

THE BOOK OF RULES OF TYCONIUS: AN INTRODUCTION
AND TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY

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THE BOOK OF RULES OF TYCONIUS

Before everything else that occurs to me, I considered it necessary to write a little rule book¹ and to make, as it were, keys and windows for the secrets of the law.² 1

Note: The numbers in the right hand margin are page references to the Latin text of The Book of Rules of Tyconius, ed. F. C. Burkitt, Vol. III, No. 1, "Texts and Studies," ed. J. Armitage Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894), pp. 1-85.

¹ "Libellum regularem." As used here, "libellum" suggests the idea of modesty, as well as, brevity. "Regularem" means "according to rule," or "to regulate." Thus, this is intended as a handbook, a manual of rules. Tyconius conceived of his task as that of writing rules (in the sense of a canon) for the purpose of regulating how one may do hermeneutics. He sought to reveal the basic framework on which the Scriptures had been written. His basic premise was that the entire Old Testament was a unified book of prophecy about Christ and His Church, and he sought to discern the basic principles, or rules, according to which God directed the Scriptures to be written. As he said many times over, Tyconius discovered that these rules were ~~deeply~~ embedded in the Scriptures, both in the sense that they were fundamental to the Scriptures and in the sense that they were discerned only with laborious difficulty. In other words, Tyconius believed that he was revealing those inherent rules, or principles, upon which the Scriptures were written and with which one properly interprets what has been written.

² "Legis." This is a general reference to the Old Testament. Also, at various points throughout the Rules Tyconius distinguished between "law," referring to the first five books of the Old Testament, and "prophets," referring to all other Old Testament books. (One important exception, however, is the use of "law" in Rule III where it is contrasted with "promise"; see Rule III, fn. 1.) Tyconius firmly believed in an unbroken continuity between the Old and New Testaments, and with these Rules he sought to demonstrate that every part of the Scriptures is subject to a christological interpretation.

For there are certain mystical³ rules which hold the secrets of the whole law and make visible the treasures of the truth which to some are invisible.⁴ If the system of these rules should be accepted, without prejudice,⁵ as we communicate it, certain doors will be opened and the obscure things will be brought to light; so that anyone walking through the immense forest of prophecy⁶ with these rules, led in some measure in the paths of light, may be guarded from error.⁷

Now, the rules are these:

I. The Lord and His Body

II. The Bipartite Body of the Lord

III. Promises and Law

³By "mystical" (mysticæ) Tyconius meant "typological-allegorical."

⁴"... et veritatis thesauros aliquibus invisibilis faciunt."

⁵Tyconius was probably appealing to both the Catholics, since he was a Donatist, and the Donatists, since the Rules express a Catholic ecclesiology.

⁶"prophetiae." This is another general reference to the Old Testament. Indeed, Tyconius was concerned mostly with Old Testament prophecies and especially with that "immense forest" of material that had been ignored by Church. He offered these Rules as "paths of light" through the unchartered and neglected passages of Scripture which the Church heretofore had been unable to interpret profitably.

⁷The "error" was that of inaccurate or unorthodox interpretations of the Scriptures. (The Donatists were schismatics, not heretics; and, therefore, Tyconius defended the orthodox faith which he held in common with the Catholics. Moreover, he even attempted to correct the belief and practice of his fellow Donatists; see Rule VI, fns. 1, 15, 16.)

- IV. Species and Genus
- V. Time-Periods
- VI. Recapitulation
- VII. The Devil and His Body⁸

⁸Wherever possible and practical the translation has conformed to, or at least reflects, the format, style and methods of capitalization and number writing found in the Latin text.

I. THE LORD AND HIS BODY

By reason alone one can discern whether Scripture 1
says that the Lord is his body, that is, the Church, since
reason persuades what applies to him or claims that by its
force, such is the power of truth. Otherwise, Scripture
applies to one person what these two different functions
teach to be two persons.¹ 2

Thus, it says through Isaiah: "He takes away our
sins and he suffers for us, he was wounded on account of

¹ "Dominum eiusne corpus, id est Ecclesiam, Scriptura loquatur, sola ratio discernit, dum quid cui conveniat persuadet vel quia tanta est vis veritatis extorquet. Alias una persona convenitur quam duplicem esse diversa duorum officia edocent." "Sola ratio" is actually the subject of the first sentence and, logically, of the paragraph. However, in the second sentence "una persona convenitur" (literally, "'n one person agrees") makes sense only if "Scriptura," ather than "ratio," is understood as the antecedent. Also, "diversa duorum officia edocent" has no antecedent and, thus, must be interpreted by what follows. The content of this first Rule indicates that Tyconius understood the Church to be literally the body of Christ. Thus, "diversa duorum officia" would seem to refer to the differences between Christ in the "function" of the eternal Logos and Christ in the "function" of his body, the Church. Tyconius held strongly to this concept of the Church as the continuing, earthly presence of Christ in this world. The Church is a continuation and manifestation of the Incarnation. For Tyconius, the risen Christ dwells in the individual believers who compose the Church. Therefore, the Church is the presence of Christ in this world. So, in this paragraph Tyconius stated his Rule that those Scriptural passages which apply to Christ may apply as well to the Church, and "by reason alone" one can determine whether a passage more fittingly applies to the eternal Logos or to Christ's earthly presence, the Church.

our crimes, and God delivered him up for our sins,² and other things which apply to the Lord that are celebrated by the mouth of the whole Church. Moreover, it follows and says concerning this same one: "And God wishes to purge him by stripes and God wishes to take away his soul by grief, to reveal the light to him and to fashion him in wisdom."³ Was it to him whom "he delivered up for our sins that he wishes to show the light" and "to fashion him in wisdom," since he himself is the light and wisdom of God, and not to his body? Therefore, it is shown by reason alone that it can be seen when it makes a transition from the head to the body.⁴

Daniel, also, says that "the stone cut from the mountain" both "trampled" upon the body of the kingdoms of the world and that the Lord "ground them into dust," but "a mountain was made and" its body "filled the whole world."⁵

² See Isa. 53:4-6 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion III:17, IV:8, 21; Matt. 8:17; I Peter 2:24-25). Tyconius viewed the passage as a reference to Christ, the Logos.

³ See Isa. 53:10-11; this reading differs from the Vulgate. Tyconius interpreted these verses as a reference to the Church, Christ's body.

⁴ The "head" refers to Christ, the "body" to the Church. Hereafter, Christ will be understood as the eternal Logos, who is the "head" of His "body," the Church.

⁵ See Dan. 2:34-35. Tyconius understood the passage to be both a prophecy of the Second Advent (which is consistent with the positions of Irenaeus Against Heresies XXI:7; Tertullian An Answer to the Jews III, XIV, Against Marcion III:7; and Hippolytus Treatise on Christ and Anti-Christ 26) and a prophecy concerning the Church in the time period prior to the Second Advent. The Second Advent is an

For it is not--just as some say in contempt of the kingdom of God and the invincible heredity of Christ, which I do not speak without sorrow--that the Lord did not occupy the whole world with the power and fullness of his body. For they say that the world was filled with that mountain, because it is permitted for a Christian to make an offering, which formerly was not allowed except in Zion, in every place. If it is so, there was no need to say that the mountain was made from stone and that the world began to grow by increments. For the Lord our Christ "had this glory before the foundation of the world"⁶ and since in him God's son became man, not little by little as a stone,⁷ but at one time he received all power in heaven and in earth. Moreover, "a great mountain was made"⁸ with the growing stone and it covered the whole world by growing. But if he had filled the whole earth with power and not with his body, 3

important component of the eschatological perspective in the Book of Rules. Actually, Tyconius held a double interpretation of the Second Advent: he believed that Christ was going to come again at the Eschaton, and he held that Christ was always coming again to earth in the "birth" of each new Christian into the Kingdom of God. Thus, in this sense the Second Advent is occurring even now, but on an individual basis. However, the final coming of the Lord, commonly thought of as the Second Coming, will be a world-encompassing event, the Eschaton.

⁶ See John 17:5, 24. Tyconius here was making his distinction between the pre-existing Logos, which he called Christ, and the earthly Christ, which he called the Church.

⁷ It was a belief among the ancients that small "seeds" of sand grew into pebbles, rocks and stones.

⁸ Dan. 2:35. Tyconius applied this to the Church.

then he would not be compared with the stone. Power is an intangible thing, but a stone is a tangible body. Not only is it manifested by reason that the body, not the head, grows, but it is also confirmed by apostolic authority: "We grow," he says, "in every way into him who is the head, Christ, from whom the whole body is joined and tied together by every joint subordinated in the measure of each one and each part grows as the body works in building up itself."⁹ And again: "Not holding to the head, from whom the whole body, joined together and subordinated by joints and ligaments, grows by the increase from God."¹⁰ Therefore, not the head, which is the same from the beginning, but the body grows from the head.

Let us return to the proposition. It is written concerning the Lord and his body--which must be discerned by whatever agrees with reason--: "He charged his angels concerning you that they guard you in all your ways and that in their hands they carry you, lest you strike your foot against a stone. You will walk upon a viper and a lizard and you will tread under foot the lion and the serpent. Because he put his hope in me I will rescue him; I shall protect him because he knows my name. He will call

⁹Eph. 4:15-16 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:8). Tyconius stressed the Pauline concept of the organic unity of Christ and His Church in order to demonstrate the Rule that what applies to Christ may apply to His body.

¹⁰Col. 2:19 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:19).

upon me and I shall hear him, since I am with him in his tribulation, I will rescue him and I will glorify him. I will add to him length of days and I will demonstrate to him my salvation."¹¹ Did God show his salvation to him about whom "he charged his angels" with obedience, and not to his body?

Once again: "He placed upon me a crown like a bridegroom, and he adorned me with jewels like a bride."¹² The sex of both the bridegroom and the bride he called one body, but what applies to the Lord and what applies to the Church is recognized by reason. And the Lord says the same thing in the Revelation: "I am the bridegroom and the bride."¹³ And once more: "They went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride."¹⁴

And again, it is declared by Isaiah that what applies to the head and what applies to the body must be distinguished by reason:¹⁵ "Thus says the Lord to Christ my Lord whose right hand I grasped in order that the

¹¹Psalm 91:11-16 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion IV:24, Against Praxeas I; Matt. 4:6; Luke 4:10, 10:19).

¹²Isa. 61:10. The "bridegroom," the male, is viewed throughout by Tyconius as a reference to Christ. The "bride," the female, always refers to the Church, Christ's body.

¹³Rev. 22:16-17.

¹⁴Matt. 25:1. Perhaps, Tyconius also had in mind Eph. 5:21-33.

¹⁵See Rule VII, fn. 3.

Gentiles might hear him"--it follows and says what does not apply except to the body--"and I will give you hidden treasures and invisible things reveal to you, that you may know that I who call your name am the Lord, the God of Israel, on account of Jacob my servant and Israel my elect."¹⁶ For on account of the testaments which he established with the fathers in order that he be known, God revealed the invisible treasures to the body of Christ, "which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has it ascended into the heart of man,"¹⁷ but not to the hardened man who is not in the body of Christ.¹⁸ "However, God revealed it through his Spirit"¹⁹ to the Church. These things are seen a little more easily, sometimes, when reason is applied, although this too is by God's grace.

¹⁶ Isa. 45:1, 3-4 (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews VIII, Against Marcion IV:25, V:6, 14, Against Praxeas XI, XXVIII).

¹⁷ I Cor. 2:9.

¹⁸ "Propter testamenta enim quae dispositum patribus ad cognoscendum se Deus aperit corpori Christi thesauros invisibilis, . . . , sed obdurati qui non est in corpore Christi." The idea is that those who have the eyes of faith can see the "invisible treasures," (see below, fn. 19).

¹⁹ I Cor. 2:10. Clearly, Tyconius kept to a doctrine of special revelation. He believed that only those within the household of faith, the Church, the custodian of the aggregate revelations, were enabled by God through grace to rightly interpret and understand the disclosure. This, also, meant that grace must aid the believer's reason; for the formula, "by reason alone," does not exclude faith or grace, but it rejects any esoteric, fabricated or secret system of interpretation.

There are other things about which reason of this kind is less clear as to whether the saying applies directly to the Lord or to his body; consequently, they can be seen by the singular and greater grace of God. Thus, it says in the Gospel: "Henceforth, you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming on the clouds of heaven."²⁰ In another place it says that no one will see him coming on the clouds of heaven, except on the very last day: "All the nations of the world will mourn and then they will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven."²¹ However, it is necessary that both happen; but first is the advent of the body, that is, the Church, immediately coming in the same invisible glory, then the advent of the head, that is, the Lord, in manifest glory. For if one should say, "Now, you will see him coming," the advent would have to be understood to be of the body alone. If, however, it is said, "You will"²² see," then the advent would have to be understood of the head. But now it is said, "Henceforth, you will see him coming," since he comes continually in the birth of his body and in the glory of

²⁰ Matt. 26:64. Tyconius wanted to establish for the sake of his thesis that the Second Advent had not occurred. Therefore, until it does occur, that is, until Christ does return to earth, the references to Christ are to be applied, in accordance with this Rule, to Christ's body (see above, fn. 5).

²¹ Matt. 24:30 (cf. Dan. 7:13).

²² Italics not in the original.

similar sufferings.²³ For if the reborn are made members of Christ and the members form the body of Christ, it is Christ who comes, since the nativity is the advent, just as it is written: "He illuminates every man coming into this world."²⁴ And again: "A generation comes and a generation goes."²⁵ And again: "As you have heard that the anti-christ is coming."²⁶ Again, concerning that same body: "For if he who comes preaches another Jesus."²⁷ Wherefore, when the Lord was asked concerning the sign of his advent, he, who can be imitated by an enemy body with signs and prodigies, began to debate concerning his advent. "Beware,"

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²³ Throughout this paragraph Tyconius interchanged "coming" ("venientem"), which is the idea of the act or the process of to come, and "advent" ("adventus"), which is the idea of arrival, of reaching the final destination, in order to play upon the Second Advent and the idea that the growth of the Church, Christ's body, is a kind of advent. If Christ is His body, as new members are "born" into the Church it is Christ who "comes continually ("jugiter") in the birth of his body." Thus, the growth of the Church is a kind of Second Advent, but it is not the final return of Christ.

²⁴ John 1:9 (cf. Isa. 49:6^b). Tyconius used this passage both to prove that the Second Advent had not occurred and, conversely, to show how the growing Church (body) is also Christ coming into the world. He played upon the association of the birth of Jesus with the spiritual birth, or regeneration, of the members who make up the body of Christ.

²⁵ Eccles. 1:4. That is, the generations will come and go until the Second Advent.

²⁶ I John 2:18. The antichrist is to come before the Second Advent.

²⁷ II Cor. 11:4. This is a sign which indicates that the antichrist is at work, and, therefore, that the Second Advent is near.

he said, "lest someone lead you astray; for many will come in my name,"²⁸ that is, in the name of my body. However, at the final coming of the Lord, that is, the total consummation and manifestation of his coming, no one, as some think, will be deceived. But we leave the fuller explanation of these things to their proper place.

Thus, it will not be absurd that we wish the whole body to be understood from one, that we wish the Son of Man to be understood as the Church; because the Church, that is, the sons of God gathered into one body, are called the Son of God, are called one man, are even called God,²⁹ just as by the apostle: "Who is called God above everything that is or what is worshipped"--"who is called God" is the Church, but "what is worshipped" is the highest God--"so that in the temple of God he may sit proclaiming himself that he is God,"³⁰ that is, that he is the Church. If it

²⁸ Matt. 24:4. Tyconius appealed to the authority of Christ in order to prove that Christ has not returned; for, as He says, no one will be deceived about the "total consummation and manifestation of his coming." Thus, as Tyconius concluded, the prophecies regarding Christ in this present world apply to Christ's presence in His Church.

²⁹ "... quoniam Ecclesia, id est filii Dei redacti in unum corpus, dicti sunt filius Dei, dicti unus homo, dicti etiam Deus." The subject is Ecclesia, but the verbs, sunt, are plural, reflecting filii Dei. Tyconius argued that the one may represent the many, but he illustrated this by showing the reverse, i.e., the "sons of God" are in "one body," are called variously, "Son of God," "one man," "God."

³⁰ II Thess. 2:4 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:16). Paul was speaking expressly about the "son of perdition" (v. 3), i.e., the antichrist. Tyconius adapted the passage to explain how Christ is present in the Church;

were to say, "He will sit in the temple of God proclaiming himself," it would mean that he is the temple of God, or: he sits in God "proclaiming himself that he is God." But such an understanding would obscure the meaning with synonyms.

Daniel says concerning the last king that "in God his place will be glorified,"³¹ that is, will be made famous; as it were, it will provide a Church in the place of the Church, "in the holy place, an abomination of desolation"³² in God, that is, in the Church. And the Lord calls all the people "bride" and "sister,"³³ and the apostle calls all people "holy virgin" and he calls the opposing body³⁴ "the man of sin."³⁵ And David calls the

while at the same time, he sought to advance his argument that the Second Advent has not occurred because the anti-christ is still seeking to set himself up in the place of God. Tyconius was playing upon the idea that only Christ has the right to sit in the temple of God and proclaim himself God. Christ has denied himself this right, while the antichrist has been struggling to claim it.

³¹ See Dan. 11:36, 38. The "last king" refers to the antichrist, whose place in the Church will be "an abomination of desolation."

³² See Dan. 11:31; Matt. 24:15. "All the people" is a reference to the Church.

³³ Song of Sol. 5:1. The terms "bride" and "sister" were considered by Tyconius as "keys" which indicate that the passage refers to the Church.

³⁴ The "opposing body" is a reference to the anti-christ. Tyconius attempted to draw an analogy between Christ and His body and the antichrist and his body. Thus, the term, "opposing body," is a relative term, depending upon which of the two "bodies" is the subject (see Rule VII: "The Devil and His Body").

³⁵ II Cor. 11:2; II Thess. 2:3 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:12, 16).

whole Church "Christ:" "Showing compassion to his anointed,³⁶ David, and to his seed forever."³⁷ And the apostle Paul calls the body of Christ "Christ," saying: "For just as the body is one but has many members (but all the members of the one body, although they are many, are one body), so also is Christ,"³⁸ that is, the body of Christ which is the Church. Again: "I rejoice in my sufferings for you and I am completing what are lacking of the afflictions of Christ,"³⁹ that is, of the Church. For nothing was lacking in the sufferings of Christ, since "it is sufficient for the disciple to be like the master."⁴⁰ So, therefore, we will understand "the advent of Christ"⁴¹ according to these passages. We recognize that where God speaks in this way in Exodus that all the sons of God are

³⁶The word used is "Christo" (anointed); thus, the identification of (Jesus) "Christum" and "Christo suo David."

³⁷Psalm 18:50, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 17:51. Tyconius assumed that David wrote this Psalm and, therefore, has David speaking objectively about himself.

³⁸I Cor. 12:12 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:8).

³⁹Col. 1:24 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:19).

⁴⁰See Matt. 10:25. This passage reports that Jesus warned his disciples that they, the servants, will be more abused than he, the master. Tyconius cited this to explain Paul's statement in Col. 1:24; and, thus, he sought to emphasize how close is the connection between Christ and the Church, in order to convince the reader that those Scripture passages which apply to Christ may apply equally to the body.

⁴¹See I Thess. 2:19. "Accipimus" is translated here as "we will understand," in the sense of gathering information.

one son and that all the first-born of Egypt are one first-born. He says: "Say to Pharaoh, Thus says the Lord, Israel is my first-born son. Moreover, I said, Release the people that they might serve me; however, you did not release the people. Behold, therefore, I kill your first-born son."⁴² And David speaks of the vineyard of the Lord as one son, thus: "O God of powers, turn about. Look down from heaven and see. Visit your vineyard, and complete that which your right hand has planted and that which you made strong for yourself in your son."⁴³

And the apostle calls that one who was mixed with the son of God "son of God:" "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God, which previously he had promised through his prophets in the holy scriptures concerning his son, who was made to him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined the son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness, by reason of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead."⁴⁴ If he were speaking "concerning his son by reason of the resurrection from the

⁴²Exod. 4:22-23.

⁴³Psalm 80:14-15, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 79:15-16. Tyconius used the psalmist's figurative language: in v. 8, the psalmist says that God brought a "vine out of Egypt," referring to the Exodus event. "Son" and "vine," or "vineyard," refer to the Children of Israel.

⁴⁴Rom. 1:1-4. In the discussion which follows, Tyconius argued that this passage applies to the Church, i.e., Christ in His body.

dead" he would reveal one son: now, however, he speaks "concerning his son by reason of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead." But he more clearly revealed "who was made the son of God by reason of the resurrection of Christ," speaking "concerning the son who made to him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined the son of God." However, our Lord is not the predestined son of God (because he is God and is the co-equal of the Father) who is that from which he is born, but he to whom, according to Luke, he says at the baptism: "You are my son, today I have begotten you."⁴⁵ Is it not "he who from the seed of David" was mixed "with the original spirit"⁴⁶ and himself "was made the son of God by reason of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ," that is, when the seed of David arose in Christ, about whom David himself says: "Thus says the Lord to my Lord"?⁴⁷ And so, the two were made one flesh. "The word was made flesh" and the flesh is God, because we are "born not from

⁴⁵Luke 3:22; this reading is not in the Vulgate, but a note in the Oxford Annotated Bible indicates that "other ancient authorities" show this reading. Tyconius understood "the son who was born . . . the son of God," and "you are my son, today I have begotten you" to apply to the body of Christ, the Church. Also, the statement which begins, "our Lord is not . . .," could possibly be an anti-Arian reaction.

⁴⁶Psalm 51:12, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 50:14. Tyconius' text reads "principali Spiritui," the Vulgate based on the LXX reads "spiritu principali," and the Vulgate based on the Hebrew reads "spiritu potenti."

⁴⁷Psalm 110:1 (cf. Isa. 45:1).

blood but from God."⁴⁸ The apostle says: "The two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; however, I speak in regard to Christ and the Church."⁴⁹ For indeed, God promised one seed to Abraham, in order that however many are united with Christ might be one in Christ, just as the Apostle says: "You are all one in Christ Jesus. And, if you are one in Christ Jesus, you are Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise."⁵⁰ However, there is a difference between "you are one thing" and "you are one person." As often as one is united voluntarily to the other, they are "one thing," as the Lord says: "I and the father are one."⁵¹ However, as often as the two are united corporeally and are solidified in one flesh, they are "one person."

Accordingly, the body in its head is the son of God, and God in his body is the Son of Man, who daily comes to be born and "grows into the holy temple of God."⁵² For the temple is bipartite, each part of which is being destroyed, although it is built out of great stones, and in it "a

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⁴⁸ John 1:14, 13 (cf. Tertullian On the Flesh of Christ XVIII, XX, XXIV, Against Praxeas XV, XX, XXVI).

⁴⁹ Eph. 5:31-32 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion III:5, V:18).

⁵⁰ Gal. 3:28-29.

⁵¹ John 10:30 (cf. Tertullian Against Praxeas VIII, XX, XXIV, XXV).

⁵² See Eph. 2:21.

stone will not be left upon a stone."⁵³ The immediate advent of this one to us must be watched out for, "until from the midst"⁵⁴ the Church may come forth.

⁵³See Matt. 24:2. Tyconius began by speaking of the Church as the "holy temple." Then, he identified (or confused) the "holy temple" with the temple building in Jerusalem to which Jesus referred when he predicted the destruction of Jerusalem. For Tyconius, the Church is bipartite (see Rule II: "The Bipartite Body of the Lord"), that is, the Church is made up of true and false members, or "wheat and weeds." Thus, Tyconius interpreted Matt. 24:2 as a prophecy forewarning the destruction of the false members of the "holy temple."

⁵⁴See II Thess. 2:7. This is, until the Church is clearly distinguished from the body of the antichrist.

This strong eschatological concern is prominent throughout the Book of Rules. Tyconius clearly saw Christ and His Church pitted against the forces of the devil in a struggle to the death. The Church was advised to keep the faith; for the Eschaton was to occur at any moment (see Rule V, fns. 57, 61).

II. THE BIPARTITE BODY OF THE LORD

A rule about the bipartite body¹ of the Lord is much more necessary than the rule about the Lord and His body,² and must be noted by us so much more diligently and kept in mind throughout all Scripture. For just as when it was said above that the transition from the head to the body may be seen by reason alone; so the transition from one part of the body to another part, from the right side to the left side, or from the left side to the right side, passing and returning, also may be seen by reason alone, as is clear from the preceding chapter.³

¹"Bipertiti" (bipartito). Tyconius believed that the body of Christ was bipartite, i.e., composed of both "true" and "false" members, as in the biblical analogy of the "wheat and weeds" growing together (see Matt. 13:24-30, 36-43). Thus, the function of this Rule is to instruct the reader in how to make a further distinction, beyond that found in Rule I, as to what applies to the genuine members of the Church and what applies to the false members who, although visibly in the Church, are not members of the spiritual body of Christ. Such a distinction was especially pertinent to the Catholic-Doratist controversy concerning the question of the "lapsed."

²Since the comparative "multo necessarior" ("much more necessary") is used without an antecedent, one must assume, as the translation reflects, that the comparison is with Rule I. In fact, Rule II is a subtopic of Rule I.

³The appeal here is actually to the reader's "reason" (see Rule I, fn. 1). By "reason" Tyconius meant a kind of common sense logic which is guided, illuminated and led by God's grace. Only believers, of course, would be granted this grace to aid their reason. Tyconius wanted to use "reason" here to resolve the apparent contradiction that the Church is both good and evil, and he claimed that his Rule was logical and reasonable to the man of faith (see Rule I, fn. 19).

For while God says to the one body: "Invisible treasures I will reveal to you that you may recognize that I am the Lord and I choose you,"⁴ he adds also: "But you did not recognize me, that I am God and that beside me there is no God, and you were ignorant of me."⁵ Although he addresses one body, do these two statements—"invisible treasures I will reveal to you that you may recognize on account of my servant Jacob that I am God,"⁶ and "nevertheless you did not recognize me"—agree?⁷ In the same

⁴ See Isa. 45:3. Tyconius interpreted the text to mean that God would reveal hidden treasures to His chosen people (which is similar to the interpretations of Clement of Alexandria The Instructor III:12, The Stromata V:4, 10; Origen De Principiis IV:1; Tertullian Against Marcion IV:25, V:6, 14). Also, Tyconius viewed the Church as the end-product, so to speak, of God's plan of salvation as revealed throughout the Old Testament and culminating in Jesus Christ. Therefore, he understood the Old Testament references to "covenant people," or the "chosen," or "elect," or "blessed," etc., as references to the Church, with which was established a "new" covenant through Jesus Christ.

⁵ Isa. 45:4-5 (cf. Tertullian On the Flesh of Christ XXIV, Against Praxeas XVIII, XX). Tyconius understood these two verses as references to the Church, but he seemingly could not believe that those chosen of God would be ignorant of Him, especially not after the revelation of that election. Therefore, he posed the question which follows.

⁶ See Isa. 45:3-4. Again, he cited v. 3, but more fully, including, "on account of my servant Jacob," which picks up the theme of the covenant people.

⁷ "... in unam mentem covenit," literally, "in one mind (sense) come together (agree)." The purpose of the question is to condition the reader to the thought that this "one body" may have internal divisions. The question might just as well have been posed as, "Does God make promises to those who do not know of His existence; and, yet, is He not speaking to the same body? Tyconius could

sense,⁸ also, did not Jacob receive what God promised?⁹ Or do "nevertheless you did not recognize me," and "you were ignorant of me" agree? For "you were ignorant" is said only to him who now knows; but "you did not recognize" is said to one who, although he may have been called in order that he might recognize and, visibly, be of the same body, draws "near to God with his lips but with his heart he is far removed."¹⁰ To this one he says, "but you did not recognize me."¹¹

not admit the paradox. Rather, "by reason alone," he resolved the issue by discerning a division within this one body of those who do recognize God and the invisible treasures and of those who do not. For Tyconius, the body of Christ could not be composed of opposites, although the earthly Church could be.

⁸"In eandem," fem. sing., must refer back to "unam mentem." Again, assuming the reference, "mentem" is translated as "sense."

⁹That is, God made a promise to Jacob which Jacob both knew and received from God. Thus, Tyconius asked, how can one understand, or make sense of, the following verse which seems to indicate that Jacob did not recognize God?

¹⁰See Isa. 29:13 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion IV:12, 17, 41, V:11, 14). Tyconius saw a connection between this verse and Isa. 45:3-5, and he interpreted both passages to apply to the one body (of Christ), the Church. The statement concerning those who are "visibly . . . of the same body" refers to the false members who are in the Church but who "do not recognize God."

¹¹That is, although this statement is made to the Church, it applies only to the false members.

This concludes the first argument of Rule II which seeks to demonstrate the bipartite nature of the body of Christ. For Tyconius, negative statements found in those biblical passages which apply to the Church (according to Rule I) cannot apply to the members who have been chosen and are truly belonging to the body of Christ. Thus, since the statements obviously are directed to the "one body,"

Again: "I shall lead the blind in a way that they did not know, and they shall tread narrow paths which they did not know, and I will turn their darkness into light and the crooked ways into straight ways. I shall keep these words and I will not forsake these people. However, these very ones have been turned back."¹² He said, "I will not forsake" those same ones who have been turned back, didn't he, and not a part of them?¹³

And again, the Lord says to Jacob: "Do not be afraid, because I am with you. From the East I will bring your seed and from the West I will gather you. I will say to the North, Bring!, and to the South, Do not withhold! Bring my sons from the remote places of the earth and my daughters from the end of the earth, all those who call my name. For in my glory I created them and fashioned and

and since such negative statements could not apply to the redeemed of God, Tyconius had to conclude that this body is bipartite. Therefore, the negatives are directed at those whom God can see as being false but whom the world sees as being within the Church.

¹² Isa. 42:16-17. Burkitt noted that he has reconstructed this biblical quotation from Augustine's quotation of the Rules as exegeted by Eugippius (Burkitt, p. 9, l. 4). Of concern here is the statement, "ipsi autem conversi sunt retro," since it is a slight but significant variation from the Vulgate (and the RSV). Perhaps, the reconstruction is faulty, but it is more probable, in view of the context, that Tyconius himself altered the passage with the inclusion of "ipse," thereby forcing v. 17 to refer to those mentioned in v. 16.

¹³ The question draws attention to the seemingly contrary statements made about this one, undivided group of people (see above, fn. 11).

made them¹⁴ and produced a blind people, and their eyes are like blind eyes and they have deaf ears."¹⁵ Are those whom he prepared in his glory the same ones who are blind and deaf?¹⁶

And again: "At first, your fathers and their princes committed evil deeds against me and your princes defiled my sanctuary, and I gave Jacob up to utter destruction and Israel to reviling. Now hear me Jacob, my son, and Israel whom I have elected."¹⁷ He shows that he had given up Jacob to be destroyed and Israel whom he did not elect to be accursed.¹⁸

Again: "I formed you as my child, you are my Israel, do not forget me. For, behold, I destroyed your

¹⁴"Illum . . . illum," normally would be translated as "him" in both instances. However, Jacob, or his seed, is the antecedent. The context speaks of Jacob's seed in the plural, i.e., "sons" and "daughters," which better translates as "them" rather than "him."

¹⁵ Isa. 43:5-8.

¹⁶Tyconius was asking how one and the same people can be both made in the "glory" of God and be "blind" and "deaf" to the presence of God--again, Tyconius's problem of "contrary statements" (see above, fn. 13).

¹⁷In this passage, God seemingly has allowed evil to befall His chosen people. Tyconius understood it as a reference to the Church, but he thought it applied only to those who were false members of the body. The implication is clear: God would not destroy His own son whom He also elected. Therefore, "by reason alone" it is obvious that God is destroying those who are false members of the covenant body.

¹⁸Tyconius explained that the ones whom God did not elect but who are a part of Jacob, or Israel, are the ones given up to be destroyed and to be accursed--not those who are genuine members.

wild deeds like a cloud and your sins like a rain storm.
 Return to me and I shall redeem you."¹⁹ Whose sins did he destroy? Was it the one to whom he says, "you are mine," and then, lest he forget his own, he reminds him again? Was it to this one that he says "return to me"? Or, is it somebody else's sins that are destroyed before he is converted?²⁰

And again: "I know that you, you reprobate, will be condemned. On account of my name I will show to you my worthiness and I will place upon you my magnificence."²¹ Did he show his worthiness to the reprobate and place his magnificence upon him?²²

And again: "Neither men nor angels, but he himself preserved them because he loved them and spared them; he 10 redeemed them and took them up and exalted them forever:

¹⁹ Isa. 44:21-22. Again, Tyconius resolved the issue of contrary statements by understanding the passage to apply to two distinct groups within the body of Israel.

²⁰ Truly, one's own sins, not "somebody else's sins," are destroyed when one is converted. Thus, Tyconius perceived that on the one hand God says the sins are forgotten, while on the other hand God asks this same body to return in order that it might be redeemed. "By reason alone," Tyconius was forced to conclude that there must be two groups within this one people.

²¹ Burkitt identified this scripture quotation as Isa. 48:8-9; but Tyconius's text only faintly reports the passage as recorded in the Vulgate (and the RSV).

²² This is a rhetorical question. It points out the paradox of the reprobate being both condemned and blessed. The question also suggests that in order to understand this paradox one must perceive that two different aspects of this one body are being addressed simultaneously.

yet these same ones became obstinate and exasperated the Holy Spirit.²³ Did he exalt forever those who at that time became obstinate or who exasperated the Holy Spirit?²⁴

And again, God clearly promises health and sickness to the one body, saying: "Jerusalem, city of splendor, whose tents will not be displaced, neither will your reed tabernacles ever be moved, nor will its ropes be broken."²⁵ And he adds: "Your ropes have been broken because the mast of your ship was no good, your sails stretched out and the insignia will not rise until it is handed over to perdition."²⁶

And again, briefly, the body of Christ is shown to

²³ Isa. 63:9-10 (cf. Tertullian *Against Marcion* IV:22, On the Flesh of Christ XIV); the Latinity of Tyconius's citation differs somewhat from that of the Vulgate, but the meaning is essentially the same.

²⁴ "By reason alone," it seemed obvious to Tyconius that God would not exalt those who became obstinate. Therefore, the body must be bipartite.

The thrust of this second argument in Rule II is to teach the reader to observe that when the Scriptures address the covenant people in negative terms, the Scriptures actually are addressing the unredeemed element within this body. Such conflicting, or paradoxical, statements were evidence for Tyconius of the bipartite nature of the Lord's body and were, therefore, "keys" which help the reader discern the transition "from one part of the body to another part, from the right side to the left side, or from the left side to the right side, passing and returning."

²⁵ Isa. 33:20.

²⁶ See Isa. 33:23; this reading differs from the Vulgate. Since this verse seems to contradict v. 20, cited above, Tyconius concluded that it applied to the unredeemed who dwell in Jerusalem.

be bipartite: "I am dark and beautiful."²⁷ For let it not be that the Church, "which has neither spot nor wrinkle,"²⁸ which the Lord cleansed himself with his blood, be partially dark, except the part on the left side by which "the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles."²⁹ Otherwise, it is all beautiful, just as he says: "you are all beautiful, and nothing in you is reprehensible."³⁰ For truly, he tells why it is dark and beautiful: "As the tent of Kedar, so the leather tent of Solomon."³¹ He shows two tents, one the king's and the other the slave's: both,

²⁷ Song of Sol. 1:5. Tyconius could not accept "fusca" (dark) as applying to the body of Christ, unless the word was understood as a reference to the unredeemed who are within the visible Church.

²⁸ Eph. 5:27. This verse is used as a proof that the body of Christ is not "fusca."

²⁹ Rom. 2:24 (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews XIII, Against Marcion V:13). Paul is speaking of those Jews who violate the Law and, therefore, dishonor God in the eyes of those outside the covenant community. Tyconius used this text to describe the unredeemed within the Church.

³⁰ Song of Sol. 4:7; the Latinity of Tyconius's citation differs from the Vulgate, but the meaning is the same. Tyconius juxtaposed this text with the one above (Rom. 2:24) in order to demonstrate the bipartite nature of the Church.

³¹ Song of Sol. 1:5. Kedar was the son of Ishmael (the son of Abraham by Hagar) and the older half-brother of Isaac. The line of descent from Abraham through Isaac to Solomon was viewed as the line of God's election. The line from Abraham through Ishmael to Kedar, while also beginning with Abraham, was viewed as being outside the covenant. Thus, Tyconius has used the contrast between the two lines which sprang from Abraham--the elect to whom God promised a covenant (Gen. 17:19) and the non-elect to whom God gave a promise (Gen. 17:20)--to illustrate the difference between the redeemed and the unredeemed within the Church.

however, are the seed of Abraham; for Kedar is the son of Ishmael. Finally, in another place, with this Kedar, that is, with the slave from Abraham, the eternal mansion, the Church, groans, saying: "Woe is me because I have been sojourning for a long time, I have dwelt with the tents of Kedar, my soul has wandered a long time. With those who hate peace I was peaceable; when I spoke to them they fought me."³² However, it is not possible to say that the tent of Kedar is outside the Church. But he says the tents of "Kedar and Solomon," to which he adds: "I am dark and beautiful"; for the Church is not dark among those who are outside.³³ The Lord speaks to this mystery in the seven angels of the Revelation, that is, the sevenfold Church. He shows, first, the saints and guardians of instruction and, then, those guilty of many crimes and worthy of repentance.³⁴ And in the Gospel, he manifests on body of candidates of different merit, saying: "Blessed is that servant whom, when his master comes, he will find so doing";³⁵ and

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³²Psalm 120:5-7.

