RAMELLI, Ilaria; KONSTAN, David
Terms for Eternity: aiôvioc and áidioc in Classical and Christian Texts
Centro de Estudios Clásicos
Distrito Federal, México

Available in: http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=59120913002
Terms for Eternity: \( \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\varsigma \) and \( \acute{\alpha}i\acute{\delta}i\omicron\varsigma \) in Classical and Christian Texts

Ilaria Ramelli and David Konstan
Università Cattolica di Milano / Brown University
ilaria.ramelli@virgilio.it / dkonstan@brown.edu

Abstract: This paper surveys the uses of two ancient Greek terms —\( \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\varsigma \) and \( \acute{\alpha}i\acute{\delta}i\omicron\varsigma \)— commonly translated as “eternal”, from their earliest occurrences in poetry and pre-Socratic philosophy down through the Septuagint and the New Testament, and culminating in the Christian theologian Origen. It examines the rise of the idea of infinitely extended time (generally denoted by \( \acute{\alpha}i\acute{\delta}i\omicron\varsigma \)), and Plato’s innovative introduction of a concept of a timeless eternity (sometimes described as \( \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\varsigma \)). It is argued that in the Greek Bible, \( \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\varsigma \), as opposed to \( \acute{\alpha}i\acute{\delta}i\omicron\varsigma \), does not necessarily denote absolute eternity. Since only \( \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\varsigma \), and never \( \acute{\alpha}i\acute{\delta}i\omicron\varsigma \), is applied to punishment in the afterlife, Origen could find support in this usage for his doctrine of universal salvation and the finite duration of hell.

Palabras clave: \( \acute{\alpha}i\acute{\delta}i\omicron\varsigma \), \( \alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\varsigma \), Biblia, Christian Texts, Classical Texts, Eternity, Origen.

Recepción: 9 de agosto de 2006.
Aceptación: 26 de septiembre de 2006.

Noua tellus, 24-2, 2006
In this article, we offer a preliminary introduction to the research we are undertaking into the uses of two ancient Greek terms that are commonly translated as “eternal”. The terms are αἰώνιος and ἀΐδιος. Neither word, as it happens, is to be found in the Homeric epics or in the major poems of Hesiod (Theogony and Works and Days), although the noun αἰὼν, from which αἰώνιος derives, is very common, mainly in the sense of a “life” or “lifetime”. So far as we can judge, ἀΐδιος enters into Greek sooner, whereas αἰώνιος first occurs, surprisingly enough, in Plato. As we point out, Plato’s introduction of the term is philosophically significant, as is the fact that Aristotle eschewed it completely in his own copious writings. The subsequent history of these terms, and the dance in which they engage with each other throughout Greek literature and philosophy, is fascinating in itself, but the real pay-off, as will appear, is in the way these terms are employed in the Septuagint and the New Testament, and thereafter in Christian writers who are usually equally familiar with the connotations of these words both in the pagan tradition and in Scripture. What is more, a great deal proves to be at stake in how these two terms are interpreted: in fact, nothing less than the prospect of the eternal damnation of sinners versus the universal salvation of all in the end. These are big issues, needless to say, and much hangs, in this case, on the results of careful philological and lexical investigation. Thus, what may seem to be a dry investigation of subtle terminological
distinctions proves to be a key to understanding ancient philosophical and religious thought.

