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ABSTRACT of a THESIS entitled THE HOLY SPIRIT AND RELIGIOUS
EXPERIENCE IN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE c90-200, submitted by
John Eifion Morgan-Wynne, in the THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT of the
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM for the Degree of Ph.D., 1987.

The thesis explores whether religious experience and the Spirit are linked in Christian literature between c90 and 200. Three spheres of religious experience were chosen as illustrations - a sense of being personally encountered/overwhelmed by the divine; of divine illumination/guidance; and of being divinely empowered for ethical conduct.

The Introduction reviews previous research : since Weinel there has not been a comprehensive survey covering both the New Testament and early Patristic evidence, in what is the transition period between the subapostolic church and the emergence of the catholic church by the early third century. A brief survey of the evidence before c90 sets the background for the study.

Thereafter, the thesis is divided into a further seven parts, surveying the literature on a geographical basis, viz Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, Southern Gaul, Northern Africa and Egypt.

The final part draws together the conclusions of the study. Whether the Spirit was at different moments a part of Christian distinctiveness over against the world, Judaism and internal opponents, whether deemed "heretical" or not, is explored.

The evidence for a continuing sense of being overwhelmed by an encounter with the Holy Spirit is patchy, and no uniform type of experience necessarily emerges within any given geographical area. Throughout the period Christians were confronted by the need to test claims to inspiration by the Spirit. None of the various tests proposed really centred on the actual experience itself but all were external ones.

Claims to possess the truth took various forms, and again there was no necessary uniformity with any given area.

Generally, the ethical demand and the Spirit's help was less held together than was characteristic of Paul. Some writers may mention both aspects but these were not expressed in an integrated way; others came close to moralism.

The variegated picture which emerges probably faithfully reflects second century Christianity.

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

IN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

c.90 - 200 AD.

by John Eifion Morgan-Wynne

A THESIS submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

in the THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT

of the UNIVERSITY of DURHAM

1987

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23 JUN 1988

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NOTE :

(i) In accordance with some recent precedents, the Greek text has been printed without accents, while in addition the smooth breathing has been omitted.

(ii) The usual abbreviations for periodicals have been followed, while other abbreviations are fairly obvious, e.g. after quoting GWH Lampe The Seal of the Spirit, other quotations from it nearby are referred to as Lampe Seal, or JDG Dunn Unity and Diversity in the NT will be further referred to as Dunn UD.

This is to certify that no material contained in this thesis,
has previously been submitted for any degree in this University of
Durham or any other University.

PART I : INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I : THE PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

A considerable amount of literature has appeared since world war 2 on the theme of the Holy Spirit, and another work on such a topic needs justification. Three reasons may be offered.

I

The first reason concerns the nature of the secondary literature which often leaves the reader with a sense of dissatisfaction. When it is examined,

(a) There is a tendency to departmentalise research into NT and Patristic studies. This is due partly to the traditional reverence Christian scholars feel towards the NT as the primary documents of the Christian Faith¹, partly to a modest reluctance for the NT specialist to pass over into the later period² and for the Patristic specialist to delve back into the NT³. In the famous

¹ e.g. E. Schweizer Neotestamentica, Zurich 1963, p 233 "The New Testament is part of the tradition, therefore necessarily expressed in human language, limited by contemporaneous possibilities of understanding, imperfect, and yet standing in an unique position as the beginning of the tradition, historically close to the incarnate Word of God and sign for its "once-for-all-ness" ".

² cf e.g. E. Schweizer Church Order in the NT, ET London 1963 p 139 who wrote in a footnote (in the section on "The Conception of the Church in the Apostolic Fathers"): "A summary treatment is all that is possible without specialist knowledge of patristics".

³ Though in England GWH Lampe and JND Kelly have done so, while names like H Lietzmann, R Knopf and H von Campenhausen in Germany spring to mind.



Kittel article on pneuma by E. Schweizer, the NT section comprised pp 396 - 451 of the English translation, while section F on the post-apostolic Fathers consisted of half a page !

(b) in many instances it is very limited in theme or is now to be judged inadequate.

The ensuing survey will illustrate these two points :

(1) In the NT literature focus has particularly been centred on three areas :

(a) the primitive church's experience of the Spirit.

Detailed examination of Acts has been carried out⁴. Areas of particular interest have been the nature of the Pentecost experience (glossolalia/foreign languages), the relation of the Holy Spirit and baptism, the link between the Spirit and mission, and the place of Spirit-inspired prophets.

(b) Paul's view of the Spirit⁵. Apart from the issue of the relation of the Spirit and the risen Christ (with 2 Cor. 3.17 proving contentious), the Pauline antithesis flesh/Spirit and its

⁴ Apart from the standard commentaries, we may list the following important contributions : FJ Foakes-Jackson and K Lake The Beginnings of Christianity (1920-33), Vol 1, pp 321 ff; Vol V, pp 111 ff; GWH Lampe "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke", Studies in the Gospels, ed. DE Nineham, Oxford 1955 pp 159-200 ; JEL Oulton "The Holy Spirit, Baptism and Laying on of Hands in Acts", E.T. 66 (1954-55) pp 236ff; GR Beasley-Murray Baptism in the NT, London, 1962 pp 104-122; JHE Hull The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles, London 1967; JDG Dunn Baptism in the Holy Spirit, London 1970 pp 38-102; J Kremer Pfingstbericht und Pfingstgeschehen, Stuttgart 1973; JDG Dunn Jesus and the Spirit, London 1975 pp 93-196; M-A. Chevallier Souffle de Dieu, Paris 1978, pp 160ff.

⁵ Apart from standard treatments of Paul's theology, we may list NQ Hamilton The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul, Edinburgh, 1957; I Hermann Kyrios und Pneuma, München 1961; K Stalder Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus, Zurich, 1962; W Pfister Das Leben im Geist nach Paulus, Freiburg, 1963; JDG Dunn Jesus and the Spirit (hereafter JS), London, 1975 pp 197-342.

ethical implications have been explored. The idea of spiritual gifts (especially in relation to 1 Cor. 12-14) and the question of Spirit versus office have been much ventilated. The eschatological dimension of Paul's understanding has received due recognition.

(c) The fourth evangelist's teaching about the Spirit⁶. A good deal of discussion has centred on the background of Parakletos, which has been illuminated by the emphasis on the legal background of the fourth gospel⁷, and the Spirit as Christ's alter ego. It has been widely assumed that the more developed teaching in John is due to the delay of the Parousia and the death of the apostolic generation, though K Haacker's suggestion that John is concerned with the problem of how Christianity copes with following Jesus when it no longer has his physical presence with it seems more true to the thrust of the Farewell Discourses⁸.

⁶ Apart from the commentaries, we may mention G Bornkamm "Der Paraklet im Johannesevangelium", Festschrift für R Bultmann, Stuttgart, 1949, pp 12-35; DE Holwerda The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in the Gospel of John, Kampen, 1959; F Müssner "Die Parakletsprüche und die apostolischen Tradition", B.Z. 5 (1961) pp 56-70; O Betz Der Paraklet, Leiden, 1963; RE Brown, "The Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel", N.T.S. 13 (1966-67) pp 113-32; The Gospel according to John XIII-XXI, London, 1971 pp 1135-1144; H Windisch The Spirit-Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel, Philadelphia, 1968 (ET of Die fünf johanneischen Parakletsprüche, 1927, and Jesus und der Geist im Johannesevangelium, 1933); G Johnston The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John, Cambridge, 1970; E Bammel "Jesus und der Paraklet in Johannes 16", Christ and Spirit in NT, ed. B Lindars and SS Smalley, Cambridge 1973, pp 199-216; UB Müller "Die Parakletvorstellung im Johannesevangelium", ZThK 71 (1974) pp 31-77; F Porsch Pneuma und Wort, Frankfurt 1974; R Schnackenburg The Gospel According to St John, E.T. New York 1982 Vol 3 pp 138-154 (Excursus 16).

⁷ e.g. T Preiss Life in Christ, (ET) London 1954 pp1-31; I de la Potterie "La notion de témoignage dans Saint Jean", Sacra Pagina II, ed. J Coppens et al., Paris (1959); NA Dahl "The Johannine Church and History", Current Issues in NT Interpretation, ed. W Klassen and GF Snyder, London (1962); AE Harvey Jesus on Trial, London (1976).

⁸ Die Stiftung des Heils. Untersuchungen zur Struktur der johanneischen Theologie, Stuttgart, 1971; also stressed by Porsch,

The weight of research has fallen on these areas, though discussions of the role of the Spirit in other NT writings have occasionally appeared, especially on the Synoptic tradition⁹, and of the implications of what the NT says about the Spirit for Christian doctrine¹⁰.

(2) On the Patristic side, we have a few monographs or articles on the Spirit in the Apostolic Fathers and later second century Fathers. T Rüschi examined the teaching on the Spirit in Ignatius, Theophilus and Irenaeus¹¹. The treatment is fairly brief - a chapter per author and within each chapter little exploration of the experience of the Spirit emerges¹². H Opitz investigated the pneumatology of Clement and Hermas. He was particularly interested in the comparative religious background of the Roman Church's concept of the Spirit as revealed by these two authors¹³ - even here the late Jewish background and similarities with Qumran material need to be considered far more than he did - and not with religious experience per se. He felt that Clement is strongly

op.cit., pp220-2,241,254,275-6.

⁹ H Windisch "Jesus und Geist nach synoptischen Überlieferung", Studies in Early Christianity, ed. SJ Case, New York 1928, pp209-236; CK Barrett The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition, London, 1947; Dunn JS, pp41-92; A Chevalier, op.cit., pp81-225.

¹⁰ AW Wainwright The Trinity in the NT, London, 1957, pp 199ff; JV Taylor The Go-Between God, London, 1972; GWH Lampe God as Spirit, Oxford, 1977.

¹¹ Die Entstehung der Lehre vom Heiligen Geist bei Ignatius von Antiochia, Theophilus von Antiochia und Irenäus von Lyon, Zurich, 1952.

¹² W Hauschild Gottes Geist und der Mensch, München, 1972, p 12 described Rüschi's work as a helpful assembling of material, but he felt (p207) that his treatment of Irenaeus' pneumatology was not an extensive total treatment.

¹³ Ursprünge frühkatholischen Pneumatologie, Berlin (1960).

influenced by Stoic philosophy (Seneca, Epictetus); Hermas on the other hand is indebted to the Roman genius concept, as it had been spiritualised and internalised in Stoicism¹⁴. The Roman experience of the Spirit combined Christian tradition and Stoic philosophy, and thus enabled it to both remain Christian and pursue its victorious way in the world. J Reiling included a chapter on prophecy and the Spirit in his important monograph, Hermas and Christian Prophecy¹⁵. But his attention was confined to Mandate XI and he did not therefore range any further.

Of the Apologists Justin's view of the Spirit's relation to the Logos has usually attracted attention more than anything else. A short article on what Justin lets us discern of contemporary experience of the Holy Spirit's working has appeared from the present writer¹⁶.

An extremely important monograph came from WH Hauschild, Gottes Geist und der Mensch¹⁷. Hauschild investigated the concept of the Spirit in Clement of Alexander, Origen and Valentinian Gnosticism. He then briefly examined Tatian and Irenaeus. His major interest was in examining the idea of the formation of the true man through the Spirit, and he believed that the late second century theologians were more influenced by late Jewish than by early Christian ideas. In other words the focus of his attention

¹⁴ Hauschild, op.cit., p 12, felt that Opitz had overlooked the variety of traditions to be found in Hermas.

¹⁵ Leiden (1973).

¹⁶ "The Holy Spirit and Christian experience in Justin Martyr", Vig. Ch. 38 (1984) pp 172-177.

¹⁷ München, 1972.

was basically anthropological : pneumatology is a way in which the elect or elite express their sense of being something special within humanity. This became ontologised in Valentinian Gnosticism. Thus Hauschild's interest was a limited one. Whether he does justice to someone like Irenaeus is doubtful.

To HJ Jaschke we owe a work on Irenaeus' pneumatology¹⁸. A first section surveyed credal formulae to the fourth century and argued for the primitiveness of a trinitarian baptismal faith, which was the basis of the later three article confession. Thus Irenaeus' pneumatology is set against a traditional background. Then Jaschke discusses Irenaeus' views - the Spirit in the unity of the trinitarian God; the Spirit's role in the application of God's work of salvation (in the Christ event; OT prophecy; creation); and the Spirit's activity in the church (the church as the place of the Spirit; truth and understanding through the Spirit; the renewal of man by the Spirit). A good deal of Jaschke's attention is directed to inter-trinitarian relationships and to the church as the place where the Spirit is active in guiding it into the truth. His section on the renewal of man by the Spirit is fairly brief and is not a major centre of interest. There is room for further work here.

Montanism has not received any thorough-going treatment since the exhaustive treatments in the older works of N Bonwetsch¹⁹, P de Labriolle²⁰, and W Schepelern²¹. In articles H Kraft looked at

¹⁸ Der heilige Geist im Bekenntnis der Kirche, Münster, 1976.

¹⁹ Die Geschichte des Montanismus, Erlangen, 1881.

²⁰ La crise montaniste, Paris, 1913.

prophecy before and in Montanism²², and K Aland emphasised the movement's orthodoxy in the early days and its Asia Minor theology²³. Discussion is inevitably controlled by the sources which are limited and generally transmitted through hostile channels. The issue of ecstasy as a sign of the Spirit's inspiration is clearly a major topic because the controversy between the Catholics and the Montanists centred on this. TD Barnes' Tertullian²⁴ has a chapter on Montanism, while H Bender looked at Tertullian's pneumatology in Die Lehre über den Heiligen Geist bei Tertullian²⁵, though he did little more than group the references thematically and asked few questions of the material. GC Bray Holiness and the Will of God²⁶ considered that Tertullian's major preoccupation was sanctification, made possible through the coming of the Spirit (before the imminent End), though he did not in fact devote much attention to the role of the Spirit.

(3) There are some exceptions to this general rule about departmentalised study. H Weinelt's Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus²⁷ straddled the NT and early Patristic period. He covered the post-Pauline period up to Irenaeus and saw his study as a

²¹ Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte, Tübingen, 1929.

²² "Die altchristliche Prophetie und die Entstehung des Montanismus", ThZ 11 (1955) pp 249-271.

²³ "Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie" ZNW 46 (1955) pp 109-116; "Bemerkungen zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie", in Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe, Gütersloh, 1960, pp 105-148.

²⁴ Oxford, 1971.

²⁵ München, 1961.

²⁶ London, 1979

²⁷ Tübingen, 1899.

continuation of his teacher, H Gunkel's work The Influence of the Holy Spirit : the popular view of the apostolic age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul²⁸. Weinel examined the areas of speech, writing, healings and miracles, symbolic actions, martyrdom, ethical victory over sinful behaviour, visions, auditory experiences, baptism, laying-on of hands, prayer, asceticism, and certain sensory experiences (taste, smell, touch), etc. The treatment is a history of phenomenon associated with the Spirit, and the reader does not receive a clear idea of what particular authors thought and of their geographical distribution, though Weinel succeeded in making out his case that the experience of the Spirit and spirits continued to live on after the first generation in many vivid ways. At several points Weinel utilised the then comparatively new approaches of psychology in an endeavour to understand the various texts. Nearly ninety years has elapsed since Weinel wrote and it may be reasonably concluded that a new study is not out of place.

H Swete's two separate volumes The Holy Spirit in the NT and The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church²⁹ were presumably conceived as complementing one another to afford a survey of the teaching in the church from earliest days to Chalcedon. He did hardly more than list references to the Spirit in each writer. He made little attempt to ask questions of the text and as such his work has a limited usefulness and certainly needs to be superseded in the English speaking world.

²⁸ Göttingen, 1888; ET Philadelphia, 1979.

²⁹ London, 1910 and 1912 respectively.

More recently GWH Lampe's The Seal of the Spirit : A Study of the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the NT and the Fathers³⁰ is also an exception to the general rule. Lampe investigated the relation of the Spirit and baptism with special reference to the concept of the seal of the Spirit. Thus his theme was a very narrow one, pursued out of interest in the Anglican Church's debate whether the giving of the Spirit took place in baptism or confirmation.

While we are not in any way denigrating the careful and illuminating work that has gone on, the tendency to departmentalize and separate off NT and Apostolic Fathers is artificial and arbitrary. Concerning our theme of the Spirit there tends to be a cut-off point around 100 : scholars look at the early Palestinian church or Paul or the fourth evangelist. But what was the experience of other, later Christians? If it be true that an intense awareness of the Spirit's presence and power was the hallmark of the earliest generation (as suggested by Acts and Paul), did that continue for much longer or did Christianity settle down to become something more "domesticated" and "bourgeois"? Did Christianity begin in a revivalist type outburst and then simmer down into something more respectable? To pursue the study over into the second century is vital to secure an answer³¹. To stay on the NT side within the first century or to start in the second

³⁰ London 1951.

³¹ In his outstanding volume JS, Dunn dealt with the religious experience of Jesus, the primitive Jerusalem congregation and Paul. In a concluding postscript he briefly looked ahead to the post-Pauline era (John and the Pastorals particularly) and hinted at different experiences in the differing situations of the early second century.

century will leave the question unanswered. In a similar way, to set up the Apostolic Fathers as an entity and leave out the Odes of Solomon would be unjustifiable³². All extant Christian literature ought to be investigated in order to obtain as complete a view as possible³³.

Thus, since Weinel, there has not really been an overall survey of the period ca 90 to ca 200, which might be termed the third to fifth generations.

So, our criticism has centred on the following points -

- (a) the departmentalisation of study, leaving unanswered a vital question concerning whether experience of the Spirit continued as a vital part of Christianity;
- (b) treatments limited to a particular author;
- (c) inadequate treatments, confining themselves to the listing of references and very little else;
- (d) religious experience which lay behind statements concerning the Spirit is often not scrutinised. It was the merit of Dunn to bring this aspect firmly to the fore.

II

The second major reason for the present study lies in the extent of the era to be covered. It could be described as the transition period from "earliest Christianity" to the "Great Church". A priori this period could offer an interesting era for an examination of the experiences attributed to the Spirit. We

³² As E Schweizer virtually did in his Church Order in the NT, section E, (cited above : p. 1, footnote 2).

³³ Compare the way in which J Daniélou utilised Christian literature of the first and second centuries to reconstruct the beliefs of Jewish Christianity in his The Theology of Jewish Christianity, ET London, 1964.

will be looking at the period that lies between (roughly) the break with the synagogue (nineties AD) and the era around the end of the second century by which time those features associated with the so-called Great Church had emerged (ministry, creed/rule of faith, catechumenate, sacramental system, sense of universal destiny). The 'founding period' (the first two generations) was over; the church was settling down and entering an era of consolidation.

There is a tendency to assert that as far as the experience of the Spirit is concerned, it is a period of decline. Thus, R Knopf many years ago asserted that in the era 70-150 the work of the Spirit was often demanded more dogmatically than actually experienced in a living way; there was a receding of charisma in the post-apostolic period though all were believed to have the Spirit; and the Spirit's activity could be observed especially in the pneumatic aristocracy - apostle, prophets and teachers³⁴. In recent times U Luz said that by about the end of the first century experiences of the Spirit had generally receded³⁵. Is this verdict in fact correct ?

III

The third reason is the contemporary situation. There has been today a considerable renewal of interest in the Holy Spirit due to the so-called Charismatic Movement which has cut across denominational boundaries and often resulted either in the establishment of separate house churches or the changing of the

³⁴ Das nachapostolische Zeitalter, Tübingen, 1905, pp 344, 406 and 403 resp.

³⁵ "The Disciples in the Gospel according to Matthew", The Interpretation of Matthew, ed. G Stanton, London 1983, p107 (originally published in ZNW 62 (1971)).

character of worship, etc, in some 'older' churches. Arguably a study of how Christian writers in the third to fifth generations - the period after the first wave of enthusiasm in the early generations - felt about the Spirit will be of interest to the church today. This is not to bow to the cult of the relevant but to acknowledge that to some degree our research quests are determined by our own contemporary interests.

These, then, are the reasons why we feel that the present study can justify itself.

CHAPTER 2 : A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SPIRIT IN
THE FIRST TWO GENERATIONS

In this chapter we shall seek to assess very briefly Christian experience of the Holy Spirit from the church's inception to ca 90 to provide the backcloth to our study. From those sources which exist in this period, we want to ascertain how far their Christianity was determined by an ongoing "experience of the Spirit". What did Christians mean by claiming that they had "received" the Spirit of God? What did the sense that the presence and power of the Spirit was impinging on their lives involve? Were they conscious of a power transcending human nature, helping them in worship and prayer, as they spoke the Christian message, as they struggled against the temptations and vices of the world around them? Or, put another way, what experiences did they have which they 'naturally' attributed to the Spirit?