³³He equated "beautiful" with Solomon, who symbolizes those who are descendants of Abraham and heirs of the covenant, and "dark" with Kedar, who symbolizes those who are descendants of Abraham, in the flesh rather than in the spirit and, therefore, are of "one body" but are not heirs of the covenant.

³⁴Rev. 1:20 (cf. Rev. 2:1-3:22). This is an allusion to the passages in the Revelation which describe how God will judge and separate the unfaithful from his Church.

³⁵Matt. 24:46. Tyconius saw a dichotomy of being

concerning this same servant: "But if that servant is worthless," whom "the Lord divides into two parts."³⁶ I ask, does he divide or separate everyone? Then, not the whole but part of it he will put with the hypocrites"; for he shows the body in one thing.³⁷

And so throughout all the Scriptures this must be perceived in a mystery, as where God says that Israel is about to perish deservedly, or that its inheritance is detestable. For the apostle contends so copiously, especially in Romans, that whatever is said concerning the whole body must be applied to the part. He says: "What does he say to Israel? All day I have held out my hands to a contrary people."³⁸ And in order that he might show the statement concerning the part, he says: "I say, has God rejected his heirs?" Far from it! For I myself am an

within the person of the servant. Apparently, the text was quoted in parts in order to emphasize this dichotomy and, here, the note of blessing.

³⁶ See Matt. 24:48, 51. The other half of the dichotomy is the idea of being "worthless" and, here, the note of judgement. Tyconius understood the passage to mean that the worthless part of the servant would be separated from the blessed part (see above, fn. 34).

³⁷ The question anticipates a negative answer. Tyconius wanted the reader to conclude that if this servant could be divided, he must be made up of parts; "for he shows the body in one thing."

³⁸ Rom. 10:21 (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews XII; Isa. 65:2). Tyconius understood the Church to be the "true" Israel, and, therefore, any negative references to Israel were interpreted as references to the unredeemed hiding in the Church.

Israelite, from the seed of Abraham and from the tribe of Benjamin. God has not rejected his people whom he fore-knew."³⁹ And since he taught in what way this statement would have to be understood, he shows by this same type of statement that the one body is both good and bad, saying: "According to the Gospel, indeed, enemies on account of you; however, according to the election, beloved on account of the fathers."⁴⁰ Are the same ones who are enemies beloved, or can both sides meet together in Caifan?⁴¹ Thus, the Lord attests in all the Scriptures that the one body of the seed of Abraham increases in all things and flourishes and perishes.⁴²

³⁹ Rom. 11:1-2.

⁴⁰ Rom. 11:28. Tyconius has identified "enemies" (inimici) with the unredeemed of the Church and "beloved" (dilecti) with the true believers.

⁴¹ The object of this statement is to point out the paradox of contrary comments concerning the "one body." Tyconius overcame the paradox by assuming that the body was composed of "enemies" and "beloved" members. The reference to "Caifan" is obscure, but it is probably a place name. Burkitt noted that one manuscript reads "in caifan," while two others replace "Caifan" with either "cain" or "causa."

⁴² Here again, Tyconius has emphasized the collective idea of the "seed of Abraham," which both "increases in all things and flourishes"--referring to the descendants of Abraham within the covenant relationship--"and perishes"--referring to the other descendants of Abraham outside the covenant. However, since both "seed" are descendants of Abraham, they are viewed by Tyconius as belonging to the one body.

III. PROMISES AND LAW

There is divine authority for the fact that no man at any time has been able to be justified by the works of the law. By this same authority it is certain also that there have never been lacking those who observed the law and were justified.¹

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¹The focus of concern in Rule III is on the question of how to interpret the purpose of and relation between promise and law in God's plan of salvation as revealed in the Old and New Covenants. As Augustine himself said in On Christian Doctrine, this Rule may just as well be entitled "Spirit and Letter," or "Grace and Law"; for to a great extent it is based upon the analysis of law and grace found in the Pauline epistles. However, Augustine was also quick to point out what appears to be a major difficulty with this Rule, namely, that it is "a greater question in itself, rather than a rule to be applied to the solution of other questions." (On Christian Doctrine XXX:xxxiii:46, ANF, II;569.) It may be toilsome upon first reading to discern the formulation of a rule within this seeming theological treatise; yet, one must keep in mind that the hermeneutic task perceived by Tyconius was that of showing the continuity between the Old and New Testaments and of demonstrating that every part of Scripture is capable of a Christological interpretation. Augustine notwithstanding, Rule III does attempt to disclose the organic unity of the two Testaments, and it provides a Rule which both delineates the place and function of law and promise and advises how to interpret their application in the context of the Gospel. Thus, the apparent difficulty is resolved when one realizes that Rule III is not establishing the, already obvious, distinction between law and promise (as Rule I established the distinction between the Lord and His body, and Rule II the distinction between the true and false parts of the Lord's body). Rather, Rule III establishes the, less obvious, continuity of purpose and relationship that law and promise have in the two Testaments and how to interpret their function within God's plan of salvation (see below, fn. 78). (Cf. Barnabas Reardon, "The Function of Tyconius's Third Hermeneutic Rule,"

It is written: "Whatever the law says it speaks to those who are in the law, in order that every mouth may be shut and the whole world be subject to God; because no man will be justified in his sight by the law. For through the law is the knowledge of sin."² Again: "Your sin will not rule over you because you are not under the law."³ Again: "And we believe in Christ in order that we may be justified by faith and not by works of the law, because no man will be justified by the works of the law."⁴ Again: "For if the law had been given which could make alive, justification would by all means be by the law. But Scripture confined all things under sin in order that the promise might be given from faith in Jesus Christ to those who believe."⁵ But someone will say: "From the time of Christ and afterwards, the law does not justify, yet in its own time it did justify." This concurs with the authority of the Apostle Peter who, when the Gentiles were restricted by the

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These two initial statements of Rule III introduce the problem of how to interpret justification, and with the scriptural quotations which follow Tyconius succinctly set forth the dilemma.

²Rom. 3:19-20 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:13). Tyconius has collected in this paragraph several scriptural texts to show that justification is not by the law.

³Rom. 6:14 (cf. Tertullian Of Patience VI).

⁴Gal. 2:16 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:3).

⁵Gal. 3:21-22 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:13).

brethren under the yoke of the law, says thus: "Why do you tempt the Lord by wanting to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear?"⁶ And the Apostle Paul says: "While we were in the flesh sinful passions which are through the law were working in our members in order to bear fruit for death."⁷ Yet, against this same idea the apostle says: "Having behaved without blame in the righteousness which is from the law."⁸ But if the authority of such an apostle were lacking, what could be said against the testimony of the Lord's saying: "Behold, a true Israelite in whom there is no guile!"⁹ But even if the Lord were not to deem it worthy to furnish this testimony, who is so sacrilegious, who is so elated with stupid pride as to say that Moses and the prophets or all the saints did not do the law or were not justified? Since even Scripture speaks about Zachariah and his wife: "They were both righteous in the sight of God, walking in all the ordinances and commandments without blame."¹⁰ And the Lord did not come "to call

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⁶ Acts 15:10 (cf. Tertullian On Monogamy VII, On Modesty VI).

⁷ Rom. 7:5. Thus, as Tyconius has shown, the law produces death rather than justification.

⁸ See Phil. 3:6. Beginning here, Tyconius cited scriptural evidence to support the opposite of what was said above, namely, that one can be justified under the law.

⁹ John 1:47.

¹⁰ Luke 1:6.

the righteous, but the sinners."¹¹

But how could the law justify from sin, when it was given in order that sin might be multiplied? Just as it is written: "However, the law entered in order that sin might be multiplied."¹² But this we ought to know and to hold: that the seed of Abraham has never been entirely interrupted from Isaac until the present day. But the seed of Abraham is not carnal but spiritual, because it is not from the law, but from the promise. For the other seed is carnal, because it is from the law "from Mount Sinai, which is Hagar begetting a child in slavery. This one, indeed, is he who was born carnally of the handmaiden, but the other is he who was of the free woman by the promise."¹³ But the apostle says that the seed of Abraham is only that

¹¹Matt. 9:13. That is, if the Lord came only to call "sinners," the "righteous" must have been justified under the law.

¹²Rom. 5:20 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:13, On the Resurrection of the Flesh XXXIV, XLVII). Tyconius wanted to establish firmly that law pertains to sin and to a knowledge of sin.

¹³Gal. 4:24, 23; note the conflation of the text (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion III:5). Promise pertains to the "spiritual" and is a correlative of faith. Thus, Tyconius has depicted two distinct orders of relationship, which he further illustrated with the Pauline representation of Hagar as symbolizing the Mosaic law which "produces" children of Abraham who are bound like slaves by the law. However, the "seed" of Abraham symbolizes those, like Isaac, not in bondage to the law and who are heirs of the promise. He reproduced the Pauline analogy and then went on (see below) to stress that even Abraham is to be viewed symbolically as the father of those who respond in faith to God. Therefore, a "son," or "seed," of Abraham is anyone who freely responds to God in faith.

which is from faith: "Therefore, do you know that those who are from faith are the sons of Abraham?"¹⁴ And again: "But you, brothers, are sons of the promise like Isaac."¹⁵

Therefore, the seed of Abraham is not from the law but from the promise, because it has remained continually from Isaac. But if it is established that the seed of Abraham existed before the law, and that what is from faith is the seed of Abraham, it is established, also, that it never was from the law. For it could not be both from the law and from faith. For law and faith are different things, because the law is not of faith but of works, just as it is written: "The law is not from faith, but he who would do these things shall live by them."¹⁶ Therefore, Abraham has always had sons by faith, never by the law. "For the promise to Abraham or his seed that he should inherit the earth was not through the law but through the justification of faith. For if there are those who are heirs through the law, faith has been voided, the promise has been abolished;

¹⁴ Gal. 3:7 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:3, On Monogamy VI). Clearly, Tyconius perceived that Abraham was the spiritual father of all who live by faith and trust in God.

¹⁵ Gal. 4:28 (cf. Tertullian On Monogamy VI). The point being made is that faith and promise comprise and complete a distinct relationship. True "seed" of Abraham are distinguished not by blood lines but by this faith-promise relationship.

¹⁶ Gal. 3:12. Along side of the faith-promise relationship, but clearly separate, is the relationship of law and works. These two separate relationships cannot be mixed.

for the law produces wrath."¹⁷ If, therefore, neither faith nor the promise of Abraham can in anyway be destroyed, it has remained continually from the beginning of it. The giving of the law has not hindered the begetting of sons of Abraham according to the promise by faith. For the apostle says that "after 430 years"¹⁸ the giving of the law has neither hurt nor destroyed the promise. "For if from the law, it is no longer from promise; however, God gave it to Abraham through the promise."¹⁹ And in another place: "Therefore, is law against promise? Certainly not!"²⁰ We see that the law does not affect the promise and that one has never determined the other, but that each has held its own order. But just as the law has never hurt faith, so faith has not destroyed the law, just as it is written: "Therefore, do we destroy the law through faith? Certainly not! But we uphold the law,"²¹ that is, we confirm it, because they confirm one another.

Therefore, the sons of Abraham are not from the law but from faith through the promise. However, it must be asked how those whom some deny to have been able to be

¹⁷Rom. 4:13-15.

¹⁸See Gal. 3:17. This passage was cited to show that the faith-promise relationship is older and more intrinsic to the religious heritage than is the law-works relationship.

¹⁹Gal. 3:18.

²⁰Gal. 3:21.

²¹Rom. 3:31 (cf. Tertullian On Modesty VI).

justified by works of the law, having been placed under the law and doing the law, were justified. It must be asked, moreover, why after the promise of faith, which can in no way be destroyed, the law was given which is not from faith, by whose works no one might be justified because "all who are from the works of the law are under a curse. For it is written: Cursed is he who does not abide by all the things which are written in the book of the law in order that he may do them."²²

Finally, the apostle, anticipating this question, when he asserted that by the gift of God there always were sons of Abraham really through faith and not through the law of deeds, responds to himself rhetorically, saying: "Why, therefore, the law of deeds?"²³ That is, if by faith there are sons, why was the law of deeds given, when the promise was sufficient to beget sons of Abraham and to nourish them by faith, "because the Just live by faith"?²⁴ For before he had asked himself "Why, therefore, the law of deeds," he has then said in this manner that those who were not able to be justified from the law should live: "However since by the law no one can be justified before God,

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²²Gal. 3:10. Note that throughout the discussion which follows Tyconius was highly dependent upon Paul's synthesis, especially as found in Gal. 3 and Rom. 7.

²³Gal. 3:19.

²⁴Gal. 3:11 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:3).

the just live by faith."²⁵ He showed, moreover, that it was said by the prophet that "he lives by faith," in order that it might become evident how those who would not have been able to do the law should live.²⁶

But it is less clear why "the Just live by faith." For no righteous man could live under the law, unless he would have done the works of the law and all the works: but if he did less, he would be cursed. When God gave the law, he said: "You shall not covet."²⁷ Immediately, "when the occasion was presented, sin, through the commandment, produced all concupiscence."²⁸ For it is necessary that "the passions of sins which are through the law" work "in his members" who is under the law.²⁹ For on that account it was given "in order that sin might abound,"³⁰ because

²⁵Gal. 3:11.

²⁶Although brief, this argument attempted to substantiate the statement that justification can only come through faith, even for those who live under the law. In the discussion which follows, Tyconius explained how the law-works relationship can create a situation through sin and wrath wherein men may discover the faith-promise relationship.

²⁷Rom. 7:7. Noticeably Pauline in character is Tyconius's depiction of the human dilemma created by the law's presence.

²⁸Rom. 7:8 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:13). That is, the commandment (law) made him fully conscious of sin and, in a sense, taught him to sin.

²⁹See Rom. 7:5 (see above, fn. 7).

³⁰Rom. 5:20 (see above, fn. 12).

"the power of sin is the law."³¹ However, "having been sold under sin, now he is not doing the good that he wants, but the bad that he does not want; for he agrees with the law according to the inner man."³² However, he is being overcome by "another law" of his members and is being taken "captive," and he could not be released in any other way except only by grace through faith. However, it is a great sin of falsehood not to have tended to the kinds of weapons by means of which the violence of sin might be overcome: it is contrary to glorious faith to have spoken and to have seen this.³³ Therefore, it is a sacrilegious mind and one which thinks evil against God which, when it would see that the law can in no way be done by humanity and has been prepared for the purpose of punishing men, did not understand that there is some other remedy of life and that it was not possible that the good God who knew that the law could not have been done would not have left another

³¹I Cor. 15:56. Without the law there would be no knowledge of sin. Again, adopting Pauline terminology, Tyconius said that this knowledge of sin becomes an engrossing power which so captures one's personality that one is consumed by its desires.

³²See Rom. 7:14-22 (cf. Tertullian On Modesty XVII). Tyconius altered the quotation with the third person pronoun.

³³The "falsehood" is to say that there is no way to overcome the "violence of sin"; for faith does comprehend a way to overcome the law. Therefore, as he argued below, only one who "thinks evil of God" could experience the law which prepares one for punishment--the opposite of justification--and not observe that God would have provided an agency of help to fulfill the law.

approach to life and would have closed everywhere the roads to life against the men whom he made for life. Faith did not support nor did it admit this, but when it was urged by the infirmity of the flesh and the power of sin, it gave glory to God.³⁴ Knowing that the Lord is good and just and that he did not close up the bowels of his mercy against the works of his hands, it understood that there is a way to life and it saw a remedy for doing the law. For when God said, "You shall not covet," he did not reveal how it might happen, but seriously and very decidedly he said, "You shall not covet"; because God left out what must be discovered by faith. For if he himself had commanded the result, he would have destroyed both law and faith. For why should he give the law, if he had promised that the law was about to be done in all respects? Or, what would he have left to faith, if he should bypass faith by promising help? Now, however, for the good of faith he gave the law as a handmaiden of death, in order that lovers of life might see life by faith and the just live by faith, who believe that the requirement of the law can be done not by their own strength but by the gift of God.³⁵ For the law

³⁴That is, faith does not admit that God did not leave open another approach to life. Indeed, the power of sin and human weakness both make urgent the need for another approach; and it is to God's glory that another approach was provided.

³⁵See Rom. 7:13. Tyconius held that God does not dictate human response, but rather that each man is free to decide what will be his attitude toward God. However, the

cannot be done by the flesh; and it punishes whatever deeds may not have been done.

Therefore, what hope is there for man to do the law and to flee from death, unless by the power and mercy of God which faith finds? "The flesh is not subject to the law of God; for it is not able to be. However, those who are in the flesh cannot please God. But you are not in the flesh but in the spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God is in you. However, if one does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not his."³⁶ This shows that the Spirit of God and of Christ are the same. It shows, moreover, that he who would have the Spirit of God is not in the flesh. Therefore, if the Spirit of God and of Christ are one, then the prophets and saints who have had the Spirit of God also have had the Spirit of Christ. If they have had the Spirit of God, they were not in the flesh. If they were not in the flesh, they did the law, because the flesh is hostile to God and "is not subject to" his "law." Therefore, whoever flees to God

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law was given as a means to teach men the will and purposes of God. The law is real, and Tyconius believed that God seriously holds each man responsible for doing the law. Therefore, faith is real, too; for faith is a positive, trusting, believing response to God, in the face of death, that God will do for one what one cannot do for himself.

³⁶ Rom. 8:7-9 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:10, On the Resurrection of the Flesh X, XLVI, On Fasting XVII). Those "in the flesh" are those who trust only in themselves and have no other knowledge than that of sin. Those "in the spirit" are those who respond to God in faith, seeking His help, and have knowledge of both sin and grace: it is to them that God gives His spirit as an enabler to do the law.

receives the Spirit of God. When the Spirit is received the flesh is put to death. When the flesh is put to death, he could do the law as a spiritual person, freed from the law; "because the law is not established for the just person."³⁷ And again: "you are not under the law if you are led by the Spirit" of God.³⁸

For this reason it is evident that our fathers who have had the Spirit of God were not under the law. For as long as one is in the flesh, that is, does not have the Spirit of God, the law rules over him. However, if he would deliver himself to grace, he dies to the law and the Spirit does the law in him, since the flesh, which cannot be subjected to the law of God, is dead. For what was being done is still being done. For that prohibition of concupiscence has neither ceased nor greatly increased because we are not under the law. But we come together through faith in the grace revealed, taught by the Lord to ask for the requirement of the law concerning his mercy, and to say:³⁹ "Your will be done," and "Deliver us from evil."⁴⁰ However, those who do not have the same revealed

³⁷I Tim. 1:9. Thus, Tyconius explained how "there have never been lacking those who observed the law and were justified" (see above fn. 1).

³⁸Gal. 5:18.

³⁹"...edocti a Domino opus legis de eius misericordia postulare et dicere."

⁴⁰Matt. 6:10, 13. The law-works relationship creates the environment wherein one may discover, like

faith are driven by the fear of death which they saw was intended for a law administered by a drawn sword.

The law was given, then, "until the seed to whom it was promised should come"⁴¹ and proclaim the good news of faith. But before, the law was compelling unto faith since it is impossible that faith be expressed for requesting God's grace without the law, because sin would not have had power. But when the law was given "the passions which are through the law were working in our members"⁴² urging us to sin; so that certainly by necessity we were urged to faith, which might ask for the grace of God for tolerant aid. We have suffered the confinement of prison, the law threatening death and complete enclosure by an insurmountable wall,⁴³ the way around which was by one door alone, grace. Faith was watching as a guard at this door, in order that no one might escape from this prison unless faith should open it to him. He who would not knock at this door would die within the enclosure of the law. We have experienced the

Abraham, the faith-promise relationship as a way beyond law-works. Thus, as the Lord taught, one prays that God's will (law) be done and that God would do the law ("deliver us from evil") in him.

⁴¹ Gal. 3:19 (see above, fn. 23). Tyconius understood this as a reference to Christ, who, through the Incarnation, revealed to all men the way of faith. However, before Christ came the law alone compelled men to find the way of faith.

⁴² Rom. 7:5 (see above, fns. 7, 29).

⁴³ "... . undique versum insuperabili muro ambientem."

law as a pedagogue who would compel us to be zealous of faith, which would compel us to Christ. For the apostle says, moreover, that the law was given in order that its custody might confine us for faith, which was about to be revealed in Christ who is the "end of the law,"⁴⁴ by whom all who asked for the grace of God by faith should live. He said: "Before faith came, we were being guarded under the law, confined for that faith which was about to be revealed. So the law was our teacher in Christ, in order that we might be justified by faith."⁴⁵

The law, let me say, was the demonstrator of faith. But suppose someone says: "If the law was given for the use of faith, why not from the beginning of Abraham's seed, if, indeed, it continually was?" Indeed, it continually was: continual, on the one hand, was faith as the mother of the sons of Abraham; continual, on the other hand, was the law for distinguishing between good and evil. But after the promise of the sons of Abraham, when they were multiplied according to the flesh, the seed of Abraham,⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See Rom. 10:4 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:14). Tyconius would agree that the purpose of the law-works relationship is to propel one to faith. Thus, faith has always been the means of completing and of fulfilling the law, yet the law could never interfere with the faith-promise relationship. When Christ came he made known the way of faith to all men, whereas before Christ the law was compelling only the nation of Israel to seek the way of faith.

⁴⁵ Gal. 3:23-24.

⁴⁶ Again, Tyconius differentiated between Abraham's children by birth and Abraham's "seed," i.e., those who

which is only from faith, also had to be multiplied. This multiplication could not have happened without the assistance of the law's increase, in order that the multitude might be led to faith, which was not yet revealed, as was already said, or by necessity. And accordingly, by the providence of God it happened for the increase and governance of the seed of Abraham, in order that by the severity and fear of the law many might be compelled to faith and the seed might be supported until the revelation of faith. "The Law, however, entered in order that sin might be increased."⁴⁷ He said: "Where sin was increased, grace abounded abundantly."⁴⁸ He did not say, "it was given," but "it abounded abundantly." For from the start grace was given through Christ to those fleeing from the vexations and, also, the domination of the law. However, it abounded as the law was increased, but it abounded abundantly for all men when revealed in Christ, who coming

respond to God in faith. Tyconius explained that the law had to be "multiplied," i.e., the law's persuasiveness had to be increased, in order to compel the ever-increasing number of Abraham's offspring to find the faith which he found and, thereby, truly become like their father.

⁴⁷ Rom. 5:20 (see above, fn. 30). Thus, the purpose of law is to create an abiding awareness of sin and, concomitantly, of works.

⁴⁸ Rom. 5:20. As the sin-works syndrome increased the incidence of faith also increased, and, thus, grace through faith increased. Tyconius wanted to stress that grace is not a new reply from God; rather, grace has always been God's reply to man's request of faith, and grace has increased in proportion to man's need.

"to restore things in heaven and things on earth, proclaimed the good news of" faith "to those who were near and who were far off,"⁴⁹ that is, to the sinners of Israel and to the Gentiles. For those who are righteous by faith in Israel have been called to this same faith. For indeed, the same Spirit, the same faith, the same grace through Christ have always been given, whose fullness when it came was bestowed upon all people when the veil of the law was removed. These things differed all but in type from future things. For at no time was the seed of Abraham any different.⁵⁰

But if anyone was justified apart from these things, he was not a son of Abraham. Because one cannot be called a son of Abraham if he has been justified from the law and not from faith like Abraham.⁵¹ For truly, the apostle teaches that the Church has passed from the same image of grace and of spirit into the same, saying: "But we all,

⁴⁹ See Eph. 1:10; 2:17. That is, Christ proclaimed faith beyond the confinement of the nation of Israel ("those who were near") to all nations everywhere ("those who were far off").

⁵⁰ Specified here are the elements which sustain the organic unity of the Old and New Testaments. Tyconius has shown both that the same spirit, faith, and grace were always given through Christ (in the "function" of eternal Logos, see Rule I), and that the "seed" of Abraham are heirs of the promise because they have shared Abraham's faith.

⁵¹ The purpose of this aside is to restrict the discussion of justification to the statement of faith and promise which originated with Abraham, which is also the point of commencement for Paul's discussion of justification (see especially Rom. and Gal.).

with covered face, beholding the glory of God, are being changed into the same image from glory into glory."⁵² And he says that there was glory before the passion of the Lord, and he denies that it could have been excluded by the law, that is, forced out, led out, destroyed. Whence it is evident that it was from faith. He says: "Therefore, where is boasting? It is excluded. By what law? By the law of works? No, but by the law of faith."⁵³ "For what does Scripture say? Abraham believed in God and it was accounted unto him as righteousness."⁵⁴ We have passed "into glory from" this same "glory"⁵⁵ which was not from the law. "For if it was from works," it was glory, "but not before God."⁵⁶

And indeed, it is impossible without the grace of God to have any glory. For glory is one and it was always

⁵² II Cor. 3:18 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:11). Tyconius understood Paul to mean that those who believe in Christ are being changed into the same "glory" as those who lived by faith before Christ's coming were changed into. "Glory" refers to God's gift of grace and of His spirit to the man of faith, which glorifies God because of what He has done for the man of faith.

⁵³ Rom. 3:27. That is, no man can boast of accomplishing the law, because grace through faith accomplished the law for him and, thereby, gave glory to God.

⁵⁴ Rom. 4:3. "Righteousness" equals justification.

⁵⁵ See II Cor. 3:18. "We" who believe in Christ have "passed into the same glory" as those who were faithful before Christ.

⁵⁶ See Rom. 4:2. If "glory" came from works, man would be glorified because he had accomplished the law; but no man has been able to do this. Therefore, it is God who is glorified because He has fulfilled the law in the man of faith.

of one type. For no one has overcome unless God shall have overcome for him, because he is not under the law, but he is the one who shall have done it. In faith, however, God makes our adversary feeble, moreover, "in order that he who boasts may boast in the Lord."⁵⁷ For if what we are overcoming is not of us, it is not by works but by faith, and there is nothing of ourselves in which we may glory. For we have nothing that we have not received. If we are, we are from God, in order that the greatness of power may be of God and not from us. All our work is faith: which shall be no greater than what God does with us. Solomon glories in the fact that he himself knew that he was continent not by men but by the gift of God. "When I knew," re says, "that it is impossible to be continent unless God should grant it, and this thing, however, was of wisdom to know whose gift this was, I have approached the Lord and I have entreated him."⁵⁸ In the judgement of Solomon it must be believed that all are justified not from works but by the grace of God, who knew that the work of the law must be achieved by God, by whom they can be glorified. But the apostle tells why "no man may glory in the presence of

⁵⁷ I Cor. 1:31. Beginning here, Tyconius digressed to explain fully why "no man may boast in the presence of God."

⁵⁸ Wisdom of Sol. 8:21. Tyconius would agree that even faith comes from God ("for we have nothing that we have not received"), which seems to be the thrust of this quotation from Solomon (cf. Rule I, fn. 19; Rule II, fn. 3).

God:⁵⁹ they are evil wholly because they would not acknowledge God; they are just because they are not their own but the work of God. He says: "God chose the useless and worthless things, things which are not, in order that he might make void the things which are, that no man may boast before God. By this very thing, however, you are in Christ Jesus, who became for us the wisdom of God and righteousness and sanctification and redemption; so according to what is written: let him who boasts boast in the Lord."⁶⁰ And again: "By grace you have been saved through faith. And this is not from you, it is the gift of God: not by works lest anyone should boast; for we are his product, created in Christ."⁶¹

Thus, no man at any time can be justified by the law, that is, by works, in order that every righteous person might have glory from God. It is something else that no one may glory before God. For God acts in this way for his own, so that what he forgives may also be;⁶² "for no one" is "pure of uncleanness, even if he is only one day old."⁶³ And David says: "Enter not into judgement with

⁵⁹ I Cor. 1:29 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:5).

⁶⁰ I Cor. 1:28-31 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:5).

⁶¹ Eph. 2:8-10 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:17).

⁶² ". . . ut sit quod et dimittat." That is, the one in whom the law was "producing death" has been justified by God through faith and now has life.

⁶³ See Job 14:4-5.

your servant because no one living can be justified before you."⁶⁴ And Solomon, in the prayer of dedication of the temple, says: "There is no man who has not sinned."⁶⁵ And again: "I have sinned against you only,"⁶⁶ and: "For who will boast that he has a pure heart, or who will boast that he is sinless?"⁶⁷ It was not enough to boast of a pure heart, that is, of thoughts, except no one boast that he is sinless, also. Every victory is granted not by works but by the pity of God, just as it is written: "He who crowns you with mercy and pity."⁶⁸ And the mother of martyrs thus says to her son: "In order that in that mercy I may receive you with your brothers."⁶⁹ However, the righteous fulfilled the will of God both by the prayer and by the effort by which they strive and desire to serve God.⁷⁰

There is no particular advantage in the law, which, if it would have justified, then all the righteous would be of one merit, because it requires equal observance from all. But if not observed, it would produce a curse. However, if

⁶⁴Psalm 143:2.

⁶⁵I Kings 8:46.

⁶⁶Psalm 51:4, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 50:6.

⁶⁷Prov. 20:9.

⁶⁸Psalm 103:4.

⁶⁹II Mac. 7:29. Although somewhat awkward, the implication of this quotation seems to be that even a martyr, whom the Donatists highly esteemed, is justified by the "mercy" of God rather than by the act of martyrdom.

⁷⁰The point of this digression is to reiterate that justification comes not through the works of the law but through faith, and faith is evidenced by praying, striving, and desiring to serve God.

they were of unequal merit--a person received as much of the merciful grace of God as he believes he is given--then they would be transformed "from glory into glory, just as by the Spirit of the Lord,"⁷¹ that is, from the same into the same. For whatever sort of faith was given after Christ, of that same sort was the Holy Spirit also, since all the prophets and the righteous always lived by this same Spirit. For they would not have been able to live except by the Spirit of faith. For regardless of how many were under the law, they have been killed; because "the letter kills, but the Spirit imparts life."⁷² And yet, the Lord says concerning this same Spirit: "Unless I go away he will not come,"⁷³ since also he had already given this same Spirit to the apostles. But the apostle thus says that this same Spirit was with the ancients: "But have the same Spirit of faith, just as it is written: I believed, therefore, I spoke."⁷⁴ He said that the one who spoke had

⁷¹ II Cor. 3:18 (see above, fns. 52, 55). That is, God's spirit is granted not on the basis of what one deserves from having done the law, but on the basis of what one merits by one's needs as expressed to God through faith.

⁷² II Cor. 3:6 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:11). At this point Tyconius began a discussion of the place and role of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Covenants.

⁷³ John 16:7. Tyconius was treating the question of whether or not the Holy Spirit pertains to the New Covenant only.

⁷⁴ II Cor. 4:13, which in full reads: "Since we have the same spirit of faith as he had who wrote, 'I believed and so I spoke,' we, too, believe and so we speak" (cf. Psalm 116:10).

the same Spirit of faith, that one who said: "I believed, therefore, I spoke," and he confirms it, saying: "Also, we believe and, therefore also, we speak."⁷⁵ By saying "also we" he demonstrated that they, too, had believed by this same Spirit of faith. Whence it is evident that the righteous always have had these things not by the law but by the Spirit of faith.

And whatever comes through the Lord is the fullness, whose part was through this same one, just as a child who, since he may be nothing less than a man, nevertheless, is not a man; and fullness of body comes to him not by increments of new things but by the same kinds of members in him, in order that he who had been a child, nevertheless, may be complete. As a matter of fact, "the Holy Spirit was not"⁷⁶ before the passion of the Lord, except among those who were believing him present through him, in order that those "sealed"⁷⁷ might be perfected in that one who is victorious and is accomplishing all things. For the righteous whom he found, like Simeon, Nathaniel, Zacharius and Elizabeth, and

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⁷⁵ II Cor. 4:13. The point being established is that justification has always been through faith, and that the same Spirit in both Covenants has responded to faith.

⁷⁶ See John 7:39. That is, the Holy Spirit was not revealed to men before the time of Christ: nevertheless, as Christ has revealed faith to all men; so now, also, has the Holy Spirit been revealed to all men.

⁷⁷ See Eph. 1:13.

the widow Anna, daughter of Phanuel, had the Holy Spirit.⁷⁸

Therefore, the promise was separated from the law, and, since it is different, it cannot be mixed; for a condition weakens the promise. However, we are urged to speak things which we cannot hear without anger. For some, who are ignorant of the firmness of the promises and that transgression is by the law, say that the God of Abraham made a promise to all the nations, but, by his saving free will,⁷⁹ if they would keep the law. And if the danger of the ignorance of some proceeds to open the way to their salvation, . . . but, while we are talking about the almighty God, we must be moderate regarding the things said, lest we speak by refuting the things not said and strange things are permitted to be heard from our mouth.⁸⁰ For this reason,

⁷⁸ Tyconius asserted that it was the Holy Spirit which God gave to the faithful as an enabler to do the law; and with this example (Simeon, Nathaniel, etc.) he further asserted the continuity of function and of relation for the Holy Spirit throughout the Old and New Covenants. Obviously, then, in terms of a hermeneutic principle Tyconius has established (1) that the New Covenant is but a fuller ("abounded abundantly") revelation of the Old Covenant and not an entity unto itself, (2) that law and promise have always had the same relation to each other and have maintained their respective functions throughout both Covenants, and (3) that justification has always been accomplished by the power of the Holy Spirit working in the man of faith.

⁷⁹ "Sed saluo libero arbitrio." Tyconius declared again that law and promise cannot be mixed. Even though the law is meant to teach men to seek faith and promise, law-works and faith-promise are separate, distinct, and mutually exclusive systems. Therefore, Tyconius has rejected here the suggestion that God gave the promise upon the condition that the nations would fulfill a certain requirement.

⁸⁰ Tyconius firmly resisted speaking speculatively

speaking with trembling, we leave these perils⁸¹ to be considered by someone else.

It is evident that God knew beforehand those about to be or those not about to be from will whom he promised to Abraham.⁸² It is one of the two: if "about to be" then the question is settled; if "not about to be" then God would not promise faithfulness. Or, if this is a statute before God then, actually, he would say that he gives the promises if they want the promise made to them, lest his servant Abraham, "Believing that what" God "promises he is also able to do,"⁸³ would be made the fool. However, it is that promise which incurs no condition; for if it did then neither would promise be firm nor would faith be whole. For what will remain stable in the promise of God or in the faith of Abraham if that which was promised and believed should depend on the will of those who had the promise made to them? Therefore, God promised a strange thing and

about theological matters. His concern was to keep to what was specifically spelled out in the Scriptures, or what "by reason alone" can be grasped.

⁸¹ "Pericula."

⁸² Although unwilling to do speculative theology, Tyconius did speak confidently about God concerning matters which he could deduce from Scripture and could prove with Scripture. Here he argued against the problem posited above (see above, fn. 79). First of all, since before creation God could foresee all the events of history He was able to know in advance who of their own free will would be justified through faith.

⁸³ Rom. 4:21. That is, if God had made the promise conditional He would have declared the condition to Abraham.

Abraham believed incautiously. Why, then, did even the promise become an obligation after a time, as God says: "All nations of the earth will be blessed in you, because you have heard my voice and you have not spared your beloved son on account of me"?⁸⁴ However, because it is easy from some of these things also to circulate a fallacy regarding free will against the merit of Abraham, even after the death of this Abraham God confirmed that he was indebted to him and that, on account of him, he was about to establish what he was promising to his son, saying: "I will be with you and I will bless you; for to you and to your seed I will give this land; and I will confirm my oath which I swore to your father Abraham; and I will multiply your seed just as the stars of heaven and will give to you and to your seed all the nations of the earth, because Abraham, your father, heard my voice."⁸⁵ Here the debt to Abraham was strengthened; for after death he could not lose by free will what he deserved while he was living.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Gen. 22:18, 16 (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews I; Gal. 3:16). Obviously, the promise is straightforward and without condition. Indeed, Tyconius called the promise God's "obligation."

⁸⁵Gen. 26:3-5. The original promise, although restated here, remains the same and continues without a condition.

⁸⁶Thus, Tyconius has succinctly demonstrated that God's promise to Abraham was firm and unequivocal. The responsibility for the promise rests upon God and not upon Abraham or, as will be shown below, upon the nations.

Also, the idea of "free will" is very important. Perhaps, the fullest treatment of Tyconius's doctrine is to

However, the nations did not believe. What then will Abraham do about what is owed to him? How will he receive the debt of his faith and of his temptation which was secured with God as the debtor? If he had said to him, "I shall give what I promised and I shall return what I swore, if the nations should wish," then he would not have believed but would have expected a chance happening. If there is need of a condition, it can apply to the laborer, not to the wages. For the laborer can wish or not wish to receive, but the wages cannot wish to be remitted or not be remitted. For all the nations have been given to Abraham in the wages of faith, just as God says: "Your reward is great."⁸⁷ For he promised not if they were about to be and not because they were about to be.⁸⁸ Because it was not on account of Abraham's faith that it pleased God to bring salvation to all the nations, which he possessed not before the faith of Abraham but before the foundation of the world. But he sought some faithful person to whom he might give that from which would be what he would one day establish.

be found in Rule VII, where he said that election was by free will. Likewise, disbelief was a choice of individual free will. Thus, sin was seen as willful disobedience.

⁸⁷ See Gen. 15:1. The payment, or promise, Tyconius argued, cannot be changed even if there was a condition, because Abraham fulfilled his part of the covenant through faith. God must now fulfill his "obligation."

⁸⁸ "Non enim si futuri essent et non quia futuri erant promisit" (italics not in the original). That is, God did not promise with an "if," nor did He promise on the basis of what He foreknew.