The notion of “eternity” is not simple, in part because “eternity” has multiple senses, in part too because some of these significances are not immediately self-evident, and involve a high level of philosophical abstraction. On the one hand, terms for “eternal” may bear the loose sense of “a very long time”, as in the English “always”, without implying a rigorous notion of infinitely extended time. Even at this level, the Greek adverb aîêî, like the English “always”, has at least two distinct connotations, referring both to an indefinitely prolonged stretch of time, equivalent to the English “forever” (“I will always love you”), and to an action that is regularly repeated (“he always comes late to class”). And again, there are intermediate uses, for example, “the house has always been on that street”, meaning that, as long as the house has existed, it has been in the same place, without any implication of unlimited duration. On the other hand, “eternal” may signify a strictly boundless extent of time, that is, greater than any numerical measure one can assign. This latter description is itself imprecise, of course. It may mean nothing more than “countless”, that is, too large to grasp, or grasp easily. The Epicureans, indeed, speak of an order of magnitude that is neither finite nor infinite, which they define as “incomprehensible but not absolutely infinite”: an example in nature is the speed of atoms travelling in a void. But eternal time is more commonly understood to be strictly endless, with no termination at all. Even on this more rigorous conception, for which modern mathematics can render a precise definition, there are two senses in which time may be said to be eternal. It may, as some thinkers both ancient and modern have maintained, have a beginning but no end (or, though this is a rare view, an end but no beginning); or time may, as others have held, have neither a beginning nor an end, but extend infinitely into the past and the future. What is more, in addition
to all these varieties of “eternal”, the adjective has been appropriated also to denote something like “timelessness”, a changeless state that has no duration and hence is not subject to time at all. This sense too is attested in classical thought, although it is not characteristic of popular usage.

We begin with a brief review of eternity in the presocratic thinkers. Ps.-Plutarch, *Strom.*, 2, ascribes to Anaximander the idea that corruption and genesis occur in cycles ἐξ ὀπείρου αἰῶνος; “from an infinite time”, but these are surely not Anaximander’s own words. Similarly, Hippolytus *Refutatio omnium heresium* cites Heraclitus’ words, “The Thunderbolt steers everything”, and goes on to explain that Heraclitus “calls the eternal fire ‘Thunderbolt’”: κέραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγει τὸ αἰῶνον). Similar usages are ascribed to the Pythagoreans, but these again are clearly later inventions.

In contrast to αἰῶνος, the adjective ὑδίως is attested in the sense of “eternal” or “perpetual” as early as the Homeric *Hymn to Hestia* and the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles*, but in neither case does the expression imply a technical sense of “eternal.”

With the Presocratics, however, the term ὑδίως in the sense of “eternal” seems to come into its own, in a series of testimonies beginning with Anaximander and continuing on down to Melissus and beyond, although here again one must be careful to distinguish between paraphrases and original terminology. For Anaximander, any of the attributed sentences would, taken alone, be of doubtful authority, for example Testimony 12A12 D-K, which reports that Anaximander held that a principle more ancient than water is “perpetual movement”

---

1 Cf. 12A10 D-K.
2 Cf. fr. 22B64 D-K.
4 Cf. 29.3.
5 Cf. 311.
(τὴν ἀἳδιον κίνησιν); taken together, the several passages perhaps suggest that Anaximander himself may have applied the adjective ἀἳδιος to motion. For Xenophanes we have attestations of his use of ἀἳδιος in the sense not only of “indestructible” or “immortal” but also that of ἀγενέντος, “ungenerated”;

Xenophanes argues here that “either there exists nothing besides god, or all other things too are ἀἳδια.” Again, the convergence of the various accounts suggests that Xenophanes may in fact have employed the adjective ἀἳδιος in reference to god or the universe conceived of as a single whole. Two testimonies concerning Heraclitus cite ἀἳδιος as referring to the perpetual movement of things that are eternal and to the cyclical fire (τὸ περιοδικὸν πῦρ), which is god.

Heraclitus’ use of the term ἀἳδιος in connection with cyclical phenomena is particularly noteworthy, for in later texts recurring or periodic events tend to be described rather by the word ἀἰώνιος.

With Empedocles, we have the use of the term ἀἳδιος in his Κοθαρµοί, guaranteed by the meter: “there is a thing of Necessity, an ancient decree of the gods, eternal.”

Aetius informs us —according to a supplement by Diels—that Empedocles maintained that the “One” was “spherical, eternal, and immobile.” Among the Eleatics, Parmenides is said to have described the “all” as ἀἳδιος, in that it is ungenerated and imperishable.