A :

PAUL is our only direct witness to the first generation. From occasional statements which he makes about himself, we learn that he himself was aware of the Spirit's presence and power in his life and ministry.

He claimed

- (i) to speak with tongues, though preferring rational utterance in church. Glossolalia is one of the charismata of the Spirit, though not to be overrated (1 Cor.14.18).
- (ii) to have had ecstatic experiences (2 Cor.5.13a³⁶; 2

³⁶ CK Barrett The Second Epistle to the Corinthians, London (1973) p 166, and Dunn, JS 215-216, both accept a reference to an ecstatic

Cor.12.1ff).

(iii) to perform miracles through the Spirit's power (Rom.15.19 cf 2 Cor.12.12). Presumably he had some sense of power flowing through him.

(iv) to speak through the Spirit's inspiration (in 1 Cor.2.4 the conscious antithesis to the contrived rhetorical techniques suggests spontaneous utterance). He had a sense of the words flowing out of him and the hearers being gripped by what he said³⁷.

(v) to give rulings through the Spirit - 1 Cor. 7.40 could mean either the 'blinding flash'³⁸ or the product of careful and perhaps prolonged thought and consideration.

When we broaden our consideration from Paul personally to what he said to and about the congregations, then we find that he can describe a Christian in terms of the Holy Spirit :

"Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him" (Rom. 8.9).

The very phraseology suggests that "having" the Spirit of Christ is a conscious - almost (one might say) quantifiable, experience.

On the other hand, nowhere does Paul suggest that a Christian has not received the Spirit³⁹ (eg 1 Thess.4.8; 1 Cor. 12.3,13; 2 Cor. 3.17-18; Gal.3.2-5 assume his readers' possession of the Spirit). The assumption of 1 Cor. 12 is that the Spirit has given

state in Paul's words.

³⁷ cf Dunn JS p247.

³⁸ Dunn JS p 224 opts for this.

³⁹ CL Mitton Ephesians London 1976 p59 is typical in stating "Paul felt that he could assume that anyone who was a believing Christian had received the Holy Spirit. It was a privilege granted to all believers, not to only a few".

a gift or gifts to everyone for the common good, to benefit the church as a whole, to build it up. A whole list of gifts is enumerated (vv 8-10, 28 - 30 cf Rom. 12.6 ff) - all are dispensed by the one same Spirit (vv8-11, 28-30; cf Rom.12.6ff).

How far does Paul assume conscious experience of the Spirit ?

He says

(i) believers receive the Spirit. His question to the Galatians points to a definite awareness of the fact (Gal.3,2,14; cf Rom.8.15; cf 1 Cor.2.12; 2 Cor.11.4)⁴⁰;

(ii) they live by or walk by (Gal.5.16,25; Rom.8.4) or are led by the Spirit (Gal.5.17-18; Rom.8.14); the language suggests an awareness of strength imparted to resist temptation and follow what is good or a sudden illumination which gives certainty concerning God's will or the right conduct⁴¹. Thus in the tussle between the indwelling Spirit and man as still living in this age, the Spirit proves the stronger force (Gal.5.18)⁴². Here we might mention that the Spirit helps our weakness, especially our inadequacy of expression in prayer (Rom.8.26f).

(iii) believers cry out (in prayer or confession) through the Spirit('s prompting) (Gal.4.6; Rom. 8.15)⁴³;

⁴⁰ See Dunn Baptism p113; HD Betz Galatians, Philadelphia, 1979, p132.

⁴¹ Betz op.cit., p281; Dunn JS p225 pertinently remarks that in Paul the Spirit cannot be reduced to some rationally construed claim of God, while the attempt to reduce Paul's concept of guidance to the level of Bible study misunderstands him at a fundamental level.

⁴² Betz op.cit., p280, sees Gal.5.17 as pre-Pauline and 5.18 as Paul's own doctrine (a view accepted by FF Bruce Galatians, Exeter, 1982, p245).

⁴³ Dunn JS p 240 takes $\kappa\rho\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu$ as "a cry of some intensity, probably a loud cry, and perhaps (but less likely) an ecstatic

(iv) believers' bodies individually are temples of God's Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 6.19; possibly 2 Cor.6. 16, where an individual believer/unbeliever is envisaged);

(v) believers are not to quench the Spirit (1 Thess.5.19) - probably a reference to the exercise of spiritual gifts, through which the Spirit manifests himself.

(vi) members of the Corinthian congregation are to contribute to worship - the impression created being that of spontaneous rather than prepared contributions, and these are seen as charismata of the Spirit (1 Cor.14.26-8). The dramatic effect of prophecy on an "outsider" is deemed to be the Spirit's work (vv24-5).

On the other hand, there are passages which suggest that Paul would not exclude thoughtful consideration leading to action as the Spirit's work. The Spirit's activity could inspire both spontaneous action and hard thinking. For example, (a) Christian giving as expounded in 2 Cor.8-9 may be both a spontaneous gesture of generosity (8.2,5) and the careful working out of Christian principles and responsibilities.

(b) Discerning God's will could be both a spontaneous, intuitive awareness (possibly Gal.2.2; 1 Cor.15.51, Rom.11.25; 2 Cor.12.9) or the result of exercising intelligent, rational thinking on the topic or problem (hence Paul's appeal to judge a matter (1 Cor.10.15,11.13) to be mature in thinking (1 Cor.14.20); and his stress on the need for the mind to be renewed (Rom.12.1-3)

cry", while Betz op.cit., pp132,210 thinks that the term does have the ring of ecstasy.

and engaged (1 Cor.14.14,19) and his exhortation to take into consideration what is honourable in men's sight (2 Cor.8.21; Phil.4.8).

(c) The qualities of love listed in 1 Cor.13 seem as likely to be the result of gradual transformation as of instant change⁴⁴, eg patience; lack of envy (cf 2 Cor.3.18). Love must be pursued continually (1 Cor.14.1).

Thus we may say that there has emerged a combination of (to put the matter colloquially) 'something hit me' and the calm, rational, sober working out of a Christian response.

This albeit sketchy survey shows that for Paul personally and his congregations Christianity was directed by the Spirit of God and this was a matter of something often felt in a dramatic way. From the moment of commitment to Christ, all aspects of the Christian life (worship, prayer, ethics, service, miracles, decisions, etc) were connected with the Spirit.

⁴⁴ So also Betz op.cit., p287 on the fruit of the Spirit; and against Dunn JS pp224-5, who sees love as the inner compulsion of God's Spirit coming to concrete expression in loving word and act.

(b) PRE-LUCAN MATERIAL IN ACTS corroborates the impression left by the Pauline evidence. However much Lucan shaping of the material may have occurred, most scholars would accept that the experience of the Spirit was embedded in the traditional material which came to him. Primitive Christianity was a movement which originated through the impact made by Jesus of Nazareth and by the belief in his resurrection coupled with a sense that the Holy Spirit of God had been poured out on the followers of Jesus.

That the phrase "in the last days" in the Joel quotation in Acts 2 is hardly likely to have been added by Luke himself⁴⁵ suggests a pre-Lucan use of Joel 2 to explain the early Christians' sense of God's Spirit in their midst, inaugurating the last days. (This eschatological view of the Spirit agrees with Rom.8.23; 2 Cor.1.22; 5.5). The earliest congregations had a sense of invasion by divine power which they explained as due to the outpouring of God's Spirit in fulfilment of Joel 2.

This experience resulted in -

(i) prophecy (11.28a⁴⁶; 21.10f⁴⁷ - the tension between 21.4 and 10f may be historical and illustrate the impossibility of objectivity in assessing claims to guidance by the Spirit; cf 13.1; 15.32; 21.9).

⁴⁵ So rightly Dunn JS p 160; against E Haenchen The Acts of the Apostles, ET Oxford, 1971 p 179 who opts for the B reading, but this is most likely to have been an assimilation to the original Joel quotation.

⁴⁶ Even E Haenchen The Acts of the Apostles, ET Oxford 1971, p378 accepts that Luke received a tradition about Agabus' prophecy.

⁴⁷ Again Haenchen op.cit., p605 seems to accept the broad historicity of the story. If Luke had invented the episode, he would hardly have mentioned that the Jews would tie Paul up (cf H Patsch Die Prophetie des Agabus, TZ 28 (1972) pp230-1).

(ii) inspired speech. The phrase *πλησθεὶς πνεύματος ἁγίου* at 4.8; 13.9 could be Lucan, but the idea tallies with Paul's view of utterance through the Spirit (cf 1 Cor.12.8ff; Rom.15.18-9).

(iii) the ability to heal (cf Rom.15.19; Heb.2.4).

(iv) glossolalia - probably the original meaning of the Pentecost story cf 1 Cor.14.

(v) visions (frequent in Acts).

(vi) pronouncements of judgment like that on Ananias and Sapphira, which presupposed the sense of the Spirit's indwelling congregation and leaders (Acts 5.1ff; cf 1 Cor.5.3-5; 14.24f).

(vii) guidance and direction from the Spirit. There seems a scholarly consensus that in practice either a prophet claimed to utter a message directly from the Spirit or a prophetic word was recognised there and then as a word from the Spirit - 13.2; 15.28; 16.7 have all been understood in these ways. Clearly there is a difference between 'what happened' and how the event was written up. We can partially penetrate through the latter (whether Lucan or pre-Lucan) to discern the primitive church's sense of the Spirit's directing the Church's mission and internal life.

We have sought in this brief survey only to look at passages where there is a widespread agreement on its pre-Lucan character. The picture that emerges coheres at several points with the picture that Paul offers⁴⁸.

Luke's gaze is on the mission of the church, not so much the internal life. So, what he offers is inevitably partial and incomplete. Yet within his own terms of reference he offers, as

⁴⁸ cf Dunn's comments, JS pp 169,195.

far as the experience of the Spirit is concerned, a reasonably reliable picture of a movement which believed that it had been baptised in the Holy Spirit (cf Acts 1.5; 11.16).

(c) LUCAN REDACTION

In order to avoid unnecessary reduplication we shall only briefly comment here on Luke himself as a witness to second generation Christianity. Luke clearly saw the Spirit as the best of all the Heavenly Father's good gifts (Lk.11.13 over against Matt.7.11). He sees the Spirit as the motive power behind the Church's mission (Lk.24.49). We need only instance a few examples where his editorial hand is widely accepted:

- (i) at 1.8 the programmatic sentence links Spirit, power and mission and sets the scene for the rest of Acts.
- (ii) the parallelism of a Jewish and Gentile Pentecost in chs. 2 and 10.
- (iii) the 'encounter' between Christianity and paganism in the person of Simon Magus shows that the Holy Spirit is more powerful than pagan magic (8.14-24).
- (iv) the Holy Spirit appoints leaders to care for the congregations (20.28, though there is no interest in the question of ministerial succession).

The overall impression is of the church surging forward on its God-intended task of mission, empowered by the help of the Spirit. There is resistance and opposition, but these do not really thwart the onward march of the Spirit-inspired mission.

There is wide agreement that Luke has heightened an existing emphasis and that he takes great pleasure in recording words and deeds deemed to be inspired by the Spirit (for all the so-called 'early catholic' features allegedly present in Acts). Thus did someone in the post-apostolic period look back on the beginnings of the church and no doubt reflected current experience in his description.

(d) We assume that EPHESIANS is by a Paulinist and is a product of the second generation of the church.

The author exhorts his readers not to get drunk with alcohol but to be filled with the Spirit (5.18). If the author is contrasting alcoholic inebriation with a spiritual experience, we may ask whether he was thinking of something "felt", exhilarating and heightening one's emotions and leading to praise and thanksgiving (5.19)⁴⁹.

All have been sealed by the promised Spirit at their conversion (1.13; 4.30). Nothing specific is said as to the nature of this experience⁵⁰, whether it is an exuberant or non-ecstatic

⁴⁹ So H Schlier Der Brief an die Epheser, Düsseldorf, 1957, pp245ff; CL Mitton, Ephesians, London, 1976 pp 189-190; M Barth Ephesians, New York, 1974, p 582.

⁵⁰ Barth, op.cit., pp 140f. equates it with the fact that they glorify God and confess Jesus as Lord, and he thinks of the continual flow of strength from God to man; for Barth, the phrase is equivalent to "supplying the Spirit". On p 143 he speaks of it in terms of the designation, appointment and equipment of the saints for a public ministry.

type of sensation : the Spirit seems to be God's sign of ownership and a protection to ensure safe arrival at the Last Day (cf 4.29,31 etc)⁵¹.

Twice the author prays for the gift of the Spirit for his readers - for wisdom and understanding of spiritual things (1.17)⁵² and for an inner strengthening (3.16) - presumably in the fight against evil and temptation (6.10ff).

The Spirit indwells the church (2.22), helps to create unity (4.3-4) and is the means of access in Christ for Jew and Gentile to God (2.18).

D : SUMMARY

Both Paul and the traditional material within Acts show that first generation Christianity was conscious of having received the Spirit of God and this experience consisted both of dramatic aspects (stimulus to speak, power to perform certain deeds like healing and miracles, sudden flashes of insight into God's purposes, etc) as well as what we might call sublimation of the normal in a non-ecstatic manner - ethical growth, maturity of character, the use of gifts and abilities like administration, practical service, etc.

⁵¹ See Lampe, Seal, pp 1 - 18.

⁵² That God's Spirit is thought of here and not the human spirit is also the view of Schlier, op.cit., pp 75ff; J Gnllka Der Epheserbrief, Freiburg 1971, p90, though there may be a thin line of distinction in practice between the Spirit who bestows wisdom and the spirit which has received wisdom from the Spirit.

If Ephesians and Luke himself are in any way typical of second generation Christianity, this sense of the Spirit's presence continues in vivid and unabated fashion. There are signs of developing institutionalism, but at this stage office and Spirit are not seen as antithetical : rather, office is created by the Spirit (so Acts 20.28) or the ascended Lord (Ephes. 4.11). Luke sees the Spirit as a mighty power (Acts 1.8) carrying the church onward and forward on its mission (e.g. 16.6,8,10) and superior to all pagan forms of wonder-working magic (e.g. 8.4-24; also 19.11-20). In Ephesians Christians ought to be filled and strengthened by the Spirit by whom they have been sealed.

CHAPTER III : PROBLEMS AND AIMS

If the earliest generation certainly and the next generation probably understood its Christian life as characterised by the experience of the Holy Spirit in the ways already described, we now face the question - Did that experience continue to be central and dominant in the era AD90-200 ? Did the Christians of this period see their Christianity in such terms ?

(a) A word of caution needs to be sounded here. If a rose would smell as sweet by any other name, we ought to remember that other phrases might convey the same experience as Spirit-phraseology (e.g. 1 Cor. 12.4-6 is surely a triple way of describing the same basic experience).

Thus the non-mention of the Spirit need not per se indicate that what characterised the earlier Christianity of the first and second generations was absent. That first generation found it natural to speak in a certain way. It is possible that the same experience could be included within different phraseology. Other expressions would have to be taken into consideration⁵³.

(b) Another factor which also has to be taken into consideration is the genre of the work and its aim. Is the subject matter treated of such a nature that we would naturally expect references to the Holy Spirit ? How is silence about the Spirit to be

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Luz, op.cit., p113, has said with regard to Matt.28.20 that "the formulation "I am with you" probably means in effect the same as what is said with the catch-word "Spirit"".

evaluated - when is it significant and when accidental or covered by other phrases ? If the topic is Christian behaviour, then we might expect to hear mention of the Spirit, but criticism of false teaching, allegorical interpretation of the OT, rules concerning the administration of baptism, fasts, the agape/eucharist, need not contain references to the Spirit and absence of them need occasion no surprise.

(c) The organisation of the material presents some problems. Arguably the most neutral approach would be to examine each author seriatim (e.g. the approach in TF Torrance The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, 1948), but it may justly be queried whether this does not result in a skeleton, a portrait without any flesh and blood. An alternative or variant of this approach would be an arrangement according to date, though basically the same objection might be raised here also.

In the end we have decided on a geographical arrangement. In their recent book on Antioch and Rome⁵⁴ JP Meier and RE Brown admit that some areas of their work are speculative but claim that research is only advanced by such probes (even if it is by stimulating others to produce better suggestions). In this thesis I have arranged the material in the same spirit : I am aware that the geographical arrangement has its drawbacks, since there is no surety about the provenance of Jude and 2 Clement, while dispute rages over that of John's Gospel and Epistles and the Didache. Nevertheless, none of the positions here adopted are outlandish,

⁵⁴ New York-London, 1983 pp ix, 213.

and all can call on considerable scholarly support. Actually the geographical approach is not novel. It was used e.g. by L Goppelt in his Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert (Gütersloh, 1954) and more recently by H Koester in his Introduction to the NT Vol.2 : History and Literature of Early Christianity (ET Philadelphia, 1982)⁵⁵.

The advantage of the geographical arrangement is that it puts a little more 'flesh and blood on the bones' and enables us to appreciate some of the diversity and variety of Church life and Christian experience in the period chosen. Within the geographical arrangement we also use the chronological one, so that in a sense the two different approaches are being married.

Of course a given writer may not necessarily be typical of the church in the region where he wrote. Tertullian is a possible instance that springs to mind, but precisely his polemical references to other Christians whom he deemed unspiritual are helpful in gauging the spiritual temperature in N. Africa at the end of the second century.

(d) . Not all aspects of the work of the Holy Spirit will be investigated here. That would be impossible to achieve at any depth within the limits of space and would be possible only at the cost of becoming a mere catalogue of references. So we have selected three areas of experience of the Spirit to examine in the authors of our period.

⁵⁵ What is particularly new about Koester's approach is his use of extra-canonical literature, especially gnostic literature, in reconstructing the thought of early Christianity in the areas indicated.

When Christians from NT times to the present day have spoken about experiencing the Holy Spirit, they have meant a variety of things, but certainly the following are included :

(i) What we may call some sort of ecstatic experience, a sense of being overwhelmed by the divine, or caught up into the divine being. The human personality seems invaded by an outside power and this occasions feelings of intense joy or fear. Or it may be described as a sense of something welling up within a person's inner being, bringing heightened emotional sensations. Such an experience may well be described in terms of the Holy Spirit.

This rapturous experience may not be wholly "introspective", as it were, but may lead to some sort of utterance - proclamation of a word deemed to come from God which has been heard or internally perceived, a word which may be one of judgment/threat, or of deliverance/promise/reassurance/comfort. The speaker feels moved or impelled to utter 'on the spot' or on the nearest occasion possible the message received. (Equally of course, it may be that the Spirit's inspiration is claimed for a word or a written work which is the result of careful prior preparation).

Deeds may also flow from this experience. Thus, the recipient may feel impelled to heal or perform some miracle or action because he/she has become the channel of the Spirit's power.

What we have thus described is a felt or conscious experience of the Spirit of God, rather than a post eventum evaluation. It is not a case of looking back with hindsight and claiming that one was led by the Spirit, but rather a conscious awareness of a power ab extra at work in and through one.

Why did the early Christians ascribe such experiences to the Spirit of God ? The answer must lie within their heritage - in the OT and Hebraic-Judaic tradition the Spirit was associated with power. The Spirit is pictured as invading and impelling (often to unusual or bizarre acts). There was a link between the Spirit and the miracle-working prophets like Elijah and Elisha. The Joel quotation together with the Numbers 24 ("Would that all the Lord's people were prophets") and Isaiah 11 (taken as referring to the messiah) would afford specific support from the OT. There was then a cultural and theological framework at hand for early Christians to use.

(ii) What we may call illumination or guidance, which leads to a deeper understanding of (a) God's purposes in general and (b) the individual congregation or believer's situation in particular, so that a course of action becomes imperative because willed and revealed by God's Spirit. The link of truth and the Spirit is involved in this facet : the believer knows that he is in poss^ession of divine truth because the Spirit has revealed it to him. This may be contrasted with the ignorance of the world or the benighted condition of "heretics". There may be a polemical thrust in the claim to be led by the Spirit - we are led by the Spirit, but you are not.

Once again the impartation of this wisdom and understanding could be over a period and be linked with study, meditation, preparation, all of which are seen to be means which the Spirit uses to guide and direct into what is God's way and will. We could

call this "mediated" guidance, whereas the sudden realisation of being confronted and possessed by the truth might be termed "immediate" inspiration and guidance by the Spirit.

(iii) What we may term ethical empowering. By this we mean when the Christian becomes conscious of being helped by divine power and assisted in a course of action or the development of character, when grappling with temptation and base desires, and indeed in the final test of loyalty, namely martyrdom. The believer feels borne along by resources other than his or her own. He may feel utterly helpless in the face of circumstances, but precisely at that point he becomes aware of the help of God's Spirit. Thus, temptation may be resisted, greater patience exercised, sterner endurance maintained, more love expended, fuller commitment to God's service shown and so on. Through all these ways the Christian character is matured and deepened and Christ is formed in us.

