

**Universidade de Lisboa**

Faculdade de Letras  
Departamento de História



## **Historical Interpretations of “Fifth Empire”**

- Dynamics of Periodization from Daniel to António Vieira, S.J. -

Maria Ana Travassos Valdez

*DOCTORATE IN ANCIENT HISTORY*

**2008**

**Universidade de Lisboa**

Faculdade de Letras  
Departamento de História



## **Historical Interpretations of “Fifth Empire”**

- Dynamics of Periodization from Daniel to António Vieira, S.J. -

Maria Ana Travassos Valdez

*Doctoral Dissertation in Ancient History,  
supervised by:*

*Prof. Doctor José Augusto Ramos and*

*Prof. Doctor John J. Collins*

**2008**

## **Table of Contents**

<b>Table of Figures</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>Resumo</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Summary</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>11</b>
<b>1) The Role of History in Christian Thought</b> .....	<b>14</b>
a) <i>The “End of Time”</i> .....	17
b) <i>Historical Periodization: the concepts</i> .....	20
<b>2) The Present Study</b> .....	<b>25</b>
a) <i>The Purpose</i> .....	25
b) <i>The Sources</i> .....	27
i) <i>The Historical Context</i> .....	27
ii) <i>António Vieira, S.J. and the Clavis Prophetarum</i> .....	37
c) <i>The Problem</i> .....	40
d) <i>The Approach</i> .....	42
<b>3) The History of the Research</b> .....	<b>46</b>
<b>Part 1 - The Biblical Sources</b> .....	<b>50</b>
<b>The Main Biblical Themes</b> .....	<b>51</b>
<b>1) The Four Empires</b> .....	<b>51</b>
a) <i>Daniel</i> .....	51
b) <i>Hesiod’s influence in Daniel</i> .....	65
<b>2) The Seventy Weeks</b> .....	<b>69</b>
a) <i>Enoch, one of the sources behind Daniel</i> .....	69
i) <i>The Apocalypse of Weeks</i> .....	72
b) <i>Daniel and Jeremiah’s prophecy of the 70 years</i> .....	75
<b>3) The Millennium</b> .....	<b>82</b>
a) <i>Paul and the two “aeons”</i> .....	82
i) <i>1 Corinthians 15:20-28</i> .....	83
ii) <i>2 Cor 3:7-18</i> .....	85
b) <i>The Book of Revelation</i> .....	93
i) <i>Revelation 20-22</i> .....	94
ii) <i>The Millennium</i> .....	96
iii) <i>The Eschatological Opponent</i> .....	101
iv) <i>Final Judgment (20:11-15)</i> .....	106
v) <i>The New Jerusalem (21:1-22:5)</i> .....	110
c) <i>Ages and/or periods of history in Revelation?</i> .....	114

<b>Part 2 - The Exegetical Tradition .....</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>1) Flavius Josephus.....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>2) Hippolytus and the 6000-year chronology .....</b>	<b>137</b>
<b>3) St. Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel.....</b>	<b>150</b>
a) <i>The Four Empires</i> .....	152
b) <i>The Seventy Weeks</i> .....	159
<b>4) St. Augustine’s Two Cities.....</b>	<b>167</b>
a) <i>Rome, or the new Babylon</i> .....	173
b) <i>Jerusalem: the City of God</i> .....	178
<b>5) Joachim of Fiore: From the ‘status’ to the ‘Last Emperor’ .....</b>	<b>186</b>
a) <i>Joachim’s ‘Aetates’ and ‘Status’</i> .....	188
b) <i>The “Last Emperor” myth</i> .....	198
<b>Part 3 – António Vieira, S.J. and the “Clavis Prophetarum”.....</b>	<b>210</b>
<b>1) The Eschatology in António Vieira’s Previous Works.....</b>	<b>211</b>
a) <i>Esperanças de Portugal – Hopes of Portugal (1659)</i> .....	217
b) <i>História do Futuro – History of the Future</i> .....	230
<b>2) “Clavis Prophetarum” or “De Regno Christi in Terris Consummato” .....</b>	<b>251</b>
a) <i>The content and the background of this work</i> .....	251
b) <i>The edited Book III of the ‘Clavis Prophetarum’</i> .....	257
<b>3) The ‘Fifth Empire’ .....</b>	<b>269</b>
a) <i>The nature of the Kingdom</i> .....	272
b) <i>When and where?</i> .....	277
<b>4) Universal Evangelization, Toleration, and Ecumenism? .....</b>	<b>291</b>
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>298</b>
<b>Index.....</b>	<b>305</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>310</b>

## ***Table of Figures***

<i>Figure 1 – Comparative Chronologies</i>	123
<i>Figure 2 – The Three Status, CCC Ms. 255A, f. 7 v.</i>	194
<i>Figure 3 – The Alpha and the Omega, CCC Ms. 255A, f. 8 r.</i>	195
<i>Figure 4 – The Tree and the Three Ages, CCC Ms. 255A, f. 12 v.</i>	196
<i>Figure 5 – Identification of the Antichrist</i>	288
<i>Figure 6 – The year of the Antichrist</i>	288

## *Resumo*

O principal objectivo deste estudo é a verificação de como uma teoria construída no século XVII sobre o *Quinto Império* e a sucessão de impérios pode ser ou não ser igual à introduzida no século II a.C. no livro de Daniel. Como é possível que tal tipo de profecia ainda estivesse actual no século XVII? Para isto, torna-se necessário compreender como é que os livros bíblicos e, especialmente a sua interpretação ao longo dos séculos, afectam o quotidiano do século XVII, tanto em ambiente laico como em religioso.

Este trabalho tem por base o livro do Padre António Vieira intitulado *Clavis Prophetarum – De Regno Christi in Terris Consummato*, com edição parcial em 2000. É nesta obra que António Vieira parece discorrer de forma mais metódica sobre a sua teorização de *Quinto Império*, ao mesmo tempo que revela sistematicamente a sua interpretação do conteúdo dos livros bíblicos que lhe servem de base. Para enriquecimento da análise proposta, usam-se ainda os restantes trabalhos de cariz escatológico de António Vieira, nomeadamente a *História do Futuro* e a carta *Esperanças de Portugal*.

Este estudo encontra-se dividido em três partes autónomas nas quais se pretende demonstrar a existência de uma dialéctica conceptual ao longo dos séculos relativamente às teorias de fim do mundo expostas em Daniel e em o Apocalipse. Na primeira secção, tratamos da criação dos modelos; na segunda, da história da exegese dos ditos modelos; na terceira e última secção, utilizamos então os escritos escatológicos de Vieira de modo a determinar as origens da sua teoria, bem como as eventuais implicações que a utilização de uma teoria religiosa poderia ter na política de um reino como o português no século XVII.

A primeira secção deste trabalho compreende a observação e análise dos principais textos judaico-cristãos onde as teorias relativas ao *Quinto Império* e à sucessão de impérios foram sendo expostas desde o século II a.C. É a partir deste momento que os arquétipos de sucessão de impérios então criados, se enraízam na tradição judaico-cristã que influencia o Ocidente cristão. Nesta primeira parte, analisamos ainda os modelos de “quatro impérios,” de “setenta semanas” e de “Milénio” baseados nas descrições do livro de Daniel, do Apocalipse e de Paulo. Usam-se ainda textos como *Os Trabalhos e os Dias* de Hesíodo e os de Henoc para se demonstrar a existência de raízes anteriores a estes textos (o caso de

Hesíodo), e a forma como esta corrente tão influente se encontra também no espaço não canónico (como em Henoc).

Na segunda parte deste trabalho analisamos a história da exegese entre os cerca de 1800 anos que separam a edição do texto de Daniel da escrita da *Clavis Prophetarum* por António Vieira. Descreve-se como tal, o contributo de autores como Flávio Josefo, Sto. Hipólito, S. Jerónimo, Sto. Agostinho e Joaquim de Flora. O objectivo aqui passa pela demonstração de quais foram as principais tendências interpretativas, o que foi adicionado e o que se manteve ao longo destes séculos. O nosso interesse é atestar como se chegou ao modelo utilizado por António Vieira no século XVII, baseando-nos para isso numa perspectiva de comparação e de dialéctica. De Josefo, apreendemos a existência de uma mudança interpretativa do modelo de impérios de Daniel, colocando-se a ênfase em Roma enquanto último império antes do fim dos tempos. Com Hipólito, verificamos a necessidade de contrariar a vivência apocalíptica da época, especialmente a necessidade de colocar no presente o tempo do fim. Hipólito, na realidade, evidencia que ainda falta bastante tempo para que os acontecimentos narrados em o Apocalipse se realizem. Mais tarde com Jerónimo, verificamos que a questão dos quatros impérios e da interpretação da profecia de Jeremias sobre as setenta semanas são novamente uma questão importante no quotidiano do Ocidente. O século V de Agostinho inaugura aquilo que se vai transformar na teoria comumente seguida pela Igreja. Aceita-se por isso o modelo agostiniano sobre a existência de duas cidades, a de Deus e a Terrestre. No entanto, o autor assume que na cidade Terrestre já se vivia o tempo da Deus através do reinado da Igreja, o que tinha alguma semelhança com o ambiente futuro da Cidade de Deus. As duas cidades, apesar de aparentarem ser dois momentos temporais distintos, especialmente devido ao facto de a Cidade de Deus ser construída além da história, são complementares na medida em que a primeira é já prenúncio do que há-de vir, além de conter já algumas das suas características principais. Com o aparecimento das teorias de Joaquim de Flora, o tempo do fim deixa de estar além da história. Desse modo, todo o processo evolutivo em direcção ao tempo do fim é um processo histórico. No entanto, Joaquim usa também um sistema de “estádios” que compreende sobreposição, pelo menos parcial, dos três estádios. Na realidade, o primeiro, o do Pai, inclui o segundo, o do Filho, que por sua vez inclui o do Espírito Santo, o qual por sua vez inclui todos os anteriores. Desta maneira, é possível dizer que os três estádios

Joaquimitas compreendem uma mesma unidade temporal com um objectivo comum: atingir o reino divino.

A terceira parte deste estudo versa directamente sobre as obras do jesuíta António Vieira. Normalmente reconhecido pela sua oratória, Vieira escreveu também algumas obras de pendor escatológico. É entre elas que encontramos a carta *Esperanças de Portugal*, a *História do Futuro* e a *Clavis Prophetarum*. Nestas obras, António Vieira expõe uma teoria de *Quinto Império* derivada da leitura e interpretação de livros como Daniel e Apocalipse, mas onde se verifica uma adaptação à realidade portuguesa do século XVII. Como tal, é possível observarmos Vieira a tecer uma teoria de acordo com a qual D. João IV incarnaria a figura medieval do “último Imperador,” aquele que deveria guiar a Cristandade até ao momento do fim. Deste modo, vamos assistir a uma reformulação da teorização religiosa, de modo a adaptá-la às exigências políticas da época. No entanto, e é preciso dizê-lo claramente, António Vieira nunca questiona o conteúdo das profecias bíblicas. O que ele faz é uma actualização da profecia em modos que podemos determinar a sua teoria de *Quinto Império* como sendo uma expressão de profecia escatológica.

Verifica-se nas obras de Vieira, especialmente na *Clavis Prophetarum*, um certo sincretismo e adaptação dos modelos descritos em Daniel e em o Apocalipse. Deste modo, Vieira consegue produzir uma teorização bastante uniforme e complexa. Além disto, Vieira como vários outros antes dele, indica ainda o ano em que os acontecimentos do fim deveriam acontecer. Devido a este tipo de construção de carácter profético, podemos afirmar que Vieira não é apenas um simples pensador utópico como muitos lhe chamam, mas sim, sendo que o seu trabalho deve ser entendido enquanto profecia escatológica. Além disso, ele consegue aliar a reinterpretação da profecia bíblica às necessidades políticas de um reino do qual é um dos mais fervorosos apoiantes.

Em suma, o trabalho de Vieira corresponde a uma nova teorização sobre o *Quinto Império*, para a qual o autor usa de toda a sua perspicácia ao relacionar factos descritos em Daniel com os descritos em o Apocalipse, criando desse modo uma perspectiva única e original. Para Vieira o objectivo máximo de atingir o fim dos tempos, passava também pela conversão universal, como o vemos explicar no final da *Clavis Prophetarum*.

**Palavras-chave:** António Vieira, Daniel, Escatologia, Quinto Império, Periodização

## *Summary*

The main purpose of this study is to observe how a 17<sup>th</sup> century theory about the *Fifth Empire* and the succession of empires was similar to or different from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE theory introduced by the Book of Daniel. This study focuses on the book of the Jesuit António Vieira named *Clavis Prophetarum - De Regno Christi In Terris Consummato*.

The first step is to observe and analyze the main texts where these theories were presented since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE and the models were created. In this section the models of the “four empires,” the “seventy weeks,” and the “millennium” are analyzed based in the descriptions provided by Daniel, Revelation and Paul, and by texts that may have influenced them such as Hesiod and Enoch.

In the second part, the history of the exegesis is analyzed and then the main texts and authors are described (Josephus, Hippolytus, Jerome, Augustine, and Joachim of Fiore). Our purpose is to establish the main tendencies of interpretation, and how they influenced later thinkers.

It is then possible in the third part to contextualize Vieira’s work within the main intellectual and religious tendencies of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, the schema introduced by this Jesuit has revealed itself to be original in the way that it introduces a new reading/interpretation of the succession of historical periods. Vieira does not forget the Church’s philosophy of history or the main names that had before him provided the most important interpretations of the schema. However, in a subtle way he transfers the main characters from within the Church’s realm into the secular power, i.e., he stresses the importance of the Last Emperor in the process of reaching the desired end.

**Key words:** António Vieira; Daniel; Eschatology; Fifth Empire; Periodization.

## *Acknowledgements*

When I first started to read the published text of the *Clavis Prophetarum* back in 2002, I was surprised by how a 17<sup>th</sup> century writer was dealing with Daniel's concept of the Ages of the World and of the succession of Empires. How was it possible that António Vieira, a Portuguese Jesuit, who spent most of his life in the Amazon River, was able to create a scheme regarding the end of time so amazingly close to the one first expounded in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE? At the time, I was closely involved with the study of the apocalyptic visions of Daniel (it was the theme of my master's thesis), and all I could see was a direct influence of the biblical apocalyptic literature in the works of António Vieira.

Maybe because of my background as a historian, maybe because of my natural curiosity, I was led by my professors in Lisbon to pursue a study that would contemplate a comparative study of the evolution of the concept of the "ages of the world." Thus, nothing was more natural for me than to go back to the text of the *Clavis*. However, I must clearly say how afraid I was of touching this text. It was too much, it was a grandiose construction and I definitely did not feel at ease in front of it. If it were not for the persuasion of Prof. José Ramos, I would not have had the courage to touch it, or even to apply for a PhD scholarship. As he said at the time: "It is going to be curious to see how you are going to handle a baroque writer such as Vieira, being you are one of the most grounded writers I know." I have not changed, and I do admit that Vieira will always represent the non-achievable. However, I have learned to respect him even more than before.

However, because I truly like challenges I decided to take Prof. Ramos' idea ahead. Then, I decided to ask Prof. John J. Collins to help me through this insane journey, which he agreed to do.

It was a tremendous moment when I received the news that I was going to receive a full scholarship from *Fundação Para a Ciência e Tecnologia* that would allow me even to travel abroad and to spend as much time as needed at Yale's library. I do remember of celebrating that fantastic email... In fact, the funding provided by **FCT**, through the program *POCI 2010*, was essential for the accomplishment of this work, and I would like to

extend my acknowledgments to this institution for its material support over the last four years.

The journey begun early in 2005, and from that moment onwards, I have been fully committed to this task, especially, to learn as much as possible about the subject. It was more than a simple adventure: it was both learning and a life experience. Today, when looking to the pages ahead, I am not yet sure that those are mine. I cannot believe how much I have done over the last three and a half years.

Today, I know that much was left behind. That decisions had to be made and that I have done my best with the help of my advisers to follow a path that would lead me to some results. I hope that my approach to the subject, the analysis of the development of the concept of the “ages of the world” and of the “fifth empire” through a chronological scope of 1800 years, can be translated into something understandable and readable. The approach I have followed is certainly questionable. However, it represents the way in which I have decided to connect the texts from Antiquity with those of Vieira in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In common, they share how they support one single theory and how that same theory can be read, understood, influenced and influence so many different authors over so many centuries.

Along this journey, I have met wonderful people to whom I will always be indebted on both sides of the Atlantic. First of all, I do have two amazing advisers: Prof. Ramos in Lisbon and Prof. Collins at Yale. The two spent with me an enormous amount of time going through the *Clavis* and my readings. Discussing with me some of my “craziest” thoughts and ideas, but above all, directing me towards the end. I owe them being here today writing these lines.

At Yale, I have come across to an entirely new world from the one I was used to in Lisbon. Many times, I attempted running away, but there was always someone out there to make me change my mind. I have learned immensely, but I fear that not yet enough, although, I do hope that feeling to be with me until the last days of my life.

I am also quite indebted to Prof. Francolino Gonçalves. I owe him not just the support in many of those difficult times, but especially the time he gave up to discuss with me the work and my expectations and my doubts. Also, the hours we have spent talking, in person or through the internet. Although each one of us was in his own continent, I have to

say that it worked out perfectly. In fact, the internet today brings close the most faraway corners of the world.

Here at Yale, where I am writing today, I have had the opportunity to meet and discuss my ideas with many distinguished scholars and colleagues. I would like to thank particularly to Prof. Adela Collins, Prof. Christine Hayes, Prof. Fraade, Prof. Schwartz, Prof. Eire and Prof. Marcus, who have listened to me and gave me essential clues for the development of my endeavors.

In Lisbon, I have to thank the generosity of Prof. Espírito Santo with whom I had the opportunity to discuss the content of the *Clavis*, and the problems of Vieira's theorization, especially regarding his relationship with the Inquisition. Also, to Prof. Simões Rodrigues who kindly sent me some bibliography that I could not find here, and to Prof. Ramos dos Santos whose words of encouragement helped me going through the last months of writing.

From around the world I owe also to several scholars who have helped me with comments, notes, articles, support, etc. Among these are Prof. McGinn, Prof. Peerbolte, Prof. Antunes, Prof. Nogueira, Prof. Rusconi and Prof. Paiva.

I have to remember the unforgettable help and support of my friends. Friends from Lisbon, from New Haven and from other places. Among the latter, Lisa and Hemant whose house was always a stronghold, and Lisa particularly who reviewed my text while introducing me to the best eateries of New England. Karylin, who I met at the Divinity School and is now beginning to write her dissertation in American History. She is not just my neighbor, but also a good friend with whom I have always find the chance to laugh, talk, exchange ideas and party. Also to Maria, my Italian friend and student of Portuguese, for all the incentive and for how much she has believed in me. In Lisbon, to Paula, Ilda, Inês and André, who have always been there for me in times of despair or just for a good laugh. I cannot forget Cátia, whose friendship and rationality helped me getting to my final destination, first in New Haven, then in the Netherlands and now in Portugal.

When I left Lisbon in January of 2005, it was with the promise of going back six months later. I have kept saying that over the last three and a half years. I have left behind a family to whom I owe even more. For my mother and my sister a special note of "thank you" for everything. I would not have reached this far without their support.

## *Introduction*

The works of the Jesuit António Vieira are worthy of study and further discussion, due to his role as *the missionary* of the Amazon River and the King of Portugal's diplomat in Europe after the end of the Iberian Union in 1640. In addition, he was also one of the most acknowledged theologians of his time. His peers knew his rhetorical ability and his work is still acknowledged in our days. Nevertheless, his works that are commonly known are his sermons and some of his letters, but not the eschatological texts.

The curiosity about, and a sort of parallel enchantment with, the ideas of António Vieira have been the reason behind many scholarly studies, especially after R. Cantel's authoritative work on the prophecy and millennialism in the works of the Jesuit.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, it is important to recall Vieira's biography published in 1931 by J. L. de Azevedo that is still today considered the main source of information regarding his life and main ideas.<sup>2</sup> In truth, the majority of these works reflect the interest on Vieira's *Sermons* rather than in works such as the *História do Futuro* or the *Clavis Prophetarum*. In fact, until the studies undertaken by J. van den Besselaar, these works had almost been forgotten.<sup>3</sup> Only in 1951 would an edition of chosen works of Vieira be published, gathering the main sermons, letters, and some of his treatises.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, it is possible to say that Vieira has mostly been considered as a utopian and his eschatological works were not seriously studied under the lens of eschatological prophecy. Although some, such as R. Cantel have pointed out how his works reflected messianic ideas, they have explained this mostly because of the influence of the combat between the defenders of the new dynasty of Braganza, and those who continued to support the return of the late D. Sebastião, originating the movement normally called

---

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira* (Paris: Éditiones Hispano-Americanas, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, 2 ed., 2 vols. (Lisboa: A. M. Teixeira, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> See J. J. van den Besselaar, *Antônio Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica* (Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002), J. J. van den Besselaar, *Antônio Vieira: O Homem, a Obra, as Ideias*, 1.a ed. (Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, Ministério da Educação e Ciência, 1981), António Vieira and J. J. van den Besselaar, *Livro Antepimeiro Da História Do Futuro*, 1a. ed., *Série Autores Clássicos* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> António Vieira, *Obras Escolhidas*, ed. António Sérgio and Hernâni Cidade (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1951).

“sebastianismo.” We would rather define António Vieira and his work as part of the genre of the “eschatological prophecies” which are normally defined as the type of prophecies “(...) relating the end of time, when the conditions of this world will be radically changed.”<sup>5</sup>

R. Cantel’s claim that “Après avoir été converti aux idées messianiques par les prophéties de Bandarra, Vieira se préoccupa très vite de donner une base théologique à ses espérances,”<sup>6</sup> appears to be too simple. In fact, we need to say that Vieira’s knowledge of the Bible led him to believe that the verses of Bandarra<sup>7</sup> contained real inspired prophecies related to the end of the world as forecast in the Bible. Besides, Vieira himself tells us that his main sources of inspiration are the biblical prophecies, namely the books of Daniel, Isaiah and Revelation. He also underlines that he is a simple interpreter and that, as many before him had done he also was going to try to discover when these events were supposed to take place. In fact, in the first chapter of Book III of the *Clavis Prophetarum* he reminds the reader that although Christ had said, according to Acts 1:7, that “*It is not for you to know the times or periods that the Father has set by his own authority,*” there was nothing to be feared if someone decided to explore the unknown.<sup>8</sup> According to the author, many before him had attempted such a quest, and what needed to be taken into account were the sacred texts. Although authors like Cyril of Alexandria and Augustine thought that such questioning about the future should not be undertaken, Vieira claims that the reading of the divine texts is a source of knowledge about the time of the events of the end.<sup>9</sup> Then, he enumerates a list of names considered as Church authorities who had done the same in the past, engaging in hard work in order to find the number/date/time of the end. The results

---

<sup>5</sup> John J. Collins, *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1984), 109.

<sup>6</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 52.

<sup>7</sup> António Gonçalo Annes Bandarra (1500-1556) was a shoemaker from Trancoso (northern Portugal) who read the Bible, especially the prophetic books, and published a book of messianic verses. His work was widely known though the Inquisition efforts to forbid its circulation. However, his work was especially well-known within the Jesuit colleges of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. For further information about Bandarra and the importance of his work, see section 2)b)i) of this *Introduction*.

<sup>8</sup> We will be using the original Latin text of the *Clavis Prophetarum* in all the footnotes. The Portuguese translation can be found in the immediate page of the one cited, in the Portuguese edition of 2000. Other than that, we will follow the main methodological principles exposed in the Introduction section regarding “The Approach,” starting in page 42.

cf. António Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, ed. Arnaldo do Espírito Santo and Margarida Vieira Mendes, 1 ed. (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2000), 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

were all different, which demonstrates, according to Vieira, how their work was in constant dispute, and how that helped increase the knowledge of such events.<sup>10</sup>

Vieira's introduction of the main thinkers before him in the text of the *Clavis Prophetarum* demonstrates his awareness about the texts that had been written regarding the end of time and of the dates set for those events since the books of Daniel and Revelation. Vieira, in fact, possessed encyclopedic knowledge concerning the diverse interpretations that history had offered throughout the centuries. When trying to understand his work, especially when it refers to the *Fifth Empire*, it is important to remember Vieira's ability to gather information, analyze and build a new system of interpretation.

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 14-18.

1) *The Role of History in Christian Thought*

When thinking about the nature of Christian thought, it is impossible to distinguish between what originally is Jewish and what is Christian. This explains why it is commonly considered necessary to use the expression “Jewish-Christian” to define the traditions based in the Bible. One of the features common to both religions/cultures and traditions is definitely the role played by history, even if the two religions have different purposes. Besides, a consideration of history and the way it is understood throughout the centuries and the different philosophies of history that were created, are definitely some of the most important pillars of our study.

When Creation, e.g., is described in Genesis, it is assumed that everything created is done within the boundaries of history by a supernatural entity, God. Therefore, it is possible to count the years or generations that have passed since that event until later moments, as we observe in some biblical books. Consequently, the biblical authors describe a historical world and also another world, that is beyond history and commonly described as heavenly. This, most probably explains why the majority of ancient authors distinguishes between the earthly and the heavenly worlds. Nonetheless, the role of history is essential for humankind, particularly for God’s *chosen nation*. Only through history could they achieve their main purpose: the establishment of the divine kingdom.

Most scholars would agree that history and its end have been used by the two traditions in both optimistic and pessimistic views. In the first case, God and humanity would be reconciled within the boundaries of history, while in the second case, it assumes that to achieve the desired reunion with the divine entity a destruction of this world, and consequently of history, has to occur. The first takes the form of the millennial hope, while the second presupposes a crescendo of evil that would result in a destruction of the earthly world.

As we will observe in this study, the two perspectives are not exclusive and the path followed depends mostly on the interpreter of the biblical texts and later, on the Christian Church’s orthodoxy. Nevertheless, the main departure point is common: humanity, in the

figure of the *chosen nation*, searches for the reunion with its *creator*. This phenomenon, i.e., this quest for the return to primeval time, is partly due to the expulsion from Paradise and the consequent pain that God's people has to endure until they are able to regain its place within the divine creation's scheme. This pursuit becomes one of the most important reasons behind the traditions concerning the "end of history." In a very particular way, first Jews and later Christians, search for a way to return to dwelling with the deity. Therefore, history has a reason to be: it is the way by which these two peoples, will be able to share the "created world" with the deity as well as "returning" to the moment after Creation when there was harmony between divine and human. In addition, it is important to remember that history within Christianity is considered to be linear and not cyclical.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, within Jewish and Christian traditions history is oriented towards a very specific end: the establishment of the divine and eschatological kingdom as we can observe through the reading of the biblical texts. Therefore, although some authors may introduce readings similar to those describing cyclical movements, we cannot describe Jewish or Christian history as cyclical: that would be a *contra naturam* phenomenon. However, what we find sometimes is a compound of the two movements, because some authors describe history as divided into smaller periods, and some of those periods may be treated as though they represented a return to the departure point. Therefore, even in the presence of small steps backwards, we have to agree with the linear character of Jewish-Christian history.

The search for the end of history, because of all that it implies, is certainly still today an important part of Jewish and Christian traditions. If Jews are looking for a Messiah, Christians are waiting for the second coming of the Messiah. As strange as it may look to those unfamiliar with the two traditions, this is still in the 21<sup>st</sup> century an important characteristic of the two religions. Therefore, it is important, if not essential, to remember how history and the search for its end have played such a crucial role over the centuries. That explains in part why several thinkers have dedicated so many pages and years of their lives to this subject and to its interpretation over the centuries. In a word, all of them were attempting to explain why humanity, and particularly Jews and later, Christians, had to undergo so many moments of distress before they could be rewarded with the dwelling in

---

<sup>11</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Le Mythe De L'éternel Retour; Archétypes Et Répétition*, Nouv. éd., rev. et augmentée. ed. ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1969).

the divine kingdom. Most importantly, they were attempting to interpret the content of books such as Daniel and Revelation without leaving open spaces for doubts or questions. Their work, based in the belief that history is linear, becomes, in fact, an attempt to explain why the end had not yet been reached and why it appeared that humankind was undergoing once more such penances. After all, the message of Daniel and of Revelation was *a priori* unquestionable, only leaving open, the questions regarding the identification of the main characters and the date of the predicted events.

Assuming that the models of this eschatological expectation are those first exposed in the books of the Old Testament, we need to underline the way in which such concerns developed after the emergence of Christianity, and in particular, the main coordinates regarding the end of history drawn after the book of *Revelation*. At this point, it is necessary to affirm that our main subject of research concerns Christianity, and therefore, Christian interpretation of this quest is the basis of our study. Consequently, we will, from this point onwards speak almost exclusively about this phenomenon as observed and interpreted by Christianity, with the exception of the analysis of the apocalyptic model introduced in during the Old Testament period.

Christians in particular also follow two main interpretational tendencies: one of pessimistic tone and another based in an optimistic interpretation of the end of history. The first, the pessimistic tone, describes the end of history as being closely connected with a crescendo of evil among humanity, that would result in an abrupt end of historical time through divine intervention. In fact, in light of Matt 24 it assumes that the world is degenerating and would be destroyed at a later moment. The second, the optimistic, assumes that there would be a Millennium, similar to the Jewish concept of Messianic Age, and in which the “chosen nation” was supposed to reign. This Millennium would take place within the boundaries of history since the establishment of the divine kingdom would only be realized at a later moment.<sup>12</sup>

It is within these two opposing perspectives that we will attempt to answer some of the questions concerning the *Fifth Empire* raised by the reading of the works of António Vieira, and especially of the *Clavis Prophetarum*. Nevertheless, it is also appropriate to

---

<sup>12</sup> Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; a Study in Joachimism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 295-305.

underline that António Vieira, as we will observe at later moments, cannot be simply labelled as a 17<sup>th</sup> century utopian. In fact, his works concerning the establishment of the *Fifth Empire* are the product of an exegete and represent what should be defined as an eschatological prophecy. It is true that Vieira is not introducing a completely new interpretation concerning the *Fifth Empire*. In fact, we can say that his writings express a teleological and eschatological interest, a common feature that can be observed among other prophets. If Vieira does not present himself as a prophet, but as a mere interpreter of someone else's prophecies (this happens in a first period), it cannot be said that he does not add to the previous prophecies concerning the end a very particular interpretation. Besides, as he also said, it was common that the same prophecy would be transmitted more than once to seers, in order to give further details about its content. In a certain measure, it appears to us that it is possible to understand Vieira as a seer who received another explanation of the events that would anticipate the end and how the end itself would happen.

#### a) *The "End of Time"*

The apocalyptic literature is possibly the one that best describes the expectation of an afterlife.<sup>13</sup> After all, its main concern is about the establishment of the Kingdom of God. For that reason we find in the apocalyptic texts, namely in the historical apocalypses, references about the end of time and even when that end is supposed to occur. In fact, we come across explicit allusions to historical periods in order to date the coming of the expected end. In the words of García Martínez: "*The historical apocalypses were characterized by the division of history into periods and the expectation that God would intervene in order to bring an end to the evil in the world,*"<sup>14</sup> and these two motifs were the most typical of the historical apocalypses.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, the interest in the periods of

---

<sup>13</sup> For more details about apocalyptic literature, cf. J. J. Collins ed., *Semeia 14* (1979).

<sup>14</sup> "Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Apocalypticism* (vol. I, New York/London, Continuum, 2000), 178.

<sup>15</sup> J. J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London/New York, Routledge, 1998), 52.

history is early acknowledged in the Israelite literature, although it was normally used to distinguish between good and bad times. To describe this situation A. Caquot writes “*on y voit s’opposer des périodes d’infidélité envers Dieu et des malheurs consécutifs à celles-ci à des apparitions de juges sauveurs qui marquent des rentrées en grâce d’Israël.*”<sup>16</sup>

Whenever we find a historical periodization such as the ones described in these texts, we have to remember that it presupposes a deterministic view of History, and that it comprises at the same time past, present and future.

In more or less systematic forms, History is presented in texts such as *Daniel*, *Hesiod*, *1 Enoch*, *2 Baruch*, *The Sibylline Oracles*, *4Q390*, *11QMelchisedek*, *Revelation*, *Paul*, etc., divided into periods which anticipate the end of the days. This way of describing time corresponds to two specific needs: to organize time and to approach as closely as possible the present to the end. This last vector can also explain the introduction of specific dates for the end as those found in Daniel 12.

It is commonly accepted that a historical periodization in an apocalyptic text delineates the course of events until the expected end of days, the time when finally the awaited divine kingdom will come and Israel will get back all its privileges as the chosen people. Presenting time in a narrative divided into historical periods may be regarded as if the author is reducing time into smaller periods in order to diminish the waiting time for the end.

However, we are not facing a simple question. What is the end? Does it presuppose that this world will be brought to an end? Where will that new kingdom be established? Will it be with living people (in the common sense), or with the people “*found written in the book?*”<sup>17</sup>

*Daniel* is the first text where some kind of resurrection seems to be implicit. Before, then, and according to the prophetic books, the people of Israel did not expect any salvation beyond this life.

The earliest translators understood this expression to signify “*at the end of the days*” or “*in the last days,*” but the modern ones consider it as “*in the course of time, in*

---

<sup>16</sup> A. Caquot and A. Sérandour, “La périodisation : De la Bible à l’Apocalyptique” in *Proche-Orient Ancien : Temps Vécu, Temps Pensé* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1998), 83.

<sup>17</sup> Dan 12:1

*future days*,” as noted by A. Steudel.<sup>18</sup> This creates, obviously, a problem about the expression’s real eschatological meaning. Insofar as the first translation let us think about the end of the time in a perspective of eschatological future, the latest only allows us to think about the days to come. Even if this expression was used since the most ancient times, its sense was clearly changed throughout history. From the time of the prophets to that of the apocalyptic writers, there was certainly a change of meaning, since the latter were facing different needs.

Although the expression *‘aharit hayyamim* is commonly used in the Old Testament there is no attempt to predict when the “end of the days” will happen. Consequently, *Daniel* can be understood as the exception to the canon. As previously noted, there are other texts that have tried to establish historical periodizations and which included the end of times, but none contained a real attempt to date it. The concepts of generations, years, epochs, and weeks added to some numbers, are the most common attempts to predict the end in most of the texts.

Another problem about this typology of the “end of the days” is the fact that with the information provided by the texts the scholar cannot infer whether this expression meant the exact end of the world, a period of transition (and how long this would last), or even the new world itself. Were these authors speaking of the establishment of a wholly new space, or simply the restoration of the cult and Israel’s sovereignty? Furthermore, what was expected to happen when the end of the days occurred? There are images in the texts of judgment, of resurrection, and of punishment of the wicked ones, but there is no such thing as a common idealized end in those narratives. Moreover, this concept of the end of the days has to be understood in accordance with the principle of historical determinism that characterized these authors.<sup>19</sup>

Although this concept regarding the “end of the days” was most commonly expressed in the Old Testament texts, it is necessary to remember its influence in the writing and spreading of the message of the Book of Revelation. In fact, this Christian text is the first to describe in a detailed way how the times of the end were supposed to occur, which phenomena would happen and how salvation would be achieved. Therefore, it is

---

<sup>18</sup> A. Steudel, “אחרית הימים in the Texts From Qumran (1),” *RévQ* 16 (1993): 225.

<sup>19</sup> Part of the above text has been published in Maria Ana Valdez, “From the Periods of History Towards the End,” *Cadmo* 17 (2007).

possible to accept a thematic continuity between the Old Testament and the New Testament.

As we will observe in the following chapters, this quest for the “end of the days,” and more specifically about how all the predicted events would take place functions as the motivating force behind the exegetical work concerning the content of Daniel and Revelation. Besides, it can be accepted to be the starting point for the creation of the new interpretative theories that will abound over the centuries in Western Christianity.

*b) Historical Periodization: the concepts*

Before beginning this study, it is essential to define some of the most important concepts and vocabulary commonly used by these authors regarding time, its periodization and its interpretation. As Yarbro Collins writes, time division is a way to organize larger blocks of time, in a way that will make time itself understandable to people.<sup>20</sup> In addition, when dividing time into smaller units of time, it is possible to demonstrate that the time of the end is near by positioning someone’s own time closer to the last period. Another thing to observe is that the vocabulary used is quite large and diverse. We find mentions of years, weeks, numbers, generations, decades, jubilees, etc. However, the first text to really attempt to determine an explicit date for the end is the Book of Daniel, while the remaining texts only speak about the proximity of the end of times.<sup>21</sup>

We find several apocalypses containing a division of history into generations, specifically, ten generations. Most authors relate this type of description to the influence of Persian millennial ideas.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, the use of the non-numbered concept of generation to illustrate historical periods is also an ancient motif in biblical literature in general.

---

<sup>20</sup> For this issue we recommend further reading of: Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, vol. 50, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism (Leiden/New York: E.J. Brill, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> *cf.* footnote 24 of *Part I*, Regarding Ezekiel’s valley of dry bones

<sup>22</sup> J. J. Collins, “Cosmology: Time and History” in *Religions of the Ancient World. A Guide* (ed. S. I. Johnston; Cambridge/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 67.

The best example of this kind of division of world history is, perhaps, the one found in the *Sibylline Oracles*, books 1 and 2. There, we have an account of history before and after the flood, with five generations prior and another five following.<sup>23</sup> However, probably because of a Christian arrangement of the passage, the text we presently have has no reference to generations eight and nine. Yet, this schema was used to introduce the description of the eschatological crises and the following Last Judgement. The reference to the Hebrew eschatological dominion and the allusion to resurrection, suggests that this was originally a Jewish oracle.<sup>24</sup> This forces us to refer the existing problematic concerning the author/editor of the text, and which parts could each one have influenced.

Yet another text to consider regarding the use of the succession of generations as an expression of the historical progress is *1 Enoch*. As we can read in the Book of the Watchers 10:12:

*“And when their sons perish and they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, until the day of their judgment and consummation, until the eternal judgment is consummated.”*<sup>25</sup>

Once more, we have a reference to an eschatological end and to a Final Judgment, which will supposedly occur after a certain period, in this particular case, after seventy generations.

The concept of epoch normally appears when the author is describing a certain declining view of history in its qualitative terms, whenever he intends to illustrate how the world has come to its present situation. Normally, this writer expresses the idea that at the beginning (time of creation), everything was perfect and that since then the world has suffered from gradual deterioration. By this process, he introduces the need of a return to a golden age in terms of eschatological hope. One of the most well-known examples of this sort of world history based on a sequence of epochs is Hesiod’s book *Works and Days*, namely lines 106-201. This description appears more often when linked with the metaphor

---

<sup>23</sup> This is an illustration of what Jonathan Z. Smith calls the *binary periodization*, one of the simplest models that could be used to exemplify the periods of history (“Ages of the World”, in *Encyclopedia of Religion* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. I, Detroit, Thomson, 2005), 173.).

<sup>24</sup> cf. J. J. Collins, “Sibylline Oracles (Second Century B.C. – Seventh Century A.D.): A New Translation and Interpretation” in, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; vol. I, New York, Doubleday: 1983), 317-472.

<sup>25</sup> G. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2001), 215.

of the succession of kingdoms, such as in Daniel. Whenever we find this kind of hope for a fifth kingdom supposed to come after a period of decline, we realize that the system idealized a cyclical philosophy of history. The world begins with the Creation, *the golden age*, deteriorates, and people then hope for a kind of *re-creation* to take place. A period in which everything will go back to the initial perfect stage, i.e., a return to another *golden age*.

The best-known example of the use of the concept of epoch as a kingdom is found in Daniel 2 when the prophet explains Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a statue made with different materials. Although, we see that the statue's materials are similar to the ones presented by Hesiod, we also observe how Daniel adapts Hesiod's epochs to refer to four kingdoms that will anticipate the promised kingdom.<sup>26</sup>

Beyond these concepts, different numbers are also used in these texts to organize time and to calculate how long it will take to reach the desired kingdom. However, the attempts to date the end of the world and the coming of the kingdom of God are not a characteristic of the apocalyptic genre. Furthermore, assigning a precise date for the beginning of the expected kingdom could be dangerous, as history will show.

Four main numbers are repeatedly used in these texts to describe the periods of history. They are the four, the seven, the ten, and the twelve. Besides these, the multiples of ten such as seventy are also very important.

We commonly associate the number four with the four cardinal points and the four winds. Both ideas intend to offer a perspective of a complete worldview. In texts such as Daniel, the number four is usually used to describe the number of kingdoms and of beasts, which will anticipate the establishment of the promised kingship. Only after this process will the kingship of God be complete, as we read in Daniel.

The number seven can represent the seven days of a week, showing again a sense of totality, especially when linked with the Creation theme. Associated with the seven are the sabbatical periods, which symbolize multiples of this smaller number. A sabbatical year consists of seven years, from where we draw the importance of the meaning of this number.

---

<sup>26</sup> Hesiod refers 5 generations of men: one of gold, one of silver, one of bronze, one of demigods and a last one of iron. In Dan 2:31-33 we read: "*The head of that statue was of fine gold, its chest and arms of silver, its middle and thighs of bronze, <sup>33</sup> its legs of iron, its feet partly of iron and partly of clay.*" The only difference is the lack of a generation of demigods in Daniel, and an addition of clay mixed with iron for the statue's feet.

The number twelve reflects the months of the year (the zodiac), or the hours of the day (day and night). Again, we find a sense of totality. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the time until the end and the coming of the messiah is divided into twelve hours, or ages. Each hour is said to be one hundred years (28:5). Another use of the number twelve can be found in *2 Baruch* to describe the number of bright and dark waters that will be poured out of the cloud until the end of the world. In *1 Enoch*, this number is also used to describe the twelve signs that complete the zodiac, and consequently the year.

Ten has a special significance and is, in fact, one of the most important numbers, since it allows for the multiples, which will be so important in the apocalyptic literature and in the definition of the periods of history. It is rarely used alone “*its use seems to reflect the key role of ten in the various numerical systems themselves which are based on decades.*”<sup>27</sup> Ten is also important because it represents the *decades*, which is a concept used sometimes in texts with numerical relevance and comparable to the system based on the concept of generation, although it represents smaller periods of time. One of the texts that applies this system of ten periods of time is *1 Enoch*, in the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks. There the reader, as we will observe later, is confronted with a division of history into ten weeks. There is no clue that enables us to define the exact time comprised by each week, not even to affirm beyond doubt that the weeks are all of equal length.

This number reappears in the *Sibylline Oracles* when the ten generations that supposedly existed before the conquest by Alexander are described. The ten generations were not intended to offer a real date in the calendrical sense.

Another concept to take into account is the concept of “year.” Nowadays, we understand it as a period of 365 or 366 days, however, in ancient times there was a problem derived from the use of both lunar and solar calendars. This would result in years with different lengths, according to which calendar was being used.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, there was no real counting of the number of days, since the living rhythm of the population was based in festivals, seasons or agricultural events. In Leviticus 25, we find the description of sabbatical and jubilee years. The first one is said to be the seventh year, during which they were not supposed to cultivate their lands and instead live of what the land offered them. In

---

<sup>27</sup> A. Y. Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 83.

<sup>28</sup> We cannot forget that both calendars were used at the same time, depending on what type of time was intended to be measured.

Leviticus 25:4 we read: “*but in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of complete rest for the land, a sabbath for the LORD: you shall not sow your field or prune your vineyard.*” A little further, in the text, we are confronted with the concept of the jubilees. The jubilee is the fiftieth year, and again the people of Israel are expected to observe a Sabbath for Yahweh. Once more, they were not supposed to sow seeds but were to live from what the earth offered them.

In brief, the sabbatical year was the seventh year of each cycle of seven years, while the jubilee should be celebrated every fifty years, or, as the text says: “*You shall count off seven weeks of years, seven times seven years, so that the period of seven weeks of years gives forty-nine years*” (Leviticus 25:8), and then celebrate the Jubilee (Leviticus 25:11). This also means that whenever we find in these texts a reference to a *week of years* we are probably dealing with the concept of a jubilee.<sup>29</sup>

The most famous text that contains a series of references to this type of interpretation is certainly *Daniel*, notably when the author attempts to explain the prophecy of Jeremiah, and how long Jerusalem will take to be restored. Beyond explaining that the seventy years are in reality seventy weeks of years, that is, one large jubilee (490 years), it later adds numerical references in Dan 12:11-12.

It is necessary to remember when reflecting about the meaning of the jubilee years as they are presented in the apocalyptic texts, that they do not mandatorily imply a fixed set of years, but instead they may be used to describe some historical events. This is quite problematic since hardly one of these chronological indications can match the *ideal* historical event that could hold the interpretation-key for these texts. That is what happens in Daniel. Yet, as J. Collins notes, “*Daniel was not interested in the chronology of whole period, only in its conclusion.*”<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> For further information concerning the problematic around the amount of years that would compose a sabbatical year, cf. John S. Bergsma, “Once Again, the Jubilee, Every 49 or 50 Years?,” *Vetus Testamentum LV, no. 1* (2005).

<sup>30</sup> J. J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 53.

## 2) *The Present Study*

### a) *The Purpose*

The main purpose of this study is to observe how a 17<sup>th</sup> century theory about the *Fifth Empire* and the succession of empires was similar to or different from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE theory introduced by the Book of Daniel. This study focuses on the book of the Jesuit António Vieira named *Clavis Prophetarum - De Regno Christi In Terris Consummato*, although it also takes his previous theories expressed in his earlier writings such as the *Esperanças de Portugal* and the *História do Futuro* into account.

In the first section, we observe and analyze the main models and themes as they were introduced in Daniel, Hesiod, Enoch, Revelation and Paul. At the same time, we analyze concepts such as the “four empires,” the ages of the world, the seventy weeks, the millennium, and resurrection, all of them essential to this literary genre.

In the second section of this study, it is our purpose to analyze and describe the main lines of exegesis that derived from the interpretation of the above mentioned books, particularly within the Christian tradition. It is important to verify what is constant, what changes, and what announces a possible rupture and a new interpretation of these schemes. In fact, it is particularly interesting to observe how interpretation concerning the time of the end and the establishment of the divine kingdom changed among Christian, and later Catholic, exegetes. Here, it is also significant to underline new concepts that have been created such as the “Last Emperor” or the “Angelical Pope” in order to answer specific historical circumstances.

In the third section, which is also the last, it is our purpose to: 1) analyze Vieira’s main eschatological works and 2), confront the models and theories developed earlier and accepted by the Church with those introduced by António Vieira, S. J. Our main objective is to decide whether Vieira’s *Fifth Empire* theory should be considered a novelty in terms of exegesis or not. In addition, it is important to understand why Vieira underlined the role to be played by the Portuguese and by their king, who would assume the role of the Last

Emperor during the period that would anticipate the end of time. At the same time, Vieira's conception of a *Fifth Empire* to follow the defeat of the Antichrist and within history appears to defy the accepted *status* of the Catholic Church.

The originality of Vieira's schema appears to lie in the way in which a traditional Christian theme that oriented the future expectations of the faithful Christians was transformed by a Jesuit to serve the interests of the temporal power. In a certain measure, the nation that led the discovery of the world and the spreading of the Christian faith was being rewarded by replacing the Roman Empire in the line of the four succeeding empires that were supposed to anticipate the end of this world and the establishment of the divine kingship of God on earth. For Vieira it all made sense, although his interpretation can be considered problematic in light of the Church's teachings about the end of this world and the establishment of God's kingdom. Nevertheless, his book passed the Roman Inquisition enquiry without many changes being required and even receiving a good review from the censor, F. Casnedi. However, the book was never printed and the original was thought lost.

What we, therefore, propose to do in the following pages is to analyze the main concepts related to the end of time, the *Fifth Empire*, and the Ages of the World. As mentioned, we shall first study the main sources, and then, later, observe how these same sources were read, interpreted and used by different commentators. While it is true that is impossible to cover every text, we have attempted to choose those that we consider the most representative and important for the creation of the main lines of interpretation and its development. Besides, while exploring the sources to identify the main tendencies, we are also interested in observing how they changed, i.e., what caused ruptures and what survived the intense scrutiny to which they were submitted over the centuries. In this way, we will be able to create what can be defined as a "historical pattern" that led to Vieira's theories in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Only after this, can we decide whether or not Vieira's work, especially his theories in the *História do Futuro* and in the *Clavis Prophetarum*, represent a new variation of the history of the interpretation, or if they are just a new formulation of the same old theories about the end of time.

In order to do this we are covering a historical period of almost 1800 years. This period can be divided in at least two main phases: 1) the time of the biblical sources, and 2) the time of the exegesis of those same sources. Only after that can we place Vieira in time

and understand his synthesis and how he relates the biblical text to the events of his own time. Obviously, we cannot forget that this type of literature can also be interpreted as if it was a sort of reaction to the epoch's events. This is visible in Vieira, especially when he names the Portuguese King as the world emperor and the savior of Christianity. Vieira is surely influenced by the political events of his time, but especially by how his faith makes him understand the end of the world and the establishment of the divine kingdom of God on earth. He cannot be considered to be just a utopian. Vieira's work represents a much more complex phenomenon, and one needs to be aware of all the variables that influenced his thinking in order to understand his eschatological expectations as well as his systematization.

This survey of the different texts and of authors will follow a chronological order from the earlier periods until Vieira's century. Therefore, we will start with Daniel and finish with Revelation, then move from Josephus to Jerome. Later, we will compare Augustine with Joachim of Fiore and discuss how they have influenced Western Christianity, especially how they influenced Vieira. Only then, will we have a more detailed idea of this phenomenon that will permit us to understand why Vieira wrote these books in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, and how the second century BCE theories were still alive during his lifetime and were still continuously interpreted by theologians and men of culture.

## *b) The Sources*

### *i) The Historical Context*

During the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Iberian kingdoms became the papal paladins in the defense of the Catholic religion.<sup>31</sup> This special relationship with

---

<sup>31</sup> José Pedro Paiva, "Spain and Portugal," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Malden, MA/Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 292.

Rome can be observed beginning with the epoch of the “*reconquista*”<sup>32</sup> when it was the Iberian kingdoms’ role to clear the Peninsula of the Arab invaders and, later on, with the discoveries and the maritime expansion. In the two processes, the different Iberian kings were asked by the Pope to undertake crusades and spread the Gospel. It is in this context, and also as a consequence of the Council of Trent, that the Inquisition was truly established in the Peninsula. The way the council resolutions were applied in the Peninsula will later be one of the reasons commonly used to explain the differences between the Iberian Inquisition and the other inquisitional practices all over Europe.

In fact, these Iberian monarchies since the beginning, perceived the role of “divine monarchies” and their kings as having received their power directly from God. A good example of this is the so-called “Miracle of Ourique” (c. 1239) when the first Portuguese king is said to have received a message from God according to which he would be victorious in battle. This created a sort of mystical and divine aura around him. Therefore, it is easy to understand why the “*reconquista*” and the maritime expansion were explained, and even undertaken, in terms of Christian crusade, and how they were used to magnify the importance of these two small kingdoms in the context of European powers.<sup>33</sup>

The maritime discoveries and the expansion of the limits of the known world led by the Iberian people were also understood as an expression of God’s favoritism. From 1415 onwards, and especially after the discovery of America in 1492, the arrival by sea to India in 1498 and, the discovery of Brazil in 1500, the doors were open for a renewal of prophetic and messianic hopes in the Peninsula. The discovery of the New World, and of peoples that had never before known the Gospel was the starting point for the beginning of the universal evangelization, needed before it was possible to achieve the long awaited end of the world and, consequently, the establishment of the divine kingdom of God on earth as it is said in Revelation.

All this added up, and we can start to understand how the myth of the “*Last Emperor*” in certain measure, was revived and started to play an important role in the

---

<sup>32</sup> The Arab occupation of the Iberian Peninsula can be placed between the year 711 C.E. and the year 1492 C.E.

<sup>33</sup> At this time, Spain had been unified under the kingdom of the Catholic kings in 1492.

Iberian Peninsula.<sup>34</sup> Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and especially after the ascent of Charles V as Emperor of the Holy Empire in 1530, this theory was also well spread in the Peninsula in order to fortify the idea of divine Spanish kingship that would rule over the Empire.

We should review a few things before going back to Iberian messianism and millennialism. First, it is necessary to remember that the peninsula has always been a very specific reality in the context of European history. In fact, partly due to geographical limits and to cultural-religious factors, the historian can most of the times draw a line between major European currents of thought and what was happening in this particular part of Europe. The natural barrier of the Pyrenees and the existent mixture of Catholics, Jews and Moors, gave a specific coloration to the Peninsula disconnecting it partly from what was happening in the remaining European countries. At the same time there is a very close relationship between power and religiosity that made it impossible for the State to distance itself from the Church as early as it happened in other countries.

This strong connection between temporal power and religious hierarchy had important consequences in the development of the messianic, millennial, and apocalyptic theories in the Iberian Peninsula. It is so common to find priests as the king's adviser that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the country's politics and the Church's interests. Besides, in the case of the Jesuits, who were responsible for the majority of the academic education, especially in Portugal, we need to remember how much they could influence the elites through their teaching, and later, on an individual basis through personal relationships that were established at the time of college. This will be extremely important in the spreading of messianic hopes in Portugal later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, because the Jesuits are known as one of the most spiritual orders, and had a strong influence in the dissemination of popular prophecies, especially those connected with the restoration of Portuguese independence.<sup>35</sup> The Jesuits were also known to have been strong supporters of the current called "Sebastianismo" that forecast the return of the late king Sebastião, dead at the battle of Ksar-el-Kebir in 1578 without leaving descendents, which was the main cause for the Iberian Union.

---

<sup>34</sup> This myth derived from the theory that Charlemagne, the Emperor of the Western Roman Empire, would be reborn, but it was particularly important for the elaboration of the theory about the destined role of German, and then later French, monarchies.

<sup>35</sup> We do have to remember how they used the prophecies of Bandarra, and how they published some other in Évora that were used as the support of a popular rebellion against Spain in 1637.

Another important matter to take into account is that there were several events in the history of the peninsular kingdoms where one of them lost its independence to a neighbor. This is very clear in the Portuguese dynastic crisis of 1383-85, in the Spanish union under the Catholic kings in 1492, and in the Iberian Union between 1580 and 1640. These political events were often used as the catapult for the establishment of strong messianic hopes in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, though in its political form. In fact, in the majority of the examples we know today, the different peoples were not looking for the Last Emperor that would defeat the Antichrist of Revelation, but were searching for the one that would release their country from foreign dominion. However, Jesuits and Dominicans had the ability to transform these popular beliefs in “applied” theology, i.e., they used the popular messianic hopes and related them with the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation, in order to create the sense that the end was near, and that the Portuguese king was God’s chosen. At the same time, while following messianic currents, they were able to keep those hopes inside the Catholic law, and somehow strengthen the believer’s faith.

The maritime expansion and the discovery of the New World and of the Orient played an important role in the theorization about divine kingship. Alain Milhou writes that the history of the Peninsula was based on a paradigm of destruction-restoration.<sup>36</sup> The author rightly points out that this was a constant presence since the time of the “*reconquista*.” In fact, just having in mind the historical period mentioned above, one can confirm that the Arab invasion of the Peninsula represented a moment of “destruction,” while the process of conquest of the lost space will then represent a “restoration” of the Christian territory.

The important thing to keep in mind is that the Peninsula has always been a place of tension among different religious beliefs, and tension also existed amid the different kingdoms. In this situation the political prophetic movement in the Middle Ages that had almost disappeared from the rest of Europe managed to survive, and was very vivid, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the Peninsula, as Roberto Rusconi points out.<sup>37</sup> One has also to remember

---

<sup>36</sup> Alain Milhou, "De La Destruction De L'Espagne À La Destruction Des Indes: Histoire Sacrée Et Combats Idéologiques," in *Etudes Sur L'impact Culturel Du Nouveau Monde*, ed. Marie-Cécile Bénassy-Berling and Séminaire interuniversitaire sur l'Amérique espagnole coloniale (France) (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1981).

<sup>37</sup> Roberto Rusconi, *Profezia E Profeti Alla Fine Del Medioevo*, 1 ed., vol. 9, Opere Di Gioacchino Da Fiore (Roma: Viella, 1999), 132.

that Christians<sup>38</sup> lived in a close proximity with Jewish communities, and that among these, messianic hope was very strong, especially since they were being persecuted. This last factor is useful for the characterization of the Iberian world. However, we need to underline that the Iberian messianic prophecies, although related to the imperial mythology, were not understood in a universal sense, but in a regional way, at least in an early period. Nevertheless, that would change later with the overseas empires when the messianic hope would take on universal characteristics.

The discovery of new geographical areas by Portuguese and Spaniards brought a new conception of the world and new possibilities of evangelization. As we have already observed, these kingdoms looked at themselves as divine monarchies elected by God. Therefore, they were also thought to have a special role to play in the fight against the infidel and the gentiles. Accordingly, the first boats were sent to Africa by the Portuguese king. Actually, the first arrival by sea to the African coast happens in 1415 when Ceuta was conquered by the Portuguese. Engaged in the African expeditions against the Moors, the Portuguese crown kept a regular movement of boats in direction of several important African cities, consequently creating a strong navy capable of facing the unknown waters of the Atlantic.

Propelled by the crusading spirit, first Portuguese sailors, then Spaniards, discovered the Atlantic, and Indic, and African coasts and the American continent in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. They also arrived to the Far East by sea. At the same time the influence of the religious orders was noticeable in the huge number of missionaries that were sent to those faraway countries. The settlement of South America and meeting peoples that were not known before was used by some as a way to say that finally the universal evangelization as predicted in the Gospels and in Revelation would be achievable. At this time, the prophetic spirit was still alive, especially, among the new order of the Jesuits, and among the Franciscans,<sup>39</sup> who understood themselves as the special religious group predicted by Joachim of Fiore to live in the last age of the world. According to the main reports that reached Europe from the new colonies, there was a general tendency supporting

---

<sup>38</sup> By Christians, in this paper, I understand Catholics, as when I am referring to the Church, if it is after Reformation I also have in mind Roman Catholic Church.

<sup>39</sup> For the role played by the Franciscans in the New World we suggest the reading of: John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2d ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

the idea that those were finally the times of the end. Therefore, people should be prepared for all the events predicted in Revelation that would anticipate the establishment of the divine kingdom of God.

To understand the recovery of the millennialism and apocalyptic theories in the Iberian Peninsula between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, we need to go back in the history of the Church to remember that the idea of millennialism was always understood as a dangerous, if not forbidden, idea, especially when it was based on a physical Second Coming of Christ. In fact, as B. McGinn<sup>40</sup> points out, the official position of the modern Catholic Church is still against it. However, before 1600 its position was not so clear and, therefore, there was space among Catholics for the rise of such ideas, based on Revelation 20 or other similar texts. There are not many texts where we can find that the author waited for a physical reappearance of Christ, but we do observe the creation of other messianic figures, such as the Last Emperor, mentioned above, or the Angelical Pope. In fact, we can easily say that the Church felt a need to promulgate hope among its members, and the millennial hope was one of its best resources.

The hope for a millennial kingdom has always been a point of reference within Christianity, at least since early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, though soon, the concept of an earthly kingdom became questioned and the different commentators would not agree on a specific position. From this moment on, the struggle between the carnal and the spiritual factions within the early Church can be observed. When Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, the hope for an earthly millennial kingdom tends to be less present, but not even at that moment does it completely disappear.<sup>41</sup> With Augustine, we have a refutation of the theories based on the existence of a millennium on earth after the resurrection, while he understands the millennium as the age of the Church, and locates it already in his own time. This lack of expectation of an earthly period of grace before the end will remain until the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, there were two different types of expression of the medieval millenarianism that we should remember: the *pre-Antichrist* and the *post-Antichrist*

---

<sup>40</sup> Bernard McGinn, "Forms of Catholic Millenarianism: A Brief Overview," in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Catholic Millenarianism: From Savonarola to the Abbé Gregoire*, ed. Karl A. Kottman (Dordrecht/Boston: Kluwer, 2001), 1.

<sup>41</sup> One can observe that in more difficult times, hope would reappear, to disappear immediately after peace being re-established.

theories.<sup>42</sup> The first predicted the coming of a final Roman emperor who would defeat the heretics and reign in Jerusalem until he delivered the crown to God. This was based on the four-age system described in the book of Daniel (Dan 2 and Dan 7 are the best examples), which also understood the Roman Empire to be the last. The second was also based in the Book of Daniel, but understood that first there would be the coming of the Antichrist (described as the “abomination of desolation” in Dan 12:11), which would last for the 1290 days as described in that book. However, as Daniel also mentions a period of 1335 days, Hippolytus interpreted those 45 days of difference as the period between the destruction of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment.<sup>43</sup>

Joachim of Fiore would inaugurate a new period of millennial interpretation in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup> Considered to be the first apocalyptic thinker of the Middle Ages by some, he suggested a new interpretation of the *post-Antichrist* theory based on a theology of history. According to him, Augustine was right when he excluded any carnal interpretation of Revelation 20; however, he was wrong when he had dropped the idea of a better age within history. Joachim developed then a system based on three ages of history, similar to the Trinity, where millenarian ideas were revived and played a strong influence in the following centuries. It was the beginning of a salvation history within the Church, and this would be one of the most important aspects to influence the early modern apocalyptic thinkers all over Europe and in the New World. The Last Emperor, under the apocalyptic interpretation of history, was transformed thus into the defender of Christianity against the new forces of Islam, considered as a representation of the Antichrist. In addition, the process of Counter-Reformation elevated the Pope to an even more important role. Therefore, the idea of the Angelic Pope who would, together with the Last Emperor, win over the forces of the Antichrist started to be a very popular idea, especially under the Avignon papacy and during the Great Western Schism. Later, in the Renaissance period, the belief in a *golden age* yet to come would be the support of new optimistic millenarian and apocalyptic ideas. This *golden age* started to be identified with the period of

---

<sup>42</sup> For a more complete overview of the apocalyptic ideas in the Middle Ages we recommend volume II of this work: Bernard McGinn, John Joseph Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 3 vols. (New York: Continuum, 1998).

<sup>43</sup> cf. Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, trans. Maurice Lefèvre and Introduction by Gustave Bardy, vol. 14, Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1947).

<sup>44</sup> cf. Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985).

discoveries, especially after Columbus wrote *The Book of Prophecies*.<sup>45</sup> At the same time, the geographical enlargement of the world was also understood as a sign of the forthcoming triumph of Catholicism. Also in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, we need to remember the influence of the Ottoman invasions of Europe, mainly the pillage of Rome in 1527 and the siege of Vienna in 1529, and how that was understood to be a representation of the Antichrist. All this together represents a dualism between hope and despair that constitutes the basis of any apocalyptic or messianic movements. This can be verified, both in a large or small scale, and explains why we can find in these last centuries a renewed interest in Revelation and in the early prophetic books, especially Daniel.

Therefore, the Iberian Peninsula was a fruitful soil for the development of messianic hopes, with more or less apocalyptic or millennial aspects. There are several accounts of popular beliefs in the history of the Iberian Peninsula, and many were used to strengthen biblical prophecies. However, most of them are yet not studied or are only known through commentaries, as happened with the text of the *Clavis Prophetarum* in the past.

As R. Cantel stresses, Portuguese messianism is the result of the conjugation of three lines of thought: two of religious nature (Jewish and Christian) and one of a political character.<sup>46</sup> In fact, the Portuguese messianic movement was very strong, relative to what was happening in Europe, where we can easily trace the influence of such authors as Nostradamus, Isidore of Seville, Jean of Roquetaillade, among many others. For the understanding of the Portuguese messianic movement, we need to remember that the Jews, expelled from Spain in 1492, entered Portugal with a very strong messianic hope, which was even more accentuated when they were also expelled from Portugal in 1496 or ran away after the massacre of 1509 in Lisbon. After these events, part of the Portuguese Jewish community emigrated to the northern Europe, while another group looked for refuge in the most isolated regions of Portugal. One of the most well-known names of this period in relation to the Jewish hopes for the coming of a Messiah is Isaac Avravanel. Born in Lisbon in 1437 he announced the coming of the Messiah for the year 1503 (died in Venice in 1508). He was not the only example of Jewish messianic influence found in the Iberian Peninsula. In reality, the year of 1527 marked the beginning of the agitation, in the words

---

<sup>45</sup>cf. Christopher Columbus, *The Book of Prophecies*, ed. Roberto Rusconi, vol. 3, Repertorium Columbianum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>46</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 24.

of Cantel, with the arrival in Portugal of David Rubeni who claimed to be the brother of a king of the Orient and descendent of the lost tribe of Ruben.<sup>47</sup> According to reports of the time he managed to be received by the Pope and by the Portuguese king D. João III. These events obviously had a huge impact in the Portuguese Jewish community who thought that the coming of the Messiah really was at hand. The environment was so auspicious for such quests, that later in 1542 a certain Luis Dias claimed to be the Messiah and convinced a large group of Jews of Setúbal to follow him.

At the same time, there were Christian expressions of messianic hope, mainly deriving from a neo-Joachimist interpretation. The maritime discoveries played here a very important role since they were used to stress the importance of the Portuguese role in the achievement of the divine kingdom of God. Having promoted the universal evangelization while reaching not-yet-known regions of the globe, it was possible for some to celebrate the qualities of a people able to undergo such a task, and to underline that the end of times were necessarily at hand. In fact, some of the most important Portuguese men of culture easily agreed that their fellow countryman had done more than the Romans, and therefore deserved their unique place in the history of salvation. The examples are vast, and we can count among them names as Camões, Pêro Vaz de Caminha and Duarte Pacheco Pereira.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the dynastic difficulties that the country went through in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were understood as the visible signs of the turbulence of the last times as it was described in Daniel and in Revelation. That is recognisable in works both in Spain and in Portugal, and one of the most well-known names is probably that of Cardinal Cisneros, whose writings reveal a hope in a *renovatio mundi* underlined by a messianic spirit. All the authors of these centuries have in common the belief in an elected nation ruled by charismatic kings, also chosen by God, and interestingly, even Spanish authors point to Portugal.

The popular prophet Bandarra, a shoemaker of Trancoso, Portugal, who knew how to read and knew by heart parts of the Bible, wrote a book of poems between the years of 1530 and 1546 where he interpreted the biblical prophecies, especially Daniel, Isaiah and

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> In the case of the two last authors cited, some authors would promptly agree that they were the first to raise the question of the “good savage” that would later be developed into one of the main characteristics of the Brazilian Indians.

Jeremiah, about the end of times according to Portuguese history. Bandarra became a sort of authority on the Bible in the region and both Jews and Christians would ask him to interpret the prophecies. In fact, his poems were so widespread and followed by so many that he had to face the Inquisition, although he was sent free after abjuring. Even forbidden by the Inquisition, his *Trovas* circulated easily and were printed and hand-copied. They were as well-known in popular environments as in the more educated ones. They were read and kept in several Jesuit colleges of the time as their content was in accordance with some of the mysticism in vogue among Jesuits. This same work was dedicated to the Pope and to D. João III, because it announced the fulfilment of the biblical messianic hopes.

However, the *Trovas* also played a very important role in keeping high the hopes for Portuguese independence from Spain during the Iberian Union. Earlier, they forecasted the birth of the “*desejado*” (the wished), also known in the Iberian literature as the “*encoberto*,” when the king D. João III did not succeed in producing a male heir alive.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, when D. Sebastião finally was born, which happened after his father’s death, he was called “*o desejado*,” and when he disappeared in the battle of Ksar-el-Kebir in 1578, the myth of the return of the king was translated in the hope for the coming of the “*encoberto*.” The Portuguese history has several accounts of the appearance of different figures who were said to be D. Sebastião, and some were even supported by the populace or by the followers of the “*sebastianismo*” from higher social ranks. This movement was not stopped even by the Spaniards in the power, who did not take it seriously. It was in effect a movement of nationalist character and was used to promote the superiority of Portugal in relation to Spain.<sup>50</sup> A good example is the work of António de Sousa Macedo, a follower of “*sebastianismo*,” who wrote that Europe was a woman, Spain its head and Portugal its crown in his work entitled “*Flores de Espanha excelências de Portugal*,” published in Lisbon in 1631, i.e., during the Iberian Union. Nevertheless, nationalism, was a constant in Portugal during this period, and the clergy also played a very important role, because since the beginning, that they had not supported the government of Philip II, which managed to reduce their privileges. Many members of religious orders were known to have said or

---

<sup>49</sup> All of his male heirs died, and D. Sebastião, his grandson, was born after his death.

<sup>50</sup> For more data about this movement, we recommend the reading of J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *A Evolução Do Sebastianismo*, vol. 5, Coleção Temas E Documentos (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1984).

written things against the Spanish crown, and were among the steadier supporters of the revolution and of the new dynasty.

This climate of expectation was accentuated by the Jesuits, as we have already said, who played a very important role in the spread of such theories. The Jesuit colleges, the most important centers of education of the time, were known for their mystical climate, and some of their members published prophetic works where they interpreted the biblical texts according to their own future expectations. This was clear in the role they played, for example, in the rebellion of 1637 in Évora that anticipated the restoration. But we can also observe a similar trend in the works of the Cistercian monks of Alcobaça who also supported this nationalistic wave. Fr. Bernardo de Brito, for example, published a series of works that support the myth that Christ had appeared to Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese king, in the eve of the battle of Ourique to assure him of his victory. This is the key-moment for the foundation of the theories about a Portuguese divine kingship and to support the idea that God would always support the nation. In a certain measure, there is a comparison with what happened to the Israelites taken into captivity to Babylon. The return to Jerusalem was to be understood as the restoration of Portuguese independence. Nevertheless, the Iberian Union was also interpreted by some as the tribulation that it was necessary to go through before the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth in the light of the biblical events narrated in Daniel. This said, and we can notice that some people would have compared Portugal to the chosen people of the Old Testament that would also be saved from captivity by God after expiating its sins.

## ii) António Vieira, S.J. and the *Clavis Prophetarum*

It is not our purpose to provide here a complete biography of António Vieira since there exist a few good biographies of this author and we do not have any new data to add to

them. Even so, it is important, if not essential, to mention some of the most important events of his life and the main lines of his thought.<sup>51</sup>

Born in Lisbon in 1608, Vieira was raised and educated in Brazil where his family moved to in 1615. Vieira was one of the most established Jesuit preachers of his time, known also for having been invited to be the confessor of Queen Christine of Sweden, but his reputation as a missionary and the work in the distant places of the Amazonian river were also known. Less known are his roles as a diplomat and visionary. His most well-known works are definitely the *Sermons* that have already been translated into several different languages, but do not completely reflect these last aspects of his life.

Sent to Lisbon in 1641 by the viceroy of Brazil, the Marquis of Montalvão, just after the restoration of Portuguese independence to swear the fidelity of the Brazilian colony to the new king, he soon became a friend of the king and one of the strongest supporters of the new dynasty. As J. L. de Azevedo<sup>52</sup>, his biographer, wrote, there was no decision taken by the king before he had the counsel of the queen and Vieira. Educated in the center of Jesuit mysticism he began to show quite early his nationalistic notions for which he uses all his biblical and theological knowledge, as well as his astonishing rhetorical abilities. The first example is his sermon “Against the Dutch Arms” preached at the time of the Dutch invasions in Brazil where he said that everyone, and not only the military, should fight against the invasion. A second sermon that reveals his sympathy for the new king is the one he preached at the beginning of the year 1642, where he stresses all the problems that the kingdom was going through and everything that would still happen before it would be possible to reinstate its power, and how the new king was God’s chosen instrument to do that. Again, we are faced with a comparison with the Old Testament and the Hebrews. But Vieira was especially a man of his time, and he was totally devoted to proving that Portugal had a leading role in the future of Christianity. With a very strong knowledge of biblical prophecy and of the various existing interpretations, especially of Daniel and Revelation, he spent part of his life following the chimera of a *Fifth Empire* led by the Portuguese king. We cannot say that he was the only person to publish about the idea of a *Fifth Empire*,

---

<sup>51</sup> For a complete biography of Vieira, see the works of L. de Azevedo, van den Besselaar, H. Cidade, J. Lisboa, A. Lopes, C. Boxer, I. Lins and C. Consiglieri, cited in the bibliography of this work.

<sup>52</sup> The major biography of Vieira published until today is still: Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*. However, for a brief biography in English we have C. R. Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure, Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J., 1608-1697* (London: Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1957).

because an edition of a work only known through commentaries of Fr. Sebastião de Paiva was recently published. It is entitled as “*Tratado da Quinta Monarquia*” which means “Treatise on the Fifth Monarchy.”<sup>53</sup> The title is rather clear about its content, but it is not relevant to our discussion here.

Vieira’s eschatological view is divided among three main works: a) the letter written in 1659 to his friend the Bishop of Japan, entitled “*Esperanças de Portugal*” (Hopes of Portugal); b) the “*História do Futuro*” (History of the Future); and c) the partially published and unfinished work *Clavis Prophetarum or De Regno Christi in Terris Consummato*, which was the one he considered as his *opus magnum*.

Vieira wrote as a testimony of his visionary ideals the three above-cited works. The first two were in Portuguese, the first because it was a letter, the second because it was supposed to be used to exalt the spirit of the Portuguese, reminding them of everything they had achieved and how they had to go through the turbulence previewed in the Bible in order to achieve the Last Empire. This last aspect also reminds us easily of the report in Daniel. The last work, written, or finished to be more accurate, after his long problems with the Portuguese Inquisition, was in Latin and was addressed to the men of culture of his time, mainly, those in Rome who somehow shared his opinions. Both the “*História do Futuro*” and the *Clavis Prophetarum* have the same subject: the establishment of the *Fifth Empire* which should then be ruled by the Portuguese king. The emperor would act as Vicar of Christ, and would be supported by the Pope. However, it is noticeable how in the first work Vieira uses constantly the work of Bandarra and in the second one, he never cites him, preferring to make use of the Church authorities. In this second book, he cites abundantly the most recent authors in order to provide solid explanation of his own theories, providing the book with a more academic perspective. With this, we can affirm that Vieira was developing a new interpretation of the biblical theories about the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth and about the last days, that he wanted it to be solidly according to Church ideas.

Although, António Vieira’s particular theorization has to be found through the reading of his entire eschatological works, we have decided to limit our reading to the texts

---

<sup>53</sup> Sebastião de Paiva, Frei, *Tratado Da Quinta Monarquia*, Pensamento Português (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2006).

of the *Esperanças de Portugal*, the *História do Futuro* and the *Clavis Prophetarum*. If the first two texts are obvious choices, the latter is still a problematic piece because not yet completely edited or translated from Latin.

### c) *The Problem*

Book III of the *Clavis Prophetarum* edited in the year 2000 shows that the rumors that António Vieira had exposed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in a more detailed and scholarly fashion his theorization regarding the *Fifth Empire* were true. In fact, a simple reading of this last part of his *opus magnum* allows the reader to understand how Vieira's theorization developed from the time when he wrote the letter *Esperanças de Portugal* until the moment in which he exposes in Latin his major argumentation concerning the *Fifth Empire*.

Although the major sources for the establishment of the model of the Ages of the World have been analyzed multiple times, Vieira's scheme as he describes it in the *Clavis Prophetarum* has not yet been the subject of a detailed study. Two reasons should be pointed out for this: first, the manuscript was not known until recently and, second, there is only a partial edition of it, as we have already mentioned. Besides, most scholars who have in any way referred to António Vieira's scheme and interpretation of the *Fifth Empire* have used the content of the letter *Esperanças de Portugal* or the unfinished book entitled *História do Futuro*, which was completed with R. Cantel's major study in the early 1960' regarding the traces of prophecy found among Vieira's works.<sup>54</sup>

As we will observe in the third section of this study, scholars still debate today about when Vieira may have begun writing the *Clavis Prophetarum*. However, if that fact is not of much concern to us, it may matter in the sense that it is necessary to draw the historical background behind the writing of this work. Nevertheless, since our concern is the development of the theory concerning the *Fifth Empire*, what is essential is attempting to draw a line of Vieira's main theorization regarding this subject and not so much to propose any possible date.

---

<sup>54</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*.

This type of 17<sup>th</sup> century work in which the authors express new interpretational theories concerning some of the major biblical problems raises immediately questions for which we need to search for an answer. These are not only connected with the acceptance of these theories by the Catholic Church, but also by the temporal power.

One of the main questions to be answered concerns what these 17<sup>th</sup> century texts, particularly those of Vieira, have in common with those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. How do they interact? Which are the similarities and the differences? What part(s) of this type of discourse is still common to the earlier Jewish and Christian traditions?

This is particularly true when analyzing the work of an exegete such as António Vieira, who is considered one of the main theologians of his time. The study of his theory concerning the establishment of the *Fifth Empire* and its relationship with the models described in Daniel and Revelation is a challenge for today's scholar, and not only because the manuscript is not yet fully edited. In fact, the challenge lies in the possibility that Vieira may have created a very particular theory that was later accepted by the Inquisition. This possibility arises questions such as how early Vieira mentions an imminent *Fifth Empire*, whose main characteristics are being earthly and led by an Emperor and a Pope. However, how is this *Fifth Empire* supposed to fit Daniel's description of the succession of Empires? Or that of Revelation? Can we agree that Vieira's *Fifth Empire* is to be identified with the destructive stone described in Dan 2:35? How should we understand this earthly *Fifth Empire* in the light of the expectation of Christ's second coming? Is this empire to begin within history or not? Is it temporal, spiritual or a mixture of the two powers? It is supposed to begin before or after the defeat of the Antichrist, since Vieira appears to identify the Turkish attacking continental Europe in his century with that particular figure?<sup>55</sup>

From the analysis of António Vieira's three main works, it appears that he considered the *Fifth Empire* to be of an earthly type, led by a representative of the temporal power and by the Pope as representative of the spiritual power. As he mentions, the Emperor and the Pope would become Christ's vicars on earth. Since this is one of the most important questions about Vieira's scheme, we will analyze it in depth during the last part of this study.

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 112-21.

In summary, the purpose of this study is not only to analyze António Vieira's conception of the *Fifth Empire*, underlining continuities and ruptures with the model favored by the Catholic Church, but also to understand Vieira's role as an exegete and how his work reflects a profound knowledge of past and contemporary exegesis and of the main lines of interpretation. At the same time, we will be observing the main theories regarding the end of time, where were they originated and who and how they have posteriorly influenced, as well as the main types of historical division that they proposed. Besides, when studying Vieira it is impossible to detach him and/or his work from his time. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the historical background of the period post-discoveries (starting second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), especially in the sense that 17<sup>th</sup> century people thought that universal evangelization, one of the main features needed to be reached before the end, was finally at hand. Moreover, Vieira's *Fifth Empire* theory is not an isolated expression. In fact, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Peninsula there are several other works in which this type of eschatological expectation can be observed.

António Vieira's writings are definitely not the work of a utopian. Vieira may have started his eschatological career because he felt the need to act in face of the Dutch invasion of the Northern Brazil. However, later, when he was a counselor of the new king and a supporter of the new Braganza house, Vieira never forgot his faith. Consequently, it is impossible to affirm that his works are solely the expression of a diplomat. No, Vieira and his writings represent the conjugation of a man of faith and of a diplomat and, we shall demonstrate how his writing can be defined as eschatological prophecies.

#### d) *The Approach*

We propose to study António Vieira's writings within the scope of a comparative analysis, where historical interpretation plays an important role in the understanding of the phenomenon. Our first goal is to outline the main models concerning the description of the *Ages of the World* and of the *Fifth Empire*, and the first attempts of interpretation ever made.

Both the texts that served as the sources for the definition of concepts such as the *Fifth Empire* and the time of the end, and the following exegetical texts and authors chosen in this study, describe in our understanding, the main lines of the evolution of these concepts. There are many authors and texts left behind who may be considered as well as important contributors for the development of the concepts analyzed in this study. However, the ones used appear to have drawn the main lines of interpretations and usage of the concepts. At the same time, the broad chronological scope of this study forbids the analysis of parallel works that, although important in their own time, were not the ones that established the main pattern of interpretation. This is the case, for example, of the texts produced by several Modern exegetes such as Ribera and Suárez, whose works are only mentioned *en passant*.

At the same time, it was necessary to define the scope of the approach. While doing this it became clear that from a certain chronological point onwards it was necessary to exclude Jewish material. This may be explained with the need to introduce António Vieira and his works as the result of the Portuguese and Catholic contexts. However, it is impossible to completely detach Portuguese messianic hope from the Jewish messianic hope, especially during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, as previously mentioned in this Introduction.

It is important to our purpose, therefore, to analyze both the literary texts and their historical backgrounds, in order to obtain a more complete overview of the subject of the *Ages of the World*. It is also important to demonstrate how the subject of the *Ages of the World* should be correlated with the establishment and development of the concept of the *Fifth Empire* and the creation of characters such as the *Last Emperor* and the *Angelical Pope*, which are mentioned neither in Daniel nor in Revelation.

We will first introduce an overview of the main texts where the models concerning the end of time and its consummation are drawn. While doing that, we will attempt to establish and define the main concepts and the most important lines of interpretation related to the future. Moreover, it is also important to underline some of the most important

influences on these texts, although we will not for example analyze the role of Zoroastrism<sup>56</sup> in the development of the apocalyptic literature.

Then, after the models are fully exposed and analyzed we shall devote a specific section to the study of the main works that have derived from the interpretation of the original models and that have most certainly influenced António Vieira and other exegetes of his own time: Flavius Josephus, Hippolytus, Jerome, Augustine and, later, Joachim of Fiore. All of these authors, in their own way have influenced the centuries to follow regarding the interpretation of Daniel and Revelation. It is more than clear that all of them together did not exhaust this subject. However, we think they provide us with the main traces of the development of such theories. Moreover, they are also important because they reflect the major Christian interpretations (except for Josephus), since the earlier times. In addition, the study of some of these authors' texts also allows us to verify that under particular circumstances they inserted new characters or phases within the path towards the end.

