* 22-28, relates that the soul descends to earth through the port of entry at the northeast point of the zodiac, at Cancer, and ascends again through Capricorn; see D. Ulansey, *The Mysteries of Mithras* (New York, 1989), 61; on this topic generally, see Alan Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity, and their Environment," *ANRW* II.23.1 (1980), 1334-94.

4. On Jewish restoration theology, see esp. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1985), 77-119, 212-41; more recently, my briefer discussion, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (New Haven, 1988), 77, 81-86. See too J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (Nashville, 1958), 55-72; for a systematic presen-

The historical anchor for this verse in 2 Chronicles was the end of the Babylonian Captivity and all it implied: exile from the land, the destruction of the (first) Temple and of Jerusalem. These events had evidently, and quite naturally, threatened a commonsense construal of Israel's covenant with God: if God had promised the land, and Israel was now driven from it, then the election and the covenant had been impermanent or conditional. We see how the classical prophets turn the Exile from disconfirmation to confirmation, weaving God's promises to Israel and the inviolability of the covenant into the texture of physical reality itself. So, for instance, Jeremiah:

> Thus says the Lord, who gives the sun for light by day and the fixed order of the moon and the stars for light by night, who stirs up the sea so that its waves roar . . . : "If this fixed order departs from before me, says the Lord, then shall the descendants of Israel cease from being a nation before me for ever. . . . If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth below can be explored, then I will cast off all the descendants of Israel." (31:35-37)

Through the principle that God is just and constant, that he works his purpose through and in history, the prophets distilled from this combination of tradition and current events a dialectic at once historical and religious. Exile would always imply return; sin, repentance *(teshuvah);* destruction, rebuilding.

From the Hellenistic through the Roman imperial period, the claims of this prophetic affirmation of God's redemptive purpose swell into a vision that ultimately has in view all peoples and the entire world. In the later prophets and the Pseudepigrapha, in the Apocrypha, in synagogue prayers and later rabbinic discussion, we see the traditional elements of the conclusion of the Babylonian Captivity writ large. At the End, when God establishes his Kingdom, all the forces of evil, human and cosmic, will be overthrown. The twelve tribes will be reconstituted and all the exiles gathered in to Jerusalem. There the "mountain of the Lord," the Temple, will be rebuilt or renewed in splendor. It will in any case of necessity be greatly enlarged, since not only all Israel but also the Gentiles (no longer idolatrous) will gather there to worship "the God of Jacob." Together on the mount, Jew and Gentile will partake of the feast that God himself will

tation, see E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* rev. G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh, 1979), 2:488-544. Other Jewish traditions speak of a final nonterrestrial period after the messianic age, *ha-olam ha-ba,* the world or age to come: see n. 6 below.

have prepared (Isa. 25:6).[5] In some of the literature, this earthly redemption is made prefatory to a yet further stage, *ha-olam ha-ba,* the world or age to come — a notoriously indistinct concept that I note but shall not discuss here.[6] Whether as history's ultimate or penultimate stage, then, God's rule will be marked by social and natural harmony. The land will bring forth fruits in abundance, war will be vanquished, death defeated; God will wipe away every tear.

It is within this particular, and peculiarly Jewish, idea of historical redemption that we must place the hope of *teḥiyat ha-matim,* the resurrection of the dead. I will start by saying the obvious: there was no universal agreement. In the late Second Temple period, belief in physical resurrection was most associated with the Pharisees; but it is probably more accurate to say that (almost) everyone but the Saduccees so believed. The idea has no secure pre-Hellenistic scriptural attestation but does grow prominent or explicit in the writings of the Maccabaean period, the heyday of apocalyptic eschatology as well. Once articulated, it becomes, as Moore notes, the sole article of dogma in early Jewish eschatology.[7] The second benediction of the Amidah praises God for raising the dead; and in chap. 10 of Mishnah *Sanhedrin* we find this anticipation of Pascal: "All Israel has a share in the world to come. . . . And the following have no portion: one who says, There is no resurrection of the dead."

