

WERE AN APOSTASY AND RESTORATION PREDICTED?

by Barry R. Bickmore

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints claims to primarily be a “restoration” of primitive Christianity. Implicit in that claim is the idea that prior to 1830, when the Restoration formally took place, Christianity had fallen away from the truth—i.e., the true and authorized Church of Jesus Christ no longer existed upon the earth. Latter-day Saints believe the priesthood authority, which always accompanies the Kingdom of God, was removed from the earth shortly after the death of Jesus’ apostles.

Did a complete loss of authority and a subsequent Restoration really take place? An exhaustive discussion of this topic would have to include such issues as the necessity for priesthood authority, the function of apostles and prophets in the early church, the similarity between the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with the New Testament church, and many others which cannot be addressed in this short paper.¹ Rather, the purpose of this essay is simply to present evidence that the ancient apostles and prophets predicted such events would take place. Another purpose of this booklet is to help non-Mormon readers (who may have been offended by this doctrine) understand what Latter-day Saints mean when we say Christianity has fallen into apostasy.

AN APOSTASY PREDICTED

Paul’s second letter to the Thessalonians (ca. A.D. 51–52) contains the most explicit reference in the New Testament to the coming apostasy. We will examine the passage in more detail later, but for now we will touch on a few points in order to establish several facts.

Apparently the Thessalonian Christians were worried that the Second Coming of Jesus was going to happen right away. They may have even received forged apostolic letters that stated such things. One of Paul’s purposes for writing his letter was to dispel such false notions. He starts out addressing this subject as follows:

Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away [Greek *apostasia*, meaning “rebellion”] first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition. (2 Thessalonians 2:1–3 KJV)

The basic message Paul tried to convey was that the Thessalonians shouldn’t worry about the Second Coming happening right away. Why? Because an *apostasia*—a rebellion or apostasy—had to happen first. Paul and the other apostles warned of this event on more than one occasion (cf. 2 Timothy 4:3–5; 2 Peter 2:1–3), and he explained to the elders of the Ephesian church that it would take place soon after he left the scene.

For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. (Acts 20:29–30)

Even though the great apostasy was predicted to occur soon after the death of the apostles, extensive rebellion occurred in the church even during their lifetimes. Paul chastised the Galatian Christians for turning away “unto another gospel” (Galatians 1:6–8, ca. A.D. 51–57), and he warned the Corinthian saints against “false apostles” (2 Corinthians 11:13, ca. A.D. 55) who preached “another Jesus, whom we have not preached.” (2

Corinthians 11:4) Just prior to the end of his life, Paul complained to Timothy that “all they which are in Asia [Minor] be turned away from me.” (2 Timothy 1:15, ca. A.D. 66–67) The seriousness of the situation can only be appreciated when one realizes that Asia Minor was where most of the Christian converts had been made during this early period.²



THE “LAST TIME”

The short letter of Jude, the brother of Jesus, (ca. A.D. 80) demonstrates that the rebellion within the church was in full swing by that time. He wrote:

Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. (Jude 3–4)

Jude went on to say that these “ungodly men” were the very wolves the apostles had warned about all along.

But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts. (Jude 17–18)

A careful reading of this passage indicates that Jude believed himself to be living in “the last time.” What does that mean? It would seem odd if he thought Jesus was soon to return, because not only had Paul tried to squelch such ideas (2 Thessalonians 2:1–3), but Peter had also warned Christians not to worry if Jesus didn’t return soon, because “one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.” (2 Peter 3:8) A few years later John wrote,

Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time. (1 John 2:18, ca. A.D. 85–95)

It was not “the last time” because the Second Coming of the Lord was at hand, but because the church was being besieged by “antichrists.”

John’s reference to “antichrists” brings us back to Paul’s description of the apostasy in 2 Thessalonians. It will be remembered that Paul wrote that at the time of the rebellion, “that man of sin [will] be revealed, the son of perdition.” (2 Thessalonians 2:3) He went on to describe this agent of Satan:

Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God ... Even him, whose com-

ing is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. (2 Thessalonians 2:4, 9–12)

Latter-day Saint scholar Richard L. Anderson gives the following explanation of this most important passage.