With all of this together, we will thus analyze the eschatological works of António Vieira, and particularly the text of the *Clavis Prophetarum*. In this section, we shall attempt to define Vieira's scheme of the *Fifth Empire* as well as its main characteristics. At the same time, it is important to our main purpose to explain how the author was able to assemble an argumentation so solid that was not questioned in its essence by the Inquisition, who observed and analyzed his work.

By the end of this work, we expect to have been able to demonstrate which traces of Vieira's *Fifth Empire* scheme should be considered continuities relative to the biblical schematization, and which should be pointed as novelties. Besides, it appears important to attempt to underline how Vieira's schematization may have as well transformed what used to be a religious theorization into an instrument of the temporal power, namely of the Portuguese Crown.

---

<sup>56</sup> For an overview of the Persian apocalypticism, *c.f.* Anders Hultgard, "Persian Apocalypticism," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. John J. Collins (New York/London: Continuum, 2000).

Over the years between the beginning of the research and the writing of this dissertation, there were several other options that had to be made, particularly regarding bibliographic choices. First, we have limited ourselves to the use of bibliography published in Portuguese, English, French, Spanish and Italian. We have also used the Latin manuscripts of the *Clavis Prophetarum* for the volumes not yet published, and sometimes referred to parts of the Hebrew biblical text when it was necessary to confirm specific details. Second, we also needed to make some choices regarding the versions of the Bible to use. In Portuguese, we have opted for the recent translation published by the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin, under the aegis of Difusora Bíblica. In English, although we used *Bible Works* software as our main resource, all the citations are in accordance with the Harper Collins Study Edition. For the remaining classical authors we have used the Loeb Classical Library editions, the Penguin Classics and the Sources Chrétiennes, as can be verified in the final bibliography. Regarding the works of António Vieira, we used most of the known published editions of his writings in order to achieve the most complete overview of each text we analyzed.

Whenever using the texts of António Vieira we have decided that the citations of the main corpus should respect the original language of publication. However, to every Portuguese citation was added a footnote containing a “free” translation of the text into English. In the Latin sections of the Book III, which is already published in a bilingual version, the translation of the citations into Portuguese can be found in the footnotes.

Although the above-mentioned choices may be questioned, they were the ones that we thought that would better serve our purpose while providing an easier reading of this work. Nevertheless, and whenever possible we have tried to use the original versions in which books were first published. Moreover, regarding citations methodology we have followed the Chicago 14 Manual of Style.

### 3) *The History of the Research*

The eschatological works of António Vieira still represent today the part of his work that is less known, both to scholars and to the public. In fact, most of the studies devoted to Vieira, and there are hundreds of them, have mainly been undertaken by philologists and theologians. His sermons and letters have been observed with particular attention and much has been said and written about his literary abilities, his use of rhetoric, how he was knowledgeable about the Bible and about the works of Christian exegetes.<sup>57</sup> Historians have also read and analyzed this part of his work to define Vieira's role as a diplomat at the service of the new Portuguese dynasty of Braganza.

Regarding António Vieira's eschatological work, not much has been said, although there are a few scholars who have dealt with this issue. Our special attention goes to the authoritative work of Raymond Cantel, published in 1960 and which was the scholar's doctoral dissertation.<sup>58</sup> In it, R. Cantel analyzed how prophecy and messianism could be found among the writings of Vieira. Notwithstanding the amazing step forward that this book represents, the efforts of R. Cantel were not followed. Most authors only deal with the texts of the *Esperanças de Portugal* and of the *História do Futuro*. The existence of the *Clavis Prophetarum* was considered a myth for centuries and only very recently have scholars begun to analyze it, and once again, philology and literature were the key words of most of the studies.

António Vieira, as discussed, lived a tormented period when he faced a process by the Portuguese Inquisition because of his support of Bandarra's prophecies, and especially, because of how he maintained the resurrection of D. João IV from the dead. This particular period of his life was studied by Hernâni Cidade, who in 1957 published in two volumes Vieira's defense before the Inquisition.<sup>59</sup> Later, in 1995, Adma Muhana undertook a new

---

<sup>57</sup> *cf.* for example the following works: Margarida Vieira Mendes, *A Oratória Barroca De Vieira*, Coleção Universitária (Lisboa: Caminho, 1989), Margarida Vieira Mendes et al., eds., *Vieira Escritor*, 1a. ed., vol. 18, Cosmos Literatura (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1997).

<sup>58</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*.

<sup>59</sup> António Vieira, *Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Oficio*, ed. Hernâni Cidade ([Salvador, Brasil]: Aguiar & Souza, 1957).

analysis of this process, publishing a magnificent volume where more details were added to those already provided by Hernâni Cidade.<sup>60</sup>

A few scholars have also been dedicated to the further analysis of António Vieira's biography. First was André de Barros in the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>61</sup> who was then followed by L. de Azevedo,<sup>62</sup> João Lisboa,<sup>63</sup> Charles Boxer,<sup>64</sup> Ivan Lins,<sup>65</sup> J. van den Besselaar,<sup>66</sup> Hernâni Cidade,<sup>67</sup> and Carlos Consiglieri who published a chronology of Vieira's life.<sup>68</sup> All of these works together offer the historian a good insight of António Vieira's life and even offer some explanations about some of the most problematic periods of his time.

Others have in fact devoted their time to the study of Vieira's "utopias." Without discussing that particular concept here, we are indebted to these works because they open the doors to a more complete analysis of Vieira *opus magnum*: the *Clavis Prophetarum* or *De Regno Christi in Terris Consummato*. They are also the starting point for the discussion regarding Vieira's interpretation of the *Fifth Empire* and of its impact within Christianity, especially because of how the author supported the relationship between Christians and Jews. Among these, we can count the works of Mary Gootas,<sup>69</sup> António José Saraiva,<sup>70</sup> Silvano Peloso,<sup>71</sup> Thomas Cohen,<sup>72</sup> Luis Gómez Palacín,<sup>73</sup> António Lopes,<sup>74</sup> J. van den Besselaar,<sup>75</sup> Maria Jordan,<sup>76</sup> Valmir Muraro,<sup>77</sup> and Stuart Schwartz.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> Adma Muhana, *Os Autos Do Processo De Vieira Na Inquisição*, 1 ed., Coleção Studium (São Paulo: Editora UNESP/Fundação Cultural, Estado da Bahia, 1995).

<sup>61</sup> André de Barros, *Vida Do Apostolico Padre Antonio Vieyra Da Companhia De Jesus* (Lisboa: Nova Officina Sylviana, 1746).

<sup>62</sup> Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*.

<sup>63</sup> João Francisco Lisboa, *Vida Do Padre António Vieira*, vol. 5, Série Clássica Brasileiro-Portuguesa "Os Mestres Da Língua" (São Paulo: Edições cultura, 1942).

<sup>64</sup> Boxer, *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure, Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J., 1608-1697*.

<sup>65</sup> Ivan Monteiro de Barros Lins, *Aspectos Do Padre António Vieira*, 2 ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1962).

<sup>66</sup> J. J. van den Besselaar, *António Vieira: O Homem, a Obra, as Ideias*, 1 ed. (Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa/Ministério da Educação e Ciência, 1981).

<sup>67</sup> Hernâni Cidade, *Padre António Vieira* (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1985).

<sup>68</sup> Carlos Consiglieri, *Cronologia De Uma Vida: Padre António Vieira* (Sintra: Colares Editora, 2001).

<sup>69</sup> Mary C. Gootas, *Bossuet and Vieira: A Study in National, Epochal, and Individual Style* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1953).

<sup>70</sup> António José Saraiva, *História E Utopia; Estudos Sobre Vieira*, 1. ed., Identidade. Série Cultura Portuguesa (Lisboa: Ministério da Educação : Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992), António José Saraiva, *O Discurso Engenhoso: Ensaio Sobre Vieira*, 1. ed. (Lisboa: Gradiva, 1996).

<sup>71</sup> Silvano Peloso, "Ut Libri Prophetici Melius Intelligentur, Omnium Temporum Historia Compectenda Est: O Quinto Império De António Vieira E O Debate Europeu Nos Séculos XVI E XVII," in *Vieira Escritor*, ed. Margarida Vieira Mendes, et al. (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1997).

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Cohen, *The Fire of Tongues: António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

With the publication in 2000 of Book III of the *Clavis Prophetarum* a new path was opened and historians, theologians and philologists are now devoting their time to several of the themes contained in this book. Among the works resulting from this publication we underline those of Arnaldo do Espírito Santo,<sup>79</sup> Silvano Peloso (whose theory that supports that the *História do Futuro* and the *Clavis Prophetarum*, are one and the same work, is strongly disputed as we will observe later),<sup>80</sup> as well as the articles published by José E. Franco.<sup>81</sup>

At the same time, it is necessary to underline that several editions of António Vieira's works have been published and contain fundamental annotations that help the reader making the necessary connections between the speech and history, bible quotations, ancient authors, citations, etc. Among these, we note the several volumes of chosen works by Hernâni Cidade, the edition of the *Livro Antepimeiro* of the *História do Futuro* by J. van den Besselaar, the edition of the *História do Futuro* by L. de Azevedo as well as the sold out edition of this work by Maria Leonor Buescu.<sup>82</sup> There is also to account an edition in Italian of the *História do Futuro* published in 2002.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Luis Gómez Palacín, *Vieira: Entre O Reino Imperfeito E O Reino Consumado* (São Paulo, SP: Edições Loyola, 1998).

<sup>74</sup> António Lopes, *Vieira O Encoberto: 74 Anos De Evolução Da Sua Utopia*, 1 ed. (Cascais: Principia, 1999).

<sup>75</sup> J. J. van den Besselaar, *António Vieira, Profecia E Polémica* (Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002).

<sup>76</sup> Maria V. Jordan, "The Empire of the Future and the Chosen People: Father Antonio Vieira and the Prophetic Tradition in the Hispanic World," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 40, no. 1 (2003).

<sup>77</sup> Valmir Francisco Muraro, *Padre António Vieira: Retórica E Utopia* (Florianópolis: Insular, 2003).

<sup>78</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Contexts of Vieira's Toleration of Jews and New Christians," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 40, no. 1 (2003).

<sup>79</sup> Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, "Apresentação Da *Clavis Prophetarum*: Transmissão Manuscrita, Estrutura E Aspectos Do Pensamento Do Padre António Vieira," *Oceanos* 30-31 (1997), Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, "A Estética Barroca Do Latim Da *Clavis Prophetarum* Do P. António Vieira," *Ágora: Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 1 (1999), Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, "Censuras Da *Clavis Prophetarum* Do Padre António Vieira," in *Sub Luce Florentis Calami: Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz Y Díaz*, ed. Manuela Domínguez García (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2002).

<sup>80</sup> Silvano Peloso, *Antonio Vieira E L'impero Universale: La Clavis Prophetarum E I Documenti Inquisitoriali*, 1. ed., Nuovo Mondo; 4 (Viterbo: Sette città, 2005).

<sup>81</sup> José Eduardo Franco, "Uma Utopia Católica Sob Suspeita: Censura Romana À *Clavis Prophetarum* Do Padre António Vieira, S.J.," *Lusitania Sacra* 2ª série, no. 18 (2006), José Eduardo Franco, "A Palavra Enquanto Utopia: O Quinto Império E a Configuração Mítica Da Identidade Portuguesa Em Vieira," in *IV Centenario Della Nascita di Antonio Vieira* (Roma: (forthcoming)).

<sup>82</sup> António Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, ed. Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, 2 ed., Biblioteca De Autores Portugueses ([Lisbon]: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1992).

<sup>83</sup> ———, *Per La Storia Del Futuro*, ed. Davide Bigalli and Paolo Rossi (Aosta: Éditions L'Eubage, 2002).

Concerning the *Clavis Prophetarum* there is only one critical edition, containing the text in Latin and a translation into Portuguese.<sup>84</sup> It represents a tremendous advance for our knowledge of Vieira, because it allows us to confirm what scholars had before said about this mythical work. Moreover, it really allows shedding a new light into Vieira's conception of the *Fifth Empire*. We are truly indebted to the team that brought back this manuscript to the light of the day from the darkness of the archives.

As previously mentioned, few works that have dealt with António Vieira's conceptions of the *Fifth Empire* or with his eschatological work in more general terms, have added much more to the work of Raymond Cantel, which is still a key reference, almost fifty years after being published. We definitely do not want to reduce the meaning, content and value of other works, but in fact, they have not contextualized António Vieira's eschatological conceptualizations in the light of history and theology, or said in another way, they have not presented a full overview of how Vieira connected his faith with his nationalistic prophecies.

António Vieira was a very complex character who still amazes the reader of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially when a religious conceptualization is used to promote the individual desires of world dominion of a small nation. Many questions have yet to be raised regarding the relationship of the Vieira with the Inquisition, with the Papacy, and with the Sephardic communities in Europe and in Brazil. This is particularly evident abroad, where scholars are not aware of Vieira's works in this field. Therefore, it appears necessary in the years to come to offer more in-depth studies of his work and to publish more often in other languages than Portuguese.

---

<sup>84</sup> Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum* = *Chave Dos Profetas*.

***Part 1 - The Biblical Sources***

## ***The Main Biblical Themes***

### *1) The Four Empires*

The conceptualization of a world history divided into four kingdoms or empires that would anticipate the establishment of the divine kingship on earth is a motif fully described for the first time in the Book of Daniel, in chapters 2 and 7. However, one cannot say that it was the first time that we observe an attempt of historical periodization, because we are dealing with what appears to be a very ancient motif, that some scholars track as far as to Zoroastrism.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, this specific description, the one of *Daniel*, influenced the development of a later Christian philosophy of history and it is in that perspective that we need to analyze it. Also, this concept as it was introduced in the Bible was one of the most important factors for the development of specific lines of understanding historical time since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE within the Jewish-Christian traditions.

#### *a) Daniel*

In the Book of Daniel (c. 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE), we have two different accounts of historical periodization based in the scheme of four succeeding empires. The first is found in chapter 2, in the description of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, while the second is reported in chapters 7-8 when the four beasts are described, and in particular when the two last periods of the four-age schema are depicted using the figures of the ram and of the he-goat. Although in a certain way this second description (chapter 8) is limited to the last two periods of time, it is also much more detailed than the two previous accounts. In fact, although the two visions' content concerns the same subject, the second vision offers more insight regarding the events predicted to happen during the two last empires.

---

<sup>1</sup>The subject is fully discussed in the following article: Hultgard, "Persian Apocalypticism."

The Book of Daniel is normally divided in two main parts: one containing tales and the other apocalyptic visions. This will obviously influence how the author tells his story. In the first case, chapters 1-6, it is commonly accepted that some older traditional folk tales were gathered together to accentuate the timeframe of the Exile for the composition of the book and to establish the authority of the main character as a man of wisdom. In the second case, chapters 7-12, we have an apocalyptic text where the author makes use of a prophecy *ex eventu* to explain the disturbing events occurring during the reign of Antiochus IV in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE in an attempt to provide some sort of hope in the future for his community.<sup>2</sup>

The first account of the theory of the four empires appears, as we have already said, in chapter 2. Like similar Ancient Near Eastern texts, the main action takes place around the divination and interpretation of a dream as requested by the king and the impossibility of an answer by the court sages. Nonetheless, this section, chapter 2, is considered by other scholars as the introductory chapter to the visions of the apocalyptic section. For example, Hartman writes regarding this issue that: “(...) *once independent stories that the compiler of the Book of Daniel prefixed to his apocalyptic visions is made up of a theme within a theme.*”<sup>3</sup> This pattern of the four-kingdoms is one that can be understood as if representing the structure of the entire book, which consequently grants it special importance. Given the fact that this section of the book can be understood as an introduction to the apocalyptic section, it is also interesting to observe how Daniel here behaves like a chosen one. A character to whom dream interpretation is granted by the deity in a way that contributes to establish his authority as a sage (a wisdom man), as a main character, establishing at the same time the superiority of the god of Israel. This represents a different Daniel from the one that we will meet in the second part of the book, as we will observe later.

The text of Dan 2 can be divided in different ways, but the simple division presented by M. Délcor is quite useful because it is based on content.<sup>4</sup> This scholar divided the text into three smaller units. In the first, Dan 2:1-13, Nebuchadnezzar orders his sages to divine and interpret the dream he had had. However, since they are not able to fulfill his wishes he sentences them to death. In the second, Dan 2:14-45, the author describes how

<sup>2</sup> Another section of the book of Daniel only included in the Catholic canon are the stories of Bel and the Dragon, and of Susanna, that comprehend chapters 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Francis Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 1 ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), 142.

<sup>4</sup> M. Délcor, *Le Livre De Daniel*, Sources Bibliques (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1971), 70.

Daniel intervened and was able to explain the dream to the king. In the third, Dan 2:46-49, we observe the king admitting the superiority of Daniel's God and rewarding him for his services.

It is during the second part of this tale that the scheme of the four-kingdoms is introduced. In accordance with the revelation Daniel received in a night vision following the previous prayers to the god of Israel, he told the king that he had seen an enormous statue that looked frightening. This statue was composed of different materials: the head was gold, the chest and arms were silver, the middle and thighs were bronze, the legs were iron, and the feet a mix of clay and iron. The king then saw how a stone had destroyed the entire statue, hitting first the feet. After it, the same stone became a great mountain and filled the entire world. Following this complete description of the dream, Daniel explains then the meaning to the king. He first underlines that Nebuchadnezzar was king because he was chosen by Yahweh (Dan 2:37). He explains after that that the different materials represented successive empires, the golden one, the Babylonian, being the first. At the same time, he explains how Babylon and Nebuchadnezzar's successors were condemned to be defeated and their supremacy destroyed. Empires were predetermined to destruction until the appearance of the "feet," a mix of clay and iron that represented the weakness of this last kingdom. However, from this last and weak kingdom, a stronger one would be raised in the future. This last kingdom was predicted to last forever and to be indestructible by the wish of god, the same god who had given the dream to Nebuchadnezzar. In fact, in this section we can read a hymn of praise to the god of Israel pronounced by Nebuchadnezzar, which illustrates the importance of this tale concerning the appearance of a superior Israelite deity in the larger context of the Ancient Near Eastern deities. Another issue that should be taken in account here regards the quality of materials used to describe the several empires. The author had clearly in mind a description based in a deterioration of the quality of the empires, even though he stressed the specific qualities of the latest one, the one that is normally associated with Alexander. This reference to Alexander can be understood in light of the type of relationship that existed between his empire and the Jewish people. Therefore, an interpretation based on a hypothesis that the materials would become gradually of worse quality, became one of the main sources of the theory according to

which the world was aging and destined to death, i.e., to disappear and, later, to be replaced by something of better quality: in this particular case, by the eschatological kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

Although Nebuchadnezzar's dream and/or its interpretation are not an apocalypse *per se*, it is true that it seems similar to the apocalyptic visions that we have later in the book and that introduce a similar periodization of history.<sup>6</sup> Despite the fact that in chapter 2 the emphasis was on Daniel's ability to discover and interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream, the content of the dream and its interpretation is far more illustrative of the author's concept of history for the historian.

The succession of empires forecasted in this dream can also be interpreted in the light of historical events.<sup>7</sup> It is common to see in this description the succession of empires in the ancient Near Eastern, down to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. According to this theory, the golden head would then represent Babylon, the silver arms and chest, Media, the bronze middle and thighs, Persia, and the iron legs, Greece.<sup>8</sup> Although scholars take the mixture of clay and iron portrayed in the statue's feet to refer to the division of Alexander's empire after his death, most scholars agree, in fact, that the iron mixed with clay refers to marriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Moreover, from the point of view of Jewish resistance during the reign of Antiochus IV the stone was probably understood by the text's editor as the eschatological Jewish kingdom still to come. This schema was later reinterpreted. From the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE onwards, the interpretation emphasis was put on Rome instead of Greece. In accordance with this subsequent interpretation, the sequence of empires would be Assyria, Media and Persia (understood as part of the same unity), Greece and, finally, Rome as the last empire. However, this question is of no importance for the interpretation of Daniel, although it will become an important feature of later interpretations of Daniel as we will analyze in Part 2 of this study.

The text of Dan 2 does not specify the names of the empires, which may be used as an argument to explain why this theory of the four-kingdom scheme is so widely applied in

---

<sup>5</sup> Although this is the common opinion about the use of the different materials, authors like Goldingay still affirm that there is no "implication of deterioration" (cf. John Goldingay, *Daniel* (Dallas, TX: Word Pub., 1989), 49.).

<sup>6</sup> Collins, *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, 50.

<sup>7</sup> Harold Henry Rowley, *Darius, the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1959), 161-73.

<sup>8</sup> Although Josephus points to Rome as the last empire, the chronology of the book does not permit us to reach such conclusion.

the future when many reinterpretations appear. In fact, it looks more plausible that the sequence of empires represented in Daniel would have been one of Iranian origin well-known in the Near East and, that obviously, did not contain references to Rome or Greece.<sup>9</sup>

The author of this text was only interested in history whenever it fulfilled his own interests. In a word, history was only important to accentuate the importance of the Jewish people and its religion, other than that the events reported could be mere fiction. Therefore, the different empires were depicted in accordance with their relationship with Israel, and that may explain the correlation with the different metals and their inherent quality. In reality, the review of world history provided suggests to the reader a vision of a declining world about to reach its end (the eschatological end that should be at hand, according to the author).

Daniel 7 marks the beginning of the apocalyptic section of the Book of Daniel and occupies what J. Collins calls a “*pivotal place*” because it links the two parts of the book.<sup>10</sup> Here, Daniel, the main character, assumes the characteristics of an apocalyptic seer who receives visions that have to be interpreted later by an otherworldly being, in contrast to the first section of the book where Daniel was able to interpret visions by himself. Although one could immediately think about a rupture between one section and the other that does not necessarily happen, since the subject of the god of Israel’s sovereignty over the entire world is still present as it is part of the predetermined character of history. However, we also need account for the fact that this text was most probably created much later than the previous section, which gives it specific characteristics. Therefore, we should consider the historical background of the reign of Antiochus IV and of the Maccabean revolt as its chronological origin as it is commonly accepted by today’s scholars that this section of the Book of Daniel was written between 167 BCE and 164 BCE, in order to understand the events reported.

We find once more in this chapter a dream vision concerning the four-kingdoms, though this time represented by four beasts that came out from the sea.<sup>11</sup> However, this new

---

<sup>9</sup> cf. John J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 280-94.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>11</sup> The motif of the sea monsters is common in the Ancient Near East as threat to the instituted power. Probably the most well-known texts outside the Bible are the Ugarit myths where Yamm (the sea) tries to

section of the book contains explicit mention of some current historical events and therefore, the context of the two texts is different. From this moment on, as Daniel becomes the seer instead of the interpreter, there is a noticeable shift from the human interpreter to the supernatural interpreter. This transfer can then be understood as providing “(...) a deeper sense of mysteriousness in the later vision,” as J. Collins refers to it.<sup>12</sup> In addition, it could, in a more simplistic way be understood as if Daniel had taken the role of Nebuchadnezzar to whom someone had to interpret his dreams before he could understand them.<sup>13</sup> From this point onward in the narrative, Daniel needs to use the “interpretative services” of a chosen one like the Daniel of chapter 2. He no is longer able to interpret himself the visions received.

The four animals that come out of the sea in chapter 7 are commonly interpreted as the four winds of Gen 1:2, which is a representation of the universal cosmos. However, they also represent chaos, more precisely the watery chaos of ancient tradition.<sup>14</sup> This motif is also found in the creation myth, the *Enuma Elish*, where it represents chaos. Generally, an allusion to sea in Antiquity is often a reference to chaos, more precisely, to destruction over harmony and creation. The waters in these traditions symbolize turbulence and sea monsters. In fact, the text of Daniel 7 begins to mention the four winds coming out of the sea, and only later introduces the four beasts. These beasts are also drew on Ancient Near Eastern imagery (literature and art) of hybrid creatures. Nonetheless, in this passage they do represent the chaos predetermined to exist until a stage of total destruction was achieved, and that was not possible to be contained by human will. Each one of these beasts was stronger than the first, until they also reached a climax of destruction power that only God could bring to an end. From this perspective, history is predetermined by the deity, and in this specific case, history appears as if predetermined to total eradication. Moreover, since this motif is common in the Ancient Near Eastern texts, it too permits a more close understanding by its readers who were familiar with this type of mythology.

---

defeat Baal. In the biblical texts, we have some referencal to Leviathan who is defeated continuously by Yahweh.

<sup>12</sup> John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2 ed., The Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 99.

<sup>13</sup> Reinhard Kratz, "The Visions of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John Joseph Collins and Peter W. Flint (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001), 97.

<sup>14</sup> Another creation text where the four winds represent the entire universe is *Enuma Elish*, by defining the four cardinal points.

These two interpretations of the sea beasts and the global significance of the winds in Genesis that can be read as an illustration of the global Cosmos, and the destructive chaos forces supposed to anticipate destruction of the *status quo* and the creation of a time of harmony, are combined to describe one single universal reality. If we take them as equivalent to the four empires that should follow from Babylon to Greece, then it is possible to identify the four empires in historical and geographical terms. This would result in the empires being: 1) Babylon as south; 2) Media as north; 3) Persia as east; and 4) Greece as west. This allows a reading of the allegory in terms that may signify the universal Cosmos from its beginning to its end, and then again a new beginning: nothing is left behind, because the entire world is represented. However, we need to remember that the use of the monsters in ancient mythology was a widespread motif, which in this case is thought to have helped the spreading of this chapter's message.

The textual structure of this chapter is quite simple. First, the reader is confronted by the vision itself, to in an immediate moment see how Daniel receives an interpretation of it through the intervention of an angelical being.<sup>15</sup> The description is found in vv. 1-14, while the interpretation goes on from that moment up to the end of the chapter. Another difference relative to chapter 2 is that now, it is Daniel himself who receives a dream vision, as previously noted. He is no longer the interpreter, but the chosen to receive the divine vision and because of that, he will be entitled to also receive interpretative help from an angelic being. This feature grants Daniel an even more special place in the hierarchy.

Daniel commences by watching “*the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea*” (Dan 7:2), from where the four beasts would then come (Dan 7:3).<sup>16</sup> The four animals described are different and the destructive features increase from one animal to the next. The first is portrayed as a “*lion with eagles' wings*” (Dan 7:4), and we see that the wings will be plucked out almost immediately, that it will stand like if it were a human figure on its feet. There was then given to this lion a human mind, which transforms the beast into an almost human being. This represents already a step forward in an attempt to describe this

---

<sup>15</sup> Délcor, *Le Livre De Daniel*, 142-3.

<sup>16</sup> Some authors identify these animals combining the reading of Dan 4 with Hos 13:7-8 (so Kratz, *op. cit.*).

animal as if it represented a complete cosmos.<sup>17</sup> The second beast, is described as being like a bear and is commanded to devour many bodies (Dan 7:5). The third was something like a leopard but with bird wings. Dominion over the world was also given to it in Dan 7:6. However, the last animal was the most frightening and, in fact, the author does not offer a full comparison with any other known animal. It is described as “(...) *terrifying and dreadful and exceedingly strong. It had great iron teeth and was devouring, breaking in pieces, and stamping what was left with its feet*” in Dan 7:7, which explains why so many authors have tried to identify this beast with any specific imagery known from the presupposed time of writing. Additionally, we see that it was the most destructive of all. From this, we can infer that the writer possibly had in mind the figure of the war elephants used in that period. At the same time, this is the only animal that is going to be completely destroyed by the deity during the judgment scene of Dan 7:11. This last animal is also the one described as having initially ten horns, which would later be destroyed and replaced by the little horn (Dan 7:7-8).

These animals are identified with kings that would arise from earth later in the dream interpretation in v. 17. Since the description of their path leads the reader to an environment of total, though gradual, destruction, it is possible to understand this “path” as a way to reach the end of this world and the beginning of the establishment of a new one where only the ones inscribed in the Book would be admitted. Therefore, the four-empire scheme may be read as representing four different historical periods, none of them representing Israelite power. This interpretation of the succession of empires has, more than once, been used to explain how the Israelites were fated to live under foreign dominion and religion. This description of the empires, or history, could be thus described in terms of the course of events that would finally lead to the divine kingship on earth and in which the author and his readers expected to be rewarded. Probably, one of the most important factors at this point is that this text’s author is underlining the fact that “(...) *these empires do not operate through their own strength but rather through God’s dispensation.*”<sup>18</sup> Once more, the idea of a history predetermined by Yahweh is strongly emphasized as essential for the

---

<sup>17</sup> The association of an earthly animal with the characteristics of a bird, allows to think that the author was recurring to an image that would get earth and heaven/sky together in order to demonstrate the completeness of the metaphor.

<sup>18</sup> Kratz, "The Visions of Daniel," 96.

understanding of the reasons behind current events. Accordingly, Yahweh gives then the power to foreign nations and that same power will only be taken away from those foreign nations during the eschatological judgment scene. During the period of the four kingdoms, the power on earth seems to be universal: each one of these animals during their own time reigns over the entire world. This feature can also be understood as a way to highlight the universalism of Yahweh's last reign, the one that would rise after the *eschaton*. In addition, it can be said that this chapter accentuates the eschatological crisis behind the writing of this book.

Summing up, the motifs in chapter 7 are comparable to the ones described during chapter 2, especially as concerning the progress of the historical time. In the first account, history was described as a human statue divided into body parts which were composed of different materials, that were destined to succeed each other while destroying the preceding part until complete destruction of the statue was achieved; in this second report, time is compared to a succession of four empires. In fact, the two stories describe the same division of time into four smaller units and a last one of eschatological origin. Also, some authors recall that the statue's toes of chapter 2 can be taken as a parallel to the tenth horn of chapter 7. The two images are destined to be destroyed and replaced at a later moment, in the first case by a stone, while in the second, it would be by a smaller horn. These two entities, the stone and the horn, would then be the last to reign before the establishment of the divine kingship of god on earth, and at the same time would surpass in power all the previous rulers. At the same time, the last beast or, the last period of time, can be understood as representing the climax of the opposition against the chosen people.

Daniel is described in chapter 8 as having received a new vision two years after the one described in chapter 7. However, this new record is not entirely different or disconnected from the first because, in a certain way, it is possible to understand it as an extension of the subject previously approached. Nevertheless, it is important to stress immediately that the two visions have two different short stories: the latter concerns only the last times before the end, from the rising of the horns until total destruction is achieved. What is possible to verify in this account is that there is a clear description of time progression, possible to observe in the detailed way by which events are depicted. Since it only refers to the last two kingdoms, this new vision is much more precise and exhaustive.

However, some authors do stress that chapter 8 “(...) *was thought of as a supplement and was conceived according to the pattern of chapter 7,*” as if it was a later appendix.<sup>19</sup> Although, this could explain some specific details mentioned in the text, it is not fundamental for the understanding of how the author thought the last times to be.

The chapter thus begins with a description of what we suppose to be another dream vision (there is no explicit reference, but in accordance with the previous vision this is the most logical explanation for the type of vision received by the seer). A ram and a he-goat represent a confrontation between the Medo-Persian Empire and Alexander’s Empire, the new rising power.<sup>20</sup> When the goat wins, it is described in a way that already anticipates its growing power, making what is accepted to be a clear reference to Alexander. Once more, the imagery of the horns is important. In this chapter, the reader sees how the he-goat’s big horn was broken and replaced by four smaller horns, each one pointing to one cardinal point (Dan 8:8).<sup>21</sup> In addition, it appears as if the author’s interest is to demonstrate how this power would become universal. The appearance of these horns is a clear mention of the division of Alexander’s empire between the Diadochi and the problems that this political system brought to this geographical area. In addition, it underlines at the same time the deeper divisions caused later by the intermarriage politics followed by Seleucids and Ptolomies. Returning to the text, we observe the author saying that one of these horns grew up in the direction of south and orient and that it easily touched the heavenly army and fought against its leader (Dan 8:11). Then, the author narrates how the perpetual sacrifices would be suspended and the temple destroyed. However, a few verses later, it is said that this last horn would have a limited lifetime and “*he shall be broken, and not by human hands*” (Dan 8:25). Once more, it appears as though the author is thinking according to a cyclic time pattern of history, although he surely presents it as linear progress, especially whenever it concerns the events of Antiochus’ reign.

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>20</sup> Although this is the main opinion presently, we need to recall that in terms of astrological geography, the ram and the goat represent Media and Persia, and not Alexander’s empire. Nevertheless, this change of animals as to be understood as a feature to make clearer some historical details, especially in what it concerns the fourth beast of the chapter 7 that was not identified. This chapter uses the horns to identify the empires instead of the animals as it happened in chapter 7.

<sup>21</sup> Authors as R. Kratz (*op. cit.*), point that the introduction of this type of details about the horns should be considered as later additions to the text.

Scholars agree that this vision reports the gradual increase of power by Antiochus IV, underlining especially the period when the Temple of Jerusalem was defiled and the *abomination of the desolation*<sup>22</sup> set inside. At the same time, the text is clear concerning the existence of a timeframe previously set for these events to take place, and that after them everything would go back to “normal.” This is the big innovation of this chapter: the introduction of an attempt to date in chronological terms the duration of the events. In Dan 8:14 we read that these events will last for “*two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings,*” which is normally understood as if it were a thousand and a hundred and fifty days. Later, during the interpretation of the vision, Gabriel reaffirms that “*(...) the vision of the evenings and the mornings that has been told is true. As for you, seal up the vision, for it refers to many days from now*” (Dan 8:26).<sup>23</sup>

According to the vision and its subsequent interpretation by the archangel Gabriel, all the events had been previously predicted by Yahweh. At the same time, there was also a combat taking place in the heavens that the archangel mentions to explain his delay in coming to clarify Daniel’s vision. With this in mind, one can easily think that the author conceived of the coexistence of two parallel worlds, both undergoing disturbed times, but that all those events would already have a final date previously defined. Once more, the emphasis is put on the fact that Yahweh decided that for a predetermined period of time the Israelites would have to live under foreign dominion and, only after that, a new cosmos gathering together earth and heaven would be established under divine kingship. To accentuate this predetermined character of history, the author also uses the feature of fixing a specific date for the end. Everything is so well planned that even the date for the end had been previously established by the deity! Also, this vision is a clear transposition of historical events from the Maccabean period and we can read in it a certain critique against the armed groups of those days, especially because the end of history was preset and they only needed to endure and wait for the judgment that would precede the divine kingdom on earth. For that reason, responding to violence with violence did not seem reasonable or needed; what they needed was faith.

---

<sup>22</sup> The abomination of the desolation is interpreted in different ways. Some authors suggest that Antiochus may have placed a pagan altar inside the Temple, while others mention a statue of Zeus, though the best fit is probably an altar to Baal.

<sup>23</sup> For a full description of some of the most important symbolisms used in Jewish literature cf. Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*.

Therefore, if chapter 7 described the entire history from Babylon until the end, now chapter 8 only describes the last times and the fight between the two last kingdoms. In his description, the author clearly mentions historical details that determined the action during the 150 years that followed Alexander's death until the rise of Antiochus IV. In addition, this chapter is important because it establishes a date for the events of the end to take place and this is the first time that something like that happens, even if the following chapters will have different figures for this same chronology. Another aspect to remember is that Daniel, even after Gabriel's explanation of the vision, is not yet able to fully understand it, which is understandable due to some cryptic allusions. One thing to perceive is the change of subject from God's sovereignty to every piece of detail concerning the events that would precede the end. Somehow, this helps the reader to understand that the end is really at hand, and it makes one feel that he is, in a sense, already living it.

Probably one of the most important features of this book is the fact that his author made the first real attempt to date the time of the end, as already mentioned. In fact, while reading the end of chapter 12, the reader is informed that the events described to anticipate the end would last 1290 days (Dan 12:11) or 1335 days (Dan 12.12). As said in the text, this is the period "*From the time that the regular burnt offering is taken away and the abomination that desolates is set up*" (Dan 12:11). Therefore, the intention of this writer is clear. By setting the limits of this distressing period, he is, at the same time, explaining that the end of it has already been defined in chronological terms by God. At the same time, Daniel's author is also "opening the doors" to a possible future resurrection when he writes that "*Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt*" (Dan 12:2).<sup>24</sup> The latter passage gave rise to different interpretations by the following interpreters. Some ancient authors like Porphyry and Jerome still regarded it as a metaphor intended to describe some sort of military reaction as happened during the Maccabean revolt. Most scholars today regard it differently. In fact, it is commonly accepted that in this passage "*(...) Daniel is referring to*

---

<sup>24</sup> Before Daniel, the common view of death in Israel was that dead would live a shadowy life in Sheol, a place known for example for not allowing even to pray to God. The only known exceptions of people who had not been sent to Sheol after dying were Enoch and Elijah, who had exceptionally been taken to God. In fact, not even the description of the valley of dry bones in Ezek 37, or the sense of restoration expressed in Hos 6:2, are taken as if implicitly describing a possible afterlife. Therefore, Daniel's text marks an important change in attitude and perspective regarding death, though he was not the first to mention the existence of a Judgment of the dead. That is found mainly in 1 Enoch 22.

*the actual resurrection of individuals from the dead, because of the explicit language of everlasting life.*"<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, we may say that the author of Daniel envisages two different temporal stages: one in this world and the other in the world to come characterized by eternity. In fact, it is at this precise point that this author introduces the concept of an afterlife reward. What may be discussed, is whether this resurrection was to be bodily, especially because there is no explicit reference to the character of such resurrection in Daniel.<sup>26</sup> Daniel's author envisages resurrection to be partial, i.e., reserved only for some, which transforms "resurrection" into a process of election. In this particular case, it is reserved for the faithful and for the wise (the *maskîlîm*) as a reward for their deeds and endurance during such a disturbed period. At the same time, those not favored by it will awake "*to shame and everlasting contempt*" (Dan 12.2). It is therefore, a clear sign that this reward of an afterlife was reserved for those who have kept steadfast and faithful during the distressful events reported in the book. That is, for those who had not succumbed to the foreign religious practices and to their leaders.

The historical events depicted in this book, especially those concerning the persecutions led by Antiochus, explain why the concept of an afterlife reward became so important. In fact, since many were being killed while not showing any resistance to the persecution, it is easy to comprehend how the image of a martyr grew so fast and so widely. These martyrs had died for their beliefs and did not follow Antiochus and those of the Jews who followed him. Although, the concept of resurrection soon spread, it is necessary to underline that the question regarding bodily resurrection was always a controversial.<sup>27</sup>

By using the concept of resurrection, Daniel's author explicitly defines two types of time, i.e., one within history and another set in the afterlife. The two references to the amount of time between the present days and the end of that same time at the end of the chapter are a clear sign of his intentions. By doing that, he was at the same time, reassuring his readers how God had decided things to be and that, although they were going under a

---

<sup>25</sup>Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, 392.

<sup>26</sup> So did George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

<sup>27</sup> Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, 398.

very difficult period, they would by the end of those 1290 or 1335 days (Dan 12) meet the end of days and the Final Judgment, and be rewarded.

The numbers described in Dan 12:11-12 have to be read in the light of the Dan 12:7, where we have the reference to “a time, two times and half a time.” The latter expression is normally understood as representing the duration of the persecution. Moreover, this expression is also, according to most scholars, a description of the two most important daily sacrifices at the Temple. Therefore, it is customary to understand it as 2300 evenings and mornings, what would come to 1150 days.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the two figures found in Dan 12:11-12, correspond to the duration of the historical period in which the author lives. For that reason, both 1290 and 1335 days should be understood as the time that would pass from the moment when the perpetual sacrifices were abolished and the end of that age. However, authors such as Délcor and Gunkel, remind that the introduction of precise numbers after the reference in Dan 12:7 may lead us to interpret this amount of time as an extension to those previous 1150 days.<sup>29</sup>

It is impossible to know how these two figures of Dan 12:11-12 were calculated. However, most scholars agree that the second figure, the 1335 days, is part of a later addition made in an attempt to update a prophecy that had not yet been fulfilled. Nonetheless, it is important to note that even if the data regarding the prophecy was updated, the authoritative character of the book remained untouched. The important thing is that Daniel’s author defined the timeframe between his present and the awaited eschatological kingdom. Therefore, it appears possible to stress once more the linear historical progress that served as this author’s basis for setting a schedule for the events to take place. According to him, history was predetermined by God and was moving towards the eschatological end. When that end was achieved, those who had remained faithful would rise and share the divine kingdom. By reaching the end of the predicted time, they would also be reaching the end of the fourth kingdom and be ready to enter into the eschatological one. The sequence of waiting would then be completed and, as Collins

---

<sup>28</sup> Délcor, *Le Livre De Daniel*, 257.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 258-9.

underlines “*The final outcome is assured and not jeopardized even by the death of the righteous, because it will be preceded by a resurrection.*”<sup>30</sup>

b) *Hesiod’s influence in Daniel*

The first well-known division of history into different ages and the one that most probably influenced the writer of *Daniel* is the one described by Hesiod in his book *Works and Days*.<sup>31</sup> Although most of the details of the poet’s life are still under discussion, it is common to date him around 700 BCE, which grants him about five hundreds years of precedence in relation to Daniel. In this work, the poet divides history into five ages, or better, into five *races of men*. This description of the five races is based in an irreversible evolution of the races.<sup>32</sup> We find this description between verses 106 and 201 of *Works and Days*. Although the poem’s main themes concern the importance of work and justice, which are verified in the exhortation to Perses, there is almost no reference to such a subject beyond the first race of men. During that period, the *golden race*, there is no need to work for a living, while for all other races, work and justice seem to be intertwined. Hesiod, according to most scholars, is also using ancient motifs for the construction of this poem, mainly from the Near Eastern tradition, which may give us a clue on how widespread this motif was in the Ancient Near East. However, his conceptualization about this theme is important for the understanding of the development of the theories that divided history into periods, especially because of the main vocabulary used to describe each particular period.

Hesiod uses the ancient idea that men and gods had a common origin and that they used to live in a state of blessing, which he takes as the starting point for his periodization of history. At the same time, he introduces a description based in the principle that the

---

<sup>30</sup> Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, 403.

<sup>31</sup> Hesiod, *Hesiod*, ed. Glenn W. Most, 2 vols., vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

<sup>32</sup> Marie-Christine Leclerc, "Facettes Du Temps Dans Les "Travaux Et Les Jours" D'hésiode," *Révue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, no. 1/2 (1994): 158.

world was aging, as if the entity “ages” by itself represented a “living organism.”<sup>33</sup> The first period, or his *golden race*, is described as a time when the immortals became mortals, but they continue living as gods that did not age and that did not need to work, because they were free of all misery (111-113). They then became “*guardians of mortal men*” (123) with the ability to bless the human race. Later, the gods who lived in Olympus created the *silver race* (128), a race of much worse quality that had to be nursed by their mothers for three hundred years before reaching the status of adult. Then their lifetime would be short and much tormented because they refused to worship the gods and work. Therefore, they were destroyed by Zeus as if they were being punished (130-140), and they were transformed into “*underground spirits*” (141). Nevertheless, they still kept some honor and continue to be second in rank. Later, Zeus created another race of mortal men, the *bronze race* which was “*(...) completely unlike the silver*” (144). This race created from ashes was terrible, but powerful. They devoted themselves to making war since they were powerful beings with invincible arms. However, they later became the inhabitants of hades, i.e., they had to trade the earthly sun for the underworld’s darkness. After this, Zeus created yet another race, which would be identifiable by its justice. It is the *age of heroes*, characterized by what Hesiod describes as demigods (159). It is necessary to note that the insertion of this race of heroes, that does not have a metal for parallel, marks the introduction by the poet of a new perspective concerning the races. In fact, and as Vernant reminds us, “*(...) elle interrompt le mouvement de decadence continu, symbolize par une échelle métallique à valeur régulièrement décroissant: le mythe precise, en effet, que la race des héros est supérieure à celle de bronze, qui l’a précédée.* »<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, this race of demigods was later also destroyed, but this time by war and not by Zeus. This, obviously, can be considered as an anomaly in terms of the structure of the myth, especially when there is no association with a metal and the heroes are considered superior to the previous race. Hesiod identifies this period with the one of the siege of Troy and the fight for Helen that would have sent many men to search for refuge in the islands, isles that he describes as places of blessing. This marks a different tone since until this moment the poet did not

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.: 159.

<sup>34</sup> Jean Pierre Vernant, *Mythe Et Pensée Chez Les Grecs: Études De Psychologie Historique*, Nouv. éd. rev. et augm. ed. (Paris: La Découverte, 1985), 20.

This author also comments on how this description of this age can be considered as an anomaly and appears to be a foreign element introduced to the original myth.

mention any sort of historical data that allowed any attempt of chronology to be set. It is important to note that when describing this age, Hesiod puts the emphasis in the afterlife, i.e., in the fate of the generations that will follow.<sup>35</sup> Then, Hesiod expresses his sorrow for not living in that age instead of the present one, the *age of iron* (174-175). This last age is described as a period of incessant work and woe, lack of freedom from anguish, but where it is still possible to find some goodness within evil (179). This age is also destined to be destroyed by Zeus and men to live in eternal quarrel and dishonor. Since some evildoers would be rewarded, the author expresses the need for justice and shame. After the return of Shame and Nemesis to Olympus, men would be left with “(...) *anguishing pain, but no defense against evil*” (201).

This description of the five races of men let us think that Hesiod had in mind an idea of degeneration of the races, and consequently, of the world. However, the insertion of the *race of heroes* does not seem to fit this scheme, as above noticed. In fact, it looks like after three periods of degeneration, some new hope regarding an eventual return to the initial phase of harmony with the gods was inserted, although this time, there was a relationship between gods and humankind, and not merely between gods. However, this is also an ephemeral period destined to replacement by a period of evil that we do not observe being replaced or destroyed by Zeus. Could one ask if Hesiod had no hope for the future? It appears possible, but what really matters is the fact that the poet offers the reader a conceptualization of the world based in five distinct periods of time, which started in a moment of almost no distinction between men and gods and ended up in what appears to be the opposite to that initial ideal of wellbeing and harmony. Nevertheless, and attending to the Greek interpretation of the myth of the eternal return, one must be aware that there is an implicit return to the creation moment, even if in the words of the poet, it is not clear when it should happen. The important thing to remember is how Hesiod describes a humanity that was degenerating since the moment of its creation and how he compares each period with a precious metal apart from the *race of heroes*' time.

This scheme based in the use of metals to describe temporal evolution appears, therefore, a constant within this theme of ages of the world and can be tracked as early as

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 21. Vernant reminds that the people included in the first metallic races would be like gods after dead, while the heroes would always be heroes and not faded to hades. The ones from the Bronze Age were destined to hades.

the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, although Hesiod is said to have based his verses in other ancient mythology.<sup>36</sup> A good attempt to summarize Hesiod's description of the different ages in these verses is achieved by J.-P. Vernant. The scholar writes: "*Or et Argent: ce sont ages de vitalité toute jeune; Bronze et Héros: une vie adulte, qui ignore à la fois le jeune et le vieux; Fer: une existence qui se dégrade au long d'un temps vieilli et usé.*"<sup>37</sup> Vernant's words allow us to consider Hesiod's scheme as based in a structure reflecting the course of human life: we are born, we grow old and we die. This interpretation permits us also to unveil the fact that behind Hesiod's verses was the Greek tradition that M. Eliade has defined by myth of the eternal return. In fact, from the Greek's point of view, death presupposed a new start.

Nevertheless, the main example of this type of periodization that influenced Western interpretation of history is still the description found in Daniel, which was certainly influenced by previous traditions. Although, Hesiod's scheme of five periods seems to have been reduced in the Book of Daniel to four kingdoms, one has to remember that the metals used are very similar and that Daniel also expects a fifth period represented by the stone. Although the establishment of a divine kingdom at the end can be understood as an implicit form of *re-creation*, i.e., a return to the creational moment, it is impossible to affirm that the Jewish-Christian tradition is based in a cyclical interpretation of history. In addition, the two interpretations, Daniel and Hesiod's, are based in an understanding of history as if predetermined by the deity. The main difference between the two accounts seems to be the historicity of the events reported and the fact that Daniel demonstrates knowledge about the future, which Hesiod does not seem to have, or even to pursue.

---

<sup>36</sup> So authors like M. West, J.-P. Vernant and C. Leclerc, among others.

<sup>37</sup> Vernant, *Mythe Et Pensée Chez Les Grecs: Études De Psychologie Historique*, 40.

## 2) *The Seventy Weeks*

The concept of the “weeks” to divide and organize time is present several times and in different texts. Most times it appears as the main concept as in Enoch’s *Apocalypse of Weeks*, while at others it appears within the division into four periods in order to explain in a more detailed form one of those particular time units, as happens in the Book of Daniel.

The use of such a division of time is not new and can be understood in the light of the Creation events as depicted in Genesis. After all, Creation is described as having taken place over one week, at the end of which Yahweh rested defining the seventh day as a resting day. The parallel with the creation motif has probably to be understood as a way to express a continuous line of historical events that began with the state of perfection and will finish after chaos prevailed. Then, history would be interrupted by the deity in order to restore the perfection of the first times that followed creation. Therefore, we have a linear progression towards a cyclical return to the creation moment, a time when deity and humanity would be in perfect harmony.

### a) *Enoch, one of the sources behind Daniel*

Enoch is the Patriarch named in Gen 5:21-24 as the father of Methuselah. Being the seventh in line after Adam he has an important role and status.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, his name has to be understood as representing an authoritative character, and it is in that condition that he lends his name to this book. The book, however, was written much later (most probably not before the Hellenistic period, even if earlier traditions were used). In fact, most scholars would agree that it was written somewhere between the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and the turn of the

---

<sup>1</sup> There are also reference to Enoch in 1 Chron. 1:3.

Common Era. Although the language of composition was Aramaic,<sup>2</sup> the preserved copies are of an Ethiopic translation from around the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, and that translation seems to have been achieved through the use of a previous Greek translation.<sup>3</sup> Later, copies of the book of Enoch were also found at Qumran.

As G. Nickelsburg points out regarding the content and importance of this work “*In it we are given a unique window into the diverse world of Palestinian Judaism in the three centuries before the Common Era.*”<sup>4</sup> In fact, this book represents one of the most important creations of its time. In it, the reader finds a multitude of different subjects that offer a wide view of religious, social, intellectual and scientific aspects of the epoch. Furthermore, the author mentions the future of the cosmos in a way that we perceive how Hellenistic ideas have influenced Israelite concepts. Nevertheless, as we have already said *Enoch* also contains traces of older traditions and, therefore, it is possible to compare some of its contents to Mesopotamian and Ancient Near Eastern literature, especially when he appears related to the sun god.<sup>5</sup> However, we should remember what J. Collins says about how “*(...) Enoch is not associated with the distinctive history of Israel but with the primordial history of all humanity,*”<sup>6</sup> especially when remembering that Enoch was the chosen one taken by God to see what was going to happen in the future of humankind and how the cosmos was structured. Enoch becomes thus one of the most knowledgeable characters about the world and history, and that fact grants him authority. After all, Enoch was the one chosen by God to ascend to heaven and to be taught its mysteries.

The book of Enoch is composed of several smaller units where Enoch’s different revelations are described. Altogether, these revelations have the common purpose to reassure the readers regarding the Final Judgment and how it would occur. The Final Judgment in this book, although initially reserved for the Israelites, was extended to the converted gentiles. As G. Nickelsburg emphasizes, this text seems to have been written in a way to encourage the readers to keep their righteousness, because that would be the only

---

<sup>2</sup> Although the only full copy is in Ethiopic, we also have parts one, five and some of four in Greek. At Qumran it was found an Aramaic copy, although it misses the *Similitudes* section (it was replaced by the *Book of Giants*).

<sup>3</sup> George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001), 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Texts to which it can be compared are, for example, the *Enuma Elish* and *The Epic of Gilgamesh*.

<sup>6</sup> Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 47.

way to reach “salvation.”<sup>7</sup> This aspect is one of the main characteristics of apocalyptic literature, which may explain why sometimes Enoch can be described as having been written in a time of particular distress in which a message of reassurance was needed.

Today’s reader encounters a book divided into five major sections, each one representing a specific vision/revelation received by Enoch, and two short appendices (sixth and seventh). The first is called *The Book of the Watchers* and can be found in chapters 1 to 36; the second is *The Book of Parables*, and it is located between chapters 37 and 71; the third is *The Book of Luminaries*, found in chapters 72 to 82; the fourth is *The Dream Vision* found in chapters 83 to 90; the fifth is *The Epistle of Enoch*, between chapters 92 and 105; the sixth is *The Birth of Noah*, chapters 106 and 107; the seventh is *Another Book of Enoch* in chapter 108; and the eighth is *The Book of Giants*, which is quite fragmentary. These sections express a common worldview that underlines the fact that injustice is rising and renewal is urgently needed.<sup>8</sup> These are the main reasons for the belief in an imminent Final Judgment that would result in something resembling like a new creation, a time when there should be no injustice or evil, i.e., the victory over chaos.

Enoch tells his sons, in particular Methuselah, what the books contain and exhorts them to listen and to obey the wisdom contained in the books. At the end of time, the books will be given to the wise so that they will know how to choose the right path.

As already said, the book contains references to time, to be more precise, to periodization of time. It is that particular aspect that interests us right now, especially because the time references appear in conjunction with descriptions of a new world. This implies, as in the biblical texts, the destruction of the current present and the creation of a perfect world where only the chosen ones, in this particular case, the righteous, could dream of access. *Enoch* contains several historical apocalypses<sup>9</sup> with a well-detailed account of events spread over time. In fact, the story of the angels who sinned is more likely an excuse to introduce Enoch’s knowledge regarding the cosmos and the way he got to know about it, than the main motif of the book.

---

<sup>7</sup> Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation, Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>9</sup> For all definitions related with the literary genre “apocalypse”, cf. Adela Yarbro Collins, ed., *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*, vol. 36, Semeia (Decatur: Society of Biblical Literature, 1986).

i) *The Apocalypse of Weeks*

One of the texts containing Enoch's main description of periods of history is certainly the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, part of the *Epistle of Enoch*, and that is normally accepted as the earlier of the two historical apocalypses contained in the *Book of Enoch*.<sup>10</sup> This section is normally identified with 1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91-11-17.<sup>11</sup> According to J. VanderKam, this part of the text is earlier than the *Epistle* itself.<sup>12</sup> This also implies that the *Apocalypse of Weeks* was written during the pre-Maccabean period as most authors would agree, i.e., a time marked by crisis in the Jewish world and by the Hellenizing process. Despite this earlier stage of composition, it is not certain that the *Apocalypse of Weeks* would have circulated separately from the *Epistle*.<sup>13</sup> This raises the question whether this was a known text before the *Epistle*'s compilation or not, mainly because both texts share some common subjects.<sup>14</sup>

This small section contains a periodization of history divided into ten smaller units, called "weeks of years," each one marked by a major event. From the information provided in Gen 5, we know that Enoch represents the seventh generation after Adam, which can lead the reader to understand the period between creation and the birth of Enoch to be one of righteousness and to remember the importance that the number seven will acquire. For this, we need to remember the description of the first week in 1 Enoch 93:3 where we read: "*I was born the seventh in the first week, and until my time righteousness endured.*" The second week is then one marked by "deceit" and "violence" and "*(...)it will be the first end*" (1 Enoch 93:4). This period would be underlined by the salvation of one man and the increase of iniquity, as the text states. At the end of the third week then "*(...) a man will be chosen as the plant of righteous judgment*" (1 Enoch 93:5), and thus righteousness would

---

<sup>10</sup> For a definition of the different types of apocalypses cf. John J. Collins, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, vol. 14, Semeia (Society of Biblical Literature, 1979).

<sup>11</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation, Based on the Hermeneia Commentary*, 140-43.

<sup>12</sup> James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 142-43. The *Epistle* is variously dated to the early second or early first century BCE.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

be definitely established. At the end of the fourth week there would be “(...) *visions of the holy and righteous*” (1 Enoch 93:6). This period would then be a time for a covenant and the making of a tabernacle. In the following week, the fifth, the temple would be built, and eternity would be one of its main features. However, the sixth week would be marked by the loss of wisdom and by the ascension of one man. Then, at the end, the temple would be burnt and the chosen people dispersed (1 Enoch 93:8). The seventh week would be marked by the birth of a perverse generation who would just do “*perverse deeds*” (1 Enoch 93:9). However, at the end of this week, the “witnesses of righteousness” would be chosen from those who would be descendants of the righteous one mentioned in the third week. To these chosen ones, would be given seven times more wisdom and knowledge than to the generation of chosen ones of the third week. Next, these chosen ones would “(...) *uproot the foundations of violence, and the structure of deceit in it*” (1 Enoch 91:11). The eighth week will thus be a period of righteousness but also a period of fighting since the righteous would receive a sword and “(...) *execute judgment on all the wicked*” (1 Enoch 91:12). After that, they would “(...) *acquire possessions in righteousness*” (1 Enoch 91:13) and the temple would finally be built and last for eternity. In the following week, the ninth, righteousness would be taught to all sons of the earth and wickedness should disappear forever. Righteousness will then be possible for everyone and it should last forever as well. The tenth week, will mark the judgment of the watchers (the angels that have sinned by copulating with mortals and begetting giant children; they would also have revealed heavenly secrets to mortals). After these events, the judgment and the watchers being sentenced, there will be a new heaven that would shine seven times more than the previous heaven (1 Enoch 91:16). This is the beginning of a new time characterized by eternity and righteousness. There would be no more evil or sin and time would run eternally.

According to the text, history is divided into ten periods, which the author calls “weeks.” However, the concept of week does not look immediately suitable for a division into ten periods; we would rather expect to find seven as in the days of the week. The author mentions in weeks one and ten the number seven, which makes it an unavoidable issue. In the first week the seven appears to describe the number of his generation, and in the tenth it appears as “(...) *the seventh part*” (1 Enoch 91:15), which allows us to assume that the author had indeed in mind the traditional structure of the week composed by seven

days. In fact, at the time of editing, which we assume to be the second century BCE, the number seven and its multiples were very important. It is not only because they represent the sacred week, or the time of creation, but also because of the current interpretations of Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the seventy years of Israelite exile.<sup>15</sup> After all, seventy is a multiple of seven, and it also represents a jubilee<sup>16</sup> which is one of the most important divisions of historical time (it is normally understood as a period of forty-nine years) in the Jewish Christian context.

These ten weeks are the beginning of many others that would succeed them after the establishment of the new heaven according to the reference in 1 Enoch 91:17. In that verse, the character of eternity, or, the beginning of it, is quite explicit when it is stated that "(...) *there will be many weeks without number forever.*" It looks as though the historical time that preceded the *eschaton* was possible to be numbered, while the new time would be eternal and endless. Once more, we have the sensation that the author is trying to reassure his readers about the content of the future, and of the never-ending good things still to come. Therefore, they should endure because reward was secure and would happen at its own time.

If we remember that this text is a prophecy *ex eventu*, then it is relatively simple to locate the author's time and to realize where his expectations/speculations about the future began. In fact, this historical analysis offers the reader a full review of time, both historical and cosmological. We have past, present and future events described, as we have earthly and cosmological ones, and most of the historical data can be understood. Here, as VanderKam indicates, the past is reviewed in the first seven weeks, which leaves only the last three weeks for present and future.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, even if some events are possible to identify, it is impossible to decide the length of each week, although the tendency is to admit that the size would differ from one to another.<sup>18</sup> In fact, just the simple concept of the

---

<sup>15</sup> *cf.* Jer 25.

<sup>16</sup> *cf.* the section about *Concepts of Time* earlier in the introduction for a better explanation of this type of concept and what was implied.

<sup>17</sup> VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 157.

<sup>18</sup> This is the most common opinion, however some scholars have attempted to set the size of the weeks. According to Nickelsburg (*op. cit.*, 440), J. Doeve ("Parousieverzögerung," *NedTT* 17 (1962-63) 33-36), insisted that each week contained four hundred years; K. Koch ("Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1 Hen 93:1-10; 91:11-17) und das Rigen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien un späten Israelitentum," *ZNW* 95 (1983) 403-30), has a similar approach, but the size of each

week, especially when connected with the jubilees, is abstract enough to make the reader realize how difficult it would be to attempt to define these periods in terms of strict chronology instead of periods marked by major events. The question that some authors raise is why the author has named these periods as “weeks” instead of simply “periods”<sup>19</sup> or even if they can be used as real chronological data. Nonetheless, there are some authors who continue trying to construct a chronology from the given data, especially based in the 490-year period that would result from Jeremiah’s prophecy of the seventy weeks.

In brief, this small apocalypse describes History as divided into seven weeks, plus the uncountable following weeks that would result from the establishment of eternity. This results in a certain complementarity between historical and cosmological times. This apocalypse also emphasizes that after each period of righteousness there should follow a period of evil, unrighteousness and wickedness, but that sequence seems to finish in the seventh week as previously stated. It mentions also two ends of the world as it was known: the first comes with the flood, therefore it was in the past, and the second is still to come but it will bring with it the Final Judgment as well as eternity for the righteous. Supposedly, this last judgment is considered to be at hand. In this text, the reader observes Enoch being granted wisdom and knowledge on the subject of heavenly secrets, and how he transmits them to the following generation. This knowledge would be passed to his sons, in a way that there would always be someone with enough wisdom on earth to help the remaining righteous keep track and to know that there would be the promised judgment and the settlement of a new world.

*b) Daniel and Jeremiah’s prophecy of the 70 years*

Predicting future events is an immemorial practice. We have several examples of this practice in the Ancient Near Eastern literature and in the biblical books. However, one of the best-known examples is probably the one described by Jeremiah and later

---

week was set at 490 years, which would allow us to arrive chronologically to the time of the Maccabean period by using a structure of ten jubilees (10x49 years).

<sup>19</sup> Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, 440.

reinterpreted in Dan 9. The purpose of this chapter of the Book of Daniel appears to be a *peshet*, i.e., as D. Dimant describes it “(...) *to bridge the gap between the original prophecy and the contemporary reality of the later author.*”<sup>20</sup>

In the book of Jeremiah the author offers the reader in two different passages a forecast concerning the end of the Exile. In Jer 25:11-12 we read:

*“This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. <sup>12</sup> Then after seventy years are completed, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity, says the LORD, making the land an everlasting waste.”*

And in Jer 29:10 we have: *“or thus says the LORD: Only when Babylon's seventy years are completed will I visit you, and I will fulfill to you my promise and bring you back to this place.”* These passages are commonly dated from two different periods: the first, from the time of Jehoiakim of Judah, i.e., c. 605 BCE, which corresponds to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; and the second, is accepted to have been written during the reign of Zedekiah of Judah, i.e., c. 594 BCE, a moment already after the first Jews have been taken into the exile in Babylon (c. 597 BCE).<sup>21</sup>

The quasi-accuracy of this prevision intrigued some late biblical authors, especially if described as *not being a post eventum* prophecy.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, contrasting with historical chronology, the “desolation of Jerusalem” had not yet finished at the time the author of Daniel was writing, as Collins notes, especially whenever we take into account the historical events of the Maccabean era.<sup>23</sup> The main question here is, as Russell points out, how was it possible that Yahweh's promise was not yet fully fulfilled, because “(...) *the promises of God through his servants the prophets cannot fail?*”<sup>24</sup> The answer is obvious: there must be a hidden explanation.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, Daniel's questions regarding the meaning of such prophecy gain sense and clarity.

<sup>20</sup> Devorah Dimant, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9,24-27) in the Light of New Qumranic Texts," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium* (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993), 59.

<sup>21</sup> For a more complete description of this chronology see: Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, 354-6.

<sup>22</sup> Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 247.

<sup>23</sup> John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 108.

<sup>24</sup> D. S. Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 Bc-Ad 100*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: Westminster press, 1964), 196.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

At the beginning of chapter 9 of the Book of Daniel, the seer asks for an interpretation regarding the meaning of Jeremiah's prophecy as we have already mentioned. It is within the context of this request that we have a long prayer. Some authors still discuss whether or not the prayer is part of the original work of the editor of the book or if it is a later insertion. However, it is not our intent to discuss the originality of the prayer, but only to affirm that it has to be considered as a communal prayer and not as an individual prayer. The prayer assumes that Israel is punished for its sin, but redemption may follow if the people shows repentance. In this passage, Daniel still thinks that it was possible to change history. However, the angel's interpretation, in contrast to the description of the vision, clearly presupposes that history is predetermined, which contradicts Daniel's expectations about repentance described in his prayers as a way to achieve reward.<sup>26</sup>

We should remember that Daniel is not the only post-exilic book where the author expresses a wish to fully understand Jeremiah's prophecy, especially when faced with painful events. More examples can be found in Ezra 1:1; 2 Chron 36:21-23 and Zech 1:12-17.<sup>27</sup> However, the author of Daniel uses this interpretation of the prophecy insofar as it allows him to divide historical time into smaller units of time, and hence place the action described in the book within the last period. In a way, he is offering to his readers an interpretation of historical time that permits them to think they are already living at the end of time, thus shortening the waiting period while providing hope.

The text of chapter 9 begins by explaining that the seer had tried by himself to understand the content of Jeremiah's prophecy, though he was not successful. Therefore, Daniel gets ready to pray and follows what are considered to be the ancient rituals that should precede the receiving of a revelation. This is when we see Daniel fasting, dressed in sackcloth, etc. Later, in Dan 9:21 the seer's prayer is interrupted by the arrival of Gabriel, the same angel that had already interpreted previous revelations granted to Daniel. The angel explains that the seventy years of Jeremiah should be understood as being seventy weeks of years (Dan 9:24).<sup>28</sup> These seventy weeks are nothing else than ten jubilees, i.e., a

---

<sup>26</sup> cf. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*, 109.

<sup>27</sup> James C. VanderKam and William Adler, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, vol. 4, *Compendia Rerum Judaicarum Ad Novum Testamentum*. Section 3, Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 203.

<sup>28</sup> The number seventy is not always used. In fact, in Theodotion's translation the reference is to a set of seven plus sixty-two weeks, which totalizes sixty-nine weeks and not seventy. This would also set the total number

period of 490 years.<sup>29</sup> The angel continues to decode the meaning of this time period and divides it into three smaller units: a) seven weeks that should have taken place between the beginning of the restoration of the city and the time of an anointed prince (Dan 9:25); b) the sixty-two weeks which are then the time that the rebuilding of Jerusalem should take, although it was supposed to be a disturbed period of time (Dan 9:25); and c), one remaining week when the anointed should be cut off and the troops of a future ruler should destroy the city and the Temple - the beginning of the *desolation* – and which last part would be marked by a covenant between that ruler and the people, the end of the sacrifices in the Temple and the installation of a “desolation” within the Temple (Dan 9:26-27). It is during this last week that the author of the text is supposed to be living, and the events recorded recall the reign of Antiochus IV and the problems created by the installation of an altar dedicated to בעל שמש within the temple and, the rededication of the temple in honor of Zeus (2 Mac 6:2).<sup>30</sup>

However, as Hartman and DiLella say, this author “(...) *sought the fulfillment of the prophecy in the reconsecration of Jerusalem’s Temple after Epiphanes’ desecration of it.*”<sup>31</sup> In this way, it is possible to understand this passage as a *peshet* of Jeremiah’s text. The author of Daniel is, as we have already said, not the first one seeking an interpretation of this passage from Jeremiah. Nevertheless, he is the first to explain it in terms of jubilee years.

Two other texts should be taken into account in order to understand this interpretation based on jubilee years. The first is 2 Chron 36:21 where we read: “*to fulfill the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had made up for its*

---

of years to elapse before the coming of an anointed prince in 139, which would, in the opinion of some scholars, allow a more accurate interpretation of the prophecy when it came to the identification of the last period with that of the reign of Antiochus IV. It would be, thus, a case of earlier reinterpretation of the text. Nevertheless, this version is the one later used by Jerome and most messianic interpreters, because it permitted the identification of the anointed of verse 25 with the one from verse 26. (Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, 355).

<sup>29</sup> For a more complete overview about this subject see Valdez, "From the Periods of History Towards the End."

<sup>30</sup> Although some scholars have interpreted the *abomination* as if it were a statue of Jupiter (Jerome), the antichrist (Hippolytus), statue of Caligula, etc., that was placed by Antiochus inside the Temple, this perspective does not agree with the report of 1 Mac. Therefore, the identification of it with an altar seems to fit best. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins, 357-8.

<sup>31</sup> Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 247.

*sabbaths. All the days that it lay desolate it kept sabbath, to fulfill seventy years.*" This passage introduces us directly into the language used in Leviticus regarding Sabbath and Jubilee years. The second example is Lev 26:18; 33-35. In these last passages, the reader is warned that the people would be punished sevenfold for its sins, i.e., seven times what Jeremiah had previously announced. As Russell notes, it is possible that these two passages were the basis of Daniel's interpretation of a week as if referring to a sabbatical year.<sup>32</sup> Besides, the number 70 can be interpreted as the regular lifetime expectation, which would allow us to divide this period into seventy generations.

The historical review offered to the reader by the angel is parallel to a division of history into the smaller three periods mentioned above and is especially accurate regarding the last period, i.e., the last week. Before that, some of the historical events reported cannot be dates and, therefore, we should understand them as round and symbolic references. Nevertheless, it seems important to remember that each one of these three periods is marked by important historical events that can be proven, and that these same events mark their length.<sup>33</sup>

The first period, i.e., forty-nine years, comprises the events between the command to restore Jerusalem and the coming of an anointed prince as we read in Dan 9:25. The historical events behind these dates can probably be identified with the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE and the edict of Cyrus of 537 BCE allowing the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem. This last event indicates also the rehabilitation of the Zadokite line of priesthood, which allows us to think that the anointed prince may be the High Priest Joshua.

The following period is the biggest one: it comprises sixty-two weeks, i.e., c. 434 years. This represents an excessively long period according to the historical chronologies accepted today by the majority of scholars. This is the period characterized by the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the Temple, but it is also a time of tribulation as described in Dan 9:25. Furthermore, it ends with the death of the anointed and it announces the coming of a new prince whose people would destroy the city and the Temple. Most probably, these events describe the assassination of Onias III c. 171 BCE and, consequently, the end of the Zadokite line. However, as is clear this period does not correspond exactly to the

---

<sup>32</sup> Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 Bc-Ad 100*, 196.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

announced 434 years, but only to c. 366 years, which highlights once more the artificial character of these time divisions and how the most important factor in determining them was a significant historical event rather than a calculation of the full amount of years initially predicted.

Thus, the last week, i.e., the remaining seven years, begins with the death of Onias III, as we had already mentioned. Onias III, who was the high priest at the Temple of Jerusalem at the time, was accused of supporting the Ptolomies and of conspiring against Seleucus IV. Therefore, he traveled to Antioch to defend himself in front of the king. However, history tells us that he never reached Antioch during the lifetime of Seleucus, who was murdered by Heliodorus and then succeeded by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The murder of the king and the ascension of a new one, together with the fact that Jerusalem was undergoing major problems, caused Onias III to continue in Antioch for a few more years. Therefore, Jerusalem's Temple was left without its natural high priest, which created a problematic situation when Antiochus nominated another high priest who did not belong to the priestly ruling line. In view of this situation, Menelaus, one of the pretenders of the Jerusalem's priesthood arranged for Onias III to be killed in c. 171 BCE.<sup>34</sup> Later, in c. 168 BCE, Antiochus went to Jerusalem to repress an insurrection during which he massacred many people and destroyed the Temple as described in Dan 9:26 with the following words: "(...) and the troops of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary." This represents the beginning of all the problems of the last week. Nevertheless, this new prince, Antiochus in this case, would be able to make an alliance with part of the people of Jerusalem as the text of Dan 9 mentions.

During the second part of this last week serious problems between this new prince and the people of Jerusalem would arise due to the desecration of the Temple and the prohibition of the sacrifices. With these historical events as backdrop we can date the beginning of this last period to around the year 167 BCE. Therefore, since we have considered that a week equals seven years, this desecration of the Temple would last three and a half years, which is only off by half a year.<sup>35</sup> This last period, the one contemporary of the author's, is also highlighted by evil that is discernible by the triad *transgression, sin*

<sup>34</sup> For a full description of these events, cf. 2 Macc 4:1-38.

<sup>35</sup> According to 1 Macc 1;54, 4:52-53, the desecration of the Temple would have lasted from c. December of 167 BCE to December 164 BCE.

and *iniquity*, in the words of Dimant.<sup>36</sup> Consequently, the age to come is described as the time of eternal justice, the sealing of the prophecy and the anointing of the Holy of Holies.<sup>37</sup> The future is in sharp contrast with the past.

In conclusion, the use of the system of weeks in Daniel has to be understood as based in the system of sabbatical years. Otherwise, it is not possible to understand most of the historical events reported. Therefore, we must take these seventy-week period as if each week corresponded to a Sabbath, i.e., each seventh year of every set of seven was a Sabbath. That period of 490-years equals thus the period comprised by ten jubilee-years. It is therefore necessary to understand that these seventy-weeks do not correspond to the entire history, but only recorded the events since the Exile. However, texts like Enoch's *Apocalypse of Weeks* use the same type of periodization although including the world's history since Creation. The most important feature of the texts above analyzed is that most of the authors who wrote them were eager to explain the existence of a new time-period, an eschatological one that would soon follow.

---

<sup>36</sup> Dimant, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9,24-27) in the Light of New Qumranic Texts," 59.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

### 3) *The Millennium*

#### a) *Paul and the two "aeons"*

Paul and his writing have had a great influence in the development of Christianity. In fact, for our particular subject, Pauline writings are of great importance as they represent the belief that the Messiah had already come and was supposed to come for a second time. Therefore, we must recall his work in order to expose further how time and its development seemed to be understood by the first Christians and how Paul's interpretation of it influenced the development of Christianity, particularly in Western society. In addition, it is necessary to remember that Paul's eschatological hopes differ from the ones of Daniel. In fact, while for Daniel, divine deliverance was imminent but still future, Paul's structure of thought was based in the fact that since the Messiah had already come and had died to initiate a new world, they were already living in a different timeframe, a new age, although they were still waiting for the final coming of the Messiah and the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth.

We are not going to discuss the polemic surrounding the work of Paul nor his life as a Christian or a Jew. However, it does interest us to see when in time the apostle lived and what was his concept of future. Without causing a complete rupture between Jews and Christians, Paul did in a certain and cautious form distinguish between the community of the first covenant with Moses, the one ruled by the Law, and the new covenant with Christ. He also made a distinction between the present that followed the death of Christ and the future that would come after His resurrection. However, it has to be clearly stated that he never says that the old covenant was opposed to the Messiah. When stating this existence of a new covenant he never says that the Jewish people are excluded from the world to come, what he says is that there is a need to convert the gentiles by faith so that all people could later live in the divine kingdom.

Nevertheless, it is clear that Paul assumes a tripartite time between the past, represented by the Law covenant, the present marked by the covenant with Christ, and the future divine kingdom of God on earth. This is similar to what we will later find in Revelation. The apostle expresses this theory in all his works, but we do find it more clearly expressed in his epistles to the Corinthian community. Therefore, we will only analyze at this time two different passages of that correspondence: 1) 1 Cor 15:20-28 and 2) 2 Cor 3:7-18 where the apostle uses in a detailed way this construction of historical time to explain to the community what was still expected from them while rebuking them for their behavior and their lack of faith.

*i) 1 Corinthians 15:20-28*

It will be helpful to consider what was the city of Corinth at the time he wrote and the mix of people that lived there. It is to these people living in a city dominated by the habits of the Empire and with bad reputation that Paul is addressing his letter, notwithstanding the diversity of origin and living conditions of the Christians. In reality, it is this same variety of people and their relationships, and their conflicts regarding the way to practice their faith that creates all the questions to which Paul answers and offers guidance to follow in the future. This is also a good example of Paul's beliefs and of the principles by which he thought Christianity should be living. From the reading of Paul's answers, we can infer that some of the questions derive from the influence of the existing philosophical schools, which conflicted with Paul's Christian teaching. It is to that people who dwell in an accessible place for exchange of ideas, thoughts, practices, rituals, etc., that Paul writes, knowing in advance that his community is permeable to external influences. This transforms the city of Corinth and its people to a challenge for someone like Paul. How could he strongly root the Gospel, and make people live according to its principles of community?

In 1 Corinthians 15 Paul introduces the theme of the resurrection without any kind of prior preparation to his readers. It is an abrupt change of topic caused, according to the

text, by rumours that have arrived to Paul's ears and not because of any letter that he was already answering.

As mentioned before, Paul's expectation included the second coming of the Messiah. For that, he underlined the importance of faith. In fact, he uses "resurrection" as synonym for a new era for the ones of faith.<sup>38</sup> This also means that the apocalyptic sense of resurrection is not something that Paul had in mind at that moment. Here we are dealing with the concept that history is divided into two *aeons* - two ages – and, therefore, with a dualistic vision of the world. This will help us to understand the binomials old/new and present/future frequently introduced in the text. In a certain way, Paul's eschatological thought is conditioned both by past (death and resurrection of Christ), and future (the final coming), and by its consequent dialectical relationship. For him, Christ's resurrection is a sign that the new age has already begun. This subject - of what this resurrection implied for the believers - is the true meaning of the excursus of the theme of resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15 and not the question of whether Christ had been raised or not from the dead. In truth, this seems to be what apparently set Paul against the Corinthian believers, since the latter seemed to believe that because they had been baptized they were already living the time of the resurrection. This means that they understood themselves as not in need for any future resurrection because they had already achieved their goal. However, Paul contradicts this perception by using the metaphor of the *first fruits* in 1 Cor 15:20, in which Christ is compared to the harvest first fruits and where it is said that many will follow him. That is to say, as Christ has been resurrected, all the faithful will also be at the end of time. Christ becomes the paradigm of what is supposed to happen to the community, which implies that the community has to continue living according to Christian principles. The resurrection is only possible *in* Christ, which accentuates the importance of the Gospel. In addition, for Paul, this resurrection is not an isolated fact, but part of the salvation. In summary, we would have to say that the metaphor of the "*first fruits*" contains both a temporal and a representative logic: 1) when Christ is represented as the first to be raised and 2) when He represents at the same time all remaining humankind. *First fruits*, thus

---

<sup>38</sup> L. J. Kreitzer, "Eschatology," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin (Leicester: Inver Varsity Press, 1993), 259.

represents: a) prior temporality, and b), promise of more of the same kind (resurrection) to come.

Another important issue is raised in verse 23 with the introduction of the Adam/Christ analogy. Instead of a rupture, what was represented was the completion of a cycle and the natural start of another one. This means that Adam represented the human stage, whereas Christ represented the time to come, which implies immediately that we have to consider the resurrection as part of a different level from Mankind. Adam is the first man, while Jesus is the first redeemer. In addition, we can read in this passage how the physical body seemed to be distinguished from the one introduced by resurrection. It recalls the philosophical differentiation between body and spirit and it probably reflects the cultural crossroads that influenced both Paul and the Corinthian community. Altogether, this represents a linear conception of history, since there are at least three different periods of time to be considered: the one before Christ's death, the one after His resurrection, and his second coming. However, the existence of some sort of waiting time for the promised kingdom is also evident if we remember that there is a temporal hiatus between the resurrection and Christ's second coming to establish the divine kingdom on earth.

*ii) 2 Cor 3:7-18*

Although very different from 1 Corinthians, especially in tone and structure, this letter is addressed to the same Christian community of Corinth that Paul had founded a little time before and addressed in 1 Corinthians. According to Paul's reactions contained in this letter, it seems that the Corinthian community was once again not behaving as he expected. They were questioning the apostle's authority and the collection for Jerusalem. Scholars sometimes mention Paul's deficient rhetorical skills and his lack of charisma, which could explain why Paul had to defend himself while highlighting the fact that the community was paying more attention to other preachers that were not really ministers of the spirit as Paul was. This is, in fact, one of the main points that the apostle will discuss in

this letter: the difference between the apostleship of the Law and the one of the Spirit as if representing the old and the new covenants, respectively.

As we have already mentioned, this epistle can be divided into two main sections, though scholars discuss which one is the oldest. These two parts are also regarded by some as representing two different letters that were later combined by an editor. This is what Furnish calls “the two-letter hypothesis” and which he regards as preferable than theories that divide the text in several smaller pieces. The same author underlines that we have no earlier documentation that supports this theory of two or more sections of the text, since it appears to have begun circulating immediately in its canonical form.<sup>39</sup> That does not imply that the letter does not have a common theme (the apostleship) and that the two sections mentioned above do not discuss the nature of Paul’s authority. However, this supposed thematic continuity is not a warranty of the literary unity of the canonical text.

The fact that the second part has more drastic tone than the first has induced some to consider it to be the first one to be written. Beyond that, some identify parts of this second passage with the Sorrowful Letter to which Paul refers in 2:4 and 7:8. However, if we remember that that letter was a response to someone who presumably had insulted Paul, we do not find any specific references in the text that could be used to prove such identification in conclusive terms.<sup>40</sup>

The two sections differ especially in the tone used by Paul as already mentioned, and in the main subject. Whereas in the first section, chapters 1-9, Paul seems to believe in the community’s fidelity, and therefore, uses a softer tone; in the second section, chapters 10-13, the tone is controversial and passionate because he is trying to explain that the community should realize that the other preachers were false apostles, and that they should commit more firmly to the Gospel as it was preached to them by him. In brief, there is a modification in Paul’s attitude from one section to the other: in the first he trusts in the community, while in the second he does not and rebukes them fearing that they do not recognize their mistake.

---

<sup>39</sup> Victor Paul Furnish, *Ii Corinthians*, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 36.

<sup>40</sup> J. Murphy-O’Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians*, *New Testament Theology* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 10-12. For a more detailed list of reasons of why it cannot be identified with the Sorrowful Letter cf. Furnish, *Ii Corinthians*, 37-8.