As for Melissus, Simplicius provides what appears to be a direct quotation affirming that “nothing that has a beginning and end is either eternal [ἀἰώνιον] or infinite.” It is worth noting that nowhere is the term ἀἰώνιος ever attributed to the Eleatics. There is no reliable evidence for the usage of the

---

6 Cf. Test. 21A28 D-K.
7 Cf. Aetius, 1.7.22 = Test. 8 D-K; cf. Aristotle, De caelo, 1.10, 279b12 ff. = Test. 10 D-K.
9 Cf. 1.7.8 = Test. 32 D-K.
10 Cf. Eusebius, Praep. Evang., 1.8.5 = Test. 22 D-K.
11 Cf. in Phys., 110.2 = fr. 30B4 D-K.
early Pythagoreans in this regard, though later writers ascribed the term to them. According to Simplicius,\textsuperscript{12} Diogenes of Apollonia held that the air is eternal (\(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}\ddot{i}o\nu\)) and infinite. Simplicius cites the actual words of Diogenes\textsuperscript{13} to the effect that air “is a body eternal and immortal [\(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}\ddot{i}o\nu\ k\ddot{a}i\ \ddot{a}\theta\ddot{a}-
n\ddot{a}tov\)]”.\textsuperscript{14}

Finally, Democritus too argued, according to Simplicius,\textsuperscript{15} that time was \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}io\varsigma\), on the grounds that it was ungenerated, and, according to Aristotle,\textsuperscript{16} that the whole of things too was eternal (\(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}i\nu\ \tau\ddot{o}\ \pi\ddot{a}v\)). In addition, a fragment of Aristotle’s treatise On Democritus\textsuperscript{17} preserved by Simplicius,\textsuperscript{18} informs us that the atoms, according to Democritus, were also eternal by nature, as well as small and infinite in number.

It would appear, in sum, that the term of art for eternal things—all that is ungenerated and imperishable—among cosmological thinkers in the period prior to Plato was \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}io\varsigma\), never \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{on}io\varsigma\). In addition, \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}io\varsigma\) is the standard adjective meaning “eternal” in non-philosophical discourse of the fifth century as well.

When we come to Plato, we find uses of both adjectives, \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{on}io\varsigma\) and \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}io\varsigma\), in the sense of “eternal”. Thus, in the pseudo-Platonic Definitions, \(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}i\nu\) is defined as that which exists throughout all time, and is uncreated and not subject to corruption.\textsuperscript{19} In the Axiosochus,\textsuperscript{20} we read of the “everlasting punishments” (\(\ddot{a}i\ddot{d}oi\ddot{z}\ \tau\mu\omega\rho\ddot{ia}i\ddot{z}\)) of those great sinners, like

\textsuperscript{12} Cf. in Phys., 25.1 ff. = Test. 64A5 citing Theophrastus, Views of the Physicists.
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. 153.17 ff. = fr. 7 D-K.
\textsuperscript{14} Cf. also fr. 8 D-K.
\textsuperscript{15} Cf. in Phys., 1153.22 ff. = Test. 68A71 D-K.
\textsuperscript{16} Cf. Mete., 2.3, 356b4 = Test. 100 D-K.
\textsuperscript{17} Cf. fr. 208 Rose.
\textsuperscript{18} Cf. in De cael., 294.33ff. Heib. = Test. 37 D-K.
\textsuperscript{19} Cf. Def., 411A1-2.
\textsuperscript{20} Cf. 372A3.
the Danaids and Tantalus, who have been condemned to the underworld; for the ever-repeated devouring and regeneration of the entrails of Tityus, however, the adverb αἰώνιος is employed, perhaps suggesting cycles rather than eternal linear time.