These three areas then will provide the focus of our study as we explore the era ca 90 - 200, to discover how far later Christianity maintained the initial experience of the activity of God's Spirit which, as we have briefly seen, was a hallmark of the Christianity of the first and second generations. In the chapters which follow these three areas will be designated A, B and C - a sense of divine presence leading to word or deed or both (A); illumination or guidance (B); and ethical empowering (C). Sometimes it has been felt that A and B cannot be too rigidly separated and they have occasionally been treated together.

Sometimes a fourth section D has been included, to discuss other factors germane to evaluating the author's stance vis-a-vis the Spirit.

It must be emphasised, in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, that these three aspects are not being seen as chronologically sequential. Thus, our A may include an initial experience but is not confined to that. The material in B is not to be thought of as immediately sequential to A, but may occur at moments along the Christian life. Our C is clearly an ongoing sense, not something only experienced at one particular point.

In these three areas of experience, then, were the members of the Christian Church in the transition period between the primitive period and the Great Church conscious of the Holy Spirit ?

(e) Finally, we mention briefly a point to which we shall return later : how is a claim to have received the Spirit or been inspired by Him to say or do something to be established ? Like Israel in connection with prophecy, Christianity from the beginning faced the problem of evaluating claims by people within its ranks to spiritual experiences and directives. Paul had to tackle this at Corinth, and if Acts 20.22 and 21.4 embody historical tradition, then members of the Tyre congregation and Paul's entourage faced the problem of deciding between conflicting interpretations or whether the Spirit had cancelled an earlier command. How could they be sure that a claim to the Spirit's inspiration was true and not personal wishes ? We shall see that this recurs specifically as a problem in our period and in general confronts the historian

at every point - can objective tests be applied to weigh the claims made ? Or is it a hopeless task to differentiate between subjective and objective aspects of experience ?

PART II : SYRIAN CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER 4 : THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

Although traditionally the fourth gospel has been associated with Asia Minor, more recently a few scholars have advocated Syria as the gospel's place of origin¹. The reasons are as follows :

(1) Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls it has been felt that the dualistic approach and language of John's Gospel fits into the type of Judaism reflected in the scrolls.

(2) The attitude of the gospel to John the Baptist and his followers is held to reflect a situation in which there is tension, if not hostility, between the two movements, and this is more likely in the Syria-Transjordan area.

(3) Ignatius of Antioch reflects a knowledge of Johannine thought, ca. 112-117 AD.

(4) The gospel's lack of acceptance until the time of Irenaeus fits better with an origin in (say) eastern Syria rather than a busy and important centre like Ephesus, i.e. a more backwater situation.

¹ See W.G.Kümmel, Introduction to the NT, (ET) London, (rev.ed.), 1975, p 247 and D.M.Smith Johannine Christianity : Some Reflections on its Character and Delineation, NTS 21 (1975) pp237-238. O. Cullmann The Johannine Circle, London, 1976, p 98 lists Syria and Transjordan as the two main possibilities; J.H. Charlesworth, "Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon", Qumran and John, Ed. J.H.Charlesworth, London, 1972, p136 looks to "N.Palestine and Syria for the provenance of the Odes and of at least one recension of John"; B. Lindars The Gospel of John, London, 1972, p44 "the choice lies between Ephesus and Syria, but no certainty on this issue is possible".

(5) The Odes of Solomon which show affinities to the thought of the fourth gospel originate from Syria.

(6) Gnosis flourished early in Syria and John seems to be open to the questions behind gnosis, especially a gnosis influenced by Judaism.

(7) This takes account of the links and dissimilarities with the Apocalypse². If some Jewish Christians, acquainted with an early stage of Johannine thought, migrated to Asia Minor before 70 AD³, one of them or a pupil or descendant of one of them could have written the Apocalypse ca 90 AD. It is highly unlikely that the Gospel and Apocalypse were written by the same author - the eschatology is too different. But echoes of Johannine thought are part of the thought of John of Patmos who wrote the Apocalypse.

(8) Polycarp could have met John in Palestine or Syria, and Irenaeus made a genuine mistake that Polycarp knew John in Ephesus. It must be noted, however, that neither Polycarp in his Letter to the Philippians nor the Martyrdom of Polycarp claim any link with the apostle John.

(9) Papias of Hierapolis in Asia Minor does not seem to have been acquainted with the Fourth Gospel⁴.

² See the discussion in E.S.Fiorenza The Quest for the Johannine School : The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, NTS 23 (1977) pp 402 - 427, who believes that the author of the Apocalypse was familiar with the Johannine (and also the Pauline) school tradition without belonging to it : he was rather at home within, and indeed was the leader of an early Christian prophetic-apocalyptic school.

³ As Eusebius H.E. 31.3; 39.9; 5.24.2 implies. See U.B.Müller Zur frühchristlichen Theologiegeschichte, Gütersloh, 1976 p48.

⁴ See UHJ Körtner Papias von Hierapolis, Göttingen, 1983, especially pp 173-6, 197-8.

(10) The Syrian origin means that we do not have to postulate Pauline and Johannine churches existing separately in Ephesus.

(11) If the fourth gospel contains a protest of some sort against increasing trends of sacramentalism and ministerial hierarchy⁵, what Ignatius reveals in his letters could provide the foil (just as much as, and even better, than the Pastorals for Ephesus).

It cannot be said that these points amount to certainty, but they cumulatively make out a better case for Syria than for Ephesus. We shall therefore proceed on the assumption that the Fourth Gospel and Johannine Epistles originated in Syria, even though the Johannine tradition may have moved to Ephesus later.

A :

(i) A natural starting point in our quest for the Johannine understanding of the believer's experience of the Spirit is the discussion of new birth / $\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ in 3.3ff.

Birth $\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ is vital for someone to see/enter the Kingdom of God. Because this birth is $\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, it cannot be effected from within the 'realm' of flesh: neither the world nor man can achieve it. Of this we have been warned in the prologue when birth from God was contrasted with birth from blood/will of the flesh/will of man (1.13). These terms evoke the whole area of human effort and striving - flesh and blood, man's will. Only $\piνευμα$ can bring about the birth from above or birth $\epsilon\varsigma\ υδατος και πνευματος$ as v6 shows : "What is born of flesh is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit is Spirit".

⁵ See J.D.G.Dunn Baptism pp188-190,193-194; JS p359; Unity and Diversity in the NT, London, 1977, pp 118-119,168-171.

Verse 8 propounds the mysterious nature of birth $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$.

The wind (also $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}$) blows where it wishes. Men hear its sound but do not know whence it comes or whither it goes. There is a mystery about the wind : $\text{οὕτως ἐστὶν πᾶς ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος.}$

Whether or not baptism is in mind at v5⁶, the Spirit is the vital element in the new birth from above. Water is not mentioned outside v5 – only $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}$ is. The role of the Spirit is paramount in the experience of the birth $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$ / $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ⁷. Without the activity of the Spirit such a birth does not take place. No Spirit – no birth $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$. The Spirit is a sine qua non of all genuine Christian experience. He stands at the entry into it as the creative force which brings it about. 3.14 – 16, following on 3.3–8, give the objective basis (Jesus' lifting up on the cross and to glory) for the subjective experience of rebirth by the Spirit.

If we seek now to press behind the language to the experience described, we may say :

⁶ In favour of a reference to baptism , e.g. O. Cullmann Early Christian Worship, (ET) London, 1953 , pp 75–78; G.R.Beasley-Murray Baptism in the NT, London, 1962, pp 228–229; and the commentaries of Barrett, Brown, Lindars, Sanders-Mastin, Schnackenburg, etc. on 3.5; against, Dunn Baptism, pp182ff.

⁷ So e.g. Beasley-Murray, op.cit, p 230; Schnackenburg Commentary Vol. I p 369; Dunn Baptism pp 182ff; UD, p 170).

(1) while man may not understand the whence and whither of the wind, he does hear it, i.e. he knows its effects. The ¹οὐτός draws the parallel with birth ²γεν. We may surmise that this birth is mysterious in how it takes place but the fact that it takes place and that one is aware of it is assumed⁸.

(2) the image of birth from above which is also new birth is the language that we would expect from those who have been "twice born"⁹ i.e. whose spiritual experience has been dramatic and startling, something to be sharply delineated. This is the terminology of the instant conversion experience. In later Christendom those who have had such an experience have turned to John's language - "born again Christians" . This is the language of those who are most conscious of a sharp distinction between themselves and their milieu ("the world").

(ii) Alongside the image of new birth from above, we have that of living waters which the thirsty imbibe. We turn to 7.37-39, within which, it is unanimously agreed, v39 constitutes an interpretative comment by a later/final redactor. It agrees with the standpoint of the farewell discourses that it is only when Jesus goes that the Paraclete-Spirit comes. Here the 'commentator' says that the

⁸ Thus I want to put it more strongly than Schnackenburg, op.cit.,p373f, who writes "The wind is also a mystery as to its origin and goal, but it still remains a reality, perceptible by means of its sound ("voice"), recognisable through its effects.....and hence the Spirit is also recognisable through the effects which he produces in man". Porsch Pneuma und Wort, p124, says that being born of the Spirit "takes place through the opening of the human heart to the witness of the Revealer who speaks God's word" (my italics).

⁹ cf H. Weinel Geist und Geistes, p42.

Spirit was not yet (δεδομένον is a correct, though secondary, addition) because Jesus had not yet been glorified - a reference to his crucifixion-exaltation.

Verses 37-38, however they are to be punctuated, offer a promise on the lips of the Johannine Jesus of living water (comparable to the offer of living bread in chapter 6). The promise is offered to the thirsty one who is invited to come to Jesus or believe on him and drink. The scriptural quotation may support (a) why the thirsty one should come to Jesus - living water flows out of him (ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ) to satisfy the thirst of others, or (b) the idea that the living water will gush forth from the believer.

Both ideas are Johannine : (a) fits the general Christological emphasis in the gospel, while (b) agrees with the promise to the Samaritan woman (4.14). Since however in the fourth gospel Jesus bestows the Spirit from the Father, and since he is the source of the Spirit, it is more likely that the believer is pictured as coming to Jesus to drink from him¹⁰. Otherwise the believer comes to Jesus and drinks; then he in turn becomes the source for others. Nothing, however, is actually said in the text about the direction in which the rivers will flow (nor in 4.14).

So, v 39 proffers a pneumatological reinterpretation of an originally Christological statement. Why should the redactor feel impelled to take this step ? The answer can only lie in the direction that for him experience of the risen, exalted Jesus and

¹⁰ cf R. Schnackenburg Commentary, Vol. II, (ET) p 154. For the contrary view, see Barrett op cit. pp 326-327.

his life-giving power was the experience of the Holy Spirit. The streams of living water were available because the Holy Spirit was given to those who believed in Jesus.

The 'original' promise, though set in the earthly ministry of Jesus, the incarnate Word, was really a promise from the Jesus-lifted-up-on-a-cross-and-into-glory. Behind the incarnate Word in the pages of the gospel stands the exalted Word returned to the Father. The Son of Man had to be lifted up in order to confer life (3.14f). Through 7.39 the final redactor, from the standpoint of his own understanding and experience, sees the living waters as none other than the gift of the Spirit. Whereas in chapter 6 the proffered gift of the bread of heaven is firmly equated with Jesus, the promise of 7.37f allowed scope to the redactor to carry through the reinterpretation and, in a sense, prepare the way for the position enunciated in the farewell discourses through the Paraclete Sayings (assuming a growth of the farewell discourses to their present shape in chapters 13 - 17)¹¹.

7.39, then, offers us an important clue into the gospel writer's approach. The gift of Jesus, which in some sense is Jesus himself, is the Holy Spirit.

¹¹ See H. Windisch The Spirit-Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel, Philadelphia, 1968, who assumed that the Paraclete sayings constituted a final layer in the Farewell Discourses ; cf to some extent J. Becker Die Abschiedsreden Jesu im Johannesevangelium, ZNW 61 (1970), pp224, 227, 237-8. The position is probably more complicated and we have to reckon with a number of farewell discourses - so Becker op.cit., pp229-236, 246; U.B.Müller Die Parakletenvorstellung im Johannesevangelium, ZThK 71 (1974); J. Painter The Farewell Discourses and the History of Johannine Christianity, NTS 27 (1981) pp525-543.

But we have not finished with this verse yet. Does the image used - to come to Jesus, to believe, to drink living waters to quench one's thirst - evoke an experience which is specific and vivid ? Are the component phrases such as to evoke something precise and noteworthy in the believer's experience? We think so : in the moment of believing in Jesus he was aware of a different dimension of experience, such as can very or even most effectively be described in terms of slaking thirst. The thirsty one drinks and his parched throat is moistened and his thirst quenched. The language seems to point to a dramatic religious experience of memorable dimensions.

(iii) In the farewell discourses Jesus informs the disciples of his impending departure (13.33,36; 14.2) and seeks to calm their troubled hearts (14.1 cf 14.27-28). A vital ingredient in this process is the promise of the Paraclete-Spirit. At Jesus' request the Father will give them the Spirit that he might be with them for ever (14.16). The same phrase *μεθ' ὑμῶν* (plus *ἡμῶν*) is used of Jesus and the disciples at 16.4b. If the intention is to administer comfort to the disciples who feel that they will soon be like orphans, the evangelist presumably thinks in terms of a conscious experience of the Spirit¹². In contrast to the world the disciples already do know him

ὅτι παρ' ὑμῶν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται

¹² Cf Lindars op.cit. p477; Schnackenburg, op.cit., III p85 (German; p76 in ET).

(14.17). At the moment the Spirit is alongside them (παρ' ὑμῶν) because he abides in Jesus (1.32f; 3.34) but (after Jesus' glorification) he will be in the disciples¹³.

The new relationship will be a deeper one than during the earthly ministry. Though they knew of the Spirit's activity, his relationship was an external one (παρ' ὑμῶν μένει), but the new relationship will be an internal one (ἐν ὑμῶν ἔσται). The relationship of indwelling designated by the ἐν formula denotes intimacy and closeness. It is inconceivable that the evangelist could use this formula of the relationship both of Jesus and the Father and of Jesus and the disciples to denote the intimacy and closeness of their relationship, and then use it at 14.17 of the Paraclete and the disciples, but mean something different by it.

This interpretation is reinforced by a consideration of the terms employed to designate what the Spirit does vis-a-vis the disciples : "he will teach you all things , that is, he will recall to your remembrance" (14.26); "he will guide you..... he will announce to you" (16.13-15). The pupil-teacher type of relationship here envisaged confirms the point made above. The Spirit is conceived of in personal terms as one who instructs and informs the disciples (just as Jesus has done in his ministry)¹⁴ .

Further confirmation is afforded by

¹³ For a defence of ἔσται see my "A Note on John 14.17b", BZ 23 (1979) pp 93-98.

¹⁴ cf Porsch, op.cit., pp 215,239,389.

(a) the proximity of 14.16-17 to 14.18f : "I will not leave you as orphans, I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world will see me no more, but you will see me; because I live, you shall live also". The picture of the orphan well suits the situation of the disciples soon to be bereft of their Master. But the assurance theme continues - they will not be left as orphans. "I will come to you". The language has shifted from the Paraclete to Jesus.

Either 14.18 refers to the resurrection¹⁵ or the coming of the Spirit is the coming of Jesus¹⁶.

(i) The parallelism of thought between vv15-17 and vv18-21 seems to point to the latter interpretation¹⁷.

(ii) Verses 18ff do not speak of a temporary experience of Christ¹⁸.

(iii) This interpretation is confirmed by the frequently made observation that everything that Jesus did is also predicated of the Spirit : he does what Jesus had done - being with the disciples, teaching, bearing witness, convincing, revealing the truth, not speaking on one's own authority, glorifying one's sender, etc.¹⁹

¹⁵ So E.C.Hoskyns(-F.N.Davey), The Fourth Gospel, London, 2nd ed. 1947, p459; Lindars, op.cit., p481.

¹⁶ So Porsch, op.cit., p241.

¹⁷ So Brown op.cit., Vol. II, p 644f, who stresses the parallelism between vv15-17 and 18-21. "Such parallelism is John's way of telling the reader that the presence of Jesus after his return to the Father is accomplished in and through the Paraclete". cf R. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, (ET) Oxford 1971, pp 617f; D.E.Holwerda The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in the Gospel of John, Kampen, 1959, pp 65, 76.

¹⁸ So also Brown, op.cit., pp645-6.

¹⁹ See Brown op.cit., Vol. II, pp1140-41 (= NTS 13 (1966-67, The Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel, pp126-8).

The conclusion is inescapable : the fourth evangelist saw the experience of the risen Jesus as the experience of the Paraclete-Spirit. However he might have expressed this dogmatically²⁰, he did assert that the Christian life is a life lived in conscious fellowship with the Spirit. The believer would know the presence of the Spirit indwelling him. This was a coming of Jesus to the believer and a seeing of Jesus by the believer.

(b) the proximity of 14.23 and 26. The promise of 14.23 is set in the context of a question used to set up a reply: Judas (not Iscariot) asked "Lord, what has happened that you will manifest yourself to us and not to the world?". (14.22). At one level the question is surprising since a distinction between believers and the world is a commonplace of Johannine thought; at another level, it enables the evangelist to deal again with the question of Jesus' relationship to his followers in the future. The answer to Judas is "If someone loves me, he will keep my word and my Father will love him and we will come to him and make our abode with him"(14.23). Because of that oneness which exists between Father and Son, for Jesus to come to the believer means in fact that the Father comes too : they both take up residence in the believer. They dwell in him.

Yet in 14.26 comes the second Paraclete saying, promising that the Father will send the Paraclete in Jesus' name.

²⁰ cf Barrett, op.cit., p464 : "We ought not to suppose that John simple (sic) confounds Jesus with the Holy Spirit"; cf Schnackenburg, op.cit., Band III p88.

From the point of view of experience, the evangelist can talk of believers receiving the Spirit or Jesus/Father. The vivid language of taking up residence points to a conscious awareness of the experience²¹ .

We return to 14.17. If the words of this verse are to comfort, they must surely suggest conscious awareness of a presence, real though invisible, of one who 'takes the place' of Jesus.

Summary : While it is not the evangelist's intention to describe in detail the subjective experience of believers, an examination of two images associated with the Holy Spirit - new birth and living water - both suggest heightened, dramatic experience, while the employment of his famous immanence language in 14.17 also points to a sense of awareness on the part of believers that the Spirit dwells in them.

B :

Our second area of interest is that of illumination - how wisdom or understanding , the ability to discern spiritual or divine truth, are imparted.

Most emphatically this is a role of the Spirit in John. The second Paraclete saying announces :
"He will teach you all things, that is, he will recall to your remembrance all that I have said to you" (14.26).

²¹ Cf Lindars op.cit., p482, on 14.23, who speaks of "an interior apprehension of Jesus and the Father in the hearts of those who love Jesus".

Just as Jesus taught, so will the Paraclete. Assuming the *καὶ* to be epexegetic²², i.e. explanatory of *διδάξει πάντα*, we catch a glimpse of the fact that John is grappling with the relation of the contemporary experience of the Spirit and the past revelation of the incarnate Word in Jesus' historic ministry²³. The Spirit's task is to recall all that Jesus said, but this is not mere remembering but a remembering with deeper understanding as 2.22; 12.16 make abundantly clear (cf too 13.7). The Spirit's task is to teach by reminding the disciples of the meaning of Jesus' words. Here there is both binding to the past and freedom for the future : the link with Jesus' revelation is decisive²⁴ but there is the possibility left open for reinterpretation of that past revelation to new situations and ongoing needs²⁵.

The Spirit is the Teacher of believers, but what he teaches is linked closely with what Jesus taught. If Jesus is the exegete of the Father (1.18), the Spirit is the exegete of the Son.

This is confirmed by the final Paraclete Saying 16.12-15 :

(a) 16.12 apparently asserts the incompleteness of Jesus' revelation due not to inadequacy on his part but weakness on the part of the disciples.

²² cf Bultmann op.cit 485(1) (ET p626(6)); Schnackenburg, op.cit, Band III, p95; Brown, op.cit., Vol.II, p450f.

²³ Cf Dunn, JS pp351f; Unity and Diversity p198.

²⁴ Barrett, op.cit., p467 maintains that there is for John no independent revelation through the Paraclete, but only an application of the revelation in Jesus.

²⁵ Dunn JS p352 goes slightly further than this and maintains that the thought of 14.26 "must include some idea of new information, new revelationeven if that new revelation is in effect drawn out of the old by way of reinterpretation"; cf UD, p198 - "the new truth of revelation" is "set in correlation with the original truth of Jesus".