Assuming that 2 Cor combines two letters written at different moments and places, we need to make some observations about each one of them. The first, i.e., chapters 1-9, should have been written in Macedonia after Paul received the news brought by Titus from Corinth. While reading this passage the reader can infer the existence of a previous letter of Paul to Corinth, but written after 1 Corinthians. One, where he had probably rebuked them eagerly and consequently that had left some profound marks in the community, namely some resentment. Paul also shows that he knows that he criticized by them and by other people that he considers as intruders (the ones that he probably had in mind when he mentions other people with more adequate letters of recommendation than his). There are mainly three different subjects in this passage: 1) to assure the community that he has not forgotten them, although he has not visited as promised; 2) make them understand his apostleship and its main contours; and 3) appeal to their commitment with the Gospel as he had taught it. There was still another issue that Paul focused in this text: the legitimacy of the collection for Jerusalem for which he had requested their help. However, the most important point of his agenda is to reassure them that he was a true apostle and that they had not trusted a charlatan. In contrast to what happens in the following section, here Paul employs an optimistic tone while expressing confidence in the community. According to most scholars, Paul was influenced by a positive report brought by Titus from Corinth and, therefore, he wrote from a didactic perspective and did not enter into polemics with them.

The second passage, i.e., chapters 10-13, is quite different from the previous one. Substantiated by the theory of the “two-letters” this section represents the last known written letter of Paul to the Corinthians. Paul’s objectives for writing it are well expressed in 13:10 – *“So I write these things while I am away from you, so that when I come, I may not have to be severe in using the authority that the Lord has given me for building up and not for tearing down.”* We also learn from this sentence that the Corinthians needed to be admonished according to the apostle’s point of view, and he intended to visit them soon. As already noted, the tone is the opposite of the first section. Here, the optimism disappeared and was replaced by strong criticism. He argues that the value of his credentials was not comparable to the ones presented by the so-called “intruders” who were raising doubts in the midst of his community. In fact, there is no possible comparison between written letters of recommendation and the Lord’s credentials, which Paul affirms to carry as an apostle of

Christ. In terms of chronology, this letter is supposed to have been written after he received a new report from Corinth that seems to be the opposite of the one he got from Titus. The date of its writing is somehow disputed among scholars, but we can follow the majority and accept it to have been written around the years 55 and 56 CE and at the Illyricum territory or already from Macedonia (Thessalonica or Beroea).<sup>41</sup> The way Paul used his arguments in this letter let us know two things: 1) the critiques about him had reached an extreme point, and 2) that despite the fact that his rhetoric was not considered one of the best examples of his time, here he clearly manifests that he knows how to use it with effectiveness.

In brief, this letter as it stands in the present demonstrates that Paul had a solid knowledge of what was happening at Corinth. It is also a good portrait concerning the way he understood how the Christian ministry should be performed. At the same time, it offers the reader some details regarding the polemics that could affect the different Christian communities of the time, namely when it refers to the existence of other people who spoke of a different gospel and how the local population received them. More than a portrait of his time events, this is mainly a description of how Paul felt about this type of situation and how he tried to reverse it. It also casts some light on the apostle's ability to use rhetoric and the most common features of spoken speech of his time. At the same moment, this second canonical letter to Corinth helps us realize how things changed quickly in those days, i.e., how it was possible that in only 5 years this community that used to trust Paul was now challenging him because of external influences.

Along with this continuation of the description of the city of Corinth and especially of the Christian community,<sup>42</sup> we can once more observe how Paul understood Christianity to be, especially concerning the existence of different *aeons* and how they had evolved in time. That is what we are going to observe while analyzing 2 Cor 3:7-18, a passage where he draws some conclusions about the old and the new covenant and their main aspects. The presupposition of the existence of two different covenants representing two different *aeons* is what we are going to study because this concept implied that Paul had in mind a concept

---

<sup>41</sup> For more details cf. Furnish, *Ii Corinthians*, 46. and Murphy-O'Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians*, 15-17.

<sup>42</sup> When speaking of continuity, we have in mind 1 Corinthians.

of past and future/present based in such differences, that one could speak of them as being different ages of the world.

Therefore, in the above mentioned section of this second letter to the Corinthians, Paul introduces the subject of the existence of two different covenants: the one with Moses and the new one with Christ. Both covenants were regarded as representing different periods of time that were supposed to succeed. Simultaneously, Paul will explain why the glory of the new covenant had to be superior to the one of the ancient one. For this, he used the ancient rabbinic argumentation called "*a minori ad maius*." Based on the theory of a superior glory of that new covenant, he calls to the ancient pact *the ministry of death* (v. 7), *the ministry of condemnation* (v. 9), and states that it was posteriorly annulled (v. 11). The new alliance is then described as *the ministry of the Spirit* (v. 8), *the ministry of justification* (v. 9), as well as similar to the one that was supposed to last forever.

Paul's main thesis is expressed in verses 7 and 8 where we read: "*Now if the ministry of death, chiseled in letters on stone tablets, came in glory so that the people of Israel could not gaze at Moses' face because of the glory of his face, a glory now set aside,*<sup>8</sup> *how much more will the ministry of the Spirit come in glory?*" What he expresses in this passage is that if Moses' glory was already great, then the glory of the one who had provided that same glory would obviously be bigger. Hence, the new covenant would also be bigger in glory than the preceding one.

In the words of Paul, and as we have already stated, the old covenant was outdated by the new one represented by Christ's death. He does not affirm that the old one was without any sort of glory or splendor, but he reaffirms that the new had to be greater in glory and in splendor. Therefore, it looks as though Paul regarded Christ's ministry as the beginning of a new period, a new age that was supposed to endure. Moreover, since Jesus was to be understood as the Son of God who died for humanity's sins, the new covenant implied through the resulting relationship was obviously more important. Following this line of thought, Christianity represented a new period in history with a closer relationship between God and humans, and therefore, this new period was also superior in quality. This suggests a certain temporal development and we have to confirm that there is no reference in the text that explicitly leads us to consider that Paul had in mind a passage from a historical time to an a-historical one. In reality, although Paul assumed they were already

living in the future age because he understood it to have been inaugurated by the death and resurrection of Christ, the fact that the *parousia* had not yet taken place delayed the complete achievement of that same future age. Therefore, the concept of future as presented by the apostle is somehow problematic since the reader is confronted with his expectation regarding the *parousia*. In fact, as Murphy-O'Connor says, "*his assessment that it was the last and permanent phase enjoyed only the certitude of hope,*" because there was no certainty that this new age was really the final one or of when it would be fully achieved.<sup>43</sup> That could be the reason why Paul pays so much attention to how his communities are committed to the Gospel: for him they still had something to do before they could aspire to entirely accomplish this new covenant.

The passage regarding Moses used here is often understood as relying on Exodus 34:29-30 as its source. These two verses describe Moses descent from Mount Sinai with the tablets of the Law. The fact that Moses face was shining when he descended is probably one of Paul's most important arguments together with the reference to a written law. He uses it to draw a comparison between the old and the new relationship and not to affirm straightforwardly that the Mosaic covenant had not enough glory or the superiority of the spirit *versus* the law. They represented different times and, therefore, diverse realities. Now, the base for that pact was the spirit, while before it was based on written law. Also, he makes a point when he mentions that the old covenant represented death, whilst the new one, since it was based on spirit and in the alliance with Christ, was supposed to inaugurate an eternal pact given the fact that the Christians were to live *in* Christ forever. Thereafter, the splendor of Moses was annulled because it was associated with the ministry of death, and therefore, would be replaced by the ministry of the spirit, which was understood to have greater splendor because it came directly from God. This age of the spirit was already understood by Paul to be present among Christians, although its full achievement would only take place at the moment of the *parousia*. Thus, the Christians were already at the beginning of the new age, even though the process was not yet fully complete. This new period was characterized by a permanent presence in contrast to the mosaic covenant that was regarded as temporary. In direct contrast with Moses, the apostles' ministry had more

---

<sup>43</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians*, 36.

glory and splendor because they had been made sufficient by God, as Furnish notes.<sup>44</sup> Because of that, their actions were braver than the ones performed by Moses. At the same time, since they had received their task from God they did not need to get any sort of written letters of recommendation. They had a special commission, which allowed them to act with *boldness* as Paul describes it. This was also how Paul depicted his own actions in relation to the Corinthians, and why he may have felt that he had always acted according to the Gospel and his commission. He, thus, reaffirms his integrity and his courage when exercising his apostleship, contradicting the critiques that the Corinthian community seemed to have made against him. In fact, Furnish says that Paul uses the term “bold” as also meaning “not being ashamed,” which was how Paul undertook his ministry.<sup>45</sup> This is also another way to make a clear distinction between his attitude, and that of the other preachers, that were challenging his precepts concerning the Gospel while turning the Corinthian community against him. Nevertheless, it was also a way to show the inferior role of Moses in comparison with the role of the apostles: while Moses veiled his face, the apostles were “bold” enough to go through all the difficulties and act without fear. A comparison such as this one can help us to comprehend how Paul understood this new order or period to be in contrast with the past. Before, a restricted group had a covenant with God, while now that covenant had been renewed and extended to every believer. Therefore, the role of the apostle according to Paul, was based in the confidence that their ministry contained a splendor that would last forever. Again, this offers a sharp contrast between the temporary character of the mosaic covenant and the everlasting character of the new one with Christ. The way Paul accentuates the detail of the veiled face of Moses is as if Moses knew that his ministry was temporary and that his splendor was not big enough for him to act as boldly as the apostles would later do. Would that have been the case? Was Moses preventing the Israelites from comprehending the transitory character of the Law? The text is not clear enough to let us know with more certainty what Paul thought concerning that Exodus’ passage, but it definitely opens some doors to that sort of speculation, even if he never explicitly says that Moses’ ministry was inferior, since he only describes it as being different.

---

<sup>44</sup> Furnish, *Ii Corinthians*, 230.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

At the same time, Paul draws some considerations regarding the Israelites when referring to them in 2 Cor 3:14 as if “*their minds were hardened.*” This is the same as to say that each person’s creed depends exclusively on itself and that the people of God had a hard heart. On the other hand, it is also another way to state that each member of the Corinthian community had the possibility to decide in what to believe, although Paul was demonstrating that his ministry was the one sent by the Spirit, and therefore superior to all of those that were appearing at Corinth at that particular time.

Normally, such an affirmation about the lack of faith of the Israelites was understood as including all the non-believers of his time and not only referring exclusively to the Christians. With this approach, Paul changes from a very specific group to a broader horizon where he includes everyone, i.e., humanity. Doing so, he is broadening the eschatological limits as well because it looks as though he had in mind the global population and not just the Christians. Everyone had the power to decide to believe and thus follow the path into the new age as proclaimed by the Gospel. In a certain way, Paul is thinking about a universal spread of the word of Christ so that everyone could live with God in Christ during the new covenant, i.e., within the new age with its timeless characteristics. From this point of view, Paul is acting as the agent of this new and superior covenant with God. His ministry is not to be questioned, and his teaching is to be followed since they have not yet attained the complete age of the Spirit. Until the moment of the *parousia* Christians were required to live according to Christ’s Gospel and only after that they would be able to share God’s new creation. If they kept their faith then they would easily see how this new covenant was superior to the one based on the Mosaic Law. It seems that Paul is making a clear distinction between the followers of the Law and the believers. He does not say that the Law is a mistake, but he affirms the superiority of the new alliance and how that was going to be translated through a new creation. In fact, Paul had already mentioned in 1 Corinthians that Christ represented a new creational phase in relation to Adam. In this text, Paul seems to inscribe a few more details in that evolutionary line drawn since Adam. Therefore, he mentions the covenant with Moses that had followed the one with Adam and then the one with Christ, being the latter with God himself, since Jesus was supposed to belong to God. Consequently, the believers in Christ would also belong to God.

In brief, this small passage relies on Paul's own hope regarding the new age to come presided over by the spirit and that had already started with the death of Christ. He also believes that this new covenant was superior to the one expressed through the Mosaic Law, and therefore, in this new age plenitude was an objective to be achieved by itself, although it had already started. At the same time, he understands it from a universalistic perspective not limited just to the Christians. Nonetheless, Paul does not affirm explicitly that the Law had been annulled, what he does is state that his ministry was superior to the one that Moses had and in a way that could be more appealing to the Corinthians. We do have to recall that some of those converts were Jews, and that he could not attack completely the validity of the Jewish Law, he had to demonstrate its necessity and its virtues. That is probably the reason why he used the character of Moses and not the books attributed to Moses, as Murphy-O'Connor affirms.<sup>46</sup> All his efforts were to secondarize the role of the Law, accentuating the fact that the Christians had finally removed the veil from their hearts, and therefore, were able to move towards the new age. The God was still the same from the Mosaic Law, however the circumstances had changed and they were now living the time of a shift between the Law and the Gospel, or if we prefer, between death and eternity. Besides, Moses' transformation after *seeing* the Lord was transitory, while the one suffered by the Christians was eternal. Once more, Paul expressed to the Corinthians his belief in a new age where they were supposed to share Christ's glory.

#### b) *The Book of Revelation*

*Revelation* is undoubtedly a key-book for Christian thought and it had a very important role in the building of a Christian philosophy of history. Its importance resides, as we will be analysing, in the fact that it introduces and describes for the first time the concept of "millennium." As we will see, the *millennium* became a key-concept in the development of Christian theology, and especially, in the introduction of a Christian's hope of resurrection in a later period. In addition, *Revelation* underlines the importance of the

---

<sup>46</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians*, 36.

Last Judgment and of the creation of the New Jerusalem to achieve those goals. According to this book, Christians should keep steadfast while facing persecution because the reward of a life with God would take place later, though surely.

Although history demonstrates how Christianity changed from persecuted to the official religion of the Empire, the fact is that *Revelation* kept its meaning and importance. In fact, all events were regarded as part of the divine plan meant to happen before the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. Therefore, although historical circumstances changed, Christians still faced the need for steadfast since the promised kingdom was taking so long to happen.

Therefore, it is important to observe how the writer(s)/editor(s) of this book understood history, divided it into periods of time and applied these periodizations in the construction of a philosophy of history, whose main objective was to describe the path until the establishment of the divine kingship and, even, how that same kingdom would be. In a word, *Revelation* describes how the change from one age into a new one would take place, and that is of main importance for our work.

*i) Revelation 20-22*

Revelation 20, and especially verses 4-6, is one of the most commented sections of the Book of Revelation. It is where the subject of the millennium, the thousand-year reign of Christ on earth with the saints is clearly introduced. The expectation of this earthly kingdom is not a new idea within the Jewish-Christian context. Both religions presupposed the return to the perfect stage of initial creation. What the millennium as described here in Revelation seems to introduce is twofold *eschaton*, namely, when it refers to the existence of two resurrections and, as we can therefore infer, two judgments.<sup>47</sup> The concept of resurrection is a relatively new concept, since the first clear mention to it is the one found in Dan 12:2. Until then, Jews' considered the reward of their actions as something to be

---

<sup>47</sup> In Rev 20:4 there is no explicit reference to any judgment, however, the author says that there were thrones and that the ones seated on them received the power to judge.

achieved during their lifetime and not in the afterlife. Nonetheless, if we assume the existence of two resurrections, which appears to be a novelty, we have also to understand it as possibly implying two stages of reward/punishment. However, the two resurrections can simply signify that the author considered that there were those who were more “important” and would be resurrected during the first, while the remaining would have to wait until later to be either rewarded or punished.

Other themes are also expressed during these last chapters including the final battle (20:7-10), the general judgment (20:11-15), and the new age to come (21:1-22:5).<sup>48</sup> Combined with the messianic kingdom supposed to anticipate them, these themes can subsequently, be understood as part of the eschatological sequence of Revelation, indicating how long should pass before they achieve the desired kingdom, i.e., the new age.

Revelation apparently presupposes a two-stage eschatological process: first, there will be an intermediate messianic period of a thousand-years on earth during which Christ and the saints will rule; second, the resurrection, the judgment, and the New Jerusalem will be established after the end of the messianic age. Revelation affirms that after the end of the 1000 years, the Millennium, Satan will be released and then Gog and Magog will waging a battle against the New Jerusalem. After Gog and Magog being defeated by a heavenly fire, there follows the scene of judgment, which is similar to the one described in Dan 7:9-10, although the battle passage also recalls the text of Ezek 38-9. This twofold eschatology is not a Jewish-Christian novelty. In fact, it is already found in texts from Asia Minor from the same epoch. We can also recall the similarities with the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and 4 Ezra’s, including what ruled the expectations of the Montanists concerning the New Jerusalem.

Two questions seem to be of relevance for our subject while discussing Rev 20-2: (1) when will the Millennium begin (with the resurrection of Christ or with the second coming, the *parousia*), and (2) how many holy cities do we have in the text. The subject of the Millennium, because of its importance for the understanding of Revelation in the course of history, is going to be analyzed in further detail in the next section. In the meantime, the question of the two cities can be approached since it may reflect the existence of two

---

<sup>48</sup> The eschatological sequence presented here in Revelation (woes, messianic kingdom, resurrection, judgment and new age) is similar to the one we find in 2 Esdras.

different moments in time. The New Jerusalem, being the dwelling place of God on earth is a different city from the one mentioned in Rev 20:9.<sup>49</sup> In that particular passage, the city in question is called “the beloved city,” which probably is a way to emphasize that Jerusalem was already a special or chosen place, although not yet the New Jerusalem which is supposed to mark the frontier between old and new worlds. This distinction between the two cities is pertinent to explain why the city was besieged and later saved by a heavenly light. According to the text, there is no reference to the New Jerusalem before the second defeat of Satan, which only happens in Rev 21. When we read in Rev 20:9 that “*They marched up over the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city,*” we realize that this is a worldly city that could undergo war and famine, although at the last minute it would be saved by divine power. Therefore, this reference to the “beloved city” is not yet a complete identification with the New Jerusalem, although it represents already the high and special status of the worldly city. The Messiah would then dwell in this “semi-divine” earthly place, which is also the place where the millennium should take place. Only after that will it be possible to achieve the New Jerusalem, and therefore, the new world.

## *ii) The Millennium*

Revelation is one of those texts that because of its complexity and the polemics that surround it have gone through several interpretation trends since the second century CE, i.e., almost immediately after its final edition if we date it to the last years of Domitian as most scholars seem to do today. Although Revelation does not present any sort of sketch regarding the ages of the world, as McGinn notes,<sup>50</sup> it raises the question, especially when it describes a millennial kingdom that would anticipate the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth.

---

<sup>49</sup> R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, vol. 44, The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments (New York: Scribner, 1920), vol. II, 144-80.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 7.

The problem of this chapter, as we are going to see, will basically be between knowing if the millennium is meant to be literal and if the kingdom of God will or will not be earthly. These are the two main factors that have conditioned the interpretation of this text for several centuries. The millennium interpretation<sup>51</sup> relies on the opposition between pre- and post-millennialists, i.e., whether the reign of the thousand years, the millennium, would come before or after or the second coming of Christ, respectively.<sup>52</sup> The first group, pre-millennialists, also discuss whether the saints will spend that period in heaven or on earth, which then raises the question about whether the millennium will be on earth or not. Within the group of pre-millennialists we can count names like Justin, Irenaeus and Hippolytus of Rome, as well as the Montanists and the Gnostics. However, the accentuation of the carnal pleasures by the saints during that intermediate period ended up by provoking a reaction by Origen, Augustine, and later by Joachim of Fiore. As we are going to observe, this will result in a dispute between those who are millennialists and those who are not.

The clearest scholarly analysis of the history of the interpretation of Revelation is the the one by Kovacs and Rowland.<sup>53</sup> They explain the existence of a differentiation between a chronological interpretation and one based on “decoding and actualization.” On the other hand, as McGinn notes,<sup>54</sup> we found authors whose horizontal approach to the text expresses an interpretation concern underlining history and teleology, and others whose vertical approach underlines as main factors heaven and the universe. The different commentators of Revelation throughout the centuries, now and then applied all of these perspectives, creating therefore different interpretation schools.

The best-known commentaries and interpretations of Revelation will use the decoding method, but the actualization process is also a constant reality in the course of the history of interpretation of this apocalypse, although its best representatives are less known to the public. At the same time, we have to deal with interpretation achieved by a verse-by-verse reading, while others retained only the global symbolic meaning of the book. On the other hand, is the Apocalypse of John a text to be interpreted and deciphered or to be used

---

<sup>51</sup> cf. F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3 ed. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1093-4.

<sup>52</sup> There are also the a-millennialists for whom the millennium did not exist.

<sup>53</sup> Judith L. Kovacs, Christopher Rowland, and Rebekah Callow, *Revelation : The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ*, Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004).

<sup>54</sup> Emerson and McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 3-19.

and actualized, as Kovacs and Rowland pertinently ask?<sup>55</sup> We would say that there is no clear answer to that question, since this is one of those texts whose interpretation really implies a close relation between the individual/interpreter and his own time situation and/or beliefs. However, history will be introduced several times when Revelation was interpreted and deciphered. This is one of those situations where it is very important to remember that all the existing interpretations (and even creation/editing of the text) are the result of a human effort. Therefore, we cannot think that there is a clear distinction between the reader and the results of his reading since the main constant vector is human subjectivity.

As we have already said, there were disputes regarding the canonicity of this work since as early as the second century and, therefore there were some groups in the East that did not accept it as part of its the canon. Furthermore, the fact that it was accepted by the Montanists strongly argued against this book having been written by the apostle. This is the epoch when we find claims that the author of this work was Cerinthus,<sup>56</sup> a heretic, and therefore, it would be impossible to be accepted as canonical. This interpretation tendency, that was to reappear much later with the Reformation, Luther and Zwingli, who will once more question its authorship, is still alive in our own days. The question regarding the authorship of this book is, as we have said above, a complex one. However, the meaning of the Apocalypse or its interpretation is not obviously limited to the authorship of the book, since it has more than proved its influence and importance over the centuries. If Dionysius had this negative approach to the book, the Church Fathers had a more optimistic perspective, especially when they used it to fight against some heresies. Justin, Irenaeus and Hippolytus used it against the Gnostics to stress the resurrection and the establishment of an earthly divine kingdom after the thousand-year period. Victorinus of Pettau, in a commentary only preserved by Jerome, is of the same opinion, although Jerome will remove in his commentary the chiliastic arguments of Victorinus. This reflects already some tension between those who supported a chiliastic interpretation of Revelation based in Rev 20, and the others who interpreted it in a different way. A new current of interpretation is going to have as founder Tyconius, and Augustine and Joachim of Fiore as its followers.

---

<sup>55</sup> Judith L. Kovacs, Christopher Rowland, and Rebekah Callow, *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ*, Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 13.

<sup>56</sup> Gnostic heretic of the first century. He held that the world had been the work of a Demiurge or angles, but not of God. For him Jesus was a regular man until he was baptised when a divine power descended upon Him, which departed just before the crucifixion. He was believed by the Alogi to be the writer of Revelation.

It looks as though Tyconius used some of Origen's arguments to reject the chiliastic interpretation, sustaining another interpretation based on what it could signify for the present. He also used it as a source about Christ and of what should be the spiritual life of the believer.<sup>57</sup> Since Christ had already been incarnated and ascended to heaven it was easy to assume that they were already living the last days, and because of that, the most important thing was how to achieve that end as soon as possible. In the midst of the fight that opposed Tyconius' church, the Donatist,<sup>58</sup> to the Church of Rome, he also emphasized the present instead of the eschatological vision.

Tyconius proposed a twofold reading of Revelation combining an ethical with an agnostic position regarding the date of the end of time. The present of the text was also the future, and therefore, the end was about to happen. Everything in Revelation, according to Tyconius, had a double meaning and thus, he could make use of the principle of deduction, i.e., from the text's original description he considered possible to make deductions concerning the present events and how they were part of that path towards the end of times. Therefore, the persecution suffered by the Donatists was understood as a sign of the tribulations of the end, and the three and a half years mentioned in Rev 11:9 should mean the 350-years that would anticipate the coming of the Antichrist. For him, the millennial kingdom was understood as the Age of the Church, which is normally agreed to be the intermediate period before the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. According to this perspective, Revelation could thus be read as a guide to the present Christian community, and consequently it represents the eschatological hope. Augustine follows these thoughts later in his life. However, he does not try to define a date for the end. Instead, he builds his work around the description of the two opposing cities that existed at the same time: the city of God and the city of the world.

Paul Fiddes calls the Christian millennium a utopia and refers to the hope in a millennium as a challenge for the present given that its main purpose was simultaneously a

---

<sup>57</sup> Kovacs, Rowland, and Callow, *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ*, 16.

<sup>58</sup> Schismatic group of the African Church that refused to accept Caecilian as bishop of Carthage. They lost the dispute, but continued to appeal to a new verdict. This schism proclaimed St Cyprian's authority, and also reinforced the position of Africa as an opponent to Rome. The better known opponents to this group were St Optatus and St Augustine. The Donatists were supported by Tyconius, but that support is at the present seen as having caused more damage than good. In 411 at Carthage the Imperial commissioner finally decided against Donatism, however the schism persist until the Arab invasion in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are considered to be rigorists and all that converted to Donatism had to be rebaptized.

new creation and the full presence of God. Although it does not completely describe such future, it leaves open the possibility for unknown events to take place.<sup>59</sup> A little bit further the author writes: *“However, while a millennium ending with the “parousia” of Christ may be domesticated, and while a utopia is static, a millennium beginning with the “parousia” cannot be a reality in history”*<sup>60</sup> to confirm the impossibility for the literal millennium to occur. The main question is then whether the millennium can have a “full presence” in this historical world, which appears to be similar to the concept behind the construction of the two cities by Augustine. Furthermore, this appears to be one of the most essential issues between pre- and post-millennialists if we recall that what they had in mind was whether the millennium would be established before or after the second coming of Christ. Beginning with the issue of whether the time presupposed by the divine kingdom is expected to be a “place” or a “no-place,” meaning, earthly or cosmological, Fiddes raises another interesting topic: he asks in the case that eternity was achieved, would that signify a “wholeness of time,” would then past, present and future become one single reality? The author then answers that

*“(...) there is no need to think of this wholeness as a simultaneity of time, as do such varied thinkers as Augustine, Boethius, (...) Rather, “division” and “separation” between past, present, and future can be overcome without losing their distinction from each other.”*<sup>61</sup>

He also stresses the fact that God’s time is different from human’s time since it integrates simultaneously past, present and future, while human beings experience it as a temporal gradual sequence. The question raised regards the need to achieve justice in a fulfilled time: does it mean that there is no progression, just one time after the other? One could answer to this recalling that the new creation presupposed by the millennium already demonstrates the existence of progress in history and in the direction of eternity. The Augustinian understanding of the millennium as the Age of the Church, which implies a millennium to happen in this world, presupposes also a historical view of the actions of God, and that the millennium is at the same time part of eternity itself. On the other hand,

---

<sup>59</sup> Paul S. Fiddes, "Millennium and Utopia: Images of a Fuller Presence," in *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*, ed. Christopher Rowland and John Barton, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series* (London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-3.

the pre-millennial perspective, that presupposed that the millennium anticipated the *parousia*, also translates a sense of transition. We do not find in any of these two ways of understanding the millennium any sort of temporal immobility, although the transition may be made in historical or a-historical terms. We do have to confirm however, that the millennium is intended to be temporary, i.e., a period that supposed to mediate between “this” time and the time of the divine and eternal kingdom. It is, as we can read in Revelation, a one thousand year period, in other words, a limited amount of time. This presupposes at least the preexistence of two different ages: an old and a new one. More, it assumes clearly a divine intervention in history as we can also verify in 1 Cor 15:20-28. It is as though the author of the Apocalypse assumed the need to connect the messianic expectation and the fulfillment of the eternal reign of God, though he seems cautious in the way he does it. In brief, we are dealing with a transition from a temporary time, the millennium, towards the establishment of the perfect and eternal kingdom of God, the new age.

### *iii) The Eschatological Opponent*

In Revelation, we observe the introduction of the figure of an apocalyptic protagonist, the one that represents the final enemy and is destined to anticipate the second coming of Christ.<sup>62</sup> The two beasts of Revelation 13, the false prophets and Satan are some of its representations in this work. All of these figures represent *per se* the eschatological opponent, predetermined to exist as part of divine history, and to stress the inherent dualism between the faithful and the followers of the beast. This dualism, created as part of the narrative with the purpose of exposing the dangers to which Christians would be submitted and to which they were supposed to react, is in fact one of the main structural base of the entire narrative. Moreover, as part of its character as an eschatological adversary, this opponent represents the last battle before the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth.

---

<sup>62</sup> Roberto Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John Joseph Collins, and Stephen J. Stein (New York: Continuum, 1998), 288.

Although the figure of the Antichrist does not appear as complete as it will be during the Middle Ages, the fact is that in Revelation it receives some of its most important features. In truth, the antichrist would represent the opposition *par excellence* to Christ in the centuries to follow, as well as it would be depicted in terms of a character destined to deceive Christians at the end of time.<sup>63</sup> It is because of its role as the one supposed to lead humanity before its defeat by God and the subsequent Last Judgment that its study is important. In a way, when described as a false messiah it becomes part of the path to reach the desired end, therefore, it describes a sense of eschatological time progress. It is, in fact, yet another obstacle to overcome. This figure appears most probably as a result of the historical changes that occurred after the fall of Temple and the emergence of Christianity as a separate religion, although some of its features may be collected in earlier descriptions of opposition to the main gods. In a certain way, its creation was a form of dealing with the new historical circumstances, as for example the persecutions, which challenged both Jewish and Christian beliefs.<sup>64</sup> As B. McGinn says regarding this particular period of Jewish history, “*From the viewpoint of the history of the Antichrist, the time was ripe for new historical input into the evolution of the figure of God’s final opponent.*”<sup>65</sup>

While some traces of this eschatological opponent figure can be found in the opposition between the two witnesses and the beast in chapter 11, the beast from the Sea and the beast from the Land of chapters 12 and 13, the Harlot Babylon seated upon the Beast of chapter 17, its main representation is the one found in the vision of the last battle conducted by Satan. Nevertheless, it is important to underline that the historical-political interpretation of this book has more than often identified the beast of chapters 11 and 12 with the emperor Nero.<sup>66</sup> The Christians commonly see Nero, who ruled between 54 and 68 CE, as the one who initiated all the persecutions that ended up killing hundreds of people. In fact, this can explain why he is depicted in Revelation as the frightening beast. In that sense, Nero is also the eschatological adversary of the Lamb, and leaves an open question regarding the existence or not of a future combat between these two characters. This interpretation confers to Revelation a very strong political sense, since it can be read as a

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 45.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 45-46.

<sup>66</sup> Nero is also identified in Revelation 17 with the last emperor of the list of emperors described.

response to the epoch's historical events, namely to the ones that were affecting the new group of the Christians. At the same time, this confrontation between the Empire and the Christians was understood as what Daniel had described as part of the crisis that would mark the beginning of the end. It is also necessary to remember that the belief that Nero was supposed to return, i.e., to rise from the dead, stressed his role as the anti-messianic figure. This afterlife reserved for Nero, as some expected, was in a way similar to the role played by Satan, who was to be released from the Abyss to lead the last battle. Therefore, it is easy to understand why this belief regarding Nero's resurrection,<sup>67</sup> which was supported by several reports of different Nero's living in some cities of the Empires, affected Jewish, and consequently, Christian eschatological ideas.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, within the Christian side, Nero was often identified with Beliar, who was supposed to act as if he was the Messiah and deceiving many by doing so.

The resulting dualism between good and evil present and described in many of the texts of this period is a common feature. Nonetheless, it is necessary to understand this as part of a theory created to demonstrate the superiority of good, God, over evil, Satan. This is especially important within Christianity where such dualism would be impossible and contrary to its belief in a single and superior god.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, this figure is always represented as subordinated to the will of God.

Though the identification of the Beast with Nero plays an important part of the narrative, it is clear, that it goes beyond that. In chapter 12, the reader sees how a mythological opposition between good and evil is defined. For this, the description of the attack suffered by the pregnant woman at the hands of the seven-headed beast is of utmost importance. In this attack it becomes clear that the beast will not succeed in its intents and that the child, the messiah, would prevail by surviving. In a way, this description of chapter 12 when compared to ancient combat myths increases the reaction that this passage would cause in the imagination of its readers.<sup>70</sup> Chapter 13 contains clear resemblances with the narrative of Dan 7, especially concerning the beasts from the sea. However, in Revelation there is only one beast coming out of sea, against the four depicted in Daniel. Nevertheless,

---

<sup>67</sup> In some texts, as for example in the Sibylline Oracles, Nero's death is never reported. The oracles simply say that he would return to inflict his vengeance on Rome. Examples are to be found in Sib Or 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>68</sup> McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*, 46.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>70</sup> The writings of authors as H. Gunkel and A. Y. Collins, among others, supports this theory.

this single beast is also a representation of human power, most probably the Roman Empire, intended to persecute Christians. It is in this context that a full description of the actions of the beast is offered to the reader and it is identified with the number 666 (Rev 13:18),<sup>71</sup> which is commonly used to identify this character with Nero. By doing this, chapter 13 marks the beginning of the identification of this figure with a human character, instead of mythological ones as represented by the sea monsters.<sup>72</sup> However, as Daniel's monsters translated the watery chaos, so the figure depicted in Revelation represents the chaos/evil by opposition to God's harmony. Later, in chapter 17 we watch Babylon, the prostitute, riding the beast, which may be taken as representing a union of evil and an opposition to God. But this beast is depicted in the light of Daniel's contours and, therefore, it also has several heads, each assumed to represent one king, i.e., seven human kings to rule over God's people.<sup>73</sup> This description reaches its climax with the combat between the beast and the Lamb in Rev 17:12-14. In that section of chapter 17, the reader observes the Beast being defeated by the Lamb, who had previously destroyed Babylon (Rev 17:15-17).

The Beast, as described in Revelation, is commonly identified as having a double sense: on one hand, it represents the collective Roman Empire while on the other hand, it represents Nero. Both identifications assume it signifies an evil power that is clearly opposed to Christians. Moreover, this Beast is also possible to be identified across history with several other historical characters that have fought or persecuted Christians. In fact, this beast *per se*, though it represents the Roman Empire in this specific context, is more than that.<sup>74</sup> Due to these characteristics, the Beast becomes a timeless character, one easily identifiable with other figures that have in a way or another acted against Christians. At the same time, the identification of the beast with the false prophet is a clear identification of it

---

<sup>71</sup> This identification is based in gematria, i.e., the identification of the numbers with letters. However, this is not a peaceful interpretation, though the most commonly accepted, because some scholars have read the number as "616" instead of "666." Nevertheless, the use of this number is certainly a sign of imperfection by opposition to God's perfection.

<sup>72</sup> This mythological description of the beast appears to reflect the biblical tradition concerning the figures of Leviathan and Behemoth.

<sup>73</sup> Another interpretation of the seven heads of this beast commonly accepted by scholars regards an identification with the seven hills of the city of Rome.

<sup>74</sup> L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents*, vol. 49, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1996), 156.

with the antichrist, i.e., with the eschatological opponent forecasted as one of the signs of the end.

As previously mentioned, the most important passage of Revelation regarding the importance of the Beast as the eschatological opponent is to be found in chapters 19 to 22. In this passage, the author writes about the events that will lead to the Final Judgment, describing the fall of Babylon and the final battle. It is here that a horseman, Christ, riding a white horse is depicted coming down from heaven (Rev 19:11). He will then defeat whoever opposes him, throw the Beast and the False Prophet into the lake of sulphur, and kill the kings who had followed them. Consequently, the author tells that Satan is imprisoned and chained after his champion, the Beast, was defeated (Rev 20:1-3). The importance of this passage is demonstrated when the author writes that they would be imprisoned for a thousand years, but would be released after that for a “little while” (Rev. 20:1-3). This scheme of imprisonment of evil for a predetermined period is not new. In fact, it is part of the eschatological major scheme in which evil, in this case, Satan, would only be destroyed before the beginning of the last stage of salvation.<sup>75</sup> This is part of the twofold scenario described in Rev 20, which represents a depiction of the eschatological time and how it was supposed to develop. According to the text, after the defeat of the Beast, Gog and Magog, the nations, would gather and try a last assault against God’s people. Then they would be permanently defeated through divine intervention.

As observed, the characters of the Beast, the false prophet and Satan are introduced in a context of Christian suffering. They represent the opponents to the new sect/religion and were, therefore, part of the eschatological process. While the beast is to be identified with the Roman Empire, the False Prophet (a second beast) may represent “(...) a personification of the imperial priesthood.”<sup>76</sup> Moreover, their success, though temporary, represents Christ’s victory towards the achievement of the end of time, though for a while that same victory caused the sufferance of His followers.<sup>77</sup> This description of the evil events is part of a twofold understanding of salvation in which two resurrections are depicted, as is a millennial period marked by the reign of the saints followed by a period marked by the rule of Satan. Only the divine intervention would be able to destroy forever

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 164-5.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 166.

Satan and, finally, establish the divine kingdom. In this sense, Revelation's description of the role of Satan/Beast transmits by itself a sense of historical linear progress towards the expected end. Therefore, the disguise of the beast, the anti-messiah as if it was Christ is necessary in order to identify the faithful, and also to demonstrate to the book readers' how the Empire could deceive them regarding their faith by demanding comparable worship to the one demanded by Christ

In summary, all these characters represent eschatological opponents both to Christ and to the Christian community. Although identified by the historical events of the writer's own time, these characters are also timeless and, therefore, will be used throughout the centuries by several interpreters who were trying to see in their present circumstances the ones described in Revelation. As happens in most other texts of this type, the author describes his present time as the one marked by the worst possible conditions, which allows him to understand it within the scope of an eschatological period. Therefore, the author's main expectation resides in the final defeat of the enemies of the Church and in the *parousia* of Christ, though he assumes previous periods marked by Satan's power. In a word, this represents the description of a historical progress towards the establishment of the divine kingship on earth. Therefore, it intercalates periods of good with those of evil, creating a dualistic sequence of time, between the present and the eschatological future. By doing this, the author describes the time between the first coming of Christ and the *parousia*.

*iv) Final Judgment (20:11-15)*

The judgment scene described in these verses is the one that refers to the Final Judgment. In this earlier passage, Rev 20:4, the reader is informed that those that had followed Christ and not the beast would then be raised. In it we read that there were thrones and that the ones seated on them had received the authority to judge, which persuades us to understand this scene as a first trial, especially if we remember the following affirmation in Rev 20:5 "*that was the first resurrection.*" These resurrected people from the first

resurrection, the saints, would thus reign with Christ during the thousand-year period. Then, Satan would be released and would gather an army, Gog and Magog, to fight against the beloved city. This is considered to be the scene of the final battle, when Satan (represented by Gog and Magog) is only defeated by the power of divine intervention. This is what explains the need of a Final Judgment: if the people still followed Satan after the millennium and if a new creation where only the believers would be accepted was expected, then the reader could easily understand the need of a final and decisive judgment. The books and the “book of life” (Rev 20:12) are then opened before one single throne and everyone would be judged according to their “works.”<sup>78</sup> Earth and heaven are said to have fled from the presence of the One seated in the throne and all the dead were gathered in front of Him. Everyone whose name was not inscribed in these books would be thrown into the lake of fire, as happened to death and to the sea. That is considered as being the second and final death that anticipates the introduction of the new earth and heaven. In brief, the death of all that had the mark of the beast seems likely to be the last element to reach before the new age could start. It symbolizes the end of the old world and at the same time the opportunity to establish the new one. In fact, it marks the beginning of a new stage of salvation.<sup>79</sup>

The question of the judgment is not new in the Jewish-Christian context, although the traditional perspective is different from the one presented here in Revelation. In fact, this is one of the few examples where the tone is set straightforwardly in the immediate future and in the individuals, and not in the community in general and in a time to come. The better-known examples are probably the ones drawn by prophets such as Hosea, Amos, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Isaiah. They expected a judgment of the nations and of kings at the day of the Lord. This means a collective judgment, and not so much an individual<sup>80</sup> as was expressed in the apocalyptic texts where only the true believers would have their names inscribed in the books and be accepted into the new world. In order to explain this differentiation, we should recall the fact that Daniel is the first text to suggest a reward *post mortem*, until then the collective creed was a reward during the person’s lifetime. This

---

<sup>78</sup> Charles in his commentary emphasizes that this judgment is according to “works” and not based on “faith.”

<sup>79</sup> cf. G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, The New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1999).

<sup>80</sup> There are however references in Ezekiel and Jeremiah to some specific people that would be judged as individuals (as examples cf. Jer 17:5–11; 31:29–30; Ezek 18:1–32; 33:17–20).

differentiation is also seen as one of the biggest differences between later Jewish and Christian theologies.<sup>81</sup> Another point of departure is that the apocalyptic texts connect the judgment with the future resurrection and the final destiny of each person, which is something that had never happened before.

This report begins with a description of the great and white throne that had been set for the “one,” but tells us nothing about the exact setting where this judgment is supposed to take place. It also does not say explicitly that the “one” is God, although, every time John uses this expression in Revelation it is normally to refer to God. Therefore, we may assume that the judgment is going to be presided over by God and not by the Lamb, although that is not clearly mentioned in these verses.<sup>82</sup> The following description of how earth and heaven disappeared does not represent a destruction of the cosmos, as Aune points out, but on the contrary a reaction of Nature to the presence of the deity.<sup>83</sup> This presence is understood to be overwhelming and because of that, everything reacts by vanishing, just disappearing. Another aspect that is relevant to highlight, is that for the first time God will be face to face with human beings, even considering that this is the Final Judgment, the event that anticipates the moment when God and humans will dwell in the same place, and that the world as they knew it would supposedly be completely transformed at that moment. It appears strange that the judgment scene seems only to contemplate the dead and that there is no mention of the living. Aune remarks that the probable previous destruction of all the non-believers could be used as an explanation. If they were destroyed, i.e., killed, then there would be only dead to judge, since the believers were considered to have their names already inscribed in the “Book of Life,” and therefore, their place in the divine kingdom was already secured. Moreover, they were considered to share the millennium kingdom that was created before the judgment. Therefore, this Final Judgment is not total, since only the non-believers would be judged. The books referred to in this passage seem to allude to Dan 7:10 where we read “*The court sat in judgment, and the books were opened.*” The question would concern which books are these, since the only one to be called by its name is the “Book of Life” and there appears to exist another one, introduced only afterwards.

---

<sup>81</sup> The Jewish tradition was based on a reward during the lifetime of a person. However, the Book of Daniel would inaugurate within the Jewish context the introduction of a reward in the afterlife.

<sup>82</sup> Aune consider this a “striking” fact (David E. Aune, *Revelation*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger, 3 vols., World Biblical Commentary (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

However, the tradition regarding books where human actions were recorded is ancient, which can explain why John was not more explicit or precise about their nature. They probably contained a record of everyone's deeds, since that was what was to be judged. The reference to both Sea and hades as different entities only demonstrates that John was aware that it was common belief that the people dead at sea would not join the remaining dead in hades. In reality, Antiquity had two different locations for the dead: hades, the traditional under the earth place, and the Sea that would keep its dead without sending them to hades. In verse 14, Death and hades are thrown into the lake of fire, as all the non-believers and Satan were. This could be problematic if it was read in a literal sense. As observed by Aune, this could explain why John implied the eschatological destruction of Death as being part of the new creation, although these two entities just represent the totality of the non-believers since the others had already been resurrected during the first resurrection, and should not, therefore, fear death. Consequently, Death and hades can just be a representation of the enemy to be annihilated and because of that, they were thrown into the lake of fire as were all of those whose names were not in the books. The second death mentioned then is most certainly the ultimate one, the point of no return, and the beginning of a new world where only the believers would join God and the Lamb.

An interesting issue that will be analyzed later in this work is how the raising of Satan after the thousand-year period can be understood as being the representation of the Antichrist, believed to come at the end of the millennial period and to fight against the Messiah. This is a very important feature of this sort of record, because the antichrist will represent another stage of the establishment of the earthly kingdom. However, it seems important to underline immediately that the Antichrist is understood sometimes to be an entity and other times as a specific individual, e.g., Babylon/Rome and Satan/Pope. In brief, it represents the evil to be cast out of earth and eternally punished before the settlement of the divine reign.

The obvious mythological aspects of these judgment scenes deserve some more comment. In fact, the assembly of gods gathered to judge their people is not a strange motif in the Ancient Near Eastern literature, nor is the combat between a beast and the gods' chosen champion. This would push these judgments into an a-historical environment since

they tend to happen beyond space and time and they do not contain references to any sort of chronological details.

v) *The New Jerusalem (21:1-22:5)*

The main theme of Rev 21-22:5 is the New Jerusalem described as a bride (Rev 21:2), a dwelling place for God and for the Nations. In a word, this New Jerusalem will function as a connection between the heavenly and the earthly, transcending therefore all temporal limits that could have existed in the past. At the same time, if this new city implies that a new world is created, there is still patent some sense of continuity. However, in terms of quality, this certainly represents a new stage, a different time. From this moment on, the old division between a place for the human beings on earth and another for God in heaven has ceased given that the New Jerusalem represents from this point of view the earthly dwelling place of the deity. We could say that the cosmos previously constituted by earth and heaven would now become one united world based in the holy city, i.e., on earth.

This description of the new city in Rev 21:1-22:5 is what Beale describes as the climax of Revelation.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, this big section can be divided into two smaller units: 1) Rev 21:1-8 where the new heaven, the new earth and the new Jerusalem are described, and 2) Rev 21:9-22:5 which may be understood as an appendix since it describes more in-depth the subject of the new city as a representative of a new world order.<sup>85</sup> As Beale recalls, there are five main topics constantly mentioned in the prophetic writings. Those include the new covenant, the new temple, the new Israel, the New Jerusalem, and the new creation. These five motifs are also a metaphor of the presence of God amidst His people, which is what we observe in Revelation when the worldly city becomes the dwelling place of the deity and of the elected ones. These ancient prophecies are then perceived by John as only fulfilled at the end of history. We should also mention that other New Testament texts have already seen them as beginning to be fulfilled in Christ and in the Church, e.g., in

---

<sup>84</sup> Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, 173.

<sup>85</sup> Celia Deutsch, "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21,1-22,5," *ZNW* 78, no. 1 (1987): 109-10.

Paul, so this feature is not a complete innovation of Revelation, although we could say that in this text it will get some distinct facets.

The New Jerusalem as described here represents the end time new creation that has to happen in this world because of Christ's death and resurrection. Although this new cosmos can be regarded as if there were continuity with the past, it represents at the same time a different reality. However, there are ancient biblical passages that mention the establishment of a new cosmos they do accentuate the difference between the old and the new, as for example Isa 65:17 where we read: "*the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind.*" Isaiah's prophecy regarding the new world is one of the prophecies presupposed by Revelation to be fulfilled in a near time. This perspective implies that the new world is not completely a new reality, though it represents "*the consummate hope.*"<sup>86</sup> Another example of consummation that we may recall is when Isa 62:2 mentions that the city would be called by a new name, which is exactly what John is doing here when he refers to the city as the "New Jerusalem." John seems to perceive this new creation as the fulfillment of the covenant. Nevertheless, we must remember that John's perception of who is to be represented in that same covenant does not appear to be the traditional view. In fact, the earlier texts point sometimes to the Mosaic covenant, while others to the Israelite. For John, the covenant is between God and the Lamb (understood as a unity), and this apocalyptic community depicted in the book. That gives this book a more universalistic tone than ever before. We no longer have any sort of reference to the nations and to the gentiles. Now, what the writer underlines is that everything and everyone not polluted will be able to dwell in the new city, and that the remainder will be thrown to the lake of fire and suffer the second death as described in Rev 21:8.

The new city described in the initial verses represents at the same time the new cosmos and the image of paradise: it is the new world as hoped for and portrayed by most biblical accounts.<sup>87</sup> In fact, this description is comparable to the definition of Eden as described in several Old Testament books such as Zech 14:8 and Ezek 47:1-12. The

---

<sup>86</sup> Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, 1041.

<sup>87</sup> The tradition regarding the existence of a "New Jerusalem" is more ancient than the Book of Revelation. There are several descriptions of this new city in the context of apocalyptic and prophetic texts where the new world to follow is depicted. The New Jerusalem represents by opposition the perfect harmony between God and humanity to be established in the future after the Judgment. A good example that can be used to illustrate how the concept of a new city was spread are the several references found in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1Q32, 2Q24, 5Q15, 4Q554-5 and 11Q18 (11QNJ).

description of John of this paradisiacal city in Rev 22 is very similar to the one we have in Gen 2, especially, the description of the tree of life and of the river that divided the city in the middle. These allusions to Eden give this city a mythical dimension. The hope for the restoration of the holy city is constant since the Exile, and particularly during the Second Temple period. The main preoccupation of these writers was the rebuilding of the Temple, which can be regarded as inconsistent with what John describes. For him, the new city is the temple and therefore, he never shows any preoccupation about rebuilding it. John sees the new city as a temple itself because he understands it to be the dwelling place of God, of the Lamb and of the community of the believers. What we should note, however, is that this city had been established during a historical time and had now moved into a timeless one. Nevertheless, in the author's description, the new city is very similar to the ancient pictures of the ideal temple of Solomon and Ezekiel. The main similarity is the cubic shape described in Rev 21:16. Nevertheless, the stones used to ornament the walls are also considered to be another inheritance from the ancient cultic imagery. In this particular case, scholars normally point to the similarity between these stones and the high priest's breastplate described in Ex 28, and used afterwards in the description of the city's restoration of Is 54. That appears to demonstrate that the Bible describes two different cities. However, that does not seem to be a conclusive argument since: 1) all the descriptions are made after the physical/historical city had been destroyed, and 2) the description of the city is similar in the diverse existing reports. What we can underline is that John's Jerusalem is the apocalyptic one, the one considered as the gathering place of the deity and the community, while the city described earlier was planned to be earthly, and therefore it needed to contemplate a temple where they could worship God. It seems to us that what varies here is the purpose: first, they had to worship God according to all the precepts, while now (in the near future) they are supposed to live in perfect communion with God. This immediately changes the purpose of the writers: the first writers had in mind a way to achieve the goal, while the second writers had already achieved it and the city was considered to reflect the glory of God. Here the city is the temple, while before the city had the Temple that made Jerusalem the city of God. We see the transformation of the city into a timeless space/time. Therefore, "*End-time has become primeval time,*" as

Deutsch affirms.<sup>88</sup> That indicates a cyclical interpretation of time when the end is thought to be a return to the creational period, yet that cannot be literally taken since there is here an implied sense of development. Therefore, the metaphor of the spiral time progress could suit better our purposes than the cyclical.

With Rev 21:1 we enter therefore, in the space of the new order, one beyond history, where sacred and human gather in one single place. This new cosmos and the presupposed destruction of the one that anticipated it is probably what explains why the Sea was destroyed. We do have to remember that in the Ancient Near Eastern mythology the sea commonly represented chaos, and hence its destruction was the restitution of the original order. This new cosmos as depicted by John may also be understood as John's way to express the cosmic expectations formulated by the older texts in which the total destruction of the known/earthly cosmos was considered as the moment that would anticipate the new world. In fact, world's destruction was considered a needed feature before the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. Although it appears as a complete rupture with the past, there is a pertinent question to be asked: how could John describe the new city in terms so similar to the earthly Jerusalem? However, that can be explained if we recall that Genesis affirmed that everything had been created in the image of God, and therefore we can assume that all things had also been created in the image of the heavenly ones. earthly models were, therefore, none but the recreation of heavenly things. Otherwise, it would not be possible to accept this new city as a real thing that would be about to happen. Heavenly things have thus, to be understood as the models for the earthly ones. Only in that way can we realize how John was able to describe the city: he had a model in his mind that he could copy.

John uses, at the same time, the image of Creation and other symbols to describe the New Jerusalem. As we have said at the beginning of this section, Jerusalem is depicted as the bride of the Lamb coming down from heaven in white garments. The imagery of the divine wedding between the deity and Israel/Jerusalem is not an innovation, although here it gets some very specific contours. This bride is supposed to be regarded as the antithesis of the prostitute described in chapter 17. It is a motif used in a preventive way because it is expected to reflect what the Christians should and should not do to achieve the promised

---

<sup>88</sup> Deutsch, "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21,1-22,5," 117.

kingdom.<sup>89</sup> However, this bride of the end of the book can also be regarded as the opposite of the woman depicted in chapter 12. The bride represented already the community of the faithful on earth, although she depicted it in a suffering status. This portrait of the marriage between the Lamb (and therefore God) and Jerusalem (the community) is certainly a reference to the quality of the relationship evoked, and it supposes progress in their relationship. In chapter 12, the woman was regarded as a synonym of infidelity and idolatry whereas at the end of the book she is understood to signify the opposite: fidelity, fruitfulness, beauty, and a certain degree of intimacy with the deity.<sup>90</sup> The long lasting relationship between the beloved city and God that had begun in history is now developing into the field of the a-historical time and space. The two worlds had become one. The only change of tone refers to the inhabitants of the city: before it was Israel, while now it is the entire community of the believers in the Lamb.

c) *Ages and/or periods of history in Revelation?*

According to some commentators the fact that Revelation is framed in several series of seven is already enough to conclude the existence of some sort of notion of world history or time development behind it. This implies the existence of two different times, each including seven different periods supposed to follow each other. However, is this enough to conclude that the author of Revelation had in mind a linear perspective of history ruled by divine determinism? We may say that the history related is not only human, it is cosmic as well, and therefore, timeless: the divinity that created the world has also defined that all those things had to happen before the establishment of the earthly Jerusalem. As Yarbro Collins explains “*the primary purpose of the book is not to impart information.*”<sup>91</sup> In fact, the author appears more interested in explaining to his companions why they forcefully needed to commit and be faithful to God if they wanted to achieve their final goal. In this sense, the perspective of history is the one of the Christian people, and not a universal view.

<sup>89</sup> Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, 174.

<sup>90</sup> Deutsch, "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21,1-22,5," 111-3.

<sup>91</sup> Collins, *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, 144.

At the same time, John refers the existence of a messianic kingdom expected to last for a thousand years according to Rev 20:4, and John's words let us understand that that period had already begun. We have then the time before the messianic kingdom as the present, and the judgment and the establishment of the divine kingdom representing the future. This is somehow a more simple way of describing history and its evolution, especially when compared to earlier apocalypses such as, for example, Daniel, where the reader can find several attempts to set the date for the expected end,<sup>92</sup> along with the description of the different empires that should succeed over time. In Revelation, there is no such a thing as a reference to six or seven ages of the world, what we have is an explicit mention of different periods of time, namely when the millennial period is described. Nevertheless, we have here a sense of development that we cannot forget when studying the ages of the world. Moreover, the author also mentions the existence of two distinct deaths and hence two resurrections of the dead.

All this together obliges us to realize that he did have a certain historical sense, even if he does not express it as Daniel or 1 Enoch do, where we find well described sequences of time events that should anticipate the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth. In fact, there is a break between his time and the time to come that permits us to think that this messianic kingdom was an intermediate period, and that it would terminate with the judgment of the dead. Although these 1000-years represent a limited period, their most important factor is possibly the symbolism of the figure and not the period of a thousand years itself. In fact, that is going to be one of the issues that later commentators of Revelation will discuss in-depth. Another aspect to consider when analyzing the different ways of mentioning and understanding time by this author is the fact that he also describes a sequence of kings, although in this case we have a sequence of Roman emperors in Rev 17:9. That may be considered as chronology and not as much as philosophy of history. This sequence of chronological events reported by John also implies the question of the Antichrist, and it is in that perspective that sometimes the references to Nero and Babylon are understood, especially when commentators go through the symbolism of the number achieved by the sum of the letters of the emperor's name. The reference to the existence of an antithetic character to oppose the Messiah in a time considered as intermediate is the

---

<sup>92</sup> Dan 12:11-12.

beginning of an ancient question of who is the Antichrist: a king, a pope, or someone else? Likewise, the same happens with the cities: Babylon and/or Rome versus the New Jerusalem.

In Revelation, the author tried to expose a theory that divided time into two different ages (one in the past and one in the future), plus an intermediate period that represented the present. The final result, is a history of the cosmos in its universal sense and not just a portrait of a small unit of time and/or space. We shall say that that happens not only in the case of the messianic kingdom, but even with the description of the sequence of kings, where we find a clear distinction of the three periods (the past kings, the king that is, and the one that still is not), but again this can be read as another literary repetition. We do know that chapters 20 and 21 translate a view of the world to come and of the world that would anticipate the last judgment. Furthermore, there is an explicit account of the existence of two distinct deaths in time (cf. Rev 20:5 and Rev 21:8), which is different from what we were used to in earlier apocalyptic texts. For example, in Daniel, we have an account of the judgement where it is said that the people whose names were inscribed in the Book of Life would be raised, but there is no explanation regarding what is supposed to happen to the remainder. In Revelation, we have first two different groups of people: one with the mark of the Lamb and the other with the mark of the beast. The first ones are entitled to live in the earthly kingdom of God that is going to be created after the thousand-year period, in the New Jerusalem, while the others would suffer a second death and be thrown into the lake of fire, where they would join the dragon, the false prophet and Satan. In a certain way, Revelation becomes more detailed and explicit than the previous texts, stressing the increased power of the described images in the imagination of the Christians. Actually, that is one of its strengths. It was due to the use of that type of image that Revelation became vivid imagery in the minds of the following Christian generations and was continuously used. In fact, it was what they could hope for if they had been faithful during their lifetime, but it was also a description of what they would get if they had chosen the beast. From the millennial period described in Rev 20:1-6 and during which the dragon was supposed to be imprisoned (although to be released later), we move to the final battle described in Rev 20:7-10 where the dragon was to be released and gather an army, and then be defeated and thrown into the lake of sulphur. Finally, there is an account of the last

judgment in Rev 20:11-15. Everyone whose name was not inscribed in the Book of Life would also be thrown into the lake of fire, and this judgment is meant to be total and take place when Sea, Death and hades would release their dead in order for them to be judged. After this, the elected ones, i.e., the ones whose names were inscribed in the Book of Life, would start enjoying this new age with the kingdom of God on earth and a New Jerusalem without a temple. After all, being the city of the living God is by itself being a living Temple, so there was no need to build another one. From the sentence: *"See, I am making all things new"* in Rev 21:5 the listener and the reader have the perception that they entered a new world entirely different from the one in which they were living until that moment. This was the New Age and it implied a formal cut with the past, or the old age, although not total. In short, Revelation does not contain many explicit details as to what is supposed to happen to the world and when, but it gives the listener a reasonable idea of how things are supposed to happen during the intermediate period. Again, the author manipulates the existing tension between Christians and Romans, and even Jews, to achieve such a level of anguish in which he could more easily explain that what was happening was the result of a divine plan, something predetermined by God, and that the reestablishment of the kingdom of God in a very near future was also a reality. He confirms that when he says in the last verses: *"See, I am coming soon; my reward is with me, to repay according to everyone's work. <sup>13</sup> I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end"* (Rev 22:12-13), which confirms the sense of totality and that everything happening was part of a divine plan, especially History.

In this book it seems that the schema of the ages of world could be represented as 2+1, the first two being past and future and the last one the intermediate messianic kingdom, rather than using the common ancient scheme of 4 empires, or even 6 or 7 ages of the world that would anticipate the divine kingship. The introduction of the concept of the messianic kingdom at this moment before the definitive establishment of the kingdom of God, will also bring with it the concept of the Antichrist as he represents the last enemy to be destroyed before the establishment of the Kingdom. At this moment, it looks as though the antichrist here was supposedly Nero, a character whose death raised some doubts, especially in Asia Minor. In a certain way, a character such as the late roman emperor was needed to explain the final combat and how the world could be divided into these two

opponent groups. He is the ideal character, especially if we consider that there were several fake-Neros's appearing in the different parts of the Empire and being treated as if they were the emperor. However, Nero and his followers were not the only ones to be condemned: Babylon, i.e., Rome, will also be, and by that way Jerusalem will ascend to the category of the most important worldly city. The establishment of the New Jerusalem that was destined to marry the Lamb defines also a new beginning both in the sense of world history and in the cosmological sense. There is a sense of re-creation behind this scene. It resembles the Ancient Near Eastern mythology where the beast that used to hold the power was defeated by a champion named by the remaining gods, and the first thing he does is build a palace, this palace being a synonym for the temple. With the destruction of chaos, it is possible to restore the initial cosmos, the time of perfection and harmony between humans and the divine. Instead of an ending point, this is more similar to a restarting point. From this perspective, history is no longer linear and becomes *circular* since the main purpose is to get back to a time considered as the perfect one. In fact, the symbols used to describe this bride are the ones that characterize purity and perfection, and the same happens with the throne described in Rev 19:11. There is a narrative of victory, and at the same time, punishment of the followers of the beast and of the false prophet. Then, a thousand-year reign will be established and we can read in John's description that around the throne of the Lamb there were places set for the martyrs. There is yet a last sequence: after these thousand-years, the beast is supposed to be released and gather an army to fight against the divine city. However, there will be a divine action and this other beast will also be thrown into the lake of sulfur where the first beast and the false prophet had already been thrown. Only after these two different moments of defeat of evil can the divine kingdom be definitely established in the New Jerusalem, the new city that John was invited to view and which he described in the last verses of this book. When listening to such an account the faithful becomes certain of what he is supposed to accomplish. Moreover, the fact that they listen saying that the end is near is yet another way to raise the expectation of a near victory and that all the faithful would be rewarded by being allowed to live in the divine city with God. This signifies that this author had in mind a cosmological history where these bad times were needed in order to stress the goodness of what was supposed to arrive at the end. In brief, everything was planned in advance by God, the Creator, who had the power to

decide to test his followers. From this point of view, Revelation becomes a reading of hope and salvation to the injured people addressed by John. Beyond being a warning, it is also a report concerning the future events that were expected to happen.

***Part 2 - The Exegetical Tradition***

The texts of the Book of Daniel and of Revelation, and those concerning the coming of the Messiah and the establishment of a divine kingdom on earth, are accepted as a “hope message,” particularly when they draw the events that would anticipate the coming of the Messiah and the establishment of the divine kingdom. Therefore, and as Beckwith promptly reminds us: “(...) *the most usual interpretations in Judaism until after 70 A.D., and in Christianity down until the end of the nineteenth century, were of Messianic kind.*”<sup>1</sup> There are common features that we can find among these texts that try to establish a date for the prophetic events mentioned in Daniel to take place. Until this moment, we have analyzed the text of Daniel, its founding sources and its direct influence in the conception of Revelation, and subsequently in the establishment of Christianity’s main features regarding eschatological hope. Now, it is time to begin analyzing the texts and authors that have been influenced by these same ideas, especially among those authors that marked the turn of the Era and influenced the generations to follow, and principally the Church Fathers.

The main question that arises around the turn of the Era, particularly after Christ’s death, concerns whether or not the Messiah had already come an issue is especially important in the disputes between Jews and Christians. Within Christianity, it opened the doors to discuss an eventual second coming of Jesus that would then inaugurate the earthly kingdom of God. Simultaneously, within Judaism a similar messianic question circulates, although it concerns when that the coming of the messiah was supposed to take place. The two groups, although arguing about different interpretations of Daniel, were especially concerned to prove Daniel’s prophecy, and consequently, its exactitude. Both expected the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth and the beginning of a new time. Authors of this period drew their attention to Daniel’s prophecy, showing an evident interest regarding the division of time into seventy weeks, and particularly to the last period. Their attention was focused on the identification of the “anointed prince” of Dan 9:25 that marks the end of the preceding historical period. If they were able to identify the prince who was supposed to

---

<sup>1</sup> Roger T. Beckwith, "Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah's Coming in Essene, Hellenistic, Pharisaic, Zealot and Early Christian Computation," *Révue de Qumran* 10, no. 4 (1981): 521.

anticipate the beginning of the last week, then they would also be able to provide a more precise chronology concerning the events of the end.

Since we are speaking about chronologies, although we have already stated that this subject cannot be simply understood in terms of chronology, some of the data provided by Beckwith may be of interest here. However, before doing so, it is important to acknowledge how this author has come to divide this quest for the “anointed one” into four main chronological schemes. He reminds the reader that *“In ancient Jewish literature, the interpretation of Daniel’s 70 weeks is always linked to some kind of chronological scheme.”*<sup>2</sup> After that, the author clarifies his affirmation by highlighting the differences among Essene, Hellenistic, Pharisaic and/or Zealot, and Christian authors.<sup>3</sup> The first three schemes, originated among the first three groups above mentioned, respectively, are obviously created within the Jewish context and so they all begin with the time of Creation and use the chronology of Genesis. Nonetheless, only Essenes and Pharisees continue the chronology into the future in a way that allows the perception that these authors were trying to define a scheme where the fulfillment of the prophecy was taken into account. As he continues to speak about the importance of creating chronologies for these authors of the turn of the Era, Beckwith reminds us how the Christian scheme was influenced by the remaining schemes and how it used them in order to build its own identity.<sup>4</sup>

It is not our main purpose here to analyze further all of these schemes since we are mainly interested in the interpretations of Josephus, Hippolytus and Jerome, i.e., in the so-called Hellenistic and Christian schemes. Nevertheless, and because of how important it is sometimes to access real data to get a more accurate picture of how these questions concerning the end of time were so important, we will insert now a chronological table provided by Beckwith with the dates for each main period of time of Jewish history according to the four different interpretations previously mentioned.

---

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 522.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: 523.

	ESSENE ( <i>Jubilees</i> , <i>Testament f Levi</i> , <i>Damascus</i> <i>Document</i> , etc.)	HELLENISTIC (Josephus)	PHARISAIC ( <i>Seder Olam</i> <i>Rabbah</i> )	CHRISTIAN (Africanus, Hippolytus)
<i>Creation</i>	c. 3906 B.C.	c. 4860 B.C. (Eupolemus 5306 B.C.)	3759 B.C.	(A) 5502 B.C. (H) 5503 B.C.
<i>Exodus</i>	c. 1506 B.C.	c. 1703 B.C. (Eupolemus 1737 B.C.)	1311 B.C.	(A) 1795 B.C. (H) 1690 B.C.
<i>Building of the 1<sup>st</sup> Temple</i>	c. 978 B.C.	c. 1062 B.C.	831 B.C.	(A) 1051 B.C. (H) 1095 B.C.
<i>Beginning of the Exile</i>	c. 560 B.C.	640 B.C. (Demetrius 560 B.C. Ps. Demetrius 667 B.C.)	421 B.C.	(A) 631 B.C. (H) 661 B.C.

Figure 1 – Comparative Chronologies<sup>5</sup>

The above table is important because it gives a more accurate idea of how many different chronologies existed at this time (and still exist), and how they might be related correlate them. It is also useful because it establishes some type of background for authors like Josephus and Hippolytus, that we will analyze in the following pages.

Among Jewish chronologies, it is common to identify the “anointed prince” with the high priest Onias III who was murdered by Menelaus in c. 171 B.C. This episode was considered by Jewish chroniclers to record the beginning of the destruction that led to the reign of Antiochus and anticipated the Maccabean revolt. Nevertheless, and as we will see later, Josephus did not identify the “anointed prince” with Onias, but draws his chronology in a way that the date leading to the events would be c. 157-150 B.C., which reflects the period of the first Maccabean high priest, Jonathan. This assumption is understandable in the case of Josephus since the author makes a manifest effort trying to establish his familiar relationship with the line of the Maccabees.

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.: 524.

This question of identifying who was the “anointed prince” mentioned by Daniel and who was supposed to be a signal of the end of the 62 weeks and the beginning of the last week is also related to the question of how many empires each one of these authors thought existed. It takes us to a closer understanding with reference to the end as we will observe in the following pages. Therefore, our objective is now to introduce the interpretation of the danielic scheme by Josephus, Hippolytus and Jerome, and later the philosophies of history of Augustine and Joachim of Fiore. These will have a clear influence in the thought of the generations to follow, namely in the works of the Church Fathers and later in the medieval works regarding the meaning of Revelation or even whenever someone would try to set a chronology of the end.

1) *Flavius Josephus*

The works of Josephus were broadly known among Christian writers of early Christianity, and frequently used as the sole reference for Jewish history since Creation. This is especially true when it concerns the period of the destruction of the Temple in c. 70 CE. As Schreckenberg writes, “*This Jewish historian was for a long time paid little or no attention by his countrymen while, on the other hand, he was esteemed highly in Christian circles of the early church.*”<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, we need to remember that although this has been the case, and that one of the reasons why we are analyzing his work is because of how he influenced Christian thinking. Josephus cannot be understood out of context. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that both writer and works were a product of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, and should not be accepted as if they were an unquestionable historical source, as Mason warns.<sup>7</sup> In addition, we need to recall that around the 10<sup>th</sup> century someone translated the works of Josephus into Hebrew, the so-called *Josippon* that appeared in the south of the Italic peninsula, which demonstrates the interest in this work by his compatriots.

It is usual to know some details regarding the life of ancient writers through what others have written about them. Many, in fact, are only known through that method and their original writings have never been found. However, in Josephus’ particular case the scholar is lucky because he wrote a *Vita* that has survived until today. His autobiography is also a creation of his own time, and therefore, it contains a description of his origins referring to the creation of a narrative of his noble ancestry. As expected, Josephus highlights his royal and priestly lineages, how he was a prodigy child, his intensive studies, the time spent in the desert, and his military career. Even if we are fortunate to possess such testimony, actually this is a “*highly stylized*” portrait.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, scholars are left with the anguish of deciding what can be accepted as historical source and what should be considered part of the “perfect” self-portrait. This, in fact, is one of the main reasons why

---

<sup>6</sup> Heinz Schreckenberg, "The Works of Josephus and the Early Christian Church," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 315.

<sup>7</sup> Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 2 ed. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

so many scholars have problems accepting Josephus' works as reliable sources about those historical periods. They raise the question of whether we are reading facts or excellent examples of the time's rhetoric practices. For example, the use of a royal and/or priestly lineage was very common in a world dominated by the almost non-existence of social mobility, which is exactly what we observe Josephus doing in the first lines of his *Vita*. This takes place when he accentuates the fact that he descends from the royal Hasmonean lineage and states categorically, "The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one" (*Lif* 1.1). In a certain measure, we have the impression that Josephus had to make sure that his readers would take his words as coming from a person of authority, a quality intrinsic to his birth.

Josephus' complete biography is of no interest here, however, some details about his life must be remembered in order to later completely appreciate how he understood the Roman Empire to be part of the four-empire scheme described by Daniel. Apart from the fact that he had a good education, what really interests us is his public career, his role during the Jewish revolt against Rome and his later stay at Rome as a protégée of the emperor Vespasian.

As previously mentioned, Josephus was a member of the Hasmonean<sup>9</sup> family on his mother's side, and a priest by birth.<sup>10</sup> Born c. 37 BCE in Jerusalem within such a noble family entitled him to receive a good and solid education. Regarding his public life, he tells us that he made his first trip to Rome in c. 64 CE, when only 27 years old, as a member of a diplomatic representation charged with the task of releasing some priests earlier captured by Nero. Later, we know that he participated in the Jewish revolt against Rome, as a general, though we must be cautious concerning the character of his participation because he himself provided different reports about his role in this event. Some even consider this as the most controversial period of his career<sup>11</sup> because of the different descriptions found in the *Vita* and in the *Jewish War*. In a certain measure, these differences can be explained by the fact that the *Vita* was written as a support of the person who had just finished writing the *Jewish Antiquities*, someone who was trying to evidence the authoritative character of

---

<sup>9</sup> The Hasmonean ruled the century before Josephus was born. That is Herod's lineage, for example.

<sup>10</sup> Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus," in *Anchor Bible dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1992), 981.

<sup>11</sup> Among others see Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 41.

his own work.<sup>12</sup> As a result, scholars have always discussed whether Josephus' descriptions of Judea and of the Jewish revolt against Rome are or are not, more influenced by the rhetorical needs of his writing and his need to please his Roman and Greek readers, than by his real historical knowledge of the events. The question to ask, in fact, should concern how much of Josephus' account is not only a mere report fabricated according to the ancient literary conventions that we observe him using frequently. This becomes especially striking when we realise that Josephus spent most of the time of the Jewish revolt as a prisoner.<sup>13</sup> Yet, we need to remember that his description of his people and nation is made in a way to demonstrate their antiquity and their role as an important and loyal nation, even when under foreign rule. Nevertheless, and without going into further details about this issue, we know that Josephus surrendered himself to the Roman troops and was about to be sent to Rome and to Nero when he presented a prophecy to Vespasian about his future as emperor.

We read in *J.W.* 3.400 that Josephus had a message to the general from God. One in which Josephus identified Vespasian with Caesar and asked why he should send him to Nero since he was the messenger of such good and divine news.<sup>14</sup> Scholars continue to discuss the nature of the prophecy, although it seems clear that it was a well-known episode in Rome, especially among the supporters of Vespasian. Given the fact that the general was not born into any noble Roman family, it was necessary to provide him with some sort of legitimacy in his new position as emperor. Therefore, his supporters decided to spread the Jewish prophecy and introduce Vespasian as if he were a divine choice, instead of trying to find him any type of blood relation with an important family. In result of his acclamation, the new emperor treated Josephus as a protégé and not as if he were a Jewish prisoner. Nevertheless, we need to be cautious about the meaning of such position and, consequently, concerning the received treatment.<sup>15</sup> This prophecy became well-known amid the imperial

---

<sup>12</sup> For a more complete description of these discrepancies, read Mason's analysis about the subject in: *Ibid.*, 41-44.

<sup>13</sup> The war began c. March/April of 67 CE and Josephus surrounded in the summer of that same year. But the revolt lasted until c. 73 CE when Masada finally fall.

<sup>14</sup> This prophecy should have taken place in the summer of 67 CE, a few months later the troops revolted against Nero, who committed suicide a short time later, and the Empire was controlled by the three roman generals Galba, Otho and Vitellius. Only in December of 69 CE was Vespasian acclaimed emperor by the people of Rome.

<sup>15</sup> At this point, we need to highlight that a prisoner was always a dependent and never would become a truly free man, even holding Roman citizenship. This is how we should understand this period of the life of Josephus, because even if he had some sort of liberty he still had to keep faithful to the Flavians and could not openly fight the Roman power over Judea.

circles and was frequently cited at the time and even later by classic authors, who most probably never read Josephus' works directly. This argument may be used to accentuate the prophecy's diffusion and the effect it may have had in Rome. We are not going to discuss the origin of this prophecy, especially because Josephus himself notes that his prophecies were the result of God's favor to interpret some dreams he had had and which he could not understand before.<sup>16</sup> In a certain measure Josephus was putting himself at the same level of the Jewish canonical prophets by saying that he received such a gift from God. This argument may also be used to explain Josephus' fondness for using ancient prophetic books, especially Daniel, to explain past, current and future events. Besides, and as with many others Jews that lived during the 1<sup>st</sup> century, he seems to have particularly enjoyed the content of the Book of Daniel. Thus, it is not strange to find frequent citations from such book in his various works, both explicit and implicit references, particularly in the *Antiquities*. At this moment, trying to answer the question about the reasons that led Josephus to identify the last kingdom of the four-kingdom scheme forecast by Daniel with Rome seems premature, but we will come back to this issue later.

As we have seen, the Romans captured Josephus, or if we prefer, he surrendered himself, though they later offered him Roman citizenship, which may have put him in a difficult position in relation to his fellow Jews. It was during the time that he lived in Rome, as a client of the Flavius, that he wrote his vast work. It was his best opportunity to make full use of the education he received, namely regarding Judean traditions and his foreign language knowledge (as with many others in Judea Josephus was already fluent in Greek before leaving the territory). It is probably that his main problem to solve was his reputation: on one side, his fellow Jews considered him a traitor, while on the other side, he was a war captive of the Romans. Therefore, Mason's questions seem cunning:

*"(...) in writing about the recent war and earlier Jewish history, what is Josephus trying to tell his Romans readers about the Jews? Has he become hostile to Jews or Judaism? Does he speak as a traitor? What is his message?"*<sup>17</sup>

This is especially important if we recall the conditions under which Jews were living within the Empire after the destruction of the Temple and the fall of Jerusalem to Titus. Nevertheless, it is especially important to remember how both sides interpreted the

---

<sup>16</sup> *J.W.* 3.352

<sup>17</sup> Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 55.

fall of the Temple: for the Romans, it represented the superiority of their gods, while for the Jews, it was considered part of their divine and predetermined history. Hence, Josephus' writings have to be understood as the result of a set of historical conditions also influenced by this religious dispute, one that also affected how each nation was eventually labelled as being the deity's "chosen" one to rule the world or not. In fact, anti-Jewish writers constantly noted their lack of participation in public events, which sometimes led to public discontent.

Now that we have a better idea about the historical environment surrounding Josephus when he wrote his works, we can analyze his use and interpretation of the Book of Daniel. The explicit references to this book and to its author are found in the *Antiquities* and are mainly concentrated in book X. Nevertheless, we need to be aware of Josephus' constant references to Rome and to Roman power, and to the way they had destroyed Jerusalem. It is possible to convey here the idea that Josephus represents a shift of interpretation of the four empires described in the book of Daniel, from Greece to Rome. In fact, Josephus is the Jewish author who provides an interpretation of Daniel in which the last empire before the destruction and the settlement of the divine kingship on earth is the Roman Empire. Josephus' interpretation represents already a clear effort to extend the prophecy beyond the temporal limits of Antiochus' reign and of the Maccabean revolt. In fact, Josephus opens the doors to later interpretations of the prophecy based in contemporary historical events, for which the Book of Daniel itself is suitable.

In his works, Josephus tries to explain the reasons behind Jerusalem's fall at the hands of Titus. For that he introduces in his discourse the Hellenized themes of "immortality,"<sup>18</sup> "predestination,"<sup>19</sup> and "fortune,"<sup>20</sup> which would be easily understood by his readers all over the Empire. It is clear that his intention is in explaining the 1<sup>st</sup> century events in Jerusalem as part of God's divine plan, although in a way that would be understandable by the Greek dominating culture. Therefore, Roman action and the defeat of the Jewish forces become also explainable. At the same time, Josephus would be pleasing the Roman search for glory after the fall of Jerusalem,<sup>21</sup> while describing Jewish history in

---

<sup>18</sup> *cf.* for example *Ant* 12.282; 17,353; 18.18.

<sup>19</sup> Several examples of the use of this concept can be found for examples in *J.W.* 1.10; 3.354; 5.236-243.

<sup>20</sup> *cf.* for example *J.W.* 3.354,359.

<sup>21</sup> Recall the triumph ceremonies of Vespasian and Titus after the fall of Jerusalem.

such a grandiose form that could be observed as a way of trying to call a truce with his fellow Jews. At the same time, he almost excused Titus' violent actions in the eyes of the Jews as based on God's command.

As we have previously noted, Josephus recognizes the ability of interpreting prophecy as something granted by the deity to a chosen one such as the prophets in the past, describing himself as another recipient of such grace.<sup>22</sup> He also says that sometimes, prophecy may not be well interpreted due to personal wishes, and hence, the meaning of some of the prophecies regarding the last emperor to come had been altered.<sup>23</sup> He says, when referring to the role of Vespasian that "*The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular; and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination,*" (J.W. 6:313).<sup>24</sup> With this, he inaugurates a form of speech according to which Vespasian was the one chosen by the God of the Jews to instate the last week of years predicted by Dan 9. He adds to the earlier sentence that "*Now, this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea.*"<sup>25</sup> The oracle above mentioned is the one regarding the taking of the sacred city, i.e., Jerusalem, by foreign forces and in it we read:

*" Now, if anyone consider these things, he will find that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways possible predicts to our race what is for their preservation; but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves; <sup>311</sup> for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, had made their temple square, while at the same time they had it written in their sacred oracles, `That then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become square." <sup>312</sup> But now, what did the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how, 'about that time, one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth'." (J.W. 6.310-312)*

Once more, the character of predestined history is present and used as an explanation for the present events. In addition, at this point Josephus mentions the role of "*fate*" in this

---

<sup>22</sup> cf. *Ant* 3.352 ff.

<sup>23</sup> In this particular case, it seems like if Josephus is talking about the "coming prince" of Daniel, the one that would inaugurate the last week. It may look like if Josephus is trying to make his argument that the "coming prince" is Vespasian and not anyone arising from among the Jewish nation.

<sup>24</sup> cf. Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 49-50.

<sup>25</sup> In *J.W.* 6.313 Vespasian was acclaimed by his troops while in Judean territory and not in Rome. Therefore, he marches to Rome already as emperor and not as an eventual candidate.

process.<sup>26</sup> However, he does not only speak of “*fate*” because, following the Greek literary style Josephus also introduces the concept of “*fortune*” in a close connection with divine intervention. Therefore, all events had their explanation and were part of a bigger picture previously set by the God of the Jews. The Romans were only an instrument of that divine will and what they had done in Judea was nothing more than God’s wishes. With this, he achieves some maneuvering space to explain why the Romans were now leading the known world and had defeated the Jews, who supposedly were God’s chosen nation. At the same time, Josephus “(...) writes as a proud statesman and representative of his own nation, not as a Roman.”<sup>27</sup> Additionally, this records the beginning of the use of the idea of Jewish sin to explain God’s reasons behind such punishment. Consequently, what was happening was a punishment as it happened once before when the Babylonians took the Jews into captivity. The main difference between the two events was who had predicted them: in the first case Jeremiah, while in the second Daniel.<sup>28</sup> The Book of Daniel supports most of Josephus concepts of political history, although it is never clearly stated by the author that his source is Daniel. In Daniel we have, as previously mentioned, a description of how nations/empires would succeed in time through their sequential destruction of each other. Here, Josephus uses the image of the fourth kingdom described in Dan 2:40 as if it were a description of Rome, affirming in that way that the Jews should continue waiting for the Messiah, since everything that was taking place was part of the divine plan. Given the fact that empires were made and destroyed by God, and it was not possible to have a human-made empire ruling the world, it was clear therefore, that the Roman Empire was also part of God’s creation.