Paul’s central symbol of the apostasy is the man of sin or lawlessness sitting “in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God” (2 Thes. 2:4). Pounds of pages have been written about this being in the Jerusalem temple, but that would be destroyed within two decades and would have no one sitting in it. And what did that temple mean to the Greek Gentiles or even to apostles in terms of their own religion without Mosaic sacrifices? The real question is how Paul used the word *temple* in his writing. Almost always he used it figuratively—occasionally the body is a temple for God’s Spirit, but usually the church is the temple of God. The members ... are “God’s building” (1 Cor. 3:9), with Christ as cornerstone, apostles as foundation, and members fitting into their place as a “holy temple in the Lord” (Eph. 2:21). And in one of his last letters, Paul still spoke of “the house of God, which is the church of the living God” (1 Tim. 3:15).³

Now we can see why Jude and John called their own day “the last time”—Satan’s minions were about to overrun the earthly church itself. And because the people did not love truth, God sent them “a strong delusion.” Is this not a “total apostasy” which Paul predicted? If Antichrist sitting at the head of the church—the temple of God—does not signal the removal of the true authority of God, it is difficult to say what would.

THE WORLDLY CHURCH

This interpretation of Paul’s statement understandably causes some other Christians to flinch, because at first hearing it sounds like Latter-day Saints believe all other churches are satanic. This impression is sometimes reinforced by passages in the Book of Mormon like 1 Nephi 14:10: “Behold there are save two churches only; the one is the church of the Lamb of God, and the other is the church of the devil; wherefore, whoso belongeth not to the church of the Lamb of God belongeth to that great

church, which is the mother of abominations.” However, in reality the LDS understanding of other faiths is not nearly so dark. It just takes a little bit of extra background knowledge to see these statements in their proper context.

The first point one must understand is that the Latter-day Saint worldview is “apocalyptic.” “Apocalypse” is an ancient Jewish and Christian genre of literature found in the Bible (e.g., Daniel, Ezekiel, and the Apocalypse—or Revelation—of John). Baptist scholar D.S. Russell explains the dominant themes of apocalyptic literature.

The apocalypse type of writing, which forms the core of this literature, is a record of divine disclosures made known through the agency of angels, dreams, and visions. These may take different forms: an otherworldly journey in which the “secrets” of the cosmos are made known...or a survey of history often leading to an eschatological crisis in which the cosmic powers of evil are destroyed, the cosmos is restored, and Israel (or “the righteous”) is redeemed.⁴

In this kind of worldview, God allows Satan to have significant power in the world for the time being, and indeed Paul even called Satan “the god of this world [who] hath blinded the minds of them which believe not” (2 Corinthians 4:4). However, in the end God will clean house and destroy Satan’s power. Thus, when Paul described the emissary of Satan taking over the church, he did not necessarily mean that all those who belong to this apostate religion would be “satanic.” Rather, the church became a worldly institution, led by worldly people, who were at least partially influenced by “the god of this world.”

The Book of Mormon also states the following: “Wherefore, he that fighteth against Zion ... shall perish; for they are they who are the whore of all the earth; for they who are not for me are against me, saith our God” (2 Nephi 10:16). Combine this with a passage from Joseph Smith’s writings: “For there are many yet on the earth among all sects, parties, and denominations, who are blinded by the subtle craftiness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive, and who are only kept from the truth because they know not where to find it” (D&C 123:12). Clearly there are those now outside the church whom Christ considers His own. These people do not knowingly “fight against Zion,” and so they are not part of “the church of the devil.”

Although we do not indulge in the kind of relativism that would allow us to believe one religion is just as good as another, Latter-day Saints actually have a

rather positive outlook concerning other faiths. For instance, the Book of Mormon prophet Alma wrote a poem where he expressed his desire to preach the Gospel to everyone in the world, but then he corrected himself. “For behold, the Lord doth grant unto all nations, of their own nation and tongue, to teach his word, yea in wisdom, all that he seeth fit that they should have; therefore we see that the Lord doth counsel in wisdom, according to that which is just and true” (Alma 29:8). An official statement of the First Presidency of the Church proclaims:

Consistent with these truths, we believe that God has given and will give to all peoples sufficient knowledge to help them on their way to eternal salvation, either in this life or in the life to come.

We also declare that the gospel of Jesus Christ, restored to His Church in our day, provides the only way to a mortal life of happiness and a fulness of joy forever. For those who have not received this gospel, the opportunity will come to them in the life hereafter if not in this life.⁵

You see, when Latter-day Saints say that there was a universal apostasy, we do not mean that God abandoned everyone during that time period to be sent to hell. Quite the opposite! In fact, in my experience, most other Christians are much more liberal than we are about consigning others to hell.