Jewish opinions on the resurrection are so varied and so numerous that Schürer-Vermes prescinds from reviewing them.[8] So shall I. But I would emphasize the following. First, the idea of personal physical resurrection represents and affirms a particular theodicy, declaring that God is

5. On these themes, and their resonance with the tradition's view of the Babylonian Captivity, see Fredriksen, *Jesus,* 77-86. As usual far from univocal, Jewish texts (even the prophetic writings speaking of ultimate gentile inclusion) also anticipate the destruction of unrighteous gentiles or their subjugation to Israel, e.g., Isa. 49:23; 54:3; Mic. 5:9, 15; 7:16-17; Zeph. 2:1–3:8). For other florilegia of prophetic and pseudepigraphic texts, see Sanders, *Jesus,* 214; T. L. Donaldson, "The 'Curse of the Law' and the Inclusion of the Gentiles: Galatians 3.13-14," *NTS* 32 (1986): 110 nn. 43-50; Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise,* 46-75; for discussion of the entire issue, see my essay "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," *JTS* 42 (1991): 1-33. I emphasize the "inclusive" tradition here because that apparently is the one in which the first generation of Jesus' followers placed themselves and which figured most prominently in their improvised eschatology.

6. See W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1980), 285-320, esp. 316ff.

7. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1927-30), 1:172; see also Davies, *Paul,* 300.

8. *History of the Jewish People,* 2:539. For a recent survey, see A. J. M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection* (Tübingen, 1988), 167-80.

just and thus will vindicate the righteous (and, in those writings that hold to a general resurrection and final judgment, punish the wicked). Second, the medium of this redemption is history, the focus both the human person and the earth itself. From this, two further observations. The person is identified not with the soul, but with soul and body taken together. This anthropology is dichotomous but not dualistic.[9] And the insistence on terrestrial redemption, the insistence that the quality of physical existence, but not the fundamental fact of physical existence itself, would be changed, serves to affirm Creation. Further, while individuals rise and are judged as individuals, the fundamental metaphors are social — eating together, worshiping together, living at peace with one another. Finally, given the idiom of the Babylonian Captivity, in which much of this construct is expressed, Jewish restoration theology is, at least implicitly but often explicitly, political. The image of eschatological society serves as a counterpoint to and commentary on current unrighteous kingdoms that will be displaced by the Kingdom of God.

I have reviewed this familiar material, the Hellenistic and the Jewish, in order to draw as sharply as possible a contrast between them. The vector of Hellenistic redemption is vertical, from "down here" to "up there." The vector of Jewish restoration theology is emphatically horizontal, historical: "now" and "then," or, in its apocalyptic expression, "now" and "soon." Their respective energies drive in two quite different directions, not so much opposite (for opposed pull would result in stasis) as perpendicular. To continue borrowing from the language of mechanical physics: their intimate juxtaposition would guarantee maximum torque. It is with this metaphor in mind, then, that we turn first to Paul and then to Augustine on Paul.

In his extant letters, Paul the Pharisee presents a variant but nonetheless recognizable version of apocalyptic Jewish restoration theology. He proclaims a coming messiah, the resurrection of the dead, the imminent arrival of God's Kingdom, the redemption of all Israel on the basis of the covenant's inviolability, the redemption of the Gentiles apart from the Law — all standard Jewish stuff, modified, where necessary, in the light of his conviction that the messiah had already come and would soon come again. Paul lived within Jewish history — indeed, according to his convictions, in its very last days.[10] But Paul also inhabited the Greco-Roman cosmos, and the architecture of this cosmos very much affects his presentation of historical redemption.

9. See Davies, *Paul,* 17-19, 20-30.

10. On the deeply traditional quality of Paul's eschatology, as well as his modifications of specific items, see Fredriksen, *Jesus,* 165-76; with particular reference to Gentile salvation, see my essay "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles . . . ," esp. pp. 17-31.