When retelling the story of the Book of Daniel in *Antiquities*, Josephus describes Daniel as a wise and chosen man able to keep his religious practices even under the ruling of another king. This can be understood as Josephus’ answer to all of those that complained that the Jews did not behave like social beings, and that they should be punished because they would attract bad luck to Rome. Besides, Josephus was also telling his fellow Jews that it was possible and desirable to keep the Law even under the ruling of a foreign nation

---

<sup>26</sup> *J.W.* 3.314.

<sup>27</sup> Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 92.

<sup>28</sup> As a quick reference, we need to remember that Josephus uses especially the works of Jeremiah and Daniel whenever it concerns future prophecies.

and without a Temple. Josephus tells them to endure, because reward would be achieved. He does it in the same manner as Daniel used this argument when calling for a non-violent answer to the ruling of Antiochus IV. Truth be told, Josephus probably found the writings of Daniel to be those that best fit the historical events of past and present. Besides, his description regarding the future was likely and easily decoded in terms of the Mediterranean's *realpolitik* of Josephus own time. In such a way, Daniel did not represent any decoding difficulties.

While retelling the story of Daniel in *Antiquities X*, Josephus adds some details that most authors agree as being collected from other sources than the Septuagint edition.<sup>29</sup> Besides, sometimes we observe Josephus "polishing" some details that could cause cultural and religious difficulties when read by Romans and Greeks. We are not going to analyze these additions and their origins here. What is important is to accentuate that Josephus follows what Bruce calls the "*pattern customary from the first century A.D. onwards*" and does not explicitly supply the names of the presupposed empires described in Nebuchadnezzar's dream and supposed to follow Babylon.<sup>30</sup> Needless to say, the reader has no difficulty accepting that Josephus had in mind the *Roman view* of the succession of empires. Therefore, Josephus' scheme of the empires would be Babylon, Medo-Persian, Macedonian and Roman, respectively. As an interpreter of the Book of Daniel, Josephus speaks of issues such as the four empires mentioned in Dan 2 (also comments on the passage of Dan 7 concerning the ram and the he-goat), chronologies towards the end, the *abomination of the desolation*, the anointed prince to come and, to finish, he discusses the meaning of the "stone" of Dan 2.

Regarding the four empires, we have already noted that Josephus clearly changes the interpretation shift towards the Roman model of the succession of empires. He makes it even more explicit when he describes Dan 8 and the combat between the ram and the he-goat. According to him, the ram represented the kingdoms of the Medes and of the Persians (*Ant* 10.272), while the he-goat represented "*that one should come and reign from the Greeks*" (*Ant* 10.273). He continues his description by mentioning the evil deeds of

---

<sup>29</sup> So, F. F. Bruce, "Josephus and Daniel," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 4 (1965). Several scholars discuss the existence of several details in Josephus edition that were not contemplated within the Hebrew-Aramaic version of Daniel. He also does not take into account chapters 13 and 14.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*: 148.

Antiochus IV and how Daniel's prophecy was demonstrated to be correct by those events. It is here that Josephus made a famous insertion concerning the Roman Empire. It reads: "*In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government and that our country should be made desolate by them*" (*Ant* 10.276). Therefore, Josephus was already making the case that the siege and destruction of Jerusalem was part of that future described with such exactitude by Daniel. He exploits this theme further and in a way to demonstrate how the Epicureans were wrong about the non-existence of Providence (*Ant* 10.277).

In the following lines of *Antiquities X*, Josephus retells the story of the liberation of the Jews by Cyrus. Therefore, introducing new chronological data that will consequently, allow the insertion of the Roman Empire as the last one described by Daniel before the stone smashed the statue and filled the world completely. On the other hand, Josephus does not mention openly the question concerning the duration of the seventy weeks of Daniel.<sup>31</sup> Neither does he, in fact, mention the interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy in Dan 9:24-27, though we can assume that he had this section of Daniel's narrative in mind on several occasions. In fact, concerning the historical chronologies, scholars agree that Josephus extended the Second Temple period over the limit. In the chronology he provided, the timeframe between Cyrus and the time of Vespasian was of c. 639 years, which we know to be incorrect by around 50 years. In this way, Josephus reinterpreted the date of the beginning of the last week of years mentioned by Daniel, which obviously had immediate effects in determining the characters involved in the events supposed to identify the change to the last period of time before the end. Not yet happy, Josephus continues discussing the significance of some of Daniel's key concepts such as the *abomination of the desolation*. Regarding this theme, his interpretation had also a visible effect. Instead of pointing the finger to Antiochus IV, Josephus preferred to underline the problems caused by the Zealots, describing them as the ones behind the rebellion, and therefore, responsible for the turbulence, and in an ultimate interpretation, of the destruction of the Temple. He also points the finger to the type of high priests elected (and to the election process itself), and to their humble origins. According to him, they had no capacity to hold office. From all of this we can comprehend that he understood that it was impossible that the Jews could have won

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: 152.

the rebellion against Rome. Rome was the last challenge, but in last instance, Jerusalem had also been reckless and was paying for that. He says, “*but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntarily bring upon themselves*” in *J.W.* 6.310. After that, he adds that Jewish foolishness led “*that then should their city be taken, as well as their holy house, when once their temple should become square*” (*J.W.* 6.311). Josephus is painting a picture of destruction caused ultimately by the Jews and in which the Roman power was only an instrument of God’s will.

Until now, Josephus had led us to an interpretation of the events reported in Daniel slightly different from the customary readings. For him, it was all part of a divine plan to punish the Jews for their inability to keep the Law. Therefore, he pictures Rome as the last punishment and incites his fellows to follow the Law even under the rule of a foreign nation. At this moment, after realizing that Josephus counted Rome as the last empire, it is thus possible to understand how and why Josephus transforms Vespasian into the *coming prince* depicted by Dan 9:26. His apologetic of the empire is thus complete, and in this way, he replaces Antiochus by the new roman emperor. However, he continues to understand Roman rule as temporary, though necessary because it would anticipate the coming of the stone, i.e., the end of times. We must stress that Josephus never says what the current interpretation of the meaning of the stone was. On one hand, this is perfectly understandable in light of the political events of the time, but on the other hand, it may lead to some further questioning regarding Josephus’ reasons behind writing about such an issue. Therefore, we should remember the passage of his work where we read him saying that

*“Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king (b) but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future; yet if anyone be so very desirous of knowing truth, as not to wave such points of curiosity, and cannot curb his inclination for understanding the uncertainties of the future, and whether they will happen or not, let him be diligent in reading the Book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.”* (*Ant* 10.210)

Although we can understand Josephus’ need for survival among Romans, we cannot think that he would not know what was the current interpretation of such prophecy among his own people, especially when he introduces himself as a priest of high lineage. Moreover, at the time he wrote it was normal to take the stone as being the future reign of

the saints that would follow the destitution of the Roman Empire, i.e., a Jewish reign.<sup>32</sup> As Bruce states, Daniel was fully convinced that Rome represented this last stage and that it “(...) *would one day disintegrate beneath the great stone.*”<sup>33</sup> In this way, Josephus was contemplating in his work the brilliant future of his own people, although he made use of diplomatic resources to demonstrate it, and in that way, to keep his own expectations in a low profile.

In a brief analysis, Josephus tells his reader that Daniel’s prophecies were right, acute and precise, although it was necessary to consider the Romans as the last empire before it was possible even to consider the existence of a new cosmos, the one represented by the divine kingdom on earth. Therefore, he needed to identify Vespasian, who was also his protector, as the one predicted to rule before the end at the beginning of the last week. Only in that way, would Daniel’s prophecies be finally fulfilled. In addition, we must remember Mason’s words about the importance given by Josephus to Daniel:

*“He considers Daniel one of the greatest because that prophet alone gave a detailed schedule of the future events, to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, which has been fulfilled with stunning and easily verifiable accuracy.”*<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, it appears of importance to remember that in all his works Josephus never abandons the concept of a divine and predetermined history impossible to change by human will. This and the fact that he never explicitly described the nature of the stone, probably contributed to the explanation why Josephus was later so much cherished among Christian writers. In a way, he opens the doors to any future and eventual interpretation of Daniel’s prophecy of the succession of empires putting the emphasis now on the identification of the stone that represented the last stage, the one described in terms that seem to belong to another cosmos.

We have to retain from Josephus’ interpretation of Daniel regarding the four-empire scheme his identification of the last empire with Rome, the divine nature of history, the need of divine punishment against the Jewish people and the coming of a last force that would then surpass Roman power and invade the world (the stone). In this way, Josephus can also be taken as the predecessor of many other interpreters of Daniel, especially

---

<sup>32</sup> Comparable to the Christian Millennium.

<sup>33</sup> Bruce, "Josephus and Daniel," 160.

<sup>34</sup> Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 120.

because his reading is much influenced by political events, and not so much by religious ideas.

## 2) Hippolytus and the 6000-year chronology

Notwithstanding being known today as one of the most important theologians of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century Christian church in the West, Hippolytus' life and writings are not as well-known as we could initially think. Most scholars explain it by referring to Hippolytus' schismatic activities, to which they add the fact that he wrote in Greek instead of Latin.

It is commonly accepted though, that Hippolytus lived between c. 170 CE and 236 CE and held a solid reputation among the Roman presbyters. However, little is known regarding his earlier life and what we know about his later career is still under dispute. Even Eusebius is not positive concerning which church he lead.<sup>35</sup> Historical sources also do not allow us to confirm whether he was a disciple of Irenaeus (he probably was not), although it is commonly accepted that he attended one of Origen's sermons during his stay in Rome. We also know that the historical sources refer to him both as bishop and as a presbyter, which reflects in a certain way that his importance was different whether in the West or in the East.<sup>36</sup> In fact, Hippolytus appears to have been only a presbyter; however, in the Orient it was common to speak of him as a bishop. Later, Hippolytus, a man some said to be very strict in terms of orthodoxy, was convinced that Pope Callistus was a heretic and, therefore, regarded himself as an anti-Pope. During that period, he not only attacked Callistus, but also his successors, namely Urban and Pontianus. He was later exiled with the latter in Sardinia during the persecution of the Emperor Maximim (235-238 CE). Because of this event, it is frequently accepted that Hippolytus later in his life and before his death got reconciled with the Roman Church. In fact, Pope Fabian afterwards in c. 236 CE transferred his body to Rome, which can be taken as a sign that Hippolytus' so-called "schism" was not considered as such by the Roman hierarchy. At least, it seems to have been regarded as not constituting a danger to the Roman orthodoxy.

---

<sup>35</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, 6.20.

<sup>36</sup> A presbyter is as common figure in Northern Africa earlier Christianity. In fact, in Palestine the organization of the Christians churches was similar to the one found in the synagogue. Therefore, these earlier churches were ruled by a group of "elders," being the presbyters the most important members. However, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards, these groups of presbyters started to be leaded by bishops, who were distinguished in honor and prerogative from the presbyters. Therefore, if Hippolytus is known by different titles, it almost impossible to really know to which rank he belonged to.

As we have already noted, there were few details known about Hippolytus' life until the discovery of a statue in Rome in 1551 considered of him, which today is however, considered to be of a female.<sup>37</sup> In this statue there is a list of several of his works, some of those already known through Eusebius<sup>38</sup> or Jerome, and other works not yet known to be his. Among the listing of his writings, we should not forget to mention the *Refutation of All Heresies*, the treaty *De Christo et Antichristo*, the commentaries on *Daniel* and the *Song of Songs*, and the *Logos Doctrine* among others. Nevertheless, we should not forget that most of his works were not known by his contemporaries because they were written in Greek. As G. Bardy says: "On peut dire que jusque vers 1850 la personne et l'œuvre d'Hippolyte sont restées à peu près ignorées, même par les doctes."<sup>39</sup> In fact, until the publication of his *Philosophumena* in 1851 his name was almost unknown and only from that date onwards can we observe the existence of a true interest concerning his works.

Before continuing to explore Hippolytus' conceptions regarding the end of time, it seems necessary to explain a little further the historical situation in which he writes. We have already seen that most of his work was written in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, a period marked by the increasing of regular persecution against Christians. As Daley says: "(...) it was only in the third century, however, that persecution became, in several brief but bloody episodes, systematic and universal."<sup>40</sup> Persecution was then extended to all parts of the Roman Empire. Christians were many times held responsible for famines, crises of many sorts, or even for the actions of some of the emperors. In short, Christians became the "scapegoats" of the Empire, especially under Septimius Severus. In such situation of distress, it is not hard to imagine how eschatological hope played an important role in this population. Although the works of Hippolytus only reflect the events of the first decades of that century, they are an excellent example of the usage of biblical concepts regarding the end of time under such circumstances.

Concerning the issue of the end of time, and especially, the definition of date for those events, Hippolytus wrote two works: *De Christo et Antichristo* (c. 200 CE) and

---

<sup>37</sup> "Hippolytus, St," in *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 778.

<sup>38</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.22.

<sup>39</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 8.

<sup>40</sup> Brian E. Daley, "Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York: Continuum, 1999), 10.

*Commentary on Daniel* (c.204 CE). Although we will be only analyzing the latter in detail, it is important to make some comments about the first work.

In his *De Christo et Antichristo*, Hippolytus gathers a set of passages both from the Old Testament and the New Testament where some sort of apocalyptic hope and descriptions of the end of the world were implicit. This is the main reason why some scholars define this work as a *florilegium*. Hippolytus appears to be especially concerned with the relationship between the figure of the Antichrist and the events that would lead to the end of time. Hippolytus' Antichrist is depicted as if he were the main character of Rev 13, the beast that rises out of the sea. As Daley affirms, "(...) Hippolytus constructs a vivid portrait of this last rebel against the royal rule of Christ, which anticipates the standard interpretation of succeeding centuries."<sup>41</sup> Moreover, this figure will act as the savior depicted in Daniel, rebuild the Temple, and even, defeat the Roman power. In fact, this antichrist figure is similar to the one connected with the Messiah described in the apocalyptic books and who would be responsible for the last persecution before the Final Judgment – the anti-messiah. However, Hippolytus does not use him in order to underline the proximity of the present with the end of time, as we will see.

The *Commentary on Daniel*, written c. 204 CE, is probably one of the most ancient, if not the oldest, surviving Christian commentaries of a biblical book.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, its writing should be interpreted as a reaction to the persecution and to the resulting *status quo*. As we have already said, the century in which Hippolytus writes was marked by the subsistence of a strong apocalyptic expectation from a population undergoing high distress in the form of persecution and killing. Therefore, anything that could explain when the suffering was supposed to end was to be used by the first Christian theologians to provide some hope to their communities. It is, therefore, in this context that the *Commentary on Daniel* was produced, and has to be understood.

This commentary on the Book of Daniel by Hippolytus appears, as we have just observed, within the context of the Montanist's expectations in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. This movement, first originated in Phrygia, lived in the expectation of a fast settlement of the Holy Spirit on the Church. Its members believed that earlier prophets were already a sign

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>42</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 10, McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*, 60.

that the end was near, and the movement echoed particularly in Roman Africa. In that region, it appealed to such people as Tertullian, who began to observe and recommend very strict behavior and observance of the laws. In fact, the interpretation of this line of thinking in Roman Africa is known to have made Christian life harsher and to punish escapes with persecution, resulting consequently, in the increase of martyrs and massacres. Nevertheless, today this movement is considered as part of the earliest Christian apocalyptic groups. Besides, at its time, it helped to increase apocalyptic hopes concerning the end of time and the establishment of the divine kingship of God on earth. It is to questions like these that Hippolytus gives answers in several of his works, but in a more thorough way in this particular commentary on Daniel. In fact, as we will notice, Hippolytus used the biblical passages to set a date for the events related with the end that was still five hundred years distant. It was thus, in a historical context marked by the multiplication of forecasts regarding the date of the end, that Hippolytus reinforced his theory concerning the world's total duration of 6000-years while combating what he considered as heresies. Nevertheless, Hippolytus goes far beyond the question of the time left until the events of the end begin, and spends his time confirming the veracity/authenticity of the book of Revelation and of the other writings attributed to John. In fact we to agree with G. Bardy when he writes that "(...) *le commentaire de Daniel est donc une oeuvre de circonstance*,"<sup>43</sup> written as if it was a response to a question and in the light of perturbing historical circumstances for the Christians communities.

Hippolytus seems to follow Revelation's scheme regarding the process of the end of the world. Therefore, it is common in his writings to find him mentioning the coming of an Antichrist who would imitate Christ in order to gather followers and rebuild the Temple, although, in a last analysis, he would be connected with the Roman Empire. This figure represented the power to be defeated by God before the end. In his *Commentary on Daniel*, Hippolytus follows the same historical pattern towards the end of time while underlining that the reign of the Antichrist would finish when there would be 6000-years since Creation. In this manner, Hippolytus provides to the Christian reader a serious attempt of dating the events of the end. Simultaneously, he provides answers to three issues of his time: 1) he reaffirms that the ancient prophecies that had already taken place in history

---

<sup>43</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 17.

were one more sign that what had been written and prophesized was correct;<sup>44</sup> 2) he shows how once again the Book of Daniel could be used in a situation of communal distress and when there were forced exiles; and 3) he demonstrates what some of Daniel's symbolic imagery would mean in the future to come. Moreover, he has no difficulty accepting the story told in the book as if it were history, which permits him to validate the prophecies that he considers to have already taken place. In fact, if past prophecies had already happened within historical time, then everything forecasted regarding the future would naturally take place.

Hippolytus' interpretation of the Book of Daniel concerning the four empires and the four animals is very similar, if not identical to the one introduced by Josephus and later followed by the Church Fathers, since he also privileged the role of Rome as the last Empire.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, his description of the historical succession of empires contemplates Babylon, Persia, Macedonia and Rome. Rome, would thus anticipate the coming of the Antichrist, and he describes it as "(...) *un ramassis de toutes les langues et de toutes les races humaines (...)*"<sup>46</sup> instead of being one single and united nation. However, he also understands the Roman Empire as an obstacle to the coming of the Antichrist, although that should not worry Christians because it was part of God's divine plan.

Hippolytus had also to deal with his contemporaries' expectations regarding the future as had happened in the past with other interpreters of prophetic works. Once more, similarly to what happened in other circumstances, the community's main interest regarded the date of the end. How were they supposed to understand themselves to be living within a chronology of the end? Near or close to the events reported by the prophet?

Hippolytus bases his interpretation of world chronology in the scheme of the seventy weeks described in Dan 9:24 and interprets that subject in chapter 4 of the *Commentary*. As previously mentioned, the author describes the four beasts of Daniel as symbols or images and compares them later with the empires.<sup>47</sup> Both are symbols of historical events, of a chronology preset by God. However, he begins immediately to build a new chronology when he attributes c. 230 years of longevity to the Persian Empire,

---

<sup>44</sup> Some scholars say that in providing reaffirmation he behaved as a historian and not a theologian.

<sup>45</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

though he reminds us that some believed that the Persian had dominated for 255 years, i.e., until the reign of Darius.<sup>48</sup> This is the same Darius who was later destroyed by Alexander during his seventh year of reign. As predicted by Daniel, Alexander's empire was divided into four smaller pieces following his death.<sup>49</sup> However, this Greek Empire lasted still for 300 years, according to our author.<sup>50</sup> Only after that time had passed was the Roman Empire upraised.<sup>51</sup> In this passage, Hippolytus reminds the reader of the description of the ten horns that were supposed to rise from the last beast, before the appearance of the last horn, the one that should represent the Antichrist.<sup>52</sup> From that moment on, i.e., after the appearance of the Antichrist justice would gradually be annulled, approximating thus the present time to the expected end.<sup>53</sup> Hippolytus is also clear with reference to the attitude that the members of his community should adopt regarding the present events. He writes thus:

*“Donc nous ne devons pas devancer la volonté de Dieu, mais au contraire prendre patience et prier de ne pas tomber en de tels temps. Et nous ne devons pas pour autant n’y pas croire, en nous disant que cela n’arrivera pas. Car si les prédictions des prophètes ne se sont pas réalisées, n’attends pas non plus que celle-ci se réalise. Mais puisque les premiers événements se sont réalisés e leur temps, selon les prédictions, ces derniers aussi se réaliseront. Quant à ceux qui demandent : « Quand cela arrivera-t-il ? » ce sont des incroyants, des gens sans foi. »*<sup>54</sup>

In this passage, Hippolytus sharply comments on some of the most important issues of his time. On one hand, the new Christian communities, now forbidden by Rome and persecuted, once more raised eschatological expectations. On the other hand, there was a pressing need to offer an interpretation of Daniel that would include some sort of chronology regarding the end of time. For that reason, Hippolytus is not the only person/commentator to rearrange the historical (or fictional) events narrated by Daniel in a way that they should be perceived as historical events possibly to be included in a chronological line. This also explains the author's previous references to how long each empire/beast had last, noted above. Nevertheless, Hippolytus most important considerations

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 267.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 269.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>52</sup> This last horn is most of times identified with Antiochus Epiphanes by Daniel's commentators.

<sup>53</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 271.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 271-73.

concern the present events, and how the community of the faithful was supposed to deal with them. This would probably explain his identification of the ones looking to know the date of the end as belonging with those who did not believe in the prophecies. In fact, Hippolytus reaffirms the validity of the prophecy, for which he claims to be prepared to offer a proof.<sup>55</sup> Besides, as he says, “*Car l’Écriture ne ment absolument pas*”<sup>56</sup> inasmuch, as all those events were ordained to happen by God. Therefore, everything should follow the predetermined pattern defined by God, especially everything regarding the end. At this point of his work, Hippolytus introduces a theme about what he had previously written, the Antichrist, and how all the events related with that were supposed to take place.<sup>57</sup> He then initiates what can be called an *excursus* about Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, regarding especially the statue and the different materials that made it.<sup>58</sup> His main question, concerns which beast in fact represented the last empire.<sup>59</sup> To this, he points out how Rome was not one single nation, but incorporated many different peoples, which thus would explain the impossibility of describing the last animal in easily identifiable terms. There was nothing in nature that resembled the mix of peoples within the Roman Empire, as there was no possible exact identification of the fourth beast with an earthly animal.<sup>60</sup> This is why, in the words of Hippolytus, the prophet “(*...*) *avait bien raison de ne pas qualifier l’espèce de cette bête, mais il a exprimé ainsi sa stupéfaction (...)*.”<sup>61</sup>

In Hippolytus’ interpretation of Daniel’s succession of empires, the Roman Empire is understood as playing the main role. As D. Dunbar affirms: “*Because the Roman Empire is not just a matter of history for Hippolytus, but also a continuing factor in the present life of the church, it becomes the main subject in the exegesis of the two visions.*”<sup>62</sup> This may be explained by the fact that the destruction of Rome would later inaugurate the beginning of the eschatological end. However, that was not supposed to take place during Hippolytus’ lifetime or even during the following generation’s lifetime as he continues to explain. As previously noted, the author identifies each beast with one of the metals that composed the

---

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *cf. De Christo et Antichristo.*

<sup>58</sup> As some commentators, Hippolytus interprets the statue’s feet fingers as if they represented the ten horns earlier described as part of the last beast.

<sup>59</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 275.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> David G. Dunbar, "The Eschatology of Hippolytus of Rome" (Drew University, 1979), 60.

statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. However, he highlights the importance of the toes, which appear an innovation in terms of exegesis. These ten toes represented for Hippolytus the ten horns of the last beast described in Dan 7:7. In addition, he reminds his reader that the toes were the result of a mixing of iron and clay and, subsequently, would never become a unit. Later in his explanation, Hippolytus directs the reader/listener to an identification of the last horn with the Antichrist and not with any last worldly ruler as other commentators had previously done. By doing so, Hippolytus assumes the existence of a period of time ruled by the Antichrist as described in Revelation, although not explicitly mentioned in Daniel. The existence of this antichrist-like figure would put an end with the identification of the Roman Empire with the last period of history before the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. In fact, with the emergence of this figure, history would last beyond the rule of the Roman Empire until the destruction caused by the Antichrist. However, Hippolytus' most important argument concerning the Roman Empire is how it misleads people by behaving as if it were the Antichrist. He then reminds his readers of how the Roman Empire attained its climax when Christ was born, i.e., under Cesar.<sup>63</sup> According to him, this should simultaneously be read as identifying the beginning of the decline of the Empire. At the time of Cesar then, Christ had appeared for the first time on earth, i.e., had become incarnate for the first time, though He would come back after the defeat of the Antichrist.

It is clear that Hippolytus' reading of Daniel presupposes a Christian interpretation of it and a reference to the descriptions regarding the end in Revelation. Nevertheless, in the particular case of this commentary, Hippolytus' main question concerns the chronological questions. If Daniel had established a new interpretation of Jeremiah's 70-years prophecy and defined a specific amount of time that would still have to pass between the events reported and the Final Judgment, Hippolytus clearly establishes a world chronology based in the "Sabbath" scheme. Nonetheless, he clearly states that the time of the end is still distant: "*Car si cette prophétie ne se réalise pas de nos jours, parce que les temps ne sont pas encore révolus (...).*"<sup>64</sup> To this, Hippolytus adds that they were still waiting for the arrival of the tribulation that would anticipate the time of the end. By saying

---

<sup>63</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 279.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

this, the author is clearly stating that previous interpretations of Daniel were misleading because they had identified the *abomination* only with Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

In accordance with such interpretation of Daniel's prophecy, Hippolytus necessarily needs to define a new chronology of time that would include those future events in what was supposed to be a still distant time from his present. Therefore, he reinterprets Daniel's seventy weeks prophecy (Dan 9) by having as a premise that the world would last for six thousand years.<sup>65</sup> His reading of Dan 9 is what Dunbar describes thus "*His understanding of this passage may well be the most important single element not only in his conception of history but in his eschatology as a whole.*"<sup>66</sup> His first action is to define the age of the world, which he says to be a simple thing to achieve. He affirms in his commentary that from the time of Creation and that of the incarnation of Jesus had passed 5500 years. Christ, born in the forty-second year of Cesar's rule was put to death when he was thirty-three years old. These two figures result in a total amount of 5533 years. Assuming then that Hippolytus wrote this book c. 204 CE, there would still be a waiting time of around 296 years. Hence, the time of the end was still remote. To cement his theory, Hippolytus based his calculation on the Shabbat scheme of Creation. If it had taken God six days to complete Creation and if each day was to be understood as a thousand-year period, then it was clear that the end of time and the establishment of God's kingship on earth could only happen after six thousand years. It was thus, a question of logic. Nevertheless, Hippolytus goes further and explains that the Shabbat day, the seventh, would be the "*(...) type et la figure de la future royauté des saints, quand ils régneront avec le Christ, après sa venue des cieux, come Jean le raconte dans son Apocalypse.*"<sup>67</sup> With this, the author provides the reader with an interpretation of Daniel that complies with and follows the description of time in Revelation. There is present, the coming of an Antichrist and later, a Millennium during which Christ would reign with the saints.

At the same time that the author provides his readers with a world chronology, he also reinterprets in terms of historical events the division of the seventy weeks of Dan 9. When mentioning how Daniel had received the interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy,

---

<sup>65</sup> The 6000-year chronology is not Hippolytus' innovation. In fact, we can find references to it in several other authors such as Barnabas and Origen, who probably have influenced Hippolytus.

<sup>66</sup> Dunbar, "The Eschatology of Hippolytus of Rome", 64.

<sup>67</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 307.

Hippolytus underlines his role as a chosen man by God while saying “(...) *ta prière a été entendue et j’ai été envoyé pour donner des explications, afin que tu ne cherches pas le temps avant le temps, parce que tu es un homme de désirs.*”<sup>68</sup> This last sentence should be taken as the key-line to understand that the knowledge concerning the future was not to be known by humans and at the same time demonstrate how Daniel was so important in the eyes of God. Afterwards, Hippolytus’ objective was to determine the length of these seventy weeks. He follows Daniel’s pattern of interpretation and relies therefore, in a scheme based in seventy weeks of years, i.e., c. 490 years. He identifies the first week with the Exile in Babylon. For that, he assumes that Daniel received this vision in his twenty-first year under Nebuchadnezzar’s rule. To that figure, he would have to add forty-nine more years, the remaining number of years, to establish the date of the end of the exile. After that, there would follow a period of sixty-two weeks, i.e., c. 434 years.<sup>69</sup> This period would thus culminate with Christ’s incarnation,<sup>70</sup> which in the words of Hippolytus corresponds to the first covenant. Therefore, he writes

*“Puisque la première Alliance fut accordée aux fils d’Israël « au bout de quatre cent trente » quatre ans il fallait bien que la seconde Alliance fût accordée au bout du même temps pour que le peuple s’y attende et que les croyants la reconnaissent aisément.”*<sup>71</sup>

The end of this period of sixty-two weeks is also recorded by the annunciation of the Gospel. Only after that, could the last week begin. This one, would be as Daniel had said, divided into two halves. Within the first half, Elias and Enoch would reappear. While, the second half would start with the appearance of the Antichrist.<sup>72</sup> The Antichrist is here denominated by Hippolytus as the “*abomination of the desolation,*” a term used in Dan 9 to describe the last horn and the time when the sacrifices were forbidden and the Temple deconsecrated.<sup>73</sup> Based therefore, in the chronology of the 6000-year it was thus possible for Hippolytus to define a date for the end and, especially, say when the *parousia* of Christ

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 323.

<sup>69</sup> This timeframe is the one regarding the exile in Egypt and begins with the arrival of Jacob and his sons. Although we are only referring here the chronology used in the *Commentary on Daniel*, we are aware that Hippolytus used different ones in different works. However, a comparison of these chronologies does not seem to be of much pertinence in this concrete case.

<sup>70</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 327.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 329.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 335.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

would take place, which seems to be an innovation among exegetes.<sup>74</sup> That date, would then still be around 300 years away and therefore, Christians would not have to worry about that particular event, but to continue living according to the Gospel's teachings.

As Dunbar reminds us, this chronology used by Hippolytus is problematic because it lacks historical accuracy. In fact, if followed the complete timeframe of world history as Hippolytus was thought to be doing, we would obtain different figures.<sup>75</sup> However, following a historical chronology is not as important as understanding the main reasons that led this author into dividing history in such a way. In fact, it seems more important to realize that Hippolytus' main objective was a Christological interpretation of the Book of Daniel. As he writes in chapter 32, "*Le Saint des saints n'est autre que le Fils de Dieu, qui parut et se donna comme l'Oint du Père, envoyé en ce monde(...)*." <sup>76</sup> Therefore, we must interpret Hippolytus words first as originating from within the Christian environment and second, as establishing a reading of Daniel based in Revelation's scheme of the end of time. Inasmuch as we continue reading it from that perspective, we will easily conclude that Hippolytus conceived the time of the end as including a millennial period, the coming of the Antichrist, and a second Parousia of Christ, which would mark the beginning of a new *aeon*. We can agree with Weber when he says that Hippolytus was trying to discourage imminent apocalyptic expectations from within his community.<sup>77</sup>

From the *Commentary on Daniel* the reader comprehends that Hippolytus thought that he was living still at the beginning of the last week. For this, it is useful to remember how the author depicts the Roman Empire as Daniel's the last kingdom. In that passage this kingdom is said to be later destroyed, but not by "human hands" (Dan 8:25). This is, according to Hippolytus, what is supposed to happen to Rome and only after all these events take place, would there come the "abomination of the desolation," i.e., the Antichrist. Hence, it was clear that Christians still had a long wait ahead of them before reaching the stage of the Final Judgment and the establishing of the divine kingdom on earth. In fact, the Antichrist would only come at the middle of the last week to rule during the second half of that week. Besides, this antichrist would be "*(...) impudent, se nourrir*

---

<sup>74</sup> Dunbar, "The Eschatology of Hippolytus of Rome", 82.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 72-76.

<sup>76</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 329.

<sup>77</sup> Eugen Joseph Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 44.

*de la guerre et sera un tyran, assez audacieux pour s'élever au-dessus de tout Dieu.*”<sup>78</sup> That is, he would behave as if he were God, which would be misleading to many people. This would be especially true after he “(...) *reconstruira la ville de Jérusalem et relèvera le temple renversé, rendra tout le pays et ses frontières aux Juifs, rappellera leur peuple de l'esclavage des nations et se déclarera leur roi.* »<sup>79</sup> His behavior and the attitudes he takes concerning the nation of the Jews will allow some to call him Messiah. However, as Hippolytus writes, this was not to be considered a strange event given that prophets and apostles had forecast it in the past. This antichrist would be responsible for killing the two witnesses of Revelation 11 and for the persecution of Christians.<sup>80</sup> At this point, Hippolytus resumes his description of the last week in a way that makes it more understandable. In fact, he says that the witnesses would spread the word of the Gospel for 1260 days, which was the duration of the first half of the last week. Therefore, this last week would last seven years, which raises the question of the duration of the weeks. Is Hippolytus considering a week as a set of seven years or as a week of years (a jubilee)? According to his own chronology, the author thought that he was 296 years before the completion of the 6000 years that the world was supposed to last. This permits us to infer that Hippolytus was considering this week as if it were a “week of years” which represents ten jubilees, i.e., totals 490 years. With this figure in mind, it is thus possible to understand Hippolytus’ statements that they were already living during that last week, although the end was not as near as the persecutions suffered by Christians could permit the community to think. Nevertheless, it seems clear that according to Hippolytus, they were reaching the end of the first half of the week.

Resuming, Hippolytus introduces his reader to a chronology according to which the world was supposed to last for 6000 years. In addition, he states that they were presently living around 296 years before some end would take place. Therefore, the apocalyptic expectation of his community was already reflecting the misleading circumstances of the period led by the Antichrist, which was supposed to start at the beginning of the second half of the last week and last until Christ’s *parousia*. In such a way, the *parousia* became a synonym for the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. Above all, Rome and its

---

<sup>78</sup> Hippolytus, *Commentaire Sur Daniel*, 363. IV, IL.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 365.IV, IL.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.IV, L.

power should not be taken as if they were the Antichrist, because they were about to succumb and be replaced by the true Antichrist. In a way, Hippolytus uses an appealing tune to warn his readers of the danger of considering the end to be near and not endure in face of suffering and persecution. In fact, according to his words the worst was still to come.

Hippolytus' interpretation of Daniel regarding the events of the end allows his reader to think that somehow the Christian expectations regarding the date of the end were changing. This can thus, be understood as another form of extending in historical terms Daniel's prophecy because it had not yet been fulfilled. However, at the same time, it inaugurates an interpretation of Daniel conjugated with Revelation, especially when it understands the Kingdom as a synonym for the *parousia*. In this way, Hippolytus' commentary should be understood as setting the emphasis on a Christological interpretation, which represents a novelty in the interpretation of Daniel.

### 3) *St. Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*

Scholars regard Jerome's commentary on Daniel as the most important work of the Church Fathers based upon the original Hebrew text. To that accomplishment, Jerome adds a not yet seen mastery of all of the Church literature until his days.<sup>81</sup> This is why Jerome's work introduces the beginning of a new era within the Church, as W. Smith notes.<sup>82</sup>

However, Jerome's life and his importance cannot be reduced to this single commentary on Daniel. We therefore, shall not forget his role concerning the development of monastic life, the Vulgate (completed in c. 404) which became the standard version of the Bible in the Western Church, and how useful his letters are to depict various aspects of his thinking. In sum, we ought to Jerome the comparison between the original Hebrew text of the Bible with the one in the LXX, as well as his comments and remarks, which resulted in a more accurate version of the sacred text.

Jerome was born c. 340 in Stridon and died in Bethlehem c. 420. During his lifetime, he travelled multiple times throughout the Empire. We know that he was in Rome c. 360 CE, because there are some contemporary references that mention that it was during this visit that he was baptized and his interest concerning ecclesiastical matters developed. Later, he travelled to the East, spending some time in Antioch. Even later, he spent some time in the desert, in a south-west part of Antioch. He was ordained a priest, though some say he did not desire such thing, in Antioch and left for Constantinople where he became friends with St. Gregory Nazianzus. He went back to Rome during c. 382 and 385, where he also becomes friends with Pope Damasus. However, after the latter's death his position became difficult due to his harsh criticism, which had created him enemies. He then left Rome towards Bethlehem, where he arrived in c. 386 after a brief stay in Antioch. It was during this later period of his life that he founded a monastery and lead a life of asceticism and study.

Concerning his written production, we can divide his life into several periods. The first, until his first departure from Rome in c. 382 is what some authors call a "period of

---

<sup>81</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, ed. Gleason Leonard Archer (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), 5.

<sup>82</sup> In the preface of the above cited work.

preparation.” In it, he translates Origen’s homilies on Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah. Also from this period is the translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius. In a second phase, which lasts from c. 382 until c. 390, Jerome develops his exegetical vocation, and under Damasus, he draws the clear opposition of the ecclesiastics of Rome. This is also one of the factors commonly used to explain why he left Rome after the Pope’s death and moved to Bethlehem. Starting in c. 384, Jerome begins his work “correcting” the Latin version of the biblical texts. We have no assurance that he did indeed revise the entire LXX, but we do know that he produced a new version based in the Hebrew originals between c. 390 and c. 405. It is also during this last period that Jerome devotes part of his time to several commentaries on the biblical books, namely Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, etc. This tendency of his to write commentaries would last until his death. In fact, during his last years he wrote the commentaries on Hosea, Joel, Amos, Zacharias, Malachi, Daniel, Ezekiel, Jeremiah. Later, he wrote some sermons and treatises on Mark, and on the Psalms and on the Gospels. As we can easily see, his work is vast and a good witness of his will to study in-depth the sacred texts. In fact, as Braverman comments, during his last fifteen years of life his comments are “(...) of much greater length and more carefully written.”<sup>83</sup> Besides, his commentary on Daniel “(...) shows the fruits of his many years of previous diligent study of the Bible.”<sup>84</sup> One good example of that are the sixteen different Hebrew interpretations of Daniel that he cites in his commentary.

According to Jerome,

*“(...) none of the prophets has so clearly spoken concerning Christ as has this prophet Daniel. For not only did he assert that He would come, a prediction common to the other prophets as well, but also he set forth the very time at which He would come. Moreover he went through the various kings in order, stated the actual number of years involved, and announced beforehand the clearest signs of events to come.”*<sup>85</sup>

By stating this, Jerome warns immediately his readers on how Daniel’s prophecies, which already concerned Christ according to him, provided an insightful view of the future and not only a report of past events. Moreover, as he says, Daniel also defines the waiting period for the end and how that same time should pass. Jerome’s view is of utmost interest

---

<sup>83</sup> Jay Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1978), 10.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 15.

for our work, as we will observe in the following paragraphs. At the same time, the sentence above cited and the following ones advise readers that his position does not match that of Porphyry. In fact, while the latter saw in Daniel a report of past events, namely by identifying the Antichrist with the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, Jerome argues that Daniel is describing future events.<sup>86</sup>

Jerome's commentary on Daniel is mainly useful for the understanding of two specific details of Daniel's book. The first concerns the identification of the four empires and of the Antichrist with a human being, while the second concerns the interpretation of the seventy weeks of Dan 9, especially how Jerome appears to feel powerless to expose his own theory and decides to describe other author's theories while pointing to the "errors" of the Hebrew tradition.

We cannot forget, as Braverman underlines, the effect of "*The dual loyalties of Jerome, to both Hebrew Scripture and Church Tradition*"<sup>87</sup> on his translation of the Vulgate, which he based on the *veritas hebraica*. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jerome introduces new readings of the ancient text and that those readings agree with his own thoughts about those issues.

#### a) *The Four Empires*

In a word, Jerome mainly follows Josephus' opinion regarding the identification of the four empires, especially when he identifies the last empire with Rome.<sup>88</sup> However, a closer reading of his argumentation is needed to understand the proposed scheme, namely regarding chapter 7. In this chapter of Daniel, the author describes the four empires using figures of four different animals: the lion, the bear, the leopard and a fourth not identified with any known animal. Jerome explains why he considers the last kingdom to be Rome

---

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, 47.

<sup>88</sup> cf. the previous section on Josephus' works and interpretation of Daniel.

through the identification of the four animals with four corresponding animals, offering at the same time what we would consider “convincing” arguments.

He begins by affirming that the four winds mentioned in Dan 7:2 that “(...) *I suppose to have been angelic powers to whom the principalities have been committed, in accordance with what we read in Deuteronomy (...)*,”<sup>89</sup> which appears to have a sound of novelty. He then continues explaining how the sea represents this world and the present, though a present “overwhelmed” by bitterness.<sup>90</sup> Later, in his explanation regarding the beast that came out of sea, Jerome says: “*But as for the four beasts who came up out of the sea and were differentiated from one another, we may identify them from the angel’s discourse.*”<sup>91</sup> By doing this, although Jerome first identifies the sea with a present full of bitterness, he at the same time follows the traditional interpretation of significance of the beasts, recurring even to Deut 32:8, Matt 13, Ps 73 and Amos 9:3. In fact, what appears different in Jerome’s interpretation of Dan 7 is his identification of the last beast with Rome.

According to Jerome, there are no doubts that the first beast, the lion, or the “lioness” as Jerome translates,<sup>92</sup> is a clear indication that the kingdom behind it is Babylon. He then refers to the lion’s wings in terms of Assyria remembering how the Assyrians had held power for many generations. In a word, Jerome underlines the longstanding character of this winged lion, and how it is a symbol of a long chronological sequence.<sup>93</sup> Regarding the second beast, the bear, Jerome is confident that it depicts the Persia of Cyrus (c. 550 BCE), and establishes a connection with the vision of Dan 2, particularly with Dan 2:32. The only difference that Jerome indicates is that, while earlier the second kingdom was described in terms of the metal’s quality, in chapter 7 what is underlined is the ferocity of the animal and how it did caused Israel many pains.<sup>94</sup> Still concerning this kingdom, we need to remember that for Jerome, Persia begins with Cyrus but included as well Media and

---

<sup>89</sup> Jerome, *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel*, 71-2.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Braverman notes here Jerome’s misinterpretation of the word ’aryē<sup>h</sup> as “lioness,” underlining that this is the regular masculine in Aramaic. (Braverman, *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, 72.)

<sup>93</sup> Jerome, *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel*, 73.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-4, Braverman, *Jerome’s Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, 84-6.

Babylon.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, this represents an even longer period, which can be identified with the Achaemenid Empire that will only be defeated by Alexander in c. 334 BCE. One thing appears evident from Jerome's description of this period: he was convinced of the existence of a favorable coexistence between Persia and Israel. Jerome identifies the leopard depicted in the third vision of Daniel with the Macedonians and their empire. Moreover, since the leopard had four wings, the author easily makes the connection between that particularity and the division of the Macedonian Empire after Alexander's death among Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip and Antigonus.<sup>96</sup>

The last beast described in Dan 7:7 is, as we shall recall, described as if there was no possible parallel with any living animal. It represents, in short, the climax of destruction and, therefore, it is depicted in such terms that the reader will have no remaining doubts regarding its character and its importance towards the end of the world. Jerome immediately identifies it with the Roman Empire and underlines how it "*(...) occupies the entire world (...)*."<sup>97</sup> By doing this, our author is surely supporting Josephus interpretation regarding the four empires as we have already mentioned. At the same time, he also emphasizes the importance of the role of the Roman Empire towards the eschatological end.

However, Jerome accentuates even more the strength of the last empire, Rome. In order to do that he uses the image of the statue of Dan 2 to remind the reader of the mix of clay and iron that would weaken this last beast's power. Nevertheless, he says regarding Daniel's description that "*I find it strange that although he had set forth a lioness, a bear and a leopard in the case of the three previous kingdoms, he did not compare the Roman real to any sort of beast.*"<sup>98</sup> And, as many others did before him he says that this literary feature is most probably used by Daniel's editor to accentuate the "ferocious" character of the Romans. Then, Jerome reminds Ps 80:13<sup>99</sup> where it is mentioned that the Hebrews were

---

<sup>95</sup> In his interpretation of the three rows in the mouth of the bear, Jerome identifies them with three kingdoms: Babylon, Media and Persia. Therefore, it is clear that Jerome assumes a peaceful character of this animal towards Israel while describing it in terms of a long chronological sequence. This so-called "peaceful treatment of Israel, has to be understood from the point of view in which during this period Israel never lost its religious integrity.

<sup>96</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 75.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>99</sup> Psalm 80:13 "*The boar from the forest ravages it, and all that move in the field feed on it.*"

expecting a “boar”<sup>100</sup> to destroy them, which is a destructive animal that leaves a track of destruction behind it. Nevertheless, Jerome goes further and explains how the diversity of the Empire, i.e., the multitude of different peoples living under the Roman aegis represented perfectly the mix of clay and iron. In a way, that same diversity would be the beginning of Rome’s destruction. Jerome’s description is representative of what he thinks regarding the Empire’s diversity of and its different peoples: “*While they are all included in the one Empire of the Romans, we recognize at the same time those kingdoms which were previously separate.*”<sup>101</sup> In this way, Jerome shows how the divisions among the different kingdoms were still existent though they lived under Roman supremacy. In the following sentence Jerome is able to even accentuate more this Roman characteristic and how these peoples would be willing to rebel: “*(...) all nations have either been slain by the Romans or else have been subjected to tribute and servitude.*”<sup>102</sup> By doing so, Jerome is exploring the difficult relationships existing among the diverse people and between them and Rome, which history proves to be correct not much after when the barbarian invasions caused the fall of Rome.

When Jerome identifies this last kingdom with Rome, though he appears to follow Josephus interpretation, he is also contradicting Porphyry. According to the latter, the last beast was to be identified with the result of the division of Alexander’s empire. That was the reason why it was not identifiable with any other known animal, especially because the sharp contrast with what used to be Alexander’s empire. In addition, says Jerome, Porphyry identified Alexander himself with a leopard. As said, Jerome does not agree with Porphyry and, therefore, lists his errors in order to support his own interpretation/argumentation. This is especially important when Jerome exposes his theory concerning the ten horns of the last beast. He says that Porphyry had enumerated a list of kings that would end with Antiochus Epiphanes. However, says he:

*“We should therefore concur with the traditional interpretation of all the commentators of the Christian Church, that at the end of the world, when the Roman Empire is to be destroyed, there shall be ten kings who will partition the Roman world amongst themselves. Then an insignificant eleventh king will arise, who will overcome three of the ten kings, that is, the king of Egypt, the king of*

---

<sup>100</sup> cf. The different possible ways of identifying Rome with a boar in Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, 90-4.

<sup>101</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 76.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

*[North] Africa, and the king of Ethiopia, as we will show more clearly in our later discussion.*"<sup>103</sup>

As we can see, Jerome is constructing the basis of later thinking regarding the duration of the Roman Empire, a detail that will be important in Vieira's interpretation, as we will analyze later, especially when it concerns the division of the Roman Empire into ten smaller kingdoms.

Jerome uses the image of the last horn to introduce at this point the question of the eschatological opponent, the one that some identify with the Antichrist and others with some sort of devilish being. According to him, the most accurate interpretation of this character is certainly one that contemplates a figure of human origin. As Jerome writes "(...) *one of the human race, in whom Satan will wholly take up his residence in bodily form.*"<sup>104</sup> At the same time, this character will behave as if he were God, which would result in many following him, which appears to be a clear connection made by Jerome with the description of the beast in Revelation<sup>105</sup> and of those who would bear its mark in the forehead.

At this stage of his exposition Jerome does not provide the reader with more details regarding the essence of this figure, the Antichrist, and moves forward into the description of the judgment scene, which he holds to be similar to the one described in Revelation 20.<sup>106</sup> Jerome's particularity in this passage indicates his identification of the Ancient of Days with God himself,<sup>107</sup> who is to judge the tribes of Israel for their deeds and is served by a countless number of servants.<sup>108</sup> It is curious to observe that Jerome when describing this scene of judgment attempts to identify the books that are being open: "*One of the books is the good book of which we often read, namely the book of the living. The other is*

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Although Jerome is clearly commenting on Daniel, the truth is that he frequently uses images drawn from Revelation to further explain or depict his own interpretation of Daniel's text. By doing so, he is integrating Daniel within the Christian

<sup>106</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 77-8.

<sup>107</sup> For a more complete approach of this subject of the identification of the Ancient of Days and of the Son of Man in Daniel, cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity, Expanded ed.* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006), Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins.

<sup>108</sup> This is a clear reference to Dan 7:10 where there is a reference to the "thousand thousands" that served the Ancient One.

*the evil book which is held in the hand of the accuser, who is the fiend and the avenger of whom we read in Revelation: "The accuser of our brethren" (Rev. 12:10)."*<sup>109</sup> This appears to be a novelty, especially when he makes such a clear division between good and evil, because most authors had been satisfied by the simple identification of the Book of Life as the one containing the deeds of each being and his fate.

During this judgment, the Roman Empire will be condemned because it was from within it that the little horn was originated. According to Jerome, *"In the one empire of the Romans, all the kingdoms are to be destroyed, because of the blasphemy of the Antichrist."*<sup>110</sup> Although this is already a strong affirmation regarding the fate of the Empire, it is not all. Adding to this, Jerome describes the new kingdom to come as one of heavenly character, making in that way a clear distinction between past and future, i.e., between earthly and heavenly kingdoms. He writes, *"(...) the [succeeding] empire shall not be an earthly empire at all, but it is simply the abode of the saints in which is spoken of here, and the advent of the conquering Son of God."*<sup>111</sup> By doing this, Jerome is clearly expressing his belief in the second coming of Christ and in the existence of two different types of worlds, one earthly and another of divine type, the latter being the one supposed to succeed the first after the judgment. In fact, from this passage onwards Jerome identifies the stone described in Dan 2:35 with Christ, the *Son of Man*. He even mentions how He took human form in a previous moment.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, this *Son of Man* will be taken to the Ancient of Days who will grant him authority and power. As we read in Dan 7:14, *"To him was given dominion and glory and kingship, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that shall not pass away, and his kingship is one that shall never be destroyed."* Once more, Jerome questions Porphyry's arguments and affirms how he, Porphyry, needed to *"(...) answer the query of whom out of all mankind this language might apply to, or who this person might be who was so powerful as to break and smash to pieces the little horn, whom he interprets to be Antiochus?"*<sup>113</sup> As

---

<sup>109</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 79.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

a Church Father, Jerome is sure that Daniel also forecasts the second coming of Christ and that it is impossible to accept Judas Maccabeus as the *Son of Man*.<sup>114</sup>

After this, Jerome reassures his reader that the kingdom to come, the one to succeed to the four kingdoms depicted in Daniel, was the one of the Saints. Therefore, it is impossible for that kingdom to be of earthly type. As he says, it has to be heavenly. By doing this, Jerome appears to be building a theory according to which there are two parallel worlds: an earthly and a heavenly. Later, the first would be destroyed, and the heavenly would become the only existing world. In it, the power of God and Christ would be evident, as well as the fact that only the faithful would be allowed in. Moreover, Jerome explains that this new kingdom is endowed with eternity and perpetuity. However, one must pay close attention to Jerome's affirmation regarding the millennium, especially when he says "*Away, then, with the fable about the millennium!*"<sup>115</sup> Although such an affirmation could come out as problematic, it appears that what Jerome is warning against is about the eventual existence of a millennium of the Saints on earth. He expresses in a clear fashion how he thinks that that kingdom needs to be heavenly and how it could not be part of the earthly world. In a way, doing this with these words is a novelty, a feature not yet seen, at least exposed with such clear words.

Once more, Jerome speaks of the intervention and the role of the Antichrist towards the destruction of the kingdom of the saints. Therefore, he interprets Dan 7:25 as if the description of what was supposed to happen during that time and how the Antichrist would arrogate himself God's power, and would subject religion to his authority. Nevertheless, these events are, as Daniel says, restricted in time. Therefore, the expression of Dan 7:25 regarding the duration of such period is interpreted by Jerome in a way in which he explains that each "time" mentioned equals one year. Consequently, the power of the Antichrist would only last for three and a half years.<sup>116</sup> This is the time during which "*(...) the saints are to be given over to the power of the Antichrist, in order that those Jews might*

---

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 81.

The discussion regarding the identity of the *Son of Man* continues today with some identifying him with Christ, while others with some other deity or demigod. A good summary of this discussion can be found in Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament"*, by Adela Yarbro Collins.

<sup>115</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 81.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

*be condemned who did not believe the truth but supported a lie.*"<sup>117</sup> In this passage, Jerome is clearly mentioning already the fact that the Jews did not follow Christ or, even, accepted him as the true Messiah. Therefore, they were to be punished by following the false-messiah, the Antichrist, and crushed by its power and the events that should take place before the end. This end is here understood as the beginning of the eternal kingdom, i.e., represents the eschatological end.

Resuming, Jerome proposes an interpretation of the four empires described by Daniel in a way that allows the last kingdom to be identified with the Roman Empire. At the same time, the author underlines the second coming of Christ and its importance for the creation of a new kingdom, one to be heavenly and eternal by opposition to the present earthly and life limited. On the other hand, Jerome does not forget either the Antichrist nor the punishment of the unbelievers who did not accept Christ as the true Messiah. Therefore, he explains the "*time, times and half of a time*" of Daniel as if representing three and a half years. This period, marked by the power of the Antichrist, would also represent the time of the desecration of the Temple, i.e., the period in which the believers would follow a false messiah.

#### *b) The Seventy Weeks*

Jerome's most important contribution regarding the question of historical periodization, besides his identification of the four empires, is probably the one connected with how he reads the Hebrew's interpretation of Daniel's 70 weeks.

If we recall Dan 9, the seven years of Jeremiah's prophecy were supposed to represent seventy weeks, which were divided into three different periods: 1) seven weeks, 2) sixty-two weeks, and 3) one final week divided in two halves, respectively. According to Jerome, the Hebrew reading of Daniel's periodization showed a different understanding of how these seventy weeks should be divided and also, concerning, its chronology as we will analyze below.

---

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 81-2.

When comparing the LXX version of Daniel 9:24-27 with the Hebrew text, Jerome immediately inserts “Christ” instead of the common expression of “the anointed one.” Therefore, the reader has no doubts in assuming that Jerome is influenced in his commentary by a Christological point of view.<sup>118</sup> However, Jerome also demonstrates that he is a careful man when he assumes the difference of his position relative to those of the “great teachers of the Church.” Therefore, he begins his analysis by offering his readers a complete review of previous opinions regarding this passage of the Book of Daniel.<sup>119</sup> Following this line, Jerome compiles the information provided by Africanus, Eusebius Pamphili, Hippolytus, Apollinarius of Laodicea, Clement, Origen, Tertullian and the Hebrew common interpretation about this subject.

From Jerome’s account of these authors’ interpretations of the seventy weeks foretold by Daniel, we come to realize that the majority of them at one point or another included the advent of Christ in their chronologies. For example we have those who point to a date close to the end of sixty-ninth week (e.g. Eusebius and Hippolytus), others to the end of the seventieth week (e.g. Africanus, Apollinarius and the Hebrews), and even what appears to be a confused opinion by Tertullian regarding the order of the weeks for the date of Christ’s advent. In fact, regarding the latter Jerome recalls the attempt to explain how Christ would arrive at the end of the sixty-second week.<sup>120</sup>

Chronology is the main resource used, and it appears that Tertullian considered the first year of Darius to be the starting point of his own scheme. In fact, he takes that date as if it were when Daniel received his vision.<sup>121</sup> Then, he introduces a complete chronology covering from that date until Christ’s birth, and arrives at a total of four hundred and thirty-seven years and five months, which represents an irrelevant difference regarding the common interpretation of the seventy weeks of about fifty-three years. Therefore, Tertullian’s chronology would still leave space for the three and a half years described as the last half of the seventieth week, i.e., when Christ was born. Christ’s advent was a representation “(...) *that the vision was confirmed by a seal; and it was called a prophecy*

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 95 and ff.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

Also, verify the discussion regarding the date of the writing of Daniel and how that influences the reading/interpretation of the text.

*because Christ Himself is the seal of all the prophets, fulfilling as He did all that the prophets had previously declared concerning Him.*"<sup>122</sup> In this way, we can assume that Tertullian is also identifying Christ with the anointed prince mentioned in Daniel and that was supposed to inaugurate the beginning of the end. However, Tertullian is not clear whether he is considering here Christ's birth or his death, which in a certain way is a secondary question. Moreover, according to Jerome, Tertullian somehow inverted the order of the weeks and we read that seven weeks will follow to that larger period of time, i.e., to the sixty-two weeks previously described in Daniel as the second period.<sup>123</sup>

Within the events of this period of the seven weeks, Tertullian includes the Roman domination until the conquest of the Jews by Vespasian. At that time, he considers that *"(...) the Jews had completed the seventy weeks foretold by Daniel."*<sup>124</sup> When we analyze this interpretation, we observe how Tertullian uses chronology in order to fulfil his own interpretation of Daniel. Therefore, we have this larger period that comprises seventy weeks that goes from Darius until the birth of Christ, to which it follows yet another seven weeks during which Rome would exercise its power over the Jews until final destruction was reached. Only at that moment could Daniel's prophecy be completely fulfilled accordingly to Tertullian.

If Tertullian's chronology as described by Jerome appears already confusing, then when Jerome exposes the Hebrew chronological tradition the reader becomes certainly confused.<sup>125</sup> In a certain measure, Jerome's analysis can be seen as more symbolical than chronological, in the sense of historical periodization. Jerome doubts of the Hebrew interpretation's credibility and affirms that he will be *"(...) leaving the credibility of their assertions to those who asserted them."*<sup>126</sup> Therefore, he shall make use of a paraphrase to explain it. According to him, the chronology should start with Darius' victory over Belshazzar and the ascension of the Medo-Persian Empire. This event inaugurated the seventy-year chronology. However, these seventy years are not one single period of time, but are divided into smaller pieces by some remarkable events. The restoration of the city

---

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, 105.

<sup>126</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 108.

and of the Temple represented one of the major events as well as the birth of Christ, which appears a strange deduction resulting from within the Jewish tradition. Then, after Christ's birth, the prophecy should be sealed, and no more prophets shall be born.<sup>127</sup> A few lines below Jerome's statement becomes even more confusing when he assumes that from the time of God's promise of return to Jerusalem until the birth of Christ would be sixty-two weeks.<sup>128</sup> Actually, by doing this, Jerome is saying that the Hebrew tradition<sup>129</sup> did not concur with Daniel's scheme of 7+62+1 weeks. He does, in fact, introduce first the longer period of the sixty-two weeks and only then, he mentions the seven weeks. Jerome's sentence regarding this issue is as follows: *"(...) there shall be sixty-two weeks numbered unto the time of Christ the Prince and of the perpetual desolation of the Temple, and that there shall be seven weeks (...)"*<sup>130</sup> Then, another destruction of the Temple is foretold as well as the captivity of the city. Jerome writes this in a way in which he opens the doors for his readers to understand this last destruction as a sort of punishment for the non-recognizing of Christ by the Jews. Therefore, *"(...) after the sixty-two weeks the Christ shall be slain, and the nation who shall reject Him should go out of existence" – or, as the Jews themselves put it, the kingdom of Christ which they imagined they would retain shall not even be.*"<sup>131</sup>

At the same time, Jerome appears once more to intricate the chronology by assuming that Christ will die at the end of the sixty-two weeks, which represents according to his interpretation the first period of the seventy weeks chronology foretold by Daniel. He continues by saying that Jerusalem would be destroyed by Vespasian, about whom he questions whether or not he is the prince to come, the long waited leader. Nevertheless, Vespasian's death marks the end of the seven weeks period and the rising of Hadrian and the building of the city of Aelia upon the ruins of Jerusalem. Since the Jews continue to

---

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> By translating Daniel as Jerome does, he inverts the scheme of the weeks. Therefore, instead of the regular scheme of 7+62+1 weeks, he emphasizes that what the Hebrew text says is that there is a scheme as 62+7+1. Jerome is probably recreating the scheme of the weeks in a way that allows him to introduce the figure of Christ as one of the main chronological events.

<sup>130</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 108.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 109.

revolt against the dominant power, the desolation would last “(...) *unto the completion of the age, and the desolation is going to endure until the very end.*”<sup>132</sup>

Jerome’s interpretation of the Jewish tradition becomes even more complex when he says that the Jews are not “(...) *greatly impressed by the fact that the seven weeks are mentioned first, and afterwards the sixty-two, and again a single week divided into two parts.*”<sup>133</sup> Is Jerome pointing his finger to an error of interpretation? Or, is he just confused? Is it possible that the Jewish chronology contains two seven weeks periods, which would result in a scheme of 7+62+7+1? The references in Daniel 9:24-27 do not appear to support such an interpretation. In fact, they are clear concerning the division of the seventy weeks in a scheme of 7+62+1 weeks. However, as Jerome himself says, he is “paraphrasing” the Hebrew tradition regarding Daniel’s seventy weeks. This can probably be taken as a possible reason to explain this double existence of a seven weeks period. Although Jerome’s interpretation is everything but clear, we do have the impression that he is directing his readers towards the hypothesis that the Jews themselves considered Christ as the anointed one referred in Daniel and the Roman Empire as the ultimate power of destruction, i.e., a representation of the Antichrist. Nevertheless, we need to be aware of the meaning of the word *Christ* at the time in which Jerome is writing because, if on one hand it was a common word, on the other hand and within the Jewish community it did not have the same meaning, it simply signified “the anointed.”<sup>134</sup>

This attempt to conciliate the two interpretations, Christian and Jew, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century by Jerome enables us to consider the reasons behind such phenomenon. Why was Jerome interested in doing this? Could it be that he was concerned with the content of other texts as Revelation regarding the conditions needed to achieve before the eschatological end could be reached?

Questions aside, we learn from this passage of his commentary that Jerome is not willing to do a new interpretation regarding the chronology of the seventy weeks. As he says, “(...) *because it is unsafe to pass judgment upon the opinions of the great teachers of the Church and to set one above another, I shall simply repeat the view of each, and leave*

---

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> For a more complete description of the problematic surrounding the word, cf. Braverman, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*, 106-7.

it to the reader's judgment as to whose explanation ought to be followed."<sup>135</sup> Nevertheless, his exposition is enlightening in the sense it provides the reader several different interpretations while, at the same time, we observe what appears to be a harsh criticism concerning the Hebrew tradition, especially their "errors" related with the Messiah/Christ.

In summary, from Jerome's commentary on Dan 7 is possible to understand that he regards the Antichrist not as demon or the Devil, but as man to come in the future, which is the same as to say that the end was not going to happen immediately as Hippolytus had already done.<sup>136</sup> According to his description of the seventy weeks length, and particularly, to the way it ends, one becomes aware that Jerome has in mind a roman emperor such as Hadrian and not Nero as discussed in Revelation. However, some of his other exegetical works oblige Jerome's students to reckon that he has in mind a future man still to come. As O'Connell says, he expects that the Antichrist will come from humble origin and will destroy the roman power, and begin his ruling by dominating the Jews.<sup>137</sup> Besides, as we have previously mentioned when analyzing the succession of empires, Jerome expects the Roman Empire later to be divided into ten smaller kingdoms. The antichrist's behavior as if he were a god will ultimately end by destroy him. However, his final destruction will only be achieved with the second coming of Christ, the final judgment and the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. Meanwhile, as Jerome observes, at "(...) *the time of the Antichrist there shall occur a tribulation such as there has never been since nations began to exist.*"<sup>138</sup> The antichrist becomes, therefore, an image of chaos and extreme need of change of the current situation. At the same time, Jerome tells his readers that his rule will last for three and a half years.<sup>139</sup> Nonetheless, only Christ, the *savior*, would be able to crush him according to Jerome, which allows the reader to assume that the author was sure of a second coming of Christ.<sup>140</sup>

As we have seen, Jerome's review of history does not offer many differences relative to the preceding authors studied. He confirms the four empires sequence, although

---

<sup>135</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 95.

<sup>136</sup> John P. O'Connell, *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome* (Mundelein: Apud aedes Seminarii Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum, 1948), 25.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>138</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 146.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>140</sup> One cannot forget that Jerome assumes that the death of Christ is still part of the past and only his second coming will open the doors of the new world.

he follows the interpretation according to which Rome is the last empire. To that, he adds that Rome will later be divided into ten smaller kingdoms, which are in part the result of the agglomeration under Rome's power of so many different nations. His interpretation, or non-interpretation if we consider that Jerome did not explain his personal interpretation of Daniel's seventy weeks prophecy, appears strange. In fact, from an author as Jerome who had commented every aspect of the book, verse by verse, or even word by word, it is not expectable to find such a silence, especially concerning an important theme. In a way, the reader gets the impression that Jerome is happy to show other commentators' problems and, particularly, to express what he considers to be an error within the Hebrew tradition, but he never explains completely why he thinks it is a mistake. Nevertheless, he is clear regarding the type of new world to be created and differentiates it from the current earthly one. In addition, he affirms how the antichrist had to be of human origin and how he would rule for three and a half years. The novelty of Jerome's interpretation is most probably connected with his Christological interpretation: for him, Christ's second coming was a reality and, at the same time, necessary because only He would be able to put an end to the antichrist's rule. Moreover, Jerome identifies the character presiding at the final judgment, the Ancient of Days with God, which has been a question disputed by several scholars has previously noted.

In a word, Jerome's commentary on Daniel shows how Christian exegesis regarded the text, and at the same time, how it was important for the support of the eschatological hopes of the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. According to Jerome, the prophecy as exposed in Daniel will be fulfilled in the future and Christ will come once more to lead the faithful towards the new kingdom, a heavenly one. By doing this, Jerome builds a theory according to which there would take place in the future a replacement of this earthly world by a heavenly one. Before, and he agrees with Daniel and Revelation, the antichrist would reign for a predetermined period until Christ would finally defeat him forever. Therefore, the waiting time mentioned in Dan 12:11 is nothing more than the period during which the antichrist is supposed to rule. Although there are two different figures to be accounted for, they should only take it as the three and half years above mentioned.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, the forty-five days mentioned to follow the defeat of the

---

<sup>141</sup> Jerome, *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*, 150.

antichrist are, in the words of Jerome: “(...) *a matter which rests in the knowledge of God* (...)”<sup>142</sup> Meanwhile, Daniel is supposed to forget to what he had just listened and trust in resurrection. After all, says Jerome, the content of Daniel’s prophecy is closely connected with the resurrection of the dead “(...) *at a time when the prophet also is to rise.*”<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

4) *St. Augustine's Two Cities*

One of the most renowned "Doctors of the Church," Augustine (c. 354-430) was the author of many important works for the establishment of the Christian's Church orthodoxy. It is not our aim to list his works or his achievements, but to attempt to review how Augustine understands time, history and the times of the end forecast in Daniel and in Revelation.<sup>144</sup>

There are three main periods in his life that may be of importance for the understanding of the ideas expressed in the *City of God*. By these, we mean the three famous controversies against the Manichean, Donatist and Pelagian heresies, which are commonly referred as to the reason behind Augustine's own theology.<sup>145</sup> This "fight" undertaken by Augustine takes the form of polemics. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of Augustine's writings may sound to the reader as if they are polemical pieces. In truth, this is what happens in works such as the *Confessions* and the *City of God*. In most of his books, Augustine deals with his own inner conflicts, especially those of his youth, related with the Christian faith. In short, most of them represent impulsive reactions to certain facts and events. For example, in the case of the *City of God* the reader needs to be aware of the influence of Alaric's siege and conquest of Rome of 410 in its writing. In his own and personal way, Augustine was answering to an event that had caused enormous transformation within the limits of the Roman Empire and, at the same time, answering to the rising pagan voices blaming Christians for such dramatic events. Consequently, the *City*

---

<sup>144</sup> The son of a pagan father and of a Christian mother, Augustine was born at Tagaste in Northern Africa. Although he received a Christian education, he was sent to Carthage to study rhetoric. During that period he abandoned the Christian education received, devoted himself to literary studies and took a mistress, who he kept for fifteen years. After reading Cicero's *Hortensius* he became interested in philosophy and shortly after that he became a Manichean. This lasted for nine years. Augustine visited Rome after 383, where he opened a school of rhetoric. However, this did not last for long, and he left for Milan where he met Ambrose. St. Ambrose's sermons attracted him by their quality and the answers provided to some of his biblical problems. Augustine was baptized in c. 387 and returns to Africa in the following year to found a monastery with some friends at Tagaste. However, when visiting Hippo he was presented for ordination to the bishop Valerius. This is how Augustine becomes a priest in 391. Four years later, he was consecrated coadjutor bishop to Valerius, and from 396 until Valerius' death presided as the sole bishop in town. He died in Hippo c. 430 when the Vandals were besieging his city. (for more information cf. Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, New ed. (London: Faber, 2000), Cross and Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 108-10, Serge Lancel, *Saint Augustine* (London: SCM Press, 2002).

<sup>145</sup> "Augustine, St., of Hippo," in *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 109.

*of God* was conceived as to expressing the differences between the temporal world and Christianity. Only by understanding this background, can we appreciate Augustine's dual and antithetic system in the way he expresses it, especially, in the first chapters of the *City of God*.

Furthermore, Augustine must be read as one of the characters who most influenced Western Civilization and, especially, the Western Church. In fact, his influence can be traced from the early Middle Ages down to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the rediscovery of Aristotle is somewhat understood as being a reaction against Augustine's theology and orthodoxy. His influence was so important, that although he was criticized within the Catholic Church, reformers often used his works due to its authoritative character.

As previously mentioned, the *City of God* is the result of Augustine's reaction to Alaric's siege and destruction of Rome in 410. It is a long work, containing 22 books, and it took thirteen years to be written (from c. 413 to c. 426). However, one should not consider the fall of Rome under Alaric to be an unexpected event. In a certain way, although most would not believe in it, the fall of Rome was expected since the Barbarians had started to threaten the borders of the Roman Empire and went as far as into Rome some years before Alaric's siege.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, the effect caused in the spirits of the people that survived Rome's siege and destruction, also needed an answer. To the accusation that Rome was no longer protected by its deities because of the Christians, Augustine writes and preaches an answer based in the character of a monotheistic god, one that once allowed Romans to worship such divinities. In a certain way, Augustine becomes at this point a strong defender of the predestined character of history. However, and as S. Lancel concurs, "(...) then the bishop had to confront the distress and confusion among his own faithful, who could not understand how "in Christian times" Rome could have been defeated, sacked and burnt, and who feared the opprobrium of the pagans (...)." <sup>147</sup> Therefore, Augustine had a hard task ahead of him starting in 410. On one side, he had to answer to pagans' accusations, on the other side, he was also responsible for offering a solid explanation of the events of that period to Christians. It is at this point that Augustine's insertion of the thematic of the two

---

<sup>146</sup> During this period, Rome undergone many threats: first the Goth's defeat of Valens in 378, then Alaric begun crossing the Alps c. 401, and later in 405 the Ostrogoths threatened Rome. (cf. Serge Lancel, *Saint Augustine* (London: SCM Press, 2002), 391).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 393.

cities becomes more explicit and we can understand its real power in the short and long runs.

The theme of the two cities is, as we know, a common biblical theme, especially after its introduction in *Revelation*.<sup>148</sup> As we have discussed in the chapter that analyzes the book of *Revelation*, the “New Jerusalem” is introduced by the writer of the book as the representation of a new world still to come and in which humans would dwell with God, although in a certain measure, it may be comparable to the earthly city of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, what matters for Augustine and for the reader of *Revelation* is the fact that the creation/appearance of this new city marked a clear distinction between the past and the future, namely, the eschatological future.

*Revelation* and the “New Jerusalem” show clearly how these authors played with dualistic concepts that, in one way or the other, would underline even more the antitheses between the known world and the future one. Therefore, the clear antithesis between Jerusalem and Babylon is used at the beginning of the “S,” although Augustine replaces Babylon by Rome. However, what Augustine is doing is not strange within the cultural context of Antiquity. In fact, in earlier texts, we can already find dualisms such as the two kingdoms, good and evil, present and future ages, among other examples. Moreover, the metaphor of the city is evoked as an expression of the Christian identity in the sense that it underlines the Christian community as a spiritual entity.<sup>149</sup> This is a feature especially used by Tertullian, but followed by other writers. Connected with it we find some authors also using expressions such as “saeculum” and the “kingdom of sin” to create the perfect distinction between the earthly period and the one to come and to be ruled by God. It is also within this context that authors like Ambrose connect these metaphors with the biblical characters of Cain and Abel. These two were supposed to clearly identify, while distinguishing, two different “sects.”<sup>150</sup> However, none of the previous authors has reached as far as Augustine did. In the words of O’Dally no one before “(...) puts forward the model of the two cities as an interpretation of the course of history in the way in which

---

<sup>148</sup> See also Gen 25:23 and Eph 2:19-22 for examples.

<sup>149</sup> Gerard J. P. O’Daly, *Augustine’s City of God: A Reader’s Guide*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 55.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

*Augustine does.*"<sup>151</sup> This does not invalidate the fact that part of Augustine's argumentation was based in concepts developed earlier. In a way, Augustine has to make use of already known vocabulary and concepts to achieve his main purposes.<sup>152</sup>

Augustine's creation and development of the concept of two antithetic cities is not a continuation of previous conceptualizations. In fact, although he knows and discusses the works of Plato, for example, he does not introduce his cities as if they were the description of real, historical, states. Nevertheless, Augustine thinks the cities and the individuals as being analogous.<sup>153</sup> What appears relevant is to underline how Augustine understood the two cities as part of the historical course. That, we would say, is a novelty not yet seen.

One cannot think or assume that the theme of the "city of God" was a novelty created entirely by Augustine for the book entitled with the same name. In fact, the attentive reader can already find traces of it in the earlier writings of Augustine such as *De Vera Religione*, *De Cathechizandis Rudibus*, *De Genesis ad Litteram*, in his sermons and among other works. From that period, the reader observes Augustine creating and developing the notion of two distinct peoples in history, two races of men, of a symbolic Jerusalem supposed to contrast sharply with Babylon, etc. The two cities just mentioned, Jerusalem and Babylon, are always described by Augustine as mixed in the present but meant to separation in the future, i.e., at the end of time. One is the city of the impious, while the other is the city of the saints, as Augustine is going to clearly state in the *City of God*. In the latter book, one of the main characteristics of the city of God is that it is both angelic and human and "exists in two forms, that of earthly exile/wandering ("peregrinatio") in the Church, and that of eternal repose (*Gen. ad Litt. 12. 28. 56*)."<sup>154</sup>

During all these years since 390 until the beginning of the writing of the *City of God*, the contrast between Babylon and Jerusalem is taking its form in the mind of Augustine. This is a feature that should not be forgotten, because it explains in a way in which the author was able to characterize in such clear terms the two cities in the *City of God* and left no detail unexplained. In fact, not even the eschatological features of the cities were left behind since he deals with it in the last books of the *City of God*. As S. Lancel

---

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>152</sup> Recent scholarship has shown that Augustine in his theorization regarding the two cities was not influenced by the Manichean or even by Greek philosophical writing, as previously accepted. (*cf. Ibid.*, 58.)

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 65.

writes regarding the writing of the *City of God* and the influence of the historical events had, the fact is that

“(…) the “theme” of the first books of the *City of God* was already outlined in the “on-the-spot” reactions of the years 410-11. But the plan of the book in its fullness goes far beyond those first responses and we shall see they chiefly served to hasten, in Augustine’s mind, the development of a vast symphony whose major chords he already had in his head.”<sup>155</sup>

We are not going to discuss the length of the genesis of this work, although we need to remember how large it was and how that may have influenced its writing.<sup>156</sup> One must be aware that from the destruction of Rome by Alaric in 410, there is time gap of two years before Augustine starts to write the *City of God*. During that period, he certainly matured his ideas and listened to his people’s reaction to his sermons and attitudes towards the destruction of the capital of the Empire in the East. Besides, Augustine was, as we know, too occupied with the preparation of a conference in Carthage and its aftermath, especially with the writing of the *Breviculus* and of the *Ad Donatistas*. Meanwhile, we know that he exchanged letters with Marcellinus and Volusianus, who were asking him questions about Christianity and how to reconcile its precepts with the Roman law. As we know, the first three books of the *City of God* were soon finished and dedicated to Marcellinus, whose name is still in the opening of the second book.

As we begin to observe, Augustine writes the *City of God* over a long period of time, but he also publishes/releases the books as soon as he finishes them. This is certainly, at least, the case of the first three books, but a similar process takes place with the books that follow. We can probably say that the first three books were published around the years 413 or 414, that the books IV and V were written in 415 in a short period,<sup>157</sup> that the books VI to X, according to Orosius, were completed by 417. Later, in 418 we have notice that book XIV is being written. Books XV and XVI should date from 419 or 420, and book XVIII may have been written around 424 and 425. By the time Augustine publishes the *Retractations* in 426, it is most certainly that the twenty-two books of the *City of God* were already written.

---

<sup>155</sup> Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, 394.

<sup>156</sup> For a more complete overview of the genesis of the *City of God*, see the cited works of Lancel, O’Daly and Brown.

<sup>157</sup> Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, 396.

As previously mentioned the first three books of the *City of God* were immediately published after its writing. Maybe this happened because Augustine was responding to his friends, maybe because he was still trying to answer the questions raised by the sack of Rome by Alaric by his own people. Nevertheless, it appears more or less clear that by the time he has finished these three books he already has a clear outline of the books to follow and of its content. Besides, in the preface to book one he already introduces several motifs and the corresponding subdivisions.<sup>158</sup> According to this preface, the reader becomes aware of the main motif of books I to X, which is “(...) *the city of God either in the present course of time ... or in the stability of its everlasting seat.*” It is in this fashion that he resumes the city’s historical or temporal, and eschatological or eternal functions, as O’Daly observes.<sup>159</sup> In a later moment, Augustine introduces his reader to the content of the remaining books: how to live as a Christian in a non-Christian society. Moreover, he uses once more dualisms to express the differences between the two cities (e.g., proud and humble), as well as concepts such as “patience,” “justice” and “perfect peace.” In a certain way, Augustine’s distinction between the two cities is based in moral conceptions and not as much in physical ones.

It is not our objective to discuss in-depth the content of the *City of God*. Therefore, we will only analyze some of the thematic that will be of utmost importance for the development of Christian orthodoxy, especially those linked with the eschatological questions we are studying.

In this book, Augustine develops a series of motifs derived from the questions raised by the destruction of Rome under the influence of Christianity. It is within this context that he develops the concepts of the two opposing cities and how he thinks that the final glory will be achieved. At the same time, Augustine describes the Last Judgment and what he supposes that will happen to the nonbelievers at the end. Augustine also discusses Creation, as well as the existence of three different races: angels, humans and demons. Connected with this description of Creation, the author inserts a sense of historical course of the cities, of a development, since the time of Abraham.<sup>160</sup> This is mainly a description of the evolution of the earthly city, which is the reason why Augustine, for example, narrates

---

<sup>158</sup> O’Daly, *Augustine’s City of God: A Reader’s Guide*, 67.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>160</sup> Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, 399.

some of the Jewish prophecies that forecast the coming of Christ and His return (especially from the symbolic point of view). However, as Augustine's cities are basically allegorical, we notice that the author needed to insert in his description of time's development some historical events. Nevertheless, as Lancel underlines, the historical report of the world before the times of Christ is not Augustine's task.<sup>161</sup> Augustine's historical review since Creation, is meant to reinforce his belief that the two cities coexisted since the beginning. For that, he uses several examples described in the earlier books, such as the coexistence of Hagar and Sarah,<sup>162</sup> each one of these characters representing one of the two cities. However, Augustine's main purpose is definitely to expose the differences between Jerusalem and Babylon while adjusting the two cities to the ones described in *Revelation*. In short, his interest is linked with Christian eschatological beliefs. However, at the same time, in a last analysis, Augustine's historical review is nothing else than his way of describing what he understands by living accordingly by the flesh or by the spirit. Moreover, one needs to be careful with Augustine's interpretation of the Church in the sense that it was already part of the heavenly city. It is within this context, that he explores the concept of "peregrinatio," in the sense that Babylon is not solely compounded by those that are not part of the chosen people. In fact, he demonstrates how it is impossible to make such a clear distinction regarding people within the earthly city: after all, it was also God's creation and part of His divine plan.

a) *Rome, or the new Babylon*

In the first chapter of the *City of God*, Augustine's main interest is to demonstrate how Rome, although, already a Christianized city, is the Babylon described in *Revelation*. Therefore, he explores all the possible and eventual deficiencies of Roman religion.<sup>163</sup> His purpose is, in short, to demonstrate that all the misfortunes that the Empire was undergoing

---

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 400.

<sup>162</sup> When Augustine resumes the episodes regarding Hagar and Sara he is making use of Paul's writings, especially the allegory described in Gal 4:21-31. One represents the ancient covenant while the other the new one still to come.

<sup>163</sup> O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, 81.

were not the fault of the Christians, as the pagans were saying, but caused by Roman religion *per se*. Therefore, he starts by exposing all the calamities that hit Rome before the rise of Christianity while, at the same time, demonstrates the lack of moral among the Roman people. By doing this, Augustine is also affirming that Christianity cannot be responsible for the events happening in Rome. As O'Daly writes regarding Augustine's personal view of Rome his time:

*"(...) that even the Roman society of his day, though Christianized, is not one where Christian values prevail: there is a stark contrast between the realities of political life and the vision of life "in that most sacred and venerable senate ("curia") ... and in the heavenly state ("res publica"), where God's will is law" (2. 19)."*<sup>164</sup>

To resume, one could say that Augustine is affirming Rome's culpability in these events due to its lack of moral principles and guidance. The different gods worshiped in the Empire were not "good gods," if we may say it, and Rome's religion was faded to disruption since its beginning despite its founding myths.<sup>165</sup> At the same time, Augustine is already opening the doors to the insertion of monotheism as the only possible form of religious expression, contradicting in that way Rome's religious diversity and divine pantheon. A few chapters later in the book, Augustine begins to distinguish between the human and temporal, and the divine and the eternal. In a way, while Rome (Babylon) was the representation of the first, the city of God, as he depicts it, should be the image of the latter. The two cities are therefore, described in antithetic terms, which created strong dualisms. However, Augustine never forgets that the world and everything it contains are part of God's creation. Therefore, if the Romans had retained such power in the past, that was mandatorily because of divine choice, i.e., to God's will. Nevertheless, Augustine explains in Book XI that the earthly city "*(...) originated from the rebellion of the angels against God, before the creation of man,*"<sup>166</sup> which helps establishing the antiquity of the city as an entity independent from humankind. Moreover, this argument may also be used to explain why evil and good were split and became two independent realities.