It is in the *Timaeus*, however, that Plato enters most fully into the question of eternity, and here we find ἄιδος six times, αἰών four times, and αἰώνιος twice. Plato introduces the concept in reference to the model that the demiurge followed in creating the sensible universe by looking “to the eternal” (πρὸς τὸ ἄιδον, bis). This is the first occurrence in Greek literature, it would appear, of the nominalized adjective. Then, in a crucial passage, Plato remarks that the created universe was seen to be moving and living, an image of the eternal gods (τῶν ἀϊδίων θεῶν), and adds that it was itself an “eternal living thing” (ζῶδιων αἴδιων). Plato goes on to say that it was the nature of the living thing to be eternal (τῶν ζώδιων φύσεις ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα αἰώνιος) —note the shift of vocabulary here— but that this quality could not be attached to something that was begotten (γεννητός). The creator therefore decided to make “a kind of moving image of eternity” (εἰκόνι δ’ ἐπενόει κινητὸν τινα αἰώνιος), and so as he arranged the universe he made “an eternal image moving according to number of the eternity remaining in one” (μένοντος αἰώνος ἐν ἕνι κατ’ ἀριθμὸν ιοῦσαν αἰώνιον εἰκόνα), and this he called “time”. Like the universe, time itself can be undone, but the model or *paradeigma* is “of a sempiternal nature” (τῆς διαω-
Finally, the fixed stars are said to be “divine living things and eternal” (αἰῶνα).

On the one hand, αἰῶν and αἰῶνας appear to be virtually interchangeable: the model for the universe is “an eternal living thing” (τὸ ζῶον αἰῶν) and its nature is eternal (τοῦ ζωοῦ φύσις ὄσσα αἰῶνας). Both “eternity” (αἰῶνα) and “eternal being” (αἰῶνας οὐσία) are tenseless, without distinction of past, present and future. And yet, Plato seems to have found in the term αἰῶν a special designation for his notion of eternity as timeless, one that could substitute for the nominal phrase τὸ αἰῶνον; and with this new sense of αἰῶν, αἰῶνας too seems to have come into its own (along with διατάξιος) as a signifier for what is beyond time. It was Plato who first articulated this idea of eternity, and he would appear to have created a terminology to give it expression. Although we cannot go into detail here, we may note that Plotinus and Porphyry further developed Plato’s conception of a timeless eternity —a view that remained specific to Platonism and closely related schools in antiquity.

Aristotle, as we have said, seems never to use the term αἰῶνας, and αἰῶν only occasionally, most often in the traditional sense of “life”. At the same time, there are nearly 300 instances of αἰῶνος, which is Aristotle’s preferred word to designate things eternal. It is clear that Aristotle was not moved to adopt Plato’s novel terminology, whether because he perceived some difference between his own concept of eternity and that of his teacher, or because he felt that αἰῶνας was an unnecessary addition to the philosophical vocabulary, given the respectability of αἰῶνος as the appropriate technical term. We may note too that the same disproportion we have

28 Cf. 38B8; 39E2.
29 Cf. 38C2.
30 Cf. 40B5.
observed in Aristotle in the use of the two terms is reflected as well in the Aristotelian commentators, for example Aspasius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Simplicius.

In the Stoics, άiδίος occurs over thirty times in the sense of that which endures forever. It is applied to bodies and matter, the ὄντα or realities that truly exist according to Stoic materialism, and above all to god or Zeus. To the extent that the Stoics employed άiόνιος and its cognate άiόν, however, there is either a connection with their specific view of cosmic cycles, as opposed to strictly infinite duration, or else the noun occurs in phrases indicating a long period of time or an eternity. As for later Stoicism, we may note that Posidonius employs άiόνιος in connection with cyclical events that continue over time, such as tides. In this, Posidonius is in accord with single use of the term that is cited for the Old Stoa. Also, the adjective άiόνιος can refer to the condition of life in the world to come, as in the mention of the view that death is an evil “because of lasting terrifying retributions and punishments in the underworld” (τιμωρίας άιωνίος ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ κολασμοίς φρουράς); since the Stoics rejected the notion of a permanent afterlife, it is not dignified with the epithet άiδίος, which pertains rather to truly eternal elements in the Stoic system.