The sidereal piety that marks some Hellenistic philosophy and science has given way for Paul (as for others) to a sense of oppression, a view that the cosmic powers stand in an essentially adversarial relationship to humanity. Paul alludes very briefly to the biblical story of Adam's fall to account for this adversity (Rom. 5:12), though elsewhere in the same epistle he says simply that creation's futility and bondage are part of some (otherwise unexplained) divine plan (8:20ff.). In any case, his Gentiles in Christ wage no σαρκικός battle (2 Cor. 10:3-4): they oppose, with and in the Spirit given to them through baptism, the same rulers (ἄρχοντες) of this age (τοῦ αἰῶνος) who crucified the "Lord of glory" (1 Cor. 2:6-8). Ranged now between them and God stand the elements of this universe, the enslaving στοιχεῖα (Gal. 4:3, 9; cf. 5:1); the "god of this world" (Satan?) who blinds the minds of unbelievers (2 Cor. 4:4); the ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, and δύναμις of this age (1 Cor. 15:24); demons (sometimes identified with pagan gods, 1 Cor. 10:20; Gal. 4:8-9); angels and principalities (Rom. 8:38).[11] Through baptism into Christ's death and resurrection, the Christian, though still in this cosmos (the form of which is "passing away"), has entered into a demilitarized zone. These powers can no longer control him.

Ranged on the side of these hostile forces we find, as well, the flesh. Paul speaks of "flesh" sometimes as a moral category: the Christian is to live not κατὰ σάρκα but κατὰ πνεῦμα. At other times — most conspicuously in Rom. 7 — he speaks of it both as an almost independent force of evil ("I know that nothing good dwells within me, that is, in my flesh," 7:18), and as a medium through which sin and death work to undermine even the Law. The tensions between the flesh and the spirit which the Christian continues to feel will be resolved only when his body is redeemed (Rom. 8:23). This, as Paul explains most clearly (and how clearly is that?) in 1 Cor. 15, will occur shortly, at the Parousia, when the Christian's fleshly body, whether living or dead, will be transformed, like Christ's, into a spiritual body.

In his thoughts on the impending redemption and the nature of the resurrection, Paul is both at his most and his least Pharisaic. The nature of redeemed life, he insists to his puzzled Corinthian hearers, will be somatic (1 Cor. 15:35-53). The messiah as liberator will appear at a given moment in historical time, announced "with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God" (1 Thess. 4:16). He will defeat every enemy, and finally death itself, before handing over the king-

11. For the definition of these terms as referring to astral forces, see W. Bauer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament,* rev. F. W. Gingrinch and F. Danker (Chicago, 1979); see also W. Meeks, *First Urban Christians* (New Haven, 1983), chap. 8.

dom to God (1 Cor. 15:24ff.). But flesh itself is emphatically *not* redeemed: it cannot inherit the Kingdom. And this is, perhaps, because the Kingdom will not be on earth, centered around Jerusalem and a new or renewed Temple. The Kingdom will be "in the air" (1 Thess. 4:17), "in heaven" (Phil. 3:20), where no flesh can dwell. Is redemption social? Hard to say. Paul's metaphors for redeemed humanity — whether the proleptic community currently represented by the *ἐκκλησία*, or the ultimate one, Jew and Gentile, at the End — tend to be organic, corporate rather than social. Individuals (and their egos) are knit together, integrated, into the body of Christ. Politics too drop from sight: Christ defeats not the current unrighteous imperial order, nor the apocalyptic Babylon (as he does in Revelation), but the cosmic archons of the age.[12]

In the centuries between his time and Augustine's, Paul had his greatest influence among Christian dualists, Gnostics and Manichaeans. The very various nondualist Christians tended to look past Paul to the great Jewish prophetic texts within their Bibles and without — Isaiah, Daniel, Jubilees, and Baruch — to construct their image of final redemption; and that image, accordingly, was more classically Jewish than Paul's had been. Irenaeus of Lyons approvingly cited an earlier father, Papias, for preaching "an approaching millennium after the resurrection, and a corporeal reign with Christ here on earth" (*Adv. haer.* 5.33.3). According to Papias, who had it from "the elders," who in turn had it from John, Jesus himself had taught that "the day will come when each vine will have a thousand branches, each branch 10,000 twigs, each twig 10,000 shoots, on each shoot 10,000 clusters, and each cluster 10,000 grapes" — a passage appearing almost verbatim as well in the Jewish *Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Bar. 29:5). Justin Martyr, appealing both to Isaiah and to Revelation, likewise spoke of a coming period of terrestrial superabundance, ubiquitous peace, a fleshly resurrection of the saints, and their thousand-year rule in the renewed Jerusalem (*Dialogue with Trypho* 81 on Isa. 65 and Rev. 20).