---

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 83.

<sup>165</sup> Although Augustine criticizes this particular myth, he never negates the existence of myths.

<sup>166</sup> J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon : A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, V. 14 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1991), 93.

Augustine refers frequently in his works to “Jerusalem” and to “Babylon.” While doing this, he simultaneously is expressing the inner meaning of the two cities. Therefore, while the first is normally understood as a “*vision of peace*,” the “*foundation*,” or “*Sion*” in the sense of speculation and contemplation, the latter has the opposite meaning. In fact, the term “Babylon” is commonly used to express a state of “confusion” or even a presage of destruction. However, these etymological translations of the two words as used by Augustine are not the sole possible textual interpretation whenever the author refers one or both cities in his texts. Actually, Augustine, similarly to what the editor of *Revelation* does, uses the two names as an expression of dualism and of antithesis. He introduces the reader into the theme of the two cities at the end of chapter XIV, where he writes that “*We see then that the two cities were created by self-loving reaching the point of contempt for God, the Heavenly City by the love of God carried as far as contempt to self*”<sup>167</sup> (*De Civ. Dei*, XIV, 28). This may explain, why in some passages it is possible to identify Babylon with the earthly Jerusalem where Christ had been put to death and rose from the dead, as well as the city where multiples times the Temple had been destroyed. In such a way, Augustine offers his reader a vision of past and future, because Jerusalem, for him, represents as well the future still to come. Therefore, in a certain way, we can be in agreement with those who say that although the two cities may represent the same geographical space, but we must also concur with those who say that they are two completely different entities. As Van Fleteren says, “*For Augustine reality is sacramental, a visible sign of something beyond itself, a visible sign of an invisible reality.*”<sup>168</sup> In this way, Jerusalem was a sign of the future, of the heavenly city and, contains a spiritual meaning, although it was possible to identify the city with the historical and earthly city. Nevertheless, only at the end of time it would be possible to make a clear distinction between the inhabitants of Babylon, the ones who did not love God, and the ones who loved God and would consequently, “leave” Babylon towards Jerusalem.

The two cities as described in the *City of God*, especially the heavenly one, are not, as already mentioned, completely detached one from the other. Both are described as part

---

<sup>167</sup> Augustine later uses these same words in his commentary to Psalm 65, which allows us to read this world description and division into two different cities as an intrinsic part of his thought, and not just a characteristic of the *De Civ. Dei*.

<sup>168</sup> Frederick Van Fleteren, “Jerusalem,” in *Augustine through the ages: an encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1999), 463.

of God's creation and as if having a predestined role to play in the course of humanity's history. The first, Babylon, is the earthly city where people were supposed to live before the end of time; while the second, Jerusalem is the heavenly city, because people would only be able to see it and live in it during the afterlife, though Augustine stresses multiple times that this city already exists on earth.<sup>169</sup>

As Augustine writes in the *City of God* regarding the character of the two cities,

*"(...) the two cities were created by two kinds of love: the earthly city was created by self-love, reaching the point of contempt for God, the Heavenly City by the love God carried as far as contempt of self. In fact, the earthly city glories in itself, the Heavenly City glories in the Lord. The former looks for glory from men, the latter finds its highest glory in God, the witness of a good conscience. The earthly lifts up its head in its own glory, the Heavenly City says to its God: "My glory; you lift up my head." (De Civ. Dei, XIV, 28)*<sup>170</sup>

Therefore, apparently there is no question regarding how Augustine interpreted the differences between the two cities, and what were his expectations about each one of them, especially, towards the end of time and the establishment of the divine kingdom. Nevertheless, it is important to not forget how he thought the two as part of the world created by God, although they are not to be confused with Plato's ideal city, as Fortin underlines.<sup>171</sup> The two cities represent different expressions of God's love and each one was created with its own purpose. Therefore, the two cities are, without doubt, part of God's divine plan of Creation.

According to this interpretation, Augustine's readers are confronted with the reality of the purpose of the earthly city, especially whenever he connects Babylon with the flesh. This represents a sharp contrast by opposition with Jerusalem's spiritual character, the heavenly city. While living in this city, humanity was ruled by its own wishes and search of pleasures: it is truly the space for the natural man and for his desires.<sup>172</sup> It is also the place for human quests, but not for humans to trust in God. Therefore, the contrast between the two cities is clear, although Augustine does not save any efforts to express how this city so

---

<sup>169</sup> Ernest L. Fortin, "Civitate Dei, De," in *Augustine through the ages: an encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1999), 199.

<sup>170</sup> Augustine, "Concerning the City of God against the Pagans," in *Penguin Classics*, ed. Henry Scowcroft Bettenson and G. R. Evans (London, England/New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 2003), 593.

<sup>171</sup> Fortin, "Civitate Dei, De," 199.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

different from the one of the future was also part of God's plans and should be regarded as well as a place where it is possible to follow God. Humans were free to make their own choices, they were independent in this city,<sup>173</sup> although their future in God was closely linked with the actions and choices performed while living in the earthly city. They would in a last instance, be judged by their action at the Last Judgment time, that would anticipate the establishment of the divine kingdom as *Revelation* depicts. Besides, as Augustine describes it, Babylon is in a certain measure the result of Adam and Eve's transgression and, therefore, that explains while justifying why is it possible to find in a piece of God's creation, people worshipping other deities and not the One that created them.<sup>174</sup>

Augustine explains further his theory concerning the evolution of the human race derived from the transgression in the following chapters, where he narrates the course of historical events particularly after the episodes narrated in Gen 4.<sup>175</sup> However, that is not as important here, as it is to underline the difference between the two cities. It does offer the reader a complete overview of Augustine's understanding of the historical progress and how he connects history with his main purpose of demonstrating the existence, although parallel but still in the future, of a different world in God. As O'Daly puts it: "*The earthly city (here more or less closely identified with the real societies) is dominated by lust for domination and the acquisition of empire; it is confident in its own strength and its own values: not surprisingly, in this kind of society false religions flourish.*"<sup>176</sup> In a certain way, Rome is the expression in the West of Babylon's Empire depicted in *Revelation*: an imperfect city. Although in a certain measure he identifies Rome with the "old covenant" already mentioned by Paul in order to distinguish the believer before and after Christ, he never truly says that one is the other.<sup>177</sup> Nevertheless, Augustine defines its life span when he describes the city in terms that anticipate its previous condemnation to judgment and punishment, and underlines its violent nature.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, XIV, 28

<sup>174</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, XIV, 28

<sup>175</sup> This is, in a certain measure, a continuation of *De Civ. Dei* XI.

<sup>176</sup> O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, 159.

<sup>177</sup> Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, 402.

<sup>178</sup> O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, 162.

b) *Jerusalem: the City of God*

As already discussed, Augustine's main differentiation between the two cities is based on the fact that the first, Rome is a place for human will created by God, while the second, Jerusalem or the heavenly city, is the place for God's love.<sup>179</sup> However, this differentiation *per se* is not satisfactory, since the author goes far beyond it and sometimes he enters in such a complex argumentation that has caused some scholars in the past to raise the question of whether or not Augustine was speaking of three cities rather than two. However, this is no longer a plausible working hypothesis, since scholars have settled with the two cities theory.<sup>180</sup> In truth, Augustine describes this new city as a place of consensus and recognition of God's authority, even before the afterlife began.<sup>181</sup>

In a first instance, Augustine begins by identifying this new city with the Church, which raises the question of how many cities he has in mind, as above mentioned. Is Augustine considering the earthly Jerusalem as distinct from the heavenly city, or is the first just the beginning of the latter? Yet, the pre-existence of Jerusalem as an earthly place and its correspondence, according to Augustine, with the Church, does not mean that everyone that is part of the Church, i.e., all Christians, are instantly accepted in its midst,<sup>182</sup> although it appears to be the perfect place for the fellowship between the saints, humans, and angels to take place.<sup>183</sup>

At the beginning of book XV, Augustine describes this new city with the following words:

*"There was certainly a kind of shadow and prophetic image of this City which served rather to point towards it than to reproduce it on earth at the time when it was due to be displayed. This image was also called the holy city, in virtue of its pointing to that other City, not as being the express likeness of the reality which is yet to be."* (*De Civ. Dei* XV, 2)

---

<sup>179</sup> *De Civ. Dei* XIV, 28.

<sup>180</sup> Fortin, "*Civitate Dei, De*," 199.

<sup>181</sup> O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, 159.

<sup>182</sup> For a more complete description and analysis of this subject see: Fortin, "*Civitate Dei, De*," 199 and Oort, 1991 #330.

<sup>183</sup> *cf.* 1 Cor 15:28, where the metaphor of the "first fruits" is described (see earlier section on this subject in Part 1). O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, 159.

Therefore, apparently Augustine is not describing a completely detached city from this world: he mentions a type of pre-existing connection between the two periods that the city would exist. Actually, it appears that he describes the earthly Jerusalem as if it were the beginning or the announcement of the new world (the eschatological one). Hence, the earthly Jerusalem functions as a prophetic symbol of the heavenly city on earth.<sup>184</sup> Once more, Augustine uses Paul's language of the two covenants in that the new city to the author is a representation of the new covenant with God through Christ.

As already mentioned, Augustine betakes himself to the biblical review of history, especially the events described in the Book of Genesis, to begin illustrating how God had planned (or decided to punish His people), already in the past, other moments of destruction followed by regeneration, such as the Flood. Inasmuch, Augustine refers to the Ark as a symbol of the city of God in *De Civ. Dei* XV, 28. By doing this, he attempts to demonstrate the pre-existence of the divine city already before the Flood, since the time of Abraham: one city, or entity, to be found among the descendents of Shem (*De Civ. Dei* XVI).<sup>185</sup> It is also when describing this sequence of events that Augustine introduces in the text of the *De Civ. Dei* the motif of the six ages of the world, or *aetates*.<sup>186</sup> However, one must be aware that it was not the author's intention to attempt a description of human historical progress, although it appears possible that the purpose was to demonstrate how the people of God could progress towards the achievement of life in the sacred city. In fact, in book XVI, 12 of the *De Civ. Dei*, one can read an allusion to time divisions when Augustine writings mention the word "epoch" linked with the passing generations since the time of Creation. The ages, as described by Augustine, may also be compared to the human life stages. That is especially visible when Augustine describes David (at the fourth age) as representing humankind's youth and the periods before him as "infancy," "childhood," and

---

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>186</sup> Authors such as Barnabas, Origen and Hippolytus have already used a chronology of 6000-years to define the length of this world, the time between Creation and Last Judgment. In a certain way, Augustine's use of the idea of six previous generations before the End is very similar. Besides, Paul also uses the label "*aetates*" to distinguish between this age and the age still to come, as we have seen when we analyzed some of his texts and main contents.

Augustine distinguishes six ages: 1) from Adam to the Flood, 2) from Noah to Abraham, 3) from Abraham to David, 4) from David to the Babylonian captivity, 5) from the captivity to the birth of Christ, and 6) from Christ until the end of the world. These ages are respectively defined by Augustine as: *infantia*, *pueritia*, *adolescencia*, *inventus*, *gravitas* and *senectus*.

“adolescence.”<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, we need to underline that Augustine is not introducing anything new when he describes world history since Creation. In fact, speaking of how early Christian writers introduced Christianity and its contours to educated Romans, R. Markus writes that they

*“(...) introduced the pagan convert to Christianity to a redemptive history for which the history he learnt at school had no place; and at the same time they provided their Christian readers with a framework, derived from the redemptive history on which their faith was founded, into which they could fit other historical information as it became familiar to them. Both for the pagan convert to Christianity and for the uninstructed Christian, such works helped to map out the course of human history with the aid of the fixed points in the story of redemption.”*<sup>188</sup>

Therefore, Augustine’s description and division of history into smaller periods is nothing less than offering his readers another opportunity to understand their present world and what they could expect to happen in the future.<sup>189</sup> It is his purpose to lead his readers in the history of the Church since its creation and until present times. Simultaneously, he transforms secular history into sacred history, which is much more suitable to his needs, as well as of those who would follow his precepts in the following centuries.

By incorporating historical events with those narrated in the Bible, Augustine definitely establishes a new concept of history within the Church. From now on, history becomes part of God’s Creation and, therefore, is understood as predestined to the future forecast in the prophetic books, especially *Daniel* and *Revelation*. History is, from this point onwards, one of the most important tools of the Church and it assumes a linear progress towards the end.

Returning to the issue of Augustine’s division of history into six different “ages” it is necessary to underline that he is not the first to do so. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that this sixfold organization of time to be lived before the events of the end happens is a way of returning to the Creation model of the Sabbath. In fact, this scheme of

---

<sup>187</sup> O’Daly, *Augustine’s City of God: A Reader’s Guide*, 174.

<sup>188</sup> R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, rev. ed. (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 3-4.

<sup>189</sup> Since the beginning of the 4th century, there is new kind of historiography: the ecclesiastical one. This influences the future writing of history, since it transforms pagan historiography into a device used by the Church as a form of self-justification. Consequently, history becomes part of Christian apologetics, as we can observe in the works of Orosius.

the six ages, implicitly anticipates the arrival of a new age, i.e., what the author has in mind is the scheme of seven days described in *Genesis*. Here, the seventh day, the one assigned to resting, is a synonym of the future age, the time when God and His chosen ones would dwell in one same place. In short, it represents the move from the earthly Jerusalem (Rome) to the heavenly and timeless Jerusalem. The idea that the world would come to an end, which can also be found in several of other of Augustine's writings, is no other than a light trace of a sort of millenarian conceptualization, although the author would later strongly refute such tendency. Yet, Augustine never says explicitly that a thousand years correspond to an age as did, e.g., Barnabas, Irenaeus or Hippolytus before him. Therefore, the city of God, the heavenly last stronghold is described by Augustine as belonging to the seventh age, the one that exists beyond history.

Many questions can be raised regarding the character and quality of this new city supposed to replace the earthly Rome. However, one of the most important ones derives from the fact that Augustine describes it in a way in which he allows the reader to think that, since it represents the Church, it already exists within the historical world. Inasmuch as this description can be found in the *De Civ. Dei*, some have, as previously noticed, asked whether the author had in mind the existence of a third city. Nevertheless, as indicated before, this is not a sustainable point of view although we cannot deny that Augustine definitely describes it as having started with Creation and the building of Christianity. Symbolically, however it already exists when Augustine writes and will exist while the Church exists and the events of the End do not take place. Besides, Augustine adds a last feature: since the coming of Christ and until the end of the world, history cannot be understood in terms of sacred history as the history that preceded it, because the coming of Christ represents a decisive moment, one of no return, and from that point forward, only the End could be waited. Moreover, from Augustine onwards the Church will follow the theory that it is impossible predicting the time neither of the end, nor to comment any sign that may possibly explain the events of that same waiting time.<sup>190</sup> Therefore, the precedent of the impossibility of dating the end, or, of attempting to link an eventual sign with the prophecies concerning the End, is open by Augustine and will survive at least until the works and theories of Joachim of Fiore.

---

<sup>190</sup> Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, 20-21.

The city of God as described by Augustine is, hence, what some scholars describe as the “*Tempora Christiana*.” Consequently, it is not incomprehensible that Augustine interprets this supposedly future period as having already started with Christ and the Church. Meanwhile, the world is supposedly living its last period, the old age, i.e., Augustine’s present world is an “old” and “exhausted” world. Therefore, world and humankind renovation is necessary and that is what Augustine expects to achieve with the establishment of the City of God, i.e., the time still to come. The eschatological world is, in this sense, inevitable although it is not possible to know when it will take place.

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that Augustine does not agree with some of the interpretations regarding the two resurrections described in *Revelation*. According to him, bodily resurrection during the first one should not be expected (*De Civ. Dei* XX, 7), despite that he had believed in it in the past. As Augustine says, the belief that bodies would be resurrected at that time in order to enjoy all the delights of this world, is an extreme and also materialistic perception. Nevertheless, he contradicts the millenarist expectations, he moves forward by saying that “*It would take too long to refute them all in detail; we ought instead to show how this scriptural passage is to be taken,*” when referring to the correct interpretation of the first resurrection depicted in *Revelation* 20:1-6 (*De Civ. Dei* XX, 7).

In the following pages, Augustine attempts to interpret the meaning of the thousand years of waiting. According to him, there are two possible explanations: a) it will happen during the last thousand years, which is a synonym of the sixth millennium and, therefore, it anticipates the Sabbath; or b) the one-thousand years represents the “*whole period of history*”<sup>191</sup> to be divided by multiples of 10. The last reference assumes that the duration of the world is a perfect number, more symbolical than real, although complete. In that particular sense, the possibility of defining the date of the end is revoked, since there are no absolute figures. Meanwhile, Augustine refers to the existence of two comings of Christ, the second one being inaugurated by the end of the world (*De Civ. Dei* XX, 8).

At the same time, Augustine refers to the “*endurance of the Holy City*” as if, once more, that city already existed before the end of time and the beginning of the afterlife.<sup>192</sup>

---

<sup>191</sup> Augustine, "Concerning the City of God against the Pagans," 908.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 911.

By doing so, Augustine underlines the ability of resistance of the believers in face of the attacks of evil. In fact, the Church, while it is community of the believers, is the reason that explains why the period when the Devil is to be released before the Last Judgment is so short (*De Civ. Dei* XX, 8). In the words of Augustine, regarding the role of the Devil: “*In the end the Omnipotent will unloose him, so that the City of God may behold how powerful a foe it has overcome, to the immense glory of its Redeemer, its Helper, its Deliver*” (*De Civ. Dei* XX, 8).<sup>193</sup> By saying this, Augustine is simply underlining the strength of the community of the faithful and of God, or, if we prefer, of the City of God

The City of God, as the heavenly world supposed to replace the current world, is described by Augustine as a place “*for the better.*” It is depicted by Augustine in the *De Civ. Dei* XX, 17 as “*(...) coming down from heaven since its beginning, from the time when its citizens began to increase in number as they have continued to increase throughout the period of this present age, by the grace of God which comes from above by means of the ‘washing of rebirth’.*” Therefore, it is possible to admit that the author’s city had first come down to earth to include the believers, the time of the Church, but would once more go back to heaven after the Last Judgment.<sup>194</sup> The major consequence of this return of the city to heaven is the final separation between the two cities. Nevertheless, one must remember that what Augustine had in mind was a world transformation, not a complete destruction of it, as we can observe when analyzing some of the sections of Book XX.<sup>195</sup> Even if he forecasts a destruction of the Roman Empire, which in a certain measure at the time of writing could be identified with the known world,<sup>196</sup> what he has in mind is certainly the distinction between the two times and the importance of the end of this world with the subsequent coming of a new one.

Hence, the new city will host a different population than that of the earthly city. Here, immortality and eternity are the key words. At the same time, Augustine stresses once again the bodily resurrection of Christ, which in a certain measure appears strange because if the city is not historical, then a bodily resurrection in the fashion we know it, appears odd if not contradictory with the principles of eternity and immortality. This is

---

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 928.

<sup>195</sup> See O’Daly for a more complete overview on this subject: O’Daly, *Augustine’s City of God: A Reader’s Guide*, 210-17.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 215.

especially awkward if we remember how Augustine fights the idea that the sky would be the dwelling place of bodies. He, in fact, negates this. Therefore, this second coming of Christ cannot be wrapped in a bodily resurrection, as humans would conceive it. Thus, he underlines the importance of the symbolical interpretation by opposition to the literal textual interpretation.<sup>197</sup>

In summary, the City of God as described by Augustine is, definitely, a special place without many correspondences with the earthly city. The main things in common that they share are the love of God and the community of the faithful. However, the author assumes that this new city will in the future represent a new order, a new age, a new world where God and humans would live together. He also assumes that this city has a timeless character, as an a-historical one, although he conceived that it had in a certain measure already some sort of contact with the earthly world through the Church. In a word, it appears that there is some type of convergence between the city to be and the community already gathered. However, Augustine gives notice to his readers by stating the difference between the two cities, Rome and Jerusalem, especially regarding the type of power: in the first moment, there was a secular power, while in the second that power will be transformed into sacred or divine. By following this line of exegesis, Augustine is opening the doors to much future questioning, especially when the Church is confronted with the question of the time of the end. If one follows Augustine's teachings regarding the impossibility of predicting the date of the end, or the events that would precede it, then those would not be able to find any sort of equivalences between the biblical prophecies and reality. However, Augustine's formulation is extremely important for the development of a theory of earthly power on earth dominated by the Church while waiting for the End. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Augustine's *City of God* had its origin in heaven and, although it had passed through earth, had its future in heaven once again. Consequently, Christianity, once part of history, had faded to end as part of eternity and, therefore, was timeless.

In short, one needs to be aware that Augustine's theorisation regarding the divine city has influenced many after him, especially until the sixteenth century. It is important to note as well, its influence in the political concepts of the Middle Ages, namely those connected with the idea that the Christian temporal power was closely connected with the

---

<sup>197</sup> Augustine analyzes in-depth the type of bodies that would be resurrected during Book XXII.

Church. These are, in fact, of major importance for the development of the theories that will follow Charlemagne and his political conceptualization of history, and which are commonly known as forms of “theocratic interpretation.”

5) *Joachim of Fiore: From the 'status' to the 'Last Emperor'*

As mentioned above, Augustine's influence regarding the impossibility of predicting the date of the end as well as the recommendation to not enquire about such matters, is of utmost importance to understanding the reason why, during the centuries to follow, there are not many examples of predictive prophecy. In fact, during the period between 500 and 1000, what we have is an enormous expansion of the so-called "imperial apocalypticism."<sup>198</sup> Nevertheless, we cannot affirm that there are no interpretations at all within the Church of the period of the end. That would be a mistake.

Most of the works of this period concerning the theories of the end of time have to be divided either as pessimistic or as optimistic interpretations. The first type based their expectations in the effect caused by the persecution led by the Antichrist and the effects of the Last Judgment. Therefore, fear and its subsequent establishment among Christians, became one of the most important vectors of this type of theorization. On the other hand, optimistic interpretations were based on the hope for a thousand-year reign of Christ and of the saints, as described in *Revelation* 20:1-6. It was in this particular context that the legend of the Last Emperor as the one supposed to save Christianity from the Antichrist's persecution gains weight and importance.

Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202) is commonly known by the epithet of the "Calabrian Abbot." As many scholars would agree, Joachim is probably one of the most important apocalyptic writers of the Middle Ages, at least one of the most influential in the centuries to follow. However, Joachim of Fiore is also an important name to remember whenever analyzing the theories concerning historical periodization and its connection with the Church's orthodoxy. In fact, and as M. Reeves underlines, Joachim's concept of history has its origins within the Judeo-Christian milieu. Therefore, his philosophy of history is linear, from Creation until the End, although we cannot say that it does not include any cyclical feature.<sup>199</sup> As this scholar writes: "(...) *Joachim combined precisely the annually*

---

<sup>198</sup> Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100-1500," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John Joseph Collins, and Stephen J. Stein (New York: Continuum, 1998).

<sup>199</sup> Marjorie Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," *Traditio* XXXVI (1980): 269.

returning order of the Church's liturgy with the onward march of history towards its final Pentecost."<sup>200</sup> Joachim of Fiore's work represents additionally an answer to many questions raised by the belief in the coming of a Last Emperor before the release of the Antichrist and the beginning of the Millennium supposed to anticipate the Last Judgment, and consequently, the establishment of a new age, the one of the kingdom of God.

The works produced by Joachim of Fiore require a deep level of analysis than we can attain at this moment. Nevertheless, his work is important in several aspects to our line of research. If on one hand, we have to understand Joachim as one of the most important theorists after the failed attempt of a Church reform undertaken by Gregory VII, on the other hand, Joachim follows in a certain measure the reformation principles when he returns to the Church the leading role during the end, contradicting in such way the theorists of the *Imperium*.

Joachim is one of the strongest promoters of the theory of the *Pater Angelicus*, which transfers to the person of the Pope the leading role during the period that would anticipate the coming of the Antichrist. In this fashion, Joachim relegates the Emperor to the role of an observer, a simple courtier at the papacy court. Therefore, the importance of his work in the reestablishment of the Church's supremacy is fundamental.

However, Joachim's work, especially what concerns his interpretation of the role of history, does not follow Augustine's principles. According to Joachim, the end of time would take place within history and not beyond it as Augustine had previously defined. Joachim built a particular theory of the course of history based both in the septets and in the triads. In this way, he agreed with Augustine when he mentioned the existence of seven periods, but innovated when he inserted a description of history based on the Holy Trinity. This Trinitarian scheme is one of the most important aspects of his work, as we will observe later.

Resuming, Joachim of Fiore introduced during the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and the early 13<sup>th</sup> century a new perspective regarding the interpretation of the course of history, while keeping some of the main Augustinian principles. For him, the end would take place within history and during the period of the Holy Spirit. By doing this, Joachim underlines the role of the leader that would lead humankind/Christianity to the time of the end. Therefore, it is

---

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.: 270.

possible to understand how his work is considered revolutionary, dangerous and innovative by some. Only this can explain, in fact, why his theories were continuously used and reinterpreted during the following centuries.

In order to offer a more complete overview of Joachim of Fiore's work and of his influence throughout the centuries that follow him, we will first analyze the particularities of his theorization, especially of the Trinitarian system. Then we will observe the influence of his work in the building and strengthening of the theories that underlined the role of the *Last Emperor* or of the *Pastor Angelicus*.

a) *Joachim's 'Aetates' and 'Status'*

Joachim of Fiore's most important contribution concerning the historical periodization is certainly his inclusion of Augustine's Seventh Age within the historical time. Consequently, although he followed Augustine's division of time into seven distinct *aetates*, he does not understand the last one, the one that Augustine identifies with the Day of the Sabbath, as being beyond history, i.e., after the end of the earthly time. At the same time, Joachim used the tripartite vision of history based in the Holy Trinity, while inserting new particularities to the scheme. Hence, if one must think of Joachim's work as a result or a continuation of the earlier thinkers' work, one must at the same time, consider his work as a shift towards a new interpretational trend. It is this last aspect of his work that interests us most, especially, whenever Joachim attempts to date the time of the end. When writing about Joachim's thinking, E. Daniel describes it with the following words: "*Joachim's thinking is evolutionary, not revolutionary.*"<sup>201</sup> In fact, one cannot forget that Joachim of Fiore's work is the result in part of the Reformation process undertaken by the Church since Gregory VII, which also reflects the 12<sup>th</sup> century spirit of searching for the ancient knowledge. As E. Daniel underlines, authors before Joachim have never envisaged a reform of the Church, they assumed that the Church on earth could become more holy as well as

---

<sup>201</sup> E. Randolph Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 87.

more worthy of Christ.<sup>202</sup> For Joachim, the truth was the opposite: the Church needed to be reformed in order to put an end to corruption, there was no such a thing as a natural reform of the Church.

Joachim's work is mostly based on symbolical interpretation, as many authors recall.<sup>203</sup> Moreover, although he shared the meaning of those symbols with his contemporaries, the fact is that he also used them in the way it most suited him.<sup>204</sup> At the same time, Joachim appears to have understood history as a "clue provider" of the divine purpose. Despite his threefold division of history, Joachim ends by contradicting the teachings of Augustine when he understands the last age, the age of the Spirit and the Seventh Age, as part of history. Consequently, first and second coming of Christ became part of history, which challenges Augustine's view according to which the last coming would already happen in a time beyond history.

Joachim of Fiore's view of history can and should be considered as an apocalyptic interpretation, although his entire theorisation cannot be considered as resulting in an "apocalypse" *per se*. Nevertheless, the abbot contemplates a predetermined history by God, which is the basis for the understanding of the different revelations found in the sacred books regarding the end of times.<sup>205</sup> Besides, according to him, there was no need of further revelation, but only in-depth interpretation of the existing narratives of revelation, that would allow apprehending when the events predicted were supposed to take place. However, Joachim considered himself to be already living the last days and that fact *per se* has ample consequences on his schematization. At the same time, it is important to underline that although he offers a very complex system, his view of history is definitely based on a linear understanding of it. Therefore, when studying his work one has to remember that he underlined at the same time the teleological character of history and how immanent it should be considered in relation to the present in which he was writing.<sup>206</sup>

In his works, Joachim offers his readers different types of historical divisions. As said, although he partly follows the system proposed by Augustine, the one based in the seven *aetates*, he also introduces a few novelties of his own. In fact, it is in his work that

---

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>203</sup> So McGinn, Reeves, Rusconi, and Daniel among others.

<sup>204</sup> Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 288.

<sup>205</sup> McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*, 190.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

the reader becomes aware of two other possible divisions of time. One is based in two different *tempora*, while the other is based in the Trinitarian system. Needless to say, Joachim never thought that time could be a sequence of divided periods with no inner connection. In fact, what he assumes is that all of these so-called divisions are to be integrated into the major concept of “global time,” i.e., of history.

Joachim agreed with Augustine that Christianity’s main purpose was the achievement of eternity in a time beyond history. However, he did not agree with Augustine about when the time beyond history was supposed to begin and history to end. Augustine affirmed, as we have seen in the previous chapter, that history would end with the release of the Antichrist and the beginning of his reign. Joachim, on the other hand, assumed that history would only end after the second coming of Christ and when the Last Judgment take place. This implies an extension of the length of the last Age and an inclusion in it of the reign of the Antichrist, its defeat and the second coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. Only after that would it be possible to consider the existence of another world. Therefore, according to Joachim, the climax of the events portrayed in *Revelation* would take place still within history. Joachim’s interpretation may be considered therefore as one of the biggest changes undertaken within the history of the Christian exegesis, since the Sabbath, the seventh age, would be a historical time. Besides, as E. Daniel underlines, it appears possible to state that Joachim was not searching for a new beginning, which could lead us to interpret his thinking as based on a cyclical course of history, but his main purpose was to reach a higher level of purification through smaller episodes of purification.<sup>207</sup> In fact, this perspective based on continuous progress is the only one may allow us to understand the importance given by Joachim to a reform of the Church as part of the historical line of progress towards the end.

Simultaneously, Joachim of Fiore introduced the concept of *concordia* or *similarities*.<sup>208</sup> According to it, Joachim compared a few pairs of concordances that allowed him to confirm the existence of different types of similarities between the Old Testament and the New Testament periods, regarding historical events and persons. Perhaps one of the most important pairs is the one Old Testament-New Testament. By creating this type of

---

<sup>207</sup> Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," 77-8.

<sup>208</sup> Joachim of Fiore, "The Book of Concordance, Book 2, Part 1, Chapters 2-12," ed. Bernard McGinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 120.

analogy, Joachim attempted to establish a connection between historical events narrated in the past with those described in *Revelation*. In this way, he ended by interpreting some of Revelation's symbols as events or persons that were already part of history and described as such in previous biblical books. In addition, this method helped him to build a theory centered in the proximity of the end. This appears clearly described in the analogy made on Ezekiel's vision of the chariot (Ezek 1:4-28). Joachim pays special attention to the four wheels of the chariot, identifying them as four special historical periods. According to him, each wheel had two sides, as if it were a coin, being the inner wheel "(...) *a correlative of the outer one*."<sup>209</sup> As described by Joachim, the *concordia* represented historical parallels, which in a last analysis reflected a sense of harmony, between the events described in the Old Testament and those of the New Testament. Accordingly, the first described events from Adam until the last generation before Christ, while the second from Uzziah of Judah until the definite coming of Christ.

The *concordia* system became in Joachim's works the supporting basis of the two main patterns of time: the *prima definitio*, from which the three *status* system would develop, and the *secunda definitio*, from which the two *tempora* distinction is drawn upon.

As previously mentioned, Joachim also used Augustine's system of the *aetates*. However, he defines each period based in the number of generations it held and not in the amount of years that had passed. For him, each generation lasted approximately thirty years.<sup>210</sup> One of the best examples of the usage of this system is probably the one found in Joachim's analysis of *Revelation*. He divides *Revelation* into eight parts: 1) introduction and letters to the seven churches (1:1-3:22); 2) opening of the seven seals (4:1-8:1); 3) the seven trumpets (8:2-11:18); 4) the two beasts (11:19-14:20); 5) the seven plagues (15:1-16:17); 6) the destruction of Babylon (16:18-19:21); 7) the Millennium (20:1-10); and 8) the New Jerusalem (20:11-22:21).<sup>211</sup> Of these, the first seven corresponded to the time of the Church, while the last inaugurated eternity. Once more, Joachim introduces a system according to which all the main events would take place within history, which is one of the most important differences to underline between his work and that of Augustine.

---

<sup>209</sup> Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," 78.

<sup>210</sup> A chart containing the different generations since Creation until the time of the end, and its explanation is provided in: McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*, 189.

<sup>211</sup> Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," 80.

Since Joachim divided history into seven periods of forty-two generations each, if one does the calculations, it is possible to achieve a date for the events of the end very close to the time in which Joachim was writing these books. In fact, and according to the abbot's calculations, the release of the Antichrist, and therefore the beginning of the seventh age, should take place around the year 1200, and he was writing in the later 1190'.<sup>212</sup>

Joachim's system, derived from the *concordia* has as we have seen above, resulted into two different types of time division, the *prima definitio* and the *secunda definitio*. We will begin our analysis by the last one, because it appears less complex. This *secunda definitio* has its derivation later in Joachim's system in the introduction of two *tempora*. It is basically, drawn upon the parallelism between Old and New Testaments already mentioned. The first of these two *tempora* was set by Joachim as the period from Adam to Christ, while the second *tempora* was set from the birth of Christ until the end of history. Joachim goes further and underlines that while the first period belonged to the Jews, the second belonged to the Christians. Nevertheless, during the two *tempora* there existed already what Joachim called the *viri spirituales*, which are one of the main characteristics of the spiritual *status*, the last period of Joachim's Trinitarian system, as we will observe below. Moreover, each of these periods contained seven periods of distress, all of them supposed to finish with Sabbaths.<sup>213</sup> Up to a certain point, each time one period reached the end it immediately created a new beginning, which is similar to the concept of the Jubilee years. In fact, they assumed that the fiftieth year was also to be counted as the first year of the next cycle. This last division into seven periods, which the author repeats using other examples, makes the reader more aware that Joachim continuously mixes the various divisions of time he uses in order to provide his reader with a more complete overview of each period.

On the other hand, Joachim describes a tripartite system, which, according to him characterizes the *prima definitio*. This tripartite system is based in the Holy Trinity figure. However, Joachim does not refer to this system to implement any sort of temporal division since he claims several times that this is a representation of the union in God. Following Joachim's thinking it is possible to reassure that the Trinity is always a primary

---

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 84.

characteristic and that God can be found in the three Person of the Trinity.<sup>214</sup> What Joachim underlines is that although the three together represent God, the Son and the Spirit resulted from the Father, the creator. Therefore, Joachim is able to build under a threefold system, a smaller twofold system based in the Son and in the Spirit.<sup>215</sup> As B. McGinn recalls, “*These inner Trinitarian processions are the source for the abbot’s at times confusing attempts to combine a pattern of twos with a pattern of threes in his dynamics of world history.*”<sup>216</sup> In order to do this, Joachim introduced the symbology of the *Alpha* and of the *Omega* (see Figure 3), being the first a representation of the Trinity of Persons, while the second represented the unity of the substance. The letter *Alpha* provided the basic outline of his thinking, while the letter *Omega* (drawn in diverse ways), represented a more specific part of the whole. While the use of the *Alpha* does not pose major problems, the use of the *Omega*, especially because of the way it is used caused some problems. In fact, Joachim uses the capital *Omega* as a perfect circle instead of the common  $\Omega$ , with the purpose of indicating that it held the unity of the divine substance.<sup>217</sup> At the same time, Joachim uses the lowercase *Omega*, commonly represented as  $\omega$ . The abbot uses primarily the lowercase to underline how the complete circle could be described as: “*(...) a circle opening out to reveal one ‘virgula’ or bar proceeding from two (...),*”<sup>218</sup> in an attempt to stress how the Son and the Spirit proceeded from the Father, although the three together represented one single unity. A better description of Joachim’s understanding of the *Alpha* and of the *Omega*, can surely be attained through the observation of the following drawings that have been recovered from his works. Also, in this image, it is possible to observe how Joachim understood the tripartite system and how *Alpha* and *Omega* interacted with that principal system.

---

<sup>214</sup> McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*, 161.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 161-203.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

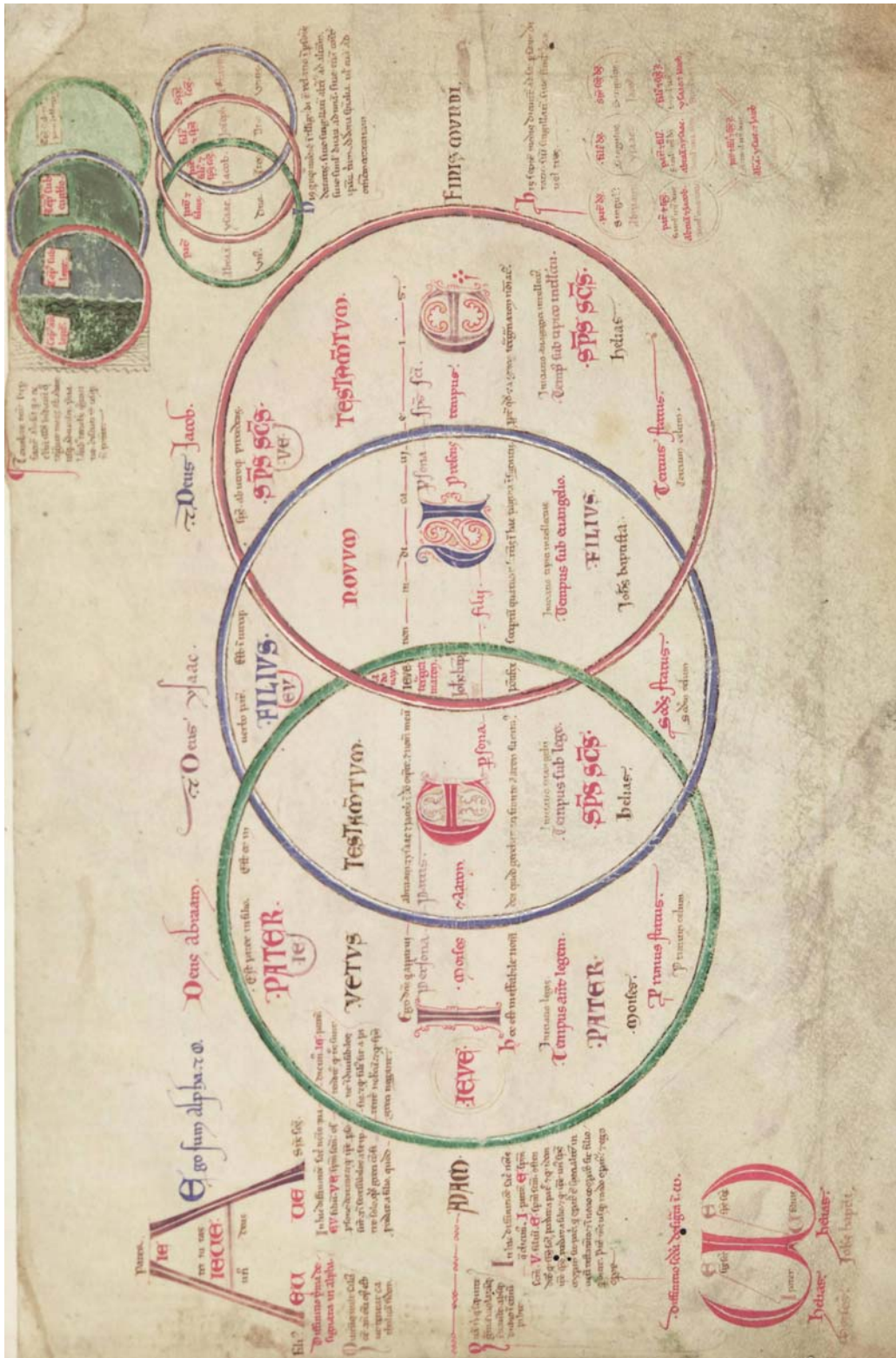


Figure 2 – The Three Status, CCC Ms. 255A, f. 7 v.  
By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

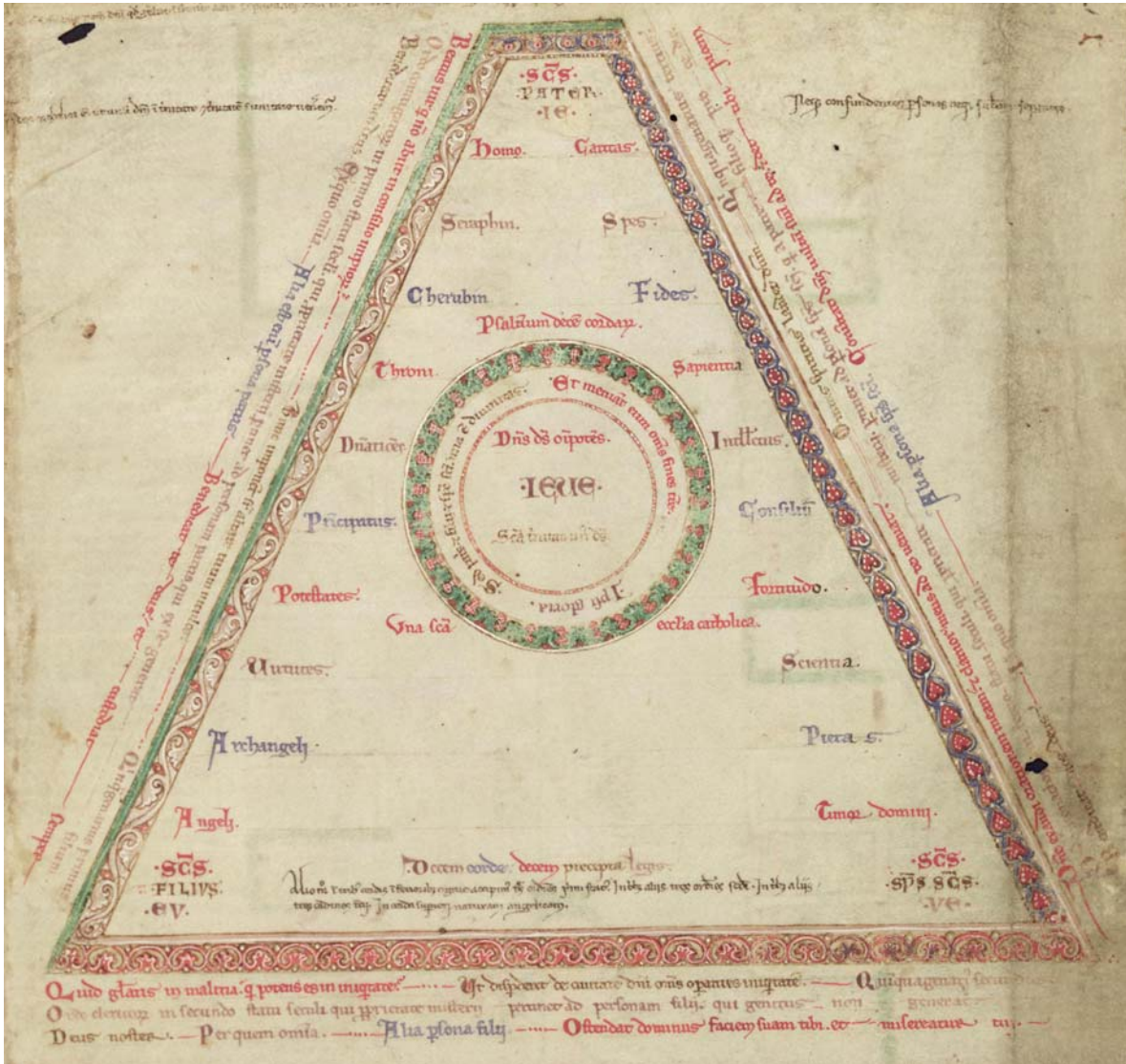


Figure 3 – The Alpha and the Omega, CCC Ms. 255A, f. 8 r.  
 By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Through the observation of Figure 2, it becomes possible to understand how Joachim defined his sense of historical progress based in the two earthly appearances of Christ, as well as in the Trinitarian system. Once again, it appears that our writer needed to organize history into smaller cluster of time in a way that it would approximate his own time to the events of the end. This is particularly clear when Joachim draws trees, underlining the passage from one age to the following, and evidencing how everything started with the Father, as we can observe in Figure 4.



**Figure 4 – The Tree and the Three Ages, CCC Ms. 255A, f. 12 v.**  
*By permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*

The first period of this tripartite system is that of the *Father*. It was characterized by the Jewish people and the married people. In chronological terms, it lasted from Adam to Christ. The second was the time of the *Son*, though it already contained some features of the Holy Spirit. This was characterized by Christians and clerks, and lasted from the birth of Christ until forty-two generations later (the previous reference to the year 1200 as the mark of the end). This second period was already a demonstration of the achievement of further knowledge, since the Church had already understood both the Old and the New Testaments. This was only possible in the words of Joachim because the disciples had received the Holy Spirit from Christ and consequently, the Church was one-step closer to perfection. The last period is that of the Holy Spirit and was characterised by the monastic orders, beginning with St. Benedict. Its end would occur not much after the year 1200 and would be coincidental with the end of the second *tempora*.

The last period, that of the Holy Spirit, represents, in the words of Joachim, the plenitude of the *intelligentia spiritualis*. In short, it meant the last days, the most brilliant period before the teleological events take place. In it, the spirit would show its supremacy in a way that this last period became comparable to the two *tempora* together. In a certain way, Joachim was once more drawing the basis for yet another *concordia*. At the same time, this period is, in a very special way, the representation of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Church reformation. It was during this time that the Angelic Pope would defeat the Antichrist and, consequently, the Church would lead Christianity towards the end, and not a secular emperor as some had forecasted in the past (and as they will continue to do in the years after Joachim). Only by that, could the end of history be completely reached before the establishment of the divine kingdom. In summary, this last period represented the beginning of the sixth period of the two *tempora*, i.e., of the New Testament.<sup>219</sup> However, when studying Joachim's third *status* one must be careful concerning the accusation of chiliasm and millennialism that have been made in the past. Although, the Apocalypse certainly represents a new age and, consequently, the end of this one, the fact is that the spiritual church based in the mendicant orders was not a rupture, but a form of historical progress. Therefore, what Joachim says concerns the culmination of a process that had

---

<sup>219</sup> Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse," 85.

begun with Adam, and not the complete destruction of this world. Consequently, it is not possible to refer to Joachim and his expectations as a pure form of apocalypticism, although one must agree that certain parts of his system contain apocalyptic traces. Joachim of Fiore was, in this sense, a reformer as those of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and not a millennialist as others we have already discussed.

Joachim of Fiore's systematization may be understood as an exegetical novelty. Although the abbot resurrects the Augustinian system of the seven *aetates*, it is also true that the creation of the *concordia* and the Trinitarian divisions presupposes a new interpretation of the course of history. At the same time, Joachim is an innovator when he assumes that all the main events depicted in the Book of Revelation regarding the end would happen within history, to the exception of the "New Jerusalem" which definitely was a representation of the heavenly world to be later established. Besides, Joachim's interpretation of time corresponds to a two or three-dimensional perspective and not to a linear understanding of each period. As M. Reeves says, "*It is significant that Joachim never drew a simple horizontal figure of the three successive 'status',*"<sup>220</sup> which can easily be observed through the images he left for us in his several books (see, e.g., Figure 2 or Figure 3, but particularly the way in which each circle has a common period with the following circle and also in how all share a common period). Joachim's work was fundamentally based on coding and decoding symbols with the main purpose of explaining through drawings the main message of Revelation and to undertake a reformation of the Church. The corrupt Church, an image that possibly may be compared with the dangerous times before the end, had necessarily to be replaced by the mendicant orders, namely by the Cistercians, in order to permit achieving the end. In a way, what Joachim is offering to his readers is an exposition in which he explains how there had been historical progress from Adam until present and how that same progress had not yet finished. As said, Joachim previews a reform of the Church and not the end of it as such.

b) *The "Last Emperor" myth*

---

<sup>220</sup> Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 289.

The expectation of a Last Roman Emperor plays a very important role in the development of the medieval apocalyptic expectations, both in the East as in the West. In short, the myth of the Last Roman Emperor presupposes that at a certain given moment, a Roman Emperor would face a time of distress, fight evil, and then defeat the enemy. Afterwards, he would surrender his imperial regalia to God, thus putting an end to the Roman Empire. Through the defeat of his enemy, the Emperor's and the Empire's political power would become meaningless. Therefore, it was time to surrender all power to God. Only after this would history reach its end and the divine kingdom of God be established. This interpretation permits us to understand the Last Emperor's figure and role as meaning a partial victory of humankind and history, before the final supernatural events take place. After all, with this figure, the end begins to take place within history and not beyond it as previously forecast by the words of thinkers such as Augustine.

The myth of the Last Emperor is, as P. Alexander underlines, first found among the Byzantines, in the Eastern Empire.<sup>221</sup> This quest for a Last Emperor was based mostly on the hope of an earthly climax of history, because an earthly divine kingdom had been suppressed by authors such as Augustine.<sup>222</sup> As M. Reeves says: "*Men could not refrain from seeking the signs of divine operation in their own past; nor could they altogether stifle hopes for an earthly future,*"<sup>223</sup> to explain this phenomenon.

Returning to the origins of this myth and following P. Alexander, we realize that this phenomenon took place first among the Christians of the East. Although Christianity had become the official religion of the Empire, the sudden appearance of the Muslims as a real opposing force, both political and religious, has forced Christians to consider themselves once again as a persecuted group. Therefore, it is not strange that such a hope for a liberating power would gain weight and expression. In addition, this also demonstrates how local churches in the Eastern side of the Empire were not able to instigate faith and courage among their communities, which felt obliged to turn to Byzantium, the capital, in search for help against the Muslim forces. Thus, Byzantium becomes in this way their only source of possible salvation. Therefore, the myth of the rise of an emperor that would be

---

<sup>221</sup> Paul Julius Alexander and Dorothy de F Abrahamse, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 151-84.

<sup>222</sup> Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 274.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

able to defeat these forces of evil and protect them until the time of the end becomes quite important. The eventual rise of a king of the Greeks is for some time their only hope of salvation against the rising Muslims, and therefore, the time's literature mentions this figure frequently. After defeating the enemies of Christianity and after the Antichrist was released, the emperor would return to Golgotha and deliver his symbols of power before the Cross, handing thus his power to God. From that moment on, the Antichrist would be able to seduce many as *Revelation* 20:1-6 describes and would reign for a thousand-year period. This event can be understood as well as the beginning of the expectation in a second coming of Christ as a form of deliverance.

The first texts where this phenomenon is attested to in the East are those of the *Tiburine Sibyl* and of the Syriac *Pseudo-Methodius*. Both texts presuppose the fulfilment by a secular emperor of prophecies regarding the times of the end such as those described in the Ancient Testament and in the New Testament, especially those narrated in Psalms, Daniel and Revelation. Yet, this tradition became so important that it was soon translated into Latin by Peter, a monk of a Gaul monastery, in the later 7<sup>th</sup> century or early 8<sup>th</sup> century.

During the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Adso of Montier-en-Der (c. 910-992) in his *Letter on the Origin and Life of the Antichrist* includes this type of expectation for the coming of a Last Emperor in western thought. The success of such work as well as how widespread it becomes can be explained by the simple way in which he deals with this subject.<sup>224</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to underline that although scholars still do not agree about Adso's sources, his work appears to be the first adaptation in the West of the Byzantine myth of the Last Emperor.<sup>225</sup> However, it is necessary to include Adso's efforts within the Carolingian historical context, namely, the need to justify the rise of the Carolingian power over the Papacy of Rome. It is also important to not forget that at this time, Rome was considered by some in the West as the restraining power described in 2 Thess 2, which may explain why this sort of "counter-power" to the Pope's power was so easily accepted by Christians and, became even desired.

As M. Reeves has written, at this time "*The repressed messianic or millennial dreams of the Jewish and early Christianity minds seem to come to the surface again in the*

---

<sup>224</sup> Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, Rev. paperback ed., vol. 96, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 82-3.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

*form of this new political saviour.*"<sup>226</sup> Therefore, we should be aware that from this point onwards in the history of western Christendom it is common to find descriptions more or less detailed regarding how these events were supposed to take place and influence daily life. Three factors should be taken into account. First, these narratives rely on the concept that the Antichrist would not appear before the Roman Empire had fulfilled its mission and deliver its power to God. Second, the way in which the emperor is described delivering all his power at Golgotha is certainly part of the Byzantine ritual, not of the Western one, which makes even clearer the influence of the East over the West. Third, the emperor's deliverance of his power is not *per se* any sort of Millennium or Sabbath Age: it is the beginning of the Millennium because it will allow the later release of the Antichrist. It is neither a New Age nor a new type of regime on earth: it is, in fact, a transitional period before the final battle depicted in *Revelation*, which would only take place after the Antichrist's defeat<sup>227</sup>. At the same time, this Millennium represents the second coming of Christ at the end of history, or at least, the hope in a second coming. After all, it was impossible for evil to resist God's power. In this fashion, the Sabbath Age was being placed beyond history, which is a tendency that Joachim's work will deny by including it within history.<sup>228</sup>

Although the period when the Last Emperor was supposed to reign was considered as a political golden age from the imperial point of view, the fact is that it represents no more than a limited hope in the sense of being a transitory form of power, destined to self-deposition and replacement by the Antichrist. It was part of the course of history as God had planned it, but it did not represent its final moment before the end of time.

This myth was adapted several times along the medieval period. First by a Frankish tradition, then by a German tradition, and later once again by the Frankish tradition. The two traditions were each concurrently attempting to support and justify their emperor's supremacy by opposition to the other. Therefore, it is possible to find this Last Emperor many times identified with real historical emperors, such as Charlemagne or Frederick II, and among the house of the Hohenstaufen or of the descendents of Pipin. Many are the

---

<sup>226</sup> Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 275.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> ———, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; a Study in Joachimism*, 301.

names of those supposed to be the “Last Emperor” as several exegetes identify them.<sup>229</sup> This happens especially in moments in which the political power appears to have threatened the power of the Pope. In a certain way, the Last Emperor was supposed to defeat as well the established power of the Church, in order to be able to return all the symbols of power to God. In fact, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the myth of the Last Emperor appears frequently under the nomenclatures of *Carolus Redivivus or Rex Romanorum*,<sup>230</sup> thus implying a “fight” for supremacy between the Frank and the German houses.

At the same time, this legend becomes quite important in the light of the Crusade movement, especially whenever the Emperors decided to travel to Jerusalem. The Golgotha of the Byzantine myth becomes the entire Jerusalem, the holy city and not only the specific place of the Calvary. Therefore, the conquest of the city becomes an essential feature of this Emperor’s tasks. Moreover, the conquest of the Orient promoted by the Crusades of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries affected the minds of those who were searching for the end. In fact, the physical closeness to Jerusalem, the holy city of *Revelation* allows some to consider that the end had to be at hand.

The myth of the Last Emperor persists in the West for several centuries causing severe reactions from within the Church’s hierarchies since it subdued the power of the Pope to that of the Emperor. An account of some of the most important historical events that led to an environment of crisis between the papacy and the imperial power, makes it possible to understand the emergence of this type of interpretation. In a way, it supported the policies led by the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire against the Pope and the Church throughout the centuries. Its main purpose, as we have already observed, was to transfer power from the Church towards the Empire, which they manage to do until the beginning of Church reforms by popes such as Gregory VII in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. Through this process, the power of the Emperor and of the Empire became a type of counter-power relative to the power of the Pope and of the Church. It is common to find references to the Last Emperor among those who explore the theories related with the coming of the Antichrist or the Last Judgment. In a way, the attempt to discover who this

---

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 300-1.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 302.

Last Emperor is was a tendency that supported an interpretation of history according to which the time of the end was getting closer.

Notwithstanding Augustine's theory of the impossibility of predicting the time of the end,<sup>231</sup> we proceed along these centuries in an effort to transform the end as part of history. Therefore, most authors between Augustine and Joachim of Fiore will insist in the existence of a certain progression of history beyond the first coming of Christ. Nevertheless, it is important to underline that although they presupposed a certain historical progress, none of these authors assumed that Augustine's Seventh Age, the Sabbath, was already taking place. In fact, and as M. Reeves points out, "(...) *the alluring ideas of millennium and Sabbath Age were placed outside the range of visionary speculation on a climax of history.*"<sup>232</sup> This may explain in a certain measure, why there are so few attempts to date the time of the end, although we observe a clear effort by these authors to identifying historical periods of time that would allow us to see some sense of progress. In fact, this tendency to identify the periods of history has to be understood as a novelty reintroduced in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

The works of Joachim also express this belief or hope in some sort of final glory under the power of the Last Emperor. However, we must agree with M. Reeves when she writes that Joachim had the ability to intertwine this optimistic view with the traditional pessimistic interpretation of the Church. As the scholar notes, Joachim "(...) *saw that no age of human history could achieve the perfection beyond history and so he postulated a final recrudescence of evil.*"<sup>233</sup> Therefore, the victory against the Antichrist had to be achieved before the climax of history was attained. Then, the third *status*, the Age of the Spirit, would begin and inaugurate a state of blessing. This age of the Spirit is thought by Joachim as a period after the Antichrist, although before the second coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. In short, the insertion of this last period, which was within history for Joachim, gave history a new meaning. Meanwhile, the Millennium and the Sabbath Age gained also new importance, since they suddenly become part of history and not beyond it. This third *status* is part of history and although it is beyond the coming of the Antichrist, it

---

<sup>231</sup> As previously observed, Augustine believed he was already living in the time of the Church, which was an earthly equivalent for the *City of God*.

<sup>232</sup> Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 273.

<sup>233</sup> ———, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; a Study in Joachimism*, 303.

still does not represent a complete break with the pre-existing institutions, such as the Church and the Empire. Nevertheless, it is important to underline that Joachim did not put the touchstone in the Last Emperor: he follows the teachings and the reformation attempts by Gregory VII and gradually builds the counter-figure of the *Angelic Pope*. Consequently, the writings of Joachim stress that the defeat of the Antichrist will happen within history as well as the second coming of Christ and the Last Judgement (all part of the third *status*), but Christianity would be led by the Angelic Pope, and not by the Last Emperor, to the end.

The figure of the Angelic Pope arises in Joachim's system most probably because the abbot understood the main leaders of the history of the chosen people as priestly figures. In fact, it is in that way that he depicts characters such as Joseph, David, Solomon and Zorobabel. All of them are religious leaders, not secular. Therefore, the role of leading Christianity towards the end necessarily had to belong to a priestly figure and not to one that Joachim considered an oppressor of the Church, as he appeared to have understood the figure of the Emperor and of the Roman Empire. However, the Empire was God's creation and could not originate the Antichrist. Thus, the Antichrist as depicted by Joachim comes from outside Christianity, from among the infidels.<sup>234</sup>

Joachim appears to have been the creator of a theory of history that included an Eighth Age. This was the one to come after the events following to the defeat of the Antichrist, the second coming and the Last Judgment. Therefore, to the Augustinian scheme of seven ages, there was one more age to be added. Thus, only the eighth would be beyond history. This theoretical addition to the ages of the world is certainly one of the most important pieces of Joachim's work and, as such, it is of main importance in the development of most theories concerned with political prophecy that appear in the West after him. In a word, Joachim expected a consummation within history and not a return to a golden age, or a *renovatio* as some have described this phenomenon.

From this moment onwards, most exegetes were influenced not only by Augustine, but also by Joachim. The Church's attempt to classify Joachim's work as heretical will never reach its complete purpose.<sup>235</sup> In fact, even when Peter Lombard's work becomes part of the orthodoxy, one that had been harshly criticized by Joachim as against the

---

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 305.

<sup>235</sup> For a more complete overview of the events connected with the Joachim's condemnation of 1215, see Ibid., 28-36.

Church's orthodoxy, and the work of Joachim's could have been put under fire, history tells us that the Popes were extremely careful to not exclude the abbot and his work. Nevertheless, truth be told, that that was a shadow that followed Joachim's memory through his followers work. In a subtle way, Joachim became dangerous and his work almost heretical.

Influenced by Augustine's philosophy of history, most thinkers of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and onwards did not forget the Augustinian model of threes and sevens. For example, Honorius introduces three different times: a) *tempus ante legem*, b) *sub lege*, and c) *sub gratia*, which is in accordance with Augustine's division of time into three main periods. At the same time, Honorius combines this division with another one based on Augustine's six *aetates* to which the Sabbath Age should follow. And, although he mainly follows Augustine, we can observe in his works an attempt to mention an earthly consummation when he defines the last three days of Holy Week as the days of the Antichrist's rule, i.e., of the three years that the Antichrist is supposed to rule. This period becomes then an intermediary between the sixth and the seventh ages, a period to be used towards the preparation for the Last Judgment.<sup>236</sup>

Because of the enormous influence that the works of Joachim had in the works of those who follow him over the centuries, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between who are Joachites and what is Joachimist influence. The easiest way to make such differentiation is certainly based on how his followers have completely or partially used his theories. Therefore, Joachites are those who accepted in full Joachim's theory of the Trinitarian system; while the Joachimists were those, in whose writing we can find traces of Joachim's theories influence.<sup>237</sup> Joachim of Fiore was known as the prophet of the Antichrist, the one who had drawn an interpretation of the seven-headed dragon and as the one who had set the year 1260 as the year of the end. Therefore, he envisaged the future from within a historical perspective and hoped that history would be fulfilled in a following age of illumination, the Eighth Age.<sup>238</sup> All together, this explains why so many have followed his teaching, even after the attempts made by the papacy to discredit him in the eyes of his contemporaries.

---

<sup>236</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," 279.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.: 297-316.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.: 298.

As previously discussed, the theory of the *Last Emperor* was mostly used by the supporters of the descendants of Charlemagne and of the Hohenstaufen house. It became, in a sense, a struggle between French and German dominion for the right to lead Christianity towards the moment of the end that would anticipate the release of the Antichrist. It is in this context that many works after Joachim should be read and understood, especially when they predict both the date and the identity of the main character. At the same time, while some were defining the Last Emperor as the savior, others identified him as the opponent Antichrist, or at least, a demonstration of its evil power. In this way, the Last Emperor assumes sometimes the appearance of an evil power contrary to Christianity and to its main purpose.

The works of Joachim, especially those attributed to him, were works where political prophecy abounded.<sup>239</sup> Some supported the papacy, while others supported either the French or the German imperial houses. Those who supported the papacy were eager to build prophecies according to which a pseudo-pope and a *rex impudicus* would arise and needed to be defeated by the Angelical Pope, the only one capable of doing so. In fact, these last writers assumed that Joachim's third *status* could only be fulfilled by the Roman Church, to which the Greek Church would later return and as the Jews would convert to the true religion. The most important of these pseudo-Joachim works are the *Super Hieremiam*, the *Vaticinium Sibillae Erithreae*, the *De Oneribus*, and the *Super Esaiam*, and each represents a different stage of development of the use of Joachim's main theories by his Italian followers.

Regarding the works of those Joachimists who wrote to support imperial houses, it is necessary to say that while in the 13<sup>th</sup> century there is a tendency to support the German house, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century we observe a shift towards the French house. Among the first group, are included the names of writers such as Alexander von Roes, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, Cola di Rienzo, and Arnold of Villanova, among others. The latter, appears to have been concerned with the consequences of his speculations and called Boniface VIII and Benedict XI to prepare for the imminence of crisis and the beginning of the Antichrist's persecution. Villanova's role is also important, because when he realizes that the Church has failed to answer his pleas, he turns to Frederick of Aragon, king of Sicily, and identifies

---

<sup>239</sup> ———, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; a Study in Joachimism*, 306.

him as the one that would lead Christianity to the end and face the danger of the attacks of the Antichrist. Frederick, in fact, attempts a true effort to realize in political terms a sort of *renovatio mundi*, in which the Last Emperor was a supporter of the Pope because of his religious beliefs.

By the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, we observe a decay of the German power while the French house rises. The existing rivalry between the two houses is one of the reasons commonly used to explain why France was such a fertile ground for new prophecies concerning the identity of the Last Emperor and the time of the end. It is during this period that we observe the ascension of a belief in a second Charlemagne combined with Joachim's *renovatio mundi*. There are a few examples of works and authors that express this type of hope within the French territory, but the biggest name is definitely Jean of Roquetaillade.<sup>240</sup> This Franciscan friar combined French national aspirations with Joachimist dreams, and because of that he was twice imprisoned by the papacy.<sup>241</sup>

Roquetaillade's most important work is probably his commentary on the *Oraculum Cyrilli* (c.1345-1349), in which he describes Frederick II as the *serpens antiquus*, i.e., the Antichrist. Therefore, his descendents, especially Louis of Bavaria, and the descendents of the Hohenstaufen house were to be considered as the Antichrist as well. By doing this, Roquetaillade is clearly opposing the French and the German houses, while declaring that the latter were instruments of evil. Consequently, the French house was the only possible representation of the Last Emperor. At the same time, and although his prophecies were more than problematic, the fact that his forecast regarding the return of the papacy to Rome (leaving Avignon) between 1360 and 1365 was demonstrated correct made his prophecies more valuable than ever because of its accuracy.

Like Joachim, Roquetaillade appears to have been a user of symbolical forms. In fact, he describes Frederick II as a serpent and the house of Aragon as a scorpion. On the other hand, he identifies Charles of Anjou as the Sun. Accordingly, the Sun would defeat the serpent and the scorpion, and would make a pact with the Pope. Therefore, an alliance

---

<sup>240</sup> Roquetaillade's biographical data are uncertain. It is accepted that he died c. 1362 in Avignon. He was a French Franciscan, although before entering the convent he studied philosophy for five years at Toulouse. He was imprisoned by Popes Clement VI and Innocent VI for his false prophecies, in 1345 and in 1356, respectively.

<sup>241</sup> Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; a Study in Joachimism*, 321.

between the Catholic Kings of France and the Papacy would take place in order to participate in the last battle and help to defeat the Antichrist.

In his later works, Jean of Roquetaillade follows the same pattern and, thus, he became one of the most important figures of the so-called theories of the political prophecy that enabled the Emperors to take such an active role in the destiny of Christianity. Although he was not particularly advocating the supremacy of the Emperor relatively to the Pope, in certain way he opens the doors for future readings and interpretations of Joachim's theories in a way that favor the *Imperium* instead of the Church.

Roquetaillade was not the only apostle of a French saviour. Another example can be found in the works of Telesphorus of Cosenza, who also names the descendants of the Hohenstaufen of "tyrants."<sup>242</sup> Telesphorus also predicted, similarly to Joachim, the existence of yet another age beyond the end. For him, the end would take place as the human institutions began to fail. Nevertheless, it would never take place before the second coming, which extends the length of the seventh age. Although it may appear that he understood the papacy as the single remaining institution, Telesphorus "(...) finally incorporated the Second Charlemagne myth into the Joachimist programme"<sup>243</sup> by identifying the French Emperor with the Imperial Eagle described in the Bible.

As we can observe through the examples just listed, the influence of Joachim of Fiore was not simply important for the development of the political prophecy that underlined the role of the emperor, but it also had a vast repercussion in time. In fact, either Joachites or Joachimist examples of his influence can be found along the centuries that follow, especially in what concerns the identification of the Last Emperor. As we will analyze later, this theory can also be found among António Vieira's theorization. However, it is important to not forget that Joachim of Fiore's introduction of the three *status* scheme allowed the end to be part of history while it extended Augustine's seventh age until the second coming of Christ and after the Last Judgment.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that at a certain moment, the secular power in the West felt the urge to transform the Eastern myth of the Last Emperor into something that would support the Holy Roman Empire thus, establishing itself as a power

---

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 326.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 327.

entity independent of the Church and even subordinating the Church and the Pope to its structures. In addition, it is also important not to forget that this Last Emperor was supposed to rule before the Antichrist's release, which transforms him in the last great piece of earthly power before the end of history and the establishment of God's kingdom in a time beyond history. For this, as we have already stated, Joachim's work was fundamental, especially the Trinitarian theory of the Ages of the World. With him, the end of this world would take place still within history, which is certainly an exegetical novelty.

***Part 3 – António Vieira, S.J. and the “Clavis Prophetarum”***

1) *The Eschatology in António Vieira’s Previous Works*

António Vieira’s literary work is vast and provides his reader with the feeling of being in the presence of a very special author. In the words of H. Cidade:

“(…) *a vida de Vieira (...) começa no claustro do Colégio da Baía, decorre na actividade de missionário nas plagas amazónicas ou de diplomata nas Cortes europeias, para acabar carregada de cultura e experiência; utopista a cada passo desmentido pela realidade, homem de acção apostólica e política (...).*”<sup>1</sup>

In other words, the Jesuit did not let any issue escape from his hands. Vieira was essentially a man committed with one cause: the supremacy of the Portuguese nation. Therefore, as a profound believer in the biblical prophecy, he believed that a *Fifth Empire* destined to anticipate the establishment of the divine kingdom led by a Portuguese Emperor was imminent. We begin to find clear traces of this type of beliefs in his earlier works, but Vieira keeps that hope alive in his writings until his death. In fact, he complains about the fact that the edition of his *Sermons*, assigned to him by the Superior General of the Company, was stealing him precious time that he should have been devoting instead to his *opus magnum*: the *Clavis Prophetarum*.

Although the majority of his work is well-known, it is almost impossible to be certain when this type of eschatological and messianic speech appeared for the first time in his works. His biographers have raised a question to which we can give a straightforward answer. They wonder whether his eschatological and messianic references were not simply the result of Vieira, the political man, or if the theologian and the missionary had had some sort of influence in it. We shall say that, although eschatological references are noticeable, particularly in the sermons first preached in Lisbon after his arrival, and they resulted from his need to please the king by promoting the solidification of his fragile kingship, it appears possible to affirm that what we have before us is a much more elaborated construction. We can even say that this is a systematic construction, probably the result of many years of personal questioning about the reason why the promised Kingdom had not yet happened.

---

<sup>1</sup>“(…) *The life of Vieira (...) began in the cloister of the Colégio of Bahia, elapses during his activity as a missionary in the Amazonia plagues or as diplomat at the European courts, to end loaded with culture and experience; utopian contradicted at each step by reality, man of apostolic and political action (...),*” in Cidade, *Padre António Vieira*, 117.

The apparent imminence that every commentator appears to have emphasized is, if we go back as far as the time of the edition of Daniel, delayed about 1800-years. Therefore, the search for signs that may verify the authenticity of the prophecy is easily understood. At the same time, world’s sin is pointed to here and there, as a reason behind such delay. Moreover, the fact that the world was not yet completely evangelized, together with the existence of several religions/sects rather than one global union under Christianity, plays an important role. Therefore, it is clear that Vieira’s personal convictions were present in his systematization since the beginning, although we cannot separate them from the interests of the Portuguese Crown. Nevertheless, it is important to underline how Vieira’s theorization regarding the *Fifth Empire* appears to reach further than a simple political theory.

Before moving forward, it is important to emphasize the distance that divides 21<sup>st</sup> century people from those of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is especially important to stress that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century distinguishing among historical, mythological and eschatological time is not as straightforward as it is today. The fact that Vieira lived during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, rather than the 21<sup>st</sup> century, may be helpful in explaining the basis of his eschatological theorization. In fact, the epoch in which the Jesuit lived, understood daily events as part of a divine eschatological plan. The world was getting ready for the imminent advent of the Kingdom of God and for the Last Judgment. Therefore, the world was understood in accordance with the sequence of Empires described in the book of Daniel. This represents most probably one of the explanations for Vieira’s mention of a *Fifth Empire*. A concept that he fully analyzes, because what Christianity was expecting before the end and the Last Judgment was the kingship of the Antichrist, and not an earthly kingdom. Daniel becomes, as S. Peloso writes, an “*imagem exemplar de uma “mundi historia” e em especial da história política, criando filosofias e sistemas de explicação dos acontecimentos históricos,*”<sup>2</sup> which defines the interpretation line in which Vieira will explain the events of the history of Portugal in the light of the biblical prophecies, especially whenever it concerns the future of the country. When describing Daniel as the book that combines anguishes and millenarian hopes, Peloso offers one of the possible reasons of why Vieira would have used

---

<sup>2</sup>“*exemplar image of a ‘mundi historia’ and, in particular, of political history, creating philosophies and interpretation systems of the historical events*” in Peloso, “*Ut Libri Prophetici Melius Intelligentur, Omnium Temporum Historia Compectenda Est: O Quinto Império De António Vieira E O Debate Europeu Nos Séculos Xvi E Xvii,*” 177.

Daniel as one of the founding texts of his eschatological thought. The Portuguese historical situation of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries is perfect to generate an environment that would suggest the interpretation of the events of the present in the light of the biblical texts. In fact, all the events could be explained through divine will. In addition, that same divine will would have chosen Portugal and its king to lead the world against the threat of the Antichrist, in this particular case, the Turkish threat. Time becomes in this fashion reduced to present, a present that announces a complete transformation of the world and in which the Portuguese will play a fundamental role, according to Vieira’s reading. It is within this perspective of “short time” that we have to understand the writings of Vieira and, mainly, the reasons behind the several changes he will introduce to his prophecies over the years. Similarly, to some of the commentators that anticipated him, Vieira also feels the need to update his prophecies whenever they do not get fulfilled as previously predicted. However, it is clear from the reading of Vieira’s work that he has never doubted about the veracity of the content of the prophecies. He simply updates particular details to the new circumstances. As he says in the *Clavis Prophetarum*, it is all a matter of time, even as he recognizes the impossibility of setting the dates for the end as he had done until then.

Raymond Cantel, the scholar who devoted his life to the study of Vieira’s prophetic and messianic tendencies, confirms L. de Azevedo’s theory, according to which the time of Portuguese Restoration, i.e., the year around 1640, is the key moment in Vieira’s public introduction of his eschatological system.<sup>3</sup> Going further, Cantel writes that “*la réalisation des premières prophéties de Bandarra le persuada tout à fait que les “Trovas” étaient un texte réellement inspiré.*”<sup>4</sup> Whether this is an inspired text or not, the truth is that Vieira’s confirmation that it was a divine text is responsible for being accused by the Inquisition Court. However, Vieira knew these prophecies by Bandarra before his arrival to Lisbon in 1641, which allows us to think possible that he had reflected before about them over through a long period of time. In addition, this may also lead us to believe that by the time he arrived in Lisbon he already considered these verses as inspired text and, therefore, deserving full credit. One thing appears certain: the education Vieira received at the Jesuit College made him accept that all divine inspired texts were absolute

---

<sup>3</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 44-45.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

truth. Therefore, if all mentioned the establishment of an empire of Christ after the fall of the fourth empire, similar to what is described in Daniel, then Vieira would not question the veracity of the text or of the concept. Notwithstanding the fact that Europe was already involved in the questions raised by Descartes and Bacon, the fact is that in Portugal, the Jesuits as the ones who hold control of the education system, had not yet added such theories to the *curricula*. Nevertheless, it is legitimate to ask, at what point did Vieira come in contact with these new theories in the course of his travels around Europe, in those moments when he took advantage to hold conversation with his own time intellectuals, or whenever he “buried” himself inside the best libraries of his time.

At the same time, we need to remember the Portuguese political circumstances of his time, which represent fertile ground for the development of a mystical spirituality, not only among the lower social groups, but also among intellectuals and clerics. In fact, Portugal lived an intense mystical environment not so much different from what had happened before in the rest of Europe. If on one hand, the big utopias of Moore and Campanella were written; on the other hand, Jewish messianic expectations and the Portuguese phenomenon called “Sebastianismo” were growing fast. Up to a certain measure, the belief in a better world, different from present, was a constant in the minds of these peoples. Therefore, the appearance of this type of phenomenon is not strange. In Portugal, the disappearance of the king in 1578 and the consequent lost of independence in 1580, just reinforced the search for the “uncovered one.” The verses of Bandarra are not the only writings where this type of thought can be found, as L. de Azevedo underlines.<sup>5</sup> Among those, we also have the writings of D. João de Barros. At the same time, Jesuits and Dominicans almost joined together around the project of providing a new king for Portugal. However, it is within the cloisters of the Company of Jesus that we observe an auspicious environment where this type of theory finds the perfect place to develop. Good examples of this are the sermons preached at the Royal Chapel by F. Luis Álvares, who appeals to the Spanish viceroy in Portugal to leave the country; and yet another preached in the presence of Philip II, in which he refers the rights to the Portuguese crown of the Duchess of Braganza. More examples originated within the Company of Jesus are, e.g., the book

---

<sup>5</sup> Azevedo, *A Evolução Do Sebastianismo*.

published in 1625 by F. Manuel da Veiga, *Vida de Simão Gomes* (Life of Simão Gomes), in which the author discourses about the life of Bandarra.

Besides adding this active aspect to the Portuguese resistance, the Jesuits announce yet that they received divine visions. A good example of this is the claim of Anchieta that he would have acknowledged the defeat of D. Sebastião in the same day in which it happened, and that he had announced that same defeat to the people that were with him. A Spaniard, Afonso Rodrigues, also forecasts the return of the Portuguese king, who would have, meanwhile, conquered the Moors. Therefore, if the Company was living intensely this type of belief, it is more than possible that Vieira, although educated in Brazil, would have been “contaminated” by it. Probably, such belief, which many define as utopias, is something that would have been revealed early in the life of Vieira. However, the construction of a system as the one of Vieira is, necessarily a much more complex phenomenon. If not, how can we explain that he only started writing this type of texts, such as those we will analyze below, after 1659? We cannot deny that some of the earliest sermons written and preached in Brazil already reflect some of the epoch’s spirit, but is it possible to affirm beyond doubt that they are already part of a particular theorization by Vieira? They would probably already contain what Besselaar defines as “*os germes de uma visão apocalíptica da história,*”<sup>6</sup> although not yet the complete apocalyptic interpretation. For that, we still have to take into account the meetings and discussions with other famous names of his time and with the rabbi of Amsterdam, Manasseh ben Israel, with whom he exchanged letters. Furthermore, we also have to take into consideration Vieira’s aspirations regarding the establishment of the divine kingdom through the coming of a Messiah, which was a collective aspiration, and not only merely a Christian expectation or, even less, Jewish.

As we have previously said, it is impossible to know when Vieira began theorizing about the questions concerning the *Fifth Empire*. Nevertheless, Cantel points to the year of 1649 as the one in which his system would have been completed. This year, is also the beginning of the writing of the “*História do Futuro*” (*History of the Future*). From this point onwards, Vieira would have only retouched his system.<sup>7</sup> However, can we speak only

---

<sup>6</sup> “*the seeds of an apocalyptic interpretation of history*” In Besselaar, *Antônio Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica*.

<sup>7</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 44.

about small “retouches” when speaking of a writer who for more than fifty years continues adapting his message and legates to the future three important works, in which he exclusively deals with this question? We will analyze this issue further below due to its importance. It appears to us, that given the date of the writing of the letter *Esperanças de Portugal* (*Hopes of Portugal*), the above given date is premature. Besides, we know that Vieira would have only written a few pages of the *História do Futuro* by that date, and would have only restarted its writing around 1664.

One thing appears certain: since the moment in which Vieira began speaking about the theory of the *Fifth Empire*, he created a peculiar, specific and original thinking system. This system, and we may fearlessly call it that, is “*cohérent, précis et clair, parfaitement articulé selon la logique de son époque.*”<sup>8</sup> The originality of such model is not only based in the aspirations of his century. Vieira goes further and creates, in fact, a new model within the traditional system of the Ages of the World and of the succession of Empires based in Daniel and Revelation.

There are three main texts for the building of this system that are important to remember beyond the two volumes of his defense before the Inquisition<sup>9</sup> and the volume organized by A. Muhana entitled *Apologia das Coisas Profetizadas* (Apology of the Prophesized Things).<sup>10</sup> These three are: 1) the letter written after the death of D. João IV and sent from Brazil to the Bishop of Japan to be read to the Queen, dated of April 29<sup>th</sup> of 1659 and entitled *Esperanças de Portugal* (Hopes of Portugal); 2) the *História do Futuro* (History of the Future), which was started in 1649 and resumed in 1664; and 3) the one considered by himself as his most important work, the *Clavis Prophetarum*. This last work was never finished because Vieira died before. Besides, no copy of the manuscript could be found for many years, and many authors considered it as a product of Vieira’s fertile imagination. It is also common to find references to Vieira’s eschatological hope among his sermons and letters. We will not, however, be using the sermons and the letters because we need to restrain the scope of this work, and his main system was mainly defined and created

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>9</sup> Vieira, *Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Oficio*.

<sup>10</sup> António Vieira, *Apologia Das Coisas Profetizadas*, ed. Adma Fadul Muhana and Arnaldo M. Espirito Santo (Lisboa: Cotovia, 1994).

in the three works mentioned. Therefore, we will solely analyze these works in order to obtain a more complete vision of Vieira’s thinking.