Therefore, Abraham did not merit it in order that they might be, but in order that those who were about to be God's chosen and whom God foresaw were about to be "conformed to the image of his son,"⁸⁹ would be through him. For indeed, in Genesis the Scripture bears witness concerning the foreknowledge of God that all the nations are promised to Abraham, saying: "However, Abraham shall become great and will be among a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. For he knew that Abraham charged his children and his servants after him, and they will keep the ways of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice in order that God might fulfill to Abraham whatever he said to him."⁹⁰

However, we also meet with conditions, such as: "If you would hear me and be obedient."⁹¹ Where is the foreknowledge of God, where is the firmness of the promise in conditions of this kind? Even the apostle says, moreover, that the promise is given by faith and not by law, in

⁸⁹ Rom. 8:29. The faithful did not come into being as a result of Abraham's faith, but, rather, as a result of Abraham's faith God chose to disclose to Abraham what would be, and God selected Abraham ("a faithful one") as the symbol, or standard, of the covenant relationship which He would establish with all men of faith.

⁹⁰ Gen. 18:18-19. That is, Abraham was chosen because of his faith and his willingness to do and to teach others to do the law.

⁹¹ See Isa. 1:19. Tyconius has reported an alleged problem which, in this instance, may be gleaned from the Scriptures without speculation.

order that the promise might be firm. He says: "The law produces wrath; for where there is no law neither is there transgression. Moreover, it is by faith, in order that according to grace the promise might be firm to all the seed."⁹² Rightly, "in order that the promise might be firm"; for it is not firm with an added condition. For it is the height of folly and impudence to believe that what is said to a bipartite body applies to the whole body. God forbid⁹³ that God might say "if you are hearing me" to those whom he knew were about to hear and whom he knew were about to persevere in the image of God before he made them, to whom, also, he made a promise. There was no condition given, that is, law, except for the impious and sinners, in order that either they might flee to grace or they might be punished more justly if they should make an error.⁹⁴ So what is the law to the righteous for whom "the law is not posited,"⁹⁵ who do the law without the law for a propitious God, who serve God as free men, who are living according to

⁹² Rom. 4:15-16 (see above, fn. 17). Employing Scripture himself, Tyconius refuted the suggestion that God made the promise conditional.

⁹³ "Absit ut." The idea of the bipartite body (see Rule II) has been reintroduced to resolve this apparent conflict within the Scriptures.

⁹⁴ As he has explained, the ostensible condition was but a device to alert and, later, to judge the "impious" and "sinners." Otherwise, there is no condition where God foreknew that the people were actually going to do what He asks.

⁹⁵ See I Tim. 1:9 (see above, fn. 37).

the image and likeness of God and Christ? They are voluntarily good; for he who is under the law because of the fear of death is not openly a murderer: he is not of such mercy, he is not the image of God. The law is displeasing to him, but he fears the avenger. Neither is he able to accomplish the law, since, not by vow but by necessity, he thinks it must be done. It is necessary that he be handed over to his own will, in order that he who did not unite his soul to the will of God might receive a reward for the perfecting of his will.⁹⁶ What God wanted is displeasing to him. For indeed, he who is good by necessity is evil by will. The law is an impediment to the deed, not to the will. He who would follow evil if there were no penalty for evil is not united with God; neither does he do the will of God who complains that he may not do his own will. And he who is afraid to be cruel is not merciful: he is under the law, he is a slave. He does not hate theft, but he fears punishment. However, it is necessary that, by persuasion and habit, he steal; because, being carnal, he is under the power of sin, not having the Spirit of God.⁹⁷

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⁹⁶This is a rather sarcastic suggestion that one can, independent of God, perfect his will and live a seemingly impeccable life apart from God. It is, of course, a logical contradiction from the Christian perspective; and the so-called "reward" which Tyconius seems to be hinting at is that of eternal punishment.

⁹⁷That is, it is necessary to use conditional language, such as "If you hear me and are obedient" (see above, fn. 91), in order to persuade and to conquer those whom the law has not succeeded in compelling to faith.

However, he who loves good is the image of God and lives by the Lord's faith, in order that the son of the slave woman, who received the law in fear,⁹⁸ may no longer be the heir, but the son of the free woman, like Isaac, who received "not the spirit of servitude in fear but received the adoption as sons, crying out, Abba, father."⁹⁹ He who loves God does not fear his service. It is written: "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear. Inasmuch as fear has to do with punishment, he who fears is not perfected in love."¹⁰⁰ For fear is characterized as a servile thing with a hatred for discipline, but the sons are characterized with the honor of the father.

It is one thing to be afraid by the law, it is another thing to honor for the sake of the veneration of the fearful majesty of God. People of the latter kind¹⁰¹ are like their father who is in heaven, having remembered God and having been taught, they love good and hate evil. It is not from fear that they flee evil, nor from necessity that they do good: they are without the law, they are free

⁹⁸ See Gal. 4:30. Clearly, Tyconius believed one has the possibility of changing his "inheritance" from death to life (see above, fn. 86).

⁹⁹ Rom. 8:15. By one's own free will one can choose to receive the "adoption" of sonship and, thereby, become an heir of Abraham.

¹⁰⁰ I John 4:18. Fear is the tell-tale symptom that one's existence is still ruled by the law.

¹⁰¹ That is, those who freely, without fear, worship God.

men, they are the ones to whom the promise has been made.

It is not said to them, "If you would hear me." The one to whom it is said, "If you would hear me" is able also not to hear.¹⁰² Does this apply to him whom God foresaw was about to hear before the world came into existence? And the righteous, indeed, "whom" God "foreknew" are under this law.¹⁰³ It is said, also, to them, "If you would hear me," but for another reason; not because they are able not to hear, but in order that by making doubtful their escape they might be always solicitous of their salvation. For no one is certain that he himself is of that number of the foreknown, as the apostle says: "Lest I myself should be rejected."¹⁰⁴ Therefore, for them this law is not a producer of wrath but an exercise of faith, by which the laborers may continually seek the grace of God, in order that what God foresaw may be completed in them, and by free will they might be predestined to life. Otherwise, it is impossible that he whom God foresaw, promised, swore was about to hear not hear.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰² ". . . potest et non audire." Note again the combining of the bipartite-body concept with law and promise.

¹⁰³ See Rom. 8:29 (see above, fn. 89).

¹⁰⁴ I Cor. 9:27.

¹⁰⁵ Tyconius rejected outright the notion that God both predestined some men for salvation and others for damnation. He granted that God can foresee and foreknow all of human history, but this is not to say that God foreordained or caused the events of history. Rather, Tyconius

But to which part of the body the law properly applies, although it may be given to one body,¹⁰⁶ the Lord declares in the Gospel, saying to the apostles: "If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them. I am not speaking about all¹⁰⁷ of you; I know whom I have chosen."¹⁰⁸ What great brevity in showing and in separating the one body!¹⁰⁹ For if he would have said, "I am not speaking about you," or "I am not speaking about all,"¹¹⁰ he would not have shown the one body. However, now "I am not speaking about all¹¹¹ of you" shows that even if not about all,¹¹² nevertheless, he spoke about them, just as someone might say, "I did not speak about the whole¹¹³ of you."¹¹⁴ But the two bodies were mixed together as one,

maintained that God is active in human affairs, seeking to influence men to find in Him their salvation. Likewise, by free will one can determine ("predestine") what his future will be after his human existence has ended.

¹⁰⁶ From this point onward the idea of the bipartite body becomes thoroughly intertwined with the analysis of the relation of law to promise. In the three arguments which follow Tyconius skilfully applied Rule II to the problem of a seeming conditional promise, and then went on to promulgate the hermeneutic rule which he perceived to be integral to the question of justification.

¹⁰⁷ "Omnibus." ¹⁰⁸ John 13:17-18.

¹⁰⁹ This is a distinct reference to Rule II.

¹¹⁰ "Omnibus." ¹¹¹ "Omnibus."

¹¹² "Omnibus." ¹¹³ "Toto."

¹¹⁴ The issue does not focus on the word "omnibus," or "toto" but on the combination of "omnibus vobis," or "toto te," which indicated to Tyconius that a specific segment of a given group was being addressed.

and the one body is praised or accused in common. Just as in Exodus, when some went out to gather manna contrary to the sabbath prohibition, God says to Moses: "How long do you refuse to hear my law?"¹¹⁵ when Moses always heard it.

What shall we say, then, about this law which clearly appears to be opposed to the promise? Just as it is written in Isaiah: "If you, O Israel, had heard me, your number would be just as the sand of the sea."¹¹⁶ See, Israel is accused because by reason of his faults he could not become just as the sand. It remains to be understood that if he will not always have heard, then he will always be small in numbers. And where, then, is the firmness of the promises? But this happens because we want to understand before believing and subjecting faith to reason.¹¹⁷ However, if we would believe that it is to be done entirely as God swore, faith will give a reason which it is

¹¹⁵ Ex. 16:28. In this first argument Tyconius used Rule II to show that the alleged condition was addressed to those who have not yet responded to God in faith, as this example from Exodus illustrates.

¹¹⁶ See Isa. 48:18-19.

¹¹⁷ "Sed hoc fit quia prius volumus intellegere quam credere et fidem rationi subicere." This is clearly a case of "I believe in order that I might understand." Yet, Tyconius always held that faith and understanding were "reasonable." Without faith, the ways of God were irrational to natural man, but when the Spirit of God dwells in the man of faith, the Spirit enables the individual to grasp the wisdom and knowledge of God through a simple, rational apprehension of the previously unseen truth (see Rule I, fn. 19; Rule II, fn. 3).

perfidious to question rationally.¹¹⁸ And we understand that there is greater firmness than weakness in the promises than we supposed. For this statement, "If Israel had heard me," is a commemoration of the righteousness of God and a fashioning of the promises, lest someone should think that not by free will but by the disposition of God some are made for death while some are made for life. Therefore, it was to those who were then living that God said "if you had heard me," in order that it would become evident after he had promised that they were going to be as sand because he foresaw that they were going to hear.¹¹⁹ For before the time of the Lord Christ, when the statement about this was made, the seed of Abraham was never as the sand of the sea, which is easily proven. First, because in Christ he promised this multitude: "Not in seeds, as if in many, but as if in one, and in your seed, which is Christ."¹²⁰ Finally, because he promised all nations, which before Christ could not have happened.¹²¹ And if the sons

¹¹⁸ "Dabit rationem fides quam perfidum est rationem quaerere." As will become evident below, this statement means that by revealing both the bipartite nature of the body addressed and the nature of the promise, faith will disclose how one may reasonably accept the literal meaning of the Scripture quotation (see above, fn. 116).

¹¹⁹ Here again it is allowed that God has "fore-knowledge," but the idea of predestination is forthrightly negated.

¹²⁰ Gal. 3:16 (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews I; Gen. 22:18).

¹²¹ Both of these "proofs" say the same thing, i.e., that before Christ the covenant was confined to the men of

of Israel were as numerous as the sand of the sea before the time of the Lord, then it was with false brethren who are not sons of Abraham. For not all who are from Abraham are the sons of Abraham, nor from Israel Israelites. Just like the apostle, when "he wished to be accursed" himself for Israel's sake "of whom was the adoption of sons and the covenants,"¹²² showed that the sons of Abraham are not of this type; but he suffered from the feeling of carnal necessity, because they were not from this very same number,¹²³ not because the promise of God had failed, saying: "Nevertheless, the word of God did not fail; for not all who are from Israel are Israelites, and neither because they are seed of Abraham are they all sons, but in Isaac shall your seed be named. That is, it is not the ones who are sons of the flesh that are the sons of God, but it is the sons of the promise who are reckoned among the seed."¹²⁴

faith who lived within the nation of Israel; however, since Christ the covenant was broadened to include men of faith from all nations. In other words, the promise was future until Christ came, and only since Christ has the promise begun to be fulfilled, which further emphasizes the continuity of the two Covenants.

¹²² See Rom. 9:3ff.

¹²³ That is, be numbered among the heirs of the promise.

¹²⁴ Rom. 9:6-8. Citing Paul as his authority, Tyconius has shown that the promise was not confined to Israel after the time of Christ, but rather the promise was given to all men of faith, regardless of nationality.

Therefore, there was no seed of Abraham among the ancient multitude except those who, like Isaac, were sons of faith and of the promise. This example, too, indicates this: "Although the number of the sons of Israel may have been just as the sand of the sea, a remnant will be saved,"¹²⁵ that is, a few. And: "If the Lord of hosts had not left us seed, we would be just like Sodom."¹²⁶ This same remnant was the seed of Abraham, lest all of Judea be like Sodom. Again, when Scripture asserted that God never abandoned his heirs, but that it has always been as in the coming of the Lord when a part of Israel was saved. It said: "What does he say in response? I have kept for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal." So now, according to the election of grace, a remnant was saved."¹²⁷ By saying "so now at this time" he showed that even before this happened in Israel that a remnant, that is, a trifle, was saved.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Rom. 9:27. Tyconius understood the "remnant" to refer to the redeemed within (the bipartite body of) Israel, as well as, it indicated that there was not a "multitude" of heirs before the time of Christ.

¹²⁶ Rom. 9:29. That is, Israel would not be bipartite but would have been totally evil, like Sodom, if God had not given sons of promise to Israel.

¹²⁷ Rom. 11:4-5. Again, he was pointing out the redeemed within the body of Israel.

¹²⁸ In this second argument Rule II has been utilized to show the "remnant" within Israel that was saved according to the election of grace, and the promise of the Old Covenant was shown to be fulfilled in Christ.

However, if neither faith nor reason persuades, then to him who had been promised it was said: "If you, O Israel, had heard me, your number would be just as the sand of the sea."¹²⁹ And Jacob, who, even before he would be born, the same one from free will, after a time, was condemned, just as Hosea says: "There is a judgement of the Lord against Judah that he will punish Jacob according to his ways," and "according to his desires he will requite him." Because "in the womb he supplanted his brother and in his labors he prevailed against God and he prevailed with the angel and he became powerful."¹³⁰ However, if it is established that election was consummated in Jacob, it is not the same one who "in his labors prevailed against God" and was also "the supplantor," but there are two in one body.¹³¹ For the figure is of a two-fold¹³² seed of

¹²⁹ See Isa. 48:18-19 (see above, fn. 116). This final argument of Rule III is occasionally disconcerting because Tyconius has interposed a comparison of the "two-fold seed of Abraham" (Jacob and Esau) with an analysis of the bipartite nature of Jacob, or Israel (see Gen. 35:10). This argument employs Rule II in an attempt to explain how the promise, or blessing, has been continued in spite of the failure of some within the body of Israel to become a true "seed" of Abraham.

¹³⁰ Hosea 12:2-4. This passage which reproaches Jacob (Israel), who symbolizes the chosen of God, should alert the reader to the bipartite condition of the body addressed (see Rule II).

¹³¹ Tyconius has sharply focused the discussion on the bipartite nature of Jacob.

¹³² "Duplicis" which is contrasted with "bipertiti" (see Rule II, fn. 1).

Abraham, that is, of two peoples struggling in the one womb of mother Church.¹³³ The one was chosen according to the election of foreknowledge, the other was evil by the choice of his own will. However, Jacob and Esau are in one body, from one seed. But because, clearly, two were brought forth, it is "a manifestation of two" peoples.¹³⁴

And, lest someone should suppose that so clearly separate would be the two peoples, it was shown that both were about to be in one body in Jacob, who both was called "the chosen" and designated as the "supplantor of his brother."¹³⁵ Therefore, in the two the quantity and not the quality of the separation was designated. Otherwise, both who have been separated have been shown about to be united before they were divided. And Isaac says: "Your brother came with deceit and received the blessing."¹³⁶ Unless this mystical expression is briefly to show the two

¹³³ See Gen. 25:23. This is a double reference, comparing the "two-fold seed of Abraham" (Jacob and Esau) with the bipartite body (Jacob).

¹³⁴ Gal. 4:24 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion III:5). Tyconius is playing upon the image of the twins (Jacob and Esau) in the one body of their mother (Rebekah) and the image of the "true" and "false" members in the one body of the Church.

¹³⁵ See Deut. 32:15. Again, this is an analysis of the bipartite body of Jacob and the problem of how to treat contradictory statements addressed to Jacob.

¹³⁶ Gen. 27:35. This, also, is a double reference, comparing the blessing of Jacob, which was intended to be the blessing of Esau, with the problem of how to apply a negative statement to the one blessed, Jacob. Tyconius explained below why this statement must be viewed as a "mystical expression."

in one body, is it not contrary to reason that the deceitful one should receive the blessing for his kinsman, as the Scripture says: "He who does not swear to his kinsman in deceit, he will receive the blessing from the Lord"?¹³⁷ However, Jacob, that is, the Church, never came for the blessing unaccompanied by deceit, that is, by false brothers. But it is not that innocence and deceit come at the same time for the blessing and at the same time are blessed, because "he who can take"¹³⁸ takes, and the one seed comes forth according to the quality of its soil.¹³⁹

However, there is no contradiction that he seems to have supplanted the evil brother, because it did not say "in the womb he supplanted Esau," but "his brother." However, Esau is everywhere a sign and a name of the evil persons, but Jacob of both good and evil; for that reason, the evil part makes itself like Jacob and the two parts exist under the one name. But the good part cannot make itself like Esau: thence, the latter name belongs to the

¹³⁷ Psalm 24:4-5 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion II:19). That is, the negative description could not apply to the blessed one, unless it is understood to refer to a bipartite body, which is the conclusion Tyconius was leading the reader to make.

¹³⁸ See Matt. 19:12, which may be more clear if stated: "he who can take, let him take it." That is, the unredeemed, although present at the same time with the redeemed, did not also receive the blessing, because the redeemed, "he who can take," received the fullness of the blessing.

¹³⁹ That is, the good seed "came forth" to receive the blessing which it rightly deserved because of its response of faith, i.e., "the quality of its soil."

evil ones only, but the former name is bipartite. Otherwise, from free will are neither all the good seed from Jacob nor all the evil ones from Esau, but both types of seed are from both.¹⁴⁰ Thus, from Abraham the bipartite seed was shown. One was born from the slavewoman, in a figure, in order that it might be shown that there were going to be slaves from Abraham, and he hid with his mother. But after he hid, he was discovered in the seed of the other, which is from the free woman and which is from Israel, who received the law "on Mount Sinai, which is Hagar begetting children in servitude."¹⁴¹ There are great numbers of those same people born, like Isaac, from the free woman who "are sons of the promise," that is, saints and believers. So, when the figures of Ishmael and Esau are separated from believers, the whole will come forth after all time¹⁴² in

¹⁴⁰ Here he was playing off the bipartite image against the "two-fold seed" image. He considered Esau to be symbolic of the evil brothers who were never a part of the covenant relationship. Jacob, however, symbolized the righteous brothers, as well as, the evil brothers who were hiding within the covenant body. Thus, to say that "in the womb he supplanted his brother" meant to Tyconius that the righteous "brother" supplanted the unrighteous "brother" within the bipartite body of Jacob. Otherwise, Tyconius would have had to conclude that Jacob and Esau were both good and bad alike.

¹⁴¹ Gal. 4:24 (see above, fn. 13). Again, this is a reference to bipartite Jacob. The image is that those living under the law, rather than by faith, are like people hiding, or being obscured, in the anonymity of a crowd, in this case hiding within the covenant body.

¹⁴² "Totum post modum," which may be translated, "at the end of time," meaning at the Eschaton it will be fulfilled.

one people. There, from the beginning, was the Covenant of both Hagar and Isaac; but for a time, under the name of the other, one was covered and hidden away, because the old Covenant did not cease begetting as the new was revealed. For he did not say "Hagar who begat children in her old age," but "which is Hagar, begetting children in servitude."¹⁴³

However, it is necessary that "both grow together until the harvest."¹⁴⁴ Therefore, just as then he

¹⁴³That is, the function of law within the economy of the Old Covenant has not been abolished; for it still seeks to compel men to faith. Thus, as this third argument was meant to show, law and promise have had a parallel relationship within the body of Israel, and while faith-promise supersedes law-works, faith-promise fulfills rather than cancels law-works. Further, law-works does not cancel faith-promise and neither does it place a condition upon the promise; but law-works labors to draw men from doing their own will to doing the will of God, as expressed by the law. As God's will, the law must be done. Indeed, the law continues because it does express the will of God for man. However, as has been shown above, no man has been able to do the law until God gave him the "power," or spirit, to do the law inwardly through grace. In this sense, then, the law has compelled men to find in the relationship of faith another means of relating to God; for in the relationship of law-works men find only the threat of punishment. Consequently, those within the covenant fulfill the law but they do not abolish the law or the law's power to produce "children in servitude"; and those who remain in servitude to the law strive against those who live in the freedom of grace, but in spite of the continual strife the covenant of grace maintains its own existence, as will be further explained below.

¹⁴⁴Matt. 13:30. Both the covenant of grace and that of law remain in effect until the "harvest," i.e., the future time when Christ will separate the false members from his Church (see Rule II, fn. 34).

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concealed the new under the professing of the old Covenant,¹⁴⁵ that is, the grace which would beget sons of the promise like Isaac by the free woman, which was revealed in Christ; so now also, by the assistance of this new Covenant, there are not lacking sons of servitude begotten by Hagar, which will be revealed when Christ judges. The apostle confirms that now, also, among the brethren is produced that which was then produced among them, saying: "However, you, brethren, are sons of the promise according to Isaac. But, just as then, he who was born according to the flesh persecuted him who was born according to the spirit, so also now."¹⁴⁶ And he added by necessity: "What does Scripture say? Cast out the slavewoman and her son; for the son of the slavewoman shall not be a co-heir with the son of the free woman."¹⁴⁷ However, it is not without meaning that he said, "just as then he persecuted him, so also now"; for the apostle was explaining "he persecuted him." For the Scriptures say: Ishmael "was playing with

¹⁴⁵ That is, faith (the new Covenant, now fully revealed in Christ) was a necessary part of the law (the old covenant).

¹⁴⁶ Gal. 4:28-29. That is, grace through faith was operative under the (old) covenant of law, and the law is still working under the (new) covenant of grace. The reference points to the conflict between those who live by the spirit of the law and those who live by the letter of the law.

¹⁴⁷ Gal. 4:30. That is, God will separate the false from the true brothers.

Isaac."¹⁴⁸ Were not the brethren who were proclaiming circumcision to the Galatians reproaching them openly and not as in a game, that is, without a sign of persecution?¹⁴⁹ Therefore, just as he called Ishmael a persecutor in the type of someone playing, so, also, those who fight to separate the sons of God from Christ, as by common use, that is, the discipline of the law, to make them sons of their mother, Hagar.¹⁵⁰

There is no other reason why the sons of the devil creep in "to spy out our freedom,"¹⁵¹ and make themselves like brothers, and play in our Paradise¹⁵² just like the

¹⁴⁸ Gen. 21:9. This reference reintroduces an earlier discussion from Rule II (See Rule II, fn. 31) concerning the two seed of Abraham--Ishmael and Isaac, the father of Jacob and Esau--and it resounds the comparison between the "two-fold seed" and the "bipartite body." The image of Ishmael "playing" with Isaac was interpreted by Tyconius as an euphemistic description of Ishmael, as one outside the covenant of grace, persecuting Isaac, an heir of the promise.

¹⁴⁹ See Gal. 2:4 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion I:20, V:3). This is a reference to the "Judaizers" against whom Paul contended; for they were imposing obedience to the law upon those who were being obedient to God through faith.

¹⁵⁰ Thus, Tyconius has equated Ishmael "persecuting" Isaac, which illustrates the conflict between letter and spirit under the Old Covenant, with the Judaizers and the Galatian Christians, which illustrates this same conflict existing under the New Covenant.

¹⁵¹ See Gal. 2:4. "Freedom," i.e., exemption from the letter of the law through grace.

¹⁵² "paradiso." Tyconius has used the images of the original paradise (see Gen. 2:8) and of the future paradise (see Luke 24:43), to which the sons of the promise are heir, to describe the nature of the existence of the men of faith under the covenant of grace.

sons of God, other than that they may pride themselves on breaking up the freedom of the sons of God, "who will bear the judgement whoever they may be,"¹⁵³ those who have persecuted every saint, who killed the prophets, who "have always resisted the Holy Spirit";¹⁵⁴ "enemies of the cross of Christ, denying that Christ was in the flesh,"¹⁵⁵ even while they hated his members, the body "of sin," "the son of perdition in the mystery of iniquity."¹⁵⁶ They come "according to the operation of Satan, in all power with false signs and miracles, spiritual beings of wickedness in the heavenly places,"¹⁵⁷ whom "the Lord" Christ, whom they persecuted when he was in the flesh, "will consume by the breath of his mouth and will destroy by the manifestation of his coming."¹⁵⁸ For this is the time when those things

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¹⁵³ See Gal. 5:10 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:4). The conflict between law and promise continues even under the New Covenant (see above, fn. 143), but the day will come when those responsible for this conflict will be punished.

¹⁵⁴ See Acts 7:51.

¹⁵⁵ Phil. 3:18; I John 4:3.

¹⁵⁶ Tyconius has grouped together what he considered to be references describing the evil members of the bipartite body and of those outside who have resisted the call to faith either by the law or by Christ.

¹⁵⁷ Eph. 4:12.

¹⁵⁸ II Thess. 2:8. This is a reference to Christ's second coming (see Rule I, fns. 5, 19, 22, 23, 29).

may be said not in secret but openly, with the imminent
"departure" which is the revelation "of the man of sin,"¹⁵⁹
in the departure of Lot from Sodom.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ II Thess. 2:3. This is a reference to the anti-christ (see II Thess. 2:3,7; Rule I, fns. 29, 33, 34, 53).

¹⁶⁰ See Gen. 19:15-17 (see above, fn. 126). This is a reference to the future, final separation of those who lived under the law, and have not been able to be justified, from those who have been justified of all the ages.

Thus, with this third Rule Tyconius has sought to establish the continuity between the Old and New Covenants, and to show how the New explains and fulfills the Old Covenant, while at the same time, to show the relevance and import of the Old for the proclamation of the New Covenant. Also, he has shown the interrelatedness of Rules I, II, and III, which tends to refute Augustine's estimation of this Rule (see above, fns. 1, 78).

IV. SPECIES AND GENUS

We are speaking now about species and genus,¹ not according to the rhetorical skill of human wisdom, which

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¹"Species" (*species*) and "genus" (*genus*), as philosophical terms, are perhaps most often associated with Aristotle's The Categories, although in Rule IV they are employed as hermeneutic terms of classification. It is doubtful that Tyconius knew directly either Aristotle's work or the works of the Greek rhetoricians who utilized Aristotle's terms; and while he does give evidence of having been familiar with the elementals, at least, of Roman rhetoric, still he would have known these concepts of classification from their common usage in the late fourth century.

Tyconius understood "genus" to be a designation of a class or a category, or of a group identified by common characteristics. He understood "species" to be the sub-class of the class or category, the particular of the general, the individual belonging to the group identified by common characteristics. More specifically, the province of genus in this fourth Rule is that of Old Testament prophecies which are to be fulfilled in the Eschaton. The genus-quality of a given prophecy is that aspect of the prophecy which has eschatological import. In other words, it is an eschatological prediction. The species-quality is that aspect of the prophecy which has temporal, that is, past, present or future historical import. The species aspect of the prophecy has been or will be realized before time gives way to eternity, which will be marked by the occurrence of the "day of the Lord," or the Eschaton: yet, to see the species-event is to foresee, after a fashion, the genus-event. Further, Tyconius thought it possible to find in some instances the species "mixed," or "united," with the genus in such a way that the prophecy had both temporal, local import and at the same time served as a clearer, more potent description of what will transpire in the Age to come: thus, the prophecy would be fulfilled twice. So, except where the species and genus are "mixed," the species is a prediction of an event which will occur in time, which also serves as a concrete sign of the type of event that will occur in the Eschaton; and the genus is a prophecy of a universal event which will occur in the Eschaton. From this it may be seen that the simple equation of species and genus with particular and universal is neither precise enough nor accurate; for a species-event

he² who is more able than anyone to speak did not speak "lest he make the cross of Christ empty of meaning,"³ if,

may be universal but temporal, while the genus-event will be universal but eschatological.

More importantly, since the genus aspect of a prophecy is directly related to the establishment of God's complete and final reign over His people, and the destruction of those "foreign" to God, Tyconius also considered statements about the Church to be in the same genus along with the eschatological concerns. Indeed, there is a convergence in Tyconius's mind of the eschatological predictions about the end of this world and the prophecies concerning the full realization of the Church in the Eschaton. Consequently, the actual genus that is the concern of Rule IV is that which embraces the Old Testament prophecies pertaining to the eschatological realization of the Kingdom of God; and while the species appear in several guises, they are all characterized by this eschatological finger-pointing, this foretelling and foreshadowing, in time, of the terminal blessing and judgement upon this world. Finally, the inclusion of prophecies about the Church reintroduces the concept of the bipartite nature of the Church and the ultimate destruction of the false members, which, of course, parallels the eschatological judgement.

In view of this assessment of Rule IV, it may occur to the reader that a different terminology might be applied to the Rule, such as, "eschatological and temporal prophecies"; for Rule IV is an attempt at establishing the distinction between prophecies which are either temporally or eschatologically realizable. Indeed, some are both, which are said by Tyconius to be either "united" or "mixed." However, it must be kept in mind that even the species prophecies, those which are fulfilled in past, present or future history, are to be understood as specific, particular signs pointing to the Great Event which will occur in general to all nations at the end of time. The value of this classification for Tyconius was the capability it provided him in dealing with apparently unfulfilled prophecies, and prophecies which seemed too incredible to interpret literally as going to occur in history, as well as, prophecies which he simply could not fully understand; all of which he either relegated to the genus or interpreted as a figurative description of the spiritual afflictions and demise of the unredeemed, the latter of which he often did with those prophecies he deemed too incredible and horrible to interpret literally. Secondly, this classification provided a simple and somewhat logical means of structuring and delimiting the allegorizing of many of the more fantastic and awful prophecies. Thus, with this system one could

like a falsehood, it should need an aid or an ornamentation of the word.⁴ But we are speaking according to the mysteries of heavenly wisdom by the instruction of the Holy Spirit, who, since the prize of truth should constitute the faith, narrated mysteries, hiding the genus in the species, as, for example, in the whole ancient Jerusalem which is now throughout the earth, or the whole body in one member

more readily accept these prophecies as literal forecasts but consider them as forecasts of the Eschaton, to be fulfilled just as stated but in the Age to come. Or, in certain instances, which will be described below (see below, fn. 98), these more fantastic and awful prophecies could be accepted as figurative, or "spiritual," accounts.

²"He" refers to the Apostle Paul (see I Cor. 1:17-25).

³See I Cor. 1:17.

⁴This is a disclaimer, intended to clarify the differences of purpose between Tyconius's use of these terms, species and genus, and the rhetoricians' use of them. Briefly, for purposes of argument the rhetorician sought to secure his opponent's consent to a given generalized statement which then would be applied to a particular subject. Tyconius wished to disassociate himself from such sophistry. Rather, he believed the species-genus patterning to be inherent in the Old Testament prophecies, and he perceived his task here to be that of extracting and explaining this innate law, or rule, of Scripture. Simply, Tyconius thought this Rule, which he arbitrarily numbered IV, to be co-existent with prophecy, the Rule, i.e., the species-genus relationship, being the intrinsic structure of the prophecy. In other words, Tyconius denied that he was superimposing a classification on the prophecies, or that he was arguing from the general to the particular (which, of course, he was); but rather he claimed to be conducting the reader to the Truth, according to the design of Truth itself, as the Holy Spirit led him to discover.

as in Solomon.⁵ But this thing⁶ is as concealed as the others which are concealed not only by abbreviating the species but also by multiformed narrative.⁷ For this reason, the grace of God, whose aid we ask, must aid us, and "the Spirit having entered in multiple ways"⁸ for reading and of "subtle"⁹ eloquence, by which it may be the genus rather than the species that can easily be seen, since the intellect will insert for an impediment a genus into a species or a species into a genus.¹⁰ For while it

⁵ The concept expressed here as "mysteries" (mysteriis) is analogous to the concept of special revelation. Also, here are the first examples to indicate how the concepts of species and genus are applied. To illustrate, Jerusalem, the city, is treated as a local, temporal particular, but since Tyconius further considered Jerusalem to be another name for the Church, he construed the prophecies about Jerusalem to apply to the Church invisible and universal. Thus, Jerusalem is a species of the genus, Church. Likewise, Solomon is understood both as an individual, himself, and as the embodiment of all the members of the covenant community. Thus, Solomon is a species personifying the genus, Church.

⁶"This thing" refers to the sample species cited above, illustrated by the two examples.

⁷The reader is here advised that there are many additional examples of species to be encountered in Scripture, not all of which are as easily discerned as the above illustrations might lead one to assume.

⁸See Wisdom of Sol. 7:22-23.

⁹See Sir. 1:7.

¹⁰The injunction to seek the gracious aid of God, replacing the conspicuously absent, familiar "by reason alone," is a clear indication of both the scrambled condition of the species-genus patterning and the difficulty one experiences in deciphering such an entangled relationship, that is, Tyconius's own perception of the complexity of the task. Therefore, not by reason alone, but by the grace of God whose Spirit "subtly enters" the readings to enlighten and enable the reader, is one able to discern the species and the genus (cf. Rule I, fn. 19; Rule II, fn. 3; Rule III, fn. 58).

is talking about the species it passes over into the genus, so that the transition may not immediately appear clear, but passing over it adds words which may apply to both, until it may gradually withdraw a measure of the species and the transition be elucidated, since those things which begin from the species would not agree unless in the genus. And in the same way it leaves the genus, returning to the species.¹¹

However, sometimes it passes from the species to the genus, not in the aforesaid manner, but in an obvious way it does pass over and in the aforesaid fashion is reversed. Sometimes, it passes in the aforesaid manner and it is reversed in an obvious way by a variation of a like arrangement: either from species to genus or from genus to species it ends the narration. Sometimes it does not return at once from the latter to the former, and each narration neither exceeds the species nor by-passes the genus, applying to both. This variety of transfer and arrangement requires the faith which seeks the grace of God.

¹¹With his typical brevity Tyconius has set forth what he considered the basic and most common species-genus arrangement: moving from the species to species & genus then to genus, then either to genus & species and back to species or directly from genus to species without the ambiguous transition.

¹²In contrast to the arrangement described above, Tyconius listed several alternate arrangements which frequently occur; but he assured the reader that any alternate arrangement also maintained the integrity of the species-genus relationship.

Thus, speaking through Ezekiel, God unites the advent to the return of them who have been taken captive from Jerusalem and have been scattered among the nations; and, in the land which our fathers had occupied, he means the world. For the seven nations promised to Abraham are a type of all nations.¹³ He said: "For the word of the Lord came to me, saying: Son of man, the house of Israel dwelt in the land and they defiled it by their way and by their idols and their sins; their ways have become like the impurity of unclean women before my face. And I poured out my wrath upon them, and I scattered them among the nations and I tossed them out among the regions, according to their ways and according to their sins I judged them. And they came in among the nations among which they came, and they defiled my holy name, while they say: Here are the people of the Lord; and, yet, they have departed from their own land. And I spared them on account of my holy name because they defiled the house of Israel among the nations among which they came. On account of this, say to the house of Israel: Thus says the Lord, it is not for you, O house of Israel, that I do this, but for the sake of my holy name which you have defiled among the nations among which they

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¹³The "advent" refers to the second advent of Christ. Thus, the return of the Babylonian captives to Jerusalem is an historical sign (species) of the eschatological event (genus) in which God will gather His chosen into the eternal Jerusalem.

came."¹⁴ Then he begins to add the genus:¹⁵ "And I will sanctify that great holy name of mine which was defiled among the nations which you defiled among them, and the nations will know that I am the Lord, when I will be sanctified among you before their eyes, and I will take you from the nations and I will gather you from all the lands and I will bring you into your own land." Obviously, he goes beyond the species:¹⁶ "And I will sprinkle you with pure water and you will be cleansed from all your idols, and I will cleanse you and I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit I will place in you, and I will take away the heart of stone from your flesh and I will give you a heart of flesh, and I will place my spirit in you, and I will cause you to walk in my statutes and you will do and keep my judgements. And you shall dwell in the land which I gave your fathers, and you will be my people and I will be your God, and I will cleanse you from all your uncleanness." He touches upon the species, not leaving out the genus,

¹⁴Ezek. 36:16ff. (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews XIII). To this point in the passage Tyconius understood the prophecy as a species prediction: it applied only to the "house of Israel" in its contemporary situation.

¹⁵That is, the ambiguous transition from species to genus begins here. Again, the passage has genus-quality to the degree that it has eschatological import, not because of the plurality or generality of the subject, i.e., "nations."

¹⁶The ambiguous transition is completed and the genus is clearly seen now; and, for Tyconius, the passage which follows describes the transformation of God's chosen which will occur at the Eschaton.

however:¹⁷ "And I will call the wheat and I will multiply it and I will not give you a famine, and I will multiply the fruit of the tree and that which springs forth in the field, in order that you may not receive the disgrace of famine any more among the nations. And you will remember your evil ways and your thoughts that are not good, and you will have hatred for these before the nations in your iniquities and in their abominations. It is not on account of you that I act, says the Lord; it is a sign to you, you are confused and turned back from your ways, O house of Israel. Thus says the Lord God: On that day I will cleanse you from all your iniquities and I will cause the cities to become inhabited," in the type of the land of Judea which had been laid waste by wars, he promised to renew the world which had withdrawn from God,¹⁸ "and the desert places will be rebuilt and the land which had been desolate will be cultivated, on account of which it had been desolated under the eye of all who passed by. And they will say: This land which had been desolate has

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¹⁷The transition from the genus back to the species is here noted. In fact, however, the transition is never completed, nor does Tyconius's arrangement system fully apply to this passage.