(b) v13a says that the Spirit of Truth will lead into all the truth. Thus far it seems to be suggested that he completes what Jesus has been unable to pass on. Here there seems then the idea of new revelation, filling up what is lacking²⁶.

(c) This activity is grounded in v13b (γὰρ) by the assertion that the Spirit does not speak on his own initiative or authority. Rather, he will say what he will hear - from the Father or Jesus (not specified). The future tenses λαλήσει and ἀκούσει could be taken as confirming the view that new truth is in mind, but it must equally be stated that they do not rule out the view that the Spirit is interpreting the past.

(d) The passage continues καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν. Of what is the evangelist thinking with the phrase τὰ ἐρχόμενα? Various interpretations have been suggested

(i) eschatological events, or, at any rate, future events, so that the whole clause is seen as a veiled reference to Christian prophets²⁷. Sometimes the Apocalypse is specifically mentioned. Yet this interpretation does not really accord with the evangelist's realised eschatological viewpoint and does not fully convince.

²⁶ This is the interpretation of U.B.Müller Die Parakletenvorstellung im Johannesevangelium, ZThK 71 (1974), pp 74-75 (Müller notes the greater independence of the Paraclete in chapter 16 than in chapter 14 - see pp69,73); E.Bammel, Jesus und Paraklet in Johannes 16, Christ and Spirit in the NT, ed. B.Lindars and S.S.Smalley, Cambridge, 1973, p207; Dunn JS p352; Schnackenburg, op.cit., Band III, p151.

²⁷ So G.Johnston The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John, Cambridge, 1970 pp39,137-141; Lindars, op.cit., p505; Müller, op.cit., p72.

(ii) the forthcoming passion, cf 18.4²⁸. The occurrence of similar phraseology in the arrest scene is probably too meagre support for a view which is per se not unattractive, and in any case has not 12.23-24,31-34 offered an interpretation of the cross ?

(iii) the meaning of what happens to the church : that is, the Paraclete will not announce anything new but will constantly interpret what Jesus has said to the ongoing situation of the church²⁹. On this view the *καί* which introduces the clause under consideration could be epexegetic and the *οὐ γὰρ* clause *par-* tical. If this is allowed, our clause helps to explain the idea of leading into all the truth³⁰ : this involves applying the past revelation in Jesus to fresh situations.

(e) The aim of the Paraclete-Spirit is to glorify Jesus and he does so because he takes what belongs to Jesus and declares it to the disciples. This seems to say exactly what 14.26 said³¹ - he will recall to their remembrance what Jesus said. Just as the activity of *ἐπομνήστis* involved interpretation, so also the activity of taking what belongs to Jesus (given him by the Father,

²⁸ Hoskyns-Davey, op.cit., ad.loc.; Barrett (partially) op.cit., p408, who also combines this with events in the future, viz the Spirit makes the Final Judgment operative by convincing the world.

²⁹ Schnackenburg, op.cit., Band III p154; Brown, op.cit., Vol.II p716. The latter draws on the researches of I. de la Potterie on the verb *ἐναγγέλλω* in the apocalyptic literature (see p708 - "There the verb is used to describe the interpretation of mysteries already communicated in dreams or visions. The declarative interpretation deals with the future by seeking a deeper meaning in what has already happened."); cf too Bultmann, op.cit.p444 (ET p576) : "The Spirit....is the ever new power of Jesus' word; it retains the old in the continual newness that arises from the speaking of the word in the present" and Porsch, op.cit., p298.

³⁰ So Porsch, op.cit., pp298, 300.

³¹ Cf Schnackenburg op.cit., Band III p163, who speaks of "relecture" of 14.26; Porsch, op.cit., p290..

cf 3.35) and declaring it involves explanation and interpretation - a re-presentation. Verses 14f clearly then affirm the completeness of what Jesus has said and done.

We discern then two possibilities of taking vv12-15 :

(a) The view which sees some tension between vv 12-13 and 14-15. Put more exactly, it is suggested that vv12-13 point boldly in one direction (new truth), with vv14-15 'applying the brakes' (link with the historical Jesus' revelation). On this approach, the evangelist is walking a tightrope - he wants to affirm new truth, yet is concerned to anchor that new truth firmly in the past revelatory work of Christ³².

(b) Alternatively, v12 is taken to mean no more than that Jesus himself cannot do the explaining, with this being left to the Spirit (vv13ff). This eliminates the idea of new truth and stays within the idea of drawing out the significance and implication of what Jesus has already revealed. This might receive support from 16.25 - "I have said these things to you *ἐν παροιμίαις* : the hour is coming when I will no longer speak to you *ἐν παροιμίαις* but I will tell you about the Father *παρησιᾶ*". How will Jesus speak about the Father openly except through the Spirit ? The speaking *ἐν παροιμίαις* relates to the incarnate ministry; the speaking *παρησιᾶ* comes through the Paraclete-Spirit³³.

In the end, the difference between these two views is probably one of degree rather than kind, a difference of emphasis rather than an unbridgeable gulf. Our preference is for the latter

³² See the position of Dunn as mentioned above in footnote 22.

³³ So too Porsch, op.cit., pp 291, 297, 303.

interpretation, because it can do justice to the element of reinterpretation without involving the idea of tension or dialectic, while also being in line with the general standpoint of the Gospel that he who is the incarnate and now glorified Word has spoken all that is needful for us to know the Father and have eternal life.

The contrast between veiled and open speech mentioned in 16.25 points us towards the work of the evangelist. He and the tradition within which he stood has so interpreted the works and words of Jesus that what was implicit has become explicit, what was below the surface is now drawn out fully³⁴. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the evangelist believed that the Paraclete was at work in his own writing. Indeed the Paraclete sayings constitute a legitimation or authorisation of the Johannine interpretation of the tradition³⁵.

Summary : John strongly emphasises the didactic role of the Spirit of Truth. He explains and interprets the truth incarnate in Jesus. The promise of his guidance into all the truth is made to every believer. This activity is a major facet of what the Spirit achieves.

³⁴ e.g. Schnackenburg, op.cit., Vol.I, p182; Dunn JS pp351-2.

³⁵ So the view of many scholars : e.g. Brown, op.cit., Vol.II p1142 (who goes so far as to say that the Beloved Disciple is an "incarnation of the Paraclete"); Schnackenburg, op.cit., Band III p168; Dunn JS p352 ("John would undoubtedly regard his own gospel as the product of this inspiring Spirit") and UD pp75-78; Porsch op.cit., pp264-55; Müller, op.cit., pp49, 51, 77; U. Wilckens Der Paraklet und die Kirche, Kirche, ed. D. Lührmann and G. Strecker, Tübingen, 1980, p198.

C :

Ethical empowerment is not a facet of the Spirit's work on which John dwells. Ethical issues as such do not occupy his attention, so it occasions no surprise that the Spirit as power in the believer's life to overcome evil and follow good is not a topic of discussion as it is in Paul's letters (e.g. Gal.; Rom.).

CHAPTER 5 : THE JOHANNINE EPISTLES

Though some scholars have argued for the priority of the Epistles³⁶, most scholars believe that a few years separate the Gospel and the Epistles, during which a secession of some members of the Johannine communities took place³⁷. The tremendous stress on the unity of Christ's followers in the Gospel (10.16;11.51-52;17.20ff) was no doubt intended to stave off the break-away, but it did not succeed. It is in this situation that the Elder sought to encourage those Christians who had not broken away.

A :

One of the tests given by the writer to his readers to enable them to reassure themselves that they are Christians is mentioned at 3.24 :

"We know that He (God) abides in us by the fact that He has given us of His Spirit".

God's indwelling in Christians is equated with the Spirit whom God has given them. This test quite clearly identifies their experience of God's presence with the Holy Spirit.

A somewhat similar test is given at 4.13 :

"We know that we abide in Him and He in us by the fact that He has given us of His Spirit".

³⁶ See the list in RE Brown The Epistles of John, London, 1983, p33.

³⁷ See Brown, op.cit., pp 32-5, 69-71, 97-101.

The abiding concept is made mutual here - we abide in God as well as He abiding in us. The sign and guarantee of this is that God has given us His Spirit³⁸.

If this test is to be meaningful, it can only involve conscious awareness of the Spirit³⁹. The believer can proceed from this conscious awareness to the conclusion that he enjoys the presence of God. There is a theological conclusion to be drawn from experience.

Although Brown has challenged this on the grounds that the Elder's opponents could also claim inner experience of the Spirit⁴⁰, ie the Elder would be 'playing into the hands' of his opponents, Schnackenburg's description of 3.24; 4.13 as stereotyped expressions which stem from church instruction⁴¹ probably helps us understand the progression of the Elder's thought. If we assume that the assertion that God has given us of His Spirit is a piece of Johannine church tradition, then 4.1ff represents the qualifications which the Elder is forced by the situation to introduce. He 'hedges' the tradition around by tests. (He is thus rather like Paul who ordered the Thessalonians both not to quench

38 The ἐκ τ. πνεύματος αὐτοῦ is a partitive genitive, cf I.H.Marshall The Epistles of John, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1978 p219; R.E.Brown The Epistles of John, London, 1983, p466.

39 cf C.H.Dodd The Johannine Epistles, London, 1946, p115 "immediate spontaneous unanalysable awareness of a divine presence in our life"; Schnackenburg, 1963 (2nd ed.), p 209 "eine Erfahrbarkeit des Geistes"; Marshall, op.cit., p219 "various experiences might be in mind".

40 op.cit. p 466.

41 op.cit. pp241-242.

the Spirit nor to despise prophecy and to test everything.

Acceptance and critical evaluation go hand in hand). There are two tests by which the Elder 'hedges' around the tradition :

(a) The claim to inspiration and possession of the Spirit does not ipso facto mean that the claim is justified. There is a spirit of error around as well as the Spirit of Truth (4.6); there are false prophets as well as genuine ones (4.1). Antichrist has his servants as well as the true God.

Here the test devised is a doctrinal standard (4.2-3). The incarnation becomes the touchstone for the claim to inspiration by God's Spirit. Those who deny this belong to the world : what they say has its origin in worldly ideas, standards and motives, and as a result gains a hearing from the world (4.5). The writer includes himself and his readers in the resounding claim ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμὲν (4.6).

This section on testing the spirits shows that while all Christians have God's Spirit (3.24; 4.13), some are inspired for proclamation by the Spirit. The generality of Christians will recognize those specially gifted and the validity of their message (4.6b)⁴².

(b) A further test of whether the readers are of God and have His Spirit indwelling comes in 4.7ff, viz whether love is present in their lives, for love is the supreme characteristic of God and has

⁴² Marshall, op.cit., p209 : "it is by their response to the preaching of the true church that it is possible to discern those who are directed by the spirit of truth, i.e. the Holy Spirit, and the spirit of falsehood or error."

been demonstrated in the incarnation (God sent His Son 4.9) and the crucifixion (Jesus as the expiation for our sins 4.10). Therefore "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another" (4.11).

When Christians do love one another, "God abides in us and His love is perfected in us" (4.12). Then comes 4.13 already noted above and we cannot but be struck by the parallel expressions in 4.12 and 13 :

- v12 ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ἐν ἡμῖν μένει : Love as a sign of this.
v13 ἐν αὐτῷ μένομεν : The Spirit as a sign of this.
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν.

The test that God's presence in us is guaranteed by His Spirit within us turns out to be very close to the test that love is a sign that God indwells us. Bultmann believes that "the receiving of the Spirit is therefore likewise historicised"⁴³. I doubt whether this is a correct interpretation. The Elder has not surrendered the direct sense of the Spirit's presence : he has been forced, however, to bring into play two tests (doctrinal and ethical) to ensure the truly divine origin of the experience of the Spirit, in order to counteract his opponents. True belief and conduct attest that our experience of the Spirit is genuinely from God.

We ought here to add a reference to the phrase "He who has been born of God", which is used eight times of Christians (and once of Jesus himself 5.18b). As one born of God the Christian does not and cannot sin (3.9 bis; 5.18a); overcomes the world (5.4)

⁴³ The Johannine Epistles, (ET) Philadelphia, 1973, p60.

and loves others born of God (5.1). As signs of birth from God, the Elder lists doing what is right (2.29), loving (4.7) and believing (5.1). Once God is Himself described as He who has begotten His children (5.1).

What was said above on the fourth gospel need not be repeated here. Those who use such language are usually those conscious of a dramatic conversion experience, and it is quite probable that the Elder has Jn 1.13; 3.1-10 in mind⁴⁴, i.e. that the Spirit of God is the agent of this. At the same time the fact that the author lists the characteristics of the one begotten of God (doing what is right, loving, believing) is an indication that the morale and confidence of the congregation(s) have been shaken by the secession and that the Elder has to proffer pastoral encouragement.

B :

We turn to the second area of the Spirit's activity with which we are concerned, that of illumination and guidance into knowledge of the truth⁴⁵.

a) The triple reference in 2.18-27 to the anointing conceals an allusion to the Holy Spirit⁴⁶. The major reasons for this are :

⁴⁴ Schnackenburg, op. cit. p 167 speaks of being born of God as a fixed Johannine concept; Brown op.cit.p386 believes that divine begetting was part of the language of admission to the Johannine community.

⁴⁵ This is the chief function of the Spirit in 1John according to Schnackenburg, op.cit., pp210,215.

⁴⁶ So Schnackenburg, op.cit. p152; Bultmann, op.cit., p37; Brown, op.cit. p348; F.Hauck Die Kirchenbriefe, NTD 10, Göttingen,1949, p130; J.Schneider Die Kirchenbriefe, NTD 10, Göttingen,1961, p157; W. Grundmann, TDNT, Vol. IX, (ET) Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1974, p572.

(i) The fact that the activities of the anointing are the same as the activities predicated of the Paraclete-Spirit in the fourth gospel⁴⁷. (ii) The use of the verb "to anoint" at Lk 4.18, Acts 10.38 and 2 Cor.1.21 favour this view, though 1 John does not use the verb itself.

An alternative viewpoint was put forward by C.H.Dodd - that "anointing" stands for the Christian Gospel, the truth of the Christian faith⁴⁸. Dodd cited in support (i) a passage from Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians (17.1-2), a warning not to be anointed with the ill-odour of the prince of this world's doctrines. This is not so compelling as might seem at first sight, since Ignatius accompanies his verb with a prepositional phrase which indicates that teaching is in mind whereas in 1 John that is not so. (ii) In 1 John the word of God/truth are said to remain in Christians (e.g. 2.14; 2 John 2), but Schnackenburg⁴⁹ has a case here when he points out that the expressions used of the anointing are too strongly personal to allow Dodd's interpretation. (iii) This avoids the dangers of subjectivism, but this is an argument designed to appeal to the modern reader and does not of itself contribute to an exegesis of the text.

Recently several scholars have combined the two views outlined - the anointing refers both to the Spirit and the Word of God. In view of the link between the Spirit and

⁴⁷ Schnackenburg, op.cit.,p152; Brown, op.cit.,p346.

⁴⁸ op.cit., pp 58-64.

⁴⁹ op.cit., p210.

proclamation in the fourth gospel, this is not an unreasonable position to adopt, provided that the emphasis remains on the Spirit who uses the proclamation and teaching of the Gospel⁵⁰.

On this assumption, the following things are said :

- a) Everyone possesses the Spirit - he abides in them v20.
- b) and so everyone has knowledge v20.
- c) The Spirit is a gift from God v20.
- d) The Spirit is the teacher and instructor of believers v27.
- e) He imparts truth, not falsehood v27.
- f) Jesus must be confessed as the Christ and Son of God as a means of having fellowship with the Father vv 22-23.

The didactic role of the Spirit is quite clearly stressed here. He gives the truth and so all believers have knowledge and do not require human teachers - assertions which support the view widely held today that the Johannine communities were charismatic congregations without much structure or hierarchy⁵¹. It is implied that the recognition of Jesus as the Christ and Son of God is part of that truth - indeed, one might say, the foundation of truth.

The Spirit's role of illumination is further touched on in the passage 5.6-8. The Spirit is experienced as one who bears witness. To whom ? In the epistle believers are being

⁵⁰ I. de la Potterie, La vie selon l'Esprit. Condition du chrétien, Paris 1965, pp 141-142 (ET The Christian lives by the Spirit, Staten Island, 1971, p114f); Dunn Baptism pp195-200; Porsch, op.cit., pp116-7, 260; I.H. Marshall, op.cit., p 155, combine the view that the anointing is the Word of God and the Spirit. Whereas de la Potterie, Porsch and Marshall seem to stress the Word of God, but the Word administered and confirmed by the work of the Spirit, Dunn stresses the Spirit, using the Word.

⁵¹ e.g. Dunn JS p355.

addressed⁵². The author has just reminded them of what it is that conquers and overcomes the world – our faith (5.4), and this is explained as believing that Jesus is the Son of God (5.5). The writer then continues by explaining this confession. The emphasis is on Jesus and the fact that he came (from heaven) δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἱμάτων (διὰ of attendant circumstances) – a reference to Jesus' baptism and crucifixion. The writer stresses that Jesus came in both, not just in water, i.e. it is not just a question of belief but of correct belief.

Verse 6^b runs "And it is the Spirit who bears witness, because the Spirit is truth". The present participle utilised indicates a continuing activity, grounded in the close association of the Spirit and truth. The author then draws in other factors which bear witness :

"There are three who bear witness, the Spirit and the water and the blood, and the three are one" (vv 7-8).

Although many scholars have argued for a switch in meaning of water and blood in vv6 and 8 (viz the historical events in Jesus' life in v6 and the Christian sacraments in v8⁵³), perfectly good sense results by assuming the same meaning in both verses⁵⁴ : v6 asserts the reality of the experience of baptism and crucifixion for the

⁵² whereas in the Gospel the activity of bearing witness is directed to the world – by Jesus 7.7.; 18.37; by the Spirit 15.26, cf to convince 16.8-11.

⁵³ e.g. B.F. Westcott The Epistles of St. John, London, 1883, p182; Dodd, op.cit., pp130-131; J.L. Houlden, The Johannine Epistles, London, 1973, p128; Hauck, op.cit., p149-150; Schnackenburg, op.cit., pp260-263; Bultmann, op.cit., p80.

⁵⁴ So e.g. Schneider, op.cit., p183; Marshall, op.cit., pp237-239 (both say that a sacramental meaning is possible, though at a secondary level); Dunn Baptism pp200-204.

man Jesus; v8 asserts that to the believing community these events continue to testify, because the Spirit testifies through them. He takes what is Jesus' and declares and interprets its meaning to believers. The Spirit is the interpreter of Jesus, his life, his deeds and words (cf Jn 14.26; 16.12-15; and 2.22; 12.16).

The believing community experienced the Spirit as him who guides into the truth, enabling it to understand aright the meaning and significance of the events of the One who revealed the Father and brought eternal life to the world.

C :

The thought of the Spirit as ethical empowerment figures in the letters if the expression "God's seed" which abides in the believer is taken to be a metaphor for the Holy Spirit⁵⁵. The association of God's seed and being begotten by God creates the possibility of this. The abiding of God's seed in the believer enables him to avoid sinning - οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει (3.6;5.18); indeed,

οὐ δύναται ἁμαρτάνειν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγέννηται

⁵⁵ So e.g. Hauck, op.cit., p135; Büchsel TDNT, Vol. I, (ET) Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1964, pp671f; Schnackenburg, op.cit., p 190; Schneider, op.cit., p163; Brown, op.cit. p 411. Some scholars speak more generally of the new life principle implanted by the divine begetting; cf R. Law The Tests of Life, Edinburgh, 1909, p389 ; A.E.Brooke The Johannine Epistles, Edinburgh, 1912, p89; Dodd, op.cit., p75. As might be expected in the light of how they take the "anointing" I de la Potterie, op.cit. pp 213-214; Dunn Baptism p198; Porsch, op.cit., p115; IH Marshall, op.cit. p186-187, combine Word and Spirit; so also S.Schulz TDNT, Vol. VII, (ET) Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971, p545. Bultmann, op.cit., p52 (note 37), sits on the fence.

(3.9). These statements, rather akin to Paul's "indicative" assertions, seem to draw on the late Jewish hope of sinlessness in the new age due to the presence of God in the midst of His people⁵⁶, plus the Johannine conviction that Christians were born of God by His Spirit who now indwelt them. The author is well aware that Christians sin (e.g. 2.1; 5.16⁵⁷) and he sharply rebuts claims to sinlessness (made by those who seceded ?) in 1.8,10. Nonetheless 3.9 plus 5.18 witness to a conviction that the indwelling seed/Spirit of God as the agent of the divine birth is also the agent who maintains Christians in ways of holy and Christlike living. The Spirit is the source of the so-called Johannine 'perfectionism' which fits into the Johannine dualism of those who are of God and those who are of the world⁵⁸.