The Epicureans, in turn, regularly employ άιδίος to designate the eternity of such imperishable constituents of the universe as atoms and void. In the Letter to Herodotus, on the other hand, Epicurus uses άιόνιος in reference to the future life that non-Epicureans expect, with its dreadful punishments: that is, to an afterlife in which Epicureans do not believe, and which does not deserve the name “eternal” (άiδίος), properly reserved for truly perpetual elements. So too, in Principal Doctrine, 28, Epicurus affirms that “nothing terrible is άιόνιος.

---

31 Cf. fr. 44a Theiler.
32 Cf. fr. 441e Theiler.
33 Cf. 81.
or longlasting” (μηθὲν αἰώνιον εἶναι δεινὸν μηδὲ πολυχρόνιον), where αἰώνιος clearly bears the sense of “life-long”.

Given the prevalence of the term αἰώνιος in Greek literature down through the Hellenistic period, it comes as something of a surprise that in the Septuagint, αἰώνιος is all but absent, occurring in fact only twice, both times in late books written originally in Greek: 4 Maccabees, 10: 15.2, and Wisdom, 7: 26.1. In addition, there is one instance of the abstract noun, αἰώνιοτης, again in Wisdom,34 attested prior to this only in Aristotle (the word occurs 11 times, however, in Philo).

On the other hand, αἰώνιος occurs with impressive frequency, along with αἰών; behind both is the Hebrew ὄλαμ. A few examples of its uses must suffice. In Gen., 9: 16, the perpetual covenant with human beings after the flood, commemorated by the rainbow, is termed διαφήκη αἰώνιος, just as in Gen., 7: 13.19, it is that between God and Abraham and his descendants; in Ex., 31: 16, it is the compact between God and Israel sanctified by the observance of the Sabbath, which in turn is called “an eternal sign” (σημεῖον αἰώνιον) of this covenant across the generations and ages (αιωνίας). In Is., 63: 12, we see the sense of αἰώνιος relative to αἰών, understood as a time in the remote past or future, in accord with the original significance of ὄλαμ in the Hebrew: ἐμνήσθη ἡμερῶν αἰώνιων, “he remembered days long past”, in the time of Moses.

In general, the sense of αἰώνιος is that of something lasting over the centuries, or relating to remote antiquity, rather than absolute eternity. Now, when the same term is employed in reference to God, e.g., θεὸς αἰώνιος (“eternal God”),35 the question arises: does αἰώνιος mean simply “long-lasting” in these contexts as well, or is a clear idea of God’s everlastingness present in at least some of these passages? Take, for example, Ex., 3: 15, rendered in the RSV as follows:

---

34 Cf. 2: 23.2.
God also said to Moses, “Say this to the people of Israel, The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you”: this is my name for ever \( \text{[\( \alpha i\omega n\)]} \), and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations \( \text{[\( \gamma e\nu\epsilon\varphi\nu\text{[\( \gamma e\nu\epsilon\varepsilon\zeta\)]} \)\].

The emphasis on successive generations, past and future, suggests perhaps that \( \alpha i\omega n\) here connotes repeated ages, rather than a strictly infinite period of time. Many of the other examples come from relatively late texts, but even in these it is difficult to decide which sense is intended, in the absence of the kind of precise language to be found in the philosophers but alien to the Hebrew Scriptures. In some cases, moreover, the reference may be to the next epoch or \( \alpha i\omega \), rather than to an infinite time as such.