¹⁸This portion of the prophecy contains a temporal prediction (species) about removing the "disgrace of famine" and, beginning with "Thus says the Lord: On that day," an eschatological prediction. Actually, this is a "mixed" prophecy; for as Tyconius said, what is to occur in Judea is perceived as both temporally realizable and as a clearer, more certain description of what will transpire throughout the whole world in the Age to come.

become just as the garden of delight and the deserted cities and demolished fortifications have been re-established. And the nations which have been left in a circle around you will know that I am the Lord. I have rebuilt the demolished place and I have planted the desolate places, because I, the Lord, have spoken and done it."¹⁹

Also, the apostle, at the introduction of Jacob, thus interprets that the entrance of the Gentiles was promised, saying: "Until the full number of Gentiles comes in and, thus, all of Israel will be saved. Just as it is written: He will come from Zion who will liberate and banish impieties from Jacob,"²⁰ and from this same genus of speaking he returns to the species, saying: "According to the Gospel, indeed, enemies on account of you."²¹

Also, in Ezekiel he begins from the species which agrees, as well, with the genus and concludes with the genus alone, showing that the land of the fathers is to be

¹⁹Ezek. 36:16-36. The passage concludes entirely in the genus, which is recognized by the tone of finality and all-inclusiveness in the prophecy.

²⁰Rom. 11:25-26. That is, the promise is interpreted as belonging to the genus because it is a reference, which concerns the whole world, to the final day of salvation. Also, this passage reintroduces the discussion about "promise" found in Rule III.

²¹Rom. 11:28. Tyconius thought this verse to be a temporal prophecy (species) because there will be no "enemies" of the Gospel in the Age to come.

the possession of the world.²² "Thus says the Lord, Behold, I will take all the house of Israel from among the nations among which they have gone, and I will gather them from all who are in a circle around them, and I will lead them into the land of Israel. And I will make them a nation in my land and on the mountains of Israel, and one prince will be over them. And no longer will they be in two nations, nor any longer will they be divided into two kingdoms, lest they be contaminated further among their idols. And I will liberate them from all their iniquities in which they have sinned and I will cleanse them, and they will be my people and I, the Lord, will be their God." Obviously, he passes to the genus:²³ "And my servant David will be the prince among them, one shepherd over all who will walk in my ordinances and keep my statutes and do them. And they will dwell in their land which I gave to my servant Jacob, where their fathers had dwelt, and they will dwell in it themselves; and David, my servant, will be their prince forever. And I will arrange a covenant of peace with them and it will be an eternal covenant with them, and I will place my sanctuary among them forever and my dwelling place will be among them, and I will be their God and they will be my

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²²The species-genus arrangement in this prophecy is: species, species & genus, genus.

²³The transition into the genus may be clearly seen in the last sentence of the previous section, beginning "And I will liberate them . . ."

people. And the nations will know that I am the Lord who sanctifies them, while they are sanctified forever among them, says the Lord."²⁴

Also, there the advent of the Gentiles is grafted onto the return of the dispersion of Israel, and in the Egyptian wilderness is the type of a desert people which is now shown to be the Church; and because these same people are evil, although they may be recalled with the people of God out of the nations into the land of Israel, nevertheless, they are not in the land of Israel.²⁵ "As I live, says the Lord, I will not respond to you and this will not ascend into your spirit. And what you say will not happen: We shall be just as the nations and just as the tribes of the land in order that we may be servants of wood and stones. As I live, says the Lord, by a strong hand and by an uplifted arm and in wrath poured out I will be a king

²⁴Ezek. 37:21-28. Again, the tone of finality and completeness, heard in such expressions as "eternal covenant," and "forever," signified for Tyconius the genus-quality of the prophecy. "David" is to be understood typologically as a species of the Christ, who will be the eternal prince.

²⁵The concept of the bipartite Church is reintroduced in order to explain the implications of the genus prophecy which is to follow.

Perhaps, at this point one may begin to appreciate the typological hermeneutic which Tyconius sought to devise by intertwining these various Rules so as to provide both a system of checks and balances on allegorical interpretations of Old Testament prophecies, as well as a system using historical types to uncover the significance, so to speak, in prophetic passages of hitherto unrecognized value for the Christian Church.

over you and I will lead you out from the people and I will receive you from the regions in which you are scattered by a strong hand and by an uplifted arm <and>^{*} in wrath poured out, and I will bring you into the desert of the peoples and there I will dispute with you face to face, in the manner that I disputed with your fathers in the desert of the land of Egypt, so I will judge you, says the Lord. And I will drive you under my staff and I will lead you out in number and will sort out the impious from you and the deserters, since by their transgression I shall lead them and they will not enter into the land of Israel and you will know that I am the Lord."²⁶

Also, there in the captivity of the mountains of Israel God promises the plenteousness and the multiplication of the peoples until the end of time.²⁷ It says: "Since they gave your land to themselves as a possession, dishonoring souls with joy, in order that they might

* The carets, here and elsewhere in the translation, are reproduced from the Latin text and indicate the places where Burkitt has made conjectural emendations.

²⁶Ezek. 20:31-38. Again, Tyconius considered this passage to be an eschatological (genus) prophecy describing the judgement and wrath that will befall the unredeemed in the Eschaton. The concluding statement which mentions the "land of Israel" should be understood as a reference to the Kingdom of God.

²⁷That is, Tyconius categorized the following prophecy as a temporal prediction because, while it would not be completely fulfilled until the "end of time," it is a promise of protection for the Church in this world. In fact, the prophecy may be said to be "mixed"; for God's blessing will continue through the Age to come.

totally destroy; therefore, prophesy over the land of Israel and say to the mountains and to the hills and to the ravines and to the valleys: Thus says the Lord, Behold, I have spoken in my zeal and in my wrath, because you have borne the reproach of the nations. Behold, I will raise my hand over the nations which are in a circle around you, these shall receive injury to themselves. However, you, O Mountains of Israel, my people who are approaching will devour your grapes and your fruit. For, behold, I am over you and I will have regard over you and you shall cultivate and plant seed and I will multiply over you the whole house of Israel until the end of time, and the cities will be inhabited and the desolate places shall be rebuilt."²⁸

Also, for example, there in the final resurrection the first resurrection is signified.²⁹ It says: "The Lord spoke to me, saying: Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. They say: Our bones are made dry, our hope has died, we have expired. Therefore, prophesy and say: Thus says the Lord, Behold, I will open your graves and I will bring you out of your graves and I will lead you

²⁸ Ezek. 36:5-10.

²⁹ The "final resurrection" refers to that resurrection which will occur in the Eschaton. Tyconius believed that the "first resurrection" (see Rev. 20:4-6) occurs in Christian baptism (see below, fn. 31), which he understood from Paul to be a portrayal of Christ's death, burial and resurrection (see Rom. 6:3-4). Thus, the following passage is "mixed": it has temporal import concerning the "first resurrection" and it serves as a clearer, more potent description of what is to transpire in the "final resurrection."

into the land of Israel, and you will know that I am the Lord when I open your sepulchers and bring my people out of the graves, and I will place my spirit in you and you will live, and I will place you over your own land and you will know that I am the Lord."³⁰ Shall we know the Lord only when we have been clearly resurrected, and not now when we arise through baptism?³¹ Either the dead are able to say: "Our bones are made dry," or we believe it is promised to the dead deservedly. For God explained that it is in the sacrament,³² lest it become ambiguous. For we believe that no Christian is doubtful about the final resurrection of the flesh. And the Lord, through John, shows these resurrections, saying: "Truly, I say to you that he who hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life, and he does not come into judgement but passes from death to life. Truly, I say to you that the hour is coming and now is when the dead will hear the voice of the son of God and those who hear will live. For just as the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son to have life in himself. And he has given him power even to pronounce judgement because he is the Son of Man." He adds the final resurrection: "Do not be amazed by this, because the hour is

³⁰Ezek. 37:11-14.

³¹The question anticipates a negative answer; for the Christian is "in the Lord" following baptism.

³²The "sacrament" refers to baptism.

coming in which all who are in the graves will hear the voice of the Son of God, and they who have done good will come out to the resurrection of life, and they who have done evil, to the resurrection of judgement."³³ First he said, "The dead who would hear will live," then second, "all who are in the graves will come out."³⁴

Also, because in one man the whole body is signified, in the Book of Kings God promises Solomon to David,³⁵ saying: "I will raise up your seed after you who will be

³³John 5:24-29. The species aspect of this passage is that which speaks about persons receiving eternal life in the present historical moment, that is, those who are resurrected through baptism. The genus aspect is that which speaks about those "in the graves" who will be resurrected at the Eschaton to receive either blessing or judgement.

³⁴The significance of this clarification is that it reveals that Tyconius thought the "dead" to refer to the spiritually "dead" and those "who are in the graves" to refer to the physically dead.

³⁵To this point Tyconius has provided several actual examples demonstrating how this (fourth) "innate" Rule enables the Christian to explain various sorts of Old Testament prophecy. The discussion now moves to an examination of two of the major hermeneutic concerns faced by the Church: the problem of interpreting prophecies of promise (see Rule III) and the problem of "extracting edification out of those parts of the Old Testament which obviously refer to special towns or countries." (Burkitt, p. XV.) The difficulty of the latter problem is that of finding spiritual value, from the Christian perspective, in many Old Testament passages, while the difficulty of the former problem is that of determining the time-factor of the promise-prophecies, i.e., whether they are temporal or eschatological or both. The treatment of this former problem, which begins in this paragraph, is considerably shorter than that of the former, probably because of the extensive treatment it received in Rule III. Moreover, the objective here is to assess the time dimension of the promise prophecies and their relevance for the Church.

from your womb and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build my house." These agree both in species and in genus. Then he goes beyond the species, saying:³⁶ "And I will establish his throne forever." Again in both: "I will be his father and he will be my son. And if he comes in iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the sons of men; however, I will not take my mercy from him as I took it from those whom I took away from before me, and his house will be faithful." Once more, he goes beyond the species: "And his kingdom will be before me forever, and his throne will be established forever."³⁷ However, because it appears to go beyond the limits of the species to promise the throne of Christ forever, he promises the throne of the son of man, so of the body of Christ, that is, the Church. For it is not on account of David that God promised that Christ was about to reign, who "had this glory before the foundation of the world."³⁸ And so through Isaiah God says to Christ:³⁹

³⁶The prophecy is "united," or "mixed," meaning it has both temporal and eschatological import; but the following statement, which "exceeds the species," has eschatological relevance only.

³⁷II Sam. 7:12-16.

³⁸See John 17:5, 24. That is, the temporal throne of David is interpreted typologically as the throne of Christ, which is an eternal throne. The species prophecy, thus, points to the eschatological fulfillment of Christ's eternal, universal reign over the redeemed, i.e., the Church.

³⁹Tyconius considered Christ to be the true subject of the following prophecy.

"It will be a great thing for you to be called my child and to establish the tribes of Jacob and to restore the scattered ones of Israel; behold, I have appointed you in the generic covenant as a light to the nations, in order that you may be salvation until the end of the earth."⁴⁰ What is greater, that the son of God be called his child and convert the scattered of Israel, or that Israel itself become through him both heaven and earth and those things which are visible and invisible in them? But he says he is great who, mixed with the Son of God, is from the seed of David. For every promise to Abraham and to David is the same, in order that their seed might be mixed with him of whom are all things, and might be co-heirs forever; not in order that Christ, who has been established as king of all by the Father, might reign on their account.⁴¹

What may we say about Solomon? Is he with God, or following his idolatry is he a reprobate?⁴² If we should

⁴⁰ See Isa. 49:6 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion IV:25, V:11, Against Praxeas XI). Notice Tyconius's reference to Abraham's covenant with God as the "generic covenant." The Church is heir to the "generic covenant" rather than the Old Covenant (Testament) established with Moses.

⁴¹ Tyconius wanted to make it clear that it was not the prophecy that produced, or necessitated, the Incarnation, but because of Christ, "who is established king of all," God gave the prophecy in an attempt to "mix with [Christ], of whom are all things," those who believed the promises to Abraham and to David.

⁴² See I Kings 11:1-13. While David is interpreted typologically by Tyconius as a species of Christ, Solomon is interpreted as a species of the Church. The mention of Solomon's idolatry reintroduces the concept of the

say with God, we will promise impunity to the worshippers of idols. For the Scriptures do not say that Solomon did penance or received wisdom. If, however, we should say a reprobate, it is opposed by the voice of God which says that on account of David not even the kingdom of the land of Solomon will be taken away, just as it is written in Kings: "Dashing to pieces, I will dash your kingdom from your hand and I will give it to your servant. But in your days I will not do this for the sake of David your father; from the hand of your son I will take it. But I will not take away all of the kingdom. One dominion I will give to your son for the sake of David my servant and for the sake of Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen."⁴³ For what does it profit David if on account of him his son should obtain the kingdom of earth when he was about to lose a heavenly one? From this it is evident that Solomon, whose earthly kingdom certainly was not taken away on account of David, is with God because God said, also: "I will chasten his transgressions with the rod of men, but I will not take my mercy from him."⁴⁴ Even if he is not a reprobate and if worshippers of idols do not occupy the kingdom of God, it

bipartite Church, but the actual concern is still the question of temporal or eschatological fulfillment, as the following passage will show.

⁴³I Kings 11:11-13. This prophecy is "united" in species and genus.

⁴⁴II Sam. 7:14-15; see Psalm 89:33.

is evident that Solomon, whose "breadth of heart" and "wisdom is just as the sand of the sea," and whose idolatry is horrible, was a type of the bipartite Church.⁴⁵ "Dashing to pieces," he says, "I will dash your kingdom from your hand; however, I will not do this in your days; from the hand of your son I will take it."⁴⁶ "I will dash" would have been sufficient; so why then "dashing to pieces, I will dash"? Or how "from the hand of Solomon," if he says "I will not do this in your days" but "from the hand of your son I will take it"? "Dashing to pieces, I will dash" is used for a double effect,⁴⁷ just as "Blessing, I

⁴⁵ See I Kings 4:25. Here the intertwining of Rules I and II with Rules III and IV is quite obvious. The "good" part of the bipartite Solomon is typified by his "breadth of heart" and "wisdom," while the "evil" part is depicted by "whose idolatry is horrible."

⁴⁶ I Kings 11:11-12. As explained in Rules II and III, statements of this sort did not mean for Tyconius that God would renege on His promise. Rather, a statement of this sort was to be viewed as a prophecy of judgement against the unredeemed within Israel, and the Church (see Rule III, fns. 106ff.). Again, the ultimate aim of this discussion is to analyze the time dimension of this sort of prophecy, which will be fully treated below.

⁴⁷ "Iugis operationis est." Clearly, Tyconius misunderstood the peculiar Hebraism of intensification involved here and has interpreted it to mean that two separate statements are being made simultaneously, not by double entendre, but by a reduplication, or repetition so to speak, of the verb. Working from an Old Latin translation, neither knowing Hebrew nor recognizing the idiomatic construction, Tyconius interpreted these repetitive constructs to be distinct but simultaneous species and genus prophecies. Thus, he thought "dashing" was the temporal (species) aspect of the total prophecy and "I will dash" was the eschatological (genus) aspect.

will bless and multiplying, I will multiply your seed."⁴⁸

For it shows that Solomon was always about to be in his son, that is, in his posterity, whose kingdom God did not take away in the times after the death of Solomon, under the promise of the fathers; but he will reform it forever and will bear it continually, according to the idolatry of Solomon persevering in his sin. Otherwise, how from the hand of Solomon dashing did he dash or not dash if Solomon is not now in his sons, good or evil? However, the statement "but I do not take the whole kingdom" returns to the species, beginning another type in the son and in the servant of Solomon.⁴⁹

In Joshua, son of Nun, also in this way the Lord clearly shows the body was about to be in one man, but in

⁴⁸ Gen. 22:17 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:22). Again, "blessing" and "multiplying" were considered to be present actions and, therefore, temporal prophecies; while "I will bless" and "I will multiply" were considered to be future actions, ultimate in nature, and, therefore, eschatological prophecies.

⁴⁹ Tyconius, satisfied that Solomon was a symbolic representation of the whole Church, concluded that "Solomon in his sons" meant that in each successive generation some within the Church (i.e., the unredeemed) would be idolaters. Thus, the statement "but I do not take the whole kingdom" would be seen as an allusion to the faithful and true believers of the Church who are in the enduring and eternal kingdom. In terms of the time dimension the prophecy has both species and genus aspects: the temporal portion pertains to "dashing from the hand of Solomon" in each generation of "his sons," and the eschatological portion pertains to the final resolution of the kingdom of Solomon in the Eschaton. Notice, also, the concluding statement, "in the son and in the servant of Solomon," which picks up the image of Isaac and Ishmael again.

this place as evil only. It says: "The people have sinned and have transgressed the covenant which I arranged with them, they have stolen from an accursed things, they have put it in their vessels,"⁵⁰ although only Achan of the tribe of Judah had done it. Thus, understanding that the body was always going to be, Joshua said, since he would slay him: "God will exterminate you just as also today."⁵¹

For it is more necessary to know that all the cities or provinces of Israel and of the gentiles, which Scripture speaks about or in which it refers to some act, are a type of the Church:⁵² indeed, some types are of the evil kind, some of the good, but some are of both kinds. Therefore, if there are some things which also seem to apply to the gentiles which are outside, nevertheless, to the part which is inside is applied the whole adverse body, just as in the captivity of Israel a return to the Lord is promised to the gentiles. It is impossible for the law to speak to him who is not in the law; it is able to speak

⁵⁰Joshua 7:11. Here is an example of a prophecy solely about the evil members of the bipartite Church, symbolically represented in "one body."

⁵¹Joshua 7:25. In terms of the time dimension, Tyconius understood this as a "united," or "mixed," prophecy; for it would be partially fulfilled in each successive generation and completely fulfilled in the Eschaton.

⁵²Tyconius has left no doubt that he thought all specific cities and provinces to be species of the genus, Church. Thus, the reader is to interpret these geographical place names typologically as another name for the (bipartite) Church.

about him, but not to him.⁵³ And should it speak anywhere especially to the foreigners without any mention of the name of Israel, they must be believed to be within as well; since even if what was foretold happened, it is the Church, nevertheless.⁵⁴ Finally, a distinctive meaning does not occur in all the species; for both Damascus and Tyre--which is also Sor--and many others exist even now, which the Lord had said would be wholly taken away and not restored.⁵⁵

However, in Ezekiel it is obvious that the Church is referred to among the foreign cities; for when God told him to declare the destruction in Theman, which is Esau, and in Dagon, which is the idol of the foreigners, Ezekiel

⁵³ (Italics not in the original.) Here again the relationship of Rules I, II and III to Rule IV is reiterated. Further, Tyconius would have it understood that what seems to apply to the Gentiles, i.e., those strictly outside the covenant community of Israel, and the Church, actually applies to the "adverse body," or false members of the Church; for, given Tyconius's premise, the "law" applies only to those to whom God has revealed Himself as God.

⁵⁴ In other words, all references to "foreigners" lose their historical, or actual, reference and, within the hermeneutic of Tyconius, become references to the Church; and even if the references to the "foreigners" have been fulfilled and can be historically validated, nevertheless, Tyconius would have them regarded as species prophecies about the Church. Consequently, it may be said that Tyconius alternated between typological and allegorical interpretations of the "foreigners."

⁵⁵ The "distinctive meaning" refers to whether or not the prophecy has been historically fulfilled. That is, not all the prophecies which mention the "foreigners" have been completely realized, as in the case of the cities of Damascus and Tyre.

understood it as a parable against Jerusalem and the temple.⁵⁶ He says: "The word of the Lord came to me saying: Son of man, set your face over Theman, look upon Dagon, prophesy in the highest forest of the Negeb, and say to the woodland of the Negeb: Hear the word of the Lord; Thus says the Lord, Behold, I kindle a fire in you and it will consume every green tree and every dry tree in you. The blazing flame will not be extinguished and every face in it from the South to the North will be burned up in it, and all flesh will know that I, the Lord, did set it afire; it shall never be extinguished. And I said, No, Lord! They are saying to me; Is this not a parable which is spoken? And the word of the Lord came to me saying: On account of that, son of man, prophesy and set your face towards Jerusalem, look upon their sanctuary and you will prophesy over the land of Israel. Thus says the Lord, Behold, I will draw my sword from its sheath, and will cut off the wicked and the unrighteous from you. Thus, my sword shall go out of its sheath over all flesh from the South to the North, and all flesh will know that I am the Lord, I who sent out my sword from its sheath; it shall not be sheathed again."⁵⁷ He said, "Set your face over Theman

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⁵⁶Given that Jerusalem and the temple are representations of the Church, what is offered here is a "proof" showing that in this prophecy God positively identified, in parabolic fashion, the "foreign cities" with the Church.

⁵⁷Ezek. 20:45-21:5. At this stage rather than attempt to establish the species-genus structure of the

and look upon Dagon," and it is interpreted, saying: "Set your face toward Jerusalem and look upon their sanctuary," and he does not show all of Jerusalem, saying: "I will cut off the wicked and the unrighteous from you," and thus he says generally what is about to be: "Thus, my sword shall go out over all flesh from the South to the North." He shows Theman to be in Jerusalem, as there by the son of David, Solomon, working in his sons, God will consume both Dagon and every detestable thing of the gentiles.⁵⁸ Also, evidently those temples of God which are cast down and demolished and spiritually consumed, he hurls into the flaming stream, that is, the world, which is born the son of David, Josiah, in order that he might be dashed asunder on the altar at Bethel, just as it is written: "O altar, altar, thus says the Lord: Behold, a son is born to the house of David, Josiah is his name."⁵⁹

prophecy Tyconius sought to establish his contention that these foreign cities and countries are symbolic representations of the Church.

⁵⁸Tyconius has allegorized the parable: rather than pair Theman with Jerusalem, he has interpreted Theman to be in Jerusalem, to be a part of Jerusalem, as the evil members are in the Church. He further identified Theman with "the wicked and the unrighteous" and with "Solomon, working in his sons." By implication, then, this is to be seen as a genus prophecy which describes the final act of judgement upon the unredeemed.

⁵⁹I Kings 13:2. The house of David, of course, is to be understood as a reference to the Church. Josiah's destruction, typologically interpreted, is a species of the destruction which will befall the evil members of the bipartite Church in the Eschaton.

Nineveh, the city of the foreigners, is a type of the bipartite Church; but because it takes too long to follow the reading by interpreting verse by verse in order, it will be sufficient to say what cannot apply to the species.⁶⁰ It says, "Nineveh was a great city before God,"⁶¹ since it was against God, as the chief city of the Assyrians which both destroyed Samaria and always oppressed all Judea. But as Jonah, that is, Christ, preaches in the type of the Church, everyone has been freed entirely. That same Nineveh is described entirely in the following prophecy which is about to be experienced, for which the Lord, when foretelling, is a "sign of Jonah in the belly of the whale."⁶² And so in order that the prophet himself may show also that this city is not special, he introduces

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⁶⁰That is, Tyconius wished to avoid doing a detailed examination of the whole book of Jonah, "because it takes too long"; and wished instead to point out, typologically, how Jonah and Nineveh clearly typify Christ and the Church, respectively.

⁶¹Jonah 3:3. "Before God" was perceived by Tyconius to mean "in opposition to God."

⁶²Matt. 12:40. Nineveh is a type of the Church and Jonah is a type of the Christ. Thus, Jonah preaching to Nineveh is a species-event of Jesus preaching to the unredeemed. But the phrase, "that same Nineveh is described entirely in the following prophecy," is a somewhat vague indication that Tyconius has shifted from the prophecy of Jonah to the prophecy of Nahum. Indeed, the three rather esoteric citations from Nahum which follow relate to the foretelling of Nineveh's destruction and Judah's preservation. Therefore, it is clear that Tyconius wanted the reader to grasp that Nineveh represented the unredeemed within the bipartite Church who would be destroyed and that Judah symbolized the redeemed who would be preserved both now and in the Age to come.

other things which go beyond the bounds of the species. It says, "There was no end of them among the gentiles,"⁶³ since the city was of one people. And again: "You have multiplied your market places more than the stars of heaven,"⁶⁴ that is, more than the Church. And again: "Over whom has your evil not always come?"⁶⁵ Could the evil of that one city have come over all men or always, unless of that one which Cain founded with the blood of his brother "in the name of his son,"⁶⁶ that is, his posterity?⁶⁷

⁶³ Nahum 3:3. "Them" is understood in this context to mean the "cities." Thus, not the species, Nineveh, alone, but all the cities of the gentiles represent the unredeemed.

⁶⁴ Nahum 3:16. Allegorically, Tyconius equated the "stars of heaven" with the Church and the "market places" with the cities of the gentiles, which, in turn, represent the unredeemed.

⁶⁵ That is, this reference is too broad to fit the species of Nineveh alone; so the other cities of the gentiles are to be seen as species also of the bipartite Church, "since the city would be of one people."

⁶⁶ See Gen. 4:17. This is an allusion to the city which Cain built and named after his first-born son, Enoch. Judging from the context, Tyconius would have considered the city which Cain established to have been an "evil" city because it was founded after Cain had departed from the presence of God (see Gen. 4:16). Therefore, typologically, Cain's city would symbolize all the evil cities of the gentiles, which, in turn, are types of the evil members of the bipartite Church.

⁶⁷ The paragraph began as an exposition revealing Nineveh to be a species of the Church, but, mid-way through, the discussion reverted to a "proof" that all gentile cities are to be identified with the Church. Again, it must be remembered that these cities are to be identified with the bipartite Church and, specifically, with the unredeemed who are hiding in the Church.

Hitherto, the prophet teaches more openly that the Church is Nineveh. He said: "And he will extend his hand to the North"--that is, to the foreign people of the sun opposite the South--"and he will destroy Assyria, and ~~he will set~~ Nineveh in destruction without water in a desert, and flocks, all the beasts of the earth, will pasture in its midst. And the chameleons and hedgehogs will lie down in its panelled ceilings, and the beasts shall give voice in its graves, and the ravens in its doorways, because its cedar trees are tall.⁶⁸ The unimportant city which dwells in hope, which says in its heart, I am and there is no other after me! How in destruction it has become a pasture of wild beasts! Everyone who passes by it will hiss and shake his fists: O illustrious and redeemed city, a dove which did not hear his voice and did not accept discipline. It did not confide in the Lord and did not draw near to its God; its princes in it were like roaring lions, its judges, like the wolves of Arabia, were not remaining in the morning. Its prophets, exalted in spirit, are contemptuous men, its priests profane the sacred things and disgrace the law by wicked conduct. However, the righteous Lord in its midst will not commit injustice."⁶⁹

⁶⁸Or, "its height is as the cedar."

⁶⁹Zeph. 2:13-3:5. Note that again Tyconius has moved from one source of prophecy concerning Nineveh to another. Obviously, he regarded these words as a figurative sorting out, so to speak, of the unfaithful from the

Likewise, Egypt is bipartite.⁷⁰ It says, "Behold the Lord is sitting upon a swift cloud and is coming to Egypt"⁷¹--the cloud is the spiritual body of the son of man after his baptism and glory; for there is first the advent of the Lord coming together with his body, just as he says: "Then you will see the one coming on the clouds of heaven:"⁷²--"And the handworks of the Egyptians will crumble before his face, and their heart will shrink within them. And Egyptians will rise up against Egyptians, and a man will fight his brother and a man will fight his neighbor," and "a city" will fight "against a city," and it is Egypt that will rise up against Egypt, "and the law against the law," of course, by diversity of meaning under one law, "and the spirit of the Egyptians will be disturbed within

faithful. Therefore, Nineveh would have to be identical with the bipartite Church, with "the righteous Lord in its midst."

⁷⁰"Bipartite" has been substituted for "Church," but the meaning is unchanged. Perhaps, at this point it bears repeating that Tyconius's concept of the bipartite body applied to the visible, earthly Church; for he held that the holy and catholic Church was invisible to human eyes, but that it would be fully revealed at the Eschaton, thereby exposing the unrighteous as well.

⁷¹Isa. 19:1. The reader should understand this passage to read, "the Lord . . . is coming to (the bipartite) Church."

⁷²Matt. 26:64. That is, the Incarnation was the first advent of the Lord, but as the Gospel of Matthew records, the Second Advent will be marked by the Lord's arrival on the "clouds of heaven," which on the surface is quite similar to the passage from Isaiah cited above (fn. 71).

them, and their thoughts I will disperse."⁷³ And although he mixed first the species with the genus, then the genus with the species, he says in addition: "However, in that day there will be an altar of the Lord in the region of the Egyptians, and titles to the Lord at its borders. But it will be a sign to the Lord forever in the region of the Egyptians."⁷⁴ He did not say, "There ought to be an altar at the borders of Egypt forever," but, "There will be."⁷⁵

But Ezekiel more openly shows that the whole world is Egypt, saying: "O day! Because the day of the Lord is near, that day will be the end of the nations. And a sword shall come over Egypt." And he adds the species: "And there will be a tumult in Ethiopia, and the wounded shall fall in Egypt and their foundations shall fall, Persians and Cretes and Lydians and Libyans and all the intermingled peoples, and the sons of my covenant shall fall by the sword in these places with them."⁷⁶ However, this happened,

⁷³ Isa. 19:1-3.

⁷⁴ Isa. 19:19-20. In other words, the Lord will establish His sanctuary; and since the sanctuary would only be established among, or "in the region of," believers, Egypt must be identical with the Church.

⁷⁵ The point of this emphatic statement was to underscore the genus aspect of the prophecy, by which Tyconius sought to stress the oneness of Egypt and the Church.

⁷⁶ Ezek. 30:2-5. The "day of the Lord," i.e., the Eschaton, along with the destruction of the nations, is associated with Egypt specifically. Although he did not say so, it does seem that "by reason alone" Tyconius thought the reader could comprehend the connection of the nations with Egypt to mean that Egypt symbolically

as he said, since after the destruction of Jerusalem they descended into Egypt and were struck down there by Nebuchadrezzar, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. However, it will happen also generally on the last day, since the sons of the covenant died with the Egyptians, living by the customs of the Egyptians.⁷⁷

Also, through Ezekiel, God warns that the king of Egypt and his multitudes, because they behaved terribly toward the saints, are counted among the uncircumcised because it⁷⁸ does not apply except to those who are themselves made pleasing, that is, sacred, by circumcision. Consequently, "because he spread his terror over the land of the living, he shall lay down among the uncircumcised, with those wounded by the sword, Pharaoh and all his

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represented all nations. Thus, what was said about Egypt applied to all nations. Also, note that the passage which follows "And he adds the specie," describing "all the intermingled peoples," is a species prophecy because it has temporal, or historical, relevance.

⁷⁷Tyconius here acknowledged that this very prophecy has been fulfilled in history; but what has transpired in microcosm will occur again throughout the whole world on the "day of the Lord." Thus, the species aspect of the prophecy has been fulfilled, but this fact only intensifies the prediction that those "sons of the covenant" who live "by the customs of the Egyptians," i.e., the false members of the covenant body, or the "sons of Solomon" committing idolatry, will receive the same judgement of death.

⁷⁸"It" refers to circumcision, which was the mark of the (old) covenant. In terms of the new covenant, baptism has replaced circumcision as the means of entering the covenant community; but in this context Tyconius treated circumcision and baptism as synonymous concepts, or signs.

multitude with him, says the Lord."⁷⁹ Likewise, there from the genus to the species:⁸⁰ "Thus says the Lord, I will throw around you a net of many peoples, and I will draw you out with my hook, and I will spread you out over the earth. The fields <will be replenished> with you, and I will place over you all the birds of heaven and I will satiate all the beasts of the whole earth and I will place your flesh upon the mountains and I will saturate the valleys with your blood, and the earth will be drenched by the things which proceed from you. From your multitude I will fill the mountains with brier-bushes, and I will cover the heavens with extinguishers, and I will darken its stars; I will cover up the sun in a cloud and the moon will not beam its light. All the lights that are shining in the heavens over you will be darkened, and I will place darkness over your land, says the Lord." He adds the species:⁸¹ "And I will exasperate the heart of many peoples when I lead your captivity among the nations into a land which you did not

⁷⁹ Ezek. 32:32. Keep in mind that Egypt is a species of both the bipartite Church and the nations, which are actually interchangeable symbols according to this fourth Rule.

⁸⁰ This is a genus & species transition: the point of passing into the species begins with, "I will cover the heavens with an extinguisher," which Tyconius thought was a temporal prediction (see below, fn. 88).

⁸¹ The prophecy is clearly in the species, because Tyconius believed that the Babylonian captivity fulfilled this prediction historically.

know." He goes beyond the species:⁸² "And many nations will be saddened over you, and their kings will be stunned with mental revulsion when my sword will turn over their faces in their midst, it will be to their downfall on the day of your downfall." He returns to the species:⁸³ "Because the Lord says thus, The sword of the king of Babylon comes to you in the swords of giants, and I will cast down your bravery, all the pests from the nations, and they will destroy the obstinacy of Egypt and all of its strength will be consumed." Into the genus:⁸⁴ "And I will destroy all their cattle by much water, and the foot of man will not disturb their land any more, and the hoofs of the cattle will not tread upon it. Then their waters will rest, and their rivers will flow like oil, says the Lord." Species:⁸⁵ "And I will give Egypt over to destruction, and the land will be desolate with its plenitude and I will

⁸²The key phrase here is "on the day of your downfall," which immediately evoked in Tyconius's mind images of the "day of the Lord."

⁸³Again, Tyconius considered the historicity of the following prediction to have been established. (In fact, prince Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon decisively defeated Pharaoh Necho of Egypt in 605 B.C., at Carchemish, to which passing references may be found in Jer. 46 and II Chron. 35:20ff).

⁸⁴Simply, the following statement sounded to him like the idyllic state which will follow the events of the "day of the Lord."

⁸⁵See above, fn. 83.

scatter all its inhabitants." Genus:⁸⁶ "And they will know that I am the Lord."⁸⁷ It says, "I will cover heaven with extinguishers, and I will darken its stars; I will cover up the sun in a cloud, and the moon will not beam its light. All the lights that are shining in the heavens over you will be darkened, and I will place darkness over your land." During the passion of the Lord darkness was not in the land of Egypt so much as in the whole world.⁸⁸ But neither were the nations as troublesome as captive Egypt, "expecting their downfall from the day of its downfall."⁸⁹

For it is also written about Tyre: "Thus says the Lord to Tyre: Will the islands not be shaken by the sound of your downfall in the groan of the wounded, while they are being slain by the sword in your midst? And all the princes of the sea will descend from their thrones, and they will take off their turbans and will dispoil themselves of their manifold garments. In astonishment, they will be amazed and afraid by your destruction, and will sigh over you and will take up a lamentation over you, and

⁸⁶The following statement seemed to Tyconius to have eschatological import because all the nations, represented here by Egypt, do not "know" God as Lord in this world. On the "day of the Lord," however, all nations will recognize God and will know for a certainty that He is Lord.

⁸⁷Ezek. 32:3-15.

⁸⁸See Luke 23:45. This sentence points to what Tyconius presumed was the historical fulfillment of the prophecy, as well as, it underscored his contention that Egypt is the whole world (see above, fn. 76).

⁸⁹See Ezek. 32:10.

will say to you: How that laudable city has been destroyed from the sea, which evoked fear of all who dwell therein! And the islands will be afraid from the day of your downfall."⁹⁰ Again, concerning Tyre: "On the day of your downfall, at the cry of your voice, your pilots will be fearfully afraid, and all your oarsmen will descend from their ships and the mariners and the pilots of the sea will stand upon the land and by their voice they will wail over you and they will cry bitterly over you, and they will throw dust upon their head, and will strew ashes, and they will take up the lamentation of their sons over you, lamenting Tyre: How great is the merchandise you got from the sea! You satisfied the nations with your abundance, and from your commodities you have enriched all the kings of the earth. Now, however, you are sorrowful in the sea, in the midst of the depths of the water are your commodities and your whole assembly. All of your oarsmen have died, all who inhabit the islands are sorrowful over you, and their oarsmen were stunned with mental revulsion and their countenance is tearful over you. The merchants among the

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⁹⁰Ezek. 26:15-18. As he had done previously with both Nineveh and Egypt, Tyconius attempted to establish with the reader the eschatological import of the prophecies concerning Tyre ("on the day of your downfall" is to be read as "the day of the Lord"). Also, he wanted the reader to come to sense that the prophecies were too broad, too inclusive to be confined to Tyre alone, thereby demonstrating, so he believed, that Tyre is a type, or species, of the Church. Having set forth this argument he then began to show how Tyre, as the Church, is bipartite.

peoples will hiss at you: you have been ruined, and there will be no more of your forever, says the Lord."⁹¹ Do all the things which were spoken apply to one island, or was this one island alone able to enrich all the kings of the earth? But some things we leave to more convenient places, in which they can be seen even when they are spoken of superficially.⁹²

Tyre is bipartite, just as according to Isaiah, who adds this also, after more of the species and genus, saying: "Tyre will be after seventy years just as the song of the prostitute. Take a stringed instrument, cry out, O forgotten, adulterous city; play well, sing much, in order that you may be remembered. And it will be that after seventy years God will make an inspection of Tyre, and once again it will be restored to its ancient character, *(and it will have business with all the kingdoms of the earth)*."⁹³

⁹¹Ezek. 27:27-36.

⁹²In characteristic fashion Tyconius has stated his reasoning by asking a question. Plainly, he hoped the reader would notice, and agree, that the prophecy was too general, too devastating, too world-encompassing to be taken literally as actually applying to the town of Tyre alone. The conclusion, then, must be that Tyre is a symbolic representation of the Church in the midst of all the nations and that the prophecy describes events which will transpire in the Eschaton. Again, it was in this manner that Tyconius believed one could extract Christian edification from these Old Testament prophecies about special towns and countries. Otherwise, these passages were seen as worthless "baggage," unless they could be spiritualized (allegorized) and their "time-less" spiritual significance be redirected from the original town or country to the new community in Christ, the Church.

⁹³Isa. 23:15-17.