As mentioned above, a test of whether Christians have the Spirit is whether they love their brethren (2.10; 3.10f,14,23; 4.7-12,20-1; 5.1-2). To love is a sign of being born of God (4.7), which is itself the work of the Spirit. At this point the Johannine and Pauline approaches concur on the importance of love as a sign of the Spirit.

⁵⁶ cf I. de la Potterie *L'impeccabilité du chrétien d'après 1 Jean 3.6-9*, in *L'Évangile de Jean, Recherches Bibliques 3*, Bruges, pp 161-177 (reprinted in *La vie selon l'Esprit* pp 197-216; ET pp175-196); J. Bogart *Orthodox and Heretical Perfectionism in the Johannine Community as evident in the first Epistle of John*, Missoula, 1977, pp105-106.

⁵⁷ 1 John 5.16ff seems to be evidence of a certain moral casuistry, not incompatible with a strong sense of the presence of the Spirit. Bogart, op.cit., p48, calls it a casuistic compromise.

⁵⁸ See Dunn *JS* pp355-356 for a brilliantly concise assessment of Johannine perfectionism; also Bogart, op.cit., for an attempted reconstruction of the differences between the Elder and his opponents on the issue of perfection.

Summary :

In setting up tests, 1 John was not introducing something new into Christianity, since in the first generation Paul had been compelled to do the same. Paul indicated three tests :

- (a) the confession of Jesus as Lord;
- (b) whether a spiritual gift builds up the congregation;
- (c) love as the greatest sign/fruit of the Spirit.

The confessional test, while appropriate in the Corinthian situation, where some were saying 'Jesus be cursed', would be singularly vague in other contexts - more precision would be needed. This is exactly what we find in 1 John : the older confessions 'Jesus is the Christ' (or 'Jesus is the Son of God') , needed to be expanded by 'come in the flesh'. The test is related to the current controversy. The older confession marked Johannine Christians off from the synagogue; now, that confession is expanded to provide a pointer to the true Christian as opposed to the false.

We may conclude that in the Johannine congregations the experience of the Spirit continued to be prominent. Nevertheless because of the schism, the author is compelled to reassure his readers of their Christian standing and one of his tests aimed at producing this assurance is their experience of the Spirit, though this has now to be wedded to correct belief in order to undermine the claims of the schismatics. The sense of the guidance of the Spirit is emphasised by the author, though clearly the confidence of his readers has been shaken by the schismatics' claim to possess the truth. Ethical empowering is part of the experience if, as we

assume, behind the expression "seed of God" there lies the thought of the Holy Spirit: the Spirit produces holiness of life (sinlessness) in believers.

CHAPTER 6 : THE DIDACHE

The Didache may also be located in Syria, probably about 90 - 100 AD⁵⁹.

A :

Interestingly, the Didache orders the congregation to remember the person who speaks the word of God (where Barn 19.9f has the command to remember the Day of Judgment night and day and to love the one who speaks of the Lord as 'the apple of one's eye'), for such a person is clearly regarded as mediating the presence of God⁶⁰ : "Where the lordship (= presumably the proclamation of the Lordship and authority of God or Christ) is, there is the Lord" -

⁵⁹ So A.Adam Erwägungen zur Herkunft der Didache, Z.Kg 68 (1957), pp 1-47, esp p 47, where he says that an E.Syrian destination is highly probable, a date ca90-100 a well-grounded hypothesis, and Pella as the specific place of composition a hypothetical supposition; L.Goppelt Christentum und Judentum, Gutersloh, 1954, p186; D. Aune Prophecy in Early Christianity, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1983, p310, sets the Didache in the "congregations of Syria- Palestine at the turn of the first century"; M.E.Boring Sayings of the Risen Jesus, Cambridge 1982 p47 - Syria and late first century. J.Daniélou The Theology of Jewish Christianity (ET) London 1964, pp28ff locates the development of the document in Syria after 70AD, with an origin in the earliest Jerusalem community and with our extant document having undergone some touching-up later than the second century. J-P. Audet La Didachè, Paris 1958 pp187ff locates it in Syrian Antioch and dates it between 50-70. On the other hand M.Goguel L'Eucharistie des origines à Justin Martyr, Paris, 1910, p230 dates it ca 100 and locates it in Palestine, while A. von Harnack Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel, TU 2, Leipzig 1886, pp159,168-9 placed it in Egypt and in the period 140-165 and F.E.Vokes The Riddle of the Didache, London, 1937 pp216,218 also placed it in Egypt but dated it to the end of the second century or beginning of the third as an anti-Montanist document. A. Vööbus Liturgical Traditions in the Didache, Stockholm, 1968, pp12-14 contents himself with speaking of the document as "hoary with antiquity", because of the uncertainties in being more precise, but locates it in Egypt.

⁶⁰ J.Lawson A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, New York, 1961, p76, takes this reference as an allusion to Spirit-filled prophets, and, though there is no specific reference to the Holy Spirit, he is probably right.

presumably this proclamation takes place in worship.⁶¹ From chapters 9ff it is clear that those who proclaim the Word are regarded as Spirit-inspired.

In the second half of the Didache (chapters 7 -16) in actions dealing with the Agape prayers⁶² (although the point is not affected if they are eucharistic⁶³), God the Father is thanked for having (a) made His holy name to tabernacle in their hearts (10.2) - since the "name" stands for the person, this implies God's presence in their hearts and this could be an indirect reference to the Spirit⁶⁴;

and (b) bestowed spiritual food and drink and eternal life through His Son upon them (10.3) - spiritual food and drink clearly has some association with the Holy Spirit : God is thanked for both ordinary food and for spiritual sustenance.

Thus, in the prayers of this community, grateful acknowledgment is made for the experience of God's presence and sustaining power, though the Holy Spirit is not mentioned specifically in them.

⁶¹ So D. Aune The Cultic Setting p 182.

⁶² So M. Dibelius Die Mahl-Gebete der Didache, ZNTW 37 (1938) pp 32-41; J. Jeremias The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (ET) London 1966 (2nd Ed.) p 118; F.E. Vokes The Riddle of the Didache, London 1938, pp 177ff; R. Bultmann Theology of the NT, Vol. I, (ET) London, 1955, p 145; J-P. Audet La Didachè, Paris, 1958, pp 372ff.

⁶³ So e.g. J.R. Harris The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, London-Baltimore, 1887, p 89; M. Goguel, op.cit., pp 243-244 (who takes chs. 9-10 as a private eucharist and ch.14 as a public one); J. Lawson op.cit., pp 90-91; A. Vööbus Liturgical Traditions in the Didachè, Stockholm, 1968, pp 63ff.

⁶⁴ Daniélou, op.cit., refers it to the Son on p 156, but to God the Father on p 336.

The concept of the Spirit's presence inspiring someone to utter a word from God is clearly attested in the church manual section (chapters 7ff). It is clear that this community in the past highly respected itinerant apostles and prophets who from time to time visited them. They are Spirit-inspired, but the community has had some unfortunate experiences from charlatans.

As an indication of the respect, we may note that (a) a prophet is allowed to lead prayers of thanksgiving at the Agape as he feels led (10.7) and ^{is} not to be bound by the fixed prayers appended in 9.1-10.6; (b) 15.1-2 stresses that the resident bishops and deacons perform the same service and deserve therefore the same honour as the itinerant prophets and teachers; (c) the instruction is given "You must not test any prophet who speaks *ἐν πνεύματι* for every sin will be forgiven but this sin will not be forgiven" (11.7 cf too 11.11⁶⁵).

Clearly the traditional logion about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, now found in the Synoptic Gospels in different formulations, has been reapplied to apostolic/prophetic figures in the church life of the day. What originally referred to Jesus' ministry (in view of Mk 3.28f) is here applied to the risen Lord's messenger : as the Lord Himself was endowed with the Spirit, so are His servants, the prophets⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ Here it is a case of a symbolic action, usually taken to be a prophetic "spiritual" marriage (so Harnack, op.cit., ad.loc.; Boring, op.cit., pp91,94), though Audet op.cit., pp451-452 interprets it as an apocalyptic mime).

⁶⁶ Boring, op.cit., p162 sees the Didachist's interpretation of the saying in connection with prophecy as representing an actual memory of the original situation of the logion about blasphemy against the Spirit.

Yet immediately this is qualified, suggesting that 11.7 is the older material and 11.8f is a development⁶⁷, due to the problem of discerning a true prophet from a false one, a true Spirit-directed utterance from a counterfeit one.

(i) The first test is one of conduct. " But not every one who speaks *ἐν πνεύματι* is a prophet, but only if he has the ways of the Lord. Therefore the false prophet and the (true) prophet will be known by their ways" 11.8 cf 11.10.

(ii) Certain utterances in the Spirit are branded as inauthentic :

(a) "If a prophet *ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι* , he must not eat of it himself" (11.9). The meaning of this phrase is much disputed, but it may refer to an Agape meal, perhaps as anticipating the messianic banquet⁶⁸. Reading between the lines it looks as if some charlatans had claimed the Spirit's inspiration as a means of obtaining a meal.

(b) "If someone says *ἐν πνεύματι* , Give me money or something else (i.e. for himself), You must not listen to him. But if he asks for others in need, let no one condemn him" (11.12). Again, it is obvious that some had claimed to be Spirit-inspired for their own financial advantage.

⁶⁷ Boring, op.cit.,p48 "Such inconsistencies denote a developing tradition rather than composition by a single author", cf p162.

⁶⁸ So Harris, op.cit.,p103; Vokes, op.cit.pp 169, 178; Audet,op.cit., pp450-452; Lawson, op.cit., p94.

Some so-called prophets have discredited their vocation by greed and gluttony. This has necessitated drawing up some tests, but not the outright rejection of the idea of inspiration by the Spirit.

B :

The Didache does not dwell on the Spirit's role as illuminator, as guide into truth and knowledge, though knowledge is one of God's gifts mediated through Jesus, for which thanks are offered (9.3;10.3).

C :

There is one reference to the Holy Spirit in the Two Ways section (chapters 1 - 6) and as this is also found in Barnabas, we may assume that it belonged to the original source used by both authors. At 4.10 it is said that God comes to those whom the Spirit has prepared. Here the meaning is that the Spirit is active in all⁶⁹ believers' lives so that when the eschatological coming of God takes place, they are ready to enjoy fellowship with God. The idea is not elaborated, but presumably refers to making believers pure and holy, and so fit for God's presence.

Taking chapters 1-6 as a whole, there is no other word about divine help and succour in the fulfilling of the demands made. Indeed in the last section of this part of the Didache we read "If

⁶⁹ irrespective of social distinctions - masters and slaves. Actually, Audet, op.cit., pp 338-40, refers this text to the human spirit and he compares it with Matt.5.3,8. He sees a contrast between external éclat and righteousness of heart and spirit, but this is hardly convincing.

you (sing.) are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect; but if not, do what you can" (6.2) - which, if pressed, seems to open up the way to thinking of two classes of Christians - the perfect and the non-perfect triers. Can such a division claim any support from the apostle Paul, since he occasionally speaks of those who are τέλειοι ? For Paul, men and women were "children" before Christ/faith came (Gal.4.1,3). The pre-Christian period is one of infancy; we have 'come of age' since Christ and the era of faith. However, not all Christians realised this maturity. Thus, Paul criticised the Corinthians for acting like children in Christ (1 Cor.3.1). They were not fully controlled by the Spirit but by their own egos, and he urged them not to be children but τέλειοι in understanding (1 Cor.14.20). He claimed to speak wisdom among the τέλειοι (1 Cor. 2.6)⁷⁰, but basically all his ethical commands are directed to the entire congregation, and it is interesting to see how (a) while he can ask for respect for those who admonish the Thessalonians, he exhorts the whole congregation to admonish the idle (1 Thess.5.12,14); and (b) while he asks the "spiritual" amongst the Galatians to restore an offender with gentleness, that virtue is one which the Spirit produces in all believers and so, in theory, all could engage in the task of restoration (Gal.5.23; 6.1).

Is the Didachist in line with this ?

(a) The Didachist seems resigned to a double standard.

⁷⁰ In Phil.3.15 - "Those who are τέλειοι will think as he does" - Paul may be taking up a slogan of his opponents ironically, - so J Gnllka Der Philipperbrief, Freiburg, 1968, op.cit.

(b) Paul sees the childhood/maturity schema of Gal.4.1,3 as normative. The Corinthians have failed to capitalise on this, and are sternly rebuked for it⁷¹.

Much the same could be said as the result of a comparison with Hebrews (5.11 - 6.12; 10.14). Possibly the Didachist knew of Matt. 19.21 - here the question of dates of composition is crucial, for the use of "perfect" at Matt. 19.21 is redactional - but I doubt it.

We may say, then, that the distinction drawn by the Didache seems to represent a standpoint different from that within Paul and Hebrews.

The final redactor has not introduced the concept of the Holy Spirit as divine aid in ethical living into the Two Ways section.

Summary : The contribution of the Didache to our subject is disappointingly meagre. We might have expected more about the Spirit's help in living out the commands imposed in the Two Ways, while it is clear that unworthy prophets are in circulation and the 'old ideas' are having to be rescrutinised and rules drawn up to protect the congregations.

If we ask after the reason why the Didache says so little about the Spirit, we might speculate whether the unworthy prophets themselves were the very reason why the Spirit does not figure prominently. Could it be that their claims to be inspired by the Spirit accompanied by their unworthy conduct produced a backlash

⁷¹ CK Barrett The First Epistle to the Corinthians, London, 1976, p69, wrote "All Christians are potentially perfect or mature in Christ (Col.1.28), though only some are actually what all ought to be".

against stressing the Spirit ? Alternatively if "spiritual experiences" were tending to be more limited, this might in turn produce a restrictive coalescing of Spirit and Prophecy - people came to expect only prophets to possess the Spirit. If the latter is accepted, then this means that a vital element of early Christianity had been surrendered, whereas the first suggestion explains the silence in terms of a clash of viewpoints within the congregation(s).

On either viewpoint we might have a situation not the same as, but not entirely dissimilar to, that behind 3 John where a local congregational leader, Diotrephes, has banned the travelling preachers who have set forth with the Elder's blessing. Clearly, Diotrephes has taken an extreme step of actually refusing these travelling preachers admission; the Didache insists on applying tests. Diotrephes has risen to leadership, whether he bore a specific title or not; the Didache wants bishops and elders appointed. We are in the Didache at a point of transition; we are further on in that transition in the 3 John situation. The Elder represents the more charismatic type of leadership within a series of congregations which he and others visit in the course of their missionary preaching. In one particular congregation, Diotrephes has acquired position and leadership and resents the - to him - interference of the visiting evangelists. We have a clash between (incipient) 'Office' and 'Spirit' in the Johannine stream of Christianity. The seeds of this kind of conflict are there in the Didache.

CHAPTER 7 : MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

Prima facie, Matthew's Gospel, probably written in the last decade of the first century or the first decade of the second century⁷² in Syria⁷³, might not seem to have much to contribute to our theme. There is only one reference to the Spirit's help given to the disciples in this Gospel - the strictly limited promise of 10.20 : when hauled before hostile tribunals the disciples will be inspired what to say by the Holy Spirit. While disciples after Easter are to be baptised in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, it is not actually said that the disciples will be given the gift of the Spirit (28.19-20). Why ?

Suspicion of the charismatic type of figure⁷⁴ seems, on the one hand, to be even more strongly expressed in this Gospel than in

⁷² So G.D. Kilpatrick The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, Oxford, 1946, p 130; F.W.Beare, The Gospel according to St. Matthew, Oxford, 1981, pp 7-8 - i.e. after the establishment of the Jamnia School and the issuing of the Birkath-ha-Minim. (D. Hill The Gospel of Matthew, London, 1972, pp 49-50 dates it slightly earlier to 80-90). G. Bornkamm and his pupils see Matthew's conflict with Judaism as a dispute intra muros - Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, (ET) London, 1963, p 39.

⁷³ At Antioch -
^ So the vast majority of scholars, though G.D.Kipatrick op.cit. pp 130-134 opts for one of the Phoenician cities to the south of Antioch.

⁷⁴ Among scholars who see Matthew as attacking miracle-working charismatics are G. Barth Matthew and the Law, in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. Held Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, (ET) London, 1963, pp 162-164; P. Bonnard L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu, Neuchâtel, 1963, pp 103ff; R. Hummel Kirche und Judentum, München, 1963, p 27; W.D. Davies The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount, Cambridge, 1964, pp 199-206; D. Hill op.cit. pp 151-153; E. Schweizer Matthäus und seine Gemeinde, Stuttgart, pp 140-141; F.W. Beare, op.cit., pp 195-197; E. Cothenet Les prophètes chrétiens dans l'évangile selon Matthieu, in L'Évangile selon Matthieu (ed. M. Didier), Louvain, 1972, p 300; J.A.Kingsbury The Verb AKOLOUTHEIN ("To Follow") as an index of Matthew's view of his community, J.B.L. 97 (1978) pp 70,72; Boring, op.cit., pp 43,216. This suggestion is denied by G. Strecker Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit, Göttingen, 1966, (2nd Ed.), pp 137-138.

the Didache. Thus, the Sermon on the Mount contains a warning against Christian false prophets whose conduct will reveal that they are not what they claim (7.16-20)⁷⁵, and a warning that many who have prophesied, exorcised and healed in the name of Jesus will nonetheless be excluded from the eschatological kingdom (7.21-23). A distinction is drawn between using religious jargon ("Lord, Lord") and doing the heavenly Father's will (7.21).

Yet, on the other hand, this should not be taken to mean that Matthew is opposed 'root and branch' to "charismatic" activity, as 23.34, 17.24-20 and the instructions in chapter 10 for missionaries⁷⁶ who represented Jesus and who are described as prophets (10.40-1) show.

Indeed E. Schweizer has gone so far as to describe the Matthean church thus : "Matthew presupposes healings and similar miracles still going on in the church. In its preaching the church is a church of the prophets"⁷⁷. This seems to me to be going too far⁷⁸ for the following reasons :

⁷⁵ Against D. Hill "False Prophets and Charismatics : Structure and Interpretation in Matthew 7.15-23", *Biblica* 57 (1976), pp 327-348, who takes vv15-20 of Pharisees and only vv21-23 of Christian charismatics.

⁷⁶ cf Boring, op.cit.,p46, who describes Matt.10 as "a manual of conduct for Christian prophets and teachers on their missionary journeys".

⁷⁷ "The Law and Charismatic Activity in Matthew's Gospel", NTS 16 (1969-70) p226.

⁷⁸ Though the Kingsbury article cited above has exaggerated Schweizer's position (e.g. op.cit p63 misrepresents Schweizer's statements).

(i) It assumes that because so many so-called "sentences of Holy Law" occur in Matthew, this reflects the Matthean church situation at the stage when the Gospel was composed.⁷⁹

(ii) Following on from this, it ignores that sometimes Matthew includes material which is not entirely congruous with his own stance (e.g. 10.23; 22.3.2-3; possibly 10.5-6, though see 15.24).

(iii) The challenge of K. Berger⁸⁰ to E. Käsemann has shown that linking such sayings to prophets is not justified, though Berger's own stress on a sapiential-paraenetic Sitz im Leben may be equally too one-sided⁸¹.

(iv) There are signs of an attempt to make the absolute teaching of Jesus "workable" e.g. 19.9 (cf 5.32); 5.37; 5.21-26 (with its grading of outbursts of anger against a brother); the omission of Mk 2.27. This hardly suggests the itinerant charismatic who has renounced all to serve Jesus.

(v) 23.8-12 suggests a conflict within the leadership of the Matthean church, but the terms used point more to teachers, and presumably resident ones.

(vi) Schweizer exaggerates when he asks whether for Matthew Jesus' journeys in chapters 2-4 are the model for all wandering prophets⁸². Much more likely is Stendahl's suggestion⁸³ that the

⁷⁹ cf Kingsbury, op.cit., p63.

⁸⁰ "Zu den Sogennanten Sätzen heiligen Rechts", NTS 17 (1970-71) pp 10-40.

⁸¹ See the balanced discussion in D.Aune Prophecy in Early Christianity, Michigan, 1983 pp 237-240.

⁸² NTS op.cit. p221; Matthäus und seine Gemeinde p 147 (ET p133).

⁸³ "Quis et Unde? An analysis of Mt 1-2", in Judentum Urchristentum Kirche, ed. W. Eltester, Berlin, 1960 pp 94-105.

OT quotations in chs. 2-4 focus attention on the places - the geographical names are what are of importance to Matthew (support for this comes from John's Gospel which shows that Jesus' links with Galilee were offensive 7.27,41-2,52 cf 6.42).