Of particular interest is the mention in Tobias\(^{36}\) of the place of the afterlife as a \( \tau \circ p \circ \alpha i\omega n\), the first place in the Hebrew Bible in which \( \alpha i\omega n\) unequivocally refers to the world to come.\(^{37}\) In 2 Mac., 7: 9, the doctrine of resurrection is affirmed and \( \alpha i\omega n\) is used with reference to life in the future world, \( \varepsilon \iota \alpha i\omega n\) \( \alpha \alpha \beta \iota \iota \sigma \sigma \iota \nu \varsigma \) \( \varepsilon \mu \zeta \) \( \alpha \alpha \nu \tau \iota \varsigma \varsigma \). In sum, the Septuagint almost invariably employs \( \alpha i\omega n\), in association with the various senses of \( \alpha i\omega \), in the sense of a remote or indefinite or very long period of time (like \( \acute{o}l\acute{a}m \)), with the possible connotation of a more absolute sense of “eternal” when the term is used in reference to God, from whom it borrows, as it were, its more abstract significance. In certain late books, like those of Tobias and the Maccabees, there is a reference to life in the \( \alpha i\omega \), understood in an eschatological sense as the world to come, in opposition to the present one (\( \kappa\acute{o}m\varsigma\), \( \kappa\acute{a}k\acute{r}\varsigma \)).

The adjective \( \acute{a}\acute{i}d\acute{i}o\varsigma \) occurs, as we have noted, only twice in the Septuagint. In Wisdom, which is saturated with the

\(^{36}\) Cf. 3: 6.

Greek philosophical lexicon, Wisdom is defined as \( \text{Ἀπαύγασμα φωτός ζωῆς} \), “a reflection of the eternal light” that is God. In 4 Mac., 12: 12, an impious tyrant is threatened with “fire αἰῶνιος” for the entire age or world to come (eἰς ὅλον τὸν αἰῶνα). But here we find the expression βίος αἰῶνιος or “eternal life” as well (τὸν αἰῶνιον τῶν εὐσεβῶν βιόν), in reference to the afterlife of the martyrs; \( \text{ibid.} \) this blessed state, moreover, is opposed to the lasting destruction of their persecutor in the world to come (τὸν αἰῶνιον τοῦ τυράννου ὄλεθρον, \( \text{ibid.} \)). This contrast between the parallel but antithetical expressions ὄλεθρος αἰῶνιος and βίος αἰῶνιος is notable. Both adjectives refer to the afterlife, that is, a future αἰὼν, but whereas retribution is described with the more general and polysemous term ὄλεθρος, to life in the beyond is applied the more technical term αἰῶνιος, denoting, at least in classical philosophy, a strictly endless condition.

In the New Testament, when the reference is to God, αἰῶνιος may be presumed to signify “eternal” in the sense of “perpetual”, as at Heb., 9: 14, where it is applied also to the Holy Spirit (πνεῦμα αἰῶνιον). Also perpetual is Christ’s reign 2 Pt., 1: 11, αἰῶνιον βασιλείαν, and Christ himself is “the eternal life” (τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰῶνιον) that was with the Father in 1 Jo., 1: 2. Nevertheless, the precise sense of αἰῶνιος in the New Testament, as in the Hebrew Bible, cannot be resolved with the help of explicit definitions or statements equating it with terms such as “ungenerated” and “imperishable,” of the sort found in the philosophers and in Philo of Alexandria. Hence, the positions adopted by religious scholars in this controversy have embraced both extremes. On the one hand, William Russell Straw, \( \text{40 cf. Aἰών and Aἰῶνιος: A Word Study of their Most Important Occurrences,} \) Diss. The Evangelical Theological College, Dallas, Texas, 1935, p. 303.
it is never found with the meaning of “life”, “lifetime”, proving
the great advance in its use under the hand of God... The
majority of instances can bear only the meaning “eternal...” Of
the one hundred two occurrences of αἰών in the New Testament,
sixty-six unmistakably refer to eternity, a proportion of three-
fifths to the whole. This is too great a proportion with which to
trifle.