Throughout these intervening centuries, many Christians asserted that Christ's second coming would occur soon. But when was "soon"? How could one know? One way was to study the prophets' and evangelists' catalogue of apocalyptic disasters, and their cryptic descriptions of kings, armies, and empires, and see whether these matched the times. Particularly in periods of persecution, such interpretations, promising as they did the vindication of those suffering, were both powerfully persuasive and pointedly political. John's apocalyptic Babylon, seated on seven mountains,

12. On Paul's peculiar denationalizing of Jewish eschatological traditions, see Fredriksen, *Jesus,* 173-75.

is clearly Rome (Rev. 17:9). Irenaeus sees the fourth beast of Dan. 7 and the beast from the sea of Rev. 13 as the *imperium qui nunc regnat;* the name of the two-horned earth-born beast, encoded in the numbers 666, is *Latinus.*[13] If that empire persecuted, then clearly the End was at hand.

Already by the early second century, however, the wait was fatiguing some. "Where is the promise of his coming?" complains a group in 2 Pet. 3:4. "For ever since the fathers fell asleep, all things have continued as they were from the beginning." "Peter," both to console and to exhort his congregation, recalled to them a line from Psalms: "With the Lord, one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day" (2 Pet. 3:8; Ps. 90:4). This verse, together with the days of creation sketched out in Gen. 1 and the thousand-year reign of the saints promised in Rev. 20, became the churches' support for a key eschatological concept: the cosmic week, or the ages of the world. As God had created the world in six days, and rested on the seventh, and as a day to him is as a thousand years, so too would the world endure for six ages of one thousand years each. Then at the end of the sixth age, six thousand years since creation, Christ would return in glory to inaugurate the first, fleshly resurrection and the thousand-year Sabbath rest of his saints. To know the time of the End, one had only to calculate the age of the world.[14]

This approach to millenarianism, developed particularly by Christian chronographers, permitted a traditional, historical interpretation of apocalyptic texts while at the same time gaining a control over the enthusiasms they inspired. The date for the year 6,000 in Western tradition fell in the equivalent *annus domini* of 500. When Hippolytus and Julius Africanus, writing in the third century, estimated that Christ had been born in the 5,500th year since the creation, they pushed the date of the Parousia well out of their own and their communities' lifetimes. In an age that saw the rise of the New Prophecy, Montanism, an age when Catholic bishops, inspired by Scriptures, dreams, or prodigies, might believe that the End was at hand and urge their congregations to drastic action, such an exegetical strategy had much to recommend it.[15]

13. *Adv. haer.* 5.26,1; 30,3. Cf. Victorinus of Pettau (ca. 300), who awaited the *ruina Babylonis, id est civitatis Romanae* (*In Apoc.* 8.2; 9.4). On early Christian millenarianism generally, see my essay, "Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity: From John of Patmos to Augustine of Hippo," *VC* 45 (1991): 151-83.

14. On the cosmic week in Western theology, see Richard Landes, "Lest the millennium be fulfilled: Apocalyptic expectations and the pattern of Western Chronography, 100-800 CE," in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages,* ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven, 1988), 137-211.

15. Hippolytus *In Danielem* 4.23-24; cf. 4.18-19, on these apocalyptically minded

This tradition, however, was fated not to age gracefully. Its intrinsic anti-imperialism became increasingly awkward after 312. And as the target date of 500 *anno domini*/6000 *anno saeculi* drew ever nearer, we can detect a certain nervousness in ecclesiastical reports of plagues, battles, eclipses, and military campaigns. But the vision of the reign of the saints on earth continued to inspire Christians, and this was nowhere more true than in the Bible belt of Latin antiquity, Roman North Africa.