It appears thus possible to agree that for Vieira this systematization was his life’s purpose. Therefore, the three main works are fairly different from each other, being at the same time quite similar concerning its content. Yet, we have to agree that the author envisages that his work/system was known at the most different levels. Therefore, he writes first a personal letter, then a work in Portuguese directed to the Portuguese, where we notice a sort of panegyric of the Portuguese people, and finally a work in Latin destined to disclose his theories to the Roman men of culture of his time. It is as if Vieira had planned a crescendo of revelation of his ideas, while at the same time he was aware that the Portuguese people needed to be warned about his ideas. Only in that way could his project be completed. We speak of a project, but what Vieira had in mind was certainly the realization of a divine plan in which Portugal and its king had a key role in the establishment of the divine kingdom as it was prophesized since the time of the Old Testament, and that also the New Testament and the Church Fathers continued to follow.

a) *Esperanças de Portugal – Hopes of Portugal (1659)*<sup>11</sup>

*Esperanças de Portugal* is the name of the famous letter that Vieira wrote while navigating the waters of the Amazon River and that he would have sent to the Bishop of Japan, his friend F. André Fernandes,<sup>12</sup> with the purpose of providing some comforting

---

<sup>11</sup> There are currently three editions of the *História do Futuro* in Portuguese, although an edition in English is in preview to be published still in 2008. These are:———, “Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra,” in *António Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica*, ed. J. J. van den Besselaar (Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002), vol. VI and Vieira, 2005 #418. We have chosen to follow the first one.

<sup>12</sup> Born in Viana do Alentejo in 1607, entered the Company of Jesus in 1622. Studied humanities and philosophy at Coimbra between 1625 and 1629, and then theology at Évora between 1633 and 1639. Elected bishop of Japan in 1649 by D. João IV, but never confirmed by Rome because the Holy See did not recognize the Portuguese independence until much later. Meanwhile, he was the confessor of the prince D. Teodósio and, later, also became the confessor of the kings. Was charged with the task of presiding to the “Junta das Missões,” created in 1655. Therefore, it is possible to assume that he and Vieira exchanged several letters during this period because of the Missions in Brazil. He died in Lisbon in October 27th of 1660, six months

words to the Queen D. Luísa of Gusmão after the death of D. João IV. It is this letter and its content that after scrutiny of the Roman Inquisition will take Vieira before the Inquisitional Court at Coimbra a few years later, during the reign of D. Afonso VI. In fact, during the reign of the latter, Vieira loses his favorable position at the court because he supports another heir to the throne.

D. João IV dies in Lisbon in December 6 of 1656, three years after almost dying because of an illness at Salvaterra and after Vieira preached that he could not die because so many things were prophesized and not yet been fulfilled. Vieira had clearly in mind the prophetic verses of Bandarra and his personal interpretation of the same verses. The death of the king marks the rebirth of the “*sebastianistas*”<sup>13</sup> that attempted to demonstrate that D. João IV could not be the so much awaited “*Encoberto*.”<sup>14</sup> The political circumstances that surrounded the events after the death of D. João IV, appeared everything but favorable to the identification of the “*Encoberto*.” In accordance with L. de Azevedo, it appears that F. André Fernandes, the bishop of Japan, tended to agree with the “*Sebastianistas*,” which may explain that Vieira wrote this letter as well as an answer to his friend questions and, consequently, to all of those who still pursued the ideals of the “*sebastianistas*,” as well as to the Queen.<sup>15</sup> It is clear that a document written by Vieira cannot be a simple letter, but most probably a treatise where he described his theory concerning the *Fifth Empire* and, in order to support that, he forecasts the resurrection of the Portuguese monarch. This means, that we have in front of us what was called at the time in Portugal a “*papel*.”<sup>16</sup> This form of treatise, may also explain why the letter’s frontispiece as we have it today is very similar to the one that a later publication of the letter would contain:

---

after delivering a copy of Vieira’s letter to the Inquisition and thirteen months before Vieira’s return from Brazil.

<sup>13</sup>Group that supported the hope for the return of the late king D. Sebastião.

<sup>14</sup>*Encoberto* in Portuguese and *Encobierito* in Spanish are synonyms for the covert royal figures supposed to comeback at times of distress.

From this point onwards we will keep with the Portuguese nomenclature of this phenomenon.

<sup>15</sup>Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. I, p. 301.

<sup>16</sup> “*papel*” is a document or a treatise in which someone or a group of people would describe to the king a certain subject in support of their opinion and in which they would suggest how to deal with the subject.

<p><i>Esperanças de Portugal</i>  <i>Quinto Império do Mundo</i>  <i>Primeira e Segunda Vida del-Rei d.</i>  <i>João o Quarto</i>  <i>Escritas por Gonçaleanes</i>  <i>Bandarra</i><sup>17</sup></p>	<p>Hopes of Portugal  Fifth World Empire  First and Second Life of H.R.M. D. João IV  Written by Gonçaleanes Bandarra</p>
--	---

However, it is necessary to underline that there is no complete certainty that Vieira wrote this title at the beginning of the letter. In fact, doing such is not understandable, as S. Peloso underlines.<sup>18</sup> Besides, and according to the records of the process, the reading done of the letter before the Inquisitional Court does not include this title. Therefore, one may consider this as a later arrangement by the person who prepared a copy of the letter for circulation.

Another subject noted by several commentators is that Vieira would have never considered this letter as holding private character. Designating such a letter private would generally have been considered to be a *contra naturam* action by a man who enjoyed the stage and, watching his theories being applied. Nevertheless, this is something about which we will never have a complete certainty. We know, however, that Vieira was travelling in the Amazon while writing this letter and that he sent it to Captain Martins Garro, a layman brother of the Company, with the purpose of having it copied and sent to Lisbon in the ship that was about to depart from Maranhão. How many copies were made by the captain is yet another issue, as well as what were the real instructions given by Vieira regarding the copies of the letter. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the letter arrived to the hands of the bishop of Japan in the fall of 1659 and that by the following spring it was already a well-known document at the metropolis. In fact, it was so well-known, that it ended calling the attention of the Inquisition.

From the reading of this letter, we can assume that its content was not only for the eyes of the bishop or of the Queen. Although the author says precisely the opposite in his defense before the Inquisition, “*Foy feito unicamente aquelle papel para alivio da Rainha nossa Senhora, na occazião da morte delRey & remetido em segredo por mãos de seu*

<sup>17</sup>Vieira, "Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra," 49.

<sup>18</sup>Peloso, *Antonio Vieira E L'impero Universale: La Clavis Prophetarum E I Documenti Inquisitoriali*, 28.

*Confessor, para que não sahisse dellas.*”<sup>19</sup> The question can be raised: can we blindly believe the words of Vieira at a moment when he had to deal with such a long and slow process before the Inquisition? As Besselaar writes: “*sabemos com certeza que António Vieira levava a sério as profecias, que colecionava, estudava e interpretava.*”<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it is not strange that the Jesuit had in mind something else that went beyond the simple “comforting” of the Queen, D. Luísa. It is easier to believe that the diplomat and the visionary supported a common theory concerning the future of the nation. If not, why was he building such an elaborated system as the one described in this simple letter? This question is especially germane given the difficult surroundings of the Amazon River where Vieira wrote while navigating in a canoe.

Another question that can be asked pertains to the character of the document. If this was a simple comforting letter, why did Vieira waste so much time defending himself before the Inquisition? Why did he not retract immediately? In fact, it appears possible to affirm that Vieira was on a mission to proclaim the excellence of the Portuguese and of their monarchs, and the special role they would play in a very near future regarding the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth, as Daniel prophesized in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.

The content of the letter, as we have it today, contains no indication as to whether F. André Fernandes was supposed to keep it secret. At the same time, we cannot find in it any sentence that would in fact be useful in comforting the Queen. Actually, Vieira writes directly to his friend: “*Senhor Bispo do Japão*”, “*(...) já tinha dito a V. S.<sup>a</sup> (...)*”, “*(...) bastarão para a maior clareza que V. S.<sup>a</sup> deseja,*” otherwise he would have not used this type of treatment in the document.<sup>21</sup>

As already mentioned, it is probable that Vieira had something more complex in mind. Three years before, he preached the *Sermon of Salvaterra* when the king was ill, saying that the monarch could not die because he had not yet realized everything that had been prophesized by Bandarra. If we follow this line of thinking, then it becomes possible

---

<sup>19</sup> “*That document was made exclusively for the relief of the Queen, our Lady, by the occasion of the death of H.R.M. & sent secretly through the hands of his Confessor, so that it would not leave his hands.*” In Vieira, *Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Oficio*, t. 1, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> “*we know with certainty that António Vieira took seriously the prophecies he collected, studied and interpreted*” In Besselaar, *António Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica*, 35.

<sup>21</sup> “*Dear Bishop of Japan*”, “*(...) I had already said to Your Lordship (...)*”, “*(...) It will be enough for the clarity wished by Your Lordship,*” In Vieira, “*Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra,*” 49. No entanto, há exemplos deste tipo de discurso directo ao longo de toda a carta como se pode verificar através da leitura da mesma.

to assume that the letter was a continuation of such thinking and belief. The content of the letter and the noise created around it were enough to call the attention of the Inquisition, which had for long waited for an opportunity to treat Vieira publicly as an enemy.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, in April of 1660, the Inquisition requested the presence of the bishop of Japan to deliver the document to the Court. André Fernandes acted quickly and by the end of the next day he had testified before the Court that the document sent by Vieira was no longer in his possession, but he would try to recover it as soon as possible. The following day, the bishop had the document delivered to the Inquisition Court. If the purpose of the Inquisitors was to bring to an end the circulation of the document, history tells us that they were not successful. In fact, by July, a man with the name of Nicolau Bornay,<sup>23</sup> imprisoned at Limoeiro, publicly manifested his agreement with Vieira’s theories. They asked him to present himself before the Court. However, this time, the Inquisition officials let Bornay go after a simple retraction. In the following year, it was still possible to hear to some repercussions of Vieira’s letter, although this time among “sebastianistas” who attempted to contradict Vieira’s argumentation. Added together, these instances can easily allow us to agree with those that say that this document reached a reasonable level of circulation for the time.<sup>24</sup>

The bishop of Japan, F. André Fernandes, never received back the original of Vieira’s letter. First, because the Inquisition found in its content matter that forbade its restitution, and then, because the bishop died six months after having the document delivered to the Court. In a certain measure, it is possible to say that the bishop with his celerity gave the Inquisition the needed arms to go after Vieira, while his premature death stopped him from being directly involved with the case.

For the purpose of classifying Vieira’s letter, a copy of the document was done and sent to the Carmelite Fr. Nuno Viegas. The Carmelite showed his indignation with the text and recommended all copies to be collected with the objective of containing any eventual

---

<sup>22</sup>For this is it not strange the role that the Jesuit played in favor of the Jews and against the methods used by the Holy Office.

<sup>23</sup>Born in Belgium c. 1586, would have moved to Lisbon c. 1608 as a merchant. Was a “familiar” of the Inquisition. However, he was under arrest in the prison of “Limoeiro” in 1660, year in which he writes his apology of Vieira’s theories, most probably because of debts. It is known that he was given to mystical speculation, which made him become aware of the messianic tendencies existent then in Portugal.

<sup>24</sup>*cf.* Besselaar, *Antônio Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica.*, where the author exposes in a clear way all the known movements that supported Vieira’s letter or were against it content.

damage. With this negative sentence in hands, the Inquisition Court sent another copy to Rome so that the Roman Inquisition could evaluate the document and send a report. The letter from Rome of August 6 of 1661 categorically condemns Bandarra’s verses and states how dangerous such theories are, especially their divulgation. In the same letter there was also a comment about Vieira’s work in which the text was described as “*temerário, repleto de falsidades e sobretudo abusivo no tocante à Sagrada Escritura.*”<sup>25</sup> Therefore, its author should be questioned under the suspicion of heresy. The Roman Inquisition recommended yet that a process be opened against the author of the letter, i.e., against Vieira. By doing this, the Roman Inquisition was at the same time condemning the verses of Bandarra and the writings of Vieira. The Portuguese Inquisition led this process in silence. In fact, not even Vieira knew about it before as late in the process as 1666. This may explain why, in 1666, Vieira attempted to immediately retract from the document, which he had not yet done. In a certain measure, the Roman threat appeared more frightening, or real, than the Portuguese did to Vieira.

The text of the letter leaves no room for doubts about Vieira’s intentions: “*Il s’agit d’abord de combattre à nouveau le sébastianisme qui a relevé la tête après la mort de D. João IV.*”<sup>26</sup> However, is this political purpose as presented by Cantel, the only reason behind Vieira’s actions? Are we not also presented with some sort of personal profound belief in the biblical prophets and in the interpretation that Vieira made of the verses of Bandarra?

In fact, what appears to have been considered more compromising by the Inquisition was the syllogism that Vieira composed regarding Bandarra’s prophecies to prove its veracity:

---

<sup>25</sup> “*daredevil, replete of falsities and, especially abusive when concerning the Sacred Scripture*” In *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>26</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 182.

<p><i>O Bandarra é verdadeiro profeta;</i>  <i>O Bandarra profetizou que el-Rei D. João o</i>  <i>4.º há-de obrar muitas cousas que ainda</i>  <i>não obrou, nem pode obrar senão</i>  <i>ressuscitando;</i>  <i>Logo, el-Rei D. João o 4.º há-de</i>  <i>ressuscitar.<sup>27</sup></i></p>	<p>Bandarra is a true prophet:          Bandarra prophesized that H.R.M. D. João          IV will do many things that he has not yet          been done; nor can he do them unless he          resurrects;          Therefore, H.R.M. D. João IV will          resurrect.</p>
---	---

The use of this kind of syllogism is not a novelty. Many others had used this resource before to explain the difference between true and false biblical prophets. Vieira begins by saying that “*a verdadeira prova do espírito profético nos homens é o sucesso das cousas profetizadas,*”<sup>28</sup> and he continues by listing biblical examples. Among these, Vieira underlines the passage of Deut 18:21-22 where we read:

*“You may say to yourself, “How can we recognize a word that the LORD has not spoken?” |<sup>22</sup> If a prophet speaks in the name of the LORD but the thing does not take place or prove true, it is a word that the LORD has not spoken. The prophet has spoken it presumptuously; do not be frightened by it.”*

With this principle of authenticity in mind,<sup>29</sup> Vieira devotes his time to illustrating all the things Bandarra’s verses had predicted and that had been fulfilled. The first example, regards the events that took place in Évora in the year of 1637 connected with the “*grã tormenta*” (big tempest),<sup>30</sup> after which there would be a time in which the Portuguese would aspire to their own kingdom, and was supposed to happen in the year 40.<sup>31</sup> The wars with Castile; that the new king would be a descendent of an *Infante*; and that his name would be João.<sup>32</sup> After, Vieira describes how the shoemaker verses also appeared to have guessed the fates of the Marquis of Montalvão and of the Count of Aveiras. A little further,

<sup>27</sup>Vieira, "Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra," 49.

<sup>28</sup>“*the true proof of the prophetic spirit in men is the success of the prophesized things*” In Ibid., 51.

<sup>29</sup> So Deut 13:2-6; 18:21-22; Jr 28:8-9.

<sup>30</sup>Vieira, "Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra," 51.

<sup>31</sup> cf. the verses of Bandarra transcribed by Vieira in which the number 40 appears in connection with the year in which a new king would rise, Ibid., 53.

<sup>32</sup>Regarding the name of the king, it should be observed that in some of the manuscripts of Bandarra it appears written as D. Foão and not as D. João. This happens particularly among “sebastianistas.”

Vieira confirms the special character of these verses by writing: “*estes versos contêm ãa circunstância admirável de profecia, porque não só profetizou e declarou Bandarra as cousas que haviam de ser, e o tempo em que haviam de ser, senão também os tempos e conjunções em que não haviam de ser.*”<sup>33</sup> Of the latter type, Vieira underlines the importance of the subject of the war against the Turk, prophesized by Bandarra as an event that would take place only later, with the following words: “*Não tema o Turco, não, nesta sezão.*”<sup>34</sup> This type of comment was only useful in supporting Vieira’s thesis regarding the veracity of Bandarra’s prophecies concerning the main character’s identity. In fact, in all of these events the king of Portugal would star, either in the present or in the future. Vieira also underlines how Bandarra had forecast that the Pope was not going to accept the restoration of the portuguese independence. He stresses how that was such a truth that it happened not only with one pope, but with three. Moreover, only the defeat of the Turk by the king of Portugal would force the Pope to recognize the Portuguese sovereignty and independence from Spain. For that, Vieira uses the verse where Bandarra says concerning the Pope’s acknowledgement that “*os bispos não no-los havia de dar o Papa, senão o Turco.*”<sup>35</sup> At the same time, Vieira says that the shoemaker had also forecast the ascension of D. Afonso VI to the throne when he wrote: “*Vejo subir um Infante|no alto de todo o lenho,*”<sup>36</sup> and consequently the situation that Portugal was undergoing was not a strange one. It had been forecast as part of the future that would anticipate the fight against the Turk.

With reference to Bandarra prophecies that had already been fulfilled, Vieira wrote the following:

*“Tudo o que fica dito são as cousas em que atêgora mais palpavelmente temos visto compridas as profecias do Bandarra, as quais profecias já compridas, se bem se distinguirem e contarem, achar-se-á que são mais de cinquenta, afora infinitas outras cousas que delas dependem e com elas se envolvem”*<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> “*these verses contain an admirable prophetic circumstance, because not only Bandarra prophesized the things that would be, but also the times and the conjunctions in which they would not be.*” In Vieira, “*Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra,*” 58.

<sup>34</sup> “*do not be afraid of the Turk, not during this season*” In Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> “*The bishops would not be given by the Pope, but the Turk will*” In Ibid., 59.

<sup>36</sup> “*I see an ‘Infante’ climb to the top of all logs*” In Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> “*Everything said respects the things in which more palpably we have seen Bandarra’s prophecies being fulfilled, these prophecies already fulfilled, if well distinguished and counted, we will find that they are more than fifty, apart from the infinite other things that depend of them and with which they involve.*” In Ibid., 60.

After this, Vieira uses his arguments in proving how a spirit as such of Bandarra, considered a poor fool, could have prophesized these things. That could only be explained by referring to divine intervention, as it had happened with all the prophets before. Therefore, Vieira approximates Bandarra with the biblical prophets, consequently transforming his writings in a piece of divine knowledge.

In the second part of this letter to the Bishop of Japan, Vieira devotes himself to explaining everything that was left unfulfilled by the late king and that was supposed to be achieved by him. Therefore, the only possible explanation found by Vieira is that the king will necessarily be resurrected at a later moment. Meanwhile, he was “asleep.”

One of the first things that D. João IV will do after being resurrected is to depart to the conquest of the Holy Land, taking with him all the Portuguese men that could take arms, leaving the country without defenses. At this time, Vieira explains why Bandarra had mentioned the name “Fernando.” This happened because D. João was the grandchild of a Fernando, the Catholic king, emphasizing consequently the Catholic character of D. João’s crusade. The voyage to the Holy Land is to be made by sea, and sea was also the place where the king would defeat the Turk after its expulsion from Italy by the remaining Catholic kings, who had been called to combat by the Pope, or as he calls him, by the “*Pastor Mor.*”<sup>38</sup> After, Vieira cites the verses of Bandarra where we read: “*baile Fernando e Constança,*”<sup>39</sup> and says that this “Constança” is no one else than Constantinople, which means that the grandson of Fernando, João, will conquer the city of Constantinople. In an attempt to emphasize this theory even more, Vieira says that the names mentioned by Bandarra in this passage are nicknames and not the real names of the main characters. Vieira’s natural astuteness leads him to write that if people do not want to believe him, it does not matter because then the king after resurrected would take the name of “Fernando.”<sup>40</sup> However, could it be possible that Vieira was thinking about the passage of Revelation where the New Jerusalem is to be married with the Lamb? Although, very carefully, such a comparison may be possible since Vieira appears to be highlighting the role of the Emperor in the process towards the end of the world.

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>39</sup> “*Fernando and Constança shall dance*” In Ibid., 70.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 71.

After taking Constantinople, the king of Portugal would be elected Emperor and would be known as “Grão-Senhor,” which is very similar to the title that the Turk had. To close his arguments, Vieira adds that at that time the Lost Tribes of Israel would appear and be introduced to the Pope by the Portuguese king: “*Finalmente, diz Bandarra que o mesmo Rei há-de introduzir ao Sumo Pontífice as dez tribos de Israel, que naquele tempo hão-de sair e aparecer no mundo com pasmo de todo ele.*”<sup>41</sup> In this fashion, all the necessary conditions for the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth as predicted in the past would be achieved. In accordance with Vieira, the Jews would convert and return to their land in this time, which represents a possible parallel with the universal conversion to be reached by Christians as Vieira mentioned. In fact, this is the moment that anticipates the end of the world as previously forecast.

The remarkable thing about Vieira’s description is that the elected nation, the Hebrews, would be subjected “*às invictas Quinas de Portugal,*”<sup>42</sup> which clearly demonstrates the supremacy of the king of Portugal in relation to the remaining nations at the time of the end. At this moment of peace, when the knowledge of Christ would be universal, there would be only one *Pastor*, the Pope, and one Monarch, the king of Portugal, and the two were to be God’s instruments.<sup>43</sup>

After exposing all the events concerning the future in which the king of Portugal would play a preponderant role, Vieira attempts to prove to the Bishop of Japan why he believed that this king announced by Bandarra was not other than D. João IV, the dead king. He says that Bandarra described the lineage of this monarch as not a descendant of the Austrian house when he says that he “*não é de casta goleima,*”<sup>44</sup> but a relative and cousin of kings from the Levant until West, i.e., of the kings of Portugal, Castile and Aragon, and of those of Napoli and Sicily. In fact, this was true.

After having demonstrated the lineage of the king, Vieira makes an ironic commentary regarding how unthinkable it was that the king may resurrect, only to conclude by saying that that was what Bandarra said and, since his prophecies had proved truthful until then, there was no possibility of questioning the prophecies regarding the future.

---

<sup>41</sup> “*Finally, Bandarra says that the same king will introduce to the Pope the ten tribes of Israel, which in that time will come out and appear in the world surprising everyone*” In *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>42</sup> “*to the unbeaten “Quinas” of Portugal*” In *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

Therefore, he writes: “*Verdadeiramente, depois del-Rei estar morto e sepultado, dizer ainda que há-de ir a Jerusalém conquistar o Turco, parece demasiado teimar, mas essa é a teima do Bandarra.*”<sup>45</sup> At this moment, it is almost possible to say that Vieira is hiding behind a major prophet to confirm his own forecasts.

After saying that as the second founder of Portugal and as the holder of the flag of D. Afonso Henriques<sup>46</sup> where Christ’s wounds appear, it will be D. João IV’s task to realize all the wonders prophesized by Bandarra. Moreover, Vieira underlines that the shoemaker also refers to two different times: a) one marked by the acclamation of the new king, and b) a later one during which the Turk would be conquered. In an attempt to justify the king’s resurrection, Vieira uses some of Bandarra’s verses where we can read that “*O Rei novo he acordado |Ja dá brado,*”<sup>47</sup> which is interpreted by Vieira as a metaphor of resurrection, since the “king would be awake.” Vieira also says that D. João had all the characteristics enumerated by Bandarra. He was a descendent of Fernando, the Catholic; was a new king; had a joyful kingship; never took a different name; the Portuguese ultramarine territory had declared immediately their fidelity to the him; that he was constantly at war against Castile; that he was excellent, because only a Duke; was the brother of D. Duarte, who was a good Captain; belonged to the county of Vila Viçosa; was a vigilante; was not received by the Pope; and finally, that not all had acclaimed him in their hearts. Hence, Vieira questions himself about the certainty that D. João was the king mentioned in Bandarra’s verses with the following words: “*(...) quem pode duvidar que, depois de ressuscitado el-Rei D. João, que há-de ser um varão perfeitíssimo e que mostre bem ser feito e perfeito por Deus?*”<sup>48</sup> In this way, if anyone questions the qualities of the king, he may rest assured that at the time of his resurrection he will have all the necessary qualities to the fulfilment of his divine mission.

With all of these arguments together Vieira has no doubts that “*(...) o Senhor Rei D. João IV, que está na sepultura, é o rei fatal de que em todas suas profecias fala Bandarra,*

---

<sup>45</sup> “*In truth, after H.R.M. was dead and buried, his saying that he would still go to Jerusalem to conquer the Turk, appears excessive stubbornness, but that is the stubbornness of Bandarra*” In *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>46</sup> Was first king of Portugal.

<sup>47</sup> “*The new king is awake, he already shouts*” In Gonçalo Anes Bandarra, *Trovas Do Bandarra* (1809), XCIX.

<sup>48</sup> “*(...) who can doubt that, after resurrected H.R.M. D. João, who will be a perfect knight and will show being created and made perfect by God?*” In Vieira, “*Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra,*” 89.

*assi nas que já se compriram, como nas que estão ainda por suceder,*”<sup>49</sup> and not D. Sebastião as many wanted. The Divine Providence determined the death of the king, D. João. This is so clear to Vieira, that he appeals to the writings of St. Augustine about those who do not believe in the possibility of a partial realization of the prophecies that had not yet been fulfilled, in order to support his interpretation. However, he says more. Vieira questions that if history recalls so many resurrections, how is it possible to doubt about one predestined to realize so many wonderful things? Therefore, from this moment onwards, Vieira transforms the king of Portugal as God’s champion on earth, a person to whom all ought obedience. To Vieira it is clear that D. João IV was the one chosen by God to perform a divine mission, although planned to take place at a later date. Consequently, it is acceptable to assume that the king is “asleep” while waiting for the right moment.

Vieira most probably knew about his friend’s tendency to support and believe in the “sebastianistas,” which may explain why he clearly states that Bandarra never mentioned D. Sebastião. Thus, he explains that Bandarra’s verses mentioned a “new” king, and that D. Sebastião was an “old” king because he was king since he was three years old. That he never had been an “*Infante,*” that he was truly unhappy and that he descended from the Austrian house (grandson of Charles V). Also, that he was born in Lisbon and not in a county, never waged war against Castile as this new king had since the beginning of his reign, always received Papal favors, while the new king will not have them.

At the same time, Vieira accuses the “sebastianistas” of forging prophecies: “*As outras, que os sebastianistas chamam profecias, são papéis fingidos e modernos, feitos ao som do tempo e desfeitos pelo mesmo tempo, que em tudo tem mostrado o contrário.*”<sup>50</sup> In this way, Vieira categorically affirms that the verses of Bandarra could not refer to any other king than D. João IV.

There is still one question that appears to cause a problem to Vieira since he wrote this letter: when were these wondrous events supposed to happen? Assuming that Bandarra’s prophecies had been fulfilled, Vieira considers that the 1660’ would be the ideal time for those things to happen. He says, in fact, “*Tenho para mi que dentro na era de*

---

<sup>49</sup>“(…) His Lordship the King D. João IV, who is in the grave, is the fateful king that Bandarra mentions in all his prophecies, as well in the already fulfilled as in those yet to happen.” In *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>50</sup>“The others [prophecies], that the ‘sebastianistas’ call prophecies, are forged and modern papers, made at the sound of times and destroyed by the same time, which has in everything demonstrated the opposite” In *Ibid.*, 99.

*sessenta se há-de representar no teatro do mundo toda esta grande tragicomédia.*”<sup>51</sup> Therefore, if we recall that Vieira was writing in the year of 1659, then we have to consider that he thought the end to be very close to his own time. Consequently, those were not times to lose hope.

In this way, Vieira predicts for the 1660’ a period of “great tribulation” with the Turk in Rome and invading other parts of Europe. Actually, Portugal will also be hit by this tribulation because it is a necessary one. Endurance was the only way for purification and the Portuguese people needed to undergo that process in order to become the “chosen people.” This time, Vieira predicts, will also be one of the most fabulous periods of world history because the biblical prophecies concerning universal peace, religious union and the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth would be finally fulfilled.

By describing what he calls a “tragicomedy,” Vieira appears certain that all the events supposed to happen are part of God’s divine plan, so that they would finally reach the desired kingdom of God. In this way, Vieira launches the fundamentals of his theory of the *Fifth Empire*, one that would be continuously refuted and that would bring him many problems in the days to follow. However, not even all the vicissitudes he has to undertake will make him change his opinion or retract before the Inquisition about the content of this letter.

As observed above, we cannot find in this letter a word of comfort for the Queen. Vieira takes pleasure in refuting his friend theories, disclosing his own while explaining that its grounds were found in the prophecies of the one that was shown to be always correct: Bandarra. Such is the importance of Bandarra at this time of Vieira’s life and for the development of his thesis, that he finishes his letter saying: “*Só digo que, sobre ter dito tanto, ainda é muito o que calo. Tudo aprendi do mestre (...)*,”<sup>52</sup> before saying goodbye to his friend.

In truth, this letter holds a singular value, even because it is a very small document. The scholar S. Peloso describes its importance with the following words:

*“Per valutare appieno il contenuto della lettera, bisogna quindi, da una parte, collocarla in un contesto più generale, che riguarda attese miracolistiche e*

---

<sup>51</sup> “*I know inside myself that during the era of the sixties in the theatre of the world this tragicomedy will be presented*” In *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>52</sup> “*I only say that, about having said this much, there is much more what I keep silent. Everything I have learnt from the master*” In *Ibid.*, 107.

*speranze messianiche nel Portogallo dela Restaurazione; dall'altra, delineare l'ambito particolare in cui essa nasce, nel quadro di una più complessiva visione escatológica del Nuovo Mondo fin dalla prima scoperta*”<sup>53</sup>

In fact, this small letter, written also in singular conditions, in a canoe in the Amazon River, became the starting point to Vieira’s eschatological theorization, which he would pursue for more than fifty years. It is because of this text and the other two that we will analyze later, that Vieira becomes a character that can be identified as one of the most important interpreters and theorists of the *Fifth Empire*. At the time when he writes, pursuing eschatological hope was an important cultural tendency in Europe as evidenced by writers such as Giordano Bruno, Campanella, Jean Bodin, Cromwell, and Spinoza among others. Even if Vieira is often considered just a utopian or a dreamer holding a brilliant rhetorical ability, the simple letter to the Queen, sent through her confessor, takes therefore ideological, political and religious contours that probably reach much further than Vieira thought they would. One thing appears certain in the mind of Vieira: this letter was not supposed to be his *opus magnum*. The one he mentions as such is the one that time would not allow him to finish, the *Clavis Prophetarum*.

b) *História do Futuro – History of the Future*<sup>54</sup>

For many, the *História do Futuro* represents the result of the theory first exposed in the letter *Esperanças de Portugal*. As M. L. Buescu states, the similarity of content as well of title, are reason enough to fundament this theory, even if we account for the fact that the structure of the work is clearly different: the first is a letter, while the second is a treatise, or a manifest.<sup>55</sup> However, the chronology of the two texts may turn this question upside down, as we will observe.

---

<sup>53</sup> Peloso, *Antonio Vieira E L'impero Universale: La Clavis Prophetarum E I Documenti Inquisitoriali*, 27.

<sup>54</sup> A edição mais completa desta obra é provavelmente a organizada por Maria Leonor Buescu, mas há também que tem em linha de conta a edição do *Livro Antepimeiro* por J. Besselaar.

<sup>55</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 13.

The first problem we face when attempting to study this book concerns the original dates of its writing. According to L. de Azevedo, Vieira started writing it in 1649, which is the date written by Vieira’s hand in one of the manuscripts, but the writing was soon abandoned, to be resumed only in 1664.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, R. Cantel comments on how L. de Azevedo’s remarks appear too frivolous, writing that “*les choses ne sont pas aussi simples,*”<sup>57</sup> as he would demonstrate later. The first thing mentioned by Cantel is that it appears that Vieira would have thought for a long period of time about this subject before he had even written the page where the mention to the year of 1664 appears.<sup>58</sup> However, Cantel’s opinion suggests to us a possible similarity with the opinion of L. de Azevedo, who had been cautious when referring to this specific issue, writing: “*Desde 1649, talvez antes.*”<sup>59</sup> These two scholars do not agree, however, about the eventual interregnum between 1649 and 1664: while L. de Azevedo confirms the interregnum, R. Cantel says that Vieira would have never really put aside his project. The non-existence of other mentioned dates does not signify that Vieira would not have thought and written about the subject at other moments. In fact, it may be a sign of the opposite.

R. Cantel goes further and states that Vieira could have not written this work in a period when he did not hold royal favor. Consequently, he points out that the writing date had to be closely connected with the period in which Vieira was an official counsellor of D. João IV, a time during which he could easily influence the kingdom’s policy. If this is true, it means that Vieira should have written it between 1641 and 1651. Besides, continues Cantel, it is most probable that Vieira wrote during a politically complicated period, one during which it was necessary to reunite all the supporters of the king. As he says, “*Son projet est né d’abord de la nécessité de s’opposer au flot grandissant des incrédules qui se montraient de plus en plus assurés dans leur attitude négative.*”<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the possible writing period was limited to the most difficult years of D. João IV’s reign, i.e., between 1645 and 1647, a period during which everything appeared to go wrong for the Portuguese kingdom. Consequently, this work may also be considered as a piece of political

---

<sup>56</sup>Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. I, 193-94.

<sup>57</sup>Raymond Cantel, “L’*história Do Futuro* Du Père António Vieira,” *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, no. XXV (1964): 25.

<sup>58</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 245.

<sup>59</sup>“*Since 1649, maybe earlier*” In Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. I, 193.

<sup>60</sup> Cantel, “L’*história Do Futuro* Du Père António Vieira,” 30.

propaganda, appealing to political intervention, besides being a theological or utopian, as some say, work, as mentioned by M. L. Buescu, as well as one that should not have called the attention of the Inquisition Tribunal.<sup>61</sup> However, because it contains the theory concerning the *Fifth Empire* as well as a description of how it would take place, we may think that to be the reason why the Inquisitors thought it was so important.

The question to be asked now concerns which of the two works would have influenced the most the other: would it have been the *Esperanças de Portugal* or the *História do Futuro*? Truth be told, and we have to agree that the letter appears to be a summary of the *História do Futuro*; however that was a private document. The two works have to be understood as closely related, both in Vieira’s mind and in the content. On the other hand, it is necessary to understand that even L. de Azevedo mentions the existence of records of letters exchanged between Vieira and his friends, in which he writes that he is still devoting his time to developing the *História do Futuro* and, that he is trying to rush its writing because he needs a favorable endorsement by the king, as we will note further below.<sup>62</sup>

We shall assume that this work would have been started, at least to be imagined, before 1649 and that the theorization climax should have taken place during the years that Vieira spent in Brazil, i.e., somewhere between 1653 and 1661. Nevertheless, 1664, the year he recorded in the manuscript and during which he answered before the Inquisition Court (the process takes place between 1663 and 1667), appears to have been the beginning of the continuous writing of the book. It is during this period that references about this work are found among Vieira’s correspondence with D. Rodrigo de Meneses and the Marquis of Gouveia where he underlines the importance of sending parts of it to the king in order to gain his favor. It is also from this period that we can date Vieira’s purpose of dedicating this book to the king, D. Afonso VI. This, in accordance with L. de Azevedo, may indicate that Vieira was feeling necessary to update the content of his prophecy about the *Encoberto*, so as to identify him with the new king. In truth, the bitterness shown by the Inquisition may have influenced this decision of him, but we cannot put aside completely the hypothesis that Vieira was watching the years passing and that none of the announced

---

<sup>61</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 17.

<sup>62</sup> cf. Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. II.

wonders were happening, especially during the year of 1666. At the same time, for a while this work appears to have been Vieira’s *opus magnum*, which may be useful when we attempt to define it as Vieira’s most important work at the time of writing. This, in a certain measure, makes us not to accept some opinions that consider this work and the *Clavis Prophetarum* are one, and the same. However, this is a subject which we will discuss when analyzing the *Clavis*.

Scholars such as R. Cantel and J. van den Besselaar consider, as we have already mentioned, that the place and the time of creation of the theory contained in this work should be identified with the time of his stay at Maranhão (1652-1661). He should have started its writing there and probably in the same manner in which he wrote the letter *Esperanças de Portugal*: in a canoe in the Amazon River. In fact, we read in this work a full description of the wonders he saw while navigating through the River as well as a list of the atrocities performed by the Indians. As L. de Azevedo suggests:

“*Nenhum retiro mais a ponto para o cogitar de cousas não comuns que aquele onde foram elaboradas as concepções de António Vieira sobre as finalidades da história. O imenso da selva amazónica, a solidão do espírito, a monotonia visual, os longos silêncios, tudo isso convidava ao devaneio.*”<sup>63</sup>

As such, this was the most suitable environment to draw the lines of the theory that Vieira exposes first in the *História do Futuro* and later in the *Clavis Prophetarum*.

Consequently, it is almost possible to systematize the writing of the *História do Futuro* according to the following scheme: a) growth of the theory between 1645 and 1649; b) development of the systematization between 1653 and 1661, a period that Vieira spent in Brazil and which appears contemporary to the writing of the letter *Esperanças de Portugal*; c) organization and writing of the booklets that were sent to the tribunal and the use of other parts to answering some of the accusation made by the Inquisition, and writing of yet another part of the book between 1663 and 1667; and d) abandonment of this project to start the *Clavis Prophetarum*.

The history of the writing of this book is, as we have verified, complex and not yet fully known. We know that Vieira had these types of thoughts in his mind since an early

---

<sup>63</sup> “no other escaping place was better to think about uncommon things, than the one where António Vieira’s conceptions about the purpose of history were elaborated. The immeasurable of the Amazonia jungle, the solitude of mind, the visual monotony, the endless silences, everything invited one to dreaminess” In *Ibid.*, vol. I, 5.

moment of his life,<sup>64</sup> and that at a given moment, whether because of any reason derived from a national cause or whether due to his personal convictions, he started to put them in writing. Given the references found in his process before the Inquisition regarding the fact that he provided a pile of booklets as his defense, some already denoting some age, we can assume that some parts of the final book were written before 1665. It is also at this time that Vieira is told by his friends to search for the friendship of the monarch by sending him parts of the work he was writing. By doing this, they said he would have more opportunities to recover the royal favor and therefore, put an end to the Inquisition process. From a decree of the Jesuits Provincial, we know that some of these objectives were attained, because he received a royal decree urging him to provide Vieira with the resources he may need to finish his work as soon as possible. While doing this, the king and the court were assuming their curiosity about the work of Vieira and about his theories. However, it is not yet that the Inquisition leaves Vieira alone. In fact, the Inquisition Tribunal, tired of Vieira’s continuous delays, condemns him without him providing any defense to the accusations. Therefore, the booklets that he wrote ended being unworthy and it may even be said that the Inquisitors had long before decided his fate.

Vieira’s eschatological interpretation is used by the Inquisition to prove him guilty of even more orthodoxy mistakes. Instead of being able to convince them about the rightful fundamentals of his theology, it appears that Vieira is better at making them even more bitter in how the issue is being handled. Once again, the section of his theorization in which he forecasts how Jews would accept Christianity was the reason that led to persecution. Moreover, the bad relationship existing between Jesuits and Dominicans may have as well had some influence over the events.

When speaking about the reasons that may have led to this process, J. van den Besselaar mentions yet another important fact for the development of Vieira’s theory: his travels to the Netherlands and his meetings with Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel and Rabbi Samuel Levi Morteira. We know that Vieira travelled to the Netherlands twice, first in 1646 and then in 1647, and that he kept regular meetings with some of the most important figures of the Portuguese Jewish community. Therefore, the fact that he met and talked with the famous rabbi of Amsterdam, Manasseh ben Israel, is not surprising. On the contrary, most

---

<sup>64</sup> *cf. Sermon Against the Dutch Arms of 1634.*

of Vieira’s biographers have mentioned that there is the possibility that some remaining correspondence exists between the two, but today we still do not have any concrete proof about the existence of those letters.

We know that Vieira, educated among the Jesuits, was a figure who continuously attempted to find a way in which understanding between Jews and Christians could be achieved. Such behavior was highly censored at the time, and was another reason why he was condemned by the Inquisition. In the words of Besselaar, Vieira was “*um espírito dado a divagações fantasistas e, ao mesmo tempo, muito atento às realidades terrestres; homem barroco, vivia em dois planos diferentes: um transcendente, outro muito deste mundo (...)*.”<sup>65</sup> This explains, according to this scholar, how Vieira assimilated a set of new ideas despite the fact that the Jesuit education he received was almost exclusively medieval. In reality, Vieira’s natural curiosity may have been the reason why he searched for this “dialectical dispute” with the rabbis of Amsterdam. By discussing ideas such as the reappearance of the ten lost tribes of Israel and the coming of the Messiah, Vieira was learning while demonstrating his own ideas and theories. The most important aspirations of the Sephardic community, those that agreed with his own eschatological aspirations of universal peace and how the *Fifth Empire* was at hand, and how Portugal would play an important role in those events, appear to be common to the two groups. As H. Cidade says, Vieira’s spirit of proselytism led him to attempt to reach a sort of “concordat” with the “*cristãos-novos*” as a way to obtain as well their friendship.<sup>66</sup>

If one has in mind Vieira’s missionary propensity, it is easy to understand that once again Vieira adapts the two religious beliefs in a way that underlines Christianity’s supremacy. Therefore, one of the theses that Vieira promotes in this work is how the *Fifth Empire* would be the time during which the mistakes of the heretics and of the gentiles would disappear, for which he frequently cites Isaiah 60. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that Dominicans and Jesuits did not agree about the meaning of the *Fifth Empire*. For the first, it made no sense that Christ would come back to earth so that the *Fifth Empire* would begin, while for the second, Christ’s second coming was an

---

<sup>65</sup> “*a mind given to fantastic divagations and, at the same time, very observant to earthly realities; man of the baroque, lived in two different times: a transcendent one, another very much in this world(...)*.” In António Vieira, *Livro Antepimeiro Da História Do Futuro*, ed. J. J. van den Besselaar, 1 ed., Série Autores Clássicos (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983), 5.

<sup>66</sup> Cidade, *Padre António Vieira*, 81.

essential part of their theology. Just this simple difference can offer us a much clearer idea about how Vieira’s ideas may have been received by the two orders and may have contributed to increase even more the theological differences between the two.

António Vieira never had the pleasure of seeing his work printed, but we are also unsure about whether he really finished the book. In fact, there are more evidences to support its incompleteness than otherwise. The first known edition of the *História do Futuro* dates from 1718. It was published in Lisbon and only contained the initial chapters of what would later be considered as its preamble. The second time that it was printed, in 1918, was only to print a set of chapters that belonged to the first two books, but that we can easily verify as incomplete. Later, in 1976, we have the publication of what is called the *Livro Antepreimeiro* (preliminary book), in a critical edition of J. van den Besselaar. A more complete edition, combining all the known materials, is that of M. L. Buescu published in 1985, with a second edition in 1992.

If Vieira’s main purpose was to claim loudly that the events of the end were imminent, we have to say that he did not achieve his goal, because his work was not published many times and, his forecast has not yet been fulfilled.

The book, entitled *História do Futuro, Esperanças de Portugal & Quinto Império do Mundo – History of the Future, Hopes of Portugal & Fifth World Empire*, envisages the description of the *Fifth Empire* during the consummation of the kingdom of Christ on earth. In accordance with Vieira, the prophets had already announced this consummation several centuries before, giving us the reason why he tells his readers to read Daniel and Enoch. Vieira assumes that attempting to know the future is permissible to the human being, even if St. Augustine said otherwise. At the same time he wonders “*se já no mundo houve um profeta do passado, porque não haverá um historiador do futuro?*”<sup>67</sup> This appears to be a curious question: is the Vieira who “prophesizes” the future, the same that affirms being only a historian? Is this modesty or diplomacy?

This so long announced kingdom was, finally, ready to be established on earth and Vieira’s mission was to announce it to his contemporaries, while making them aware of the preponderant role that Portugal and the Portuguese would play. Because Portugal was the

---

<sup>67</sup> “if there were in the world a prophet of the past, why should there not be one historian of the future?” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 53.

chosen nation, Vieira explains some of the problems that they would have to overcome, as the prophets of the Old Testament had done to their contemporaries. As Vieira writes in chapter II when he speaks directly to the Portuguese “*Nem todos os futuros são para desejar, porque há muitos futuros para temer.*”<sup>68</sup>

Next, he describes his particular mission as “*O maior serviço que pode fazer um vassalo ao rei, é revelar-lhe os futuros*”<sup>69</sup> It is because of this type of sentence, that we find in his book that we can agree with Besselaar’s opinion that this book was “*mais uma visão profética do que uma tese científica.*”<sup>70</sup> In it, we also have a clear statement concerning Vieira’s faith, although it appears marked by a clear use of Church authorities that would support his interpretation. Besselaar resumes the *História do Futuro* as a “*calorosa profissão de fé, e a fé, no mundo ainda não secularizado em que Vieira vivia, tinha dimensões não só religiosas, mas também sociais e políticas,*”<sup>71</sup> which permits us to understand the splendor, and at the same time, the complexity of this work. It is necessary to take into account that Vieira is not writing in a moment in which Church and State are completely separated and that his Jesuit education called to each one’s ability to influence each of his congregation members. Therefore, Vieira’s works are as much a product of his faith as they are of his time and of his education.

The author offers his readers a universal overview of history, where at the same time he underlines the importance of the Jews, who were the chosen ones of the Old Testament, and the fundamental role to be played by Portugal, generating therefore what we can call a “luzocentric” theory, as Besselaar defines it.<sup>72</sup> However, since this book was never finished, instead of a complete description we only have a partial one and, consequently, we cannot deduce which were all the reasons used by Vieira to support his theories.

The *Livro Antepimeiro* was considered by António Vieira as the base of his real *História do Futuro* when he says that “*(...) todo este largo Prolegómeno*”, *em rigor, não*

---

<sup>68</sup> “Not all futures are to be wished, because there are many futures to be feared” In *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>69</sup> “The greatest service that a subject can do for his king is to reveal him the futures.” In *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> “more a prophetic interpretation, than a scientific thesis” In ———, *Livro Antepimeiro Da História Do Futuro*, 2.

<sup>71</sup> “A warm profession of faith, and the faith, in the non secularized world in which Vieira lived, hold not just religious dimensions, but also social and political ones” In *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

seja “*História do Futuro*”, senão preparação ou aparato para ela (...),”<sup>73</sup> and not the theory in itself. The *História do Futuro* was to be divided among seven sections: 1) the coming of the new empire; 2) concerning the character of the new empire; 3) the grandeur and happiness of the empire; 4) how the empire would appear; 5) where it would appear; 6) the time when it would happen; and 7) in which person it would happen. This was Vieira’s main plan of this book.

The most recent edition of this work, which appears to us as the most complete one, contains, as previously mentioned, the *Livro Antepreimeiro* and two other smaller and incomplete booklets. The first is based in Besselaar’s edition of 1976,<sup>74</sup> while the latter are based in the edition of 1918 of L. de Azevedo.<sup>75</sup> It misses, therefore, four or five of the originally planned number of books by Vieira. Furthermore, we have to consider the possibility that the *Livro Antepreimeiro* may not automatically be counted as part of the original plan, since Vieira calls it a “prolegomenon.” Can we say that the remaining books were lost, or that Vieira never wrote them? This is one of the questions to which only the future may hold an answer, because only the discovery of new evidence may provide any new clues. The other question that can be considered, is whether the “three” books that we have correspond exactly to some of the three books planned by Vieira.

The *Livro Antepreimeiro* is the longest and more complete of this triad, but is, as we have already said, the one that Vieira has entitled as “*Prolegómeno a toda a História do Futuro, em que se declara o fim e se provam os fundamentos dela.*”<sup>76</sup> It contains thirteen chapters, which are divided into three main sections: a) “*matéria, verdade e utilidades da história do futuro*”- *content, truth and values of the history of the future*, which has only one chapter; b) “*convidam-se os Portugueses à lição dela [história]*”- *inviting the Portuguese to its [history] lecture*, which also has only one chapter; and c) “*do título e divisão de toda a História*”- *about the title and division of all history*, which includes the remaining eleven chapters.

---

<sup>73</sup>“(…) all this long ‘Prolegomenon,’ in strict accuracy, is not the ‘History of the Future,’ but the preparation or the apparatus for it (…).” In ———, *História Do Futuro*, 150.

<sup>74</sup> We are using the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, published in 1992.

<sup>75</sup>This edition would have resulted from the reading of the documents of the process of Vieira before the Inquisition.

<sup>76</sup>“*Prolegomena to the entire history of the future, in which we declare the end and prove its fundamentals.*” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 46.

Section a) is the one in which Vieira discourses about his purpose of writing a book that may be understood as a “history of the future” as opposed to all the books of history that refer to events of the past. Says Vieira, contrary to what Plato said regarding the fact that the knowledge of the future belonged exclusively to the divine, humankind could also obtain further knowledge about the things still to happen because while in Paradise it had been instructed in all sciences. Therefore, human curiosity was insatiable. This resulted in the multiplication of heresies over the centuries. Following this line of interpretation, Vieira lists the new sciences of his time, such as astrology, astronomy, cabala and the other theories whose purpose was the interpretation of the inner meaning of everything that was part of everyday life. At the same time, Vieira goes back in time to demonstrate that this need of knowledge was something to which an answer had been attempted since Antiquity. Therefore, he clearly establishes a distinction between what was mistaken and what was part of his purpose. As he says, “*escreveram histórias do passado para o futuro, nós escrevemos a do futuro para o presente,*”<sup>77</sup> which already demonstrates how Vieira had as a main objective the composition of something that may be useful as a manual for the present, although its content concerns the future. Moreover, he underlines the extraordinary character of the events still to happen and which the world have never imagined possible to happen. Therefore, it is possible to understand why it was necessary that someone would study the future, although from a different perspective than that of the prophets: “*Se já no Mundo houve um profeta do passado, porque não haverá um historiador do futuro?*”<sup>78</sup> This is the tone given by Vieira to his personal quest.

In section b), Vieira tells the Portuguese why they are the main object of this new history and what they will have to face, while instructing them as to how they are supposed to act. It is in this short chapter that we observe Vieira switching completely from one audience to another. If before, the audience was the entire world, now he refers only to the small Portuguese country and its people. It is here that he says, then, to the Portuguese that “*Nem todos os futuros são para desejar, porque há muitos futuros para temer,*”<sup>79</sup> although

---

<sup>77</sup> “They have written histories of the past for the future, we write that of the future for the present” In *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>78</sup> “If it already existed in the world a prophet of the past, why would not exist a historian of the future?” In *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>79</sup> *cf.* footnote 68.

not even because of that they should neglect its knowledge, especially remembering the tasks left for them to perform.

It is also at this moment that Vieira says how good of a subject he is to the king, as if he were professing his fidelity, which may be explained if we understand this section as if it were written in a time during which he no longer holds royal favor. In his words: “*O maior serviço que pode fazer um vassalo ao rei, é revelar-lhe os futuros (...)*,”<sup>80</sup> to which he adds the example cited in Dan 5 that describes how the prophet had been called by Belshazzar to interpret an inscription that no other wise man was able to interpret. According to the story, Daniel would have explained to the king that, similarly to what had happened with his father Nebuchadnezzar, he would have not humiliated himself enough before God and, therefore, his kingdom was about to be divided between the Medes and the Persians. Contrary to what we could expect, the king rewards Daniel. Up to a certain measure, this biblical story may have helped Vieira say to the king that sometimes the best counsellors are those who say what the ears do not appreciate, which is an image very similar to that of Vieira while he was D. João’s counsellor. Besides, his explanation may let us consider that Vieira was aware that his mission was far beyond the limits of the ordinary, especially when he writes: “*Eu, Portugal (com quem só falo agora), nem espero o teu agradecimento, nem temo a tua ingratidão.*”<sup>81</sup> Once again, we can ask whether this is a demonstration of pride or humility from Vieira. Maybe it is none of these, although the fact that he may have realized that his life and his welfare at the time depended mostly on whether or not he could get the royal favor.

By praising the role of the Portuguese nation in the future, Vieira creates an etymological confusion regarding the title of this document. This happens because he calls it *Esperanças de Portugal*, while saying that it represents the meaning of his *História do Futuro*. Vieira is an artist of the words and of the Portuguese language, and while he discourses on how the “hopes” could be a “torment” because the forecast events would never happen, he underlines that even those events should not be taken for granted. This “torment” was therefore part of the process, which explains that Vieira had in mind a difficult period that would anticipate the glory of the end, comparable to what we observe

---

<sup>80</sup> cf. footnote 69.

<sup>81</sup> “*I, Portugal (with whom I now speak alone), am not waiting for your acknowledge nor fear your ingratitude.*” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 56.

in the biblical books. Therefore, he commands the Portuguese to have hope for their glorious future. Hence, he says, that is the reason why he wrote this book in Portuguese, so that they can read and understand that the future holds for them yet more glorious times than those of the Discoveries.

Section c) of the *Livro Antepimeiro* is what we would call today a methodological introduction to the book. It is, in fact, the section in which Vieira explains how the book is organized as well as the reasons that led him to write it using such structure. It is here that the reader realizes that he really had in mind writing seven books and the content of each one of them.<sup>82</sup> At the same time, today’s reader understands that what we have is an incomplete and misshaped version of what Vieira intended to write.

Considering some epistemological questions, Vieira discourses about the meaning that the word “world” had for him. He differentiates it from the world divided by political powers and defends the “world” in a global sense, as it had been created by God at the beginning. Besides, it is about the latter that his history is about.<sup>83</sup> That is also the physical global world, in which he includes the five continents.<sup>84</sup> At the same time, he describes this global world of the time of creation as gathering past, present and future, containing in it everything created by God. It is this global world that will be subjected to the *Fifth Empire*, an empire of one single power, in which spiritual and temporal powers would act jointly.

Assuming that his theory was plausible, Vieira begins a long rhetorical process in which he attempts to demonstrate the necessity of his work as well as its reasons of being. Therefore, he compares the history of the past with the history of the future, mentioning that the first was already useful because the experience from the past enabled a better governance of the present. However, that of the history of the future is, in his words, even “(...) *mais eficaz e poderosa para mover os ânimos dos homens (...)*.”<sup>85</sup> Besides, he notes, it is good that men are aware of the things of the future that have been decided by God long time ago. At this moment, we realize that Vieira understands that history was predetermined by God, and that God would have no mercy for Humankind wishes. Following this line of interpretation, Vieira describes the events of the history of Portugal

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 66-7.

<sup>84</sup> At the time, Vieira was writing there were only five continents.

<sup>85</sup> “(...) *more effective and powerful to propel men minds(...)*” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 69.

that he thought to be intimately connected with the divine plan and, as his main example, uses the narrative concerning the victory of D. Afonso Henriques at Ourique and the way in which God would have revealed Himself to the king to announce his victory.<sup>86</sup> This is a common theme used by Vieira in his eschatological works in order to demonstrate the character of Portugal as the chosen nation since its foundation and, consequently, its inherent grandiose fate. By comparing Portugal with the freed Israelites from Egypt, Vieira declares Portugal’s position as “chosen nation” while affirms that its liberation had begun with Restoration in 1640.

Over the remaining part of this section, Vieira uses his time to prove how the prophets had already forecast the future and how they could not be criticized for having done that. Nevertheless, he underlines that at a given moment the support of his theories would be the writings of modern authors by opposition to those of the Church Fathers that he had been using until that moment. In order to do that, he cites several examples in which the past interpretations were not correct because accurate knowledge lacked. One of his most important examples is Augustine, who had said that there were no antipodes, which was something that the Portuguese had shown to be incorrect during their travels.

At this moment, it is necessary to remember the main contours of the Iberian cultural environment, where prophecies appeared everyday both in the mouths of clerics as well as in those of common people. It is obvious then, that the discovery of new territories and peoples is not strange to this movement. This, in fact, is what explains the writings of Fr. Gil and of Bandarra, among several others. In addition, Vieira underlines that the only thing that could validate prophecy was time, and that time will certainly confirm the events about which he was proposing to write.

The second and the third books of the *História do Futuro* appear to be of a different kind. On one hand, we have booklets that Vieira has never finished or that have arrived to our days in an incomplete form. On the other hand, it is a part of the work where objectivity appears to be his main concern. Vieira does not spend as much time with methodological issues as before and moves quickly and decidedly through the problematic he had taken into his own hands. It is here that we find traces of the influence of ancient writers in his

---

<sup>86</sup> What Vieira is mentioning is the Cistercian theory about what would have happened at Ourique. In a certain measure, they use a description in which the king is deified and, therefore, he behaves as God’s chosen. The history of Portugal contains several episodes of this type, forged as divine witnesses to justify a set of actions.

thinking in questions such as those regarding the *Fifth Empire*, as it had been forecast by Daniel’s; his real understanding of this empire, and how he designs the empire using a universalistic tone. Although he continuously says that Portugal was the chosen nation to perform that task, Vieira as the man of faith he was, does not forget about the importance of the spiritual power. Therefore, he describes the new empire as being both spiritual and temporal, as we will analyze later.

The form in which these two books were written, or at least how they have reached to our time, can be used as documental evidence that substantiates the theory according to which the *História do Futuro* is an unfinished book. In fact, the first book “happens” twice since we have two different first books. The first is entitled “*Jesus, Maria, José*” – *Jesus, Mary, Joseph*, and is divided into two chapters. It is in its second chapter that we can find the page where the reference to the year 1649 appears as the year of writing. However, Vieira’s biographers underline that this number was amended by Vieira’s hand to 1664. In the first chapter, Vieira begins by describing the four empires that anticipate the fifth. However, it is curious to note, that he does not apply the imperial chronology used by the biblical books. Vieira makes clear references to present and to the different world regions in a way that allows him to reaffirm the diversity of the existing empires: in Asia and in China, Tartars, Persian and Mogor; in Africa, Ethiopia; in Europe, Germany and Spain; and in the three regions, the Turk. However, the latter was not important enough to be mentioned by the prophets.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, it is not strange that the *Fifth Empire* may take place and succeed from the four empires described by Daniel. While describing the succession of Empires, Vieira takes his time to explain the length of the Roman Empire<sup>88</sup> and how it had been transformed over the centuries, living presently a moment of decadence and divided into several smaller kingdoms, of which Portugal was one of them.

The second first book is comprises three chapters. The first chapter is what its title describes: “*Mostra-se a Quinta Monarquia com a primeira profecia de Daniel.*”<sup>89</sup> In this chapter, Vieira describes Daniel as the prophet of the Empires and of his succession, i.e., he sees Daniel as if he represented the starting point to the building of the imperial theory.

---

<sup>87</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 247.

<sup>88</sup> cf Part 1, section 1), regarding the interpretation of the “four empires.”

<sup>89</sup> “*Demonstrate the Fifth Monarchy using the first prophecy of Daniel*” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 249.

Therefore, he devotes the remainder part of the chapter describing the events narrated in Dan 2.

The second chapter of this “first book” is entitled as *Segunda Profecia de Daniel – Daniel’s second prophecy*. The author’s purpose appears to be to emphasize the fact that a prophecy may be revealed to a seer more than once, because of its importance. In this chapter, Vieira mentions the events described in Dan 7, included in the apocalyptic section of the Book of Daniel, to demonstrate how the fifth monarchy had already been forecast at that time,<sup>90</sup> and that the Roman Empire, the last one, was declining. To this succession of empires, Vieira adds the sequence of the ages of the world as they had been compared to the different metals that composed the statue of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. The age of the iron and of the clay corresponds to the Roman Empire, which is, as we can observe, later destroyed by yet another empire. All of this together is reason enough for Vieira’s reassurance regarding his eschatological aspirations: the *Fifth Empire* is a reality already previewed in Daniel and the Roman Empire, the one that anticipates it, suffers from a process of decadence that approximates it from its end. Therefore, the *Fifth Empire* has necessarily to be at hand.

The third chapter of this book discusses how a similar theory regarding the *Fifth Empire* had already been narrated by Zechariah. Hence, Vieira argues how the same revelation was given to Daniel and Zechariah, although the examples used were different. In Zech 6, the vision of the four horse-chariots, each one pulled by a different colored horse, was also interpreted as a representation of the four empires. Therefore, Vieira made each color correspond to one empire: a) red horses represented the Assyrian and the destructions caused by their conquerors; b) black horses, Persia, a color of mourning because of the punishments inflicted to the Hebrews; c) white horses represented the Macedonians, because they had been benevolent with the Hebrews, with the exception of Antiochus; and d) gray horses represented the Romans, who used both violence and benevolence towards the chosen people.<sup>91</sup>

When Vieira comments about the quality of the “vigorous” Romans, he does not forget to mention that their knowledge of the world was incomplete. Therefore, some

---

<sup>90</sup> Vieira also uses two passages of Daniel, chapters 2 and 7, to demonstrate how it was possible that a same prophecy was given twice to the seer.

<sup>91</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 268-9.

authors, such as Francisco Ribera or Sanchez, had already identified the Romans with the Spaniards, who had discovered the American lands. However, he argues, that honor should have been given to the Portuguese, because they had reached the Far East. Nevertheless, and because this type of petty arguments fits the picture of the Iberian problems, Vieira still manages to explain how Iberia was the real descendent of the Roman Empire.

At this moment of his exegetical exposition, Vieira recalls Nebuchadnezzar’s dream statue and its feet of clay and iron. This mixture represented, according to him, a forecast regarding how the Roman Empire would later be divided into smaller pieces, which history had proven right. Consequently, the central power of the empire was condemned since the beginning to vanish due to successive and sustained fragility. But, Vieira says yet that “(...) *a desunião dos metais dos pés da estátua significava os reinos dos Espanhóis, Polacos, Ingleses, Franceses e os demais, que, sendo antes sujeitos aos Imperadores romanos, lhes negaram a sujeição e se desuniram deles,*”<sup>92</sup> which may be understood as the variety of kingdoms that would appear, although globally they represented the Roman Empire. Of these kingdoms, Vieira detaches Spaniards and Portuguese because of the Discoveries that contributed for the enlargement of the world’s horizons, underlining particularly the bravery of the second ones who had departed towards the Far East. From this point onwards, we have no indication as to what was Vieira’s line of thought, because the text of the chapter finishes abruptly at the middle of a sentence.

The *Livro Segundo* is described by Vieira with the following words: “*Em que se mostra que Império há-de ser este*”- *Where we demonstrate which is this Empire to be,*<sup>93</sup> and deals with the main characteristics of this final fifth period. Vieira appears decided to describe how the new empire will be and, for that, he divides the chapter by seven smaller pieces, to conclude later that the kingdom of Christ would be a mixture between spiritual and temporal powers/dominions.

Since he already had demonstrated that the prophets had forecast this empire, Vieira explains that this is the empire of Christ and of the Christians, by opposition to Jews and Muslims. Continuing to demonstrate the veracity of his words, through the authority of the

---

<sup>92</sup>“(…) *the lack of union of the metals of which the feet were made of meant the kingdoms of the Spaniards, Polish, English, French and the remaining, which, before subjected to the Roman Emperors, later refused being their subjects and disunited from them.*” In *Ibid.*, 272.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, 275.

prophets, Vieira says that “*É conclusão certa e de fé que este Quinto Império de que falamos, anunciado e prometido pelos Profetas, é o Império de Cristo e dos Cristãos.*”<sup>94</sup> Hence, Vieira identifies the stone described in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream in Dan 2 and that starts the final process of destruction, with the figure of Christ. However, as if this demonstration of divine will is not enough to confirm his interpretation, thus the texts of Dan 7 and Zech 5 could be of help. From the first text mentioned, Vieira used the image of the “Ancient of Days” as representing Christ. He uses a similar process when in the text of Zachariah he reads “*Jesus, son of Jehozadak,*” although some of our current versions of the text refer to Joshua and not to Jesus.<sup>95</sup> For Vieira all of these references represented foggy mentions to the fact that the kingdom of Christ was yet to come. Besides, the image he uses from Dan 7:18, where the kingship of the Holy Ones of the Most High was described, was for him another clear reference to a future yet to come.

Next, Vieira discourses about the type of empire that this will be: if earthly or heavenly, i.e., if temporal or spiritual. In accordance with the most ancient commentators, this kingdom would have to be heavenly because it was supposed to be incorruptible and eternal, by opposition to those that had anticipated it.<sup>96</sup> However, that does not appear to make sense for Vieira (maybe the doctrine of the Jesuits regarding Christ’s second coming influenced him), because according to him the prophesized kingdom of Daniel would have to be earthly: “*(...) este Reino e Império de Cristo e dos Cristãos, profetizado por Daniel (qualquer que haja de ser) é Império da Terra e na Terra.*”<sup>97</sup> The argument that Vieira uses is that the new empire would “grow” to achieve enormous grandeur. In addition, at the time when the world ends it would also end, which is something impossible to happen to the *Fifth Empire*, because of its eternal character. Therefore, the new empire has to be earthly, and has to have been created before the Last Judgment, although the kingdom of Christ and of the Christians has any sort of chronological boundaries. We should also note how Vieira uses Dan 7:27 where it is said that the Holy Ones of the Most High would

---

<sup>94</sup> “it is a correct and faithful conclusion that this Fifth Empire of which we speak, announced and promised by the Prophets, is the Empire of Christ and of the Christians.” In *Ibid.*, 277.

<sup>95</sup> cf. Zach 6, 11.

<sup>96</sup> } Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 284.

<sup>97</sup> “(...) this Kingdom and Empire of Christ and of the Christians, prophesized by Daniel (whichever it may be) is an Empire of the earth and on the earth.” In *Ibid.*

extend their power over everything under the skies. Therefore, there is no possible way to not accept that the *Fifth Empire* as Vieira describes it was necessarily an earthly empire.

Yet, Vieira underlines that it does not mean that this kingdom is exclusively temporal. Therefore in the following chapter, the fourth, he begins with these words: “*O império e domínio temporal é certo que de sua natureza não exclui nem implica com o temporal, de modo que um e outro domínio bem pode sem repugnância alguma convir e ajustar-se ao mesmo sujeito.*”<sup>98</sup> To exemplify this question even further, Vieira says that the Pope is a temporal lord while at the same time he holds the spiritual power. At this moment, Vieira introduces what appears as a radical shift in his conceptualization regarding the fact that the kingdom to be is also spiritual. Therefore, he begins searching for arguments that would help him supporting the theory according to which this kingdom was also a temporal one. Aware that many are against such theory and that they find their arguments in the sacred texts, he explains that his contemporary commentators’ move towards a different direction and that the ancient were not always right.

Using a sentence in which he says that the Church as it gets bigger, so it gets enlightened as well, Vieira begins a new chapter where he demonstrates the reasons that lead him to support the earthly character of this kingdom to be.<sup>99</sup> In fact, chapters five and six are devoted to proving the possibility of the existence of a kingdom of Christ that is at the same time spiritual and temporal. Assuming that a temporal kingdom of Christ would not necessarily be “*sujeito às mudanças e inconstâncias do tempo,*”<sup>100</sup> Vieira discourses about which were the necessary characteristics of this kingdom. Therefore, he identifies it as a reign that owns all power over men and kings, holds jurisdiction over the world and absolute dominion over all beings. In this fashion, Vieira distinguishes between a regular temporal kingdom and the one supposed to belong to Christ, where power would not have barriers or limitations, but would take place on earth. Making use of his prodigious knowledge of the sacred texts, Vieira recalls the sentence of Matt 28:18 in which Christ says “*All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me,*” as an explanation to his mission when he appeared in Galilee. Therefore, Vieira had no questions regarding the fact

---

<sup>98</sup> “*The empire and the temporal dominion set does not exclude that from its nature excludes or implies the temporal, in a way in which one and the other dominion can be without repugnance suit and adapt to the same subject.*” In Vieira, 1992 #408@293}

<sup>99</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 299.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

that a kingdom of Christ is necessarily at the same time both temporal and spiritual, earthly and heavenly. By opposition to the earthly empires that had previously existed, the new empire was not subject to time, i.e., it could not be undone or replaced.

During his exposition regarding this subject, Vieira explains that one of the biggest impediments over the centuries that had contributed to the Fathers of the Church and the theologians denying the existence of a temporal kingdom of Christ was due to the impossibility of providing it with a name dignifying of His condition. Vieira does not agree and says that Christ has six different titles/names that give him full dominion, i.e., as well as temporal and spiritual over the world. The first he received is by nature: he was king and universal monarch of the world, which belonged to him as a man. The second, received by inheritance: as Son of God, He is the heir to His dominion and universal empire. Third, because He was granted the power. Fourth, because He bought it with the blood of his subjects. The fifth title does not appear in the text, which is corrupt at this point. The sixth, derives from election and respective acceptance, which is according to Vieira, the most natural title among the men of law. In this way, Christ combined all the necessary qualities to reign from a temporal point of view.

On the rhetorical side, Vieira questions himself about the reason why the three kings of the East had come to worship the Messiah at the time of His birth, since they were part of the gentile nations. How is it possible unless this messiah holds at the same time a universal character and is not just the king of the Jews?<sup>101</sup> In fact, Vieira says that the messiah was promised before his birth to all the nations that had accepted him and not only to the Jews. Therefore, his universal election was proved, although Augustine had argued how could they have accepted something of which they were not aware of? To this, Vieira counter argues that at a given moment all nations had hoped and waited for the arrival of a new king.<sup>102</sup> In a certain measure, this was an ancient tradition whose roots could be found as earlier as Creation and the later division and creation of the different nations by God. If all the nations on earth had a common origin and if they had been separated by the Creator, it was natural that all would have also in common the return to the initial stage of harmony. In an ingenious way, Vieira uses the argument of separation to underline the fact that trade

---

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 317.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 318.

was the most effective method of evangelization since when the merchants brought back the riches of the faraway lands, they took with them a bigger wealth: the evangelization as it was being done by the missionaries that travelled in their boats. In this surreptitious way, Vieira induces his reader towards the acceptance of the importance of the peoples that committed to trade with distant nations, especially with those of the Far East. Vieira is, in a word, carefully speaking about the Portuguese and of their fundamental role at the service of a predetermined divine mission. In this way, Vieira reduces the diversity of the nations to the unity of the people of God.

The hypostatic union of Christ and the way in which He renounced to the use of his temporal power, leads many to say that “(...) *vinha a ser totalmente ocioso este Império Temporal que consideramos em Cristo, e por conseguinte nulo (...)*,”<sup>103</sup> which Vieira considers a correct assumption. Furthermore, he recalls that if Christ would held power during the Last Judgment, then he will have at his disposal all the royal dignities, without having necessarily reigned as any other temporal king. Nevertheless, Vieira appears to not agree with the linearity of this argument because, as he says:

*“(...) como foi Cristo Rei e Senhor temporal do Mundo, não só em acto primo (como diz a frase dos teólogos) senão em acto segundo; e não só quanto a jurisdição e domínio, senão quanto ao uso e exercício dela; não porque pública e continuamente o professasse Cristo como fazem os reis da Terra, mas porque exercitou alguns actos particulares de império e domínio, que eram próprios só do legítimo Rei e verdadeiro Senhor do Mundo (...).”*<sup>104</sup>

It is almost certain that Vieira had more examples about this type of worship by kings and the reception of honors and titles at the moment of His birth, but the text is corrupt and, consequently, we no longer have those examples. This happens at a time when Vieira was most probably getting prepared to emphasize the various reasons that led him to say that Christ had used his temporal power while on earth.

The last chapter of the *História do Futuro*, as we have it today, is a summary of Vieira’s main argumentation regarding how the *Fifth Empire* would be both spiritual and

---

<sup>103</sup>“(...) it came to be completely idle this Temporal Empire that we consider in Christ, and therefore empty (...)” In *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>104</sup>“(...) has it was Christ King and temporal Lord of the world, not only through ‘acto primus’ (as the theologians call it), but also in acto secundus; and not only when the jurisdiction and dominion, but about its use and exercise; not because publicly and continuously professed Christ as the earthly kings, but because he practiced some particular acts of empire and dominion, which were proper only of the legitimate King and of the truth Lord of the World (...)” In *Ibid.*, 359.

temporal. In this way, Christ would receive the crown of the High Priest, while there would be another crown for the supreme king,<sup>105</sup> and the two crowns together would represent the Universal Kingdom about which the authors of the prophecies had spoken. It was the time of the union between the royal crown of Judah and the priestly crown of Levi.

We do not know how António Vieira planned to finish his work. We can only note that in the last lines of the document that we have today we can read: “*Resolve-se quando começou este Império de Cristo e propõe-se acerca dele uma grande dificuldade.*”<sup>106</sup> Thus, we are more than likely left in the middle of his argumentation. Until this moment we have not yet read about any subject concerning the quality of the new empire and about the existence of the two crowns – spiritual and temporal – and, we do not have a single hint about how he was going to globally introduce his theory.

Therefore, it appears that from Vieira’s original project of seven books we miss five of them. We observe once again, that what was left to us are the books in which he was going to devote to writing about the coming of the new empire and of his main characteristics. However, we do not know where and when Vieira had thought it would more specifically take place, even if he would have had identified those circumstances. Once more, it is necessary to underline, that this book the *História do Futuro*, is an incomplete work.

---

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., 363.

<sup>106</sup>“*We decide when this kingdom of Christ has begun and propose about it one big difficulty*” In Ibid., 366.

2) “*Clavis Prophetarum*” or “*De Regno Christi in Terris Consummato*”

a) *The content and the background of this work*

António Vieira’s major biographer, L. de Azevedo, described the *Clavis Prophetarum* as part of his last period of life, one during which he is normally described as “*beaten*,” but on the other hand, this same period represents his intellectual climax.<sup>107</sup> Curiously, L. de Azevedo also writes that it was during this period that the bases of his work were “*a pura mística e a teologia.*”<sup>108</sup> This poses the question of whether L. de Azevedo was not once more falling into a defective and minimalistic interpretation of Vieira’s work.

Questions aside, L. de Azevedo reaffirms that Vieira reflected on this work over his entire life and, therefore, it should be considered as the corollary of an intellectual life, which consequently obliges the reader to consider it as product written in the Brazilian jungle, at the Inquisitional Court, in Rome, in Lisbon and later once again in Brazil. This interpretation offers us a very large chronological span regarding the creation of this work. However, some scholars do not agree with it. For example, Margarida Vieira Mendes, the big strength behind the translation of the Book III of the *Clavis*, affirms that Vieira would have written it during the time of his stay in Rome, i.e., between 1669 and 1675.<sup>109</sup> However, references such as “*Começara a meditar nela havia mais de cinquenta anos,*”<sup>110</sup> takes us back immediately to the early 1650’ of that century as the moment of its beginning. S. Peloso resumes the latter date in his recent book, in an attempt to demonstrate that the book had been started c. 1646.<sup>111</sup> In truth, loose data such as some letters or even

---

<sup>107</sup>The biography of António Vieira as it was written by L. de Azevedo divides the life of the Jesuit into six main periods: the religious, the political, the missionary, the seer, the rebel and the beaten.

<sup>108</sup>“*pure mysticism and theology*” in Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. II, 287.

<sup>109</sup>Margarida Vieira Mendes, “Chave Dos Profetas”: A Edição Em Curso,” in *Vieira Escritor*, ed. Margarida Vieira Mendes, et al. (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1997), 32.

<sup>110</sup>Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, “Apresentação Da *Clavis Prophetarum*: Transmissão Manuscrita, Estrutura E Aspectos Do Pensamento Do Padre António Vieira,” *Oceanos* 30-31 (1997): 157.

<sup>111</sup>Peloso, *Antonio Vieira E L'impero Universale: La Clavis Prophetarum E I Documenti Inquisitoriali*, 57 et ff.

references in Vieira’s Defense before the Inquisition correspond to the basis of our knowledge concerning the *Clavis Prophetarum* and its writing. Therefore, today we still do not know with exactitude what was the structure that Vieira had in mind when he started the book, nor can we say that it was written during a determined set of years. What we can and will say is that there is no apparent doubt regarding the fact that Vieira thought about this book and its content for several years, if not even decades.

From Vieira’s words, we can assume that he was considering a set of four books, but again, the evidence is misleading and we are far from reaching absolute knowledge about this. F. Bonucci, Vieira’s secretary, appears to agree about the existence of four books. However, how are we to explain that the same Bonucci, when sending a copy to Rome in 1699, had only sent the three volumes that nowadays comprise the Ms. *Casanatense 706*? Could it be because Bonucci was holding the work of Vieira’s last months of life, as S. Peloso appears to assume?<sup>112</sup> Of this set sent to Rome, the first book is divided in different chapters, the second only contains three identified chapters and the last does not contain chapters.

The division of the *Clavis* into three books appears more similar with the copy that was given to F. Casnedi<sup>113</sup> to be examined while answering the Roman Inquisition remarks, through order of the General Inquisitor, the Cardinal D. Nuno da Cunha.<sup>114</sup> Could this difference in number be explained by the disorganized way in which the manuscript arrived to Lisbon?<sup>115</sup> However, how are we supposed to interpret the words of Bonucci, who was Vieira’s secretary and even was in charge of finishing the book? One thing appears certain: since we do not currently have the original exemplar written by Vieira’s hand (and by his secretary), it is impossible to draw any sort of conclusions regarding this particular issue.

Father Casnedi writes in his counter-evaluation that Vieira’s treatise consisted of three books, “*como o declara o seu mesmo Author no principio da sua obra.*”<sup>116</sup> Book I,

---

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., chapt. VI, passim.

<sup>113</sup>For a more complete description of the work of Carlo Casnedi, and how he attempted to answer the notes made by the Roman Inquisitors, see Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, “Censuras Da *Clavis Prophetarum* Do Padre António Vieira,” in *Sub Luce Florentis Calami: Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz Y Díaz*, ed. Manuela Domínguez García (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2002).

<sup>114</sup>For all the references to the summary done by F. António Casnedi, S. J., as ordered by the General Inquisitor, see what is published in the appendix of Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. I, 375-84.

<sup>115</sup> Espírito Santo, “Apresentação Da *Clavis Prophetarum*: Transmissão Manuscrita, Estrutura E Aspectos Do Pensamento Do Padre António Vieira,” 159-60.

<sup>116</sup>“*as the Author says at the beginning of his work*” In Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. II, 375.

was devoted to the nature and quality of the Kingdom of God consummated on earth; Book II, was dedicated to the earthly consummation; and Book III was about the time when these events should take place and for how long they would last. Casnedi denies any possibility of moral imperfection in this book. While underlining the physical imperfection of the manuscript he even mentions that it was not clear whether they had been caused by the author, who did not finish his work, as “*certificação algumas pessoas que viverão nos últimos mezes antes da sua morte e nos primeiros dias depois;*”<sup>117</sup> or if it had been caused by the copying process. Another question that appears important, is how was it possible that the people close to Vieira had made such an affirmation, when Vieira’s own secretary speaks of “four” books? Who were these other people? Were they only the ones who had closed the trunk that contained Vieira’s writings or had more people had access to the Jesuit’s work? Once again, we are faced with questions for which it is impossible to obtain an exact answer, because even most scholars do not agree about this point.

Casnedi, worried about the imperfection and the lack of organization of the manuscript that he had before him, or so he thought, and charged with the task of producing a report to the Portuguese Inquisition, devoted his time to its organization. He says to us that after reading it three or four times, he still had problems and that “*Ora ainda se possuem facilmente pôr em ordem os primeiros quadernos, por não só os capítulos como os parágrafos estão distintamente numerados, comtudo, não se pode fazer o mesmo aos outros quadernos pertencentes ao 2º e 3º livro.*”<sup>118</sup>

Concerning Book I, Casnedi describes it as perfect and containing eleven booklets divided into twelve chapters. Casnedi describes it with the following words: “*he admirável, erudito e rasoavel*” – *is admirable, savant and reasonable*.<sup>119</sup> This first book is the section where the main subject regarded the nature and the quality of the Kingdom, which existed since before the world, i.e., before Creation had taken place, and would have been announced by the Psalms and the Prophets and confirmed by the New Testament.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, Vieira had demonstrated how the kingdom of Christ was not different from

---

<sup>117</sup> “*has guaranteed by some people that lived the last months before his death and the first days after it*” In *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> “*although it was easy to organize the first booklets, because not only the chapters but also the paragraphs are clearly numbered, yet the same cannot be done with the booklets that belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> books.*” In *Ibid.*, vol. II, 376.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, 378.

<sup>120</sup> Similar to the concept of the two cities of Augustine.

earth or from heaven, and that it would take place after the four empires described in Daniel disappeared. This kingdom would be at the same time spiritual, through the priestly dignity, and temporal, because it had dominion and absolute rights over all the remaining earthly kingdoms. Christ would have started reigning at the moment of his death in the Cross, through the hypostatic union, but in reality, since he was the Son of God, he had reigned by inheritance since the moment He was conceived. However, Casnedi says that Vieira denies that Christ would reign on earth when he wrote the following words: “*porque seria coisa muito indecente que Christo S. N. deixasse o céu para reinar na terra com abundancia de bens temporaes, e que nem he necessário que para fazer guerra ao Antichristo e destruí-lo que Elle desça á terra a reinar e pelejar com elle.*”<sup>121</sup>

Books II and III are the more problematic ones according to Casnedi. Book II deals with the consummation of the kingdom on earth and is described as imperfect and incomplete. Casnedi says that it only contains the first chapter, and that of the set of seven booklets the second was lost. Therefore, Casnedi chooses to describe it in terms of thematic instead of following the sequence of the chapters, as he had done with the previous book. In order to prove that the kingdom of Christ would take place on earth, Casnedi explains that Vieira had described that the Kingdom encompasses the community of the faithful as well as every man that does not belong to it. Consequently, Vieira introduces his reader to an interpretation of the kingdom on earth that already had a universal tone, besides problematic because it could induce in error the faithful, according to the Roman Inquisition.