(vii) We reject also Schweizer's tentative suggestion that the OT quotations inserted in 8.17; 12.18ff; 13.35 are aimed to set forth Jesus as the charismatic healer and prophetic revealer of God's mysteries⁸⁴. More convincing is the view that they afford backing for aspects of Jesus' ministry in the controversy with Pharisaic Judaism (his miracles of healing; his withdrawal in the face of opposition and his gentleness exemplified in his secrecy; his speaking with parables).

(viii) Hints point to the fact that Matthew's Gospel originated in a wealthy congregation⁸⁵. Probably this fits in better with the picture of a settled congregation with an ordered structure rather than the kind of charismatic community envisaged by Schweizer.

For these reasons, therefore, we reject the view propounded by Schweizer.

What 7.15-23 does show us is that even charismatic activities may be unchristian if not accompanied by what was in Matthew's opinion true obedience to God. Interestingly there is no mention of miraculous activity in the Great Commission⁸⁶ (though miracles

⁸⁴ Matthäus und seine Gemeinde, p 146.

⁸⁵ See Kilpatrick, op.cit., p 125; Kingsbury, op.cit. pp 67-8,71.

⁸⁶ This is stressed by G.Bornkamm "The Risen Lord and the Earthly Jesus : Matthew 28.16-20", in The Future of our Religious Past, ed. J.M. Robinson, (ET) London, 1971, pp 213-216, esp. 216. Cf the hint of this in O. Michel "The Conclusion of Matthew's Gospel", ET in The Interpretation of Matthew, ed. G. Stanton, London, 1983, pp 30-41.

were part of early Christian activity e.g. 2 Cor. 12.12; Rom. 15.19; Heb. 2.4; Acts passim; the longer ending of Mark 16. 17-18) and the promised help in mission is described not in terms of the Holy Spirit (as in Acts 1.8; Jn 20.21-22), but in terms of the risen, exalted Lord's permanent presence (Mt. 28.20 cf 18.20). There may be stylistic reasons for this : Matthew may wish to balance the God-with-us of the opening of the Gospel (1.23). Or it may reflect a desire on the part of the evangelist not to overemphasise the concept of inspiration by the Spirit, for fear of playing into the hands of the charismatic prophet-miracle workers of whom he disapproved. These two suggestions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and the stylistic reason could have operated alongside the other. In the light of the evidence surveyed, we believe that it is conceivable that the charismatic experiences were viewed with some caution by Matthew and that he preferred to speak of Jesus' living presence in the assembled congregation (18.20) and in the mission of the church (28.20), though we cannot overlook the promise of the Spirit's aid to missionaries interrogated before hostile tribunals (10.19-20).

C :

This picture is confirmed when we consider the ethical stress in Matthew's Gospel. Matthew does not insinuate any references to the Spirit's power to help the follower of Jesus. He emphasises the need to produce right living in God's sight and the fact of the judgment at the End. He retains a structure of gracious deed and imperious demand in chaps. 4, 5-7 and records a saying about making the tree good and then the fruit will be good (12.33), which appears to be his own redaction of a Q saying Lk 6.43/ Mt.7.17-18.

It could be that Mt. believed that the sonship relationship to the Heavenly Father generated (as it were) the motivation and power to do God's will.

Summary : If we put Matthew and the Didache side by side, their pictures seem to complement each other - perhaps from the side of the more wealthy, settled, city congregation (Matthew) and the side of the more rural area congregations (Didache). From both the past and the present there comes evidence of itinerant missionary preachers/prophets who performed miracles, and yet in the present there is some suspicion (Didache) and even hostility (Matthew) because of abuses. While neither wish to deny the activity of the Spirit, claims to the Spirit's inspiration need to be carefully evaluated lest the faithful be deceived by those who are unworthy.

CHAPTER 8 : IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH

Ignatius was Bishop of the church at Antioch (He says to the Roman church that the Syrian church "has God as its shepherd in place of me; Jesus Christ only - and your love - will be its bishop (Ἐπισκοπήσει)" (Rom.9.1). We catch a vivid glimpse of him while being transported from Antioch to Rome in chains (Eph.21.2; Rom.5.1). He passed through Asia Minor guarded by ten soldiers (Rom.10.5) and from Smyrna he wrote to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians and Romans, while he penned letters to the Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans and Polycarp from Troas. The charge brought against him is not specified while the date of his martyrdom cannot be set with absolute certainty and estimates vary from ca 110 to 117AD.

We meet a startling paradox in Ignatius - a charismatic institutionalist. Ignatius was a firm advocate of order in church life, centred on one bishop, a group of elders and deacons. Yet in his extant letters, written on the way to martyrdom at Rome, he reveals his own charismatic nature and experience.

A and B :

In Phld. 7, Ignatius describes how, although unacquainted with the situation of division and tension in the church, he was inspired by the Spirit of God who knows whence He comes and where He goes, and who searches out what is hidden from men and who therefore cannot be deceived⁸⁷. We note firstly the idea of the

⁸⁷ C. Maurer Ignatius und das Johannesevangelium, Zurich, 1949, pp 25-30, believes that here Ignatius' thought flits from one NT text to another - Jn.8.14; 3.8; 1 Cor. 14.24f.

Spirit who is the one who discerns thoughts and situations hidden from man's ability to grasp, and who communicates this to whom he chooses. Then, there is the conviction that this inspiration of the Spirit led to direct speech. Ignatius cried out in a loud voice :

"Pay attention to the bishop and the eldership and the deacons".

Although some suspected him of having prior knowledge, Ignatius maintains :

"The Spirit was proclaiming, speaking in this way :

Do nothing apart from the bishop;
keep your flesh like God's temple;
love unity; flee divisions;
be imitators of Jesus Christ as he was of His
Father".

As D. Aune has said, "Ignatius views these inspired utterances as a divine confirmation of the very values which he himself seeks to inculcate in the congregations he visited and addressed by letter"⁸⁸.

Here inspiration leads to speech and to the utterance of a word directly related to the situation, although Ignatius maintains that he was ignorant of it. Thus this section flows over into our second category of illumination : Ignatius was not cognisant of the position, but he became the mouthpiece of the Spirit to utter a pertinent word to it.

The idea of the inspiration of the Spirit leading to speech probably occurs also in Eph.5.1. Ignatius here refers to the short conversation which he had with the bishop of Ephesus : this conversation was not *ἀνθρωπίνη* but *πνευματική*. He points

⁸⁸ Prophecy in Early Christianity, p293.

out how fortunate the Ephesians are to have such a leader permanently among them. We may well suspect a polemical thrust behind this laudatory section : elsewhere Ignatius enjoins submission to and respect for Bishop Onesimus (2.2;4.1,3;6.1;20.2) and perhaps it was the itinerant preachers (7.1;9.1) who had created some discontent towards the resident bishop. Perhaps in the light of 6.1, we may conjecture that Onesimus was not very vocal and Ignatius' comment about a spiritual conversation, by helping to emphasise the quality as opposed to the quantity of the words, profers support for the criticised bishop.

When Ignatius claims in Trall. 5.2 to be able to understand heavenly things and the arrays of angels and the gatherings of the spiritual powers, this may point to the receipt of divine revelations⁸⁹. Although the Spirit is not specifically mentioned, the context implies that Ignatius is Spirit-inspired in contrast to his readers who are 'babes',⁹⁰.

One feature of those who are πνευματικοί is the ability to know truth from error and so refuse to listen to purveyors of false doctrine : such indeed have the Ephesians showed themselves to be by their refusal to listen to certain itinerant false teachers (Ephes.9.1).

⁸⁹ So Aune, op.cit., p 294.

⁹⁰ H. Schlier Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen, Giessen, 1929, p140, correctly believes that in Trall.5 Ignatius is pneumatic, while the church members are the ὑπηπίοι.

C :

We meet the idea of ethical empowering by the Spirit in what Ignatius says to the Ephesians 8-9⁹¹. In 8.2, in language reminiscent of Rom.8.5,8,12 and Jn.3.8, Ignatius says :

"They who are of the flesh (οἱ σαρκικοί) cannot do the things of the Spirit, neither can they who are of the Spirit (οἱ πνευματικοὶ) do the things of the flesh; even as faith cannot do the things of unfaithfulness nor unfaithfulness the things of faith".

We seem to have here a radical antithesis between flesh and Spirit, and the idea of not being able to do what characterises the opposite sphere is reminiscent of 1 Jn.3,6. However, Ignatius continues, in what may well be his own comment on a received tradition :

"Whatever things you do even according to the flesh are spiritual, for you do everything in Jesus Christ".

Ignatius is hardly consistent terminologically, but this is explicable in terms of a comment on a tradition and in any case the sense is clear. Because believers are in Christ and possess the Spirit, their action in the realm of the flesh is in fact spiritual. They live lives obedient to God and so pleasing to him, because they are helped to do so by the Spirit, by being in Jesus Christ. They live *κατὰ θεόν* as Ignatius puts it, above the reach of destructive lusts (8.1).

⁹¹ Pace CC Richardson The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch, New York, 1935, p 99, who denied that in Ignatius the Spirit transforms the moral nature and takes 9.1 as intellectual.

After praising the Ephesians for being spiritual, Ignatius develops his complicated picture of their being stones of a temple prepared beforehand by God the Father :

the engine for lifting the stones into place	=	the Cross
the rope	=	the Holy Spirit
the windlass	=	faith
the way which leads to God	=	love.

That Ignatius has daily conduct in mind is shown both by the reference to faith and love and by the fact that he immediately goes on to envisage Christians' being like a religious procession in which a shrine and sacred objects are carried around :

Christians carry God and Christ around, *κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. Presumably the thought

is that just as pagans bedeck themselves about with special clothes during the religious processions, so Christians' obedience to the commands of their Lord and Master are their spiritual garments which reveal their allegiance and loyalty to God and Christ.

In this picture of a shrine, the "objective" basis of the building process is the cross, while the "subjective" side comprises the help of the Spirit and the exercise of faith and love by men. It does not seem straining the sequence of thought to believe that here Ignatius envisages the help of the Spirit in the exercise of faith and love and obedience to the commands of Jesus. But it must be admitted that he has not developed the idea with crystal clarity.

Finally we turn to Rom. 7 where yet another spiritual experience of Ignatius is described. Here the link with martyrdom is made.

Ignatius says that he is writing to the Romans in the midst of life, yet longing for death. His physical desire has been crucified. Within him there is only *ἕως ἡμέρας* which speaks within him : "Come to the Father". There can be little doubt that this is a symbolic way of describing the Spirit⁹² and that in using the image of living water Ignatius is indebted to Jn. 4.14;7.37-39. The Spirit within him is urging him on to martyrdom that he may attain to fellowship with God the Father.

Summary :

The idea of the Spirit cannot be said to be dominant in Ignatius. Certainly Ignatius himself had had experiences which he attributed to the Spirit of God. He became the vehicle/spokesman for that Spirit, and experienced the urge to martyrdom as the Spirit's invitation to come to the Father. Yet he seems to find it more natural to express himself in terms of Christ mysticism.

Ignatius envisaged the Spirit as working in all church members and it is the Spirit who aids to a truly spiritual life of obedience.

⁹² So also R. Bultmann The Gospel of John, ET Oxford, 1971 p185(1); H. Paulsen Studien zu Ignatius, Paderborn, 1978, p.126. Some scholars (e.g. W. Bauer Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia, HNTZ Erg.Bd ii, Tübingen, 1920, p 252; Schlier, op.cit. pp 146ff; H-W. Bartsch, Gnostisches Gut und Gemeindetradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien, Gütersloh, 1940, pp 110-111; Lawson, op. cit., p.131), see a reference to baptism. Aune, op.cit., p 294, combines the two interpretations - "metaphorical use of an oracular form to indicate the implications for him of his baptism and subsequent possession of the Spirit of Christ".

So Ignatius is an interesting blend, but he leaves us with the impression in the end that he has swung the weight of his influence onto the development of the ministry. So much has he stressed the role of the bishop and the need not to do anything without him that in practice the likely outcome is a curbing of the expectation of the Spirit's work in the congregation as a whole. Around roughly the same time (as we shall see), in Asia Minor, the Pastoral Epistles reveal a similar tendency to link the Spirit to the ministerial office - the bishop/elders guard the tradition through the help of the Spirit.

CHAPTER 9 : THE ODES OF SOLOMON

Composed originally in Syriac, these Christian hymns have been variously dated to ca. 100AD, sometime in the mid to latter half of the second century and even in the second half of the third century¹.

¹ For a date ca 100 or early second century see J.R.Harris The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, Cambridge 1911 (2nd Ed.) pp 58,66,89; J.R.Harris-A. Mingana The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, Manchester 1920, pp 61-69; A.Harnach-J.Flemming Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert TU35, Leipzig, 1910; J. Labourt and P.Batiffol. Les Odes de Salomon : Une oeuvre chrétienne des environs de l'an 100 - 120, Paris, 1911; J.H. Charlesworth "Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon", John and Qumran, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, London 1972 p 109; D. Aune Prophecy in Early Christianity, Michigan, 1983, p 296.

For a date in the second half of the second century see J.H. Bernard The Odes of Solomon, Texts and Studies VIII, Cambridge 1912 p4 (150-190AD); J. de Zwaan The Essene Origin of the Odes of Solomon, Quantulacunque, ed. R.P.Casey, S.Lake and A.K.Lake, London 1937 pp 298, 302 (ca 200AD); F.M.Braun Jean le Théologien et son Évangile dans l'église ancienne, Paris 1959 pp 238-241 (late second century). In a letter to me Dr.S.Brock intimated that he favoured a late second century date. In a personal conversation Dr.R.J.Murray informed me that Dr.B.McNeil in a Cambridge Ph.D. thesis had espoused a mid second century dating.

More recently in a series of publications H.J.W.Drijvers has argued for a date ca 275AD - see "Die Oden Salomos und die Polemik mit den Markioniten im Syrischen Christentum", Symposium Syriacum 1976, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 205 (Rome 1978), pp 39-55; "Kerygma und Logos in den Oden Salomos dargestellt am Beispiel der 23 Ode", Beiträge zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum (Festschrift für Carl Andresen, ed. A.M.Ritter, Göttingen, 1979, pp153-172; "The 19th Ode of Solomon : its interpretation and place in Syrian Christianity", JTS 31 (1980) pp 337-355; "Odes of Solomon and Psalms of Mari", Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, ed. R. van den Broek and M.J.Vermaseren, Leiden, 1981, pp 117-130; "Facts and Problems in early Syriac-speaking Christianity", The Second Century 2 (1982), pp 157-175. In response to such a late dating we might pose the following general points :

(i) Do traces of a response to Marcionite teaching (e.g. the emphasis in the Odes that the Lord is not jealous 3.6; 7.3; 11.3; 15.6; 17.12; 20.7; 23.4 - see Drijvers' criticism of the translation offered by Charlesworth in OCA 205 (1978) pp41ff and compare the translation of M. Lattke Die Oden Salomos (OBO 25/1) Göttingen,

We shall assume here a cautious approach and adopt a date early in the second half of the second century, thus allowing for some response to Marcionite theology while also doing justice to the strong Jewish Christian flavour of the Odes.

No other extant Christian work of the second century is so vibrant with the intensity of Christian experience, of present experience of the Spirit and of fellowship with the risen Lord Jesus than these Odes. This may be due to an 'accident of survival' and had other works come down to us the Odes might not stand so isolated in this respect. The language is exuberant ; the imagery intense, bordering on the erotic, or, perhaps we should say, the amatory². As H Chadwick has said, "The inward experience

1979, on these verses; where he regularly employs the German *Neid*) demand a date as late as the third century ?

(ii) Are the suggested parallels in Odes 33,38 to Manichean literature (See Drijvers' argument in the *Quispel Festschrift* pp 118ff) sufficiently striking or could they belong to that 'common stock' of religious expressions on which both writers may have drawn ? And while the corruptor and those whom he has corrupted, a false Bridegroom and bride, could stand for Mani and his followers, the imagery could apply in a more general fashion to the evil one and the world.

(iii) Is the Odist's understanding of the Spirit really dependent on Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* 13 ? Do the Odes reflect a body-soul-spirit view as *Oratio* 13 does ? Is Tatian's statement that "If the soul gains union with the divine Spirit, it is not unaided but mounts to the realms above, where the Spirit leads it" (13.2) the inspiration for Ode 36.2, or could the Odist be applying to the believer the kind of assertion made in the fourth gospel about Jesus (e.g. 3.13; 8.23; 13.1) and the promise that believers should be where he is (12.26; 13.36; 14.3; 17.24) ? See D. Aune for the *Himmelreise* motif -*The Cultic Setting* p185; "*The Odes of Solomon and Early Christian Prophecy*", *NTS* 28 (1982), pp 441ff; *Prophecy in Early Christianity* pp297-298.

² Harris used the term "amatory".

of the believer is described in enthusiastic and impassioned terms of palpable feeling" and he also remarked on the Odist's "uninhibited freedom of expression"³.

A :

We turn first to explore the Odes for a sense of being inspired or seized by the Spirit.

(a) There are a number of Odes which in all probability deal with what we may term the conversion experience.

Ode 11.1a says that the Odist's heart was pruned and its flower appeared. The horticultural metaphor used implies some experience which enabled the writer to undergo (as we might say) the full flowering of his personality and life. "Then grace sprang up in it" and his heart "produced fruits for the Lord"(v1bc)⁴. The "for" of v2 grounds this idea of divine grace appearing in his life, and we then appear to have a repetition of the basic idea expressed in the pruning picture:

"For the Most High circumcised me by His Holy Spirit.
Then He uncovered my inward being towards Him,
And filled me with His love.
And His circumcising became my salvation...
And I was established upon the rock of truth,
Where He had set me". (vv 2-3a,5).

³ "Some Reflections on the Character and Theology of the Odes of Solomon", Kyriakon, Festschrift Johannes Quasten, ed. P. Granfield and J.A.Jungmann, Vol. I, Münster, 1970, pp 269, 270 resp.

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all translations are taken from The Odes of Solomon, ed. J.H. Charlesworth, Chico, 1977.

This experience is brought about by God through His Holy Spirit. As physical circumcision marked the Israelite child as a member of the covenant people, so this spiritual circumcision has marked the Odist as belonging to God. The circumcision metaphor confirms that we are dealing with the initial experience.

In v6 the imagery switches to imbibing living waters and becoming inebriated. This intoxication did not cause ignorance but, on the contrary, in this turning to the Most High, the Odist abandoned vanity and folly. That someone should use the imagery of drunkenness strongly suggests an overpowering and intense experience.

This present experience of God is compared to the present entry into Paradise, a motif which appears frequently in the Odes as Aune has stressed (see the end of footnote 1):

"And from above He gave me immortal rest,
 And I became like the land that blossoms and rejoices in its
 fruits..
 And He took me to His Paradise,
 Wherein is the wealth of the Lord's pleasure. (vv12,16)
 I beheld blooming and fruit-bearing trees,..... 16a
 From an immortal land (were) their roots. 16d
 And a river of gladness was irrigating them, 16e
 And round about them in the land of eternal life". 16f 5

This is indeed realised eschatology⁶. That this is not a once-off mystical experience (akin to 2 Cor.12.1ff) seems to be proved by

⁵ vv16a,d,e,f are only in the Greek text of the Bodmer Papyrus XI (G), accepted as authentic by Charlesworth, op.cit., pp 12,56-57.

⁶ A motif in the Odes which D.Aune has stressed - see The Cultic Setting pp 185-187; Prophecy in Early Christianity p 298.

words which occur within the praise called forth from the Odist to the Lord for this experience and which speak of growth :

"Blessed, O Lord, are they
Who are planted in Thy land...
And who grow in the growth of Thy trees
And have passed from darkness into light" (vv18-19)

and the Odist speaks of the remnant, planted in Paradise and bearing fruit (cf 20.7 for the present experience of Paradise).

Ode 11, then, shows that the Holy Spirit is the agent of this conversion experience which leads into God's Paradise. As a result of conversion the Odist experiences such fellowship with the Lord that only the language of lovers apparently suffices to express his feelings.

We turn to Ode 3 for an illustration of this.⁷ The Lord's prior love has taught the Odist to love (v3).

"I love the Beloved and I myself love Him" (v5a).
"I have been united (to Him), because the lover has found the Beloved" (v7a).

There then follows a series of three statements which assert that union with the Lord makes the believer what the Lord is⁸:

"Because I love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son.
Indeed he who is joined to Him who is immortal,
Truly shall be immortal.
And he who delights in the Life
Will become living" (vv7b-9).

Then there immediately follows a statement about the Spirit :

"This is the Spirit of the Lord which is not false,"⁹

⁷ cf Harris op.cit., p91 : "the author is a mystic, with a doctrine, or rather an experience, of union with the Son".

⁸ Akin to, but even more strongly expressed than, 2 Cor.3.18 (and I Jn.3.1-2 which is futuristic).