The early Christian writer, Hermas, expressed the belief that the church of that age was about to be replaced by a worldly institution. Hermas was the brother of the bishop of Rome, and wrote during the first generation after the apostles, in the early second century. An angel appeared to him in a series of visions, and told him to tell all the Christians that they only had one more chance to repent. The angel showed him a vision of a tower being built out of stones and explained that the tower represented the church, and the stones individual Christians. Hermas wrote:

And I began to ask her about the times, if the end were yet. But she cried out with a loud voice saying, “Foolish man, do you not see the tower still being built? Whenever therefore the building of the tower has been finished, the end comes. But it will quickly be built up.”⁶

The impending completion of the tower was given as the reason for the urgent call to one more chance for repentance. When asked what was represented by some stones which had been cast away by the builders but left on the ground near the tower, the angel explained

that these were Christians who had sinned, but could still become part of the tower if they repented immediately. “For if the building be finished, there will not be more room for any one, but he will be rejected. This privilege, however, will belong only to him who has now been placed near the tower.”⁷

Here we must ask the same question we asked in relation to the New Testament references to “the last time.” Did Hermas mistakenly believe that Christ was about to return, or that the church was about to be taken from the earth? Just as with Jude and John, Hermas gave no indication that the completion of the tower (or church) coincided with the end of the world. Quite the opposite! “Filled up are the days of repentance to all the saints; but to the heathen, repentance will be possible even to the last day.”⁸ “Ye, therefore, who are high in position, seek out the hungry as long as the tower is not yet finished; for after the tower is finished, you will wish to do good, but will find no opportunity.”⁹

Obviously the wicked world was to continue, but not the church. What was to take the place of the church? Of those who delayed their repentance, the angel said:

“Repentance ... is yet possible, but in this tower they cannot find a suitable place. But in another and much inferior place they will be laid, and that, too, only when they have been tortured and completed the days of their sins. And on this account will they be transferred, because they have partaken of the righteous Word.”¹⁰

To summarize, the angel in Hermas’ vision predicted that the church was about to be a finished building, and another “and much inferior” institution would take its place for an undisclosed period of time. While Latter-day Saints do not see Hermas’ writings as authoritative scripture, it can easily be seen that just after the apostles left the scene, a belief about the impending apostasy similar to the LDS view was current within Christianity. In fact, Christianity did become a worldly institution during the ensuing centuries. Consider the following admission about the state of Christianity during the fourth and fifth centuries by historian and former Anglican Bishop of London, J.W.C. Wand: “Nevertheless the new Christian Church was frankly National. The people were converted *en bloc*; the temples were turned into churches and the pagan priests were ordained into the Christian ministry.”¹¹ Such examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but this should be sufficient to show that the LDS view of history is very plausible.

DID THE “GATES OF HELL” PREVAIL?

The Bible passage most often used against the LDS understanding of the apostasy is Matthew 16:18. “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” To interpret this passage we must first define terms.

First, what is “the church” (Greek *ekklesia* = “assembly”) that Jesus spoke of? The anti-LDS interpretation suggests it was “the church” in its manifestation as an earthly organization. However, in a broader sense, “the church” is much more inclusive. Two of the earliest post-New Testament Christian writings, *The Pastor of Hermas* and *2 Clement* (both early second century) claimed that God created the church even before he created the world. “She was created first of all ... and for her sake was the world made.”¹² “Moreover, the books and the apostles declare that the Church belongs not to the present, but existed from the beginning.”¹³ Paul wrote, “He hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world.” (Ephesians 1:3) The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews went on: “But we are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and in an innumerable company of angels. To the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.” (Hebrews 12:22–23) The message here is clear. “The church” is not just an earthly organization—it existed before the foundation of the world, and it exists with the saints of all ages, both those who are on the earth and those who have passed on. Therefore, even if the church as an earthly organization disappears and reappears periodically, the church will always survive!

But is there any reason to believe Jesus was speaking primarily of the earthly church? On the contrary, the text says that “the gates of hell {Greek *Hades* = “the world of the dead”} shall not prevail against it.” What are “the gates of Hades”? Hades is not hell—it is the underworld, and in early Christian and Jewish thought it was believed to be a place of waiting where the spirits of the dead, both the just and unjust, remained until the resurrection. Thus Tertullian (ca. 200 AD): “All souls, therefore; are shut up within Hades: do you admit this? (It is true, whether) you say yes or no...”¹⁴ The “gates of Hades,” then, represent the “powers of death,” and “the sting of death is sin” (1 Corinthians 15:56). Thus the text seems to be a promise of protection from the powers of death and sin for Christ’s assembly (*ekklesia*) of believers. For this reason Michael M. Winter, former lecturer in Fundamental Theology at St. John’s Seminary (Roman Catholic), in his excellent scholarly defense of the papacy, admits that “although some writ-

ers have applied the idea of immortality to the survival of the church, it seems preferable to see it as a promise of triumph over evil.”¹⁵