Is it conceivable that all the kingdoms of every land have reason to come to Tyre to transact business? Even if they should come, what use was it to have predicted that Tyre was about to have "business with all the kingdoms of the earth," if Tyre is not the Church in which the whole world has dealings for eternal life?⁹⁴ For he follows and shows what its business is, saying: "And its business and tariffs will be holy to the Lord. For it is not collected for them, but for those who dwell in the presence of the Lord. All of its business is to eat and to drink and to be filled as a memorial sign in the sight of the Lord."⁹⁵ Therefore, if its business is holy to the Lord, how is it able to be in all the kingdoms, unless this Tyre were everywhere?

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For he follows and openly shows what Tyre is, saying: "Behold, the Lord will lay waste the whole world and will make it desolate and will strip its surface bare. He will scatter those who dwell in it, and it will be with the people just as it will be with the priests"--is this not of that world whose business is holy to the Lord?--"and as with the man-servant, so with his master and as with the

⁹⁴Tyre is presented as having business connections throughout the world, which is interpreted as a picture of the Church proclaiming salvation ("transacting business") to "all the kingdoms of the earth."

⁹⁵The capacity of Tyre to be "everywhere" is an indication of the genus (Church) aspect of Tyre, which is confirmed by the eschatological relevance of its service as "a memorial sign in the sight of the Lord."

maid-servant, so with her mistress. And as it will be with the buyer, so it will be with the seller, and as with him who owes, so with him to whom it is owed, and as with the one who lends, so with him who borrows. Because the earth will be completely laid waste and the earth will be made terribly desolate; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken this. The earth wailed, the whole world was laid waste, the heights of the earth wailed. But the earth permitted this outrage on account of those who dwell therein, because they have transgressed the law and violated the commands, the eternal covenant. Therefore, moreover, a curse consumes the earth, because they who dwell therein have sinned. On account of this, those who dwell in the land will be destitute,"⁹⁶--can they be destitute whose business it is among "all the kingdoms of the earth to eat and to drink and to be filled," not at a certain time, but "as a memorial sign in the sight of the Lord"?⁹⁷--"and few men will be

⁹⁶ Isa. 24:1-6. First, note the eschatological ("day of the Lord") tenor of this passage. Second, note that the judgement will befall those who "have transgressed the law and violated the commands, the eternal covenant," which for Tyconius could apply only to those within the covenant community who had forsaken the faith. Thus, such a prophecy clearly shows Tyre to be bipartite, so Tyconius argued.

⁹⁷ Isa. 23:18. By his question Tyconius wanted to make certain that the reader discovered both the bipartite condition and that Tyre is a species of that "memorial sign in the sight of the Lord," the Church. In the continuation of the passage below, the statement "a select few men are left behind" would be seen as a reference to the elect, or redeemed, the other half of the bipartite Church of which Tyre is symbolic.

left. The vine will mourn, the wine will mourn, all who are of a lighthearted spirit will groan. The enjoyment of the timbrels has ceased, immodesty and the wealth of the impious have ceased." Will the sound of the saint's stringed instrument cease? "They were confused, they did not drink wine, the strong drink has become bitter to those who drink it. Every city is deserted, they will shut up the houses lest they enter. Cry out everywhere about the wine; all the enjoyment of the earth has ceased, and the cities will be left deserted, and the abandoned houses will disappear. All these things will happen to the earth in the midst of the nations."⁹⁸ If "every city is deserted," who are the people among whom these things are to be?

Even if some of these things are clearly seen to have happened already, nevertheless, all things are spiritual.⁹⁹ He says that every city is deserted,

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⁹⁸ Isa. 24:6-13. Tyconius's question in the middle of this quotation, as well as the one with which he concludes this paragraph, acts as a reminder that the prophecy has not been fulfilled and, indeed, will not be fulfilled until the Eschaton, when all earthly things will cease and will pass away.

⁹⁹ Tyconius conceded that perhaps some aspects of the above-stated prophecy have been fulfilled, but he wanted to dispense with the historical level of the prophecy and concentrate instead on the "spiritual" level of meaning. The hermeneutic dilemma here, of course, is that this is not a "mixed" prophecy where some aspects of the prediction seem to describe historical situations while others seem to predict eschatological events, each distinguishable, after a fashion, from the other. Instead, Tyconius was confronted with a prophecy which he would, in all likelihood, have labeled as a genus prophecy except for the fact that he knew some portions of the prophecy had

spiritually dead, except for that prostitute Tyre, whose holy business is not for the whole world. Because, however, he said "few men will be left"--whether saved or existing--of those who will be destroyed, few will be left of those whom he calls spiritually dead, who will have lived through remembrance, those whom the Church will not have destroyed, just as we read in many places. But since the proposition must be completed for us, we are satisfied with two examples.¹⁰⁰ God threatens fire to the king of Assyria by the fire of Israel, that is, the opposing body, and he says that it was about to be burned like straw, and that few were about to flee the fire. It says, "The Lord of hosts

been fulfilled. Unable to discern any logical patterning to account for the haphazard fulfillment of the prophecy, Tyconius concluded that none of the prophecy was meant to be taken literally. To be sure, the prophecy was meant to be taken seriously, but as a figurative statement describing that intangible, spiritual relationship between God and man. Such an interpretation means, then, that this is not a genus prophecy but a species prophecy, yet not a literal species prophecy but a figurative (allegorical) species prophecy dealing with temporal, spiritual conditions.

¹⁰⁰For the sake of clarity, the "proposition" is that in spite of the fact that some portions of a given genus prophecy have been temporally realized, nevertheless, the historical occurrences are to be interpreted figuratively as pertaining to spiritual situations. Again, for Tyconius, the problem was the logical fallacy of saying that random portions of an eschatological prophecy had been realized historically. Thus, he contended that references to a deserted city, for example, meant that the people in that city were spiritually dead in their relation to God. To have said otherwise would have defied the only rationale that he could devise to explain, by and large, these prophecies to a Church which had so little appreciation for its Jewish heritage and its Old Testament history.

will send ignominy against your honor, and against your splendor a blazing fire, and the light of Israel will burn and it will be there as a fire, and he will sanctify it in the blazing flame"--of course, "the light of Israel"¹⁰¹--"and it will consume the forest as if it were hay. In that day the mountains will burn, and they will flee by the sea shore, like one who flees from a blazing flame. And there will be a number of them who will remain, even a child will count them."¹⁰² It says, "He who will have remained from these," not by fire; for the fire which burns is not able to burn them: however, those who are overcome by the flames will become fire. And in Zachariah we read that those remain whom the Church will not have slain, because they are converted to him; but the others will be murdered spiritually by torments, if, indeed, he plucks out the eyes of those "standing" and causes their "flesh to waste away." It says, "He will dwell securely in Jerusalem. And this will be the massacre by which the Lord will cut down the people, as many as made war against Jerusalem: their flesh

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¹⁰¹Tyconius understood the "blazing flame" to be synonymous with the "light of Israel," and it is probable that he wanted his readers to associate the "light of Israel" with those New Testament statements about Jesus Christ as the light of the world (see Luke 2:32; John 3:19; 8:12; Rev. 21:23).

¹⁰²Isa. 10:16-19. That is, the number will be so insignificantly small that even a child would be capable of counting them. In this first example, then, Tyconius has spotted the figurative language in the passage in order to demonstrate that the passage reports a spiritual, as opposed to physical, condition that is to be corrected.

will waste away while they are standing upon their feet, and their eyes will dangle from their sockets, and their tongues will waste away in their mouth. And in that day a mighty mental lapse will come over them, and each one will seize the hand of his neighbor and his hand will be grasped by the hands of his neighbor,"¹⁰³--that is, the blind leading the blind.¹⁰⁴ "Even Judah will engage in battle against Jerusalem, and he will collect the strength of all the peoples, gold and silver and garments in exceeding abundance. And this will be the massacre of the horses and the mules and the camels and the asses and of all the beasts that are in those camps, according to this massacre. And there will be whoever were left from all the nations that will have come against Jerusalem, and they will ascend a number of years to worship the king, the Lord omnipotent, to celebrate the day of the feast of tabernacles."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Zech. 14:11-13.

¹⁰⁴ See Matt. 15:14.

¹⁰⁵ Zech. 14:14-16. Again, Tyconius declared the language of the passage to be figurative. It is Christ who "will dwell securely in Jerusalem," i.e., the Church; but those who remain and are not converted, i.e., the unredeemed within the bipartite Church, will spiritually perish because they are blind and mute in the presence of the Lord, the source of life. However, those who "are left from all the nations," i.e., the redeemed, will ascend to worship the Lord "a number of years," i.e., until the Eschaton.

To conclude, both of these examples attempt to show that these so-called genus prophecies which appear, in fact, to have been partially fulfilled in history are to be seen as species prophecies describing spiritual states of existence. It is equally true, also, that Tyconius accepted these utterly dreadful and almost incredible predictions of human devastation as figurative portrayals of spiritual, rather than physical, states of existence.

Elam is one of the foreigners. He adds the general to the particular, thereby, showing that it is bipartite.¹⁰⁶ "Thus says the Lord, let the bows be broken into pieces in Elam, their capital." He goes beyond the species: "And I shall bring the four winds from the four corners of heaven, and I will disperse them by all the winds of heaven, there will be no nation which will not come there, which may drive out Elam." He returns to the species: "And I will terrify them in the presence of their enemies who seek their lives, and I will bring to them according to the wrath of my indignation, and I will send my sword after them until it consumes them." He adds the genus: "And I will place my throne in Elam, and then I will destroy their king and rulers; and it will be in the last days that I will avert the captivity of Elam, says the Lord."¹⁰⁷ Must it not be believed that this was the nation which will not have come to assault Elam, or that the throne of the Lord was located there, whose captivity is averted, unless it is a type of the Church?¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ See Gen. 10:22; 14:1, 9. That is, the structure is species, then genus, species, genus.

¹⁰⁷ Jer. 49:35-39. The mention of the "last days," of course, is the key.

¹⁰⁸ This question (statement, really) appears to have a two-fold implication. First, Elam is to be regarded as a figure of the bipartite Church; but, second, and more importantly, Tyconius seemed to be suggesting to his fellow North African Christians (Donatists) that theirs was the "nation" which neither has "come to assault Elam," i.e., persecuted the Church (as the Catholics were persecuting

But so many others are sinister species, like Sodom, just as it is written: "Hear the word of the Lord, you princes of Sodom,"¹⁰⁹ and: "That which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where even their Lord was crucified."¹¹⁰ Lot will depart from those of Sodom, which is "a departure," in order that "the man of sin may be revealed."¹¹¹ The city of Babylon is the whole world against Jerusalem, which agrees in that part of it which Jerusalem holds in this. It says, "A vision against Babylon,"¹¹² and it says that the saints of God, as soldiers, are about to come against the world.¹¹³ "Raise a signal and cry aloud to them. Do not fear: exhort with the hand, Open, O magistrates, because, behold, I command

the Donatists), nor has been taken into "captivity," i.e., surrendered their faith in the Decian persecution or in the face of Catholic persecutions.

¹⁰⁹ Isa. 1:10. Which is to say, Sodom is not the bipartite Church but represents only the evil members of the bipartite Church.

¹¹⁰ Rev. 11:8. Tyconius cited biblical authority in order to justify his own assertion that Sodom symbolically represents, or is a type of, those persons who are spiritually opposite to the will and purposes of God.

¹¹¹ II Thess. 2:3. It is not Lot who will be revealed as the "man of sin" but, rather, Lot's departure, i.e., the departure of the righteous, will reveal the bipartite distinction and the "man of sin" will be recognized.

¹¹² Isa. 13:1. Jerusalem is a figure of the bipartite Church, while Babylon (a "sinister species") is a figure only of the evil members of the bipartite Church.

¹¹³ This is the image of the Church as the militia christi.

it. They have been sanctified, and I call them; giants are coming to soothe my wrath, at the same time they are rejoicing and they are committing an injustice. The voice of many nations in the mountains is like that of many nations, the voice of kings and of the nations combined," since the people and the king of the Medes will have overthrown Babylon. For it follows and says who these kings are and what Babylon is. "The God of hosts has commanded that a war-like people come from the remote places from the farthest ends of heaven, God and his soldiers to destroy the whole world. Cry out, for the day of the Lord is near, and grief will come about from God. On account of this all hands will be enfeebled, and every soul of man will fear. The legates will be put in confusion; for they will have 51 travail like a woman having labor pains, and they will suffer a seige; they will be terrified one to another, and their faces will be changed just as a flame. For, behold, the day of the Lord comes, insane, with indignation and wrath to make the world a desert and to destroy the sinners from it." He terms this the day of the Lord because of what is to be suffered, by which the world is killed spiritually, being destroyed by the army of God, so long as the unjust do not see his light, just as it follows, saying: "For the stars of heaven and Orion, and every ornament of heaven will not give light, and at the rising of the sun the light will be dark and its light will not remain. And I will punish the evils of the world and the sins of the

unrighteous, and I will destroy the iniquity of the wicked ones and I will bring low the iniquity of the proud. And they who will be remaining"--that is, those whom the above mentioned soldiers will not have killed¹¹⁴--"will be more honored than gold which has not touched fire, and a man will be more honored than the stone of Sufir. For the heavens will be indignant and the earth will be moved from its foundations on account of the exciting of the wrath of the Lord, in the day that his indignation comes." He adds the species:¹¹⁵ "And it will be that the abandoned ones are like deer fleeing and just as wandering sheep and there will be none who will gather them, in order that a man may return to his people and hasten to come to his tribe. For he who falls will be overcome, and if they are caught they will be killed by the sword. And their daughters will be killed in their sight, and their houses will be plundered,

¹¹⁴"They" were not killed because "they" were the ones who had been converted and redeemed and, as Tyconius said below, were now more precious in God's sight than gold. (See Isa. 13:12: the RSV translates this verse, "I will make men more rare than fine gold," which is noticeably different from Tyconius's paraphrase. Even so, he would consider those few "rare men" to mean the elect.)

¹¹⁵In other words, what has been reported above is to be taken as a figurative description of the spiritual "slaughter" of the wicked and unrighteous nations. What is to follow from this point on is a species (historical) prophecy which Tyconius believed had already been fulfilled. (In fact, the Medes conquered Babylon and went on to become a major power by 625 B.C. They, in turn, were overthrown by King Cyrus of Persia in 558 B.C. It was this Cyrus who permitted the Babylonian Captives to return to Jerusalem, which is recorded in Ezra 1:1.)

and their wives will be had. Behold, I am stirring up the Medes against you; they have no regard for money, nor do they need gold." He subtly ties in the genus; for what enemy does not need gold unless it be the Church, which delights in the spiritual life?¹¹⁶ "They will break into pieces the bows of the young men, and they will not show compassion to your sons, and their eyes will not be sparing over your grandchildren."¹¹⁷

All things are to be considered spiritually, just as it is written about this same Babylon: "Happy is he who shall take hold of and shall dash your little ones against the rock."¹¹⁸ For he did not call the king of the Medes happy because the king may have persevered against Babylon, and not the Church which "shall take hold of and shall dash" the children of Babylon "against the stone" of

¹¹⁶The thought of an aggressive enemy not seeking "gold," or the spoils of war, was an idea too unworldly for Tyconius to admit of any kingdom, save the Kingdom of God. It was this single note, this unworldly aspect of the prophecy, which he attributed to the genus: the remainder of the prophecy is species.

¹¹⁷ Isa. 13:2-18. Essentially, the citing of this passage was an attempt to enhance the viability of the so-called spiritual interpretation by showing how literal and figurative descriptions of reality may run side by side through a prophecy. Thus, Tyconius has demonstrated that (1) literal historical and eschatological prophecies may be found together, that (2) literal eschatological and figurative historical prophecies may be found together, and that (3) literal historical and figurative historical prophecies may be found together.

¹¹⁸Psalm 137:9.

stumbling.¹¹⁹ But "he shall take hold," just as it is written: "He who now takes hold, then will he come from the midst."¹²⁰ And after many species and genus in the conclusion of the summary, he openly shows that all nations are Babylon and that they are lost "on earth" and also "in his mountains," that is, in the Church. "Thus says the Lord, I shall make Babylon a desert, in order that the hedgehogs may dwell in it, and it will be as nothing, and I will make it a pool of mud in ruin. Thus says the Lord of hosts saying: As I said, so it will be, and as I have thought, so it will abide, in order that I may destroy the Assyrians in my land and upon my mountains, and they will be tread under foot. And their yoke will be removed from them, and their glory will be removed from their shoulders. This is the plan which the Lord planned for the whole world, and this hand is high above all the nations of the earth. For who will disparage what the holy God planned, and who will avert his strong hand?"¹²¹ However, as often as after

¹¹⁹ That is, the reader is to understand these words figuratively and not as the actual historical event where the king of the Medes "persevered against Babylon" (see above, fn. 115). Thus, this hideous and utterly repulsive image of dashing children against rocks, when interpreted spiritually (allegorically) from a Christian perspective, can be taken to mean that the disbelieving "children of Babylon" will be broken upon Christ, the stumblingstone (see I Pet. 2:8; Rom. 9:32-33; I Cor. 1:23).

¹²⁰ II Thess. 2:7. The bipartite Church now "holds," or "restrains," or provides a cover for, the "man of sin"; but on the "day of the Lord" this evil one will be separated and, thereby, exposed.

¹²¹ Isa. 14:22-27.

the destruction it is threatened that the ruin of the city will be the habitation of the unclean beasts and fowls, it says that unclean spirits are about to dwell in men whom the Holy Spirit deserted. For the deceased inhabitants are unable to feel this injury or the ruins.¹²²

It says, "The words of Amos, which he saw over Jerusalem"; and he begins: "For three transgressions of Damascus and for four I will not turn my wrath away from them, because they cut open pregnant women with iron saws."¹²³ And again: "For three transgressions of Edom and for four I will not turn my wrath away from them because he persecuted his brother with the sword."¹²⁴ And he applies many other foreign cities as a type of the Church. But wherever he names Edom, Tema, Buz, and Seir, he signifies the evil brothers; however, they are the possession of Esau. But he calls hard and uneven men "iron saws," who "cut open" the Churches as they give birth.¹²⁵

¹²²Tyconius was forced to conclude that the "unclean beasts and fowls" referred to the spiritually unclean whom the Holy Spirit would eventually forsake. Otherwise, what sense would there have been in this prophecy since the inhabitants could no longer receive it?

¹²³Amos 1:1, 3.

¹²⁴Amos 1:11.

¹²⁵Clearly, then, some cities are symbols of the bipartite Church as a whole, while others, like Edom, are symbolic of only the evil part of the bipartite Church (see above, fn. 109). Also, the abominable depiction of pregnant women being cut open was too detestable an idea for Tyconius. In order to find spiritual edification in such an act, he interpreted the passage to be a figurative description of how unbelievers strive to deny the Church any converts.

Again, Jeremiah testifies that all nations which are under heaven in the city of God drink the wrath of God and are persecuted there, saying: "Thus says the Lord God of Israel, Take the cup of pure wine from my hand, give it to drink to all the nations to which I send you, and they will vomit and will become sick at the sight of the sword, which I am sending among them. And I took the cup from the hand of the Lord, and I gave it to drink to the nations to which the Lord sent me, to these: Jerusalem and the cities of Judah and their kings and their princes, in order that they might be placed in desolation, and in devastation, and in ridicule; and Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, and his children and his forces and all of his people and all his common folk; and the kings of all the foreign lands, Ashkelon, and Gaza, and Ekron, and that which is opposite Ashdod; and Edom, and Moab, and the sons of Ammon, and the king of Tyre, and the king of Sidon, and the kings that are across the sea, and Dedan, and Tema, and Buz and all that encircle it, and all the common folk who are lingering in the desert, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of Persia, and all the kings from the North who are far and near, each and everyone to his brother, and all the kingdoms which are upon the face of the earth. And you shall say to them: Thus says the Lord omnipotent, drink, be drunk, and vomit; and you shall fall and you will not stand in the face of the sword which I am sending among you. And it will be that if they should refuse to take the cup in

this manner to drink, you shall say: Thus says the Lord, truly you will drink, because in the city in which my name is invoked over it I am beginning to vex you and by purgation you will not be purged; because I am summoning a sword over the inhabitants upon the earth."¹²⁶ It says, "Give drink to Jerusalem, the cities of Judah and their kings and their princes"; then he says: "And all the kingdoms of the earth which are upon the face of the earth," to show that Jerusalem has made a transition from the specific to the general, in which are all the nations of the earth that God will persecute, just as it is also interpreted, saying: "Because in the city in which my name is invoked over it I am beginning to vex you and by purgation you shall not be purged." Does Jeremiah, when he was in the body, who was taken from Judea yet never incarcerated except in Egypt, prophesy that pure wine openly put into a cup is given as a drink to all the nations which are under heaven, or outside of the Church? But even if it was spoken then and also now in the Church, it is evident that Jeremiah says that all the nations therein are meant in their principal part.¹²⁷ For if Satan has anything noble

¹²⁶Jer. 25:15-29.

¹²⁷The logic of this final argument parallels that of the argument above (see above, fn. 53) where he said that while God's law may speak about one who is outside the covenant community, it cannot apply to this one. So, Jeremiah is a prophet to the people of God and not to those who are outside the covenant community. Therefore, that the prophecy would include the names of so many of the

in his body, if anything right, if anything serious, he mixed it with heavenly things, as is the custom of those who fight to oppose the strong with the strong. Whence the apostle says, the fight of the saints is not against human things, "but against spiritual wickednesses in heavenly places."¹²⁸

towns of the foreigners along with the mention of Jerusalem and Judah, and that God's prophet is sent to all these places, led Tyconius to the conclusion "that all nations which are under heaven are in the city of God." (Note the concept, "city of God.") See Introduction, p. 9.

¹²⁸ See Eph. 6:12. Tyconius apparently understood the struggle to be within the Church ("in the heavenly places"). Thus, he believed that Satan was working through the unredeemed members of the bipartite Church in an effort to destroy the faith of the redeemed. The Church on earth is not to be equated with the "city of God"; for it is composed of both good and evil members, although the good members do belong to the true, universal, invisible Church, the "city of God." As has been shown already, Tyconius believed that the bipartite condition of the Church would continue until the Eschaton, when the "man of sin" would then be revealed and the people of God would be claimed for eternity.

V. TIME-PERIODS

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Frequently in the Scriptures a quantity of time is written as a mystical figure of speech,¹ synecdoche,² or as fixed³ numbers, which have been set down in many ways and must be understood according to the situation; but a synecdoche must be understood either as the whole by the part or the part by the whole.⁴

¹"Tropo," which in English is "trope," is the general designation for a figure of speech. In essence, a trope changes a word or a sentence from its normal meaning to another, atypical meaning, such as the description of Christ as "the lamb of God," or that of the Church as "the ship of salvation." The term includes such figures of speech as metaphor, allegory, irony, hyperbole, metonymy and synecdoche, to name only a few.

²"Synecdoche" designates a particular figure of speech by which (1) a part represents the whole, or the reverse; (2) a cause represents the effect, or the reverse; or (3) a proper noun stands for a common noun. It is in its first sense that Tyconius utilized synecdoche so advantageously in resolving those discrepancies between periods of time as reported in various scriptural accounts.

³"Legitimis" means "legitimate," "proper," or "fixed as by law." In the context of this rule, the word conveys the idea of a divinely "fixed" or appointed number which serves as a source of special revelation. In other words, Tyconius has devised a numerology to explain the significance of certain numbers which occur frequently in the Scriptures, such as the numbers 3, 7, 10 and 12.

⁴It would appear, then, that Tyconius's hermeneutic concern in Rule V is two-fold. First, there was the task of mathematically resolving those discrepancies among the various Scripture accounts which specifically discuss a given period of time: such as, the problem of determining how long Israel was actually in Egypt (see below, fns. 6-10), or the problem of accounting for the "three days and nights" that Christ was in the tomb before the resurrection (see below, fns. 14-38). This is the type of arithmetical

By this figure of speech,⁵ Israel served 400 years in Egypt. For the Lord says to Abraham: "You will know

problem which he resolved by a rather dubious application of synecdoche.

Second, there was the problem of discovering the significance and meaning in a series of numbers which occur regularly throughout both the Old and New Testaments: such as, the problem of discerning the importance of the numbers 3, 7, 10 and 12, along with their various multiples and combinations. The solution proposed for this type of problem was a scheme for allegorizing these so-called "fixed" numbers. With this scheme, or numerology--which is not to be confused with gematria--Tyconius sought to demonstrate that these distinctive numbers were "windows" through which one could receive special revelation about the "whole of time." In effect, these divinely "fixed" numbers were treated as "wild cards" which might refer to any period of time since their face value signified their special nature rather than their actual numerical value. Although somewhat confusing, the scheme worked in this manner: when a given period of time was written with one of the "fixed" numbers that particular time-period may or may not have been an actual, reliable account of historical time (this would be determined from the context), but the number with which the time-period was written would reveal some historical reality concerning the Church. For example, the 70 years that the Israelites were captives in Babylon was deemed to be an historically accurate time-period by Tyconius; but he perceived that the true significance of this account was its revelation that the Church (Israel) would be a captive in this world (Babylon) not just for 70 years but for the "whole of time" before the Eschaton. Thus, for Tyconius, the idea of the "whole of time," or the "whole time," meant that time-period between the suffering, death, burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ and the final establishment of the Kingdom of God at the Eschaton: it was his special designation for this specific segment of historical time. Thus, one may perceive something of an analogy between the relationship between species and genus (Rule IV) and the relationship between "fixed" numbers and the "whole of time." The "fixed" numbers are prophetic signs pertaining to events that shall transpire within the time-period of the Church's historical existence.

⁵"Tropo" is the term actually employed here, but the reference obviously is to the particular trope mentioned above, synecdoche (see above, fn. 2). Indeed, synecdoche is the only trope, or figure of speech, discussed in Rule V.

for a fact that your seed will be pilgrims in a land that is not theirs, and they will be slaves and will be oppressed for 400 years."⁶ In Exodus, however, Scripture says that Israel was in Egypt 430 years.⁷ Was Israel, then, not in servitude the whole time? So, it must be asked, for what amount of time? That is easy to discover; for Scripture says that the people did not serve until after the death of Joseph. It says: "Joseph died and all his brothers and all that generation. But the descendants of Israel were fruitful and increased greatly: they multiplied and grew exceedingly strong; and the land was filled with them. But there arose another king over Egypt who did not know Joseph and he said to his people: Behold, the race of the sons of Israel is a great multitude and they are stronger than we are; come, therefore, let us encompass them."⁸ But if after the death of Joseph the people began to be in servitude, we subtract 80 years for the reign of Joseph--he reigned from age 30 until 110⁹--from the 430 years that Israel was in Egypt, then 350 years are left for the servitude of Israel which God called 400. But if Israel served the whole time of its pilgrimage then it is more than God said; if from the death of Joseph, according to the faith of holy Scripture, then it is less. From this it is clear that a hundred is a part of the whole; for

⁶Gen. 15:13.

⁷See Ex. 12:40.

⁸Ex. 1:6-10.

⁹See Gen. 41:46; 50:22.

after 300 years a part of the others is a hundred years.

Therefore, he said 400 years.¹⁰

So it is in every amount of time; so that suppose after nine days the first hour of the tenth day is a day, or after nine months the first day is a month, just as it is written: "In the womb of my mother I was formed into flesh in ten months time, compacted with blood."¹¹ However, just as in the first part of each time period is the whole time period, so also the latest hour is the whole day, or what remains of a thousand years is a thousand years. The age of the world is six days, that is, six thousand years. in the remainder of the sixth day,¹² that is, 1000 years,

¹⁰ Obviously, the problem for Tyconius was that of accounting for the discrepancy between the 400 year time-period and the 430 year time-period. These two periods may be harmonized if one agrees with Tyconius's contention that synecdoche is an inherent principle of the Scriptures. Thus, subtracting the 80 years from the 430 year time-period leaves 350 years, which may be expressed in round figures as 400 years. That is, applying the concept of synecdoche to the figure of 350 years, one may say that the 50 years beyond the 300 is a figurative means of representing the whole 400 years, which in turn agrees completely with the 400 year time-period recorded in Gen. 15:13 (see above, fn. 6).

¹¹ Wisdom of Sol. 7:1-2. The normal human gestation period is nine months. Thus, by applying the concept of synecdoche, one may understand the reference to ten months by realizing that with the full nine months completed one day more would be into the tenth month. Therefore, any part of the tenth month may be referred to as the tenth month.

¹² "In reliquiis sexti diei" is a reference to the sixth day of creation (see Gen. 1:24-31). (Tyconius was struck also by the fact that Christ had been crucified on the sixth day of the week at about the sixth hour of the day.) Actually, he understood the sixth day to be the day

the Lord was born, suffered and rose again. So then, the remainder of the 1,000 years is called the one thousand years of the first resurrection.¹³ For just as the remainder of Friday, that is, three hours, is the whole day, one out of the three for the burial of the Lord; so the remainder of the greater sixth day on which the Church arose is the whole day, that is, 1,000 years.¹⁴ For "three days and three nights"¹⁵ agrees with this figure of speech.

when the created world order was completed and that in the remainder of this day all of history transpires. That is, Tyconius relegated the whole span of history (and the "whole of time") to this sixth day, which extended from the completion of creation to the destruction of this order at the Eschaton. The Eschaton, then, will mark the beginning of the seventh day of eternal rest (see Gen. 2:2-3). Thus, according to Tyconius's allegorical exegesis, the seventh day is yet to be; for it will be the eternal day of rest. Finally, he believed that each of these first six "days" lasted one thousand years each, which means that the "whole of time" is a period of time less than one thousand years in duration; yet it is referred to as a one thousand year time-period.

¹³ See Rev. 20:4-6 (cf. Rule IV, fns. 29, 31). Tyconius understood the "first resurrection" to refer to the act of Christian baptism and the one thousand year reign to refer to the reign of the Church in this world until the end of time. Again, the sixth day was thought to encompass a one thousand year time-period.

¹⁴ The "greater sixth day" refers to the sixth day of creation, while "Friday" refers to an actual day in the seven day week and specifically to the day on which Christ was crucified. Also, Tyconius has stated again that the one thousand year reign will not actually last a full one thousand years because it transpires in what remains of this one thousand year time-period after the created world order has been completed. Nevertheless, whole numbers may be used because a part of the time-period may represent the whole period.

¹⁵ See Matt. 12:40. Tyconius has artfully introduced here the real problem with which he wanted to deal. That is, the problem of how to account for the three days

However, 24 hours of night and of day are one day, and nights are not added to days except for a specific reason.¹⁶ Otherwise, we only say "days," just as the apostle says that he remained with Peter 15 days:¹⁷ was there any need to say just as many nights, also? For thus it is written: "Evening and morning, one day."¹⁸ But if night and day are one day, the last hour of the day retains both the whole day and the night which is past. In like manner, also, the latest hour of the night retains the whole night and the next day; for an hour is part of each period of time. The hour in which the Lord was buried is a part of Friday with its night which has passed, and the hour of the night in which he arose is a part of the coming day. Otherwise, if the past night is not in the present day, nor tomorrow in the night of the present day, then the Lord arose not at day but at night; since the day begins at sunrise, just as it is written: "The greater light to

and three nights that Christ is said to have been in the tomb before the resurrection. This problem and an allegorical exegesis of the Fourth Commandment (see Ex. 20:8-11 and Deut. 5:12-15) are actually the two real concerns of Tyconius in this fifth Rule.

¹⁶That is, one normally says "days" when he is speaking of a full twenty-four hour period. Thus, one would have no need to say "days and nights" except for a specific reason.

¹⁷See Gal. 1:18.

¹⁸Gen. 1:5.

light the beginning of the day";¹⁹ but the Lord arose before sunrise. For Mark says: "At the rising sun,"²⁰ not risen, but "rising," that is, about to rise. However, Luke says: "At daybreak."²¹ But lest there should be ambiguity concerning this statement the other evangelists openly testify that it was night; for Matthew says that at night the women came to the grave and saw the Lord,²² but John says "while there was still darkness."²³ However, if the

¹⁹ Gen. 1:16. To summarize, Tyconius argued that when one said "day" both the hours of daylight and the hours of darkness were understood to be encompassed in the term. Therefore, one may properly refer to a particular day, such as Friday, whether one is speaking about the hours of darkness or the hours of daylight of that day; for any part of that day may be called by the proper name of that day. Indeed, this is such a commonly accepted practice that one need not apply the concept of synecdoche to explain it. Consequently, Tyconius thought he had proved that Christ was in the tomb for "three days and three nights" by showing that any part of the sixth day of the week could rightly represent both the day and night portions of this day. The same was true in the case of the first day of the week. In essence, the solution which is set forth below is this: first, the daylight hours of Friday, the day that Christ was crucified, died, and was buried, also "contained" the hours of darkness which had passed. Second, Saturday, the sabbath, was one full day and one full night; for in order to be properly constituted the sabbath had to be observed from "evening to evening" (see Lev. 23:32). Third, the hours of darkness of Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection, "contained" the hours of daylight which were soon about to be. Thus, in this fashion, one may speak of "three days and three nights."

²⁰ Mark 16:2. Tyconius's version of this passage differs from the Vulgate and the RSV, both of which state that the sun had risen.

²¹ Luke 24:1.

²² See Matt. 28:1.

²³ John 20:1. Tyconius sought to remove the question of a minor discrepancy among the gospel accounts in order to concentrate on the major question of how to account for the "three days and three nights."

Lord arose before the sun, that is, before the beginning of the day, that night is part of the dawning day. That agrees, also, with the works of God, in order that the day might not be obscured into the night, but the night might begin to shine into day. For this same night is illuminated and the day is brought to pass, which is a type of those things that were about to be done in Christ, "because God who called the light to shine from darkness has shone in our hearts,"²⁴ he who has illuminated the darkness, just as it is written: "Your darkness will be just as the mid-day,"²⁵ and, "The night has passed, but the day is at hand; so, as in the day, let us walk becomingly."²⁶ For that which is carnal is first, "then that which is spiritual."²⁷

Therefore, the first and the last day are a part of the whole. A half day alone was a full day, from evening to evening, according to the creation and, also, the precept of God, just as Moses says in Leviticus that the sabbath

²⁴ II Cor. 4:6 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:11, On the Resurrection of the Flesh XLIV). By drawing the parallel between the fact that the day shines forth from the night and this passage which he has cited, Tyconius has, in effect, proven that the resurrection had to occur before daylight.

²⁵ Isa. 58:10.

²⁶ Rom. 13:12-13.

²⁷ I Cor. 15:46 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:10; A Treatise on the Soul XI). Herewith he concluded his attempt to show as necessary that the resurrection had to occur before the darkness ("that which is carnal") gave way to the light ("that which is spiritual").

day is to be observed "from evening to evening."²⁸ However, some think it²⁹ must be computed from the day, because the Lord said three days and nights, not three nights and days. But this objection is destroyed by a little reflection.

For if the beginning of the burial was in the day, the end was at night; however, if it was ended in the day, it began at night. For if the day is concluded with both, there would be one more day. They say, moreover, that the past night cannot be in the day, nor the next day in the night; but that it is necessary to allot three separate days and nights, computing the first day on which he was crucified, the second separated by three hours, the third the sabbath--the Lord's day will be the fourth day!³⁰ However, those who avoid this circumvention agree that, indeed, it must be computed from the night; but they think that the nights ought to be separated from the days, saying that the

²⁸Lev. 23:32 (see above, fn. 19). The point is that the sabbath day begins at "evening," a fact which must be established in order for Tyconius to account for the "three days and three nights."

²⁹"It" refers to the problem under discussion, i.e., whether the resurrection occurred at night or after day-break.

³⁰The "Lord's day," of course, is Sunday, the first day of the week. Tyconius was mocking those who sought to account for three separate days and nights by claiming that the three hours of darkness on Friday afternoon constituted the first night; the second day was the period of daylight (from the ninth to the twelfth hours of Friday) following this period of darkness; the second night was the beginning of the sabbath; the third day would have been the daylight hours of the sabbath, which would have been followed by a third night. Therefore, the day on which Christ arose, Sunday, would have been the fourth day!

first night was in the three hours of grievous darkness, the second was the sabbath, the third, the dawning of the Lord's day. Indeed, there are just three nights, but only two days: the first in the three hours after the darkness, the second, the sabbath!³¹ For he who promises separate days cannot say that the next day was in the night on which he arose. Because if he agrees to this, then he may agree that it is necessary that the past night be in the remainder of Friday. Even if there was grievous darkness, nevertheless, there were still three hours of light in this same day, nor did they lose their order, by which it would be a smaller part of the day and also its night. I assume that the three hours of darkness could not have been a night, because that would have been beyond the order of God's creation; for whatever is signified does not disturb the rational progression of the elements.³² For the sun alone was not reversed because the sun and the moon stood still in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah: some progression

³¹ Again, the difficulty is that of defining three separate days and three separate nights. Tyconius cleverly avoided this difficulty through his application of synecdoche to the problem.