As for αἰώνιος, “It may be rendered ‘eternal’ or ‘everlasting’
in every occurrence”. 41 Peder Margido Myhre, on the contrary,
argues that the Platonic sense of the term as “metaphysical
endlessness” is entirely absent in the New Testament, and
concludes:

As αἰών in the New Testament is limited to denote the ages of
the past, present, and future of this world, so the adjective should
follow that usage except when modifying God. Consequently,
these words which do not mean “endless” cannot prove the
everlastingness of God, for then they would also prove the ever-
lastingness of sinners. 42

Myhre goes on to affirm in with some passion:

Since, in all Greek literature, sacred and profane, αἰώνιος is
applied to finite things overwhelmingly more frequently than to
things immortal, no fair critic can assert with any degree of
probability that when it is qualifying the future punishment it
has the stringent meaning of metaphysical endlessness... The
idea of eternal torment introduced into these words of the Bible
by a theological school that was entirely ignorant of the Greek
language would make God to be a cruel tyrant, compared to whom
the most ingenious inventors of torment in modern concentration
camps would be mere amateurs. 43

41 Cf. ib., p. 304.
42 Cf. Myhre, The Concept of Olam, Aion and Aionios in the Light of the
Biblical and Certain Other Related Languages, Diss. Pacific Union College,
Angwin, California, 1947, pp. 159-160.
We turn now to the two uses of the more strictly philosophical term ἀϊδίος in the New Testament. The first\(^44\) refers unproblematically to the power and divinity of God: ἦ τε ἀϊδίος ἀυτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θείτης. In the second occurrence, however,\(^45\) ἀϊδίος is employed of eternal punishment—not that of human beings, however, but of evil angels, who are imprisoned in darkness (ὑπὸ ζόφον) “with eternal chains” (δεσμώτες ἀϊδίοις). But there is a qualification: “until the judgment of the great day” (εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας). The angels, then, will remain chained up until Judgment Day; we are not informed of what will become of them afterwards. Why ἀϊδίος of the chains, instead of αἰώνιος, used in the next verse of the fire of which the punishment of the Sodomites is an example? Perhaps because they continue from the moment of the angels’ incarceration, at the beginning of the world, until the judgment that signals the entry into the new αἰὼν: thus, the term indicates the uninterrupted continuity throughout all time in this world—this could not apply to human beings, who do not live through the entire duration of the present universe; to them applies rather the sequence of αἰῶνες or generations.

We conclude with a glance at Origen’s use of αἰώνιος and ἀϊδίος.\(^46\) In Origen, there are many passages that refer to the αἰώνιος life, in the formula characteristic of the New Testament: the emphasis seems to be not so much on eternity, that is, temporal infinity, as on the life in the next world or αἰών. A particularly clear instance is (we believe) Philocalia, 1.30. 21-23, where the αἰώνιος life is defined as that which will occur in the future αἰών. Origen affirms that God gave Scripture “body for those who existed before us [i.e., the Hebrews], soul for us, and spirit [πνεῦμα] for those in the αἰών to come, who

\(^{44}\) Cf. Rm., 1: 20.


\(^{46}\) In our larger project we carry our investigation down to the time of Dionysius the Ps.-Areopagite.
will obtain a life αἰώνιος”. So too, in the Commentary on Matthew,\textsuperscript{47} the future life (αἰώνιος) is contrasted with that in the present (πρόσκαιρος). Again, Origen in a series of passages opposes the ephemeral sensible entities of the present time (πρόσκαιρα) to the invisible and lasting objects of the world to come (αἰώνια).

In the Commentary on John,\textsuperscript{48} Origen explains: “the expression ‘And he gathers the fruit for αἰώνιος life’ means either that what is gathered is the fruit of αἰώνιος life or that it itself is αἰώνιος life.” In the Commentary on the Letter to the Romans, 22.11, in turn, Origen writes: “I believe that punishments are given as due and as retribution for sins. That is why even the Apostle said that death is the wages of sin. But the αἰώνιος life is no longer these wages and, as it were, what is due on the part of God, but rather a gift of grace.” Here life in the αἰών is consistent with punishment that is prior, but does not endure in the apocatastasis.