Furthermore, there are numerous allusions in early Christian literature to Christ, when he died and went to Hades, breaking down the gates of Hades and leading out the faithful to glorious resurrection. For instance, Athanasius (fourth century) related the following tradition: “He burst open the gates of brass, He broke through the bolts of iron, and He took the souls which were in Amente (the Coptic equivalent of Hades) and carried them to His Father. ... Now the souls He brought out of Amente, but the bodies He raised up on the earth...”¹⁶ Therefore it is clear what Jesus was talking about when he said “the gates of Hades” would not prevail against the church, and to apply this statement to the perpetuation of the earthly church would make no sense.

THE FAITH “ONCE” OR “ONCE FOR ALL” PROCLAIMED?

Another common objection is that some translations of Jude 3 speak of “the faith once for all delivered to the saints.” If it was delivered “once for all,” what place is there for an apostasy and restoration? However, the word translated as “once for all” is the Greek *hapax*, which can also mean “once.” Indeed, two verses later Jude writes, “I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once (*hapax*) knew this...” (Jude 1:5). Clearly it is preferable to translate *hapax* as “once” in this case, and given the context of Jude’s letter, it is also clear that Jude was warning the saints to cling desperately to the faith that had once been delivered to them, but which was already being forgotten.

WASN’T THERE A “FAITHFUL REMNANT?”

Others object that it seems unbelievable to suppose that *everyone* in the world rebelled against the truth. Wasn’t there a “faithful remnant?” The foregoing discussion should have made clear that in the LDS view, just because a nation or a world is in a state of apostasy, that does not mean no one will have a chance to be saved. On the contrary, God gives every nation or culture, in every time, as much of His Word as He sees fit. Jesus illustrated this concept nicely in the parable of the wheat and the tares.

Another parable put he forth unto them, saying, The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: But

while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn. (Matt. 13:24–30)

Jesus gave this explanation of the parable:

He answered and said unto them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one; The enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels. As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity; And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. (Matt. 13:37–42)

Consider the sequence of events. 1. The children of the Kingdom are sown throughout the world. 2. The enemy sows weeds among the good seed, and they all grow together. 3. The angels ask whether they should go gather up all the wheat right away, but the Master says to wait until the end of the world, when the wheat will all be separated out, and the wicked judged.

This is essentially the same sequence the Latter-day Saints propose. 1. Jesus came to earth and sent His apostles through the world to proclaim the Gospel. 2. Satan comes and sows apostasy and corruption in the church. 3. This state of affairs is left intact until the end times, when the wheat is gathered again in preparation for the return of the Lord and the Judgment.

THE STONE CUT OUT WITHOUT HANDS

Certainly alternate interpretations of Jesus’ parable are possible, but a prophecy spoken by the prophet Daniel strongly supports the sequence of events the LDS pro-

pose. In Daniel 2:31–44, the prophet interprets a dream of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The king saw a great statue with a head of gold, breast and arms of silver, a belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet of iron and clay. Then he saw a stone cut out without hands, which rolled down and broke the statue to pieces, and then became a great mountain that filled the earth. Daniel explained the meaning of the dream:

This is the dream; and we will tell the interpretation thereof before the king. Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of gold. And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. (Daniel 2:36–44)

One of the standard interpretations of this prophecy has been that the gold head represent Babylon, the silver breast and arms the Medo-Persian empire, the brass belly and thighs the Greek empire under Alexander, the iron legs the Roman empire, and the feet of iron and clay the numerous nations that have proliferated from the ruins of the Roman Empire. Indeed, this interpretation dates very early in the Christian tradition, even before the Roman Empire was dissolved. St. Hippolytus of Rome wrote the following, about A.D. 220.

As these things, then, are in the future, and as the ten toes of the image are equivalent to (so many) democracies, and the ten horns of the fourth beast are distributed over ten kingdoms,

let us look at the subject a little more closely, and consider these matters as in the clear light of a personal survey. The golden head of the image and the lioness denoted the Babylonians; the shoulders and arms of silver, and the bear, represented the Persians and Medes; the belly and thighs of brass, and the leopard, meant the Greeks, who held the sovereignty from Alexander's time; the legs of iron, and the beast dreadful and terrible, expressed the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present; the toes of the feet which were part clay and part iron, and the ten horns, were emblems of the kingdoms that are yet to rise; the other little horn that grows up among them meant the Antichrist in their midst; the stone that smites the earth and brings judgment upon the world was Christ.¹⁷

In another passage he went on to say, "then from heaven will come the stone that smites the image, and breaks it; and it will subvert all the kingdoms, and give the kingdom to the saints of the Most High."¹⁸

The Kingdom of Christ was to be established for the final time *after* the demise of the Roman Empire. It was to start out small, but grow until Christ returns and the nations of the earth are broken to pieces. Then the Kingdom will fill the whole earth. In another passage, Hippolytus made it clear that before Jesus would return in person, he would send prophets as forerunners.