³² Tyconius maintained that the three hours of darkness on Friday, from the sixth to the ninth hour (see Matt. 27:25), are to be understood as a period within the normal period of daylight and not, as he noted that some believed, an abnormally short night. Instead, he held that the night-time hours of Friday, which had already passed, were "contained" in the daylight hours of Friday (see above, fn. 19). Thus, Tyconius's solution stated that the first of the three nights had already passed before Christ was even crucified.

between the sun and the moon was diminished and lessened or added to the day and also the night; and thereafter a new computation of times or the new moon begins, which God established that the sun and moon be "for times, days and years,"³³ just as it is written in Genesis. Much more was nothing disturbed on that day, to which three hours of darkness are not added so that there should be 15 hours; but a part of this very day was darkened--from the sixth to the ninth hour. Because if we say that the sun was not darkened and that the day was not manifested again, what name, what order may we give to that very day which is said to have been between Friday and the sabbath, unless the sabbath was twice and that week had eight days? Certainly, if the dispute can be saved with a little reason, in short, we propose that the three hours of darkness did not extend to the burial of the Lord, because he was living throughout the period of darkness.³⁴ For he could not be "in the

³³Gen. 1:14 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion II:3, V:6). Tyconius was certain that the two proposed solutions discussed above (see above, fns. 30, 31) were untenable because they violated the "rational progression" of the sun and moon. Tyconius was not comfortable with any solution that necessitated the occurrence of some abnormality, or seemed "forced," or illogical. Rather, as clearly evidenced in previous Rules, he favored a solution that could be reached "by reason alone," without an attendant, cumbersome, conditional explanation. It should be noted in his defense that while many of his own solutions appear doubtful or erroneous, nevertheless his arguments are logically valid and rationally argued.

³⁴See Matt. 27:45-50. Again, he argued that the three hours of darkness between the sixth and the ninth hours could not have been the first night of the three

heart of the earth"³⁵ until he was dead and then buried, which happened in the three hours, within the twelve, of Friday. Because after the setting of the sun the Jews were not allowed to bury; since the feast of preparation was the beginning of the sabbath, just as John says: "Therefore, because of the preparation feast of the Jews, since the grave was close at hand, they placed Jesus there."³⁶ However, the days are preferred to the nights in worth, not in order of newness, as with all first-born males, just as it is written: "He begat sons and daughters and died,"³⁷ since it would be contrary to the law of nature that he should begat all those males first. However, with us all time is as day, all things are new, figures have passes away.³⁸

nights that Christ was said to have been in the tomb, because the Scriptures clearly declare that Christ was fully alive during that specific period. Further, the Scriptures declare that it was after the ninth hour--and, thus, after the period of darkness but still on Friday, before the sabbath had begun--that Christ's body was placed in the tomb.

³⁵ Matt. 12:40 (cf. Tertullian A Treatise on the Soul LV).

³⁶ John 19:42.

³⁷ See Gen. 5:4. Perhaps, as he implied, the daughters were born first, before the sons, or that at least some daughters were born before and/or between the birth of the sons; but the sons are mentioned first because they are "preferred . . . in worth."

³⁸ That is, the Scriptures speak of "three days and three nights" because the days are preferred in worth. However, in order to correctly compute the time-period in question one must begin with the nights, as Tyconius has shown.

Sevens, tens, twelves are some of the fixed³⁹ numbers. However, the number is the same even when it is multiplied, as 70, 700; or as many times by itself, as seven times seven, or ten times ten. But the numbers may signify either perfection, or the whole from a part, or a simple sum. Perfection, as the 7 spirits of the Church,⁴⁰ or as it says: "Seven times a day I will praise you,"⁴¹ or: "He shall receive one hundred times more in that age."⁴² Likewise, tens, as another evangelist says: "A hundred times as much in this time."⁴³ And Daniel says that the innumerable multitude of angels both of heaven or of the Church is completely written by the number ten, saying: "A

³⁹ "Legitimis" (see above, fn. 3).

⁴⁰ See Rev. 1:4 (see above, fn. 4). Beginning here, Tyconius attempted to make manifest a logical patterning of the numbers found in Scripture. For example, certain "fixed" numbers, which have been mentioned above, signify perfection: that is, their face value indicates their unique function rather than a "simple sum." However, numbers other than "fixed" numbers can either be interpreted by the concept of synecdoche or as a simple sum, whichever the context demands.

⁴¹ Psalm 119:164. The number seven in this account would not have been regarded by Tyconius as a literal record. Indeed, "fixed" numbers have no necessary arithmetical correlation in fact. Instead, these numbers "reveal" spiritual conditions, as in this case the number seven reveals a perfect spiritual relationship between the psalmist and God.

⁴² Luke 18:30. Again, the numerical sum recorded in this passage was understood by Tyconius to represent a state of spiritual perfection, a qualitative reward rather than a quantitative one.

⁴³ Mark 10:30. Again, the subject is the idea of perfection.

thousand thousands appeared to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood around him."⁴⁴ And David says: "The chariots of God are as many as ten thousand."⁴⁵ And concerning eternity David says: "For a thousand ages."⁴⁶ Again, by twelves it is said that 144,000 comprise all of the Church,⁴⁷ and that the twelve tribes comprise all the nations, just as: "You shall judge the 12 tribes of Israel."⁴⁸ The whole is understood from the part, because a certain time is defined by fixed numbers, as in the Revelations: "You will have tribulation for ten days,"⁴⁹ when it means "until the end." However, it is inconvenient

⁴⁴ Dan. 7:10 (cf. Tertullian Against Praxeas III).

⁴⁵ Psalm 68:17, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 67:18.

⁴⁶ Psalm 105:8.

⁴⁷ See Rev. 7:4. Clearly, Tyconius interpreted this figure as a symbolic representation, rather than as a literal head-count, of the genuine believers. In fact, through this point in the discussion he has assessed the language of the passages cited to be essentially figurative and symbolic. It was precisely because these passages were deemed to be imagistic portrayals of spiritual realities that Tyconius could conclude that those numbers which were contained so frequently within such portrayals were "fixed" and were intended as channels of special revelation.

⁴⁸ Matt. 19:28. Again, the "twelve tribes of Israel," outside of their historical context, were to be regarded symbolically in the broadest possible context, i.e., perfection. Thus, Tyconius regarded the reference to mean "all the nations" of the world.

⁴⁹ Rev. 2:10. Tyconius was, perhaps, forced to reach this interpretation "by reason alone," because he was fully conscious of the persistent tribulation encountered by Christians. Given this perspective, the inclusion of a "fixed" number ("ten days") would have led Tyconius to conclude that the tribulations would cease only at the Eschaton.

now to prove that the 70 years in Babylon are the same time.⁵⁰

Also, beside the fixed numbers, Scripture frequently abbreviated an indefinite time with an indefinite number, just as the above mentioned time is called an "Hour" by the apostle, saying: "It is the last hour";⁵¹ and "Day," just as: "Behold, now is the day of salvation";⁵² and "Year," just as it is said by Isaiah: "To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."⁵³ Because that which the Lord proclaimed was not the only acceptable time, but also this time which he proclaims, just as it is said: "At the acceptable time I have heard you," which the apostle interprets: "Behold, now is the acceptable time."⁵⁴ Finally,

⁵⁰ That is, the "70 years in Babylon" represent the same time-period as the "ten days" during which the Church will face tribulations; for as "fixed" numbers they both reveal that the Church will be persecuted until the end of time (see above, fn. 4).

⁵¹ I John 2:18. The "above mentioned time" refers to the "ten days" and to the "70 years in Babylon," both of which figuratively represent the "whole of time," or all that remains of the "greater sixth day." Also, here, Tyconius understood "the last hour" to be a figure of speech symbolically describing the indefinite number of years remaining before the Eschaton.

⁵² II Cor. 6:2. "Day," also describes the indefinite number of years remaining before the Eschaton. This particular passage, however, seems to emphasize the shortness of this indefinite period and, thus, the urgency of finding salvation now because the Eschaton is so close.

⁵³ Luke 4:19 (cf. Isa. 61:2).

⁵⁴ II Cor. 6:2. Simply, Tyconius perceived many of the indefinite time-designations to be equivocal and figurative expressions of historical time. They were meant

he added the day of judgement to the end of this year, saying: "To proclaim the acceptable year and the day of retribution."⁵⁵ And David says, "Bless the crown of the year with your bounty."⁵⁶

Sometimes an hour is a day and a month is a year, just as in the Revelations: "Prepared for the hour and the day and the month and for the year,"⁵⁷ which is three and a half years. In the same place, months instead of years:

to dramatize the rapid flow of time and to intensify one's awareness of the need to make decisions and to act.

⁵⁵Luke 4:19. The "day of judgement" begins where the "acceptable year" ends. By this Tyconius sought to say that the "acceptable year" is an indefinite period of time synonymous with the unknown number of years yet to be before God brings human history to an end.

⁵⁶Psalm 65:11, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 64:12. Tyconius interpreted this verse to mean that God will bless what remains of the "whole of time," or the "acceptable year," with His "bounty," or with the grace of salvation.

⁵⁷Rev. 9:15. In the brief section which follows, Tyconius attempted to demonstrate that the sum of 350, whether symbolized by the figure "three and one half years" as used here, or written otherwise, was a revelation to the Church concerning the specific number of years that the created world order would exist following the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Tyconius thought that when indefinite categories of time were embedded in a passage they were meant to be interpreted as signs pointing to the "whole of time." More importantly, however, he also thought he had discovered the key that unlocked the mystery of when the Eschaton was to occur. Based upon his understanding of how long the Israelites were in Egypt, which he decided was 350 years (see above, fn. 10), he came to the conclusion that the Church must exist in this world for 350 years following the resurrection of Christ. Surely this interpretation was influenced by the fact that Tyconius was living and writing approximately 350 years after this event.

"It is given to him to hurt men for five months."⁵⁸ Sometimes, a day when written with the number ten is 100 days, just as in the Revelations: "1,260 days";⁵⁹ for one-thousand-two-hundred-sixty hundreds equal one hundred twenty-six thousand days, which become 350 years in months of thirty days. In the same place, one month when written with the number ten is a hundred months, as: "They will trample the holy city for 42 months";⁶⁰ for 42 hundreds are 4,200 months, which are 350 years.⁶¹

A time-period is either a year or a hundred years, just as "a time and times and half a time,"⁶² which is either three and a half years or 350 years.⁶³ Again, one day sometimes is a hundred years, just as it is written

⁵⁸Rev. 9:10. Tyconius was painfully aware of the persecution that had occurred in North Africa and of the "hurt" that had continued from it, which indeed had lasted not months but years (see Rule VI, fns. 9-14).

⁵⁹Rev. 11:3. ⁶⁰Rev. 11:3.

⁶¹One perceives quite clearly the significance of the 350 year time-period for Tyconius's hermeneutic. Perhaps, this figure may serve also as a clue to the actual date of this work. If one assumes, as Tyconius most probably did, that Jesus was born in A.D. 1, and that He died at the age of 33, then one is led to the conclusion that the Rules were written before A.D. 383, which is the total of 33 years and 350 years. Other indications in the text lend credence to this theory; for Tyconius obviously sensed that he was living in the "last hour."

⁶²Rev. 12:14.

⁶³That is, "time" (singular) equals one hundred years; "times" (plural) equals at least two hundred years; and "half a time" equals a half of one hundred years. When this is added together the sum may be expressed either as three and one half years or 350 years.

concerning the Church's founding, "in the city where also its Lord was crucified for three and a half days,"⁶⁴ and: "It is necessary that the son of man go to Jerusalem and suffer many things from the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed, and after three days rise again";⁶⁵ for he himself arose on the third.⁶⁶

Several times, also, a generation is 100 years, just as the Lord says to Abraham: "But they shall return here in the fourth generation."⁶⁷ But in Exodus, not concerning the time of servitude but concerning the time of the whole pilgrimage, it is said: "But in the fifth generation" the people "ascended out of Egypt,"⁶⁸ that is, after 430 years. Also, several times a generation is 10 years, just as Jeremiah says: "You will be in Babylon until the

⁶⁴ See Rev. 11:8-9.

⁶⁵ Matt. 16:21. The "son of man" was understood here by Tyconius as a reference to the Church and not to Jesus.

⁶⁶ That is, Jesus himself arose on the third day, but the Church ("the son of man") will rise "after three days." It was the word "after" in this passage that caused Tyconius to conclude that Christ could not be the subject. Thus, the force of this argument is its association of "after three days" with "three and one half" and with 350 years.

⁶⁷ Gen. 15:16. Four generations of one hundred years each equal four hundred years, the same period that Israel was said to have dwelt in Egypt (see above, fns. 5-10).

⁶⁸ See Ex. 13:18 (cf. Ex. 12:40). Through the application of synecdoche Tyconius could say that a time-period greater than 400 years (the fourth generation), such as 430 years, would be referred to as the "fifth generation."

7th generation."⁶⁹

In the Gospels it is discovered that the number three is the same as a ten--that is, a complete number. For Matthew says that the substance of the Lord was entrusted to three servants;⁷⁰ but Luke says 10, which he reduces to three; while he also says that the reckoning was exacted from three.⁷¹

Several times, one day is 1,000 years, just as it is written: "In the day that you taste from the tree you

⁶⁹ Baruch 6:3, which in the Vulgate is Baruch 6:2. He has brought his argument full circle with this inclusion of the numbers "10" and "7." He began by attempting to demonstrate that certain "fixed" numbers symbolized the "whole of time." Then he attempted to prove that all that remained of the "whole of time" after the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ was a time-period of approximately 350 years. This time-period, he asserted, could be represented as four generations, or perhaps five. Then he claimed that these four generations, or 350 years, equal the seven generations, or 70 years, that Israel was in Babylon, which he had already claimed (see above, fns. 4, 50) was a certain revelation that the Church would suffer persecutions until the end of time. Thus, he has attempted to prove that 350 years is the total number of years remaining of human history, following the resurrection, by identifying that time-period with the 70 years that Israel was captive in Babylon: a tautology.

⁷⁰ See Matt. 25:14-30. This is a reference to the Matthean recounting of the Parable of the Talents (cf. Luke 19:12-27).

⁷¹ See Luke 19:12-27. In the Lukian report of the Parable of the Talents, ten servants are initially mentioned (v. 13). However, as in the Matthean version, the master requires an accounting from only three of these servants. Thus, guided by the Matthean version, Tyconius interpreted this internal discrepancy to be an equation of the numbers "3" and "10." Such an interpretation was consistent with his belief that these so-called "fixed" numbers were all equally signs of special revelation.

shall surely die."⁷² And the first 7 days are 7,000 years: the Lord worked for six days "and rested from all his works on the seventh day and he blessed and sanctified it."⁷³ However, the Lord says: "My father is working still."⁷⁴ For just as he labored over this world for six days, so he labors over the spiritual world, which is the Church, for six thousand years, about to cease on the seventh day which he blessed and made eternal.⁷⁵

That is why, among the rest of his commands, the Lord taught nothing more sharply than that we observe and

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⁷²Gen. 2:17. Tyconius held that each "day" of creation lasted the equivalent of one thousand years each. Also, as stated previously (see above, fn. 12), he thought that all of human history would transpire within the time-period that remained of the one thousand years of the "sixth day," after God had completed the universe. Thus, Tyconius interpreted the word "day" in this passage to mean "within the one thousand year period."

⁷³See Gen. 2:2-3. Again, he plainly stated his contention that the "days" of creation were one thousand years each in duration.

⁷⁴John 5:17. Tyconius used this verse as a proof-text to show that the seventh day, the day of rest, had not yet occurred. That is, he maintained that God was yet to rest from His creation; for God still had this creation to watch over and preserve. Thus, since the created world order had not ceased to exist, Tyconius continued in his belief that mankind was living in what remained of the "greater sixth day."

⁷⁵In view of his various assertions, one must view this exegesis not as a comparison of one event which is followed by another, but as a recognition of parallel events occurring concurrently. One aspect of creation, then, is seen to be physical while another aspect is regarded as spiritual. Once again, he has clearly maintained that the "seventh day" is an "eternal" (beyond history) day of rest.

love the sabbath day.⁷⁶ However, he who does the precepts of God loves the sabbath of God, that is, the seventh day of eternal rest. Therefore, God warns the people not to enter the gates of Jerusalem with a load on the sabbath day, and he threatens the gates and the ones going in and out through them, just as Jeremiah commands, saying: "Go quickly, stand in the gates of the sons of your people, in which the kings of Judah go in and out, and in all the gates of Jerusalem, and say to them: Hear the word of the Lord, you who enter through these gates. Thus says the Lord, Take heed for your lives, and do not carry loads on the sabbath day, and do not go out through the gates of Jerusalem, and do not bear loads from your houses on the sabbath day, just as I commanded your fathers; yet they did not hear with their ears and they stiffened their necks beyond what their fathers had; so that they would not hear me nor would they learn instruction. And it will be that if you will hear me, says the Lord, so that you will not carry loads through the gates of this city on the sabbath day, so that you may not do any of your work and so that you will keep the sabbath day holy, then kings and princes

⁷⁶At this point Tyconius broke away from his discussion of an extended allegorical exegesis of the injunction to observe the sabbath day (see Ex. 20:8-11; Deut. 5:12-15). It is clear that he has allegorized the meaning of this commandment. However, at the same time, he affirmed the need to keep the seventh day of the week as a "holy" day; for it served as a sign pointing to that day of eternal rest which was soon to be.

sitting on the throne of David and riding in chariots and on horses will enter through the gates of this city, they and their princes, the men of Judah and those who dwell in Jerusalem. And this city shall be inhabited forever, and they will come from the cities of Judah and from the cities around Jerusalem, and from the land to the East, bringing burnt offerings and incense and manna and frankincense, bringing praise to the house of the Lord. And if you will not hear me so that you will keep the sabbath day holy, as not to carry loads nor to enter through the gates of Jerusalem on the sabbath day, then I will kindle a fire in its gates, and it shall consume the routes to Jerusalem and it shall not be extinguished."⁷⁷ It would have sufficed to have briefly commanded that there be no work on the sabbath; so why did he say, "Do not carry loads through the gates of Jerusalem"? Or, if there was a need to say the type of work, also, why did he say, "Do not carry through the gates"? For one does not bring loads into the city through walls and roofs.⁷⁸

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⁷⁷Jer. 17:19-27.

⁷⁸In other words, Tyconius considered the commandment to be explicit enough in its injunction; so he wondered why the commandment went on to mention a specific restriction about "loads" and a specific prescription about "gates." Consistent with his established pattern, Tyconius attempted to answer his own questions by employing the hermeneutic principles previously espoused. Consequently, one discovers that Tyconius has united Rule V with the other four Rules. That is, in the section which follows he resolved the difficulties stated above through the application of the concepts of "Christ and His Body," the "Bipartite Nature of

Jerusalem is bipartite and its gates are bipartite. Through the lower gates exist the holy things from Jerusalem, and through the same, evil things enter in. However, those who enter through the gates of heaven enter into the eternal Jerusalem, as "kings in chariots and on horses sitting on the throne of David,"⁷⁹ just as it is said by Isaiah: "They shall bring your brothers from all the nations as a gift to the Lord, with horses and chariots in the splendor of mules with umbrellas into the holy city."⁸⁰ Christ is the holy gates of the city of Jerusalem, and his vicars are the keepers of the law, but "they are killing the prophets and stoning the ones sent to them."⁸¹ The devil is a gate, and his vicars are the false apostles who are the preachers of the law, they are hiding, in the highest sense of that word, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven."⁸² The same are the "gates" which "will not

the Church," "Law and Promise," and "Species and Genus"; as well as, he gave a preview of Rule VII, the "Devil and His Body."

⁷⁹ See Jer. 17:25. The earthly city of Jerusalem symbolizes both the bipartite, earthly Church and the heavenly "city" where the people of God will dwell for all eternity.

⁸⁰ Isa. 66:20. Those who enter Jerusalem through the "gates of heaven" are those who become genuine members of the body of Christ.

⁸¹ See Matt. 23:37. That is, the genuine members of Christ's body are suffering the same tribulations that the "prophets" before them suffered (see above, fns. 49-50).

⁸² See Matt. 16:19. With this statement Tyconius gave a preview of his theme in Rule VII. For the present

conquer the Church,"⁸³ which "was founded upon the rock,"⁸⁴ because "it stands as the firm foundation of God,"⁸⁵ just as it is written: "The Lord knew those who are his."⁸⁶ However, if anyone entered through the precepts of those presiding "on the throne of Moses,"⁸⁷ he enters through Christ--for the precepts are his, he unloads the burden of their sins--and without it⁸⁸ he enters into the rest of the sabbath. But if anyone does not enter through the precepts, but through the works of those presiding on the throne, he will become more a "son of hell"⁸⁹ than they, and when all who collected manna before the sabbath are resting,⁹⁰ he

it is sufficient to say that Rule VII is essentially the argument found in Rule I (and Rule II to a brief extent) except for the obvious difference of subjects.

⁸³ See Matt. 16:18. This is a reference to the "gates" of hell, where the devil and his body dwell.

⁸⁴ See Matt. 7:25. The "rock" is a reference to the individual's confession of faith in Jesus Christ.

⁸⁵ II Tim. 2:19.

⁸⁶ II Tim. 2:19. Again, Tyconius has played upon the image of the bipartite Church.

⁸⁷ See Matt. 23:2. This is a reference to the Mosaic law and to those persons who are compelled by the law to seek God's grace through faith.

⁸⁸ "It" refers to the burden of sins.

⁸⁹ See Matt. 23:15. This is a reference to those who seek to enter the Church (Jerusalem) by doing the requirements of the law, without approaching God through faith.

⁹⁰ See Ex. 16:23ff.; Num. 15:30. Tyconius has allegorized the image of God feeding the Israelites in the Wilderness and equated it with the image of God saving those who respond in faith before the Eschaton, which shall be followed by the sabbath day of eternal rest.

will be discovered with his load on the day of the sabbath, the day on which manna is not to be collected nor is a load to be loaded. Because they do not want to hear the voice of the son of God speaking in the Church and saying: "Come to me all of you who are laboring and I will cause you to rest."⁹¹

These are the thieves who enter into their Jerusalem not through the true door but through their own gates,⁹² and God will kindle a "fire in the gates of Jerusalem," and it will consume its "routes" and "it will not be extinguished."⁹³ For the fire which consumed the gates of this particular Jerusalem⁹⁴ was extinguished; however, the apostle says that the sabbath and the other commandments

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⁹¹ Matt. 11:28. Tyconius has interpreted the commandment to observe the sabbath as a commandment of salvation. The restriction against carrying "loads" on the sabbath has been explained as a warning that one should get rid of his burden of sin before the beginning of the sabbath day of eternal rest; for God will have removed the burdens of those who are saved. The prescription concerning the "gates" was explained as a warning against entering the "gates of hell."

⁹² See John 10:1. The "true door" is a reference to Jesus Christ. Thus, those who seek to enter the Church (Jerusalem) through their own openings, rather than through Christ, are to be compared with thieves.

⁹³ Jer. 17:27 (cf. Rev. 20:14). This reference was interpreted by Tyconius to mean that the "thieves," i.e., the false members of the body of Christ, would be consumed in hell by an unquenchable fire.

⁹⁴ "This particular Jerusalem" refers to the earthly city and, specifically, to the destruction of Jerusalem by fire during the Babylonian conquest (see II Kings 25:8-10).

of the law are a type of what is to be, thus: "Therefore, let no man judge you concerning food and drink or in regard to a feast day or new moons or sabbaths, because it is a shadow of what is to be."⁹⁵

In many locations diverse events of one time-period have been described in separate species by two times, as if following one another in order. However, in the genus both events are of one time.⁹⁶ Thus, the 14 years under Joseph of fruitfulness and of barrenness⁹⁷ are only 7 years, that is, the whole time from the suffering of the Lord, in whose figure was Joseph made Lord of Egypt when he was 30 years old;⁹⁸ which are to us, therefore, 7 years of fruitfulness

⁹⁵ Col. 2:16-17. Tyconius has made clear, with this quotation, his belief that the weekly sabbath observances are intended as signs, or species, of that sabbath of eternal rest which is to be. Therefore, he struck a blow here against what he believed was the inclination of some to view the weekly sabbath as an end unto itself, rather than a "shadow of what is to be."

⁹⁶ Tyconius employed the terms "species" and "genus" in Rule V somewhat differently from Rule IV (see Rule IV, fn. 1). The concepts, as well as, their relationships, remain the same. However, here genus designates the "whole of time," i.e., all of historical time remaining after the resurrection of Jesus Christ before the Eschaton; and species designates the "fixed" numbers which, in turn, are seen as prophetic signs pointing to the "whole of time" (see above, fn. 4).

⁹⁷ See Gen. 41:26ff.

⁹⁸ Gen. 41:46. Tyconius found two species side-by-side in this passage. The first species is the number "7," which is the sum "14 years" reduced to its base number. Thus, the figure 7, as a "fixed" number, is a species designating the "whole time from the suffering of the Lord." The second species is the figure Joseph, who as "lord of Egypt when he was 30 years old," was thought by Tyconius to be a prophetic image of the Christ-event.

and of abundance, but which are to the others 7 years of barrenness and famine. For at this time the Lord threatens famine to the rich, but to the poor he promises abundance.⁹⁹ Scripture testifies in Exodus that these good and bad things of the double times¹⁰⁰ are about to be in one time, as when Israel was shown to be immune from all the plagues of Egypt and to have had light through three days of darkness.¹⁰¹ That darkness is now produced spiritually, just as afterwards God threatens this same Pharaoh, saying: "I will place darkness over your land."¹⁰²

Sometimes, one time-period divides into many parts, of which the individual parts may represent the whole time. Thus, the year in which Noah was in the ark is divided among all numbers. Nevertheless, as often as periods of time are mentioned, especially when a number consisting of four is mentioned, they represent the time from the

⁹⁹ See Luke 6:20ff. That is, these 7 years (i.e., 14 years reduced to the "fixed" number) symbolize the years after the death and resurrection of Christ. As such, they are seen by Christians as years of spiritual "fruitfulness and abundance," while to the non-Christian this period is comparable spiritually, Tyconius said, to years of "barrenness and famine."

¹⁰⁰ "Duplicis temporis."

¹⁰¹ See Ex. 10:23. The "about to be in one time" was interpreted by Tyconius as a reference to the period following the resurrection. During this time the Church (Israel) will have spiritual light and will be immune to the judgement of God against this world (Egypt).

¹⁰² Ezek. 32:8. As he implied above, Tyconius believed that the prophecy was being fulfilled again "now," during the historical life-time of the Church.

suffering of the Lord until the end. However, as often as it is consisting of four, either it is a complete number or it is after the third part of four, as 350, or three and a half. But other numbers must be understood according to the context; for they are signs, not manifest definitions.¹⁰³ Therefore, 40 days comprise the time of the flood;¹⁰⁴ for these are the 400 years in Egypt, and the 40 years in the desert, and the 40 days of the fasting of the Lord and of Moses and of Elijah, in which the Church fasts in the desert, that is, it abstains from the pleasures of the dead; that is, the 40 days in which the Church eats and drinks with the Lord after the resurrection,¹⁰⁵ that is,

¹⁰³ The time-period referred to is forty days. Since this figure was a "number consisting of four," obviously, Tyconius treated this time-period as a symbolic representation of the "whole of time" (see above, fns. 5-10, 67-69). He considered the numbers four, forty and four hundred to be "manifest definitions." That is, like other "fixed" numbers, these numbers consisting of four had a constant and equal value. They served as specific indications that a given passage was a prophecy concerning the historical existence of the Church. However, numbers not consisting of four, he said, must be interpreted in the context of the passage; for they are not fixed or unchanging indicators.

¹⁰⁴ Gen. 7:4. Tyconius interpreted the role and function of the Church as having been foreshadowed and foretold in the Genesis account of the ark and the flood.

¹⁰⁵ Tyconius interpreted all of these references as prophecies depicting the relationship of the Church to this world. Also, each time-period mentioned was interpreted as depicting the "whole time" from the resurrection until the end of time. Like the Israelites in Egypt, the Church will be oppressed by this world the whole time of its earthly existence (see above, fn. 69). Or, as the Israelites had to wander in the desert before they entered into the Promised Land, so the Church must endure the "wilderness"

the 40 years in which the Church was "eating and drinking"¹⁰⁶ under Solomon, everywhere there was profound peace, nevertheless, being pressed by this same bipartite Solomon, just as this same Church says: "Your father oppressed us."¹⁰⁷ The water was standing by itself 40 days and it disappeared in as many days, and the disappearance of the water was completed in the tenth month,¹⁰⁸ that is, in the perfect time. But, in the genus, it is not this way; so that it increases in a certain time and then disappears: because the time in which it increases carnally, it disappears spiritually, in order that this same rising may also be the disappearing until the time is accomplished, just as the reigning world is placed under the feet of the

of this world before entering into its promised place of eternal abode. Also, the Church is denied in this world the full realization of its reconciliation with God. Tyconius likened this temporary denial to a fast, just as the Lord, Moses and Elijah were fasting, according to Tyconius, in anticipation of the spiritual abundance about to come through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. So, even now the Church begins to share in the spiritual plenty provided by Christ (see Acts 1:3); but the fullness of the Lord's bounty will not be realized until the Church enters into the sabbath day of eternal rest.

¹⁰⁶ See I Kings 1:25. With this statement Tyconius reminded the reader of the bipartite nature of the Church. At the same time he points out that God does nourish his people in each generation (see Rule IV, fn. 49).

¹⁰⁷ See I Kings 12:4. This is a rather cryptic statement that seems to suggest that the "same Church" which is nourished by God nevertheless suffers tribulations.

¹⁰⁸ See Gen. 7:17, 24; 8:6.

Church, that is, of the son of man.¹⁰⁹ These are, therefore, the 40 days,¹¹⁰ that is, 150 in Ezekiel; for, indeed, in 40 days he discharged the sins of Judah, and of Israel, in 150 days, which is one and the same.¹¹¹ And "in the seventh month the ark rested,"¹¹² the same time; and "the water disappeared until the tenth month,"¹¹³ the same time. He went out from the ark in the twelfth month;¹¹⁴ this is "the year" of freedom, "acceptable to the Lord,"¹¹⁵ in which the Church will be shown to have passed completely through the flood of the world.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ Once again, Tyconius has identified the "son of man" as the Church (see above, fns. 65-66).

¹¹⁰ See Gen. 7:17, 24. Again, the reference is to the Flood story.

¹¹¹ See Ezek. 4:4-6. Tyconius considered the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah to be "one and the same," because he conceived of the "nation of Israel" as a unity. Thus, in accordance with his equation of Israel and Judah, he equated "40 days" and "150 days."

¹¹² Gen. 8:4. The number seven mentioned here is a "fixed" number and, therefore, equal to the number four, or to any other "fixed" number.

¹¹³ Gen. 8:5. The number ten is also a "fixed" number and, likewise, is equally a symbol of the "whole of time."

¹¹⁴ See Gen. 8:6. Finally, the number twelve is also a "fixed" number; but Tyconius played upon the reference to the "twelfth month" as another way of signifying the "acceptable year of the Lord." Of course, this "acceptable year" is synonymous with the "whole of time."

¹¹⁵ See Luke 4:19 (see above, fns. 53-56).

¹¹⁶ That is, the body of Christ will go out of the "ark" at the close of the "acceptable year" and will leave behind the destruction of this world.

Any part of this year is the same year. As for example, if he had said, "he went out from the ark on the fortieth day," or "the seventh month," or "tenth"; for these are parts of the recapitulation¹¹⁷ from the beginning until the end. Just as from Adam until Enoch, that is, the translation of the Church, there were 7 generations, which is the whole time. On the other hand, from Adam until Noah, that is, the restoration of the world, there are 10 generations, which is the whole time; and from Noah until Abraham, 10 generations. For even the 100 years in which the ark was being constructed is the whole time in which the Church is being constructed, and in that time it governs all those perishing in the flood.¹¹⁸

We leave these paths which must be investigated more fully by the wise, because (lest there would be an abundance of Scriptural texts that bear upon the

¹¹⁷The term "recapitulation" has a distinctive meaning in Tyconius's hermeneutic and, in fact, is the subject of Rule VI. Suffice it to say here that Tyconius perceived a pattern of God's acts of salvation in both the Old and New Testaments which he discussed under the heading of "recapitulation," but which today might best be described by the term "heilsgeschichte."

¹¹⁸Tyconius based his estimation of the length of time it took to construct the ark on Gen. 5:32 (cf. Gen. 6:10) which states that Noah was five hundred years old when God approached him about building the ark and on Gen. 7:6 which states that Noah was six hundred years old when the flood "came upon the earth."

interpreting and the removing of things which, perchance, impede this understanding), hurrying on to something else, we do not think individual cases need to be pursued.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Tyconius has concluded by stating, in effect, that he did not intend to write an exhaustive study of the problem. Rather, as he declared in the beginning, his intention was to write a "libellum regularum" in which he would set forth the essentials of his hermeneutic.

VI. RECAPITULATION

Among the rules by which the Spirit signified the principle with which the way of light should be guarded, one in particular guards the sign of recapitulation with that principle of subtlety; so that the continuation of a narration might be seen more than the recapitulation.¹

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¹ "Inter regulas quibus Spiritus legem signauit quo luminis via custodiretur, non nihil custodit recapitulationis sigillum ea subtilitate, ut continuatio magis narrationis quam recapitulatio videatur. The "sign of recapitulation" (meaning a restatement by heads, or, a regathering under a head) is the distinctive term Tyconius employed to describe the regathering of the Church (the body) under Christ (the head) at the end of time (cf. Eph. 1.10, "to unite," "to bring together"; Greek: anakephalaiosasthai; Vulgate: instaurare). Tyconius cautioned that the "sign of recapitulation" is so subtle one might fail to sense the signals when listening to the narration. Therefore, the announced function of Rule VI is to instruct the reader in how to discern those Scripture passages which seem to rehearse that eschatological event when Christ shall come to gather unto himself all of his disciples from all the ages.

Yet a second, and seemingly more important, concern of Rule VI is Tyconius's expression of circumspection regarding one's claim to inclusion in the "recapitulation." Perhaps, initially the discussion may appear as a simple analysis of what criteria God will use to determine who is sound of faith. However, one quickly senses that Tyconius's remarks are too pointed and forceful for a general discussion; and, given the contemporary religious predicament, one is led to surmise that Tyconius was exhorting and admonishing his fellow Donatists for their schismatic self-righteousness and the Catholics for their unchristian response to the Donatists. Yet, throughout, Tyconius's tone is uniformly pastoral and corrective.

In some respects Rule VI is a continuation of Rule II's discussion of the bipartite Church. The "recapitulation," of course, will gather all the true members of the earthly Church into the heavenly body. In Rule VI Tyconius explained the standard with which God will part the true from the false members of the earthly Church. Simply

For example, sometimes it recapitulates thus:

"Then," "At that hour," "On that day," "At this time," just like the Lord speaks in the Gospel, saying: "On the day that Lot went out from Sodom it rained fire from heaven and it destroyed all the people: it will be just like this on the day of the son of man, when he will be revealed. At that hour, let him who will be on the roof, and his vessels in the house, not descend to take them away; and let him who is in the field, likewise, not turn back: remember Lot's wife."² At that hour when the Lord shall be revealed by his coming ought not one to return for those things which are his and to have remembered Lot's wife, and not before he is revealed?³ However, the Lord, at that hour when he shall be revealed, ordered that these things be observed, not only in order that by hiding the truth from those seeking he would make it more pleasing, but also in order that he would show the day or the hour to be that

stated, the Church in heaven will be composed of those who know the Lord and keep His precepts (cf. I John 2:3-4; see below, fn. 16).

²Luke 17:29-32. Tyconius interpreted this saying to be an apocalyptic prediction, describing by analogy the events that will occur "on that day" when God brings human history to an end and Christ returns for His Church.

³Obviously, the question is relevant only if the Lord has not been revealed by his return. Therefore, yes, one ought to forsake the things he left behind and he ought to remember the fate which befell Lot's wife before the fateful eschatological day overtakes him.

whole time.⁴ And so, at this same hour, that is, at the same time, he commanded that these things ought to be observed, but before he is revealed:⁵ indeed, at the same hour, but in that part of the hour in which he is known by reason.⁶

Sometimes, however, the recapitulations are not of this sort, but are likenesses of what is to be,⁷ just as

⁴The "whole time" (see Rule V) refers to that span of time between the resurrection of Christ and the Eschaton.

⁵Tyconius interpreted the "at that hour" of the Scripture passage quoted above (see above, fn. 2) to be the "same hour" or "same time" as the "whole time." Thus, the injunction is in force throughout this time span, and its urgency remains unabated. Tyconius has subtly played upon the image of the man fleeing and leaving behind all of his former possessions, all of which will be destroyed, and the idea of the Christian convert fleeing and leaving behind all the things of this world, all of which are to be destroyed at the Eschaton. (A similar point is made in Rule IV, fns. 109-111, where Lot's separation from Sodom was interpreted as the separation of the righteous from this world.)

⁶The implication here is not so much that one might know the time of the Eschaton (see Rule V, fns. 10, 57) but that "by reason" one knows that "these things ought to be observed" by the Christian immediately after one has become a Christian.

⁷That is, the "recapitulation" is not clearly signaled by the key terms mentioned above, as "then," "at that hour," etc., which liken a past event to the eschatological Event. Instead, in some instances the "recapitulation" is signaled in a prophetic description of the end of time. Such prophecies are similar to the genus predictions discussed earlier (see Rule IV, fn. 1). Indeed, Tyconius used the term "genus" in this Rule to describe certain prophecies of "recapitulation." However, precisely speaking, prophecies of "recapitulation" apply to that last fateful day of historical time, that "day" when time gives way to eternity. Thus, these prophecies are in a class by themselves: they are signs pointing to the day when Christ will return for His Church.

the Lord says: "When you see what was said by the prophet Daniel, then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains,"⁸ and he imagines the end of time. But what Daniel said is going on now in Africa, and the end is not at this time.⁹ But since, even if the end is not at this time, by this same reason it is about to be, nevertheless:¹⁰ therefore, he said, "Then," that is, when it will have occurred similarly throughout the world, which is the "separation" and the "revelation of the man of sin."¹¹ With this genus¹² of speaking, the spirit says in the Psalms: "When the Lord turned away the captivity of Zion we became as those who have been comforted. Then our mouth was filled with laughter and our tongue with exultation. Then they will say among the nations: The Lord has done great things with them, the Lord has done great things with us, we are

⁸Matt. 24:15-16.