The popular expression and celebration of this millenarian hope was the cult of the saint. The pious anticipated their impending earthly reign by repairing, on the saint's day, to his tomb, to feast, dance, and get splendidly drunk. The martyr's relics would work cures (a form of restoration of bodily integrity) while the reading of his *passio* inspired the faithful. These celebrations — known as *laetitiae,* or "jolly-ups" — infuriated Augustine, who condemned them (and very nearly lost his job in the effort). But in the abandon round the martyr's *mensa,* in the drinking and feasting of the faithful at the shrine of the saint, we glimpse ancient Christian hopes for life after the *prima resurrectio;* an affirmation through enactment that the Kingdom would come on earth, and that once it did, status distinctions would dissolve, labors would cease, life would be joy, food and drink abundant and attained without effort.[16]

So we come, finally, to Augustine. To his one side stood the Scylla of popular millenarianism (as well as its erudite counterpart, the chronographical tradition: in 395 his fellow Catholic bishop, Hilarianus, affirmed that the End was a scant century off).[17] To the other, the Charybdis of Manichaean dualism, with its emphasis on the soul's escape from this universe as the measure of redemption. And behind him lay the ruins of Origen's reputation: unlike his learned Eastern counterpart, Augustine was

bishops; Julius Africanus, *Chronographia* (fragments), ANF 6, 130-38, on the age of the world and implied date of the Parousia; see too the discussion in Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York, 1987), 265-67.

16. That these celebrations of the saints' cults express popular anticipations of millenarian bliss needs to be argued rather than simply asserted: I cannot do that here. I will observe, however, that Augustine criticized both these celebrations *and* popular millenarian interpretations of the first resurrection in precisely the same terms: they were "carnal"; they focused over-much on material pleasures, particularly eating and drinking (cf. *Civ. Dei* 20.7.1; *Ep.* 29.11 [where he complains that the riotousness of the saints' celebrations was a pagan corruption]). Interestingly, in *Civ. Dei* 22, when Augustine repudiates both popular millenarianism and the conduct of the faithful at the saints' feasts, he identifies the *praesentia* of the saints with their thousand-year reign on earth (Rev. 20:1-6) — a deft de-eschatologizing of a key traditional millenarian idea. See esp. F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop* (New York, 1961), 471-526; Fredriksen, "Apocalypse and Redemption," 155-56, 161.

17. *De cursu temporum,* in *Chronica Minora,* ed. C. Frick (Leipzig, 1892), 1:155-74; Fredriksen, "Apocalypse and Redemption," p. 156 and nn. 33 and 34.

no longer free to radically allegorize prophetic texts or to present apocalyptic thought as a mere *façon de parler.*

Augustine confronted these problems head-on. Against inferring the nearness of the End from current catastrophes (such as the fall of Rome),[18] he argued that things have been worse, and that they could always get worse. A named date, he notes, causes embarrassment once it slips by, and the Bible explicitly prohibits eschatological calculations: Only the Father can know the time. But Augustine's most imaginative and innovative strategy is to redesign the cosmic week, and so redefine the relation of God's kingdom on earth to resurrection and eschatology. *Augustine relocates the 1000-year reign of the saints.* It comes not at time's edge, with the Parousia, but with Christ's first post-Resurrection coming in his glorious body, the Church. The saints, through their relics, reign *now,* within normal history.

Thus, Augustine can insist, the first resurrection *is* fleshly: it occurs while the Christian still lives in this body. But its chief import is spiritual, the passage from "death" to "life" accomplished now, through baptism, within the Church. The saints, who rule within the Church, will indeed reign for one thousand years. But one thousand, notes Augustine, is actually 10×10×10: the number clearly signifies not a fixed period of time but the quality of fulness and perfection. The actual hour of the End none can ever estimate or know.[19]

In view of this radical agnosticism, history cannot serve for Augustine as the prime medium of salvation. He emphasizes, rather, the individual as the locus and focus of God's saving grace and so, exegetically relocating the center of gravity of Paul's letter to the Romans from chaps. 9–11 to chap. 7,[20] Augustine plays stunningly creative variations on the theme of Christian millenarianism. The fleshly body will be raised spiritual, he insists with Paul; but spiritual, to Augustine, refers not to the body's substance so much as to its moral orientation.[21] The risen body will be morally trans-

18. " 'Behold, from Adam all the years have passed, and behold, the 6000 years are completed . . . and now comes the day of judgment!' " (*Serm.* 113.8, registering the popular reaction to Alaric's invasion of Rome in 410).

19. Augustine is deeply indebted to Tyconius, the lay Donatist theologian, for this interpretation of Revelation which enables him to "de-eschatologize" current events; see my "Apocalypse and Redemption," parts 2 and 3.