[The Savior] is to be manifested again at the end of the world as Judge. It is a matter of course that His forerunners must appear first, as He says by Malachi and the angel. [Malachi 4:5–6]. These, then, shall come and proclaim the manifestation of Christ that is to be from heaven; and they shall also perform signs and wonders, in order that men may be put to shame and turned to repentance for their surpassing wickedness and impiety.¹⁹

Hippolytus may not have anticipated a "total apostasy," like the LDS (and apparently Hermas). He lived after the time Latter-day Saints believe the Apostasy occurred. However, his belief that the Second Coming would be preceded by the coming of prophets as forerunners and the establishment of the Kingdom of the saints resonates strongly with the LDS belief in a Restoration of the Gospel.

CONCLUSION

The Latter-day Saints interpret various Bible passages to mean that an apostasy was to occur at the end of the New Testament period, and the earthly church was to

be turned into a worldly organization. We also believe various passages support our belief that a restoration of the true Church of Jesus Christ was needed to prepare the way for Jesus Christ's return in glory. A number of these passages of scripture and quotations of early Christian literature have been marshaled here to show that these interpretations are really quite reasonable, and indeed, some Christian writers who lived very near the time of the apostles appear to have interpreted the Bible in a very similar manner.

What does all this show? Simply that the LDS interpretation of history can be seen as a distinct possibility. On the other hand, we certainly do not want to leave the impression that we believe quoting a few Bible verses interspersed with historical commentary can settle such an issue once and for all. We invite all readers to study Latter-day Saint claims more closely, all the while praying to God, in the name of Jesus Christ, to know whether they are true. It is our experience that God honors sincere seekers who pray in faith, and will guide them along the path He has chosen for them.

FURTHER READINGS

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NOTES

1. For more complete discussions of the topic, the reader is referred to the sources cited in the "Further Readings" section of this paper.

2. John G. Davies, *The Early Christian Church* (New York: Anchor Books, 1965), 86.

3. Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Understanding Paul* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 86.

4. D.S. Russell, "Apocalyptic Literature," *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 34.

5. Statement of the First Presidency Regarding God's Love for All Mankind, February 15, 1978, as quoted in part by Elder James E. Faust, *Ensign*, May 1980, 12.

6. *Pastor of Hermas*, Vision 3:8, in Kirsopp Lake, translator, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1912–13), 2:49. See also Grayden Snyder, *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary* (Camden, NJ: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1968), 6:50. Some other translations (e.g., see ANF 2:16, where Hermas asks if it is the "end of the ages") seem to imply that Hermas was asking if the world was about to end, but the more literal translations of Lake and Snyder leave a number of interpretations open, and certainly the other passages quoted make it clear that it was the end of the church being spoken of, not the end of the world. For the Greek text of the passage, see page 48 of Lake's volume.

7. *Pastor of Hermas*, Vision 3:5, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, editors, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols. (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885–1896,) 2:14. (Hereafter cited as ANF.)

8. *Pastor of Hermas*, Vision 2:2, in ANF 2:11.

9. *Pastor of Hermas*, Vision 3:9, in ANF 2:16.

10. *Pastor of Hermas*, Vision 3:7, in ANF 2:15.

11. J.W.C. Wand, *A History of the Early Church to A.D. 500* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 244.

12. *The Pastor of Hermas*, Vis. 2:4, in ANF 2:12.

13. *The Pastor of Hermas*, Vis. 2:4, in ANF 2:12.

14. Tertullian, *On the Soul* 58, in ANF 3:234–235.

15. Winter, M. M., *Saint Peter and the Popes*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1960,), 17.

16. Discourse of Apa Athanasius Concerning the Soul and the Body, in EAW Budge, *Coptic Homilies* (London: Longmans and Company, 1910), 271–272.

17. Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* 27–28, in ANF 5:209–210.

18. Hippolytus, *Fragment on Daniel*, in ANF 5:191.

19. Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Anti-Christ* 44–46, in ANF 5:214.

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ABOUT FAIR

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