⁹ Drijvers, op.cit., O.C.A. 205 (1978), pp 49-50, detects here an anti-Marcionite thrust : Marcionites taught that the Creator-God deceived men.

Which teaches the sons of men to know His ways" (v10).

What is the link between the preceding sentences vv7-9 and this verse ? Why does the Odist say "This is the Spirit of the Lord" ? Aune has taken this formulation as equivalent to a claim to inspiration which backs up a prophetic statement¹⁰. I am not convinced that this is the right explanation for the following reasons :

(i) What has preceded this statement of 3.10 is not a prophetic statement - it is a celebration of the spiritual relationship between the believer and the Lord; it is spiritual love poetry. It is not a word from God to man.

(ii) Ode 3 is nothing like Apoc.2-3 nor 1 Cor.14.37f which Aune cites as comparable.

We suggest a different interpretation : the Odist has in mind the union of the Son and the believer, which creates sonship, immortality and life for the believer¹¹. Language used about this may be fluid and variable : as in the NT a writer may speak of being united with Christ or that the Spirit dwells within him, so here the Spirit of the Lord is envisaged as creating and sustaining the union. The knowledge of the Lord and His ways which the Spirit imparts leads to the loving relationship which this Ode expresses.

Ode 25 may also be considered at this point :

"I was rescued from my chains

¹⁰ The Odes of Solomon and Early Christian Prophecy, NTS 28 (1982), pp 438-439; Prophecy in Early Christianity, Michigan, 1983, pp 296-297.

¹¹ For this reason we query the assertion of R Abramowski Der Christus der Salomooden, ZNW 35 (1936), p 57 : "In the end there is no distinction between the real and adopted sons".

And I fled unto Thee, O my God" (v1)¹².

He has been saved by grace (v4b). The Odist also uses the imagery of light : God has given him a lamp as a result of which no darkness dwells in him (v7). Then he continues:

"And I was covered with the covering of Thy Spirit
And I removed from me my garments of skin". (v8)

The imagery of a change of clothing is utilised here : "the garments of skin" stands for the believer in his pre-conversion state, man as "flesh" (cf 20.3). The believer is given new clothes (and so a new nature) - God's Spirit.

Verse 9 includes another picture - God's right hand exalted him and caused sickness to pass from him.

"And I became mighty in Thy truth,
And holy in Thy righteousness". (vv 9-10)

Probably sickness is here a metaphor for his pre-conversion state¹³.

Thus far we have seen that Odes 11, 3 and 25 describe religious experience in terms of union with Christ brought about by the Spirit.

The Odist uses the concept of "seal" and we need to examine his usage to see whether he is thinking of the Spirit. We turn to Ode 4:

"For who shall put on Thy grace and be rejected ?
Because Thy seal is known;
And Thy creatures are known to it" (vv 6-7).

¹² Here he experiences the release which in 10.1-3 he helps others to achieve. Harris, op.cit., p 126 says "In this Psalm we are back again in the region of personal experience".

¹³ Pace Bernard, op.cit., p108; Aune, Cultic Setting, p187, who both espouse the literal interpretation.

Bernard¹⁴ thought that baptism was in mind, but the phrase could equally refer to the reception of the Spirit as part of the conversion experience (repentance, faith, baptism, entry into the church). The Lord places His seal (Spirit) on believers : they know the Spirit and the Spirit knows those who are the Lord's creatures. This interpretation would certainly fit v9 also :

"Thou hast given to us Thy fellowship,
Not that Thou wast in need of us,
But that we are always in need of Thee."

(cf earlier in v3 "Thou hast given Thy heart, O Lord, to Thy believers")

and also it would fit v10 :

"Sprinkle upon us Thy sprinklings,
And open Thy bountiful springs which abundantly supply us with milk and honey".

The images of gentle showers descending, springs gushing forth, entry into the promised land of milk and honey, would all be congruous with the experience of the Holy Spirit - an interpretation which is strengthened by the fact that the image of God's pouring out water/streams = the Holy Spirit upon Jacob-Israel His servant in an overall New Exodus setting occurs in Isaiah 44.1-3¹⁵.

But will the interpretation seal = Holy Spirit fit v8 ?

"And Thy hosts possess it
And the elect archangels are clothed with it".

¹⁴ op.cit., pp48-54.

¹⁵ Harris-Mingana, op.cit., Vol.2, pp 228-229, and Charlesworth, op.cit., pp 24-25 deny a reference to baptism in 4.11, against Bernard, op.cit., p 53 and J.A.F.Gregg The Odes of Solomon, Irish Church Quarterly VI (1913), p 23.

While at first sight strange, the thought that the angels experience God's Spirit is not impossible and is better than Bernard's "it is as a seal which the heavenly host recognise... the splendour of baptismal grace is like the splendours of the heavenly host"¹⁶. Bernard's view labours under several difficulties : (i) he is too much influenced by later Christian writers like Cyril of Jerusalem and Basil. How later Christian writers regarded baptism is no certain guide for a writer in the second century.

(ii) it is difficult to see the meaning in the assertion that the heavenly host possess the baptismal sign.

(iii) there is nothing in the text which says that the heavenly host recognise the seal - Bernard reads that into v7.

(iv) nor does the text say that the splendour of the seal is like the splendours of the heavenly host.

If the seal = the Spirit who brings the fellowship of the Lord, then the Odist is saying that believers on earth experience what the angels in heaven experience¹⁷.

The idea of a seal also occurs in Ode 8. Speaking of his own and to them, Christ says :

"And before they had existed,
I recognised them;
And imprinted a seal on their faces" (v13).

¹⁶ op.cit.,p51.

¹⁷ Aune stresses this motif within the Odes - The Cultic Setting p187; The Odes of Solomon and Early Christian Prophecy, NTS 28 (1982), p 452.

Here the meaning can only be a mark of ownership which is based on Christ's foreknowledge¹⁸ and which distinguished those who came to faith in Christ. The seal as the mark of ownership could quite naturally be taken as the Spirit.

So then our investigation suggests that the two occurrences of "seal" in the Odes can be treated alike. In Ode 4 the reference may be to the Holy Spirit, and this could also fit Ode 8 where the sealing process finds its ultimate basis in the foreordaining knowledge of Christ.

(b) If the Spirit is involved in the conversion experience, He is also involved in the ongoing Christian life.

The opening verses of Ode 28 use the imagery of the parent doves extending their wings over their young as an analogy of the Spirit's activity towards him :

"So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.
My heart continually refreshes itself and leaps for joy,
Like the babe who leaps for joy in his mother's womb." (vv 1c-2)

The Spirit provides continual protection and nourishment for the Odist. The Spirit is the "spiritual mother" of the Odist.

¹⁸ Bernard, op.cit., p 67, again sees a reference to baptism. Harris-Mingana, op.cit., pp 256-258 discuss Bernard's view that in v10 "Keep my mystery" refers to the disciplina arcanum and reject it. They do not discuss the seal in this Ode. Harris, op.cit., p 93, however, wrote "God has sealed His own people with the marks of His ownership".

Then the thought moves on to that of the Odist's being at rest through trust in Christ, for Christ is completely trustworthy.

Christ has greatly blessed him. "My head is with him" (v4) : the picture of his head resting in Christ is that of a lover in the beloved's lap, in view of v7 -

"And immortal life embraced me,
And kissed me."

Then comes a reference to the Spirit who is within him and who cannot die because the Spirit is life. No wonder the Odist can contemplate the destruction of this mortal frame with equanimity and knows that neither dagger nor sword can separate him from Christ (v5; cf Rom.8.35ff).

We again have the language of realised eschatology in connection with the Spirit in Ode 36.

"I rested on the Spirit of the Lord,
And She lifted me up to heaven
And caused me to stand on my feet in the Lord's high place."
(vv1-2a)

If here the Odist uses the language of the Spirit, he can also speak of the Lord who dwells in his blessed ones (e.g. 32.1).

We turn now to Ode 38 where the writer pictures himself like a root planted and watered by the Lord (vv18ff). Because of such care, this plant's roots penetrate deeply, the plant springs up and spreads out,

"And the Lord alone was glorified
In His planting and in His cultivation" (v20).

It would certainly be consonant with his thought if behind this imagery was the idea of the Spirit who enables him to grow up as a lovely plant.

Ode 19 calls for attention also. In imagery strange to Western ears, the Odist speaks of the believer being given a cup of milk through the sweetness of the Lord's kindness. The Son is the cup; the Father is milked; the Spirit does the milking (v2): the Father is the source of what is given, the Son is the channel and the Spirit ensures the transmission. Then in v4 the Odist says :

"The Holy Spirit opened her bosom¹⁹
And mixed the milk of the two breasts of the Father".

The picture seems to be that the Spirit milks the breasts of the Father²⁰ and then imparts that milk through her own breasts.

Verse 5 opens "Then she gave the mixture to the generation²¹ without their knowing", though some received it. This points to the Incarnation, as vv 6f show :

"The womb of the Virgin took (it)
And she received conception and gave birth.
So the Virgin became a mother with great mercies"

The cup imagery is dropped after its initial mention in v1.

We can describe the contents of this Ode as primarily the Incarnation²². But, what the Spirit produced from the Father in the Virgin can be offered to believers²³. This milk, this

¹⁹ Drijvers "The 19th Ode of Solomon", JTS 31 (1980), pp 341ff, translates "opened her womb". He argues that the Holy Spirit functions as the womb of the Father from where His grace and truth (the milk of His two breasts) = His only begotten Son, are born. Lattke, op.cit., p 129, rendered by "bosom" (seinen Busen).

²⁰ Harris, op.cit., p 117, took the breasts of the Father as meaning the old and new covenants.

²¹ Drijvers, op.cit., p 340 and Lattke, op.cit., p 129, translate "to the world".

²² Cf Drijvers, op.cit., p 349.

²³ Drijvers, op.cit., p 355, speaks of a doctrine of recapitulation - how to regain the paradise lost.

spiritual nourishment, is from the Father in the Son through the Spirit. Clearly the Spirit's work in mediating the Son continues, since the Odist celebrates what has been given to him. It is through "the breasts" of the Spirit that we receive the Father's gift in the Son.

Summarising, we may say that Odes 19, 26 and 36, and possibly 38, afford evidence that the Spirit is the mainspring of the life of the Christian, though equally we have seen places where the language is of the Lord's indwelling his believers.

(c) A final facet of our enquiry into a sense of inspiration by the Spirit is that of inspiration for composing the Odes. This is a prominent theme in the Odes.

"As the wind glides through the harp
And the strings speak,
So the Spirit of the Lord speaks through my members,
And I speak through His love". (6.1-2)

With these words, the Odist shows clearly how conscious he is of being the mouthpiece of the Spirit. The image itself might almost suggest passivity, but we ought not to press the language too far²⁴. The Spirit destroys what is alien and so everything that the Odist speaks comes from the Lord (v3). The Lord is described as keen that what had been given to believers through His grace should be known. So -

"His praise He gave us on account of His name;
Our spirits praise His Holy Spirit". (v7)

²⁴ Bernard, op.cit., p 56 says that this type of language is often found in orthodox Syrian writers.

Believers like the Odists praise the Lord's Holy Spirit because it is He who mediates all the blessings of salvation. This praise is meant in the Lord's plan to reverberate outwards, so that others may learn of His grace.

There then follows the picture of a stream which not only reaches to the Temple²⁵ but spreads over the surface of the whole earth²⁶. This symbolises the spread of the Christian message²⁷.

"And all the thirsty upon the earth drank,
And thirst was relieved and quenched
For from the Most High the drink was given". (v11)

A blessing on those who are the ministers of that drink follows, "who have been entrusted with His water" (v12). The "water" is the Gospel, the Christian message²⁸ - we must not equate water and the Spirit as in the Johannine manner²⁹, but the inspiration is clearly, in the light of vv1-2, the Holy Spirit.

As Spirit-inspired messengers, speakers, ministers of the Word, they dispense the water of life in that word. So -

"They have refreshed the parched lips
And have aroused the paralysed will.
Even living persons who were about to expire,
They have held back from death,

²⁵ This may be due to the influence of Ezek 47 - cf Harris, op.cit., p 97; Bernard, op.cit., pp 56f; A.E.Abbott Light on the Gospel from an Ancient Poet, Cambridge, 1912, p 128 - and perhaps an indication that the author is a Jewish Christian.

²⁶ Harris, op.cit., p 97, says "The writer is exultant in his universalism... The writer is as universal as St. Paul."

²⁷ Charlesworth The Odes of Solomon, Chico, 1977, p 32.

²⁸ Pace Bernard, op.cit., p 58, who takes the passage as a reference to baptism on the grounds that baptismal waters were conceived-of by the early commentators as a draught for the thirsty.

²⁹ As Abbott, op.cit., pp 118ff does. He entitles the Ode "The River of the Spirit of God."

And limbs which had collapsed,
They have restored and set up.
They gave strength for their coming,
And light for their eyes,
Because everyone recognised them as the Lord's
And lived by the living water of eternity". (vv14-18)

This is a moving description of what the preacher achieves.

If the harp figured in the simile of 6.1, it figures again in Ode 14, as a metaphor this time. The Odist prays :

"Teach me the odes of Thy truth
That I may produce fruits in Thee.
And open to me the harp of Thy Holy Spirit,
So that with every note I may praise Thee, O Lord". (vv7-8)

The picture seems to be that of the Odist overhearing within himself the music of the Spirit, and then reproducing this in praise to the Lord. His whole aim is to glorify and praise the Lord. He covets the blessings of inspiration in order that he may "produce fruits in Thee" (v7), i.e. that he may be useful in the service of Christ³⁰. He wants to be a means of blessing to others and so bring glory to the Lord.

Ode 16 begins with the Odist's work in composing hymns. As the ploughman steers his ploughshare and the helmsman steers his ship, so the Odist's

"occupation is the psalm of the Lord by his hymns.
My art and my service are in His hymns,
Because His love has nourished my heart,
And His fruits He poured unto my lips.
For my love is the Lord;
Hence I will sing unto Him". (vv1-3)

³⁰ Aune, op.cit., NTS 28 (1982), p 447, notes how often in the Odes the symbol of fruit is connected with speech, particularly inspired or prophetic speech (cf 8.2;10.2;12.2;14.7;16.2).

The Lord's love has evoked the Odist's love and art. Conscious of the Lord's prior love which nourishes his heart, the Odist sings forth praise by composing hymns. He cries out

"I will open my mouth,
And His Spirit will speak through me
The glory of the Lord and His beauty,
The work of His hands,
And the labours of His fingers,
For the multitude of His mercies
And the strength of His Word" (vv5-7)

Creation and nature are the themes of the Odist inspired by the Spirit of the Lord, and Creation occupies the centre of the hymn in this Ode (vv9-20). Even nature is among "the multitude of His mercies".

Though there is no express mention of the Spirit in Ode 26, this Ode deals with the art of the Odist and the harp theme links it with Odes 6 and 14 previously considered.

"I poured out praise to the Lord,
Because I am His own.
And I will recite His holy ode,
Because my heart is with Him.
For His harp is in my hand,
And the odes of His rest shall not be silent." (vv1-3)

The union of 'heart with heart' calls forth composition out of sheer gratitude. The Odist belongs to the Lord and this evokes his praise, a praise which he sees as universal, spreading to all points of the compass (vv5-7).

A series of rhetorical questions pose the question of inspiration, for the theme far outstrips our human capabilities³¹.

"Who can write the odes of the Lord,

³¹ cf Harris, op.cit., p 127 "The creature cannot express God's praise fully; if he could, he would be no longer a creature : he would be the Word, and not the interpreter of the Word".

Or who can read them?
Or who can press upon the Most High
So that He would recite from his mouth?" (vv3,10).

Death may remove the Odists but what was the subject of their interpretation will remain. The Odists stand serene, at rest - they are like a river whose spring gushes forth increasingly and whose waters flow to the relief of those who seek rest.

We now return to Ode 36, whose opening verse was mentioned earlier : the Spirit lifts the Odist heavenwards to stand before the Lord in all His glory and perfection,

"Where I continued glorifying (Him) by the composition of His odes".

The heavenly experience is the source of inspiration. From his fellowship with the Lord, brought about by the Spirit, the Odist composes the Lord's hymns.

Finally we turn to the last Ode. The Lord promises

"And I will be with those
Who love me.....
Then I arose (=resurrection³²) and am with them,
And will speak by their mouths". (42.4,6)

The risen Christ asserts His fellowship with those who love Him and promises that He will speak through them. In the light of the Odes as a whole, this must mean either the composition of Odes and Hymns or the preaching of the Gospel (not the promulgation of sayings of prophets in the tradition of the earthly Jesus³³).

³² So Charlesworth, op.cit., p 147; Lattke, op.cit., p 183 ("ich bin auferstanden"); Aune, op.cit., NTS 28 (1982), p 444; Prophecy p 297.

³³ See D. Hill On the Evidence for the Creative Role of Christian Prophets, NTS 20 (1974), pp 265-268, for a criticism of how Gunkel,

Thus we may say that Odes 6, 14, 16 and 36 establish the link between the Odist's work and the inspiration of the Spirit, with Ode 42 speaking of the risen Christ's inspiration. This establishes a base which permits us to draw in other references in the Odes which deal with the composition of hymns and their composers, even though the Spirit is not specifically mentioned : 10.1-3; 12.1-4,10-12;21.8; together with 7.17ff³⁴.

The evidence surveyed leaves no doubt whatsoever : the Odist believed himself the vehicle of the Spirit in the composition of the Odes. The language employed - the journey to heaven, the harp, streams of water flowing forth to refresh others - evinces the sense of ecstatic experience, of divine inspiration, resulting in the writing of the Odes.

(d) Before we move on, there is an issue that we ought to discuss. We have seen the uninhibited way in which the Odist expresses his sense of fellowship and union with Christ. This is the subjective side. But is there anything objective which 'controls' the personal experience and prevents it from dissolving into mere subjectivity ? In other words, are there any 'tests' which the

von Soden and Bultmann have used this passage.

³⁴ Aune, op.cit., NTS 28, 1982, pp 448f refers this Ode about the coming of the Lord to the Parousia, though concedes that there may be some proleptic anticipation of this. It is possible, however, to take the theme to be the Incarnation and to explain the use of eye witness type language as due to the intensity of spiritual communion with Christ, so that such language falls naturally from the lips. The inspiration of the Spirit is such that everyone is as equidistant from Christ as any generation, even the first, in one sense, while in another sense, subsequent generations depend on that first generation.

Odist offered, in the same way as in the first generation Paul, and in the third generation, the Didachist and the author of 1 John, posed for their congregations ?

H. Chadwick has maintained that the consistently Christian character of the Odes is unambiguous³⁵, and that they are orthodox and are not written to be the vehicle of any overt or hidden deviation from the apostolic tradition of the faith³⁶.

Charlesworth also denied that the Odes are gnostic³⁷, and other scholars have also strongly maintained the orthodoxy of the Odes³⁸.

Certainly God is the creator (4.15;7.7-12;16.8ff) and Christ the preexistent Son, who descended (16.18;21.1;28.19;41.14) to become incarnate (7.4,6,20f;17.6;31.1ff;41.4,12). Certain of the events of his earthly life are mentioned together with his cross and passion (7.10;28.9ff;31.8ff;42.2) and his resurrection (17.7;41.12;42.6) after descending to hell and freeing the captives there (17.9-16;22.7;24.5;42.10).

³⁵ op.cit., p267.

³⁶ op.cit., p 270.

³⁷ The Odes of Solomon - not Gnostic, CBQ 31 (1969), pp 357-369.

³⁸ e.g. F.M. Braun Jean le Théologien, Paris, 1959, p 232 - "The doctrine of the Odes is in substantial accord with the orthodoxy of the 'Great Church'"; J. Carmignac Un Qumranien converti au Christianisme : l'auteur des Odes de Salomon, Qumran-Probleme, ed. H Bardtke, Berlin, 1963, pp 77,84-90,91-92.



If various commentators have discerned docetic overtones here and there (17.6;28.17;41.8;42.10; cf 7.4), we might call it a naive docetism. Charlesworth rightly suggests that the Odes were composed in a milieu which, "though it may have contained docetic tendencies, apparently neither knew of nor professed docetism"³⁹.

The experience of salvation is entirely due to God's grace. Terms like redeemed (9.5;35.7; 38.17) and justified (9.10-12;17.2,3; 25.12; 29.5) are used and imagery like release from captivity and chains (10.3;17.4,12;25.1), passage from death to life (3.8ff;6.15;15.8-10;22.8-10;31.7) or from darkness to light (6.17;10.1;11.11,14;12.3;14.2;15.2;21.3,6;25.7;31.1f;32.1; 41.4,14) and entry into paradise (6.16-24;11.16-24;20.7).