20. In so doing, he likewise de-eschatologizes Paul's letter, shifting the emphasis away from its crescendo in chap. 11, the summation of salvation history, to the self-doubts of the introspective individual, whom Augustine identifies, after 418, with Paul himself (*Contra ii epp. Pelagianorum* 1.8.13-14). I discuss this refocusing, and its lingering effect on Pauline studies, in "Paul and Augustine: Conversion Narratives, Orthodox Traditions, and the Retrospective Self," *JTS* n.s. 37 (1986): 3-34, esp. 25-28.

21. "Our spiritual body [1 Cor. 15] is called 'spiritual' because it will be subject to

formed, but it will be corporeal. It will even have gender: women, too, shall as women be raised.[22]

But this raised and morally perfected body will not dwell on a transformed earth. Defying both ancient Christian tradition and contemporary scientific thinking, Augustine insists that these corporeal bodies will dwell in the heavens: the Kingdom of God will *not* come on earth. Apocalyptic traditions of agricultural and human fecundity and social harmony thus drop out of Augustine's picture: no food, sex, or social relations in the Kingdom. His saved individuals in their perfected, thirty-three-year-old's bodies stand in comradely contemplation of the beatific vision of God.

For both Paul and Augustine, then, salvation involves the body. But I take Paul's spiritual body as undergoing a transformation of substance, from flesh to something else. Augustine's, as we have just seen, moves from "fleshly" flesh to "spiritual" flesh, but corporeality remains. On this point more classically Pharisaic than was Paul himself, Augustine insists that body and soul are made by God with such an appetite for each other that the soul without the body is imperfect, less than whole: the soul without the body, he argues, cannot see God.[23]

Augustine, further, must come to terms with the Christian tradition of the double resurrection, and in so doing allows for an earthly redemption of "bodies" in the Church through baptism, reserving final redemption for heaven. The similar Jewish distinction between the messianic age and the *olam ha-ba* may stand behind Paul's depiction — the ἐκκλησία, life in the Spirit, standing for the earthly messianic age; life after the Parousia, for nonterrestrial absolute redemption — but we lack the evidence to push this very far.[24] Neither system has in view, as did ancient prophets and Christian millenarian texts, any sustained political commentary. This may be simple prudence; but it seems to me that, for both, the final location of the saved

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the Spirit, vivified by the Spirit alone. But it will still have corporeal substance" (*De gen. ad litt.* 7.7.18; cf. 35.68, quoted in n. 23 below); "The spiritual body will be subject to the Spirit; but it will be flesh, not spirit" (*Civ. Dei* 22.21, insisting on the raised body's corporeality). Augustine of course is not dealing with a tabula rasa: fleshly resurrection had been a traditional aspect of "orthodox" Christianity for centuries. What interests us here is how he manages to de-couple the idea from millenarianism.

22. Women will be raised as women, *Civ. Dei* 22.17; against scientific arguments on the weight of the elements telling against physical bodies dwelling in the heavens, see 22.4; 22.11; on physical perfection and the age of those raised, see 22.15.

23. "The soul possesses a kind of natural appetite for managing the body. By reason of this appetite it is somehow hindered from going on with all its force to the highest heaven so long as it is *not* joined with the body, for it is in managing the body that this appetite is satisfied" (*De gen. ad litt.* 12.35.68).

24. Davies too suggests this correlation, *Paul,* 308-9.

in heaven turns their concern away from earth and the relatively narrow compass of contemporary politics.

But despite the strong verticality of their respective systems — a pull they come into, I have argued, through their picture of the universe — both men stress, as does the Bible itself, that God redeems as a historical act.[25] Paul insisted, on the basis of his experience of the Risen Christ, that he knew "how late the hour [was]," how redemption was "nearer to us now than when we first believed" (Rom. 13:11). Three hundred and fifty years later, Augustine insisted with like urgency that that hour was unknowable, and probably far off: nothing — whether Christ's resurrection, current catastrophes, or universal chronology — reveals the hour of history's clock. But Christ's resurrection does drive him, as it drove Paul, to assert that the believer's body will likewise be redeemed. Whether changed substantially or morally, then, the flesh's transformation will mark for both the hour of historical redemption.

25. See Wedderburn's comments on the relation of eschatology, spirit, and resurrection, in *Baptism,* 233, 269.