Consistent with the usage of the Septuagint and the New Testament, Origen also applies the adjective αἰώνιος to attributes of God. In one particularly illuminating passage,\textsuperscript{49} Origen speaks of the eternal God (τὸ αἰωνίον θεοῦ) and of the concealment of the mystery of Jesus over αἰώνιος stretches of time (χρόνοις αἰωνίοις), where the sense is plainly “from time immemorial.” So too, at Commentary on Matthew, 15.31. 37, Origen mentions the “days of the αἰών”, and “αἰώνια years” (ἐτη αἰώνια), that is, very long periods of time, and the phrase εἰς τοὺς αἰώνιας here signifies “for a very long time”.

In Origen, the adjective αἰώνιος occurs much less frequently than αἰώνιος, and when it is used, it is almost always in reference to God or His attributes; it presumably means “eternal” in the strict sense of limitless in time, as in, e.g.,

\textsuperscript{47} Cf. 15.25.
\textsuperscript{48} Cf. 13.46.299.
Selected Passages in the Commentary on the Psalms, vol. 12, p. 1560.35 PG: ἡ μὲν αἰσθητὴ ζωὴ οὐκ αἰῶνιος, τὸ δὲ ἔλεος τοῦ Κυρίου αἰῶνιον, “perceptible life is not eternal, but the mercy of the Lord is eternal”.50 αἰῶνιον καὶ ἄπαρατρεπτὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον, “eternal, immutable, immortal” [of God], commenting on the expression, σὺ μένεις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, “You endure for eternity.”

In On Principles, 3.3.5, Origen gives a clear sign that he understands αἰῶν in the sense of a succession of αἰῶνες prior to the final apocatastasis, at which point one arrives at the true eternity, that is, αἰώνιος. Eternity in the strict sense pertains, according to Origen, to the apocatastasis, not to the previous sequence of ages or αἰῶνες. So too, Origen explains that Christ “reigned without flesh prior to the ages, and reigned in the flesh in the ages”.51 Again, the “coming αἰῶν” indicates the next world (ἐπὶ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα), where sinners will indeed be consigned to the πῦρ αἰῶνιον, that is, the fire that pertains to the future world; it may well last for a long time, but it is not, for Origen, eternal.52

In this connection, it seems particularly significant that Origen calls the fire of damnation πῦρ αἰῶνιον, but never πῦρ αἰῶν.53 The explanation is that he does not consider this flame to be absolutely eternal: it is αἰῶνιον because it belongs to the next world, as opposed to the fire we experience in this present world, and it lasts as long as the αἰῶνες do, in their succession. It does not, however, endure into the αἰώνιος, that is, in the absolute eternity of the final apocatastasis. Similarly, Origen never speaks of θάνατος αἰῶνος, or of αἰώνia punishments and torments and the like, although he does speak of

50 Cf. Fragments of the Commentary on the Psalms, Ps 101.13.7.
51 Cf. αἰώνιος, adverb: Selected Passages on the Psalms, 12.1676, and Commentary on John, 10.30.187: ἀκοσμημένος κατὰ τῶν μετὰ τοῦτον αἰῶνα.
52 Cf. Selected Passages on the Psalms, 12.1156.
53 Cf. On Principles, 3.1.6; Homilies on Jeremiah, 19.15; Selections on the Psalms, 12.1156, where the context specifies that the αἰῶνιον fire pertains to “the αἰῶν to come” (ἐπὶ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα).
Origen was deeply learned in both the Bible and the classical philosophical tradition; what is more, he maintained that damnation was not eternal, but served rather to purify the wicked, who would in the end be saved in the universal apocatastasis. His careful deployment of the adjectives αἰώνιος and οἰδίπος reflects, we have argued, both his sensitivity to the meaning of the latter among the Greek philosophers, and the distinction that is apparently observed in the use of these terms in the Bible. For Origen, this was further evidence in Scripture for the doctrine of universal salvation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


54 Cf. Selected Passages on the Psalms, 13.824; Selected Passages on Ezechiel, 13.824.
55 Cf., e.g., Fragments of the Commentary on John, 42; Against Celsus, 3.78, 8.48; Homilies on Jeremiah, 20.4; Fragments of the Commentary on John, 42; Selections from the Commentary on Ezekiel, 13.793.