⁹This is a clear reference to the persecution of the Donatists in North Africa (see also, Rule IV, fn. 108; Rule V, fns. 57, 58, 61).

¹⁰For Tyconius, the fact that the Eschaton had not yet occurred after the manifest demonstration of so many signs of its coming only served as a more acute warning of the nearness of the event.

¹¹See II Thess. 2:3 (cf. Rule IV, fns. 109-111). What was then occurring in North Africa helped to reveal that the one persecuting the Church was the "man of sin," and it "separated" him and his followers from those who held to Christ.

¹²This is the same term as found in Rule IV (see above, fn. 7).

made to be rejoicing."¹³ It should have said, when the Lord will have turned away the captivity of Zion, then they said among the nations. But now it says: "When he turned away, then they will say among the nations"; for we are the nation whose captivity he turned away.¹⁴ Just as, also, we have the appointed time of these things in a figure, saying: "The Lord has done great things with them, the Lord has done great things with us." And so, by similarity, he made their time and ours one, and he joined them, saying: "Then they will say among the nations," that is, when he will deal in a similar way with the nations.¹⁵

¹³Psalm 126:1-3. Tyconius thought this passage to be a description of the ecstatic joy ("laughter," "exultation") that the Church will experience when the reality of the "recapitulation" breaks in upon them. The "great things that the Lord has done with them" will become the Church's song of praise, so to speak.

¹⁴Again, this is a reference to the persecution and tribulation suffered by the Donatists in North Africa. The "captivity" was turned away in the sense that the Donatist Church had endured and survived.

¹⁵That is, the "great things" which the Lord has done for His Church will be recognized by all nations at the Eschaton. Tyconius viewed this prophecy, then, as a rehearsal ("he made their time and ours one") of the "recapitulation." More importantly, he interpreted the similarity between the two time-periods to be a validation of his belief that he was living in the "last days"; for from what he has said previously (see above, fns. 9-11; cf. Rule IV, fn. 108; Rule V, fns. 57, 58, 61), it is obvious that he considered the contemporary circumstances to be the last, decisive sign of the "recapitulation." Truly, Tyconius anticipated the Second Advent with each new sunrise.

At this point Tyconius turned from an examination of the "sign of recapitulation" to an examination of the individual's readiness for the Lord's coming. Ostensibly, the discussion is concerned with how one can determine for

I think that this ought not to be disregarded, because the Spirit wished both to be understood and to speak without mystery or allegory, just as the Spirit said through John: "Many false prophets have gone out into this world. By this you know the Spirit of God: Every Spirit which is separate from Jesus and denies that he came in the flesh is not from God, but this one is from the antichrist, which you heard is coming and now is present in this world."¹⁶ Does anyone have the Spirit of God who denies

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himself whether he is a true member of the body of Christ. However, one quickly senses that on a deeper level Tyconius was addressing the controversy between the Donatists and the Catholics and, perhaps, the Donatists chiefly. What follows is a forceful redress of both parties for their unchristian attitudes, couched in a concise statement of his doctrine of sanctification. No doubt, Rule VI in particular alienated his fellow Donatists and negated his influence with them.

¹⁶I John 4:1-3 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:16, On the Flesh of Christ XXIV, On the Resurrection of the Flesh XXII). This is the biblical text which Tyconius believed would be used to filter out the false members from the Church. Let it be noted, however, Tyconius was not advocating that the earthly Church undertake to separate the "wheat" from the "weeds." On the contrary, he was speaking against this very practice, which the Donatists had thought themselves so well in doing. For Tyconius, these verses were intended to be applied first to oneself; and second, they were intended as a test of others to determine their orthodoxy, lest one should follow false teachers. Throughout, Tyconius's emphasis is that the individual himself remain orthodox. To be orthodox essentially meant for Tyconius that one believe in and accept Jesus as the Incarnate Word and that one incarnate that Word in his life. That is, he thought that the quintessence of Christianity was a personal, reconciled relationship between the believer and God and between the believer and his fellow believers. As he has expressed himself so clearly in Rules I and II, Tyconius resolutely held that the Incarnation meant both that God dwelt in human form as Jesus and also that Christ is incarnate in His body, the

that Jesus has come in the flesh? But in every way this same epistle, in which he wrote only about good and evil brethren, warns by this same type of speaking that this denial is in deed, not in word, and that each person ought to be known not by what he says but by his fruits, just as it says: "By this we know that we know him, if we keep his precepts. But he who says that he knows him and does not keep his commandments is a liar."¹⁷ He did not say, did he, that the brother who denied God was to be known by his profession, and not by his deeds?¹⁸ And again: "He who says he is in the light and hates his brother is still in darkness."¹⁹ And again: "He who would say that he loves

Church. Therefore, Tyconius maintained that for a Christian to deny fellowship to another believer in Christ was, in effect, a denial of Christ in the flesh. This action, in turn, was considered to be a sign of the antichrist.

¹⁷ I John 2:3-4. Again, Tyconius would have one apply this test to oneself. Although, however, it can be said that there is an implied reproach against the Donatists here.

¹⁸ Obviously, Tyconius wanted the reader to agree that a mere verbal affirmation or denial of the Lord was not the basis on which God would judge the sincerity of one's heart-felt convictions. Rather, as this question implied, the depth of sincerity of one's faith is more accurately gauged by the integrity of the relationship between one's profession of faith and one's actual conduct, or "works," consistent with the object of that faith. A Donatist reading this would have been sensitive to the subtle attack against him contained in Tyconius's question; for the Donatists denied fellowship to those Christians they deemed to be a traditor ("surrenderer").

¹⁹ I John 2:9. This is a pointed judgement against the Donatists, who thought themselves to be "in the light," while they had hatred for their brother Catholics. It was equally true that the Catholics hated the Donatists.

God and hates his brother is a liar."²⁰ For if, as he says, he loves God, let him explain this by his deeds, let him adhere to God, let him love God in his brother. If he believes that Christ became incarnate, let him cease to hate the members of Christ. If he believes that the Word was made flesh,²¹ why does he persecute the Word in the flesh? If he believes that the Lord said: "As long as you did it to the least of these my brothers who believe in me, you did it to me,"²² let him not do evil against Christ in the flesh, that is, against his servants, because the Lord and the Church are "one flesh."²³ If he believes that a man is in that one flesh, why does he not love, or--which is more cruel--why does he hate, just as it is written: "He who does not love" his brother "remains in death,"²⁴ and: "He who hates his brother is a murderer"?²⁵ He said that there is not another greater and more evident sign for

²⁰I John 4:20. The rebuke almost became an outright accusation. It also reveals the intensity of Tyconius's feelings about Christian fellowship and his anger over the schism.

²¹See John 1:14 (cf. Tertullian On the Flesh of Christ XVIII, XX, On the Resurrection of the Flesh XXXVII, Against Praxeas XV, XX, XXVI, On Modesty, VI, XV).

²²See Matt. 25:40; 18:6. See above, fns. 16, 18.

²³See Eph. 5:31-32 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion III:5, V:18). There can be little doubt that Tyconius thought of the Church as one mode of the Incarnation. Nor can there be any doubt that he was diametrically opposed to schism and to any attempt on the part of a group within the Church at passing judgement on other members of the Church.

²⁴I John 3:14.

²⁵See I John 3:15.

knowing the antichrist than that one denies Christ in the flesh, that is, one who hates his brother.²⁶ However, such is what he says: "That he who would deny Christ in the flesh is not from God,"²⁷ as for example: "No one is able to say Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit";²⁸ although, by this same witness, many may say Jesus is Lord: "Not everyone who says to me Lord, Lord, will enter into the kingdom of heaven."²⁹ But in the same place the apostle said that no man is able "to say Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit," according to conscience, "according to the inner man,"³⁰ not according to profession

²⁶This might apply to either party in the conflict.

²⁷See I John 4:3. Tyconius countered the Donatists' denunciation of those who verbally denied the lordship of Jesus Christ by claiming that the only real denial of Christ is the denial of the Incarnation of the Word in one's own life.

²⁸I Cor. 12:3. Herewith, he began to explain how one's vocal profession was to be judged. He understood this verse to mean that the truth of one's confession, or denial for that matter, is not determined by mere verbal distinctions, but by how the "inner man" conforms to the outward proclamations.

²⁹Matt. 7:21. Again, if Christ does not admit everyone into the heavenly Church who confesses Jesus as Lord, then, Tyconius argued, Christians (Donatists) should not simply dismiss anyone from the earthly Church who denies Jesus as Lord, especially, he might have added, if the denial is the result of persecution.

³⁰Rom. 7:22. The ability to confess Jesus as Lord is considered to be a "gift" of the Holy Spirit. As a "gift," Tyconius saw it no differently in essence from any other "gift" of the Spirit, such as the "gifts" of talent for Christian works. Thereby, then, Tyconius equated the sincere, heart-felt confession with the keeping of Christ's commandments.

alone, in order that he might show that those who believe Jesus is Lord have nothing less than those who are extolled for their types of gifts: but everyone who would believe in his heart that Jesus is Lord possesses one and the same Spirit, that is, he would show that he believed by his works. He says, "No man is able to say Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit. But there are differences of gifts, but the same Spirit, differences of mysteries, but the same Lord."³¹

However, "to be separate from Jesus"³² means that one does not do what he confesses that Jesus did, just as the Lord, likewise, says: "He who should loose one of the least of these commandments and should teach men thus, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven."³³ And he discloses to his followers what "should loose" means, saying: "He who," however, should do "and should teach thus." Therefore, even the apostle Paul confirms that to be a denial by deeds, not by word, saying: "They profess to know God, but they deny him by their deeds."³⁴ And again:

³¹I Cor. 12:3-5.

³²See I John 4:3 (cf. Tertullian On the Flesh of Christ XXIV, On the Resurrection of the Flesh XXII). "To be separate from Jesus" is the equivalent of being a false member of the Church.

³³Matt. 5:19. This text might be applied to the Donatists for their separatist attitude, but Tyconius was most likely thinking of the Catholics and their persecution, in Christ's name, of the Donatists.

³⁴Titus 1:16. This is a reference to the hostility fostered by the Catholics towards the Donatists.

"Having the form of religion, but denying its power."³⁵

It is in this sense that he says "certain" brothers did "not preach Christ from a pure motive,"³⁶--but by rote memory;³⁷ for they were preaching with a holy tone of voice.³⁸ Finally, he consents to their preaching and he commands that they be heard, saying: "What does it matter? In every way, whether by pretense or by truth, Christ is proclaimed."³⁹ However, the antichrist was preaching that Christ is Lord, not out of commitment but as a pretense. Holding to another, he enters by the name of Christ, by which he paves a way for himself, by which he may fulfill the wishes of his belly under the name of Christ, and--what a disgraceful thing it is to say--upon these he imposes the name of sanctity and simplicity, asserting with signs and

³⁵ II Tim. 3:5.

³⁶ Phil. 1:17. Tyconius abhorred schism, but he prized the Donatists' unfailing adherence to their faith throughout repeated tribulations. This fact helps to account for his feelings towards the Catholics ("certain brothers") for their inconstancy. In his mind, their motives for preaching Christ were not pure, because their lives did not bear witness to their message.

³⁷ "sed corde" means "but by heart." This phrase does not necessarily imply that the message came from one's heart, but rather the opposite: the message had not been internalized but memorized.

³⁸ "Nam voce santa praedicabant." In Tyconius's judgement, the holiness of the Catholics was only an outward appearance.

³⁹ Phil. 1:18. That is, the cause of Christ is advanced, while the false members are still judged for their inward denial of Christ.

wonders "of the inner chambers," that these are the works of Christ.⁴⁰ The apostle warns them to live by healthy caution, saying: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols."⁴¹

⁴⁰ See Matt. 24:24, 26. At this point Tyconius appears to have qualified his indictment. He seems to have allowed that there is a distinction between the antichrist, who preaches Christ as a pretense, and those who are not completely faithful to their calling in Christ.

⁴¹ I John 5:21. In other words, refrain from attitudes and actions which appear to be like the "signs" with which one may identify the antichrist, i.e., "keep yourselves from idols."

VII. THE DEVIL AND HIS BODY

The rule about the devil and his body can be seen briefly,¹ if that which was said concerning the Lord and his body is noted here also.² For indeed, a transition

¹ "Diaboli et corporis eius ratio breviter videri potest." In this instance only, "ratio" has been translated as "rule," which is the sense of the literal rendering: "the reason of the devil and his body." Also, the use of "breviter" is misleading; for this Rule is longer than Rules I and II combined.

² (See Rule I, fn. 1.) Tyconius stated that the "reason" ("ratione"), or inherent principle, of Rule VII was analogous to that in Rule I. He implied that the only major difference between the two Rules was that of subject: here, of course, the subject is the devil and his body. The analogy becomes confused in that the devil is regarded as an angel, created holy but now fallen from his pure estate. As a consequence, Tyconius considered the devil himself to be bipartite (see below, fn. 10); for he was originally holy, and is still a spiritual being, but he is also evil and has been "cast down to earth" in the form of a man. Secondly, the devil's body (his disciples) is not bipartite, good and evil; however, the devil's body does consist of two parts. One part is composed of the false members of the body of Christ, while the other part consists of all those outside of the body of Christ.

Rule VII also contains two other important aspects of Tyconius's theology. First, using the "two kingdoms" concept Tyconius explained his understanding of how the devil's dominion manifests itself in opposition to the earthly reign of Christ (see below, fns. 30ff.). Tyconius conceived of two rival kingdoms, the one in the North ruled by the devil and the other one in the South ruled by Christ. These geographic descriptions were intended as labels mainly; for he perceived that in fact both of these kingdoms were universal. Indeed, there were some in the kingdom of the South who were aligned with the devil, while some in the North looked to Christ as their king. However, his choice of labels indicated the high esteem Tyconius had for the Donatist Church (the "African Christians") and the low regard he had for the African Catholics (the "sons of

from the head to the body is discerned by this same reason,³ just as it is said by Isaiah concerning the king of Babylon: "How lucifer⁴ rising early fell from heaven!

tradidores") whose allegiance was to the North (Rome). These two kingdoms, then, are inter-mingled and co-exist in opposition, awaiting the Eschaton.

A closely related matter also introduced here is Tyconius's concept of sin. These two kingdoms, or societies, are composed of individuals who have chosen either the rule of Christ or the domination of the devil. (See Rule III for a full discussion of Tyconius's position on predestination.) The emphasis is on individual choice: there is no hint here of predestination. Each individual chooses to do God's will or to serve his own will and, thereby, to serve the cause of the devil. Thus, Tyconius understood sin as a condition of the individual human will. Sin was seen as selfish disobedience. This meant that the individual has freedom of will. Even the members of the devil's body have freedom to choose Christ at any point in their human existence (see below, fn. 96). Augustine readily acknowledged his dependence upon Tyconius in the formulation of his own two kingdoms concept, which he expressed in the image of the "two cities" (see *De Doct. Christ.* III:30-37).

Lastly, it is difficult to understand why this Rule was placed at the end, so far removed from Rule I. Logically, it should have followed Rule II. Also, the reader will discern a somewhat different style. Rule VII is not brief and to the point. It seems to lack the unique terseness of the other Rules. One does not have the sense of being pulled hurriedly along as Tyconius rushed on to another topic. Instead, he has quoted two rather long passages and has provided a line by line commentary on each. The result at times is belabored and monotonous. One even wonders if this Rule has not been altered somewhat by a later hand. Nevertheless, the Rule is genuine and shows clearly the genius of Tyconius.

³The reference to the "same reason" concerns the earlier discussion of the use of reason in the hermeneutic task (see above, the text, p. 30; Rule I, fns. 14-15). "By reason alone" one may determine whether a given passage applies to the spiritual body of the devil or to his earthly, incarnate body and to his disciples.

⁴"Lucifer" ("light bearer") is frequently translated as "morning star," or "day star" (RSV). The use of "lucifer" is maintained throughout the translation, however, in an attempt to retain the double entendre; for Tyconius

He is bowed down on earth who sent to all the nations! However, you said in your mind: I will ascend to heaven, above the stars of God I will place my throne, I will sit on a mountain high above the high mountains in the North, I will ascend above the clouds, I will be like the Most High. But now you are brought descending into the depths of the earth, and they who will see you will marvel over you and they will say: Here is the man who shakes the earth, who excites kings, who makes the world a total desert; however, he destroyed cities and did not set the captives loose. All the kings of the nations slept in honor, each man in his own house; but you are cast out onto the mountains just like a dead man detested along with all those who fell, pierced by the sword, and who descend to the depths. Just as a garment bespattered with blood will not come clean, so neither will you be clean, because you have destroyed my land and you have killed my people. You will not be a vile seed forever; prepare your sons to be slain for the sins of your father, so that they may not rise again.⁵ In the king of Babylon are signified both all the kings and all the people; for there is one body.⁶

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was playing upon the idea of the devil as an angel who "fell" from heaven (see Jude 1:6; Rev. 12:9, 12). Notice, also, the identification of "lucifer" with the "king of Babylon."

⁵ Isa. 14:12-21 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:17).

⁶ Tyconius interpreted this passage, which according to the context was spoken by the prophet to the king of

It says, "How lucifer rising early fell from heaven! He was broken into pieces on the earth who sent to all the nations! However, you said in your mind: I will ascend to heaven, above the stars of God I will place my throne."⁷ The devil does not promise this to himself; for he does not hope that by resisting he would be able to ascend to heaven, who, lest he be cast down, was not strong enough to resist. Much more is a man unable to hope for these things; nevertheless, Isaiah says that there is to be a man, thus: "Here is the man who shakes the earth."⁸ But besides the reason that neither the devil nor man can hope that he himself is able to ascend to heaven and, sitting above the stars of God, make himself like unto God, this same Scripture also warns that a deeper inquiry must be made. For if it says that his throne is about to be placed in heaven or above the stars of God, how will he sit on the high mountain or upon the mountains of the North, or on the clouds, so that he may be like the Most High? For the Most

Babylon, as a prophetic message about the devil. The "king" would be the devil and "all the people" the devil's disciples, but they are "one body"; so the prophecy applied to both.

⁷ Isa. 14:12-13. The questionable part of this quotation for Tyconius was the last sentence, where the assertion is made that someone (unknown) will displace God.

⁸ Isa. 14:16. Tyconius contended that neither the devil nor any man would be capable of actually placing a "throne" in heaven above God's throne, or in other words, displacing God. In this way Tyconius sought to lead the reader to seek for a "deeper" meaning in this passage.

High does not have this kind of throne.⁹

Heaven means the Church, just as we shall see from the following Scriptures. From this heaven falls lucifer of the morning; for lucifer is bipartite, of which a part is holy, just as the Lord says in the Revelations concerning himself and his body: "I am the root and of the genus of David, and the bright star of the morning,¹⁰ the bridegroom and the bride."¹¹ Also there: "He who conquers, I will give him the morning star,"¹² that is, in order that the morning star might be just as Christ, whom we have accepted. Therefore, part of lucifer, that is, the opposing 72

⁹ As Tyconius said, the claim in this text (see above, fn. 7) is difficult to understand because, to begin with, the devil is powerless to displace God, and, in the second place, God does not maintain a literal throne high above the clouds. Therefore, this prophecy must contain another, non-literal message about a spiritual situation (see Rule I, fns. 30-35).

¹⁰ "Stella splendida matutina," which translates as "the bright morning star," in direct contrast with "lucifer," the "morning star" (see above, fn. 4). Indeed, Tyconius adeptly compared the devil ("lucifer," or "the morning star") with Christ ("the bright morning star"). The comparison holds even to the point of declaring both to be bipartite bodies (see above, fn. 2). It might even be said that Christ and lucifer share a part of their respective bipartite bodies. The body of the Lord is the Church, which is bipartite, good and evil. A part of lucifer's earthly body is composed of these evil members of the bipartite body of Christ. The part of lucifer which is said to be "holy" would be lucifer himself, invisible, having spiritual powers, created by God before the foundation of this world. Needless to say, lucifer and his body are seen as being in opposition to Christ and His Church, an antichurch, as it were.

¹¹ Rev. 22:16-17 (see Rule I, fns. 12-13).

¹² See Rev. 2:26, 28; "stellam matutinam."

body which is the devil, kings and people, falls from heaven and is broken on the earth. Wisdom says to these kings: "Therefore, hear, O Kings, and understand, learn, O Judges, of the ends of the earth, give ears you that rule over the multitudes and place yourselves among the crowds of the nations. Because dominion was given to you by the Lord and power by the Most High; who will ask about your works and who will examine your thoughts; because, although you were the servants of his kingdom, you did not rule rightly, neither did you keep the law."¹³

Therefore, the king of Babylon is the whole body, but we may understand to which part of the body he applies by the context.¹⁴ "Lucifer fell from heaven"¹⁵ can apply to the whole body; "I will ascend to heaven, above the stars of God I will place my throne,"¹⁶ similarly, applies to the head and to the great ones who think that they must

¹³Wisdom of Sol. 6:1-4. Tyconius interpreted this passage--addressed to "kings" and "judges"--as an explanation as to why lucifer, "the opposing body," fell from heaven. That is, although lucifer possessed dominion and power as a gift from God, he abused his gift and failed to use it in the service of the kingdom of God.

¹⁴Again, the figure of the king of Babylon symbolizes the whole of lucifer and his body. However, according to a given context the figure may apply either to lucifer specifically or to his body alone.

¹⁵Isa. 14:12. This text could apply to lucifer's fall or to the fall, or separation, of his body from the Church.

¹⁶Isa. 14:13 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion V:17). This text, likewise, may be applied to either the head or the body, and probably should apply to both.

dominate the stars of God, that is, the saints, although the lesser ones of these dominate, just as it is written: "The greater will serve the lesser."¹⁷ Thus, the Lord says through Obadiah the prophet to this Esau,¹⁸ that is, to the evil brothers: "Exalting his dwelling place, saying in his heart: Who will bring me down to the earth? Though you should be exalted just as the eagle and place your nest among the stars, thence I will bring you down from these, says the Lord."¹⁹

"I will sit on the mountain high above the high mountains in the North, I will ascend above the clouds, I will be like the Most High." The "high mountain" is the haughty people; the "high mountains" are haughty individuals, who together make up the mountain, that is, the body of the devil. For the Scripture says that there are many evil mountains, thus: "The mountains are transported into the heart of the sea."²⁰ And again: "The foundations of

¹⁷ See Gen. 25:23 (see above, fn. 13). Just as lucifer abused his gift of power and dominion, so also do the members of lucifer's body abuse their gifts by seeking to dominate the humble servants of God.

¹⁸ Esau symbolically represents the evil brothers (see Rule III, fns. 129-148, and the text, pp. 90-91).

¹⁹ Obadiah 3-4. Tyconius believed that this passage contained God's warning to lucifer and his followers that He would cause them to fall because of their sinful actions. This introduces a major theme in Rule VII concerning individual accountability and moral responsibility, which is discussed at length later on.

²⁰ Psalm 46:2, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 45:3. The actual destruction of mountains was meaningless to

the mountains trembled and quaked because God was angry with them."²¹ This is so even if the body of the Lord, that is, the Church, is called a mountain, the individuals who compose the Church are the mountains,²² just as it is written: "However, I am established as King by him upon Zion, his holy mountain, announcing his sovereignty."²³ And again: "I will destroy the Assyrians in my land and on my mountains."²⁴ And again: "Let the mountains and hills receive peace for your people."²⁵ And again: "The mountains will jump just like rams, and the hills just like the

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Tyconius, unless the passage could be treated as figurative and the mountains seen as symbolizing a spiritual condition of man. The image of the sea as the place of destruction is prominent throughout this Rule.

²¹ Psalm 18:7, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 17:8. Again, Tyconius could find no spiritual edification in a literal understanding of a passage declaring that God was angry with mountains. Therefore, he decided that these "mountains" represented a spiritual attitude or condition.

²²The parallel between Christ and His body and lucifer and his body holds even to the point of referring to the body of each as a "mountain." Tyconius apparently was not troubled by this fact nor by the possible confusion it admitted; for he was satisfied that the context would enable the reader to decide which "mountains" were which.

²³See Psalm 2:6. Tyconius identified the "king" with Christ and "Zion his holy mountain" with the Church.

²⁴ Isa. 14:25. Tyconius identified the "Assyrians" with the false members of the bipartite Church, while he identified the Church with "my land" and "my mountains."

²⁵ Psalm 72:3. How could "mountains and hills" receive peace, unless they symbolized the people whom God wanted to bless, Tyconius might have asked?

lambs of sheep."²⁶ God has a throne on mount Zion and on the mountains of Israel and on his holy clouds, which is the Church, just as it is written: "Let the whole earth fear in the face of the Lord, because he has arisen from his holy clouds."²⁷ And again: "I will command the clouds not to rain upon it."²⁸ Again: "Rain-storms and clouds in a circle around him."²⁹ And because he dwells on Mount Zion, he says thus: "You will know that I am the Lord your God, dwelling on Zion my holy mountain."³⁰ The devil, too, sits on a mountain, but it is Seir, which is Esau, that is, of the evil brothers, which mountain God reproves through Ezekiel and says that "he is about to be desolated in the rejoicing of the whole earth,"³¹ because he exercises

²⁶ Psalm 114:4. The implication of this verse for Tyconius was that it described the joyous realization of what God had done by those whom He had saved (see Rule VI, fns. 13, 15).

²⁷ Zech. 2:13.

²⁸ Isa. 5:6. The reference to "it" refers to God's vineyard.

²⁹ Psalm 97:2. The reference to "him" would have been interpreted as meaning God.

³⁰ Joel 3:17. Again, Tyconius did not interpret the passage to be an actual description of God literally "dwelling on Zion." He did believe that the passage was a truthful assertion, however, stating that God dwells in the hearts and minds of the members of the body of Christ, the Church, i.e., "Mount Zion."

³¹ Ezek. 35:14. In order fully to understand the implication of this citation the reader must read for background Ezek. 35:12-15, which expressly declares that God will bring desolation to Mount Seir because it rejoiced over the desolation of the mountains of Israel. Again, the mountains of Israel symbolize the Church, while Mount Seir symbolizes the body of the devil.

emnity against Jacob. He is the mountain, they are the mountains of the North. On these the devil sits; and, as it were, he dominates the clouds of heaven. To this extent he says he is like the Most High.³²

There are two parts in the Church, of the South and of the North, that is, the southern region and the northern

³²This is a very important, albeit cryptic, statement. First of all, it is a recognition by Tyconius that the devil does have an earthly kingdom, and in the sense that he has a real domain "he is like the Most High." What is more important, however, is Tyconius's identification of the devil's domain with the "mountains of the North" (see below, fns. 33-48). With this image Tyconius attempted to associate the Roman Empire north of Africa with the kingdom of the devil. Of course, he had in mind the Catholic domain. The mountains of the South, the righteous domain, would be identified with the members of the Donatist Church. No doubt the persecutions suffered by the Donatists at the hands of the Catholics gave rise to this wily association of the devil's kingdom with the Catholic Church.

This is not to say, however, that lucifer's domain was exclusively in the North, while Christ's domain was exclusively in the South. Tyconius associated the Catholic North with the kingdom of the devil not in a purely geographical sense but in the sense that there is where the anti-Donatists were. The Donatists, of course, were a strictly North African phenomenon, which made them more readily geographically definable; but both domains are universal (see below, fn. 48). Thus, "North" and "South" are figurative ways of describing spiritual realities; for as Tyconius so carefully explained, God does not have a literal throne in some geographically locatable place. The throne of God is in the hearts and minds of individual believers, and the kingdom of God is defined as the power which God exercises over the wills of those who believe in and trust in Him (see Rule III). Likewise, the devil's domain is that which consists of those individuals who are not reconciled to God and who will to be self-serving. Consequently, Tyconius held that these kingdoms were universal. He also believed that there could be true Christians living in the North, as well as, false brothers in the South. Again, these domains were spiritual realities (see Rule VI, fns. 1, 15-16, 23, 27, 40).

region.³³ The Lord remains in the southern region, just as it is written: "Where you pasture, where you remain in the southern region."³⁴ But the devil is in the North, just as the Lord says to his people: "I will remove him from the North from you, and I will expell him to a land without water,"--that is, among his own--"and I will exterminate his face in the first sea and his rear in the last sea,"³⁵ which is among the first and last peoples. This world was made according to the image of the Church, in which the rising sun does not journey except through the South, that is, the southern region; and descending invisible to the part of the South it hastens to return to its resting place. Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal sun, runs through his part, whence he also calls it the southern region.³⁶

³³The section which follows is a rather long digression containing Tyconius's description of these two kingdoms. (This passage later served Augustine in the formulation of his concept of the "two cities!") The digression is actually an extension of the familiar discussion of the bipartite nature of the Church, cast in new images and focused more on the reality of the two domains than on the individual true or false members.

³⁴Song of Sol. 1:7. Tyconius interpreted the Song of Solomon as a figurative description of the spiritual relationship between Christ and His bride, the Church.

³⁵Joel 2:20. This is certainly an enigmatic text--the one from the North is to be placed in a "land without water" and is to be exterminated in the sea--and its meaning is largely untouched by Tyconius. Rather, he used the passage as a proof-text in his identification of the one from the North who will be exterminated with the devil.

³⁶Notice the reverse analogy: the world was created in the image of the Church! As Christ is the light of the Church, so the sun "runs" across the southern

But in the North, that is, in the adverse part, the sun does not rise, just as these same ones shall say when they come the judgement: "The light of justice did not shine for us and the sun did not rise for us";³⁷ however, "to those fearing" the Lord "the sun of justice rises, and healing is in his wings,"³⁸ just as it is written. But for the evil ones of the South it will be as night, just as it is written: "While they themselves uphold light, it becomes darkness for them; while they uphold brightness, they walked in the dark night; they shall grope for the wall just like a blind man, and they shall grope like those who have no eyes, and they shall stumble at noon as if it was midnight."³⁹ Again: "The sun will go down at noon and daylight will become dark upon the earth."⁴⁰ Once more:

hemisphere of the earth. Christ is to the kingdom of the South what the sun is to the southern hemisphere. For Tyconius this correlation was proof positive that the Donatist Church was the true Church of God.

³⁷ Wisdom of Sol. 5:6. Tyconius has played upon an exaggerated understanding of the lack of sunlight and the apparent course of the sun in the northern hemisphere. The image he created, however, is clear enough.

³⁸ Mal. 4:2. Tyconius inserted this text as a reminder that regardless of one's geographic location and regardless of what one's past spiritual condition might have been, "to those fearing the Lord" salvation comes.

³⁹ Isa. 59:9-10. Indeed, there are "evil ones" even in the kingdom of the South, i.e., the false brothers. The true kingdom of the South is invisible and known only to God.

⁴⁰ Amos 8:9 (cf. Tertullian An Answer to the Jews X, XIII, Against Marcion IV:42).

"Therefore, it shall be night to you without vision, and it will be darkness to you without divination, and the sun shall go down upon the prophets, and the light of day shall be dark over them."⁴¹

However, God warns this people from the South, just as through Ezekiel he rebukes Sor, saying: "The South wind has broken you."⁴² Even if he permits it to be broken, saying: "Arise, O North wind, and Come, O South wind, blow over my garden, and let my fragrances flow down,"⁴³ the Holy Spirit which blows over the Lord's garden resists the evil of the spirit which arises; and the fragrances are drawn out, that is, the odor of sweetness is offered. And also through Ezekiel, God says that from the remaining evil people he will bring a part of them against his own people, which is a mystery of iniquity: "Behold, I will bring against you Gog, prince of Ros, Mesoc and Tobel. And I will gather you, and lead you away and set you down from the uttermost parts of the North, and will bring you upon the mountains of Israel; and I will strike your bow from

⁴¹ Micah 3:6. Again, Tyconius thought these verses applied to the evil ones within the "kingdom of light" to whom the "light of Christ" would be denied even though they dwelt in the midst of this light.

⁴² Ezek. 27:26. Tyconius went on to expand upon what he had only hinted at above (see above, fn. 39), that there are evil members in the kingdom of the South. As he confessed, this situation is a "mystery of iniquity" (see below, fns. 44-45). It is a mystery which Tyconius could not explain, but neither did he deny it.

⁴³ Song of Sol. 4:16.

your left hand and your arrows from your right hand, and I will cast you down upon the mountains of Israel."⁴⁴ However, this is produced by the suffering of the Lord, until from the midst of this same mystery of iniquity the Church gives up the things which detain, in order that in his time impiety may be exposed, just as the apostle says: "And now you know what detains, so that in his time he may be revealed. For the mystery of iniquity is already at work, until he who detains now is taken out of the way; and then that impious one will be revealed."⁴⁵ And in Jeremiah we read that the sinners of Israel are gathered in the North, as the Lord says: "Go and read these words to the North and say, Return to me, O house of Israel, says the Lord."⁴⁶ But the southern part is of the Lord, just as in Job it is also written: "From the southern part your life will germinate";⁴⁷ the North of the devil; however, both parts are throughout the whole world.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ezek. 39:1-4.

⁴⁵ II Thess. 2:6-8. For Tyconius the one "who detains now" is none other than the devil. Still, Tyconius confessed that this was a deep mystery; for he could neither understand why this condition should be allowed by God to exist in the Church, nor could he specifically identify the "impious one" who is to be revealed at the Eschaton (see also, Rule I, fns. 30, 35, 54; Rule III, fns. 158-159; Rule IV, fns. 111, 120).

⁴⁶ Jer. 3:12.

⁴⁷ See Job 11:17.

⁴⁸ Again, "North" and "South" are used primarily as titles for these two kingdoms rather than as place names. Geographically speaking, both of these kingdoms are spread "throughout the whole world."

It says, "I will ascend above the clouds, I will be like the Most High. But now you descend into the depths of the earth. They who will see you will marvel over you and will say: Here is the man who shakes the earth, who excites kings, who makes the world a total desert."⁴⁹ Does "They who will see you will marvel over you" apply to the devil or to the last king when he will have descended to the depths?⁵⁰ For the one who may be wondering about the end of the world will not be the same one descending to the depths. For they will not say: Here is the man who shook the earth, excited kings and made the whole world a desert, but "Shakes" and "Excites" and "Makes." For he says that the man is the whole body, as among kings, so among people. When God strikes that part containing the haughty men and casts them into the depths, we say: "Here is the man who

⁴⁹ Isa. 14:14-17. The discussion returns to a verse by verse exegesis of Isa. 14:12-21 (see above, fns. 7-8, 15-16). Quite probably the reader will sense a somewhat different style and format in this last Rule. Tyconius stated the major points of his argument early on; yet he devoted a relatively large portion of his "libellum" to this verse by verse interpretation of this text (and later of Ezek. 28:2-19, see below, fn. 71). No where else did he treat a passage in such an extensive and expansive manner. At times, this approach seems belabored and unnecessarily prolonged. Indeed, the latter portions of this Rule lack both the conciseness and the vibrance of the earlier Rules.

⁵⁰ See Dan. 11:36-38. The "last king" refers to the antichrist (see Rule I, fns. 31, 34). Tyconius interpreted the passage to apply to the devil.

shakes the earth, excites kings," undoubtedly the saints.⁵¹

"He who makes the world a total desert." This is the voice of scoffers, not of affirmers, just as: "He who destroys the temple and in the space of three days rebuilds it!"⁵² <and:>^{*} "For he said: By my strength I will do it, and by the wisdom of my understanding I will remove the boundaries of the nations, and I will destroy their strength, and I will crush their cities with their inhabitants; and I will seize the whole world with my hand as if it were a nest, and I will remove it just like eggs left behind, and there will be no one who may flee from me or who may contradict me."⁵³ Is he not able to fulfill these things which he promises to them? Indeed, "He makes the world a total desert," but his world; "but he destroyed the cities," especially of his world. For his world is bipartite, movable and immovable, just as it says in Chronicles: "The whole world is trembling before the face of the Lord.

⁵¹In this instance Tyconius was forced to equivocate on his understanding of symbolic significance of "kings" (see below, fns. 56, 69-70).

⁵²See Matt. 27:40. That is, just as the scoffers mocked the words of Jesus, so shall others mock the devil, rather than praise him, for his boast that he will make a desolation of the world.

*The carets, here and elsewhere in the translation, are reproduced from the Latin text and indicate the places where Burkitt has made conjectural emendations.

⁵³Isa. 10:13-14 (cf. Tertullian Against Praxeas XVI). Tyconius thought these verses to be the boastful claim of the one who would usurp God's control over this world, i.e., the devil.

For truly he founded a world which will not be moved."⁵⁴

"And he did not set the prisoners loose."⁵⁵ That can apply to the species,⁵⁶ because he would have released the captives to no man; but, thinking that all things begin by harsh seizure, he would use power against them, which God chides, saying: "Truly, I am somewhat angry, but they increased in evil."⁵⁷ The species notwithstanding, these things were done and said in a general figure, and they are fulfilled spiritually while these, that is, those for whom power does not suffice but strive to use these things more immoderately, who are dominating the humble subjects--subject to them either on account of temptation or because of merit--cast them down without respect to piety or to common condition, which he condemns, saying: "Those striving for retribution,"⁵⁸ and again: "He extends his hand to him

⁵⁴I Chron. 16:30. Tyconius interpreted Chronicles to mean that the devil could not touch the Church ("a world which shall not be moved"), but that the devil most certainly will work havoc in "his world."

⁵⁵Isa. 14:17.

⁵⁶The "species" refers to an individual member of the devil's body. In this instance, Tyconius specifically had in mind the king of Babylon (see below, fns. 69-70).

⁵⁷Zech. 1:15. Tyconius interpreted the larger passage to apply to the devil's body, although he believed that this particular verse (see above, fn. 55) applied to a specific member of that body. Not knowing how else to treat the reference to the individual who did not set the prisoners free, Tyconius regarded it as an aside and went on to apply the passage to the body in general.