From this moment onwards, Casnedi begins describing the treatises that he assumes had been exposed by Vieira. The first is entitled: “*Tratado da santidade do ultimo estado da Igreja, e se todos os homens neste tempo hão-de ser justos e se hão-de salvar,*”<sup>122</sup> and regards what is possible to anticipate concerning the issue of original sin. About this, Vieira would have written that in a kingdom as perfect as this one, there would be no sin since all the faithful had converted and those who did not had been sentenced to death. Therefore, in a reign of Grace, all could be considered rightness, and would, consequently, be saved. This

---

<sup>121</sup> “because it would be outrageous that Christ, Our Lord, departed from heaven to reign on earth with abundance of temporal goods, not necessary to make the war against the Antichrist and destroy it, that he comes down to earth to reign and combat it.” In Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol. II, 378.

<sup>122</sup> “Treatise of the sanctity of the last stage of the Church, and if all the men of this time will be righteous and will be saved” In *Ibid.*, vol II, 380.

last affirmation is Casnedi’s own conjecture, because since the book was not complete it was impossible to know with certainty which arguments were used by Vieira. In the “*Tratado da paz do Messias*” – *Treatise about the peace of the Messiah*, Casnedi mentions the doubt about whether all the messianic prophecies had been already fulfilled. For that, he recalls the existence of war in his time, and that complete peace would only be achieved during the last stage of the Church. The ““*Tratado da prégação universal do Evangelho, ultimo estado da Igreja e consummação do Reino de Christo Senhor Nosso*,”<sup>123</sup> contains ten booklets which are not organized in any sort of subchapters. Here, says Casnedi, Vieira explains how the Gospel has always been spread to the limits of the world, demonstrating that the knowledge of the Gospel concerns each epoch’s geographical limitations. This was the same as saying that the Apostles could not have taken the Gospel to places that were only found by the Portuguese and the Spaniards during the period of Discoveries, which only took place many centuries after their lifetime. At the same time, says Casnedi, Vieira discourses about whether those to whom the Gospel had not been preached, and who consequently do not believe in it, both can or cannot be condemned by their disbelief. At this moment of his exposition, Vieira introduces the concepts of “philosophical sin” in opposition to the “theological sin.”<sup>124</sup> About this issue, he says yet that those barbarians that have committed the “philosophical sin” should not be submitted to eternal punishment because they ignore God and consequently, cannot offend Him. The punishment to impose to these barbarians should therefore be temporal. Nevertheless, during the last times, conversion would be universal, which is the contrary to what was normally accepted.<sup>125</sup>

The partial edition of the *Clavis* by H. Cidade is a little more complete than the one used by L. de Azevedo, and was not even cited by the Casnedi’s translator from Bahia. In this section, we have a reflection about the meaning of the sacrifices previewed in the Ancient Law and how Ezekiel would have wanted to explain that they would be restored in the future. Making a distinction between the material sacrifices forbidden by God and, the

---

<sup>123</sup>“*Treatise about the universal preaching of Gospel, last stage of the Church and the consummation of the kingdom of Christ Our Lord*”

<sup>124</sup>Pope Alexander VII condemned the doctrine that supported the division between philosophical and theological sin in 1690. However, “philosophical sin” can be explained as a morally bad act that violates the natural order of reason, while “theological sin” presupposes a violation of Divine law. Here, Vieira uses this terminology to emphasize how the Brazilian Indians were inculpably ignorant of God, by opposition to all other human beings who had received some knowledge about God.

<sup>125</sup>Here Casnedi mentions the theories exposed by F. Francisco Suarez regarding the universal conversion, and which are the opposite of those of Vieira.

“demonstratives,” i.e., those full of moral meaning, Casnedi argues that Vieira wrote that “*Consequentemente, com toda a probabilidade se pode afirmar que, no tempo de Ezequiel, haverá os sacrifícios materiais significativos do sacrifício moral que Deus ordena.*”<sup>126</sup> This offers us a clear understanding about Vieira’s thinking regarding this subject and how he thought possible to conjugate the two Laws.

Yet another treatise contained in L. de Azevedo’s edition is the *Tratado sobre se é lícito perscrutar os tempos das coisas futuras e delas assentar alguma coisa*,<sup>127</sup> which Casnedi introduces as not unique nor related with Book III “*porque apresenta o título do I Capítulo.*”<sup>128</sup> However, since the other two books had a first chapter, Casnedi concedes that this one may belong to Book III, as to provide it with a first chapter similar to what happened in the previous two books.

Hernâni Cidade’s edition continues to analyze Book III, where Casnedi said that “*Toda a dificuldade consiste em saber se os tratados “Da Conversão do Mundo”, “Da paz do Messias”, “Do templo de Ezequiel”, pertencem ao Livro III.*”<sup>129</sup> The main argument used by Casnedi refers to the fact that Vieira used the expression “*cumprirá demonstrar*”- *is still to be proved* and not “*está demonstrado*”- *is proved*, which should indicate that these arguments were to be added at a later moment, because they were not yet completely proved. However, this is also a problem collocated by the modern editors of the *Clavis Prophetarum*, who have decided to not include this section in Book III.

Father Casnedi mentions also the famous section of the *Clavis* where Vieira digresses about the conversion of the Jews and of the resuming of the sacrifices of the Ancient Law. However, L. de Azevedo says in a footnote, that the manuscript he is using also misses that particular section, where the Temple of Ezekiel was mentioned.<sup>130</sup> Vieira’s argument regards the need to resume the Ancient Law for the fulfillment of the vision of Ezekiel. Therefore, the sacrifices that had once been established by God, which explained why the Jews could not be called idolaters, should be resumed for the benefit of the

---

<sup>126</sup>“*Consequently, we can affirm with all probability that, at the time of Ezekiel, there would be the material sacrifices meaningful of the moral sacrifices commanded by God*” In Vieira, *Obras Escolhidas*, vol. 9, 219-20.

<sup>127</sup>“*Treatise about whether or not it is lawful to scan the time of the future things and decide upon them anything*”

<sup>128</sup>“*because it had the title of Book I*”Vieira, *Obras Escolhidas*, vol. 9, 221.

<sup>129</sup>“*all the difficulties reside in knowing if the treatises ‘About the world’s conversion,’ ‘About the peace of the Messiah,’ ‘About the Temple of Ezekiel,’ belong to Book III*” In *Ibid.*, vol. 9, 222.

<sup>130</sup> Azevedo, *História De António Vieira*, vol II, 384, n. 1.

Universal Church. In fact, if the Church had been the institution that forbade them, then it would be that same Church which would legitimate them once again. However, we are sure that this was certainly a very polemical question both in Rome and in Lisbon.

Taken together, it is apparent that the only part of Vieira’s work that may have posed more problems to Casnedi was the latter, since the remaining parts of the work appeared to him “perfect and in accordance with the laws of the Church.” Nevertheless, all the efforts made by the Portuguese Inquisition to obtain a favorable judgment from the Roman Inquisition and obtain the order to submit this book for printing were in vain. This may explain why this book, although its content is known to several people, is not published and it is difficult to recover from the archives centuries later.

b) *The edited Book III of the ‘Clavis Prophetarum’*

Mutilated or not by the Inquisition, there exist actually several manuscripts holding a copy of the *Clavis Prophetarum* scattered all over the world. In fact, there are known copies in Lisbon, Rome and Mexico, which allow us to consider that Vieira’s work was the object of such curiosity that increased its circulation, although it did not receive the *Imprimatur* stamp that would permit it to be printed and published after leaving the Roman Inquisition headquarters. It appears more likely that in a very peculiar way, this book was read but not mentioned.

Presently, only part of this work is published. We are speaking of Book III, edited in 2000 by the Portuguese National Library, mostly due to the commitment of Margarida Vieira Mendes, initially, and of Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, later. These scholars led a vast team able to complete a critical and bilingual edition. Besides organizing Vieira’s loose booklets and comparing the different known manuscripts, these scholars have as well translated this book from Latin into Portuguese. According to the authors, their option of starting with the last volume is due:

*“Por conselho de Margarida Vieira Mendes, esta edição inicia-se pelo último livro, o terceiro. Dois motivos, tanto quanto me lembro das conversas que tivemos sobre o assunto a levaram a esta opção. Em primeiro lugar, porque no*

*livro terceiro se fala mais directamente da Pregação Universal do Reino de Cristo, (...) O segundo motivo foi que, tratando-se do livro cujos materiais não foram revistos pelo Autor, nele se concentram todos os problemas de edição e fixação do texto.”<sup>131</sup>*

Fifteen manuscripts were used in the edition of Book III and of those, fourteen of them share a common structure with the one chosen for the edition of 2000 and for the forthcoming volumes. This affirmation immediately tells us that in fourteen manuscripts, Book I had 12 chapters, Book II had 14 chapters and Book III had nine chapters. Besides, chapters 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of Book II may also be read instead at the end of Book III. This hypothesis is the one favored by those who still think that Vieira did really write a work divided into four books.

Therefore, what we have today in the form of a clean and depurated version, the critical edition of Book III, refers to the section where Vieira refers to the subject of the kingdom of God consummated on earth, and how that process was supposed to take place. As previously mentioned, the modern editors did not include in this section the famous treatise about the Temple of Ezekiel, where Vieira discusses the possibility of resuming the Jewish sacrifices in the Temple and how the Jews would be integrated before the Last Judgment in what appears to be an effort to reach a form of universal faith.

Within these nine chapters that compose this book, António Vieira discoursed about the earthly consummation of the kingdom of Christ, answering to a series of questions that may have been regarded as problematic by the Inquisition and by his peers.

The first problem that Vieira faces concerns the question about how licit it was to wonder about the future, especially given Christ’s sentence reproduced in Acts 1:7, where we read that *“It is not for you to know the times or periods that the Father has set by his own authority.”* According to Vieira, this would have determined the path of several of the most important characters in the history of the Church, such as Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Augustine. In fact, these authors underlined that only God could know the future, which consequently, provided a distinction between God’s power and that of Christ. Besides,

---

<sup>131</sup> *“Following the advice of Margarida Vieira Mendes, this edition starts with the last book, the third. Two reasons, as much as I can remember from the conversations we had about the subject it lead to this option. First, because in the third book, the Universal Preaching of the Kingdom of Christ is directly addressed, (...) The second reason was that, being this the book whose material was not reviewed by the Author, it concentrates in it all the problems concerning edition and text fixation.”* In Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, XIX.

Vieira recalls that not even the sacred texts could verify beyond doubt all the forecast events, which allows their authority to be questioned. At the same time, Vieira writes that if such important names<sup>132</sup> were not able to find a reliable interpretation of the information provided by the sacred texts, not even deciding about the age of the world, then, how would they possibly know when those same events would take place? Moreover, he says, most of the temporal references found in the Bible are not to be taken literally,<sup>133</sup> which in a last analysis represents an *a priori* reason that forbade finding any real dates within the biblical texts.

Nevertheless, and although Vieira affirms all of this, he has a different opinion regarding the possibility of knowing in advance the future, which he explains through the existing distinction between revealed events and revelation in itself, i.e., between the thing and its essence. Therefore, he warns that not always either the revelation of the event or its timing are clear in the message, or that sometimes part of the information is not given. Consequently, it was impossible to determine with precision when the time mentioned in those revelations is supposed to occur, or even the complete meaning of what had been revealed to the seer. Nonetheless, Vieira underlines that when time and event are revealed it is legitimate to search the knowledge regarding the actual date in which those same events would take place, since the revelation was precise. This could be done according to Vieira, in texts such as Daniel and Revelation, where days could mean years, as already mentioned by Augustine and Theodoret of Cyrillus. At the same time, when time was not revealed and could not be understood except through the interpretation of signs and circumstances, that should also be analyzed and an attempt to establish the moment of the predicted events should be pursued. Vieira, as usual, goes further beyond and writes:

*“(…) sed diserte pronuntiatur a Deo sciri non posse, adhuc licet de eodem tempore conjicere ac disputare et quod probabile videatur, non quidem praecise ac definite sed indeterminate asserere.”*<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup>As an example, Vieira cites names such as Josephus, Philo, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and Beda among others. (*cf.* *Ibid.*, 17.).

<sup>133</sup>*cf.* the ongoing discussion about this subject of the symbology of time in Yarbrow Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism.*, where the author discusses at length the meaning and value of each word, and its eventual significance.

<sup>134</sup>“(…) when a future event is revealed and not only the time is omitted, but yet God proclaims loudly that it is not possible to know it, even though it is acceptable, concerning that same time, conjecture, dispute and affirm what appears to be probably, not with precision and in a definite way, but in an indeterminate fashion.” In Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, 50.

This signifies that Vieira did not think it was problematic to attempt to define the time of a given event, even in the absence of information that would allow him to do it accurately. Therefore, this was what he called an “undetermined” knowledge, in opposition to “determined” knowledge regarding events and/or their dates. Moreover, Vieira mentions that it was Christ who wanted Humankind to search for the date of the end of the world, at least to determine whether it was close or not to the present. This appears a controversial affirmation unless we remember the existence of several signs concerning the end of time with the purpose of reminding us how the end was close and that the faithful should get ready. Clear examples of this can be found, once again, in Daniel and Revelation. Although with the purpose of justifying his affirmations, Vieira cites the names of those such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, the Cardinal of Cuse, Pico della Mirandola and Cornelius, who in the past followed similar paths to the one that Vieira was about to begin.<sup>135</sup> In this fashion, ancient authorities and their works became Vieira’s models.

Yet regarding the issue of whether it was legitimate to question the future, Vieira reminds his readers that there is not a single passage in the Bible where it is clearly stated that it is forbidden to do such thing. On the contrary, he says, there are warnings on how people should be aware of the signs of the times so to be ready in the right moment. In addition, Vieira recalls the names of several commentators who had noticed that the world was aging, i.e., about to collapse. Besides, these signs, in which the decadence of the world and of the Church are reflected, can also be understood as signs of the presence of the Antichrist, as Bernard of Clairvaux said. However, Vieira’s probably most important argument is expressed when he says: “(...) *et future quasi e vicino intueri vel clarius vel certe minus obscure possumus, sufragante et facem praeferente tempore, hoc est, optimo prophetiarum interprete.*”<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>135</sup>Each time Vieira uses *authorities*, we can question whether he does so only with the purpose of showing how others have already used the same arguments or if he really is attempting to protect himself from an eventual condemnation by the Inquisition.

<sup>136</sup>“(…) *quanto mais próximos estamos do fim e podemos observar o futuro mais de perto, mais claramente ou menos obscuramente; o próprio tempo nos ajuda indo adiante de archote em punho, ele que é o melhor intérprete das profecias.*” In Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, 66.

The value of any knowledge relating to the future is arguable. However, whenever that same knowledge becomes necessary, humankind’s quest is automatically validated even when concerning divine secrets. Therefore, the path that Vieira’s suggests to be followed is contrary to the one normally followed, i.e., he chases a line of explanation based on an interpretation of the present towards the future, and not the common interpretation of the present based in the past. This interpretational shift was necessary according to Vieira to define with precision the time of the kingdom of Christ and of the universal conversion to Christianity. Contrary to the Apostles who had received, at least partially, the knowledge about the end of time when they received the Holy Spirit, those who followed them had all the legitimacy to question themselves about this subject, given its importance.<sup>137</sup> Consequently, Vieira builds a harmonized theory that allows him to justify the quest about the time of the final events without going against any sort of teaching or orthodoxy of the Church, namely the teachings of Augustine.

In chapter III, Vieira discourses about the universal preaching of the Gospel and about the time that would mediate between that event and the time of the consummation on earth of the kingdom of Christ.

Assuming that the Apostles had been sent to preach the Gospel to the entire world, Vieira asks with his customary acuteness of spirit: “(...) *quanta id extensione? Dubium quali necessitate? Dubium quibus mediis? Dubium per quae instrumenta? Dubium quod demum effectu, et fructu operis?*”<sup>138</sup> Vieira was getting ready to demonstrate how evangelization was intimately connected with the knowledge of the size of the world and of the resources available to the preachers to reach such goals in those lost corners of the world. Based on this distinction, Vieira demonstrates the key-role of the Portuguese and of the missionaries, taken on board of the Discoveries ships. This, i.e., the definition of the limits of the known world with which Vieira begins his exposition was, in the words of the author, the only possible way to solve the problem concerning how incorrect was the ancient common knowledge regarding the Apostles’ universal preaching of the Gospel. In fact, this piece of information was such a mistake that several authors mentioned that faith had not reached either the Barbarians in the borders of the Roman Empire, either those at

---

<sup>137</sup> See the Apostles’ example, Ibid., 84-88.

<sup>138</sup> “(...) *em que extensão? em virtude de que necessidade? por que meios? com que instrumentos? finalmente, com que efeito e resultado da acção?*” in Ibid., 94.

the center of the Empire during the first centuries. In the latter case, they mention that, after Constantine’s search for his son’s atonement from death in all sects, religions, and creeds he was finally illuminated by the Christian faith. Thus, he opened the doors of the Empire for Christianity. Only as the official religion of the Empire did Christianity reach many peoples, which in a certain measure proves how it was impossible to accept that Universal Evangelization was the work of the Apostles in the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

The conquest of foreign people through faith happened little by little and would have lasted for several centuries, says Vieira. The most important event of this evangelization happened with the beginning of the maritime discoveries led by the Portuguese. Only in that way could the missionaries enter territories before denied to them. The world was becoming smaller while the knowledge of it increased: first the African coast, then the Far East, and finally the American continent. However, it was on the American continent that the surprise shown by indigenous people in face of the westerners permits us to assume that they had never before received either the resources or the teaching of the Gospel. We may also assume that this is a dear question to Vieira, who spent several years of his life sailing the Amazon River while maintaining contact with some of the tribes not yet known. During these trips, he would have been confronted with the fact that their uses and customs were not compatible with any sort of previous knowledge of God, especially because of some forms of violence and of anthropophagic uses.

Another subject that Vieira deals with in this chapter concerns the Lost Tribes of Israel, whose location was unknown. Besides, as he says, these peoples would have not as well any type of knowledge regarding Christ, although they would be found before the end, which could only take place when the entire world was known, something that was not yet a reality at the time Vieira was writing, though progresses was being made.

Vieira resumes his arguments about this theme with the following sentence: “*Nemo hodie est in tota Ecclesia, qui voce, vel scribendo affirmare vereatur, Evangelium praedicatum esse, vel praedicari in universo mundo, et nemo etiam, qui id miretur, aut negare audeat (...)*,”<sup>139</sup> to explain that undergoing evangelization was still a reality of his

---

<sup>139</sup> “*Hoje não há ninguém, em toda a Igreja, que, falando ou escrevendo, tema afirmar que o Evangelho foi pregado ou está a ser pregado em todo o mundo, e ninguém, ainda, que se espante com isso, ou ouse negá-lo (...)*” in *Ibid.*, 140.

own time and accepted as such by his peers. However, that does not mean that the Apostles would have not done more in ten years than all the preachers of the following centuries would have done together, says Vieira in a critical tone.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, in face of so many difficulties, it is permissible to say that the conditions met by the first were not comparable to those met by the later. This would be true especially by those, departing from their countries towards the discovered lands, who continuously felt the weight of such a task in the form of diseases or of the lack of previous knowledge regarding these places. Besides, there were all the problems with the populations they met and with whom they had serious communication problems. Vieira’s sentence that “*Denique nos non ubique praedicamus, sed ubi aditus non occluditur,*”<sup>141</sup> is a good example of how difficult was the work of the missionaries of his time and in what conditions they had to work. Therefore, it was impossible to compare their effort with that of the Apostles, to whom the Holy Spirit would have protected. The subject concerning the preaching of the Gospel should not be under dispute, because the motifs of the reason are higher than any eventual doubt, says Vieira.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, the preaching of the Gospel had as its main purpose the consummation of the kingdom of Christ on earth, and that explains why we can find references regarding this subject in the prophetic books.<sup>143</sup>

The next point in Vieira’s argumentation deals with the concept of sin, especially when connected with the knowledge of God. Contrary to what Jerome and Ambrose thought, Vieira claims it does not appear possible to admit that all human beings knew God. Therefore, it is impossible to accuse those peoples of any sort of idolatry. To stress the arguments used, Vieira warns his reader that it is better not to make any quick judgments. Consequently, the ignorance of those people who had not yet listened to the Gospel, excuses them from sin. This is why he writes about this subject that,

*“Vnde concluditur, Barbaros illos in sylvis nutritos, qui Evangelium non audierunt aut ex alio fonte ab innata Dei ignorantia purgati non fuerunt, sicut immunes sunt ab omni culpa mortali, ita ab omni immortalis poena, hoc est aeternum duratura, liberos esse, neque ulla alia ratione obnoxios.”*<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>141</sup> “*Nós não pregamos em toda a parte, mas onde não nos é vedada a entrada*” Ibid., 154.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 224.

<sup>143</sup> cf. Ibid., 230-42.

<sup>144</sup> “*Donde se conclui que os bárbaros criados nas selvas, os quais não ouviram o Evangelho ou por outra fonte não foram purificados da ignorância inata de Deus, assim como estão imunes de toda a culpa mortal,*

Vieira will use this to support his theory concerning the possibility of existence among the “*Barbaros*” of an invincible ignorance of God, contradicting consequently what had been said before by Suárez and Granado. Vieira uses his own opinion regarding the rusticity of the intelligence of these peoples and of their corrupt customs. This was confirmed, for example, in works such as that of Jose Acosta, entitled “*Procuranda Indorum salute*,” in which the author purported to prove that the Indians were of sordid nature, destitute of innocence, and therefore lived in an environment of continuous corruption where there was no space for reasoning. It would be that “*(...) ignorantiam ipsam non videat ineptitudinem suam ad Dei cognitionem per se ascendendi aperte confitentem?*”<sup>145</sup> that confirmed his opinion, since the emphasis had to be put under the lack of knowledge of God instead of under His denial. Vieira continues by saying that the savages of that corner of the world could not deny what they did not know, which becomes Vieira’s main argument concerning the nonexistence of natural sin among them. Besides, this sentence can also be used to distinguish between these peoples, as well as those individuals, who had chosen the path of heresy since they had previous knowledge of God. The first, unlike the latter, had no judgment ability and therefore, could not be convicted by that.

In chapter V, Vieira questions whether God provided all human beings with the resources needed for salvation, namely baptism. How was baptism possible in the Amazonian jungle, where no one seemed to know about its existence, asks Vieira? The question is cunning, even if we recall that Vieira had already admitted that the American continent had received evangelization twice before: first through the apostle Thomas who had been expelled after forbidding polygamy, and later by Portuguese and Spanish missionaries. However, this indicates a time gap of c. 1400 years between the two attempts of evangelization, which allows Vieira to question himself about what happened during that time. How is it possible that God had “*(...) ut Deum quidem illis providisse crederem, sed*

---

*assim também estão isentos de toda a pena imortal, isto é, que há-de durar eternamente, e não são culpados por qualquer outro motivo*”Ibid., 326.

<sup>145</sup>“*(...) ignorância a confessar abertamente a sua capacidade de ascender ao conhecimento de Deus pelos seus próprios meios*”Ibid., 352-54.

*providisse non providendo*,”<sup>146</sup> asks him? According to Vieira’s own reading, this represented, in fact, an act of mercy of God, who decided that those savages were to live in a state of natural ignorance, and would only be punished with half of the suffering of the remaining humankind.

With this type of inquiry in mind, Vieira begins chapter VI searching for the way in which the Gospel should be more efficiently preached so that universal evangelization would finally be attained as previewed and requested. For universal evangelization to happen it was necessary to take into account the power of the word and of the grace of performing miracles, with which God would have provided the Apostles, besides receiving the Holy Spirit. In chapter VII, § 2, Vieira begins listing the possible chosen ones by God to perform such universal evangelization. The first chosen one would certainly be the *Pastor Angelicus*,<sup>147</sup> i.e., the Pope who would have twelve apostles at his disposal, similarly to what Christ had. His main task would be the Church reformation, in such a way that the Church would regain its original splendor. This is also the way used by Vieira to introduce his readers to his theorization regarding the future kingdom of Christ consummated on earth and the time of the Antichrist. The latter would be confronted by the Pope and by the temporal princes. In addition, Vieira goes on citing Cornelius à Lapide on how the temporal prince would play a fundamental role:

*“Sciunt ergo Reges (inquit Alapide) a se pendere fidem, pietatem et sanctitatem totius Regni, atque in sua manu esse totum Regnum sanctum efficere, Ecclesiae subdere et ad salutem aeternam perducere: hoc ergo facere ne negligent, si amant suam et suorum salutem; hanc enim ab illis repositet Deus in magno illo decretorio mundi die.”*<sup>148</sup>

Vieira was explicitly underlining the importance of the temporal power for the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth, as well as demonstrating that this was how it had been forecast by the prophecies. If this would not happen, then God would question and punish those temporal princes who did not follow his orders. Therefore, Vieira joins

---

<sup>146</sup>“ (...) providenciou, mas providenciou não providenciando”Ibid., 462.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 566.

<sup>148</sup>“Saibam pois os reis, (...), que de si depende a fé, a piedade e a santidade de todo o reino, e que na sua mão está o tornar santo todo o reino, sujeitá-lo à Igreja e conduzi-lo à eterna salvação. Não sejam pois negligentes em pô-lo em prática, se amam a sua salvação e a dos seus. No grande dia do Juízo Final do mundo, Deus há-de pedir-lhes contas dela”Ibid., 588-90.

temporal and spiritual powers under an unbreakable alliance, whose main purpose is the world’s subjection to Christianity and later, obtaining eternal salvation.

In chapter VIII, Vieira writes regarding the possibility of ever being able to consider the preaching of the Gospel to be universal. He straightforwardly affirms that he follows those who say yes, although he knows that that is against the opinion of Suárez. According to the latter, temples/churches should be built everywhere in the world, a detail that for Vieira means more problems and conflicts than evangelization, because of the savages’ fear of the things with which they were not familiar with.

In §3, Vieira writes that “(...) *non tamen omnes universim homines esse credituros,*”<sup>149</sup> which brings immediately to mind his theories concerning the Jews and the need of mutual concessions. To reinforce even more this affirmation of his, Vieira says that it was not necessary that all men believed, because there was nothing in the sacred texts that said that they would have to convert within the time of the Church. Therefore, Vieira does not deny the need of conversion, although he says that it is not a necessary feature to take place during the time of the Church, i.e., it could take place *a posteriori*: “(...) *non tamen in omni tempore et statu Ecclesiae, ut in praesenti experimentur, sed in alio feliciori ac perfectiori absque dubio quandoque futuro.*”<sup>150</sup> Adding this sentence to the one in Daniel where it is mentioned that only the chosen ones would be saved, Vieira has a strong argument that allows him to explain how the Jews would be part of the universal and final conversion. This game between the present time and the one that would come gave him what he needed to argue that the end was about to happen, although it was not yet possible to speak about the existence of a universal evangelization.

Solved the question regarding the universal evangelization, Vieira turns in chapter IX to the subject concerning the times of conversion. In a certain measure, it appears clear to Vieira that all the authors who anticipated him agreed that universal conversion would take place at the end of time, i.e., after the defeat of the Antichrist and of the conversion of the Jews and of the gentiles. Therefore, he says, a discussion regarding the “times” in which these events would take place in the plural is justifiable. Furthermore, Vieira mentions two universal conversions: a first one to take place before the time of the Antichrist and

---

<sup>149</sup>“(…) *nem todos os homens na sua totalidade hão-de crer*”Ibid., 618.

<sup>150</sup>“(…) *não porém em todo o tempo e estado da Igreja, como o que no presente vivemos, mas num outro mais feliz e mais perfeito, que um dia sem dúvida há-de vir*”Ibid., 620.

achieved by the Apostles and their successors; and a second achieved by Enoch and Elijah. However, how is he to explain the existence of two conversion moments, when the Antichrist is supposed to appear exclusively once and by opposition to Christians? After all, the texts mentioned an antichrist and not any other characters that could oppose to Jews, Protestants, Calvinists, Muslims, etc. Hence, Vieira justifies this concern about the impossibility of the existence of any other religious groups after the coming of the Antichrist.<sup>151</sup>

Consequently, the second conversion would not be a conversion, in the strict sense of the word, but a way of surrender to faith by those who would have been seduced by the Antichrist, as mentioned by Aquinas. Vieira once more goes further and says that the best definition for Elijah’s conversion is “*ultimam*,”<sup>152</sup> since the two were different in its essence. The first conversion would have begun with Christ, while the last with the Antichrist; the first started with the law of the Grace of the Apostles. While the last with the law of Nature with Enoch and the written law of Elijah. While the twelve apostles established the first, two hermits established the second. While the first lasts for more than 1600-years, the second will only last for 1260 days; during the first, the Apostles preach happiness and joy, during the second Enoch and Elijah preach penitence. The first was created to teach how to convert all of those who had not yet believed, and the last was established so that Christ and the Church could be reconciled. The first fought against Nero through Peter and Paul, while the second will fight the Antichrist. After all the tempests, the first will grow peacefully, while the last will suffer its time events and will be persecuted. The first will see its consummation in a single sheepfold and with only one shepherd, i.e., in a kingdom of God consummated on earth, while the last will finish with the destruction of the world, after the 45-days interval that anticipates the Last Judgment.

With this set of possible distinctions between the two conversions, Vieira begins to show how the sheepfold that was supposed to contain all the sheep was not yet built in his own time, and was part of the future. In addition, Vieira affirms that the Hebrew people, who had refused the word of Christ and the union with the gentiles, could wait and convert before the end of the world. This sheepfold, as described by Vieira, is a spiritual

---

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 656.

<sup>152</sup> “*ultima*” Ibid., 664.

organization of sheep and not a physical place where it would be possible to find refuge. Therefore, the sheep are the substance and the Apostles, later the missionaries and the Church, are the tools with which the sheepfold would be built. A little further in the text, Vieira describes how the Jews before converting and joining the sheepfold, would first observe the gentiles doing that. This, according to Vieira, demonstrates the order in which the conversion would take place: first the gentiles, then the Jews.<sup>153</sup> In a word, Israel would only be saved after all the other peoples had been saved.

Vieira describes a time in the future without ever being precise about it in chronological terms, but let us foresee that the universal conversion does not hold a linear interpretation, since it will also take place in another time, at a different level. In a certain measure, the God who created everything would end up being praised by all his creatures, even after Christ caused the Apostles to shift the evangelization effort towards the gentiles instead of in the direction of the Jews, the first elected nation.

Book III ends without Vieira completely exposing his theories regarding the time of the end of the world, which is slightly frustrating for the reader. However, it allows us to believe that his opinion about these subjects does not fully agree with the opinion of the Church's hierarchy, especially concerning the universal conversion and the way through which the Jews would join Christ's sheepfold at the end of time.

---

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 699.

### 3) *The ‘Fifth Empire’*

As we have already observed from the analysis of Vieira’s three main works, his purpose was the description of a *Fifth Empire* as an earthly kingdom of Christ. This simple assumption appears to be one of Vieira’s novelties regarding the interpretation of this concept. In fact, most of the previous commentators had only said how the kingdom of God would be at hand and how it should be considered as a heavenly empire, which appears to represent an opposite interpretation of the concept in relation to that of Vieira.

Following Augustine, it was usual to accept that the kingdom of God already existed on earth through the Church and, therefore, the Millennium had already begun. In a certain measure, although it was still possible to achieve a higher level of perfection, the path to accomplish the kingdom of God had already been initiated. There was no need for any ruptures or that Christ would necessarily have to come back to earth once more for this kingdom to take place. The Church was therefore a representation of the kingdom of Christ on earth, which is a reference to Augustine’s earthly city where this presence already existed.

However, there were, over the centuries some contradictory movements, as for example in the case of Joachim of Fiore, who assigns the present to a period still far from the last period before the end. Vieira appears to offer his readers what can be considered a reading that compromises the two views of Augustine and of Fiore. Although not yet fully accomplished, the evangelization initiated by the Portuguese discoveries allowed thinking positively about the possible achievement of a universal evangelization, which was needed before the end of time. Consequently, if universal evangelization was about to be achieved, then the end of time was also at hand. This is certainly one of António Vieira main guiding principles.

One of the principal problems faced currently by historians is the fact that in no passage of Vieira’s works is the *Fifth Empire* completely described. This can be partly explained by the fact that Vieira’s works are corrupted or unfinished. Notwithstanding, what we have today are a series of passages in which Vieira describes particular details concerning the *Fifth Empire*. Therefore, we have to agree with R. Cantel when he says that

it is necessary to search among Vieira’s writings for clues that allow us to build a more complete description of that new empire.<sup>154</sup>

As we can observe, the *Fifth Empire* as described by Vieira appears to have some very particular characteristics, not yet found in any of the texts analyzed beforehand. Vieira assumes that attaining perfection is necessary in order to achieve the kingdom of God and the time of the Last Judgment, which was a common opinion. For that, he always has in mind the narrative of Dan 2:31-36, where the destruction of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream is described and which implied a form of historical progress towards the time of the end. Vieira identifies the destructive stone, commonly regarded as the eschatological kingdom, with the *Fifth Empire*, which was supposed to take place before the Last Judgment. Consequently, this empire represented a stage of perfection more complete than the one represented by the Roman Empire and would, at the same time, encompass the totality of worldly peoples. In truth, Vieira understood the Roman Empire as decadent, which in a certain measure is equivalent to the well-known theory of his time and according to which the world was aging and about to collapse. Therefore, the *Fifth Empire* as Vieira understood and describes it, represents the next step in the history of the world, while it is a natural heir to the Roman Empire.<sup>155</sup>

Moreover, the *Fifth Empire* would be the result of the defeat of the Beast described in Revelation, i.e., the millennial kingdom. However, Vieira never speaks or mentions the possible second release of the beast, its final defeat, and the 45 days that would anticipate the Last Judgment. In a certain measure, Vieira’s *Fifth Empire* represents *per se* a period without ending, in which Christ would reign through the Pope and the Emperor. This is certainly one of the major innovations proposed by Vieira to the apocalyptic scheme introduced in Revelation.

Vieira’s description of the *Fifth Empire* is one of the main elements used in the Inquisition process against him and in which he was considered in error regarding the Church’s orthodoxy. In his defense before the Holy Inquisition, Vieira defines three consecutive periods of time, during which it was possible to observe a historical development towards the achievement of perfection as it was required by God. This appears

---

<sup>154</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 130.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

comparable to the traditional division of history into past, present and future. In that particular passage we read:

*“De maneyra que o Imperio de Christo, abraçando todos os tempos da sua duração, se resume & divide em três estados: o primeyro de seus principios, que he o Antigo, a que podemos chamar “Imperio de Christo inchoado”; o segundo de seus progressos, que he o presente, a que podemos chamar “Imperio de Christo incompleto”. O terceyro de seu ultimo augmento & perfeição, que logo veremos se será futuro, a que podemos chamar “Imperio de Christo completo & consumado”.*”<sup>156</sup>

This small paragraph allows us to verify as well that Vieira understood history as comprising different times, which put together, represented a description of historical progress towards the establishment of the divine kingdom on earth. At the same time, Vieira tells his reader how he considered present to be still a time of imperfection, which needed to be changed before the end of times could be reached. This description and interpretation of the length of time, is very similar to the one introduced by Joachim of Fiore, and which we have already analyzed. However, it is important to underline that this “imperfect time” appears contrary to Augustine theorization regarding the pre-existence of the *City of God* within the scope of the earthly city.

At the same time, there are relevant questions such as the one concerning the need of a second coming of Christ that have to be asked. In accordance with the tradition of the interpretation of the Book of Daniel, it is common to learn about schemes that contemplate a succession of four ages or empires supposed to anticipate the empire of the Antichrist, which was in its turn, supposed to anticipate the kingdom of God. However, on the contrary, it is not that common to find a scheme such as the one introduced by Vieira, in which the *Fifth Empire* appears to be distinct from the period of Grace of the 45-days that would follow the final defeat of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment and the establishment of the divine kingdom. Vieira’s *Fifth Empire* resembles more closely the millennial period, although the author does not appear to contemplate any eventual return of the Antichrist, as we will observe.

---

<sup>156</sup>“*In such a way that the Empire of Christ, comprising all the times of its duration, should be resumed & divided into three stages: the first, its beginnings, which is the Ancient and which we can call the “inflated Empire of Christ”; the second in the progression, which is the present and which we can call the “incomplete Empire of Christ.” The third is its last enlargement & perfection, which we will see if it will be in the future, to which we can call “complete & consummate Empire of Christ”.*” in Vieira, *Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Oficio*, vol. I, 271, §88.

Yet another example of possible questions concerns the characteristics of this empire. Was Vieira considering it as earthly or heavenly, as historical or timeless, or even as an intermediate period? Was it to be spiritual or temporal? It is these and other questions that we will attempt to answer in the following pages.

a) *The nature of the Kingdom*

There is no doubt that for António Vieira the *Fifth Empire* was the kingdom of Christ and of the Christians, as he frequently states in both the *História do Futuro* and in the *Clavis Prophetarum*. What is questionable is whether this kingdom was supposed to be earthly or heavenly and how necessary it is that the second coming of Christ should happen before its realization.

First, and as we have mentioned above, Vieira identified the *Fifth Empire* with the time corresponding to the stone described in Dan 2:35, i.e., with the eschatological kingdom. Using history as his source of information, Vieira recalls that the four empires first described in Daniel were those of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, as most theologians before him had confirmed, and that they no longer existed. The problem, as he poses it, therefore concerns the identification of the *Fifth* or, if we prefer, the identification of the stone. However, as R. Cantel writes, “*la plupart des théologiens voyaient dans ce cinquième empire celui de l’Antéchrist.*”<sup>157</sup> Consequently, it is necessary to indicate immediately that what Vieira is proposing does not follow this interpretation; in fact it appears that this fifth period is more likely to be the Millennium than the kingdom of the Antichrist. One remark however is necessary at this time: Vieira uses for his particular interpretation the multitude of horns with which the last monster is described in the second section of the Book of Daniel as if they were a sign that its power would be divided and spread among many smaller kingdoms. Although this is not entirely new, the novelty here regards Vieira’s identification of this last empire with Christ and not with the Antichrist, as just stated.

---

<sup>157</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 59.

Assuming then, that this *Fifth Empire* represents the stone described in Daniel, and that it is identified by Vieira as the Empire of Christ, several questions have to be raised. Has this empire begun with Christ’s first coming or is it still in future? If it began with Christ’s passage on earth, then because Christ is no longer on earth, it is necessary to assume that this empire is essentially spiritual as the ancient theologians did. However, Vieira asks how is it possible that this empire will not have a double nature, i.e., spiritual and temporal, since it is supposed to “fill the earth” and Christ is no longer on earth in physical terms.

It is in discussing this type of questions that António Vieira dedicates part of the *História do Futuro* and of the *Clavis Prophetarum*. In the first case, this issue can be found among chapter II of Book II, and in *Livro Antepimeiro*. In the case of the *Clavis Prophetarum*, we can find an in-depth description and analysis of this subject in Books I and II. One thing appears clear: in both texts Vieira underlines that the “(...) *stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth,*” (Dan 2:35). Therefore, it would be impossible to consider the existence of a solely spiritual kingdom. If the stone is meant to fill the earth and if it is a representation of the final empire, then there are no doubts that this empire is also temporal, since spirituality would not conform to the creation of a mountain or to filling the earth. As Vieira says, after all empires have fallen, the Empire of Christ would follow on earth.<sup>158</sup> Later, he adds:

*“Esta Pedra e este Império de Cristo, que derrubou os outros Impérios, cresceu? Logo, não é o Império do Céu nem depois de acabado o Mundo; porque o Reino e Império de Cristo, depois de acabado o Mundo, de nenhum modo há-de crescer nem pode crescer no número dos homens, porque, depois de acabado o Mundo e depois do Dia do Juízo, não há-de haver mais homens que vão para o Céu; não há-de crescer nem pode crescer na glória dos bem-aventurados, porque, desde aquele ponto cada um há-de receber por inteiro toda a glória devida a seus merecimentos; e como se acabou o tempo de mais merecer, assim se acabou o tempo de mais alcançar.”*<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup>Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, Book II, chapter II.

<sup>159</sup>“This Stone and this Empire of Christ, which has overthrown the other Empires, has grown? Therefore, it is not the Empire of heaven not after the World is finished; because the Kingdom and Empire of Christ, after the World is finished, in no way can the number of men grow or increase, because, after the World is finished and after the Day of the Judgment, there will not be more men who go to heaven; it should not grow or cannot grow in the glory of the blessed, because since that point each one will receive in full all the glory due for their merits; and because the time of receiving more has finished, so has the time of achievement.” In *Ibid.*, 284.

Therefore, when Vieira refers to the impossibility of this kingdom to grow he is basically telling his readers that this empire definitely represents the heavenly kingdom, the one that is supposed to be reserved exclusively for the chosen ones whose names were inscribed in the Book of Life. We can easily find this reference both in Daniel and in Revelation. Therefore, Vieira was not referring to any sort of subterfuges as he customarily did when he used this analogy. In fact, he was building his theorization around the concept that the Kingdom of Christ on earth was similar to a “living being” and therefore, it would grow and expand, although he does not mention how long this would continue to happen or even when it would end. This opens the doors to questioning how long this *Fifth Empire* would last according to Vieira, although we are never given such information.

When reading Book I of the *Clavis Prophetarum*, it is possible for the reader to verify that Vieira is willing to explain why this kingdom was supposed to be both temporal and spiritual. He uses all the available resources to ground his theory. He examines favorable arguments found in the Old Testament in the New Testament, in the Fathers of the Church and in the writers outside of the Church, while examining other types of arguments justified in reasoning. At the end of chapter 4 he explicitly states that “(...) *sit unica conclusio Regnum Christi est Spirituale, simul et temporale,*”<sup>160</sup> denying consequently the arguments of Juan Maldonado that he had analyzed in this chapter. In order to support his argument, Vieira uses Psalm 88 and Zach 6, and simultaneously cites an exhaustive list of other theologians who had used these prophecies regarding the explanation of the end. Moreover, Vieira did not forget those who did not agree with him. Similar to what he had done in Book II, chapter II of the *História do Futuro*, he spends several pages of the manuscript of the *Clavis* explaining and arguing why their interpretations were not the correct ones, although several of them were some of the most important theologians of the Church.

Vieira is aware that he is entering dangerous waters in which the opinion of the ancient theologians was law and where it was dangerous to propose a different reading. However, he does not appear to have run away and, as always, expounds his arguments quite convincingly. Therefore, the reader has no doubts concerning the fact that the *Fifth Empire* as elaborated by Vieira was a combination of the two types of power: spiritual (the

---

<sup>160</sup> ANTT, *Conselho Geral do Santo Officio*, Ms. 122, f. 92 v, (Book 1, chapter IV).

Church) and temporal (the *Imperium*). Nevertheless, the author is aware that this combination could preclude the eternity that the kingdom of God implicated, since this empire as described by Vieira is similar to the intermediary period described as the Millennium. However, it is not possible to affirm whether Vieira was still considering a second release of the Antichrist, as described in Revelation and its decisive defeat by God.

Vieira uses, once again, the text of Daniel to say that even if by the Empire of Christ and of the Christians should one only understand it to be earthly, then it was necessary to remember that “eternity” was not necessarily “duration without an end,” but should be understood as “continuity and permanence over a long period of time.”<sup>161</sup> This type of sentence made by the author appears confusing in the sense that we cannot explicitly and without doubt say that this *Fifth Empire* is limited in time, as it would be expected.

António Vieira, surely aware of the problems that such affirmation could cause him, quite diplomatically explains that none of the two types of power excludes the other. Moreover, he explains his argument by the fact that the Pope, the Holy Pontiff and Master of the spiritual dominion over the Church, also hold the temporal power over the Ecclesiastical state. Besides, three of the electors of the *Imperium* were three ecclesiastical princes, and that in the Portuguese case it was necessary to recall, for example, how the Archbishop of Braga was also the temporal Master of the region.<sup>162</sup> Nevertheless, Vieira reminds his reader of Christ’s sentence, where He says that “*Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo.*” In a certain measure, this provides Vieira with the liberty of speech needed to explain how the spiritual kingdom of Christ, would also be temporal similarly to the power hold by Christian princes. According to him, Christ’s power was temporal because it included power over the entire humankind and all of the earthly things, equally to what temporal kings hold over their subjects.<sup>163</sup> However, one could not forget the special character of Christ’s kingdom, which had to be necessarily spiritual. Consequently, it was obvious for António Vieira that this Empire would combine the two types of power in order to be universal.

---

<sup>161</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 287.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 293.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 300.

Concluding, Christ who had already been called king in the past,<sup>164</sup> would resume his temporal power at the same time he would exercise his spiritual power. His kingdom, the *Fifth Empire* would combine Christians as well as all the remaining earthly peoples, since universal evangelization would be made during two distinct phases, as already observed.

It appears possible to affirm as well that this Empire would be a continuity of the Church, although its leader would change from the Pope to Christ. However, since Vieira never expressed the need for a second coming of Christ in order for this kingdom to begin, and even introduced the Pope and the Emperor as “vicars of Christ on earth,” it is thus possible to question up to what point Vieira found necessary an actual return of Christ to earth, or of an endless Millennium. For him, the Antichrist personified by the Turks (the Ottoman Empire) would be definitely defeated by the Portuguese king in the sea, and there is no mention about any second release/appearance of this character in the future. In addition, at this moment, it appears possible to say that this spiritual power of the Church, and later of Christ, can also be understood in the light of Augustine’s theorization regarding the earthly city. As analyzed before, Augustine understood the earthly city as presage of the City of God mentioning even a continuity of the spiritual power in the passage from one city’s rule to the other. However, one cannot forget that this empire for Vieira is supposed to happen within history as Joachim of Fiore has said. Therefore, it is possible to make an analogy between this empire and the *Spiritual Status* that was forecast by the latter.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that in accordance with Vieira this empire was to be eternal, not momentary, which in a certain way appears to contradict the self-nature of an earthly empire. António Vieira is so aware that many do not agree that he repeats Theodoret’s claim that:

*“Os reinos deste Mundo todos de sua própria natureza são corruptíveis, e todos, por mais que durem e permaneçam, hão-de ter fim como o mesmo Mundo, o qual é de Fé que se há-de acabar. Logo, se o Reino e Império de Cristo e dos Cristãos há-de ser perpétuo, incorruptível e eterno, clara e manifestamente se segue que não há-de ser Império da Terra, senão do Céu,”*<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> Vieira recalls several times how Christ had been called “king of the Hebrews” during his lifetime.

<sup>165</sup> “The kingdoms of the World are all of their own nature corruptible, and all, the longer they last and remain, will end as the same World, which is made of faith and will end. Therefore, if the Kingdom and the Empire of Christ and of the Christians are to be perpetual, incorruptible and eternal, it follows clearly and distinctly that it cannot be Empire of the earth, but of heaven.” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 284.

so that he can immediately contradict him. In fact, Vieira uses once again the metaphor of the stone to explain that such a thing is impossible. Especially because the new Empire was supposed to continue growing and expanding. After all, universal evangelization had not yet been reached. However, he says, “*Não negamos, porém, nem podemos negar que este Reino e Império de Cristo e dos Cristão há-de durar também com o mesmo Cristo e com os mesmos Cristãos depois de bem-aventurados por toda a eternidade no Céu.*”<sup>166</sup> This immediately allows us to consider that Vieira is confirming that this earthly kingdom is at the same time heavenly. Was this supposed to be read as if Vieira was following the indications provided in Revelation, or as if he was attempting to say that it was possible that in distant time this kingdom would become heavenly? This is certainly a question of dispute. However, we would say that Vieira’s interests around the development of the Portuguese supremacy allow us to consider that Vieira was simply behaving as a diplomat, and that this was not his exact thinking about the nature of this kingdom. Besides, there is no place in either the *História do Futuro* or in the *Clavis Prophetarum* where one can read that the earthly *Fifth Empire* will become heavenly.

b) *When and where?*

Daniel and Revelation announced the establishment in the future of an eschatological kingdom beyond history. The first belonged to the Jews, while the second to the Christians, although the latter contains some visible signs of a future tendency towards universalism when it mentions the foreign nations.<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, the basic concept that lies behind these texts is common: a similar need to provide hope for a better world in times of distress while underlining the need for continuous faithfulness and for the practice of righteousness.

---

<sup>166</sup> “*We do not deny, however, nor can we deny that this Kingdom and Empire of Christ and of the Christians will last also with the same Christ and with the same Christians ever blessed for all eternity in heaven*” In *Ibid.*, 285.

<sup>167</sup> So does Paul in his letters whenever he says that the gentiles would accept and be accepted.

If we analyze the messages of both books, we realize that it is possible to conclude that the two aim for a common final objective: the divine kingdom. Nevertheless, and although each one of these texts should be read within their own historical context, the truth is that they both influenced the Western eschatological hopes over the centuries as well as Vieira.

The first, Daniel, contains two different reports of the events that would happen between the present of the narrative and the future, i.e., the beginning of the eschatological empire. Thus, we have the narratives of Dan 2 and of Dan 7, the latter being more detailed than the first because of the insertion of more information in the following chapters. In Dan 2, as we have already observed, the editor explains the succession of kingdoms that would necessarily happen until the end through the description of the different metals that compose the statue of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. From this results the theory concerning the four empires and the discussion of how the world appears to be aging towards its end.<sup>168</sup> Later, in chapter 7, the apocalyptic editor introduces the four beasts and describes each one’s power as well as how they would succeed one after the other over history. Moreover, the author now includes references that allow the reader to consider living already in the time before the end, while at the same time he inserts dates for those events to happen. The existing war and the desacralization of the Temple in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE were enough to explain that it was impossible that the Jewish people would receive further punishments from Yahweh. The situation had become unbearable. Therefore, reward had inevitably to be at hand. Antiochus IV, the personification of the most dangerous horn of the last beast, was about to be defeated and the Jews would then recover their place as the “chosen people.” This is, in short, the message of the author of Daniel.

In Revelation, the content of the text is slightly different, though not in terms of general content. The first thing to remind is that this is already a Christian text, and therefore, the bases of its writing were different. Nevertheless, Christians were also facing a period of persecution by the Romans. As we have observed earlier, this type of distressful environment is prone to apocalyptic writings and expectations. This time, the editor/author of the text was expecting to attain the divine kingdom of God, a triumph that

---

<sup>168</sup> cf. Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, Book I, chapter II.

would represent the destruction of this world as it was known, while the divine world would be accessible only to the faithful.

The two texts, as do some others, preview the emergence of a savior and of an eschatological opponent. This issue has been fully discussed in Part 1 of this work, but it is necessary to remember once more how the beasts were equivalent to evil by opposition to the savior, the hero, and how they thus personify the figure of the Antichrist. Two things appear, however extremely clear from the reading of these two texts: the divine kingdom would only be achieved after the defeat of the evil beast, and the new kingdom is apparently different in nature from the existing one. The latter aspect is quite important in fact. In Daniel the fourth beast is only defeated by divine intervention, i.e., by the coming of the Ancient One (Dan 7:22), and the new kingdom is only possible to achieve after the Last Judgment (Dan 7:26). Further in the narrative, the angel explains to Daniel that *“The kingship and dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High; their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey them,”* (Dan 7:27). This to say, that the kingdom to come would be given to the faithful who had endured all the suffering, and whose names were registered in the Book, and that this new kingdom would be eternal and not for humankind in general.

On the other hand, the text of Revelation appears more detailed, especially regarding the nature of this new kingdom. It also assumes the forthcoming of an eschatological opponent, first the dragon and later Satan, to put an end to this world. Inasmuch as it includes an intermediary period - the Millennium - it clearly introduces a new kingdom of heavenly character to be established after all the events described. Regarding the Millennium described in Rev 20:3 ff, the reader learns that there would be a first resurrection (Rev. 20:4) and that the resurrected people would reign for a thousand years together with Christ. Those were the holy ones, whom would share the governance of this millennial kingdom with Christ. At the end of these 1000-years, Satan would be released and Gog and Magog would join for the last battle and surround the beloved city (Rev. 20:7-9). However, a fire thrown from heaven would defeat these evil forces (Rev 20:9), marking the end of the tribulation. Afterward, thrones would be set in place for the Last Judgment and the dead would also be judged. Consequently, it is possible to speak

here of a second resurrection, although this one of general character, and not reserved to some previously chosen. However, and most importantly, after the Judgment there is a reference about how the seer saw “*a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more*” (Rev 21:1). This suggests possible to considering the creation of a new cosmos and the definite end of the existing one. Moreover, this new cosmos is underlined by the fact that the holy city, Jerusalem is seen “*coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband*” (Rev 21:2). As a result, there are almost no doubts that the new kingdom is necessarily beyond history, timeless, endless, and heavenly. In addition, and at the same time, it represents a rupture with the preexisting cosmos.

The history of the interpretation of these apocalyptic passages has shown as we already argued, that most authors within the Church agreed that the divine kingdom to be established would hold a different nature than the actual world and, in particular, was to be established only after the final defeat of the Antichrist.

António Vieira mostly uses the text from Daniel to explain how the *Fifth Empire* would be installed. However, he mentions the text of Revelation several times. This combination of the two texts and how Vieira appears to have conciliated them is certainly something of which one should be aware when analyzing his theorization. It is clear that when he describes the *Fifth Empire* he says that it would be established after the defeat of the Antichrist and when the universal conversion is achieved.<sup>169</sup> However, Vieira proposes the existence of two conversions, while saying that the *Fifth Empire* began when Christ died at the Cross. Therefore, it is difficult to assume whether this Empire is equivalent to the Millennium described in Revelation, or if it is endless. Since this type of argumentation appears to be difficult to understanding let us begin with the examples from Daniel and later use the ones from Revelation in attempting to clarify Vieira’s ideas concerning this issue.

When H. Rowley is analyzing whether history *per se* was of interest to the editor of Daniel, he writes: “*(...) there is no evidence that he was interested in history as such. He was but interested in it as a vehicle of a divine message.*”<sup>170</sup> Well, this is certainly true,

---

<sup>169</sup> ———, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, Book III, chapter IX, *passim*.

<sup>170</sup> Rowley, *Darius, the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories*, 181.

although historians agree that Daniel contains one of the most complete historical reviews created in that period. Therefore, it is necessary to be careful when analyzing these passages because sometimes the author is so committed to explaining the divine plan, that history becomes secondary. In fact, H. Rowley says in the following paragraph that

*“(...) therefore, we read the book of Daniel no longer as a Chart of Ages, but as the work of a man who saw the world in the light of what he had seen of God, and whose interest was essentially and wholly religious, we are free to feel its religious power, and to understand its message.”*<sup>171</sup>

This is not, however, the case of António Vieira, who subordinated the divine interpretation to the explanation of the historical events of the history of Portugal and how those same events were connected with world history. In a certain way, it is possible to agree that Vieira used a religious theory concerning the establishment of the eschatological kingdom in order to support his own political and diplomatic quests.

Vieira, refers in the *História do Futuro* that to

*“(...) fundamentarmos bem a esperança deste grande futuro, devemos recorrer principalmente ao que a Fé nos ensina que foram verdadeiros profetas, entre os quais, como também deixamos dito, tem o primeiro lugar Daniel (...) Será, pois, a primeira pedra deste edificio uma grande profecia de Daniel.”*<sup>172</sup>

Therefore, the reader does not hesitate to consider the importance of the role played by the prophecies of Daniel concerning the end of time in the development of the thought of António Vieira.

As Vieira begins to describe the statue of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, the reader is immediately warned that the Jesuit understood the last kingdom, the fourth, to be that of the Romans.<sup>173</sup> Thus, Vieira follows in this point the opinion of the majority of interpreters since Josephus. Besides, Vieira uses this passage to explain the nature of the “iron” while saying that the Roman Empire also hold an invincible power and ability to subject other peoples to its power, even Empires.<sup>174</sup> At the same time, he describes how the “feet” had sustained the weight and grandeur of the empires added to it. However, this weight, in the

---

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup>“(...) to ground solidly the hope in this great future, we shall mainly use those that Faith teach us that were true Prophets, among whom, as we have also said, Daniel has the first place (...) It will, therefore, the first stone of this building will be a large prophecy of Daniel.” In Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 249.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 252.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 253.

words of Vieira, was also the cause behind the division between the two Roman Empires - East and West - which represent the beginning of further divisions and, consequently, debilitation of the imperial unity.<sup>175</sup> Hence, the Empire would later be divided into ten smaller kingdoms, as many as the toes of the statue. Therefore, all the Christian princes together with the Ottoman power were in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the heirs of the ancient Roman Empire.<sup>176</sup> Vieira, acute as always, goes further and identifies these ten kingdoms with Portugal, Castile, France, England, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Poland, the Ottomans and the Roman Empire (divided between the German and the Italian Empires).<sup>177</sup> Moreover, he adds that it is necessary to remember how the combination of clay and iron represented weakness, especially when conjugated with the reference to the age of the world.<sup>178</sup>

This division of the Roman Empire was based in the description of Vieira’s own time’s historical and political circumstances. Therefore, it is not very difficult for a brilliant mind like that of Vieira to manage to use the biblical prophecies to his own advantage. Thus, he begins narrating his century’s history, underlining the fratricide character of the power struggles between these kingdoms, and how these same struggles, were weakening an eventual defense of Christianity against the Ottoman Empire. From this description, Vieira soon begins to describe the existing fractures within the Holy Roman Empire, and especially those resulting from the current politics of marriage between the Austrians and the Spaniards. He emphasizes that there is no royal house more intimately connected with the Austrian than that of Spain, in the person of Philip IV, who is the cousin and the brother in law and the son in law of the Emperor. However, Philip IV had not supported the Emperor’s war against the Ottomans who had devastated Austria, arriving even to the doors of Prague, which was the capital of the Habsburg Empire. This happened, in the words of Vieira because Philip IV was more concerned about making war against Portugal than supporting Christianity. Therefore, he says with reason that “*Se este ferro [Spain] se unira ao Império contra o Turco, fora ferro, mas, porque se desune dele em tal ocasião e se*

---

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 254.

<sup>176</sup> António Vieira, S.J., *História Do Futuro*, ed. José Carlos Brandi Aleixo S.J. (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 2005), Book 1, Chapt I, 356.

<sup>177</sup> Vieira, *História Do Futuro*, 255.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 256.

*converte contra Portugal, é barro.*”<sup>179</sup> The explanation about the weakness of the Holy Roman Empire was found: too many power struggles were blocking the creation of an eventual united front against the foreign and non-Christian power. Consequently, the Catholic kingdoms were not able to contain the Turkish threat and, all of this happened because Spain did not support the Imperial war in defense of Faith, Christianity, and Religion.

At this moment, Vieira who is an assumed nationalist and whose name is connected to Portuguese messianic hopes, says that no other flag than that of the Portuguese, in which the five wounds of Christ were imprinted, will defeat the Ottoman flag that carried the signs of the Antichrist.<sup>180</sup> For that, he reviews the miraculous events that led to the formation of the Portuguese kingdom and how God would have been revealed to the first Portuguese king before the decisive battle. Hence, the doors to the establishment of the *Fifth Empire* were now open. Writes António Vieira, almost at the end of this chapter, that

“(…) e depois do quarto, que ainda hoje dura, que é o Romano, há-de haver um novo e melhor Império que há-de ser o quinto e último. Esta suposição é de fé, porque assim o lemos nas Escrituras, é de experiência, porque assim o mostrou o sucesso dos tempos, e é de razão, porque assim se infere por bom discurso.”<sup>181</sup>

However, Vieira shows his awareness regarding the existing concept of the ages of the world, especially about the fact that the world of his time was living the old age, to explain how the *Fifth Empire* was still to come. At the same time he says, “Assim que o Império que promete Daniel não é Império já passado, senão que ainda está por vir.”<sup>182</sup> Thus, while Vieira was clearly expecting for the forecast *Fifth Empire* to happen, he was not yet living it.

In view of the above statements, it is possible to consider that António Vieira was following Daniel’s scheme *à la lettre*. In fact, the narrative of Daniel introduced a scheme of 4+1 empires, according to which the *Fifth Empire* would happen after the defeat of the

---

<sup>179</sup> “If this iron would have united to the Empire against the Turk, it was iron, but, because it separates from him in such moment to convert against Portugal, it is clay.” In *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> “(…) and after the fourth, which still lasts today, and that is the Roman Empire, there will be a new and better Empire which will be the fifth and the last. This supposition is of Faith, because it is how we read it in the Scriptures, it is of experience, because it has been shown by the success of the times, and it is of reason, because it can be inferred from the good speech.” In *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>182</sup> “So the Empire promised by Daniel is not an Empire from the past, but one still to come.” In *Ibid.*, 266.

last horn of the fourth beast. António Vieira apparently does the same, although he introduces the issue of two existing moments of conversion. Hence, it is impossible to confirm that Vieira was exclusively thinking about Daniel’s narrative of the end of time when he composed his theory. The need of conversion comes directly with Christianity, not with Judaism, and Daniel was a product of the latter. Therefore, it is urgent to reconsider Vieira’s theorization in the light of the scheme proposed by the editor of Revelation. This text is in fact a result of Christianity and is directly affected by the life of Christ on earth, the role of the Apostles, and the hope for a second coming of Christ that would anticipate the beginning of the eschatological kingdom.

Almost at the end of Book III of the *Clavis Prophetarum*, Vieira underlines once again the existence of two moments of conversion. He writes that:

*“Dico igitur, duas futuras in mundo universales et integras conversiones, quibus mundus ipse totus fiet Christianus: unam scilicet ante Antichristum per Apostolos eorumque successores; aliam sub eodem Antichristo et post illum per Eliam et Henoch, qui moriendo, resurgendo et ascendendo in caelum, plures ad fidem his prodigiis mortui convertent, quam viventes fecerant praedicatione et voce.”*<sup>183</sup>

This appears to be clear regarding the moments of conversion: one before the Antichrist, and another during and after the reign of the Antichrist. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to question what Vieira was thinking when he wrote such a thing. As we have seen, his theorization fits perfectly the Old Testament scheme of Daniel. However, it appears to pose problems in the light of the scheme narrated in Revelation. Nevertheless, assuming that Vieira understood the Turk as the final Antichrist, then is it possible to agree that this *Fifth Empire* was no other than the last of the last periods of time. Besides, that could explain Vieira’s theory according to which the first conversion had taken place at the time of Christ, and the second was happening during his own time, although it would take longer to be achieved. In this way, it is thus possible to consider António Vieira’s *Fifth Empire* as an analogy with the kingdom described by the union of the New Jerusalem and the Lamb that closed the narrative of Revelation.

---

<sup>183</sup> “Por conseguinte, digo que haverá duas conversões universais e completas, pelas quais todo o mundo se fará cristão: uma, antes do Anticristo, mediante os Apóstolos e seus sucessores; outra, no tempo do mesmo Anticristo e depois dele, mediante Elias e Henoc, que, morrendo, ressuscitando e subindo ao Céu e, posto que mortos, converterão mais pessoas à fé com os seus prodígios do que o tinham feito enquanto vivos com a sua pregação e a sua palavra.” In ———, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, 648.

In an ongoing way,<sup>184</sup> the scheme concerning the establishment of the eschatological kingdom in Revelation, which apparently describes solely the present and the future (and therefore does not mention the three antecedent empires), includes the following phases: 1) the fall of Babylon and the defeat of the beast; 2) the establishment of the Millennium; 3) the release of Satan and the union of Gog and Magog; 4) final defeat of evil by God; 5) the Final Judgment and 6) the descending from heaven of the New Jerusalem.

Assuming that António Vieira’s *Fifth Empire* was to be identified with the period to follow the final defeat of the Antichrist, as he states, how is it possible then to say that this kingdom was that of Christ and had begun with Christ’s death on the Cross? How is it also possible to confirm the heavenly character of this kingdom as stated in Revelation, if Vieira explicitly says that his empire is of earthly character? Here, the doubts concerning whether Vieira was really thinking about the kingdom that would be inaugurated by the wedding of the New Jerusalem and the Lamb, or if he was considering the possibility of a continuous kingdom, which beginning corresponded to the establishment of the Millennium, takes particular strength.

Vieira’s theorization about the existence of two moments of conversion is quite similar in its essence to Paul’s theory concerning the possible and necessary later conversion of the Jews and of the gentiles.<sup>185</sup> Therefore, Vieira’s idea is not a complete novelty, it had already been considered possible that gentiles and Jews would convert at a later moment to Christianity. However, assuming that the *Fifth Empire* is earthly, and that it combines temporal and spiritual power, this question may need further analysis.

According with the text of Revelation there would be two moments during which the eschatological opponent would be defeated. The first was to be temporary, while the last, due to divine intervention, was to be eternal. This scheme appears to implicitly involve as well two moments of conversion. Nevertheless, Vieira’s *Fifth Empire*, which follows Daniel scheme, does not contemplate these two moments of combat against an eschatological opponent. In fact, as the author describes it, the defeat of the Antichrist is one such moment and was yet to happen, unless we may consider the death of Christ to be

---

<sup>184</sup> For a more complete overview of this subject, *cf.* Part I, subheading 3b, p. 93 and ff.

<sup>185</sup> For a more complete overview of this subject, *cf.* Part I, subheading 3a, p. 82 and ff.

the result of evil forces and consequently, that His death was caused by the power of the first eschatological opponent and that the present could be identified with the millennial kingdom.

While describing the chronology of the end, Vieira identifies the Woman of Rev 12:1 with the Church. However, he cites Francisco Ribera, S.J. who mentioned the existence of a “last stage of the Church,”<sup>186</sup> which consequently extends the length of the time of the Church. Therefore, his interpretation of the *Fifth Empire* as the kingdom of Christ and of the Christians was possible. In a first moment, the kingdom would be led by the Church in the person of the Pope, and its faithful represented by the efforts of the Apostles. Later, tribulation would come in the form of the Turkish threat, and the Catholic kings would not be able to control it. Thus, the role of the king of Portugal, who retained the power over the Sea,<sup>187</sup> would be crucial to defeat the Turkish, i.e., the evil that Vieira describes as the Antichrist. Hence, the Portuguese king would be rewarded with the kingdom by his efforts in promoting Christianity and taking the Gospel to the most distant places on earth. The *Fifth Empire* would then begin, i.e., after the defeat of the Antichrist. At this moment, which appears similar to the period described as the Millennium in Revelation, the *Fifth Empire*, the one that was the kingdom of Christ and of the Christians, would be installed. This kingdom would be temporal and spiritual at the same time, combining therefore the powers of the Pope and of the Portuguese king, now Emperor.<sup>188</sup> Therefore, it appears possible to say that Vieira extended the length *ad eternum* of the millennium described in Revelation. In fact, in none of the works written by António Vieira is it possible to find a reference to an end of this kingdom or to the coming of a second threat.

Nevertheless, Vieira’s *Fifth Empire*, inasmuch as it contemplates the “time of the Church” can also be comparable to the earthly city of Augustine. However, there is no passage from an earthly dominion to a heavenly one, as Augustine previewed when he “built” the *City of God*. In a way, Vieira’s Empire is larger than any other eschatological

---

<sup>186</sup> Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum* = *Chave Dos Profetas*, 718.

<sup>187</sup> Vieira commonly associates the kings of Portugal with the dominion of the Sea, because with the Discoveries, which were basically done by Sea, there were no sailors like the Portuguese and no other people knew as well the New World.

<sup>188</sup> Vieira mentions, as we have observed before, that after the king of Portugal defeats the Turk he would conquer Constantinople, becoming therefore the Emperor of the Holy Empire.

empire prophesized until his time because it does not include a predetermined end. It has no limits beyond its creation in the moment of Christ’s death at the Cross. If before, in the time of the Old Testament, the chosen nation was the Hebrew, now, in the time of the New Testament, the chosen nation is the Portuguese. Nevertheless, Vieira always contemplates in his writings the achievement of a universal evangelization and even a reconversion of those who may have followed the Antichrist. Another important fact about this empire, is that it is led by the Pope and the Emperor, not by Christ himself, which may appear strange in the face of the Jesuit teaching regarding the second coming of Christ. Nevertheless, this empire as Vieira envisages it was perfectly suitable to the Portuguese Crown and even to the Portuguese Jesuits.

Vieira in his desire to explain every detail of this new empire, attempts to indicate the dates of the end. He does that in the three works that we have mentioned, and that may even explain why he considered possible the resurrection of the late D. João IV.

As discussed above, most of these works appear to have commenced to be written in the end of the 1650’s. In this period, several astronomic events are recorded, such as the passage of comets, namely that of 1618/19.<sup>189</sup> In fact, Vieira mentions that calculations had shown that another comet, bigger than the one observed in Brazil, would be visible in the year 1666. The figures that compose this year bring back the issue of the number of the beast introduced in Rev 13:18. However, Vieira is far from identifying the beast with Nero. Historical events of his time suggest a different identification of the beast: the Ottoman Empire, given the fact that it represents the power of the Islam, i.e., of the heretics. Similarly to what have been done in the past, Vieira applies the principles of gematria to this case. However, instead of using the Hebrew alphabet, he uses the Latin one. As R. Cantel writes, “*Pour découvrir cette vérité, il fallait écrire le nom de Mahomet en latin et au genitif, sans transcrire la lettre H qui ne se prononce pas.*”<sup>190</sup> Therefore, he proposes the following interpretation:<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>189</sup> The comet mentioned by Vieira is known by the name “Cysat” because it was first described by the Swiss Jesuit J. B. Cysat, and later by Manuel Bocarro in Portugal. (cf. Besselaar, *Antônio Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica*, 361-66.)

<sup>190</sup> Cantel, *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*, 114.

<sup>191</sup> Vieira, *Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Oficio*, vol. II, 260-1.

M	A	O	M	E	T	I	S
40	1	70	40	5	300	10	200

Figure 5 – Identification of the Antichrist

Now, if all these numbers are summed up, the result is obviously “666.” This was the proof that Vieira needed to identify the Antichrist with the Turks followers of Mohammed, and that he used in his defense before the Inquisition. Moreover, this identification allowed him also to consider the possible proximity of the end. In fact, for more than a century, the Ottoman Empire had been fighting in the borders of the Habsburg Empire, and many times they were successful. Now, a last challenge was posed to Vieira: when was the *Fifth Empire* to begin? There is one thing that we would never say that Vieira was, and that is naive. However, the number he introduces is the result of either much ingenuity, or of an ingenious attempt to transport a religious event to the temporal calendar. What he does is amazingly simple and, at the same time, striking. Vieira uses all the Roman letters with numerical significance and orders them into a descending order. António Vieira comes to this number:

M	D	C	L	X	V	I
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Figure 6 – The year of the Antichrist

Therefore, he reached the number 1666 quite easily. However, although we know about the developments of astronomy in his century, and the predictions regarding the passage of some comets, we do have to remember that Bandarra had also used these same figures when forecasting the rise of the “lion.”<sup>192</sup>

In short, Vieira used Bandarra’s prophecies regarding the end of the time, although he does not mention it in the *Clavis Prophetarum*. The only writings in which we can find this mathematical calculus are the *Esperanças do Futuro*, the *Defesa Perante o Tribunal do*

<sup>192</sup> ———, "Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçaleanes Bandarra," 103.

*Santo Ofício*, and the *História do Futuro*. Later, in the *Clavis*, Vieira no longer inserts numbers, although he underlines how the Turks, i.e., Islam was threatening Christianity, and particularly Catholicism, having already besieged Rome and Vienna. In fact, having in mind the earlier events that had resulted in the separation of Christianity, we do have to agree that times were not easy for Catholicism. Therefore, Vieira’s attitude is comprehensible, although we are aware that the reasons behind it go further than a simple interpretation based in the Hebrew rules of gematria. Vieira, while doing this, was in fact, underlining how the end was close and how the new Portuguese king, although he had died, would play such an important role in the achievement of the kingdom of Christ.

Needless to say history does not confirm Vieira’s forecast, and consequently, we can observe him changing the numbers over his lifetime, as well as identifying the king with the successors of D. João IV, which we would agree to be more a political move than a change of his own prophecy. This can be found, particularly, in the records of his defense before the Inquisition and, later, in the letters he wrote to his closest friends in Portugal while already in Brazil.

After this long interlude from Vieira’s conception of the *Fifth Empire*, one of the questions still to be answered regards the time of this new kingdom. Was it to be within or beyond history? Vieira answers this question in a very clear way: the kingdom of Christ began when Christ died in the Cross and therefore, is part of history.<sup>193</sup> In fact, Vieira describes this *Fifth Empire*, this eschatological kingdom to be realized on earth and have as leaders the supreme earthly leaders: the Pope, who represents the spiritual power, and the Emperor, who represents the temporal power over all nations.

Moreover, if it included the Pope and the Emperor as its leaders, then this kingdom could not be beyond history. However, we do know that Vieira also considered this kingdom to be eternal, as we have observed earlier. Therefore, how is it possible that an Empire of Christ would be earthly and eternal? First, António Vieira uses the image of the stone of Daniel 2 that would destroy the earthly four empires, grow as a mountain, and consequently fill the earth. However, later, we observe Vieira comparing this kingdom to the eschatological kingdom promised by the Old Testament prophets and confirmed by the

---

<sup>193</sup> cf. ANTT, *Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício*, Ms. 122, f. 129 v. and ff. (Book 1, chapter, VI) and *História do Futuro*, Book II, chapter II.

New Testament books. How is it possible to conjugate the two? Many questions can be asked, although they are difficult to answer. It appears, nevertheless, that Vieira is in a very particular way conjugating the interpretations regarding the nature of this kingdom of earlier exegetes such as Augustine and Joachim of Fiore. From Augustine, Vieira used his theorization regarding the existence of an earthly empire of Christ since Christ had been incarnated and that was represented after His death by the Church. However, António Vieira does not second Augustine in the matter of the end of this world and the creation of another one, as the concept of the *City of God* previewed. He follows instead Joachim of Fiore, and because of that we can say that we find traces of Joachimism among his work. Vieira, as already discussed, supports an earthly kingdom that would combine spiritual and temporal powers and in which the Pope and the Emperor would act as Christ’s ministers. Following such line of thought, we can say that his theories are based in an extension of the historical time, in continuity rather than in rupture. The world would change, but because the universal evangelization had not yet been reached, it was impossible to consider a heavenly kingdom. Moreover, Vieira’s theorization is not explicit about what is to happen when the “*ultimam*” conversion was to happen. He does not narrate any possible consequences rather than to say that the final kingdom of Christ would have been achieved.

Furthermore, we have to agree that it was not in Vieira’s interest to prophesize about a heavenly kingdom where the Portuguese king would not have the power or the supremacy he wished for him. In a certain measure, it is possible to say that the interests of the faithful and of the diplomat were not *a priori* entirely convergent. What Vieira does is to describe a *Fifth Empire* in which a coexistence of the two worlds was possible. Therefore, although this was the Empire of Christ and of the Christians, it would take place on earth after the defeat of the Antichrist, i.e., the defeat of the Islamic heresy. Beyond that, it is important to remember that Vieira’s hermeneutically apparent incoherencies may not be what they seem, i.e., they may just reflect the ideology of the author. In fact, we have to agree that Vieira was above all a realistic politician, which may therefore explain the earthly character of his *Fifth Empire*. Furthermore, if one is to be honest, describing a *Fifth Empire* that would not appear as the earthly known world would transform Vieira’s prophecies in a 16<sup>th</sup> century utopia, such as those of Campanella and Moore. He would no longer be describing the kingdom of God, but a wonder world based on his imagination.

#### 4) *Universal Evangelization, Toleration, and Ecumenism?*

As observed, António Vieira expounded what appears to be an original theory regarding the *Fifth Empire*, especially when describing it as an empire of Christ and of the Christians, to hold both temporal and spiritual power and to happen within history. Besides, as discussed, he does not explicitly envisage any sort of change of venue, i.e., a change from earth to heaven, nor the creation of a new cosmos. Furthermore, Vieira makes his own parts of the interpretation concerning the time of the end of thinkers such as Augustine and Joachim of Fiore. Nevertheless, Vieira’s main purpose was definitely the creation of a world where only Christianity would exist. For that, and because he did not follow a theory of elimination of the other (gentiles and Jews), he proposes the existence of two different moments of conversion to Christian faith in terms that remind us the actual use of the word “ecumenism” so much in vogue in our days.

Vieira discusses this subject of the universal evangelization over the last chapter of Book III of the *Clavis Prophetarum*. However, he had already mentioned some of the main evidence of these conversions in his prior writings. History for him also contemplated past, present and future,<sup>194</sup> although the most important part of it, the one he decided to write about, was definitely the future. He was aware that the time before the events of end described in Daniel and Revelation had not yet been reached, although they were near. First, the Antichrist had not yet been defeated, and then, the Gospel was thus not far universally spread and accepted. However, it was already possible to claim that those who had kept faithful to Christ since His first coming had overcome and achieved the initial conversion. Pursuing this line of thinking, Vieira writes that “*Quo posito, solum restat, ut quaestionem totam ad secundam tituli partem contrahentes nova inquisitione examinemus: utrum aliis diversis temporibus universalis quoque conversio sit adimplenda.*”<sup>195</sup> This is his starting point, as well as an ingenious question. Besides, as he also says, “*Sed nobis non de parte unius populi, sed de integra utriusque conversione in magnam totius operis lucem, et*

---

<sup>194</sup> cf. footnote 156 of Part 3 of this work.

<sup>195</sup> Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, 644.

*concordiam Scripturarum agendum.*”<sup>196</sup> Therefore, it is clear that his main purpose is achieving universal evangelization. The problem is to solve the existing difficulties in Portugal between Christians and the Jewish community, mainly caused by the intervention of the Portuguese Inquisition, which is one of the main features of Vieira’s argument.

Vieira describes, as mentioned, two times of conversion: one before the Antichrist and another during the time of the Antichrist.<sup>197</sup> He says that the first is to be done by the Apostles and his successors, while the second by Elijah and Enoch, would give special consideration to gentiles and Jews. However, in the following pages Vieira acutely discusses the meaning of “conversion,” and how it would be possible to speak about any “conversion” after the Antichrist when all humankind would have been subdued. Besides, he underlines, how is it possible to speak about any type of universal conversion that does not include gentiles and Jews prior to the coming of the Antichrist? As we have already observed, he argues that if an antichrist were to appear in such circumstances then it would be impossible to speak of a general antichrist. It would thus be necessary to speak of an antimoses for the Jews, an antimohamed for the Muslims, an antiamida for the gentiles, and an anticalvin or antiluther for the heretics.<sup>198</sup> As such, Vieira proposes to use the term “restitution” instead of conversion. Thus, at the time of Creation, all humankind was part of God’s people, so now, what is necessary is that all people will convert once again to that single and universal religion: Christianity. As he says: “*Vnde merito dubitabis cur dixerit Christus, omnes istos restituendos esse, non vero convertendos.*”<sup>199</sup> Moreover, he asks why the Vulgate does not say that “*Quare ergo de conversione tam Judaeorum quam Gentilium non ait Christus ‘Convertet Elias’ sed ‘Restituet’?*”<sup>200</sup> The answer is simple: because all nations, religions and sects had already been Christians before the Antichrist’s seduction.<sup>201</sup> Therefore, there is no real conversion in the future, but rather a return to the original faith. After arguing further the character of Elijah’s work, Vieira decides to be practical and labels this “restitution” as the “last” conversion.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 644-6.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 648.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 654.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 656.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 658.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 664.

By using this type of reasoning, Vieira warns his readers on how all diverse contemporary faiths shared a common origin at the time of Creation. He specifically mentions Judaism and Christianity. In fact, he uses a similar argument based on the covenants as Paul did,<sup>203</sup> to explain how the time of the Old Testament belonged to the Jews, while the time of the New Testament belongs to the Christians.<sup>204</sup> Furthermore, Vieira in this particular passage is clear concerning the length of each “conversion”: if the first has lasted for more than 1600 years (and was supposed to continue), the final would only last 1260 days, as described in Daniel.<sup>205</sup>

Although Vieira clearly distinguishes between these two periods, one thing is clear. He does not consider the differences between Judaism and Christianity to be irreconcilable. In fact, most of his problems with the Portuguese Inquisition are caused by his clear efforts to promote a reconciliation between the Portuguese Crown (and Christians), and the Portuguese Sephardic community. Vieira, the diplomat, was aware that after the Portuguese Restoration of 1640, the only way to recover the money lost during the Iberian Union was to reopen the trade routes between Lisbon and the Portuguese colonies, particularly with Brazil. Therefore, he proposes the creation of a “trading company” similar to the Dutch West India Company.

His purpose was to promote the trade of goods from Brazil to Lisbon, and to distribute them all over Europe, recovering therefore the ancient Portuguese monopoly of the distribution of the overseas products. The company was created in 1649 by order of D. João IV and Vieira played a fundamental role, by managing to secure the support of some of the most important Portuguese Jews residing in the Northern Europe. The ploy, because there was always one when Vieira was involved, implied the restitution of the belongings confiscated by the Portuguese Inquisition to the “New-Christians” accused of observing the Jewish Law, after receiving the sacrament of Baptism.<sup>206</sup>

The king, following António Vieira’s advice, makes clear to the head of the Portuguese Inquisition that in a last instance, all the belongings confiscated by the

---

<sup>203</sup> cf. in Part 1, section 3, a) in page 82, where Paul’s theory regarding the two covenants is fully described and analyzed.

<sup>204</sup> Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, 664.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> A recent overview of the relationship between Christians and Jews in Portugal can be found in Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 93-118.

Inquisition were his, because the Inquisition in Portugal depended on him, and not on the Pope. Obviously, this created a bigger animosity between the Inquisitors, obliged to return their “profit” to the king, with Vieira the source of all evil. Besides, Vieira writes in several of his sermons that he could not understand what the difference was between a heretic and a Jew: for him, all non-Catholics were to be reunited under Christianity, and all were guilty of the same sin: non believing. Therefore, he says, he does not comprehend why the heretics were allowed to trade in Lisbon and the Jews (the source of capital of the Portugal of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) were persecuted and expelled. We have to agree that his argument sounds convincing. However, the Inquisition regained its power a few years later, and the death of D. João IV not only put an end to any eventual restitution that was being made, but also reduced the influence of António Vieira at the Court.