⁵⁸Isa. 1:24. That is, their strivings will earn them the wrath of God. Notice, also, that Tyconius stated these things "are fulfilled spiritually."

as a retribution."⁵⁹ For it is a small thing that he is an enemy; thus far, he desires even to avenge in subjection, just as it is written: "You are goading all those subject to you";⁶⁰ pretending that the Lord hated "the enemy and the avenger,"⁶¹ which through vengeance, which God reserved for himself alone, he usurps something of divinity. "For it is written: Vengeance is mine and I will repay, says the Lord."⁶²

"All the kings of the earth have slept in honor, each man in his own house."⁶³ He said the "kings" are holy; for not all kings or private citizens have slept in their own house, just as the saints are in the house which they have selected.⁶⁴ "But you are cast out onto the mountains

⁵⁹ See Psalm 55:20, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 54:21. "He" would be identified with God and "him" with the devil.

⁶⁰ See Isa. 58:3. The devil is goading those who are subject to him, i.e., his body.

⁶¹ Psalm 8:2, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 8:3. That is, the devil pretends that he is acting in the Lord's behalf. While, in fact, by "goaded all those subject to" him, the devil works vengeance against the Lord.

⁶² Rom. 12:19 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion II:18). Clearly, vengeance is to be considered as a divine prerogative. Thus, Tyconius has cited yet another way in which the devil seeks to dethrone God (see above, fns. 7, 9, 32).

⁶³ Isa. 14:18. In this context "kings" refers to the saints of God rather than to the devil (see above, fn. 51).

⁶⁴ Tyconius understood the phrase, "have slept in honor," as a figurative way of stating that these "kings" were "dead" to this present world. These "kings," then, are the saints of God who now dwell in the Church ("the house which they selected").

just like a dead man detested along with all those cut down, pierced by the sword and who descend to the depths.⁶⁵ He says to the devil, "you are cast out onto the mountains," that is, those on which the devil sits. Finally, he did not say "a dead man," but "just like a dead man detested"; for the devil still lives, although he is slain by their sword and descends to the depths. For just as the Lord said that he suffered whatever his own are suffering; so also the devil himself is trampled upon by them, this same detested one is broken into pieces, just as it is written: "In the decrease of the people is the weakening of the prince."⁶⁶ The devil is not separated from his man: neither can a man in whom the devil does not dwell say: "I will be like the Most High," nor have said about the devil: "Here is the man who shakes the earth," except the devil were within the man. Just as the Lord cannot be called a man unless he is in a man, neither can God be called a man except in Christ. But what applies to what must be observed from the context.⁶⁷

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⁶⁵ Isa. 14:19. The "you" is in opposition to the "kings" and refers to the devil. In contrast, the devil will not sleep in honor; for he is like a dead man (i.e., one who is spiritually dead to God), cast out into hell ("the depths").

⁶⁶ See Prov. 14:28. That is, just as the Incarnate Lord suffered as everyone suffers from the devil's goading, so shall the devil suffer the retribution about to be inflicted upon him.

⁶⁷ Ultimately, what applies to the body also concerns the head. Therefore, the reader should not be

Again, the Scripture applies *<to>* the body of this same devil, saying: "Just as a garment bespattered with blood is not clean, so neither will you be clean, because you have destroyed my land and you have killed my people. You will not be a vile seed forever; prepare your sons to be slain for the sins of your father, in order that they may not rise again."⁶⁸ This shows that it does not apply to the species.⁶⁹ For the king of Babylon, that is, Nebuchanezer, who devasted the Lord's land and killed his people; died pure, he lives forever. The Lord tells the devil's body of a certain time to prepare those whom the devil has begotten to be killed for their sins, by which he to whom it applies was begotten. For the last king cannot have "sons," but brothers; neither will he be "just like a dead man" when he descends to the depths, but as a dead man.⁷⁰

confused by those passages which speak of a "man" as distinct from the devil; for, to be sure, the devil is residing in that man. This particular passage applies to the devil incarnate.

⁶⁸ Isa. 14:20-21. Clearly, Tyconius considered this passage to apply to the devil's disciples at large.

⁶⁹ This is a reference to the king of Babylon (see above, fn. 56). In other words, Tyconius believes the Scripture applied to the body in general and not to the specific manifestation of the devil in the figure of the "king of Babylon."

⁷⁰ Tyconius has attempted to explain how "by reason alone" one may ascertain that the text applies to the devil's body and not alone to the "last king," or the anti-christ. It is the devil's "sons," including the "last king," that are to be killed for the sins of their "father." Obviously, then, Tyconius did not regard the antichrist as the devil, but rather he was a "son" begotten by the devil.

Thus God, through Ezekiel, chides the king of Tyre, that is, the whole opposing body: "Because your heart is exalted and you have said: I am God, I dwelled in the dwelling place of God in the heart of the sea. But you are a man and not God, and you have given your heart as if it were the heart of God. Are you wiser than Daniel? Have the wise not convinced you by their wisdom? Has your wisdom or your learning made you strong and put gold and silver in your treasury? In your great learning and your trade have you multiplied your strength, and has your heart been exalted in your strength? Therefore, thus says the Lord, Because you have given your heart just as the heart of God, therefore, behold, I will bring strangers upon you, pests from the nations, and they will draw out their swords against you and against the beauty of your learning, and they will deface your beauty to ruin, and they will depose you and you will die by the death of those wounded in the heart of the sea. Are you going to say before them that slay you: I am God? But you are a man and not God; among a multitude of uncircumcized you will perish by the hands of strangers, because I have spoken, says the Lord. And the word of the Lord came to me saying: Son of man, take up a lament against the prince of Tyre and say to him: Thus says the Lord, you are a sign of likeness, and a crown of beauty have you been in the pleasures of the paradise of God, having bound to yourself every precious stone,--sardius and topaz and emerald and

carbuncle and sapphire and jasper and silver and gold and ligurius and agate and amethyst *(and)* chrysolite and beryl and onyx,--and with gold you replenished your treasures and your storehouses *(among you)*. The day on which you were created *I placed you along with cherubim on the holy mountain of God, you were in the midst of the stones of fire, you were without blemish *(on you)* ever since the day *(you)* were created, until your iniquities were discovered in you by the multitude of your business.* You have filled your storerooms with iniquity, and you have sinned and you were wounded by the mountain of the Lord, *(and)* the cherubim led you away from the midst of the stones of fire. Your heart was exalted in your beauty, your learning was corrupted along with your beauty. On account of the multitude of your sins *(I cast you to the ground, in the presence of kings I have given you up to be dishonored. On account of the multitude of your sins)* and the iniquity of your business I have contaminated your holy things; I will bring forth a fire from your midst, this will devour you. And I will make you as ashes in your land in the presence of all that see you, and all who knew you among the nations will be saddened over you: you were made for destruction, and you will cease to be." ⁷¹

⁷¹ Ezek. 28:2-19 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion II:10). The remainder of Rule VII is an exegesis of this second and final passage which Tyconius cited as a prime source of information about the devil.

It says, "Because your heart is exalted and you have said: I am God, I dwelled in the dwelling place of God in the heart of the sea."⁷² And "I am Christ"⁷³ applies both to the man and to the devil who dwells in the heart of the sea, that is, in the heart of the people, just as God sits in the heart of his saints.⁷⁴ The people dwell in the heart of the sea, that is, in the pleasure or depths of this present world, just as in another place God says to this same city: "You were too satisfied and too filled in the heart of the sea. Your oarsmen have brought you into deep water; the South wind has broken you of your strength in the heart of the sea."⁷⁵

"But you are a man and not God."⁷⁶ And the devil in a man is called a man, just as the Lord said in the Gospel: "An enemy man did this,"⁷⁷ and he interpreted

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⁷²Ezek. 28:2.

⁷³See Matt. 24:5. Tyconius has connected the claim "I am God" with the warning which Christ gave to his disciples concerning those who will come in His name, saying "I am Christ," in order to lead many away from God.

⁷⁴Again, Tyconius reminded his readers that these two domains are over the wills of the individual believers. God's "throne" is in the heart of the one who serves Him. The devil reigns over those who find their satisfaction in the delights of this present world.

⁷⁵Ezek. 27:25-26. The "South wind" would be interpreted as the Holy Spirit.

⁷⁶Ezek. 28:2 (see Isa. 14:13-14; and see above, fns. 16, 49, 53).

⁷⁷Matt. 13:28. This is a reference to the parable of the "wheat and weeds," which is the seminal image in the discussion of the bipartite nature of the Church (see Rule II, fn. lff.).

saying: "He who sowed these is the devil."⁷⁸ A man of the devil cannot be God. Therefore, it applies to both: "You are a man and not God."⁷⁹

"You have given your heart as if it were the heart of God. Are you wiser than Daniel?"⁸⁰ In Daniel, the whole body is the Church's, because the man of sin cannot be wiser in the affairs of life, just as he is "wiser" among his own "than the sons of light."⁸¹ Also, it can apply to the species, because Daniel, who by the prophetic Spirit humbled the proud king to a confession of the one God of the Church in majesty and who overturned the superstitions of Babylon by the confession of his strengths and by his heavenly wisdom, specifically combines the king of

⁷⁸ Matt. 13:39. Tyconius readily accepted this interpretation, as contained with the Scripture passage itself, that the evil sower was the devil incarnate and that he was responsible for the bipartite condition of the body of Christ.

⁷⁹ The passage speaks of both an enemy man and the devil; nevertheless, they are identified as being the same figure. However, Tyconius interpreted Ezek. 28:2 to be saying, first, "you are a man," meaning the "enemy man" and by definition not God; and, second, "(you are) not God," meaning the devil and by definition, despite his illusions of grandeur, not God.

⁸⁰ Ezek. 28:2-3. Daniel, of course, was the faithful one of God who defied the king of Babylon and succeeded in convincing the king and his court that there was only one God, the omnipotent God of Israel (see Dan. 6:1-28).

⁸¹ See Luke 16:8. That is, the Church, symbolized here in the figure of Daniel, is "wiser in the affairs of life," or in the way of salvation and eternal life, than the "man of sin." Of course, the "man of sin" is wiser in the affairs of this (evil) world than are the "son of light."

Babylon in the figure.⁸²

"Have the wise not convinced you by their wisdom?"⁸³ For not only is Daniel wise, but the three young men, also, who confounded the king and all his kingdom along with their gods by declaring that there is one lord by the present power of that same God. Until now, the same ones generally break apart, by the light of truth, both the external and internal darkness of Babylon.⁸⁴

"In your knowledge or your wisdom have you been made strong and has it put gold and silver in your treasury? In your great learning and in your trade have you multiplied to yourself your strength and has your heart been exalted in your strength?"⁸⁵ For the proud and those

⁸² See Dan. 6:25-28. Daniel's defiance of the king and God's defense and vindication of Daniel certainly would not have gone unnoticed by the Donatists. Indeed, Tyconius no doubt meant to identify the figure Daniel with the Donatist Church.

⁸³ Ezek. 28:3. The "wise" would have been interpreted as a reference to the members of the body of Christ. They are "wise" because they have found the "knowledge" of salvation.

⁸⁴ That is, God ("the same one") through Christ ("by the light of truth") breaks into the kingdom of the devil ("Babylon").

⁸⁵ Ezek. 28:4-5. Again, "knowledge" and "wisdom" refer to the appreciation of this present, evil world (see above, fn. 81). The question mocks the worldly-wise disciples of the devil who have no knowledge of salvation, nor are they wise in the ways of God. Indeed, Tyconius went on to cite several Scripture verses which admonished the foolishly wise because they think themselves self-sufficient and boast of what they innately possess as though they were self-created and are in no wise dependent upon God.

ungrateful for the blessings of the omnipotent God think that by their own strength they can do anything and be enriched by wisdom; not knowing that it is written: "The race is not for the swift, nor the battle for the strong, nor bread for the wise."⁸⁶ And again: "Will the axe be praised without the one who cuts with it?"⁸⁷ And, indeed, wealth is not for the prudent, and grace is not for the wise; for these things are not in our power, but they are conferred by God. "For what do you have that you have not received? But if you have received it, why do you glory as if you had not received it?"⁸⁸ And again: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom."⁸⁹

"Therefore, thus says the Lord, Because you have given your heart just as the heart of God, therefore, behold, I will bring strangers upon you, pests from the nations and they will draw out their swords against you and against the beauty of your knowledge."⁹⁰ Although it can apply to the species,⁹¹ since the kings of this present world are permitting themselves to be addressed as lord by

⁸⁶Eccles. 9:11.

⁸⁷Isa. 10:15.

⁸⁸I Cor. 4:7.

⁸⁹Jer. 9:23.

⁹⁰Ezek. 28:6-7. The word used for "knowledge" is "scientiae" (*scientia*), meaning skill, knowledge, expertness, in the sense of an innate quality or characteristic. This is different from doctrina, which is knowledge imparted by instruction.

⁹¹The "species" can mean either the king of Babylon, the "last king," meaning the antichrist, or all the "kings of this present world."

their own pride, nevertheless, it also applies to the genus.⁹² For frequently God brings foreigners into the Church, and they wound many to death. But also by secret persecution he brings many out from among the Gentiles among whom he tests his people,⁹³ and he destroys the worthless part together with them, just as he kills Maziam.⁹⁴

"And they will deface your beauty to ruin."⁹⁵ For they wound some not to ruin but with the hope of healing.⁹⁶

⁹²Tyconius viewed this as a general word of judgement upon the devil's body.

⁹³See Num. 25:1ff. This is a reference to the apostacy of many of the Israelites through intermarriage with the Midianites. Tyconius saw in this incident a portrayal of the spiritual situation of the Church. He believed that God permitted "foreigners" to lead some within the Church to commit apostasy, the "wound of death." Yet, he also thought that God permitted such incidents to occur in order that He might make the faithful stronger in their faith (see Num. 25:10-13).

⁹⁴"Maziam" ("maziam") is most probably an ancient Latin spelling of "Midian" (Num. 25:18). The critical apparatus in the *Biblia Sacra: Juxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Wurttembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969) shows that one Latin manuscript (*Pentateuchus Turonensis*, VI-VII century) read "mazianitis" for "madianitin" (v. 6). Tyconius may have been utilizing an earlier manuscript from this tradition.

Tyconius's purpose in this paragraph was to recount God's pleasure with the righteous remnant in Israel who remained zealously loyal in the face of the apostacy of their fellow Israelites. Clearly, he identified this incident and the heroic tale of Daniel and the three wise men with the experiences of the Donatist Church.

⁹⁵Ezek. 28:7.

⁹⁶That is, some are "wounded" in the sense that they are purged or punished. The intent is not to destroy them but to purify and heal them in an attempt to bring

"And they will depose you," that is, they will humble you, "and you will die by the death of those wounded in the heart of the sea."⁹⁷ He would not say to the one wounded, "you will die by the death of those wounded," unless it is because he is not wounded and does not die openly, but he is one among whom he is wounded.⁹⁸

"Will you still tell in the presence of them that slay you: I am God?"⁹⁹ That is, will you disturb with titles of the divine genus those to whom you were betrayed to be killed both spiritually as well as carnally?¹⁰⁰ "But you <are> a man and not God; among a multitude of uncircumcised you will perish by the hands of strangers, because I have spoken, says the Lord."¹⁰¹ Now he revealed by what genus he calls himself God, even while he is threatening what is about to be experienced at the hands of strangers

them into the Church. This may indicate that Tyconius thought the persecution of the Church served to bring some of the false members of the body into a true relationship with Christ.

⁹⁷ Ezek. 28:8. Again, Tyconius thought these words applied to the devil's body in general. Therefore, he interpreted the passage to mean that those who remained in the body of the devil and who would not respond to the call of Christ will die in their sins ("in the heart of the sea").

⁹⁸ Those who are "wounded" for the purpose of healing and saving, obviously, are not the same ones who are wounded unto death for their sins.

⁹⁹ Ezek. 28:9; see also Psalm 22:22, which in the Vulgate is Psalm 21:23.

¹⁰⁰ That is, the members of the devil's body betray themselves unto death by their claim to the place of God.

¹⁰¹ Ezek. 28:9-10.

among a multitude of uncircumcised, which only applies to him who sees himself as circumcised. For the king of Tyre could fear death only, lest he would die at the hands of the uncircumcised or with them.¹⁰²

"And the word of the Lord came to me saying: Son of man, take up a lament against the prince of Tyre, and say to him: Thus says the Lord, You are a sign of likeness and you were a crown of beauty in the paradise of God."¹⁰³ Was paradise made for the devil in order that he might be reprobated because he would destroy paradise? Man was "in the pleasures of paradise," he is a "sign of likeness," who was made in "the likeness of God."¹⁰⁴ But he said a sign to beauty, just as through Haggai God promises the Church

¹⁰² Tyconius applied this passage to the false members of the body of Christ who outwardly appear to belong to the Church (i.e., see themselves as "circumcised") and who lay claim to the "titles of the divine genus" (i.e., call themselves Christians), but who are inwardly disciples of the devil. The "king of Tyre," of course, symbolizes the devil. The "uncircumcised" would be those outside the body of the visible Church, other than the false members.

¹⁰³ Ezek. 28:11-13 (cf. Tertullian Against Marcion II:10). The expression "you are a sign of likeness" was understood by Tyconius to mean "you are made in the likeness of God." However, he also thought that this description applied only to the members of the household of faith. Only in Christ is one in the image of God (see below, fns. 105, 107-108).

¹⁰⁴ See Gen. 5:1. Tyconius has posed a rhetorical question. Paradise was created by God for the man made in His image (through faith in Christ); but the devil has destroyed the possibility of an earthly Paradise in its fullest sense. Therefore, God will reconstitute His Church in a heavenly Paradise which the devil cannot destroy (see below, fns. 107-109).

when his brothers were struggling against him, saying: "I will move heaven and earth, the sea and dry land; and I will overthrow the chariots and the horsemen, and the horses and their riders will come down, everyone with a sword against his brother. In that day, says the Lord of hosts, I will take you, O Zorobabel, son of Salathiel my servant, and I will make of you a sign, because I have chosen you, says the Lord of hosts."¹⁰⁵ Zorobabel is the whole body, and, indeed, no where after that do we read that Zorobabel came when all were transplanted. But he is from the tribe which under Darius was entitled to build Jerusalem. He also, in a figure, established and completed the house of God, just as the Lord says, likewise: "The hands of Zorobabel have established this house and his hands have completed it."¹⁰⁶ What, however, this "sign" and "crown of splendor is," God promises thus to the Church, saying: "The nations will see your righteousness, and the kings your glory, and they will call you by a new name, which the Lord will name. *⟨And⟩* you will be a crown of splendor in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of

¹⁰⁵ Haggai 2:22-24. The expression "I will make of you a sign" suggested to Tyconius that only the elect were a "sign of likeness." Zorobabel, then, symbolizes all the members of the Church.

¹⁰⁶ Zech. 4:9. Clearly, Zorobabel was perceived not as an individual ("for no where after that do we read" about Zorobabel the individual) but as a symbolic representation of the Church, i.e., those who constitute, or "have established and completed," the house of God.

your God. Also, you will not be called Forsaken, and your land will not be called Desolate; for your name will be called My Will, and your land will be called The Whole World.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, man is "a sign of likeness" and "a crown of splendor," whose part continues steadfastly in the same beauty of divine likeness and in "the pleasures of paradise," that is, of the Church.¹⁰⁸ But as for the other part, "lest he live forever," a "flaming sword" spins between it and the tree.¹⁰⁹ For, just as the apostle says, "Adam is a shadow of what is to be";¹¹⁰ so, also, there is division between the brothers Cain and Abel.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Isa. 62:2-4.

¹⁰⁸ Again, Tyconius stated that one was a "sign of likeness" and "a crown of beauty" only insofar as one remained "steadfastly" in the household of faith. Thus, Paradise is to be found in having a right relationship with Christ. It is a spiritual condition and not a physical location. Yet, this does imply that one must be a member of the visible body of Christ in order to be in a right relationship with God.

¹⁰⁹ See Gen. 3:22, 24. The "other part" refers to the false members of the Church. They are actually members of the body of the devil. God is keeping these false members separated from the kingdom of Christ and away from the "tree" of life, or salvation.

¹¹⁰ See Rom. 5:14; Col. 2:17. That is, Adam is a "shadow": he is without substance. He symbolizes those false members of the Church who were in the presence of Paradise but who will be driven out and denied a place in the heavenly Paradise to come. On the other hand, Christ is the one who "is to be." Christ is not a shadow, but the very fullness of God; and in His kingdom will be those members of the Church called a "sign of likeness" and "a crown of splendor."

¹¹¹ See Gen. 4:3-16. Tyconius identified the false members of the Church with Cain, for whose offering God had

"Having bound to yourself every precious stone,-- sardius and topaz and emerald and carbuncle and sapphire and jasper <and> silver and gold and ligurius and agate and amethyst and chrysolite and beryl and onyx,--and with gold you replenish your treasures and your storehouses among you."¹¹² These things apply both to the devil and to man. For these designated twelve stones, and gold and silver and everything else in the treasury, are clinging to the devil. Finally, "having bound to yourself," and also "your storehouses among you," just as the body of the Lord is adorned by saints, as God promises and says: "Lift up your eyes round about and see all your sons: they were gathered and have come to you. I live, says the Lord, that you will be clothed with all of them, and you will put them on you just as an ornament of a new bride; that your deserts and desolate places and things which have fallen now will be made too narrow by the inhabitants."¹¹³ And in the Revelations this same city is firmly constructed with twelve

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no regard (v. 5); and Abel was identified with the righteous whose offering was pleasing to God (v. 4).

¹¹²Ezek. 28:13. The inclusion of "silver and gold" in this list of twelve stones seems odd. Neither the listing in the Vulgate or the RSV contain as many stones or the mention of "silver and gold." However, they do mention that the stones have gold settings.

¹¹³Isa. 49:18-19. Tyconius interpreted these stones to be a figurative description of the precious faithful. Thus, just as the body of Christ is "adorned" with holy and righteous "stones"; so, also, is the body of the devil "adorned" with those who are clinging to him.

stones. It says, "every precious stone," yet it enumerated twelve in order that it might show that in a number containing twelve is perfection.¹¹⁴ For all the things which God made are good:¹¹⁵ the devil altered the use not the nature of these things. And all men of an excellent mind and of innate abilities are as gold and silver and precious stones according to nature, but they will be his in whose indulgence, unwillingly by their nature, they are enjoyed; "because to what" anyone would consign himself "in obedience, he is the servant to what he obeys, whether it be of sin or of justice."¹¹⁶ So it happens that even the devil may have gold and silver and precious stones; indeed, all these things are not his according to birth, but according to choice. For even in Job it is written concerning the

¹¹⁴ Rev. 21:19-20. The "same city" means the Church, the heavenly Jerusalem, the "city" of God. That twelve (12) stones were named was interpreted by Tyconius to mean that these stones symbolized a spiritual reality (see Rule V, fns. 4, 47-48). Christ is the "foundation stone" and His disciples are living stones which are built into this spiritual building (see Matt. 21:42; I Peter 2:4-8).

¹¹⁵ See Gen. 1:25. Again, these twelve stones symbolize a spiritual condition and are used here to figuratively describe man. These stones, figuratively speaking, were created good and pleasing to God. Thus, depending on whether they "adorned" the body of Christ or the body of the devil, the worth of these stones reflects the use they had been put to (see below, fn. 127).

¹¹⁶ See Rom. 6:16. That is, men are innately valuable and are as precious stones in the sight of God. However, their value is significantly altered by their own voluntary adherence to the devil's body.

devil: "All the gold of the sea is under him."¹¹⁷ And the apostle says that there are "gold and silver vessels, some of which are in dishonor."¹¹⁸ For contrary to what some think, he did not reject all "wooden" and "earthen vessels," since some of these are in honor, by that saying that "truly a potter of clay" may fashion "something for honor, but others for dishonor,"¹¹⁹ and from wood, some for the preparation of food, others for a sacrilege. Some things of gold and silver, that is, of the greatest *<and>* purest, he said, are the unclean things. For even in the Revelations the harlot, that is, the opposing body, is adorned with "purple, scarlet and gold" and silver "and precious stones, having a golden cup in her hand full of the adomiations and the unclean things of the whole earth."¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ See Job 41:32, which in the Vulgate is Job 41:21; the reading in the Vulgate is much closer to the text of Tyconius than is the reading of the RSV. Here again, Tyconius interpreted the reference to "the sea" as a figurative reference to the world of sin and evil in which the devil and his disciples live.

¹¹⁸ See II Tim. 2:20. Those "vessels" which are in "dishonor" would refer to those who were in the service of the kingdom of the North..

¹¹⁹ Rom. 9:21. Honor, or value, is not determined by whether the object is of wood or of gold but by the type of use to which the object is put.

¹²⁰ Rev. 17:4. Tyconius has briefly set forth his position that sin is a problem of the will. Man is not innately evil, but as God's creature was created good. However, by free will an individual chooses whom he will serve and whom he will obey. Man has evil desires, as well as, good desires within himself, and these desires become actions and attitudes through the willful activation of these desires. Thus, one's decision to fulfill one set of

Therefore, these are the ornaments of the devil, precious stones with which he imitates "the stones of fire."¹²¹ And man has in himself both evil and pure treasures; for he is their bearer whose powers they have bound as with shackles. Besides those things which are brought forth for the adorning of both sexes of the devil's body, the heart also is implanted with these hidden things which they have; "for where the treasure is, there also will be the heart"¹²² of man. For an old man and his earth are one body, because he 83 is earth, also.¹²³ From this the apostle concluded that not only these things which can be admitted into the body but even avarice is a member of the one possessing it, thus saying: "Mortify, therefore, your members which are on the earth,--fornication, uncleanness, lust, evil concupiscence and avarice, which is idolatry,--on account of which the

desires over against another set determines whose "slave" he will be and in whose kingdom he will work. What one wills determines his spiritual condition. The desires of the heart indicate what one truly treasures (see below, fn. 122).

¹²¹Ezek. 28:14. The image of the "stones of fire" was interpreted by Tyconius as a reference to the righteous. Thus, the body of the devil is adorned with precious stones, but the body of Christ is adorned with precious stones which have been sanctified.

¹²²See Matt. 6:21.

¹²³See Gen. 2:7. The thrust of this statement is that one becomes that which he chooses. That which one treasures and desires to have becomes a part of the individual and determines who and what he will be, as the following statement will make clear.

wrath of God is coming."¹²⁴

"From the day on which you were created I placed you along with cherubim on the holy mountain of God," that is, in Christ or in the Church: "you were in the midst of the stones of fire,"¹²⁵ that is, of holy men who together make up the mountain of God. For the angels cannot be called stones of a higher substance, because they do not have a body.¹²⁶ "You were without blemish in your days from the time you were created, until your iniquities were discovered in you by the multitude of your business."¹²⁷ Peter calls the Church the stones: "And you," brothers, "as living stones be built up for a spiritual house,"¹²⁸ which God says is a fiery house and that it burns among

¹²⁴ Col. 3:5-6. Through willful choice these sinful desires have entered the individual and have become a part of who he is. Thus, one must choose to be a sinner. Sin is an act of selfish disobedience. Man was created good.

¹²⁵ Ezek. 28:14. That is, the members of the devil's body have fallen from the holy estate in which they were created.

¹²⁶ Tyconius thought that the reference would have to be understood in terms of the earthly Church and its members rather than in terms of a heavenly situation because the angels are spiritual beings and cannot be thought of as having "bodies."

¹²⁷ Ezek. 28:15-16. Again, Tyconius asserted that God made all things "good" (see above, fn. 115). Man was made "without blemish," however by willful choice man sins and participates in iniquities. The responsibility for his spiritual condition clearly falls upon the individual. For Tyconius, man is presented with a choice as to which "business" he will be engaged.

¹²⁸ I Peter 2:5.

evil brothers, thus: "The house of Jacob will be a fire, but the house of Joseph a flame, but the house of Esau stubble; and they will be kindled among them and they shall consume them, and nothing will be left to burn in the house of Esau, because the Lord has spoken."¹²⁹ For when a man sins, he is cast down from the mountain of God, and "nothing will be left to burn" since the Spirit has departed, and he is burned "to ashes."¹³⁰

"You have sinned and are wounded by the mountain of God, and the cherubim led you away from the midst of the stones of fire."¹³¹ The cherubim is a minister of God, because he excluded, spiritually, all the evil ones from the Church; for he who does not have a "wedding garment" in this present world is excluded from the midst "of the banquet."¹³² Finally, "into darkness," that is, into

¹²⁹ Obadiah 18. Again, using the image of "fire" as a symbol of holiness, the quotation is used to show that "the house of Jacob, the house of Joseph" (the Church) will be holy and eternal, but the house of the evil brother, Esau (the devil and his body) will be just the opposite, "stubble," completely destroyed.

¹³⁰ See Ezek. 28:18. The false member will be separated from the body of Christ and, without the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, in nowise will he be holy.

¹³¹ See Ezek. 28:16. Here again is the idea of the separation of the man of sin from the Church.

¹³² See Matt. 22:11ff. The various images of the Church which Tyconius has woven throughout the Rules come together here and overlap. The images of the Church as the body, as the bride and as precious stones adorning the garment worn by Christ are all present in this parable to which Tyconius has referred (see Rule I, fn. 12).

obduration, "he is sent"¹³³ until he descends into the eternal fire. For in the age to come no man will be joined to the chorus of the saints who thereafter may be excluded.¹³⁴

"Your heart has been exalted in your beauty, your knowledge has been corrupted in your beauty."¹³⁵ For his knowledge has been corrupted who wanders, though wise and prudent, and he asserts that by the application of feigned wisdom falsehood was concealed in the truth, just as the Spirit says: "Though they knew God, they did not glorify him as God or give thanks, but they became as foolish men in their understanding, professing themselves to be wise."¹³⁶ His knowledge is corrupted who teaches others, not teaching himself. His beauty is corrupted who does not

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¹³³ Matt. 22:13. The "he" refers to anyone who does not have the "wedding garment," i.e., salvation.

¹³⁴ The inference is that salvation either occurs "in this present world" or it does not occur; for "in the age to come" the body of Christ will not be "mixed," nor will there be any false members to exclude. This statement is consistent with Tyconius's belief that the individual will is free to choose either the way of Christ or the way of the devil. Man is fully responsible for his choices and his actions.

¹³⁵ Ezek. 28:17. The image of one being "exalted" and "corrupted" by his own "beauty" was interpreted by Tyconius as a condemnation of the sinner's self-centered preoccupations. The corruption was a result of the individual's choice to serve his own interests rather than serve the will of God.

¹³⁶ Rom. 1:21-22.

respond to his own type with likeness of deeds.¹³⁷

"On account of the multitude of your sins, I cast you to the ground, in the presence of kings I have given you up to be dishonored."¹³⁸ And the devil was cast to the earth, that is, into a man, and man was cast from the sublimity of the Church to be trodden under foot, just as Jeremiah says: "He cast down the glory of Israel from heaven to the earth. In the presence of kings":¹³⁹ He spoke of Christians, whom the devil and his man tred upon with their feet.¹⁴⁰

"On account of the multitude of your sins and the iniquity of your business I have contaminated your holy

¹³⁷ These last two statements appear to have been directed at the African Catholics. Tyconius would have regarded their "knowledge" as corrupt because in his opinion they professed the teachings of Christ but they did not live them. Likewise, their "beauty" was corrupt because they did not treat the Donatists in a Christ-like fashion ("with likeness of deeds"), (see Rule VI, fns. 1, 15-20).

¹³⁸ See Ezek. 28:18, 17. This another instance where Tyconius equivocated in his interpretation of the symbolic value of "kings." He would argue that he has not equivocated, but that the term must be understood from the context, "by reason alone: (see above, fns. 51, 56, 63-64, 69-70, 80, 82, 91-92).

¹³⁹ Lam. 2:1. The "glory of Israel" was understood to refer to the devil, who was cast out from his original place of grandeur among the angels of God ("lucifer fell from heaven"). As an angel, a spiritual being, the devil had no "body," but he was incarnated on earth, where he will be conquered and destroyed under the "feet" of the body of Christ.

¹⁴⁰ The "kings" mentioned in the passage above are identified as Christians (see above, fns. 139, 63-64).

things."¹⁴¹ It seems, for example, that the first inscription reproached the affairs--further it says treasures, also--of the devil's body for its spiritual wickedness. For just as the business of spiritual righteousness is a treasure, as the Lord says: "The kingdom of heaven is like a businessman,"¹⁴² and again: "Store up for yourselves treasures in heaven";¹⁴³ again, "He gave his substance to his servants"¹⁴⁴ in order that they might conduct the business; again, the "Carthaginian businesses" resist you.¹⁴⁵ Again, "His business and salary are sanctified by the Lord,"¹⁴⁶ and the apostle says: "Piety is a great business."¹⁴⁷ So, spiritual wickedness is a business, a treasury of sins, just as the Lord says: "An evil man out of the treasury of his heart emits evil things";¹⁴⁸ and the apostle says: "You lay up for yourself wrath against the day of wrath."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ See Ezek. 28:18. The idea expressed here is that God contaminated the holiness of His good creatures because of the individual's sinful "business" (see Rule IV, fns. 94ff.). Rather than pursue this line of thought immediately, however, Tyconius launched into a brief excursus concerning the term "business" as a description of the spiritual dimension of one's existence.

¹⁴² Matt. 13:45.

¹⁴³ Matt. 6:20.

¹⁴⁴ Matt. 25:14.

¹⁴⁵ "Carthaginian businesses" is obscure.

¹⁴⁶ Isa. 23:18.

¹⁴⁷ See I Tim. 6:6.

¹⁴⁸ Matt. 12:35.

¹⁴⁹ Rom. 2:5.

It says, "On account of the iniquity of your business your holy things are contaminated";¹⁵⁰ for he who does not use rightly the sanctity of God makes his own sanctity, just as God says concerning their sabbaths: "My soul hates your sabbaths."¹⁵¹

"I will bring forth a fire from your midst, it will devour you."¹⁵² The fire is the Church which, when it will have departed from the midst "of the mystery of iniquity,"¹⁵³ the Lord by the Lord then will rain fire from the Church, just as it is written: "The sun rose upon the earth, and Lot entered into Segor. And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrha brimstone and fire by the Lord from heaven."¹⁵⁴ This is the fire which he mentioned above: "The house of Jacob will be a fire, but the house of Esau stubble; and they shall be kindled in them and they shall consume them, and there will be nothing left to burn in the

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¹⁵⁰Tyconius returned to his exegesis (see above, fn. 141), repeating an earlier assertion that unless one seeks God's will, one will be self-seeking, which is the essence of sin.

¹⁵¹ Isa. 1:13-14. That is, self-centered individuals make idols of themselves. It is this "sanctity," or holy things ("sabbaths"), which God "hates."

¹⁵²Ezek. 28:18.

¹⁵³ See II Thess. 2:7 (see above, fn. 45).

¹⁵⁴ Gen. 19:23-24. In this context, "fire" is that which destroys sin and sinful conditions. This is consistent with Tyconius's earlier interpretation of "fire" as a symbolic description of sanctification and with the image of the sanctified (the "stones of fire") treading upon the devil that they might crush him (see above, fn. 139).

house of Esau."¹⁵⁵ In Genesis, likewise, it is written: "When God destroyed all the cities round about, God remembered Abraham, and he delivered Lot out of the midst of destruction, when God destroyed the cities in which Lot dwells."¹⁵⁶ Was not Lot entitled to be delivered by his own righteousness, that the Scriptures might say: "God remembered Abraham, and he delivered Lot out of the midst of destruction"? Or was he dwelling in cities, and not in a city, as it says: "The cities in which Lot was dwelling"? But the prophecy is of a future departure; for God, mindful of the promise to Abraham, cast Lot out from all the cities of Sodom to which will come the fire out of the fire of the Church, which will be brought from their midst.¹⁵⁷

"And I will make you as ashes in your land,"¹⁵⁸ that is, among men, or those men in your land who did not want to be in the land of God. "In the presence of all that see you," that is, understand you: Can the devil be

¹⁵⁵Obadiah 18 (see above, fn. 129). Tyconius has compared the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah with the destruction of the devil and his body (see Rev. 20:10).

¹⁵⁶Gen. 19:29. Lot was regarded here as a figure of the Church. Thus, the message was interpreted to mean that God will draw His Church out of this present world, "out of the midst of destruction," and out of the midst of the "mystery of iniquity."

¹⁵⁷This is a "mixed" species-genus prophecy (see Rule IV, fns. 1, 29, 36, 43, 51).

¹⁵⁸Ezek. 28:18 (see above, fns. 129, 154-155).

seen unless in a man?¹⁵⁹

"And all who knew you among the nations will be saddened over you";¹⁶⁰ for when the Lord slays or exposes the evil ones they will be saddened who are accustomed to having been supported by their assistance, by the part of his body which was disabled.¹⁶¹

"You were made for destruction and you will cease to be."¹⁶²

The End

¹⁵⁹ Here again is Tyconius's idea of the devil as a spiritual being who cannot be seen except in human form. Nevertheless, this spiritual being may be "understood," if not seen, by those who share a like attitude toward self-centered service as opposed to God-centered service.

¹⁶⁰ Ezek. 28:19. The "nations" represent all those outside the Church, i.e., the people of "this world."

¹⁶¹ See II Thess. 2:7-10. The only ones who will be saddened over the destruction of the devil will be those who belong to his body and who were dependent upon him for their "assistance."

¹⁶² Ezek. 28:19. Although it appears incomplete, Tyconius may have considered this the most appropriate way to conclude his discussion about the devil: an abrupt and humiliating ending for one who is soon to come to an ignominious end.

This concludes the work in as much as Burkitt has been able to re-establish the original text. It is doubtful that Tyconius wrote much beyond this point, although surely the original ending is missing.