Not yet finished, Vieira goes further and advocates a future understanding between Rome and Judaism with the objective of promoting the above mentioned “universal” religion, which was a condition *sine qua non* for the establishment of the kingdom of God as forecast in Daniel and in Revelation. Therefore, he dedicates an entire chapter (chapter 11) of Book II of the *Clavis Prophetarum* to the subject of the possible, and necessary, resuming of the sacrifices in the Temple of Ezekiel. His argument is based on the fact that if the offerings at the Temple had been dictated by Yahweh to Ezekiel (Ezek 45) during the time of the covenant of the Law, then before the end was possible, it was necessary to resume that same Law given to the people of the Old Testament. Only after the laws of the Old and of the New Testament were being followed in order to worship God, could the divine kingdom be established.

To underline even more strongly his position, Vieira uses the words of à Lapide, while commenting Dan 12:11, writing then “*Tunc enim, inquit Cornelius, Antichristi regno everso, Ecclesia ubique terrarum regnabit, et fiet tam ex Judaeis quam ex Gentibus unum ovile et unus Pastor.*”<sup>207</sup> As previously discussed,<sup>208</sup> Vieira does not understand this sheepfold mentioned by John in the New Testament, to be already built; neither does he understand that Christ’s purpose was to slaughter his sheep at the end of time. Therefore, if the sheepfold was not yet complete, then it was possible to predict the addition of more

---

<sup>207</sup> Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum* = *Chave Dos Profetas*, 672.

<sup>208</sup> cf. Part 3, section 2)b).

sheep to it in the future. Besides, this single sheepfold, while a future goal, will only be achieved after all the sheep have listened to Christ’s voice.<sup>209</sup> However, Vieira reminds us how it was common to assume that Christ had eliminated the barrier that separated the gentiles from the Jews.<sup>210</sup> Moreover, that “barrier” was nothing more than a “mental line” such as the one of the equator, which divided two peoples who naturally disliked each other.

As observed and in the line of many other thinkers who anticipated him, António Vieira proposes that at the end all the “nations” would come together under the flag of Christ. To achieve such goal it was necessary to make mutual concessions and even to tolerate each other’s practices. It was under this light that resuming sacrifices at the Temple would have to be understood, as well as the non-practice of circumcision by Christians. Faith would be the common link between the different religious groups, and would allow them to reach the eschatological kingdom, or, if we prefer, the single sheepfold.

Nevertheless, Vieira is aware that this eventual union between the different groups was only possible to be achieved at the end of time. Besides, the gentiles would first join the sheepfold alone and only later would Jews join them. As he writes: “(...) *postquam plenitudo istorum, utique jam credentium, intraverit in ovile, tunc Judaei etiam credent, et sic omnis Israel salvus fiet, ut docet Apostolus (...).*”<sup>211</sup> And later, as if he was concluding about this subject of the conversion of the Jews and of the gentiles and how they all belonged to the kingdom of God, Vieira writes the following words:

*“Ex quibus aperte et eleganter constat primo paucos Judaeos, eosque ignobiles ad Christum convertendos fuisse, deinde futuram universalem Gentium conversionem, et postremo consummandam fore hanc in conversione totius populi Judaici in una Ecclesia, hoc est in uno ovili sub uno Pastore Christo, quod ab Interpretibus non paucis de tota simul Ecclesia intelligitur (...).*”<sup>212</sup>

Therefore, there was no wall strong enough to separate the gentiles from the Jews, i.e., Christians from non-Christians. Consequently, it was possible to accept easily that universal conversion would be achieved at the end of time. In fact, if the Gospel was already being spread all over the world, first by the action of the Apostles and now by the

---

<sup>209</sup> Vieira, *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*, 682.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 698.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 704.

missionaries, now only the “mental” barriers created by the opponents of Christ would have to be overturned. Meanwhile, “(...) *potest enim Ecclesia tota esse illuminata, quin totus mundus eamdem lucem participet.*”<sup>213</sup>

In conclusion, Christ was destined to reign over the entire world. It would take time to achieve such purpose, but it was doable according to Vieira. The *Fifth Empire* proposed by António Vieira was neither a dream nor a utopia. It was the consummation of a promise of God, first to the Jews and later to Christians. However, and since it was the empire of Christ and of the Christians, one of earthly character that would hold both temporal and spiritual powers, it was necessary that it would include all people on earth.

António Vieira’s theorization of the *Fifth Empire*, although it may appear sometimes contradictory, is the result of the work of a man not only indebted to his faith, Christianity, but also to his nation, Portugal. Vieira, when interpreting this concept transforms it according to the necessities of his time and nation, one that he believed special and favored by God since its creation in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. As he asks, how was it possible that such a small nation with such limited resources was the one to lead the Discoveries and to take Christianity to the most distant places on earth?

Vieira’s system is as observed, based in the text of the Book of Daniel. However, we have necessarily to agree that he was influenced also by texts such as Revelation and Paul, and later by the writings of Augustine and of the followers of Joachim of Fiore. The empire he predicts is soon to take place: the Antichrist, the Ottoman Empire, was invading and destroying the Holy Roman Empire. This represented the biggest tribulation faced by the Church and, is similar to the “little horn” of Daniel. In fact, not even the division caused by Reformation had held such dramatic results. The time of the end and the establishment of the new world were at hand, and both the Pope and the Emperor would play an important role leading the Empire of Christ. To this, we have to add that Vieira was most probably aware of the rumors arriving to Europe from South America that mentioned that the Lost Tribe of Israel had been found. Many authors of that period wrote about their particular eschatological expectations, especially after acknowledging the report of Antonio de Montezinos who said he had met this tribe. One of the most important examples of this is

---

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 722.

probably the book *Esperanzas de Israel* written by the Portuguese rabbi of the synagogue of Amsterdam, Manasseh ben Israel, which was published c. 1650.

In fact, it appears that all features described in Daniel and later in Revelation (in a more detailed form), are finally combined. The time of the Church was being threatened by the heretics (Turks), the Catholic kingdoms were not acting together, the Gospel was being spread even in the most remote places of the globe and the nations were about to gather together under one same faith. Consequently, it was possible to consider that the *Fifth Empire* was really about to take place and therefore, the year of 1666, for everything that it may implicate, appears to be a good round year for those events to take place.

Vieira’s theorization is definitely not a utopia, but an eschatological prophecy. Vieira does not envisage the creation of a parallel world, a wonderland. His empire to be, was supposed to take place on earth, to contain both temporal and spiritual powers, to be led by the Pope and the Emperor, who would represent the Empire of Christ and of the Christians. At the same time, Vieira, with this particular theorization was granting to the Emperor as much power as was granted already to the Pope within Christianity in past occasions. Therefore, it appears possible to say that while combining biblical motifs related with the time of the end, António Vieira was at the same time building a theorization in which the Portuguese king, and later world Emperor, would have a similar importance. Thus, this *Fifth Empire* had to occur within history as proposed by Joachim of Fiore, although it certainly represented as well the eschatological climax awaited for so long, first by the Jews, and later by Christians.

## *Conclusion*

António Vieira calls himself a “historian of the future” in contrast to all of those who had written about the past, as we mentioned before. In doing this, Vieira clearly states how important it was for him to understand the ancient biblical prophecies and why he attempts to date the events reported. However, this is not a novelty introduced by Vieira. While he is possibly the first to consider himself as a historian of the future, history tells us that many others before (as well as after) him, have attempted to understand and date the events depicted in Daniel and in Revelation. It is evident that this inclination did not end with Augustine’s message that it was not necessary to know the date of the end, even less to try to discover it, because the Church was already part of the City of God supposed to represent the time after the end.

The majority of the texts containing theories concerning the end of time, and how the time between the present and that future would pass are to be found among the biblical texts. Nevertheless, it is important not to forget that both Daniel and Revelation were influenced by even more ancient mythology and extra-canonical literature. It is simple to understand why the afterlife and all the inherent questions have worried humanity since the beginning. If this is the known world, then how is the afterlife supposed to be? What should one expect? Would there be anything beyond death? What is death? Would there be a world similar to the present one?

Many questions may be asked about these issues. However, what is important to underline is how humanity has always attempted to acquire further knowledge than that resulting from its physical and known world. A representation of such quest may be found in earlier ancient Near Eastern mythology, where the afterlife was described several times. Most of these questions have to be connected with religious interpretation of space and time. The relationship between humans and the divinity has always been a space of creation and interpretation. Therefore, this type of hermeneutical dialogue cannot be considered strange or inappropriate.

Eschatological texts, especially apocalyptic ones, foresee an end of this world and its replacement by another world in which it is possible for humans to dwell with the deity.

This new world is commonly located beyond history. It is supposed to be a better place, a time of harmony and, especially, a time beyond time, i.e., without end. This is what usually is translated by all those texts where apocalyptic hope is described. Not only in Daniel and in Revelation, but also in texts such as Enoch, 2 Ezra and Baruch among several others, can we find this type of expectation and theorization. It is however, necessary to note that many of these texts were the result of disturbed times, both historically and religiously in which it was necessary that the author would provide some sort of hope to his audience.

At the same time, these texts tend to organize time into smaller blocks of time in an attempt to demonstrate how close the present was to the eschatological end. It is in this context that concepts such as the “four empires” or the “succession of empires” need to be understood and analyzed. These concepts are not limited to their time of creation, as we have observed throughout this study. Their influence continued over the centuries and the eschatological hope contaminated many interpreters. Vieira is just one name among countless examples of later exegetes who have attempted to interpret the meaning of these earlier texts.

These biblical texts defined a precise type of historical periodization, one in which eschatological expectation determined the progress towards the achievement of the desired time of the end, when the kingdom of God would be established. Therefore, the theoretical construction around the interpretation of the “four empires,” which described history until the moment that would precede the establishment of the divine kingdom, was abundant over the centuries. Simultaneously, it is necessary to remember that, although, the division of time among the four empires probably represents the most important tendency, there are other methods of dividing time that have reached Vieira’s time, such as the division into generations or in epochs.

According to Daniel, there would be four succeeding empires before the time of the end. This description hides in it a deterministic view of history, in which God retains control over time and humanity. All of the events that were supposed to happen between the beginning of the description, i.e., the first empire, and until the cosmological end would have been previously decided by the deity and were part, consequently, of a divine plan. Later, Revelation introduced more details concerning the time after the end. According to this particular description, the marriage between the Lamb and the New Jerusalem

represented an alliance and a new period, maybe even a new cosmos and certainly a time beyond history. Future was reassured in terms of dwelling with the divinity and the initial mortality was to be replaced by eternity.

Such concepts have obviously influenced Christianity, especially in the way biblical texts were interpreted over the centuries. There are several historical moments when it is possible to recreate partly some of the distress that originated the earlier apocalyptic texts. Therefore, it is not strange to observe the reappearance of this type of movement in other historical moments of distress. In fact, it is better to consider eschatological hope as a transversal cultural phenomenon that originated several dialectical forms between the biblical texts and the expectations of each new society.

Therefore, the eschatological phenomenon has to be considered as transversal, timeless, and common to most peoples. Most of these communities, either Christian or Jewish, have in common the same type of hope: a future time, during which they would live in harmony with the deity and share the same space. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of a phenomenon exclusive to Christianity; it must necessarily be understood in broader terms. In fact, this phenomenon overrides any sort of established borders, since it represents cultural and religious expectations common to most peoples and times. Consequently, it is necessary to recognize why its study is so relevant for the understanding of several historical events over the centuries.

The expectation about the time of the end has decisively marked the centuries since the writing of Daniel and Revelation, especially given the fact that they assumed the possibility of an existing “world” beyond the known one, while the possibility of “resurrection” as a form of experiencing reward for a righteous life becomes real. From this moment onwards, the experience of the future beyond history and, consequently post-mortem became important cultural and religious factors. Therefore, although we can list the different types of interpretation of the division of time and, especially, regarding the precise moment of the end, as observed earlier in this study, it is necessary to confirm that it represents a line of continuity over the centuries. The interpretation of the content of Daniel and Revelation became an important part of the religious experience.

It is possible to speak thus, of a religious experience that has been transformed in an important piece of Western culture. Consequently, the ancient mythology in which the

afterlife was first described is resumed. In fact, apocalyptic texts represent *per se* several of these mythical expectations when it comes to the description of the world to come. The most important question regards definitely the end of history. When and how is it supposed to take place? It is to such questions and many others that the authors we have analyzed attempted to answer. Although for some it was not necessary to define a precise date because they felt that Christianity was already a small representation of that world, which would be fully fulfilled by the second coming of Christ, for others it was necessary to set a date. In a way, Vieira represents the latter group with his many attempts to identify the “Last Emperor” and the precise year in which these events were to happen. However, what appears to be of utmost importance is how these questions and these attempts to explain the texts and give them accurate meaning, are found in diverse examples in every century since Daniel and Revelation were written. Furthermore, it is necessary to emphasize that this is not a mere Christian phenomenon, since it is widespread among other peoples, such as Jewish.

Messianic expectation is, as affirmed above, another part of this phenomenon. Once again, it is a transversal phenomenon, both in time and in religious terms. At this moment, it appears possible to argue that the supposed fading away of millennial expectation in Europe at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is not clear in the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, the work of several men of letters, Jews and Christians, point towards the opposite direction. Authors such as Avranel, Sebastião Paiva, António Vieira, Manasseh ben Israel and Montesinos among others, witness such tendency. It is possible that the Maritime Discoveries and the consequent world expansion were behind the appearance of a strong millennial hope in the Iberian Peninsula, that was soon spread in the colonies. Therefore, Iberian eschatological thought may be considered as a singular phenomenon within the broader context of Western eschatological hope. In this way, the works of António Vieira are representative of this movement, although we have to agree that they only represent a partial view, if not only a very small drop of water in a much larger ocean.

It is clear to us that such common phenomenology resulted in a dialectical movement between the religious experience and everyday life. Men like Augustine, Jerome, Fiore or Vieira are good examples of this practice. They were the power behind the new interpretations and every one of their works represents a historical description of its

century eschatological expectations. In a way, their quest for answers was also an attempt to answer the questions of their communities. Therefore, it is not strange when we observe how they have mixed the biblical text's content with the historical events of their time. This was their way of reinterpreting the ancient prophetic and apocalyptic books, while transforming its content into something intelligible.

To summarize, it appears possible to speak of an existing major thematic that accompanied humankind over the centuries. The quest regarding the time of the end is, as we still know it in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, one of the most important quests pursued by humanity. The same questions that these men have been asking themselves since the most ancient times are still up to date and important for today's population. In a way, things may change, but people's expectations regarding this end of time are not changeable. In a way, these interpretations contemplate at the same time a revival of the mythological and biblical thematic, while addressing important contemporary issues. In this way, the works of António Vieira are a good representation of such a quest. They do not merely reinterpret these passages, but they also provide new answers completely adapted to the 17<sup>th</sup> century reality.

António Vieira's theorization is, therefore, not strange. It must be included within a common interpretative attempt, although it conjugates in a brilliant way the needs of the Portuguese kingdom and its overseas empire. It is in this context that we should understand the reasons that led Vieira to build a new interpretation of Daniel's theory of the "four empires." Vieira's eschatological prophecies allowed him to affirm how Portugal and its king, D. João IV, were the truthful heirs to the Roman Empire and would therefore lead Christianity to the time of the end. Moreover, Vieira contemplates also a universal conversion and a sort of universalism among the different religions that can be read in terms of a precocious form of ecumenism, in the sense that he attempts to gather together already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century all Christians and Jews.

It is possible thus to affirm how a 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE theory regarding the succession of empires that would lead to the end of times and to the establishment of the divine kingdom of God was still important, as well as up to date in the 17<sup>th</sup> century CE. The same should be said about the content of the book of Revelation. In fact, eschatological expectation is a timeless phenomenon and, therefore, it influenced all generations since the creation and

disclosure of those biblical books. In this sense, it is possible to support the argument that contrary to what happened in Europe by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible to observe in the Iberian Peninsula a strong millennial hope.

Moreover, it is important to remember that the content of the biblical books was not an original creation in the sense that they also contained and adapted pre-existing traditions common in the ancient Near Eastern horizon. Therefore, one cannot say that this type of expectation is part of one single culture, since it may be better to consider it as a sort of unlimited and timeless phenomenon. Vieira, in this case, is merely another interpreter of these theories, while at the same time he rebuilds them according to his unique interpretation of life, history, and religion.

As described in the previous section, António Vieira has a very particular theory regarding the interpretation of the *Fifth Empire*. However, he does not make any sort of rupture with the past interpretation. What we can observe reflected in his work is an attempt to answer to different types of questions such as the gathering together of the two peoples of God (Jewish and later Christians) in a way that would approximate the date of the end to the present. At the same time, his objective is to emphasize the role that Portugal would have in that achievement. Therefore, he built his theory around the figure of the late D. João IV, on how he would raise from the dead, and how he would conquer Jerusalem and become the world's last emperor. Then the Emperor, together with the Pope, would lead humankind towards the events that would anticipate the time of the end. In a very particular way, António Vieira uses the medieval theory that set the tonic in the role of the Last Emperor, while at the same time he foresees an end within the limits of history as Joachim had previously done, not anticipating therefore any creation of a new world. Vieira, in this way, is one of the best examples of how a theory and its subsequent interpretations were assimilated and readjusted to different realities. In this way, Vieira clearly creates his own dialectical model in which we can observe him creating a new form of syncretism through the appropriation and adaptation of earlier theories concerning eschatological subjects. Although he does not completely agree with Augustine, especially concerning the possibility of unveiling the time of the end, Vieira did assume that there was another time to attain, one that could only be achieved if all the conditions described in Daniel and Revelation were put together. That may explain his need to affirm how the world was

getting close to a universal conversion and to reaching a commitment between the two peoples of God. Vieira demonstrates a curious ability to transform a Catholic theory into a universal approach that would definitely lead the world towards the promised time of the end and to the establishment of the divine kingship on earth.

In summary, it is possible to say that António Vieira's book, the *Clavis Prophetarum*, does not represent a complete rupture with past interpretations of Daniel and Revelation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasize how Vieira built his own particular theory based on ancient interpretations and on his own time political and religious necessities. Vieira was without doubt a man of his time, but he never forgot he was a Jesuit and a man of faith. His theorization regarding the *Fifth Empire* represents a new way of conjugating the interpretation theories accepted by the Church and the needs of a particular kingdom. In this way, it is possible to affirm that Vieira was not only a man of faith, but also faithful to his nation. His theory emphasized not only the teachings of the biblical books, but also the hope in a better future in which the Church and the Empire would lead all peoples, heretics and gentiles included, to salvation, i.e., to the Divine Kingdom of God on earth. For that, the king of Portugal and the Pope would play a predominant role according to António Vieira.

## Index

- ‘*aharit hayyamim*, 19
- 4**
- 490 years, 24, 75, 78, 146, 148
- A**
- abomination of desolation*, 33, 61, 76, 78, 132, 133, 146, 147, 162, 163
- Acosta, Jose, 264
- Adam, 69, 72, 85, 92, 177, 179, 191, 192, 197, 198
- Adso of Montier-en-Der, 200
- aetates. *See* ages of the world
- Africa, 31, 99, 137, 140, 156, 167, 243
- Afterlife, 17, 62, 63, 67, 94, 103, 108, 176, 178, 182
- ages of the world*, 8, 9, 21, 25, 26, 40, 42, 43, 67, 82, 84, 88, 96, 115, 117, 179, 204, 209, 216, 244, 283
- Alexander, the Great, 23, 53, 54, 60, 62, 142, 154, 155, 206
- Amazon River, 8, 11, 217, 220, 230, 233, 262
- Amos, 107, 151, 153
- Ancient of Days*, 156, 157, 165, 246
- angelical being*, 57
- Angelical Pope*, 25, 32, 33, 43, 197, 204, 206
- Antichrist, 26, 30, 32, 33, 41, 99, 102, 109, 115, 117, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163, 164, 186, 187, 190, 192, 197, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 212, 254, 260, 265, 266, 271, 272, 275, 276, 279, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 291, 292, 294, 296
- Antiochus IV, 52, 54, 55, 60, 61, 62, 63, 78, 80, 123, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 142, 145, 152, 155, 157, 244, 278
- Apocalyptic Literature, 8, 17, 23, 44, 71
- Apocalyptic Seer, 55
- Apollinarius of Laodicea, 160
- Aquinas, Thomas of, 267
- Atlantic Ocean, 9, 31
- Augustine of Hippo, St., 7, 12, 27, 32, 33, 44, 97, 98, 99, 100, 124, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 199, 203, 204, 205, 208, 228, 236, 242, 248, 258, 259, 261, 269, 271, 276, 286, 290, 291, 演296
- City of God*, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 182, 183, 184, 203, 271, 276, 286, 290
- seven ages*, 115, 204
- Seventh Age, 188, 203
- Avignon, papacy of, 33, 207
- Avranel, I., 34
- B**
- Baal, 56, 61
- Babylon, 37, 53, 54, 57, 62, 76, 102, 104, 105, 109, 115, 118, 132, 141, 146, 153, 154, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 191, 285
- Bacon, R., 214
- Bandarra, 12, 29, 35, 39, 46, 213, 214, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 242, 288
- Baptism, 264
- Barnabas, 145, 179, 181
- Barros, D. João de, 214
- Baruch*, 18, 23, 95
- Beda, 259
- Belshazzar, 161, 240
- ben Israel, Manasseh, 215, 234, 297
- Esperanzas de Israel*, 297
- Benedict XI, pope, 206
- Benedict, St., 197
- Bishop of Japan, André Fernandes, 39, 216, 217, 218, 220, 221, 225, 226
- Bodin, Jean, 230
- Boniface VIII, pope, 206
- Bonucci, Father, 252
- Bornay, N., 221
- Brazil, 28, 38, 42, 49, 215, 216, 217, 232, 233, 251, 287, 289, 293
- Bruno, Giordano, 230
- C**
- Calabrian Abbot. *See* Fiore, Joachim of
- Callistus, pope, 137
- Caminha, Pêro Vaz de, 35
- Camões, L. Vaz de, 35
- Campanella, T., 214, 230, 290
- Carolingian, 200
- Carolus Redivivus*, 202
- Casnedi, C., 26, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257
- Cassiodorus, 259
- Catholicism, 32, 34, 289
- Charlemagne, 29, 185, 201, 206, 207, 208
- Charles of Anjou, 207
- Charles V, 29, 228
- chosen nation*, 14, 15, 16, 131, 237, 242, 243, 287
- Christ, 12, 32, 37, 39, 41, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 110, 111, 121, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 182, 183, 186, 189, 190, 191, 192, 195, 197, 200, 201, 203, 208, 214, 226, 227, 235, 236, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 294, 295, 296, 297
- Christine of Sweden, 38

Cisneros, cardinal, 35  
 Cistercians, Order of the, 198  
 Clairvaux, Bernard of, 260  
*Clavis Prophetarum*, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 25, 26, 34, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 210, 211, 213, 216, 230, 233, 251, 252, 255, 256, 257, 272, 273, 274, 277, 284, 288, 291, 294  
 Clement, 160, 207, 259  
 Clement of Alexandria, 259  
 Columbus, C., 34  
*The Book of Prophecies*, 34  
*conversion*, 255, 256, 261, 266, 268, 280, 284, 285, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295  
 Cornelius, 260, 294  
 Council of Trent, 28  
 Counter-Reformation, 27, 33  
 Cromwell, O., 230  
 Crusades, 28, 202  
 Cuse, Cardinal of, 260  
 Cyprian, 99, 259  
 Cyril of Alexandria, 12  
 Cyril of Jerusalem, 258

## D

D. Afonso Henriques. *See* Portuguese kings  
 D. Afonso VI. *See* Portuguese kings  
 D. João III. *See* Portuguese kings  
 D. João IV. *See* Portuguese kings  
 D. Sebastião. *See* Portuguese kings  
 Damasus, pope, 150, 151  
*Daniel*, 1, 0, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 103, 107, 108, 115, 116, 121, 122, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 167, 180, 188, 189, 190, 200, 212, 214, 216, 220, 236, 240, 243, 244, 246, 254, 259, 260, 266, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 285, 289, 291, 293, 294, 296, 297  
*1290 days*, 33, 62  
*Dan 7*, 33, 57, 58, 95, 103, 108, 132, 144, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 164, 244, 246, 278, 279  
*Dan 9*, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 121, 130, 133, 134, 141, 145, 146, 152, 159  
*Four Empires*, 51, 152  
*stone*, 41, 53, 54, 59, 68, 89, 132, 133, 134, 135, 157, 246, 270, 272, 273, 277, 281, 289  
 Darius, 142, 160, 161  
 David, 35, 179, 204  
*De Civ. Dei*. *See* Augustine of Hippo, St., *City of God*  
*De Oneribus*, 206  
 Dead Sea Scrolls  
*11QMelchisedek*, 18  
*4Q390*, 18  
 della Mirandola, Pico, 260  
 Descartes, 214  
*desejado*. *See* Encoberto  
 Diadochi, 60

*divine monarchies*, 28, 31  
 Dominicans, Order of the, 30, 214, 234, 235

## E

Earthly Empire, 14, 32, 41, 58, 66, 74, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 121, 143, 157, 158, 159, 165, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 188, 195, 199, 203, 205, 209, 212, 235, 246, 247, 248, 249, 253, 254, 258, 269, 271, 272, 275, 276, 277, 285, 286, 289, 290, 296  
*Ecumenism*, 291  
 Elijah, 62, 267, 292  
*encoberto*, 36  
*end of time*, 8, 12, 13, 17, 26, 42, 43, 71, 77, 84, 99, 102, 122, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147, 170, 175, 176, 182, 186, 187, 201, 260, 261, 266, 268, 269, 281, 284, 294, 295  
 Enoch, 7, 18, 21, 23, 25, 62, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 81, 115, 146, 236, 267, 292  
*Apocalypse of Weeks*, 23, 69, 72, 81  
*Book of the Watchers*, 21, 71  
*Epistle of Enoch*, 72  
*The Birth of Noah*, 71  
*The Book of Giants*, 71  
*The Book of Luminaries*, 71  
*The Dream Vision*, 71  
*The Epistle of Enoch*, 71  
*Enuma Elish*, 56, 70  
*eschaton*, 59, 74, 94  
*Esperanças de Portugal*, 25, 39, 40, 46, 216, 217, 219, 230, 232, 233, 236, 240  
 Eusebius, 137, 138, 151, 160, 259  
 Eusebius of Caesarea, 259  
 Evangelization, 28, 31, 35, 42, 249, 261, 262, 264, 265, 266, 268, 269, 276, 277, 287, 290, 291, 292  
*universal evangelization*, 262, 291  
 Exile, 52, 76, 81, 112, 123, 146  
 Ezekiel, 20, 107, 112, 151, 191, 255, 256, 258, 294  
*Ezra*, 77, 95

## F

Fabian, pope, 137  
 Far East, 31, 245, 249, 262  
*Fifth Empire*, 1, 0, 7, 13, 16, 25, 26, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 211, 212, 215, 216, 218, 229, 230, 232, 235, 236, 241, 243, 244, 246, 249, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 296, 297  
 Fiore, Joachim of, 7, 27, 31, 33, 44, 97, 98, 124, 181, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 197, 198, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 269, 271, 276, 290, 291, 296, 297  
*Age of the Spirit*, 203  
*Alpha*, 117, 193, 195  
*concordia*, 190, 191, 192, 197, 198  
*Eighth Age*, 204, 205  
*Omega*, 117, 193, 195  
*prima definitio*, 191, 192  
*secunda definitio*, 191, 192

*seven "aetates"*, 189, 198  
*Status*, 188, 194, 276  
*three status*, 191, 208  
*Trinitarian system*, 188, 190, 192, 195, 205  
 Fiore, Joachim of,  
   *virī spirituales*, 192  
 Four Empires, 7, 25, 52, 57, 59, 129, 132, 141, 152,  
   154, 159, 164, 243, 244, 254, 272, 278, 289  
 Franciscans, Order of the, 31  
 Frederick II, 201, 207  
 Frederick of Aragon, 206

## G

*Genesis*, 14, 57, 69, 113, 122, 170, 179, 181  
 Gentiles, 31, 70, 82, 111, 235, 266, 267, 268, 277, 285,  
   291, 292, 295  
 Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, 206  
 Granada, 264  
 Greece, 54, 57, 129  
 Greeks, 132, 200, 272  
 Gregory VII, pope, 187, 188, 202, 204

## H

Hades, 66, 67, 109, 117  
 Hadrian, roman emperor, 162, 164  
 Heavenly Empire, 14, 60, 73, 75, 95, 96, 110, 113, 157,  
   158, 159, 165, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181,  
   183, 198, 246, 248, 269, 272, 274, 277, 279, 280,  
   285, 286, 290  
 Hesiod, 7, 18, 21, 22, 25, 65, 67, 68  
   *age of heroes*, 66  
   *age of iron*, 67  
   *golden race*, 65, 66  
   *silver race*, 66  
   *Works and Days*, 21, 65  
 Hippolytus  
   *6000-years*, 140, 179  
 Hippolytus, St., 7, 33, 44, 78, 97, 98, 122, 123, 124,  
   137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146,  
   147, 148, 149, 160, 164, 179, 181  
   *6000-year*, 137, 145, 146  
   *De Christo et Antichristo*, 138  
   *Logos Doctrine*, 138  
   *Philosophumena*, 138  
   *Refutation of All Heresies*, 138  
   *Song of Songs*, 138  
*História do Futuro*, 11, 25, 26, 39, 40, 46, 48, 215, 216,  
   217, 230, 232, 233, 236, 237, 238, 240, 242, 243,  
   249, 250, 272, 273, 274, 277, 281, 288, 289  
 Historical Periodizations, 20  
   *decades*, 20, 23, 138, 252  
   *epochs*, 19, 21  
   *generations*, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 67, 79, 116, 121,  
     124, 153, 179, 191, 192, 197  
   *jubilees*, 20, 24, 75, 77, 148  
   Sabbath Age, 201, 203, 205  
   *sabbatical*, 22, 23, 24, 79, 81  
   *weeks*, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78,  
     79, 81, 121, 122, 124, 133, 141, 145, 146, 148,  
     152, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165

Hohenstaufen, 201, 206, 207, 208  
 Holly Office. *See* Inquisition  
 Holy Roman Empire, 202, 208, 282, 296  
 Holy Trinity, 33, 187, 188, 192, 193  
 Hosea, 107, 151  
 Hypostatic Union, 249, 254

## I

Iberian Union (1580-1640), 11, 36, 293  
 Imperial Apocalypticism, 186  
 Imperial Mythology, 31  
 Inquisition, 10, 26, 28, 36, 41, 44, 49, 213, 216, 218,  
   219, 220, 221, 222, 229, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238,  
   252, 257, 258, 260, 270, 288, 289  
   *Portuguese Inquisition*, 39, 46, 222, 253, 257, 292,  
     293  
   *Roman Inquisition*, 222, 257  
 Irenaeus, 97, 98, 137, 181, 260  
 Isaiah, 12, 35, 107, 111, 151, 235  
 Isidore of Seville, 34, 259, 260

## J

Jehoiakim of Judah, 76  
 Jeremiah, 24, 36, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 107, 131, 133, 144,  
   145, 151, 159  
 Jerome, St., 7, 27, 44, 62, 78, 98, 122, 124, 138, 150,  
   151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160,  
   161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 259, 260, 263  
 Jerusalem, 33, 37, 61, 76, 78, 79, 80, 85, 87, 93, 95,  
   110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 126, 128, 129,  
   130, 133, 134, 162, 169, 170, 173, 175, 176, 178,  
   179, 181, 184, 191, 198, 202, 225, 227, 280, 284,  
   285  
 Joachimism, 205, 206, 290  
 Joachites, 205, 208  
 Joel, 151  
 Joseph, 204, 243  
 Josephus, F., 7, 27, 44, 54, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126,  
   127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 141,  
   152, 154, 155, 259, 281  
   *Jewish Antiquities*, 126  
   *Jewish War*, 126  
 Joshua, High Priest, 79  
 Judah, 191, 250  
 Justin Martyr, 260

## L

last emperor, 7, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 43, 102, 130,  
   186, 187, 188, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204,  
   206, 207, 208, 209  
 Last Judgment, 21, 33, 64, 70, 71, 75, 93, 102, 105,  
   106, 107, 108, 139, 144, 147, 172, 177, 179, 183,  
   186, 187, 190, 202, 203, 204, 205, 208, 212, 246,  
   249, 258, 267, 270, 271, 279, 285  
 Leviticus, 23, 24, 79  
 Louis of Bavaria, 207  
 LXX. *See* Vulgate

## M

Maccabeans, 55, 61, 62, 72, 75, 76, 123, 129  
 Macedo, António de Sousa, 36  
 Malachi, 151  
 Maritime Discoveries, 28, 34, 35, 42, 241, 245, 255, 261, 262, 269, 286, 296  
 Mark, 151  
 Marquis of Gouveia, 232  
 Martins Garro, Captain, 219  
*maskîlîm*, 63  
*Mathew 24*, 16  
 Media, 54, 57, 60, 153, 154  
 Menelaus, 80, 123  
 Meneses, D. Rodrigo de, 232  
 Messiah, 15, 23, 34, 82, 84, 96, 102, 103, 106, 109, 115, 121, 131, 139, 148, 159, 164, 215, 235, 248, 255, 256  
 Messianism, 29, 34, 46  
 Methuselah, 69, 71  
 Millennialism, 11, 29, 32, 197  
 Millennium, 7, 16, 25, 32, 82, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 107, 108, 135, 145, 158, 182, 187, 191, 201, 203, 269, 272, 275, 276, 279, 280, 285, 286  
 Montezinos, Antonio de, 296  
 Moore, T., 214, 290  
 Moors, 29, 31, 215  
 Morteira, Rabbi Samuel Levi, 234  
 Moses, 82, 89, 90, 92, 93  
 Muslims. *See* Moors

## N

Nanzianzus, St. Gregory, 150  
*natural ignorance*, 265  
 Nebuchadnezzar, 22, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 76, 132, 143, 144, 146, 240, 244, 245, 246, 270, 278, 281  
*statue*, 22, 53, 54, 59, 61, 78, 133, 138, 143, 144, 154, 244, 245, 270, 273, 278, 281, 282  
 Nero, roman emperor, 102, 103, 104, 115, 117, 118, 126, 127, 164, 267, 287  
*New Jerusalem*, 95, 96, 110, 111, 117, 118  
 New Testament, 190, 197, 200, 217, 253, 287, 289, 293, 294  
 New World, 9, 19, 71, 75, 82, 96, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 117, 164, 165, 169, 179, 184, 296  
 Nostradamus, 34

## O

Old Testament, 16, 21, 37, 38, 190, 217, 237, 287, 289, 293, 294  
 Onias III, 79, 80, 123  
 Origen, 97, 99, 137, 145, 151, 160, 179, 259  
 Orosius, 171, 180, 259  
 Ottoman Empire, 276, 282, 287, 288, 296  
 Ourique, 28, 37, 242

## P

Paradise, 15, 239  
*Parousia*, 89, 90, 92, 95, 100, 101, 106, 146, 148, 149

*Pater Fiore*, Joachim of  
*Pater Angelicus*, 187  
*Paul*, 7, 18, 25, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 99, 111, 173, 177, 179, 267, 277, 285, 293, 296  
 I Corinthians, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92  
*first fruits*, 84, 178  
 Pereira, Duarte Pacheco, 35  
 Perses, 65  
 Persia, 54, 57, 60, 141, 153, 154, 244  
 Peter, 167, 200, 204, 267  
 Philip II, 36, 214  
 Philip IV, 282  
 Philo, 259  
*philosophical sin*, 255  
 Plato, 170, 176, 239  
 Pontianus, pope, 137  
 Porphyry, 62, 152, 155, 157  
 Portugal, 11, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 212, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 235, 236, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 281, 282, 283, 286, 287, 289, 292, 293, 294, 296  
*Braganza, dynasty of*, 11, 42, 46, 214  
 Portuguese kings  
 D. Afonso Henriques, 242  
 D. Afonso VI, 218, 224, 232  
 D. João III, 36  
 D. João IV, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231, 287, 289, 293, 294  
 D. Luísa of Gusmão, 218  
 D. Sebastião, 11, 36, 215, 218, 228  
 Prophecy, 11, 17, 24, 38, 40, 46, 52, 64, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 111, 121, 122, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 143, 144, 145, 149, 159, 160, 161, 162, 165, 166, 186, 204, 206, 208, 211, 212, 232, 242, 243, 244, 281, 289, 297  
*ex eventu*, 52, 74  
*Psalms*, 151, 200, 253  
*Pseudo-Methodius*, 200

## R

*Reconquista*, 28, 30  
 Reformation, 27, 31, 98, 296  
*renovatio mundi*, 35, 204, 207  
 Restoration, 69, 79, 118  
 Resurrection, 18, 19, 21, 25, 32, 46, 62, 63, 65, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95, 98, 103, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 166, 182, 183, 184, 218, 227, 279, 280, 287  
*Revelation*, 7, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 38, 41, 43, 44, 83, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 121, 124, 140, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 156, 163, 164, 165, 167, 169, 173, 175, 177, 180, 182, 186, 190, 191, 198, 200, 201, 202, 216, 225, 259, 260, 270, 274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 284, 285, 286, 291, 294, 296, 297  
*rex impudicus*, 206  
*Rex Romanorum*, 202  
 Ribera, F., 245, 286  
 Rienzo, Cola di, 206  
 Roman Empire, 26, 29, 33, 104, 105, 126, 129, 131, 133, 135, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 147, 154, 155,

156, 157, 159, 163, 164, 167, 168, 183, 199, 201,  
204, 243, 244, 245, 261, 270, 281, 282, 283  
Roman Inquisition  
*Roman Inquisition*, 254  
Roquetaillade, Jean of, 34, 207, 208  
*Oraculum Cyrilli*, 207  
Rubeni, David, 35

## S

*salvation*, 19, 33, 35, 71, 72, 84, 105, 107, 119, 199,  
264, 266  
Sebastianismo, 29, 214  
Seleucus IV, 80  
*serpens antiquus*, 207  
*Seventy Weeks*. See Historical Periodizations, *weeks*  
*Sibylline Oracles*, 18, 21, 23, 103  
Society of Jesus, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 214, 215, 234, 235,  
246, 287  
Solomon, 112, 204  
South America, 31, 296  
Spinoza, B., 230  
Spiritual Power, 29, 32, 41, 99, 169, 175, 176, 192, 197,  
241, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254, 266,  
267, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 285, 286, 289, 290,  
291, 296, 297  
Suárez, 264, 266  
Succession of Empires, 8, 41, 216, 243  
*Super Esaiam*, 206  
*Super Hieremiam*, 206

## T

Telesphorus, 208  
Temple of Ezekiel, 256  
Temporal Power, 26, 29, 41, 44, 63, 67, 84, 85, 89, 100,  
101, 110, 129, 168, 172, 174, 184, 192, 241, 243,  
245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 254, 255, 259, 265,  
266, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 285, 286, 288, 289,  
290, 291, 296, 297  
Tertullian, 140, 160, 161, 169  
Theodoret, 259, 276  
*theological sin*, 255  
*Tiburtine Sibyl*, 200  
*Toleration*, 291  
Turks. See Ottoman Empire

## U

Ugarit, 55  
Urban, pope, 137  
Utopia, 11, 17, 27, 42, 47, 99, 100, 211, 214, 215, 230,  
232, 290, 296, 297

## V

*Vaticinium Sibillae Erithreae*, 206  
*veritas hebraica*, 152  
Vieira, António, 1, 0, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17,  
25, 26, 27, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48,  
49, 156, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216,  
217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226,  
227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236,  
237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246,  
247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256,  
257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266,  
267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276,  
277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287,  
288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297  
*Sermons*, 11, 38, 211  
Villanova, Arnold of, 206  
von Roes, Alexander, 206  
Vulgate, 150, 151, 160

## Y

Yahweh, 53, 56, 58, 61, 69, 76, 278, 294

## Z

Zachariah, 246  
Zacharias, 151  
Zedekiah of Judah, 76  
Zeus, 61, 66, 67, 78  
Zoroastrism, 44  
Zorobabel, 204

## Ω

Ω. See Fiore, Joachim of, *Omega*

## *Bibliography*

- Agostinho, Santo. *Confissões*. 2 ed. Lisboa: Centro de Literatura e Cultura Portuguesa e Brasileira, 2004.
- Aitken, Ellen Bradshaw. *Jesus' Death in Early Christian Memory: The Poetics of the Passion*. Göttingen/Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht/Academic Press, 2004.
- Alexander, Loveday. *Images of Empire*. Vol. 122, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1991.
- Alexander, Paul Julius, and Dorothy de F Abrahamse. *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Armstrong, A. H., H. J. Blumenthal, and R. A. Markus. *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought: Essays in Honour of A.H. Armstrong*. London: Variorum Publications, 1981.
- Aschim, Anders. "The Genre of 11qmelchisedek." In *Qumran Between the Old and the New Testaments*, edited by Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, 17-31. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Association "Histoire au présent" (Paris France). *Périodes: La Construction Du Temps Historiques: Actes Du Ve Colloque D'histoire Au Present*. Paris: Éditions de l'Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et Histoire au Présent, 1991.
- Augustine. "Concerning the City of God against the Pagans." In *Penguin Classics*, edited by Henry Scowcroft Bettenson and G. R. Evans. London, England/New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books, 2003.
- "Augustine, St., of Hippo." In *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, 108-10. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Aune, David E. *Revelation*. Edited by Bruce M. Metzger. 3 vols, World Biblical Commentary. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998.
- Azevedo, J. Lúcio de. *A Evolução Do Sebastianismo*. Vol. 5, Coleção Temas E Documentos. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1984.
- . *História De António Vieira*. 2 ed. 2 vols. Lisboa: A. M. Teixeira, 1931.
- Bandarra, Gonçalo Anes. *Trovas Do Bandarra*, 1809.
- Bandarra, Gonçalo Annes, and António Carlos Carvalho. "*Profecias*" *Do Bandarra: Sapateiro De Trancoso*. Lisboa: Vega, 1979.
- Bandarra, Gonçalo Annes, and Aníbal Pinto de Castro. *Trovas Do Bandarra: Reprodução Facsimilada Da Edição De Nantes (1644)*, Coleção "História Da Cultura Portuguesa". Lisboa: INAPA, 1989.
- Barnett, Paul. *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub., 1997.
- Barrett, C. K. *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Harper's New Testament Commentaries. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.
- Barros, André de. *Vida Do Apostolico Padre Antonio Vieyra Da Companhia De Jesus*. Lisboa: Nova Officina Sylviana, 1746.

- Barth, Karl, and Edwyn Clement Hoskyns. *The Epistle to the Romans*. London/New York: Oxford U.P., 1968.
- Bataillon, Marcel. "Le Brésil Dans Une Vision D'isaïe Selon Le P. António Vieira." *Bulletin des études portugaises* 25 (1964): 11-21.
- Battenhouse, Roy W. "The Doctrine of Man in Calvin and in Renaissance Platonism." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 9, no. 4 (1948): 447-71.
- Beale, G. K. *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, The New International Greek Testament Commentary. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1999.
- Becking, Bob. "Expectations About the End of Time in the Hebrew Bible: Do They Exist?" In *Apocalyptic History and Tradition*, edited by C. Rowland and J. Barton, 44-59. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Beckwith, Roger T. *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies*. Leiden/New York/Koln: Brill, 1996.
- . "Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah's Coming in Essene, Hellenisti, Pharisaic, Zealot and Early Christian Computation." *Révue de Qumran* 10 (1979/81): 521-42.
- Belleville, Linda L. *Reflections of Glory: Paul's Polemical Use of the Moses-Doxa Tradition in 2 Corinthians 3.1-18*. Vol. 52, Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- Bénassy-Berling, Marie-Cécile, and Séminaire interuniversitaire sur l'Amérique espagnole coloniale (France). *Études Sur L'impact Culturel Du Nouveau Monde*. 3 vols. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1981.
- Bergsma, John S. "Once Again, the Jubilee, Every 49 or 50 Years?" *Vetus Testamentum* LV, no. 1 (2005): 121-25.
- Besselaar, J. J. van den. *Antônio Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica*. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002.
- . *Antônio Vieira: O Homem, a Obra, as Ideias*. 1 ed. Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa/Ministério da Educação e Ciência, 1981.
- Betz, Hans Dieter. "Corinthians, Second Epistle to The." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed Noel Freedman. Place Published: Doubleday.
- Bíblia Sagrada Para O Terceiro Milénio Da Encarnação: Versão Dos Textos Originais* Edited by Herculano Alves. 3 ed. Lisboa: Difusora Bíblica, 2001.
- Bloch, Marc Léopold Benjamin. *Apologie Pour L'histoire, Ou, Métier D'historien*. Edited by Étienne Bloch. Ed. critique préparée par Etienne Bloch ed. Paris: A. Colin, 1993.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of His Canon, Teachings, Sources, Biography, and Influence." *Traditio* XIII (1967): 249-311.
- Boccaccini, Gabriele. *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2005.
- Borges, Paulo Alexandre Esteves. *A Plenificação Da História Em Padre António Vieira: Estudos Sobre a Ideia De Quinto Império Na Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Ofício*. [Lisboa]: Impr. Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1995.
- Boxer, C. R. *A Great Luso-Brazilian Figure, Padre Antonio Vieira, S. J., 1608-1697*. London: Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1957.
- Brandon, S. G. F. *The Judgment of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgement in the Major Religions*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967.

- Braverman, Jay. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible*. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1978.
- Brent, Allen. *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*. Vol. 31, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Leiden/New York/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995.
- Brown, A. S. "From the Golden Age to the Isles of the Blest." In *Mnemosyne*, 385: Brill Academic Publishers, 1998.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*. 2 ed. London: Faber, 2000.
- . *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*. 2 ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.
- Brown, Raymond E. *An Introduction to the New Testament*. Edited by David Noel Freedman, The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
- Bruce, F. F. "Josephus and Daniel." *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 4 (1965): 148-62.
- Bull, Malcolm. *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, Wolfson College Lectures. Oxford/Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995.
- Bultmann, Rudolf Karl. *History and Eschatology*, Gifford Lectures. Edinburgh: University Press, 1957.
- Cantel, Raymond. "L'história Do Futuro Du Père António Vieira." *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, no. XXV (1964): 23-49.
- . *Prophétisme Et Messianisme Dans L'oeuvre D'antonio Vieira*. Paris: Éditiones Hispano-Americanas, 1960.
- Caquot, André, and Arnaud Sérandour. "La Périodisation: De La Bible À L'apocalyptique." In *Proche-Orient Ancien. Temps Vécu, Temps Pensé*, edited by Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Hélène Lozachmeur, 81-98. Paris: Jean Maisonneuve, 1997.
- Caragounis, C. C. "History and Supra-History: Daniel and the Four Empires." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, edited by A. S. van der Woude, 387-97. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993.
- Casey, P. M. "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel." *J Theol Studies* XXVII, no. 1 (1976): 15-33.
- Cerrato, J. A. *Hippolytus between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus*, Oxford Theological Monographs. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Chadwick, Henry. *The Early Church*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1968.
- . *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, Oxford History of the Christian Church. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Charles, R. H. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*. Vol. 44, The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. New York: Scribner, 1920.
- . *Studies in the Apocalypse; Being Lectures Delivered before the University of London*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913.
- Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments*. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983.
- Cidade, Hernâni. *A Literatura Autonomista Sob Os Filipes*. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa.

- . *Padre António Vieira*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1985.
- Clement, Romanus Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hermas, W. Burton, and Kirsopp Lake. *The Apostolic Fathers*. 2 vols, Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature. London: Griffith, Farran, Brown & Co. Ltd.
- Cohen, Thomas. *The Fire of Tongues: António Vieira and the Missionary Church in Brazil and Portugal*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- . "Judaism and the History of the Church in the Inquisition Trial of António Vieira." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 40, no. 1 (2003): 67-78.
- . "Millenarian Themes in the Writings of Antonio Vieira." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 28, no. 1 (1991): 23-46.
- Collins, John J., ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*. Vol. 14, Semeia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979.
- . *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*. 2 ed, The Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1998.
- . *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity*. New York: Crossroad, 1984.
- . *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 ed. London/New York: Routledge, 1998.
- . *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel with an Essay "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament", by Adela Yarbro Collins*. Edited by Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.
- . "Cosmology: Time and History." In *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, edited by Sarah Iles Johnston, 59-70. Cambridge/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.
- . "Current Issues in the Study of Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, edited by John Joseph Collins and Peter W. Flint, 1-15. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001.
- . *Daniel*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.
- . *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1984.
- . "The Nature of Messianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, edited by Timothy H. Lim, 199-217. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- . "Pseudo-Daniel Revisited." *Révue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 111-35.
- . "Temporality and Politics in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature." In *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*, edited by C. Rowland and J. Barton, 26-43. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Collins, John J., and Peter W. Flint, eds. *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. 2 vols, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum. Leiden/New York/Koln: Brill, 2001.
- Collins, John Joseph, Bernard McGinn, and Stephen J. Stein. *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*. 3 vols. New York: Continuum, 1999.
- Columbus, Christopher. *The Book of Prophecies*. Edited by Roberto Rusconi. Vol. 3, Repertorium Columbianum. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Consigliari, Carlos. *Cronologia De Uma Vida: Padre António Vieira*. Sintra: Colares Editora, 2001.

- Conzelmann, Hans. *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Translated by James W. Leitch. 2 ed, Hermeneia - a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.
- Crocco, Antonio. *Storia E Messaggio in Gioacchino Da Fiore: Atti Del I Congresso Internazionale Di Studi Gioachimiti, S. Giovanni in Fiore, Abbazia Florense, 19-23 Settembre 1979*. S. Giovanni in Fiore: Centro di studi gioachimiti, 1980.
- Crocco, Antonio, and Centro internazionale di studi gioachimiti. *L'età Dello Spirito E La Fine Dei Tempi in Gioacchino Da Fiore E Nel Gioachimismo Medievale: Atti Del Ii Congresso Internazionale Di Studi Gioachimiti: San Giovanni in Fiore, Luzzi, Celico, 6-9 Settembre 1984*. S. Giovanni in Fiore, Italia: Centro internazionale di studi gioachimiti, 1986.
- Cross, F. L., and Elizabeth A. Livingstone. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3 ed. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Cross, Frank Moore. *The Ancient Library of Qumran*. 3 ed. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
- Cullmann, Oscar. *Salvation in History*. 1 ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
- Daley, Brian. *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003.
- Daley, Brian E. "Apocalypticism in Early Christian Theology." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, edited by Bernard McGinn, 2-47. New York: Continuum, 1999.
- Daniel, E. Randolph. "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse." In *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, 72-88. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Davies, Philip R. "'Age of Wickedness" Or "End of Days"?: Qumran Scholarship in Prospect." *Hebrew Studies* 34 (1993): 7-19.
- . *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of The "Damascus Document"*. Edited by Journal for the Study of Old Testament. Vol. supplement 25. Sheffield: JSOT, 1983.
- . "Daniel in the Lion's Den." In *Images of Empire*, edited by Loveday Alexander, 169-78. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1991.
- . "Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls." In *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. Van Der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne, 152-63. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Davies, Philip R., George J. Brooke, and Phillip R. Callaway. *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2002.
- Day, John, ed. *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*. Edited by David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies. Vol. 270, Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- de Boer, M. C. "Paul and Apocalyptic Eschatology." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, edited by John J. Collins, 345-83. New York/London: Continuum, 2000.
- Deissmann, Adolf. *Bible Studies*. Translated by Alexander Grieve. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901.
- Deissmann, Adolf, and William Edward Wilson. *Paul, a Study in Social and Religious History*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1972.

- Délcour, M. *Le Livre De Daniel*, Sources Bibliques. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1971.
- Deutsch, Celia. "Transformation of Symbols: The New Jerusalem in Rv 21,1-22,5." *ZNW* 78, no. 1 (1987): 106-26.
- Dimant, Devorah. "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha - 4q390." In *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, edited by Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, 405-48. Madrid/Leiden: Editorial Complutense/Brill, 1992.
- . "The 'Peshar on the Periods' (4q180) and 4q181." *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 77-102.
- . "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance." Paper presented at the Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by the Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989-90.
- . "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9,24-27) in the Light of New Qumranic Texts." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, edited by A. S. van der Woude, 57-76. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993.
- Dimant, Devorah, and Uriel Rappaport, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. Edited by F. García Martínez and A. S. Van der Woude. Vol. X, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Leiden/Jerusalem: Brill/Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992.
- diTommaso, Lorenzo. "4qpseudo-Daniel a-B (4q243-4q244) and the Book of Daniel." (forthcoming).
- Donnelly, Dorothy F. *The City of God: A Collection of Critical Essays*. New York: P. Lang, 1995.
- Dunbar, David G. "The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus." *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 4 (1983): 313-27.
- . "The Eschatology of Hippolytus of Rome." Drew University, 1979.
- Eisenmann, Robert, and Michael Wise. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered. The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for over 35 Years*. Shaftesbury/Rockport/Brisbane: Element, 1992.
- Eliade, Mircea. *Le Mythe De L'éternel Retour; Archétypes Et Répétition*. Nouv. éd., rev. et augmentée. ed. [Paris]: Gallimard, 1969.
- Emmerson, Richard Kenneth, and Bernard McGinn, eds. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Espírito Santo, Arnaldo do. "Apresentação Da *Clavis Prophetarum*: Transmissão Manuscrita, Estrutura E Aspectos Do Pensamento Do Padre António Vieira." *Oceanos* 30-31 (1997): 156-73.
- . "Censuras Da *Clavis Prophetarum* Do Padre António Vieira." In *Sub Luce Florentis Calami: Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz Y Díaz*, edited by Manuela Domínguez García, 620-35. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2002.
- . "A Estética Barroca Do Latim Da *Clavis Prophetarum* Do P. António Vieira." *Ágora: Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 1 (1999): 105-31.
- Eusebius. *Eusebius - the Church History: A New Translation with Commentary*. Edited by Paul L. Maier. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Kregel Publications, 1999.

- Evans, Craig A., and Peter W. Flint, eds. *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Jr. Martin G. Abegg and Peter W. Flint, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Evans, Craig A., and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds. *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1997.
- Fekkes, Jan. *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development*. Vol. 93, Journal for the Study of New Testament. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994.
- Feldman, Louis H. "Josephus." In *Anchor Bible dictionary*, edited by David Noel Freedman, 981-98. New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1992.
- . *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*. Vol. 27, Hellenistic Culture and Society. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- . *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible*. Vol. 58, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism. Boston/Leiden/Köln: Brill, 1998.
- Feldman, Louis H., and Gohei Hata. *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987.
- . *Josephus, the Bible, and History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989.
- Fiddes, Paul S. "Millennium and Utopia: Images of a Fuller Presence." In *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*, edited by Christopher Rowland and John Barton, 7-25. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Fiore, Joachim of. "The Book of Concordance, Book 2, Part 1, Chapters 2-12." edited by Bernard McGinn, xviii, 334 p. New York: Paulist Press, 1979.
- Fitzgerald, Allan, and John C. Cavadini. *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1999.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A., S.J. *According to Paul: Studies in the Theology of the Apostle*. New York: Paulist Press, 1993.
- . *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971.
- . *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. 1 ed. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- Flint, Peter W. "4qpseudo-Daniel Arc (4q245) and the Restoration of the Priesthood." *Révue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 137-49.
- Fortin, Ernest L. "Civitate Dei, De." In *Augustine through the ages: an encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini, 196-202. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1999.
- Franco, Jean, and Francis Utéza. *Millénarismes Et Messianismes Dans Le Monde Ibérique Et Latino-Américain: Colloque International, Montpellier, 16-18 Décembre 1999, [Organisé Par] Etilal, Etudes Ibériques, Latino-Américaines Et Lusophones*. Montpellier: Publications de l'université de Montpellier 3, 2000.
- Franco, José Eduardo. "A Palavra Enquanto Utopia: O Quinto Império E a Configuração Mítica Da Identidade Portuguesa Em Vieira." In *IV Centenario Della Nascita di Antonio Vieira*, 24. Roma, (forthcoming).
- . "Uma Utopia Católica Sob Suspeita: Censura Romana À *Clavis Prophetarum* Do Padre António Vieira, S.J." *Lusitania Sacra* 2ª série, no. 18 (2006): 473-84.
- Furnish, Victor Paul. *Ii Corinthians*. 1st ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984.
- . *Theology and Ethics in Paul*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968.

- Gammie, John G. "A Journey through Danielic Spaces: The Book of Daniel in the Theology and Piety of the Christian Community." 39, no. 2 (1985): 144-56.
- García Martínez, Florentino. "4q'amram B I,14: 'Melki-Resa O Melki-Sedeq?'" *Révue de Qumran* 12 (1987): 111-14.
- . "Nuevos Textos No Bíblicos Procedentes De Qumran." *Estudios Bíblicos* 49 (1991): 97-134.
- . "Nuevos Textos Nobíblicos Pocedentes De Qumrán." *Estudios Bíblicos* 49 (1991): 97-134.
- . *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez, A. S. van der Woude and J. van der Ploeg. Vol. IX, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Leiden/New York/Koln: Brill, 1992.
- García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Brill/Eerdmans, 1997.
- Giet, Stanislas. *L'apocalypse Et L'histoire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957.
- Gilson, Etienne. *Les Métamorphoses De La Cité De Dieu*. Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1952.
- Glasson, T. Francis. "The Last Judgment - in Rev. 20 and Related Writings." *New Testament Studies* 28, no. 4 (1982): 528-39.
- Goldingay, John. *Daniel*. Dallas, TX: Word Pub., 1989.
- Gómez Palacín, Luis. *Vieira: Entre O Reino Imperfeito E O Reino Consumado*. São Paulo, SP: Edições Loyola, 1998.
- Gotaas, Mary C. *Bossuet and Vieira: A Study in National, Epochal, and Individual Style*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1953.
- Grabbe, Lester L., and Robert D. Haak. *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*. Vol. 46, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2003.
- Gray, Rebecca. *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Grundmann, Herbert, and Gian Luca Potestà. *Gioacchino Da Fiore: Vita E Opere*. 1. ed. Vol. 8, Opere Di Gioacchino Da Fiore. Testi E Strumenti. Roma: Viella, 1997.
- Gurevich, Aron I. Akovlevich, and Jana Howlett. *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages*. London: Polity Press, 1992.
- Hanson, A. T. "The Midrash in Ii Corinthians 3: A Reconsideration." *JSNT* 9, no. 1 (1980): 2-28.
- Hanson, Paul D. *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, Issues in Religion and Theology ; 2. Philadelphia/London: Fortress Press/SPCK, 1983.
- Harrison, Carol. *Augustine: Christian Truth and Fractured Humanity*, Christian Theology in Context. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Hartman, Louis Francis, and Alexander A. Di Lella. *The Book of Daniel*. 1 ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978.
- Hasel, Gerhard F. "The Four World Empires of Daniel 2 against Its near Eastern Environment." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, no. 12 (1979): 17-30.
- Hays, Richard B. "Justification." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday.
- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Damascus Texts*. Vol. 1, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

- Hennecke, Edgar, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, and R. McL Wilson. *New Testament Apocrypha*. 2 vols. London: Lutterworth Press, 1963.
- Henze, Matthias. "The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Architecture of the End Time." In *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, edited by Gabriele Boccaccini, 207-09. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2005.
- Hesiod. *Hesiod*. Edited by Glenn W. Most. 2 vols. Vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- . *Theogony and Works and Days*. Translated by M. L. West. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Hill, Charles E. *Regnum Caelorum: Patterns of Millennial Thought in Early Christianity*. 2 ed. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2001.
- Hippolytus. *Commentaire Sur Daniel*. Translated by Maurice Lefèvre and Introduction by Gustave Bardy. Vol. 14, Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1947.
- "Hippolytus, St." In *The Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, 778-79. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Huggins, R. V. "A Canonical "Book of Periods" At Qumran?" *Révue de Qumran* 15, no. 3 (1992): 421-36.
- Hultgard, Anders. "Persian Apocalypticism." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, edited by John J. Collins, 39-83. New York/London: Continuum, 2000.
- Jerome. *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel*. Edited by Gleason Leonard Archer. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958.
- Jonge, M. de, and A. S. Van der Woude. "11q Melchizedek and the New Testament." *New Testament Studies* 12, no. 4 (1966): 301-26.
- Jordan, Maria V. "The Empire of the Future and the Chosen People: Father Antonio Vieira and the Prophetic Tradition in the Hispanic World." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 40, no. 1 (2003): 45-57.
- Josephus, Flavius. *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary*. Edited by Steve Mason and Louis H. Feldman. Vol. 5. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2000.
- . *Jewish Antiquities*. Edited by Ralph Marcus and Allen Paul Wikgren. Vol. 8. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Kaplan, Yosef, Richard Henry Popkin, and Henry Méchoulan. *Menasseh Ben Israel and His World*. Vol. 15, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History. Leiden/New York: E.J. Brill, 1989.
- Knibb, Michael A. "A Note on 4q372 and 4q390." In *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. Van Der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne, 164-77. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Knuuttila, Simo. "Time and Creation in Augustine." In *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, edited by Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann, 103-15. Cambridge, U.K./New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Kobelski, Paul J. *Melchizedek and Melchiresha'*. Edited by The Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Vol. 10, Monograph Series. Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981.
- Kottman, Karl A., ed. *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Catholic Millenarianism: From Savonarola to the Abbé Gregoire*. 4 vols. Vol. 2. Dordrecht/Boston: Kluwer, 2001.

- Kovacs, Judith L., Christopher Rowland, and Rebekah Callow. *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ*, Blackwell Bible Commentaries. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004.
- Kraft, Robert A., and Pierre Prigent. *Épître De Barnabé*. Vol. 172, Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971.
- Kratz, Reinhard. "The Visions of Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, edited by John Joseph Collins and Peter W. Flint, 91-113. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Kreitzer, L. J. "Eschatology." In *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, edited by Gerald F. Hawthorne and Ralph P. Martin, 253-69. Leicester: Inver Varsity Press, 1993.
- L'Yvonnet, François. *D'un Millénaire À L'autre: La Grande Mutation*. Vol. 98, Espaces Libres. Paris: Albin Michel, 2000.
- Lacocque, André. *Le Livre De Daniel*. Neuchâtel/Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1976.
- Lake, Kirsopp. *The Apostolic Fathers*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Lancel, Serge. *Saint Augustine*. London: SCM Press, 2002.
- Laperrousaz, E.-M., ed. *Qoumrân Et Les Manuscrits De La Mer Morte*. Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1997.
- Leclerc, Marie-Christine. "Facettes Du Temps Dans Les "Travaux Et Les Jours" D'hésiode." *Révue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, no. 1/2 (1994): 147-63.
- Lee, Pilchan. *The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation : A Study of Revelation 21-22 in the Light of Its Background in Jewish Tradition*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Liettaert Peerbolte, L. J. *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents*. Vol. 49, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism. Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1996.
- Lim, Timothy H., ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- Lins, Ivan Monteiro de Barros. *Aspectos Do Padre Antônio Vieira*. 2 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria São José, 1962.
- Lisboa, João Francisco. *Vida Do Padre Antônio Vieira*. Vol. 5, Série Clássica Brasileiro-Portuguesa "Os Mestres Da Língua". São Paulo: Edições cultura, 1942.
- Lopes, António. *Vieira O Encoberto: 74 Anos De Evolução Da Sua Utopia*. 1 ed. Cascais: Principia, 1999.
- Manasseh ben, Israel, Henry Méchoulan, and Gérard Nahon. *Espérance D'israel*, Bibliothèque D'histoire De La Philosophie. Paris: J. Vrin, 1979.
- Markus, R. A. *Sacred and Secular: Studies on Augustine and Latin Christianity*. Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain/Brookfield, VT. USA: Variorum, 1994.
- . *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*. rev. ed. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Martin, Ralph P. *1-2 Corinthians*, Word Biblical Themes. Dallas: Word Pub., 1988.
- Martone, Corrado. *La "Regola Della Comunità". Edizione Critica*. Edited by Paolo Sacchi. Vol. 8, Quaderni Di Henoch. Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1995.
- Mason, Steve. *Josephus and the New Testament*. 2 ed. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005.

- Mathewson, David. *A New Heaven and a New Earth: The Meaning and Function of the Old Testament in Revelation 21.1-22.5*. Vol. 238, Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003.
- McGinn, Bernard. "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist." *Church History* 47, no. 2 (1978): 155-73.
- . *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*. 1st ed. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994.
- . "Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100-1500." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, edited by Bernard McGinn, John Joseph Collins and Stephen J. Stein, 74-109. New York: Continuum, 1998.
- . *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought*. New York: Macmillan, 1985.
- . "Forms of Catholic Millenarianism: A Brief Overview." In *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Catholic Millenarianism: From Savonarola to the Abbé Gregoire*, edited by Karl A. Kottman, 1-13. Dordrecht/Boston: Kluwer, 2001.
- . *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 96, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.
- . *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. Rev. paperback ed. Vol. 96, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- . "Wrestling with the Millennium: Early Modern Catholic Exegesis of Apocalypse 20." In *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America*, edited by Abbas Amanat and Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson, 148-67. London/New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002.
- McNamara, Martin. *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage: The Middle East and Celtic Realms*. Dublin/Portland, OR: Four Courts, 2003.
- Mealy, J. Webb. *After the Thousand Years: Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20*. Vol. 70, Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1992.
- Mendes, Margarida Vieira. "'Chave Dos Profetas': A Edição Em Curso." In *Vieira Escritor*, edited by Margarida Vieira Mendes, Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, José da Costa Miranda and Universidade de Lisboa. Departamento de Literaturas Românicas., 31-39. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1997.
- . *A Oratória Barroca De Vieira*, Coleção Universitária. Lisboa: Caminho, 1989.
- Mendes, Margarida Vieira, Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, José da Costa Miranda, and Universidade de Lisboa. Departamento de Literaturas Românicas., eds. *Vieira Escritor*. 1a. ed. Vol. 18, Cosmos Literatura. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1997.
- Mezzadri, B. "Structure of the Myth and Races in Hesiod." *Homme* 28, no. 2-3 (1988): 51-57.
- Milhou, Alain. "Apocalypticism in Central and South American Colonialism." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, edited by Stephen J. Stein, 3-35. New York: Continuum, 1999.
- . *Colón Y Su Mentalidad Mesianica En El Ambiente Franciscanista Español*. Vol. 11, Cuadernos Colombinos. Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón : Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1983.

- . "De La Destruction De L'Espagne À La Destruction Des Indes: Histoire Sacrée Et Combats Idéologiques." In *Etudes Sur L'impact Culturel Du Nouveau Monde*, edited by Marie-Cécile Bénassy-Berling and Séminaire interuniversitaire sur l'Amérique espagnole coloniale (France), 25-47. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1981.
- Milik, J. T., and Matthew Black. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Minois, Georges. *Histoire De L'avenir: Des Prophètes À La Prospective*. [Paris]: Fayard, 1996.
- Mitchell, Margaret Mary. *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians*. 1st American ed. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993.
- Moreira, Adriano. "O Centenário De Vieira." edited by Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Lisboa, 2008.
- Muhana, Adma. *Os Autos Do Processo De Vieira Na Inquisição*. 1 ed, Coleção Studium. São Paulo: Editora UNESP/Fundação Cultural, Estado da Bahia, 1995.
- Muraro, Valmir Francisco. *Padre Antônio Vieira: Retórica E Utopia*. Florianópolis: Insular, 2003.
- Murphy-O'Connor, J. *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians*, New Testament Theology. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Murray, Michael E. *Modern Philosophy of History: Its Origin and Destination*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970.
- Myers, Charles D., Jr. "Romans, Epistle to The." *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. *1 Enoch 1*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001.
- . *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001.
- . "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1qH 4:29-40)." In *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, edited by Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, 649-59. Madrid/Leiden: Editorial Complutense/Brill, 1992.
- . *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- . *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*. Expanded ed. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E., and James C. VanderKam. *1 Enoch: A New Translation, Based on the Hermeneia Commentary*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004.
- Novinsky, Anita. "Padre Antonio Vieira, the Inquisition, and the Jews." *Jewish History* 6, no. 1 - 2 (1992): 151-62.
- O'Connell, John P. *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome*. Mundelein: Apud aedes Seminarii Sanctae Mariae ad Lacum, 1948.
- O'Daly, Gerard J. P. *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Oort, J. van. *Jerusalem and Babylon : A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, V. 14. Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1991.
- Otzen, Benedikt. "Michael and Gabriel: Angeological Problems in the Book of Daniel." In *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. Van Der Wouden on the*

- Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne, 114-24. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Paget, James Carleton. "The *Epistle of Barnabas*." In *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, edited by Paul Foster, 72-80. London/New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Paiva, José Pedro. "Spain and Portugal." In *A Companion to the Reformation World*, edited by R. Po-chia Hsia, 291-310. Malden, MA/Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2004.
- Paiva, José Pedro, and Biblioteca Nacional (Portugal). *Padre António Vieira, 1608-1697: Bibliografia*. 1a ed. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1999.
- Paiva, Sebastião de, Frei. *Tratado Da Quinta Monarquia*, Pensamento Português. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2006.
- Paul, André. "Le Concept De Prophétie Biblique: Flavius Josèphe Et Daniel." *Recherches de science religieuse* 63, no. 3 (1975): 367-84.
- Peloso, Silvano. *Antonio Vieira E L'impero Universale: La Clavis Prophetarum E I Documenti Inquisitoriali*. 1. ed, Nuovo Mondo; 4. Viterbo: Sette città, 2005.
- . "Ut Libri Prophetici Melius Intelligentur, Omnium Temporum Historia Compectenda Est: O Quinto Império De António Vieira E O Debate Europeu Nos Séculos XVI E XVII." In *Vieira Escritor*, edited by Margarida Vieira Mendes, Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, José da Costa Miranda and Universidade de Lisboa. Departamento de Literaturas Românicas., 177-87. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1997.
- Phelan, John Leddy. *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*. 2d ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Popkin, Richard Henry. "Some Aspects of Jewish-Christian Theological Interchanges in Holland and England 1640-1700." In *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents*, edited by Johannes van den Berg and Ernestine G. E. van der Wall, ix, 210 p. Dordrecht/Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988.
- Potestà, Gian Luca. *Il Tempo Dell'apocalisse: Vita Di Gioacchino Da Fiore*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 2004.
- Prigent, Pierre. *L'épître Aux Romains*, Bible En Face. Genève/Paris: Labor et Fides/Bayard, 2002.
- Puech, Émile. *La Croyance Des Esséniens En La Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie Éternelle?: Histoire D'une Croyance Dans Le Judaïsme Ancien*. 2 vols, Études Bibliques. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1993.
- . "Notes Sur Le Manuscrit De Xiqmelkisédeq." *Révue de Qumran* 12, no. 4 (1987): 483-513.
- Querbach, Carl W. "Hesiod's Myth of the Four Races." *The Classical Journal* 81, no. 1 (1985): 1-12.
- Rainini, Marco. *Disegni Dei Tempi: Il "Liber Figurarum" E La Teologia Figurativa Di Gioacchino Da Fiore*. 1. ed. Roma: Viella, 2006.
- Ramos, José Augusto M. "Definir O Messias, Segundo Abravanel." In *Rumos E Escrita Da História: Estudos Em Homenagem a A. A. Marques De Almeida*, edited by Adelino Augusto Marques de Almeida and Maria de Fátima Reis, 373-89. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 2007.
- . "Na Margem Oriental Do Classicismo." In *Padre Manuel Antunes (1918-1985): Interfaces Da Cultura Portuguesa E Europeia*, edited by Jose Eduardo Franco and Herminio Rico, 75-98. Porto: Campo das Letras, 2007.
- . "O Espaço Do Tempo, Segundo O Judaísmo." *Cultura* 23 (2006): 233-52.
- . "Sobre O Fim Do Mundo Pré-Clássico." *Biblos* II (2004): 11-57.

- . "Transmissão Da Cultura Bíblica No Mundo Clássico E Cristianização Do Império." *HVMANITAS LIV* (2002): 189-230.
- Redditt, Paul L. "Daniel 9: Its Structure and Meaning." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2000): 236-49.
- Reeves, Marjorie. *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages; a Study in Joachimism*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993.
- . "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore." *Traditio* XXXVI (1980): 269-316.
- Rhodes, James N. *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition: Polemics, Paraenesis, and the Legacy of the Golden-Calf Incident*. Vol. 188, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Ricard, Robert. "Prophecy and Messianism in the Works of Antonio Vieira." *The Americas* 17, no. 4 (1961): 357-68.
- Rojas-Flores, Gonzalo. "The Book of Revelation and the First Years of Nero's Reign." *Biblica* 85, no. 3 (2004): 375-92.
- Roth, Cecil. *A Life of Menasseh Ben Israel, Rabbi, Printer, and Diplomat*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934.
- Rowland, Christopher, and John Barton. *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*. Vol. 43, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Rowley, Harold Henry. *Darius, the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1959.
- Rusconi, Roberto. "Antichrist and Antichrists." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, edited by Bernard McGinn, John Joseph Collins and Stephen J. Stein, 287325. New York: Continuum, 1998.
- . *Profezia E Profeti Alla Fine Del Medioevo*. 1 ed. Vol. 9, Opere Di Gioacchino Da Fiore. Roma: Viella, 1999.
- Russell, D. S. *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 Bc-Ad 100*, The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster press, 1964.
- Sanders, E. P. *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*. 1st paperback ed. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- Saraiva, António José. "Antonio Vieira, Menasseh Ben Israel Et Le Cinquième Empire." *Studia Rosenthaliana* VI, no. 1 (1972): 24-57.
- . *História E Utopia; Estudos Sobre Vieira*. 1. ed, Identidade. Série Cultura Portuguesa. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação : Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992.
- . *O Discurso Engenhoso: Ensaio Sobre Vieira*. 1. ed. Lisboa: Gradiva, 1996.
- Saraiva, António José, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, and Universidade de Lisboa. Faculdade de Letras. *Estudos Portugueses: Homenagem a António José Saraiva*. 1st. ed, Diálogo. Serie Compilação. Lisboa: Ministério da Educação/Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1990.
- Sauzeau, P., and A. Sauzeau. "The Symbolism of Metals and the Myth About the Metallic Races." *Révue De L'Histoire Des Religions* 219, no. 3 (2002): 259-97.

- Schiffman, Lawrence H. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. Philadelphia/Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994.
- Schreckenberg, Heinz. "The Works of Josephus and the Early Christian Church." In *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, edited by Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata, 315-24. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987.
- Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. *Revelation: Vision of a Just World*, Proclamation Commentaries. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Schwartz, Stuart B. *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- . "The Contexts of Vieira's Toleration of Jews and New Christians." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 40, no. 1 (2003): 33-44.
- Schweitzer, Albert. *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*. Translated by William Montgonery B. D. 2 ed. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1953.
- Scorza Barcellona, Francesco. *Epistola Di Barnaba*. Vol. 1, Corona Patrum. Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1975.
- Shea, William. "¿Cuándo Comenzaron Las Setenta Semanas De Daniel 9:24?" *Theologika* XV, no. 2 (2000): 122-55.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. "Ages of the World." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade and Lindsay Jones, 173-77. Detroit: Thompson, 1987.
- Smith, Morton, Fausto Parente, and Joseph Sievers. *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*. Vol. 41, Studia Post-Biblica. Leiden/New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.
- Smith, P. "History and the Individual in Hesiod Myth of 5 Races." *Classical World* 74, no. 3 (1980): 145-63.
- Stegemann, Hatmut. *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*. Leiden/Grand Rapids: Brill/Eerdmans, 1998.
- Stern, Sacha. "Qumran Calendars: Theory and Practice." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, edited by Timothy H. Lim, 179-86. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- Studel, A. "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran (1)." *Révue de Qumran* 16 (1993): 225-46.
- Stone, Michael E., and Frank Moore Cross. *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia - a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.
- Stump, Eleonore, and Norman Kretzmann. *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*. Cambridge, U.K./New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Swain, Joseph Ward. "The Theory of the Four Monarchies Opposition History under the Roman Empire." *Classical Philology* 35, no. 1 (1940): 1-21.
- Thiselton, Anthony C. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Thrall, Margaret E. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. 2 vols. Vol. 1, The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994.
- Tiller, Patrick A. *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch*. Vol. 4, Early Judaism and Its Literature. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993.

- Trakatellis, Demetrios. "Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel." In *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World : Essays Honoring Dieter Georgi*, edited by Dieter Georgi, Lukas Bormann, Kelly Del Tredici and Angela Standhartinger, 527-50. Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio, and Luis Vegas Montaner, eds. *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Leiden/Madrid: Brill/Editorial Complutense, 1991.
- Ulrich, Eugene, and James C. VanderKam, eds. *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Gregory E. Sterling. Vol. 10, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.
- Valdez, Maria Ana. "From the Periods of History Towards the End." *Cadmo* 17 (2007): 55-80.
- Valente, Vasco Pulido. "A Sociedade, O Estado E a História Na Obra De António Vieira." In *Estudos Sobre a Crise Nacional*, 95-240. Lisboa: Impr. Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1980.
- Valeta, David. "The Satirical Nature of the Book of Daniel." In *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition*, edited by C. Rowland and J. Barton, 81-93. London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Van der Woude, A.S., ed. *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993.
- Van Fleteren, Frederick. "Jerusalem." In *Augustine through the ages: an encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini, 462-3. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1999.
- VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.
- . *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984.
- . *Enoch, a Man for All Generations*, Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
- . *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. Edited by John J. Collins. Vol. 62, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill, 2000.
- . "Sabbatical Chronologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, edited by Timothy H. Lim, 159-78. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- . "Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10, 91:11-17)." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46 (1984): 511-23.
- VanderKam, James C., and William Adler. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. Vol. 4, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum Ad Novum Testamentum. Section 3, Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.
- , eds. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. Assen/Minneapolis: Van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 1996.
- VanderKam, James C., and Peter W. Flint. *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity*. New York: Harper Collins, 2002.

- Ventura, Margarida Garcez. *O Messias De Lisboa: Um Estudo De Mitologia Política, 1383-1415*. 1a. ed. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1992.
- Vernant, Jean Pierre. *Mythe Et Pensée Chez Les Grecs: Études De Psychologie Historique*. Nouv. éd. rev. et augm. ed. Paris: La Découverte, 1985.
- Vieira, António. *2.000 Trechos Seleccionados De Vieira: Com Índice Alfabético E Remissivo De Assuntos*. Edited by Mário Ritter Nunes. [S.l.]: [s.n.], 1958.
- . *Antonio Vieira: Introdução, Seleção De Textos E Notas*. Edited by António Diego do Prado Coelho. Lisboa: Livraria Rodrigues, 1944.
- . *Apologia Das Coisas Profetizadas*. Edited by Adma Fadul Muhana and Arnaldo M. Espírito Santo. Lisboa: Cotovia, 1994.
- . *Clavis Prophetarum = Chave Dos Profetas*. Edited by Arnaldo do Espírito Santo and Margarida Vieira Mendes. 1 ed. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2000.
- . *Defesa Perante O Tribunal Do Santo Ofício*. Edited by Hernâni Cidade. [Salvador, Brasil]: Aguiar & Souza, 1957.
- . "Esperanças De Portugal Quinto Império Do Mundo: Primeira E Segunda Vida Del-Rei D. João O Quarto Escritas Por Gonçalves Bandarra." In *Antônio Vieira, Profecia E Polêmica*, edited by J. J. van den Besselaar, 49-108. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002.
- . *História Do Futuro*. Edited by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu. 2 ed, Biblioteca De Autores Portugueses. [Lisbon]: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1992.
- . *La Mission D'ibiapaba: Le Père Antônio Vieira & Le Droit Des Indiens*. Edited by João Viegas, Collection Magellane. Paris: Chandeigne/Unesco, 1998.
- . *Livro Antepimeiro Da História Do Futuro*. Edited by J. J. van den Besselaar. 1 ed, Série Autores Clássicos. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983.
- . *Obras Escolhidas*. Edited by António Sérgio and Hernâni Cidade. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1951.
- . *Per La Storia Del Futuro*. Edited by Davide Bigalli and Paolo Rossi. Aosta: Éditions L'Eubage, 2002.
- Vieira, Antônio, S.J. *História Do Futuro*. Edited by José Carlos Brandi Aleixo S.J. Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 2005.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. "Chronomessianism: The Timing of Messianic Movements and the Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 201-18.
- . "Historiography of Qumran: The Sons of Zadok and Their Enemies." In *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, edited by Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson, 347-77. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Wainwright, Arthur William. *Mysterious Apocalypse: Interpreting the Book of Revelation*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993.
- Weber, Eugen Joseph. *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Widengren, Geo, Anders Hultgard, and Marc Philonenko. *Apocalyptique Iranienne Et Dualisme Qourânien*. Edited by Marc Philonenko, Recherches Intertestamentaires. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1995.
- Woude, A. S. van der. *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. Vol. 106, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium. Leuven: Leuven University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1993.

- Yarbro Collins, Adela. "The Apocalypse of John and Its Millennial Themes." In *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage: The Middle East and Celtic Realm*, edited by Martin McNamara, 50-60. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.
- . "The Book of Revelation." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, edited by John J. Collins, 384-414. New York/London: Continuum, 2000.
- . *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*. Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill, 2001.
- . *Crisis & Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984.
- , ed. *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*. Vol. 36, Semeia. Decatur: Society of Biblical Literature, 1986.
- . "Revelation, the Book Of." *Anchor Bible Dictionary* V (1994): 694-708.