The fellowship of believers is assumed but not conceptualised much (17.16 members and the head; 42.8f the bridegroom and bride). Present eschatology is uppermost, but occasionally the note of future hope seems to be struck (8.22;9.4,7;18.7;33.12; possibly 7.12ff; though even here one cannot be absolutely certain).

All these affirm that the Odist stands within the main currents of the Christian faith. His experience takes place within a scaffolding of doctrine that was in line with mainstream orthodoxy.

Alongside of this scaffolding of doctrine we are struck by the frequency of the idea of "truth" in the Odes. Of course "truth" may not of itself help us to answer our question about an objective basis for the Odist's experience, not least because there is a

³⁹ op.cit., p 37.

subjective side to our apprehension of truth and furthermore because in the author's milieu there might be considerable divergence of opinion about what is truth and the claim to have the truth might be polemical/apologetic and involve the denial that others possess the truth.

We therefore turn to a brief consideration of the idea of truth in these Odes. It might be doubted whether the Odist would have understood the distinction which we make between objective and subjective. There is in many Odes an interpenetration of these two aspects. Truth is not something abstract or theoretical or even purely intellectual. At times we may suspect that possession of the truth and fellowship with Christ are interchangeable. There are various reasons for this.

Firstly, Christ is himself identified with Truth. "He was and is the Truth" (38.5). At His incarnation error perished - it was submerged by the truth of the Lord (31.2).

Then, secondly, we find several examples where within the same Ode the author passes from a statement about truth to one similar or identical about Christ. In the first Ode the Lord is likened to a crown set on the Odist's head (v1). Then the Odist says that the crown of truth has been plaited for him (v2), to follow this up by asserting that the Lord lives on his head (v4). The Odist speaks of the Most High uncovering his inner being to Him (11.2) and then says that he has been established upon the rock of truth (v5). On another occasion the Odist can speak of hearing the Lord's truth and acquiring knowledge (15.4-5) and immediately go on to say that he repudiated the way of error and went towards the Lord (v6). The

phrases to walk in the Lord and to go after truth are juxtaposed in Ode 17 (vv4b-5). Or again, the Odist can say that the truth led him and the Lord went with him (38.1,4a). We might also note that a blessing is pronounced on those who have known the Lord in His truth in 12.13.

Thirdly, there is what we may call an inescapable existential challenge thrown out by truth to men. Men are confronted by truth and error, and a decision has to be made. This emerges with particular force in Odes 33 and 38 where we meet the figure of the Corruptor, the Evil One, who leads men into error. Over against this figure there stands that of Truth in Ode 38, while in Ode 33 we meet the figure of the Virgin, probably a symbol for the church, the fellowship of those who have come to know the truth and therefore 'the place' where truth may be found. It is of course these Odes where Professor Drijvers has claimed to detect polemic against Mani and his followers. Even if we cannot follow him in placing the Odes in the late third century, he is surely right in detecting polemical overtones in the descriptions (a writer uses this kind of language when he is most conscious of something in his environment which stands in complete opposition to what he believes and stands for). For our purpose here we may leave it unresolved whether a specific personality and his followers are in mind (and Marcion and the Marcionite church could be candidates in the second half of the second century) or whether more generally the hostile world is in the author's mind.

Another aspect of truth which deserves mention here is its missionary dimension : receiving the truth carries with it a responsibility for spreading the truth abroad. Knowing the truth leads to proclamation⁴⁰. Ode 12.1 illustrates this perfectly :

"He has filled me with words of truth,
That I may proclaim Him".

The Odist can pray to be taught the Odes of the Lord's truth that he may write such compositions as will praise the Lord with the implication that others may be incited to praise Him (14.7-8; akin to this is the plea in 18.4 for the Lord not to dismiss His word from the Odist "for the sake of those who are in need").

What then are the results of this for our theme ? Certainly we cannot neatly separate truth into objective and subjective compartments : they are intertwined in the Odes. Given the overall orthodoxy of the theology of the Odes, we must however conclude that there is a framework within which the ecstatic and enthusiastic experience of the Spirit takes place. If it be objected that in general there are no safeguards built into an approach such as is exemplified by the Odes, it can only be

⁴⁰ This missionary concern, which is feature of the Odes in general, is stressed by Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon - Not Gnostic, CBQ 31 (1969), p 361. In his edition of the Odes, op.cit., p 39, he commented on 7.26 ("Confess His power And declare His grace") "Note the missionary zeal of this verse", an interpretation challenged by P.J. Southwell in his review in JTS 25 (1974), p 508. Even if this verse could just as well be taken as an exhortation to the redeemed, in general Charlesworth's stress is a correct interpretation of the outlook of the Odes.

rejoined that neither in the end can a structured hierarchical framework prevent people from 'going it their way' if they are so minded.

We return to our original question about tests. Here we need to bear in mind the literary genre of the Odes and ask whether we might expect to find such tests in this type of composition. Of course poems and hymns may be as polemical as other literary forms and may, by what they assert, proffer a standard by which truth may be measured. However, where a polemical note is struck in Odes 33 and 38, the Odist has not in fact gone into precise details. Thus, in the end, the literary genre probably exercised a determinative influence on the fact that precise tests are lacking in the Odes rather than that the idea of them was per se unacceptable to such a writer.

To some extent the Odes are unique in the intensity of their experience of the Spirit and the risen Lord. Their exuberance and extravagance of language almost put them in a category of their own. They give the impression that they could fit in with Johannine spirituality. They express directly what can be inferred from the fourth gospel. They treat of religious experience, while we have to deduce it from what the fourth evangelist says. When we have made allowances for the different literary genres, it is not forcing the evidence to conjecture that the Odes could stem from one of the Johannine congregations⁴¹. Perhaps if Johannine

⁴¹ This puts the matter more cautiously than JH Charlesworth, Qumran, John and the Odes of Solomon, John and Qumran, ed. JH Charlesworth, London, 1972, p 135 - "The Odes and John shared the same milieu and it is not improbable that they lived in the same

Christianity came into mainstream Catholic Christianity, as RE Brown suggested⁴², compositions like the Odes were an ultimate casualty. Perhaps their experience was too individualistic and unsacramental to fit in entirely comfortably with the Great Church and its hierarchical structure. On the other hand they were preserved and the later spirituality of the Syrian Church did stress the Spirit, so that presumably some section of the Syrian church found them not uncongenial.

B :

We have just mentioned the frequency with which "truth" appears in the Odes and suggested that while truth had its subjective side, there was an objective side and this was exemplified in the overall orthodox position of the Odes.

There are occasions when the Spirit is seen as the source of that illumination which has led to the Odists' understanding of the truth. Indeed in Ode 3 it is said that it is

"the Spirit of the Lord which is not false
Which teaches the sons of men to know His ways" (v10).

To describe the Spirit negatively as "not false" is by implication to delineate Him as the Spirit of Truth. The Spirit is the teacher of believers : He enables them to know the ways of the Lord.

community", which view also depends on an early date for the Odes of course. See the cautious estimate of R Murray Symbols of Church and Kingdom : a Study in Early Syriac Tradition, Cambridge 1975, p 25 "The milieu certainly seems Judaeo-Christian, not sectarian-Gnostic, and perhaps not far in date and milieu from the Fourth Gospel and Ignatius".

⁴² The Community of the Beloved Disciple, New York, 1979, p 159.

One facet of the conversion experience, brought about through being circumcised by the Holy Spirit, is that the Odist "ran...in the way of truth" (11.3). He says "I received His knowledge
And I was established upon the rock of truth
Where He had set me". (11.4b-5)

Ode 25, which mentions the removal of the Odist's garments of skin and how he has been clothed with the Spirit's covering (v8), also uses the lamp picture : the Lord has given him a lamp on both his right and left (=totality), so that there might be nothing of darkness in him (v7). The Odist claims "And I became mighty in Thy truth" (v10a). All that the Odist is or has is due to the Lord and His Spirit. The Lord is his helper (vv2b,6b); He is with him (v4a). From Him comes the Odist's strength (v6a). The Odist has been clothed with the Lord's Spirit (v8a).

The link between the imparting of truth and the Spirit can probably also be seen in Ode 14.7a,8a :

"Teach me the Odes of Thy truth..
And open to me the harp of Thy Holy Spirit".

What the Holy Spirit will produce are poems full of truth.

There are places where the Odist refers to his possession of the truth without mention of the Holy Spirit (17.5 and 38.1ff, where truth is personified as a guide; 33.8, where the church, symbolised as a virgin, possesses the truth; and the battle imagery where truth is locked in deadly combat with falsehood and will be victorious 18.6-7a; 25.10-11; 31.1-2,6ff).

Odes 12 and 14 give us the indicative and petitionary sides of this whole question. The Odist claims that the Lord has filled him with words of truth to proclaim Him - like the flowing of waters, truth flows from his mouth (12.1-2). Yet he prays to be taught the Odes of the Lord's truth in 14.7-8.

C :

We ask now whether the thought of the Spirit's empowerment in the ethical sphere is present in the Odes.

Ode 11, already considered above as celebrating the conversion of the Odist through the Holy Spirit, mentions the present experience of Paradise. Christians are those who are planted in the Lord's land (11.18). They are described as those "who turn from wickedness to Thy pleasantness" (v20); they "work good works" (v20). The Odist pictures Christians as trees filled with fruit (v23), which could refer to good works (? the fruit of the Spirit) or may be poetic imagery and not to be pressed allegorically.

Though the Holy Spirit is not specifically mentioned in these verses, it is clear that the good works stem from the experience of Paradise : God's grace leads to ethical endeavour. It is not improbable that the Holy Spirit is envisaged as the author of these good works.

Ode 25, already considered in relation to the experience of conversion, spoke of the removal of garments of skin (the pre-conversion nature) and the being covered by the Holy Spirit's covering (v8). Then the Odist says :

"And I became mighty in Thy truth
And holy in Thy righteousness". (v10)

The experience of God's Spirit thus led to holy and righteous living.

We shall briefly mention three other Odes where the ethical life is underlined without express mention of the Spirit. Ode 8 commences

"Open, open your hearts to the exultation of the Lord,
And let your love abound from the heart to the lips
In order to bring forth fruits to the Lord, a holy life". (1-2a)

We note a combination of ideas - the opened heart and love expressing itself in praise and holy living. Later in v6 the Lord is said to be the helper of His followers.

In Ode 13 believers are exhorted to sing praises to the Spirit of the Lord (v2b). Then comes the command :

"And wipe the paint from your face
And love His holiness and put it on". (v3)

The clearly pejorative connotation of the paint on the face⁴³ stands for worldly/immoral living, the opposite of holiness. The Christian, who is turned to the Lord as a mirror and who sings praise to the Spirit, will as a consequence turn from wrong living to the holy lifestyle which reflects the Lord's own character.

The Odist claims to be a priest of the Lord (20.1). This is then unfolded in v4f :

"The offering of the Lord is righteousness
And purity of heart and lips.
Offer thy inward being faultlessly;
And let not thy compassion oppress compassion"⁴⁴

⁴³ Charlesworth The Odes of Solomon, Chico, 1977, p 65, points to Ezek.23.40; 2Kg.9.30; Jer.4.30.

⁴⁴ So Charlesworth's translation, op.cit., ad.loc. Lattke, op.cit., p131, offers "And let not your flesh oppress (another) flesh". On either rendering it looks as if we are dealing with a synonymous parallelism.

And let not thyself oppress anyone".

Verse 6 consists of very practical directions reminiscent of OT moral regulations. It is impossible to believe that the Odist did not have the help of the Spirit in mind for the empowering of this "spiritual worship" that reaches into the very practicalities of life and exhibits a concern that amidst the glow of spiritual experiences the outworking of faith in daily life should not be neglected but prosecuted with the utmost vigour and comprehensiveness⁴⁵.

D :

Before we draw our examination of the Odes to a close there is one further phenomenon that needs discussion because of its bearing on our themes: viz that parts of or sometimes a whole Ode is in fact Christ speaking. There is widespread agreement amongst editors of the Odes that in some Odes Christ Himself speaks. Thus, Harris-Mingana and Charlesworth agree in observing this feature in Odes 8,10,17,22,28,31,36,41 and 42 (Harris-Mingana also have Christ or Wisdom speaking in Ode 33, but Bernard and Charlesworth think that it is the church as the perfect virgin who stands up and preaches in vv5ff)⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ In view of the evidence of section C, plus the general point of the literary genre of the Odes, H. Chadwick, op.cit., p 269, is perhaps less than fair to the Odist when he says that the author was not particularly interested in virtue, moral conflict or the training of character.

⁴⁶ Lattke, op.cit., does not mark off the sections where Christ speaks.

Harris-Mingana wrote in their expository notes on Ode 8 :

"This is the first of the Odes that is clearly marked with a dual personality, the Odist becoming at a certain point in the song the Lord Himself"⁴⁷ (italics mine), while Charlesworth observed that "the Odist and the risen Christ coalesce making it virtually impossible to separate them"⁴⁸.

It may be best to start our enquiry from the last Ode :

"Then I arose and am with them,
And will speak by their mouths". (42.6)

This of itself does not demand the phenomenon to which we have referred. What it does mean is the belief that the living Christ speaks in and through his followers. He gives His message through them. What we need to ask even more in the light of 42.6 is why then the Odist wrote as he did : why did he not explicitly introduce what was Christ's part as a *verbum domini* ? Is this due purely to the 'rules' of style ? Charlesworth clearly thought not, for he wrote "No linguistic device announces the shift in speakers, only the thoughts of the passage reflect it"⁴⁹ (italics mine).

From the standpoint of analogies we could think of the following :

(a) how in the OT prophets the speaker may begin with "Thus says the Lord" and an oracle follows, but in time the prophet 'becomes' Yahweh as it were and speaks in the first person as if he were God

⁴⁷ op.cit., pp 256-257.

⁴⁸ Odes of Solomon, Chico, 1977, p 126.

⁴⁹ op. cit., p 43.

(e.g. Isa. 5.1-7 : vv 1-2,7 speak in the third person "he made..", whereas vv 3-6 speak in the first person "Judge between me and my vineyard")⁵⁰.

(b) the pseudonymous works of the intertestamental period, but here the whole work is clothed in the form of the utterance of a figure of the past. DS Russell (elaborating the ideas of H Wheeler Robinson) has suggested that the apocalyptists regarded themselves not as original writers at all but as representatives of a tradition. "As spokesman of the tradition, they were, in fact, spokesmen of the seer himself and could justifiably assume his name"⁵¹. He asks whether the writer may not have thought of himself "as in some way an 'extension' of the (ancient seer)....by assuming his name, he would thereby be sharing in his very character and life."⁵²

This is a most helpful and fruitful suggestion, and we may go on to ask 'If this is how someone in Judaism might feel, how much more someone who felt indwelt by God's Spirit/the risen Christ and felt himself to be the mouthpiece of the risen Christ ?'

⁵⁰ This phenomenon is apparently still encountered today in prophetic utterances in the charismatic movement.

⁵¹ The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, London, 1964, p 134.

⁵² op.cit., p 138.

(c) Presumably something not dissimilar may lie behind the Johannine Jesus' discourses if they represent meditations spoken aloud to the believing congregations before they were committed to writing⁵³.

These three analogies form a useful background against which we may set the phenomenon under observation. We have already explored the Odist's sense of inspiration : he is the lyre plucked by the Spirit. Given this sense of inspiration and his rootage in Jewish tradition, we may see how he comes to speak ex ore Christi. In that conviction of union with Christ, inspired by the Spirit, he feels himself to be a channel for his Beloved Master and Lover to speak through him.

This phenomenon is, then, further support for the centrality of the Spirit in the religious experience of the Odist.

SUMMARY :

Our investigations into the place and role of the Spirit in the three areas chosen, plus the phenomenon of the Odes in which Christ speaks, show without any doubt that in the Christian experience of the author and presumably his community, the Spirit was of considerable and decisive importance. In this part of the Christian church the members were conscious of a very direct and intimate experience of the Spirit at work in their lives, from their conversion onwards. An ecstatic element is all too obvious in these hymns. They are vibrant with first-hand experience and

⁵³ So e.g. B. Lindars The Gospel of John, London, 1972, pp 51-54.

they proclaim it in no uncertain terms. The language and imagery used are signs of the immediacy of communion with their Lord in the power of the Spirit. Though aware of the power of error to lead astray, they exhibit few doubts about the Spirit's inspiration and in this they could be said to differ from 1 John and the Didache. Here again the differing literary genres need to be remembered and this may well urge some caution against overstating differences. In a 'charismatic song-book' we might not expect to find analyses of those deemed inspired by an evil/false spirit. Nonetheless, the unhappy experiences of the Elder's and the Didachist's congregations have left their mark in their writings in a way that is not discernible in the Odes.

In all this, these writings deserve a place alongside of John's Gospel in the primacy afforded to the Spirit in their religious life.

CHAPTER 10 : TATIAN⁵⁴

Born east of the Euphrates, of non-Christian parents, Tatian was eventually, after a long preoccupation with contemporary philosophy, converted at Rome, possibly through the influence of Justin to whom Tatian refers with appreciation. He later broke away from the church (probably 172) and returned to the East, founding his own school in Mesopotamia and producing his harmony of the four gospels, the Diatessaron, which was used in the Syrian church until the fifth century.

Tatian was the author of an apologetic work, Oratio ad Graecos, which forms the basis for our reconstruction of his thought. For Tatian, man was originally created body-soul-Holy Spirit. "The bond of the flesh is soul, but it is the flesh which contains the soul" (15.2), while the Spirit of God was originally the soul's companion (13.2).

The soul was not immortal but mortal, and it was the receptacle of the Spirit. "We have knowledge of two different kinds of spirits, one of which is called soul, but the other is greater than the soul; it is the image and likeness of God. The first men were endowed with both, so that they might be part of the material world and at the same time above it" (12.1). Or, to put it another way, "the Spirit's home is above, but the soul's birth is below" (13.2)⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Quotations from Oratio ad Graecos, ed. M. Whittaker, Oxford, 1982. For biographical details see Oratio ad Graecos 42;35.1;18.2; and also Eusebius HE 4.29.1; Chron.12.

⁵⁵ It is worth pointing out that Tatian has equated the image and likeness of God in Genesis 1.26-27 with the Holy Spirit and appears

When man sinned, the Spirit left him. "The Spirit became originally the soul's companion but gave it up when the soul was unwilling to follow it" (13.2). Tatian asserts that free will has destroyed us : God is not the author of our lamentable state, but we ourselves, though born free, have become slaves of sin through our own fault (11.2). The result of the Fall, then, is that man becomes mortal. "The creature made in the image of God, when the more powerful Spirit departed from him, became mortal" (7.3).

Tatian describes the soul's wings as "the perfect Spirit but the soul cast it away because of sin, fluttered like a nestling and fell to the ground, and, once removed from heavenly company, yearned for association with inferiors" (20.1).

Bereft of the Spirit, man becomes enmeshed in the material. When the soul lives on its own, "it inclines down towards matter and dies with the flesh" (13.2). However, Tatian believed that the soul kept a spark of the Spirit's power within it (*ἐναύσμα* 13.2), and so this does enable man to make a response to the truth.

A :

Tatian used three images which could be taken to indicate a conscious experience of the Spirit.

Firstly, he speaks of the soul's ascent to heaven through the Spirit.

to stand within a line of interpretation of Gen.2.7 which took what God breathed into man as Spirit, not *πνοή*. See W. Hauschild Gottes Geist und der Mensch, München, 1972, p 199.

Tatian encourages his readers to search for what they once possessed but lost. They should link the soul to the Holy Spirit and occupy themselves with the union (συσυρία) ordained and willed by God (κατὰ θεόν) (15.1). If the soul enters into union with the Divine Spirit, it is not unaided in its struggle against the downward pull of matter, "but mounts to the realms above where the Spirit leads it, for the Spirit's home is above..." (13.2).

Language which in John's Gospel is applied to Christ (he comes from ἄνω and returns there) is in the Oration applied to the one who responds to the truth⁵⁶, to the Word of God, to the Spirit. With the Spirit as the companion, the soul is drawn upwards.

Secondly, there is the idea of the temple indwelt by God through His Spirit. Man's constitution (σύνταξις) is like a temple and God is willing to dwell in it through the Spirit, His representative (διὰ τοῦ ἡρετβεύοντος, πνεύματος 15.2) (If man was not so constituted, he would only be superior to the animals in having articulate speech and would not be a likeness of God 15.3).

This idea of the believer as a temple indwelt by the Spirit picks up NT writings like 1 Cor.3.16f;6.19f; Ephes. 2.19-22; 1 Pet.2.5).

Thirdly, Tatian used the picture of the rediscovery of lost property/treasure. Conversion is a rediscovery of one's own property. Tatian exploited the idea of hidden treasure from the Matthean parable to illustrate his point. The Word of God is seen

⁵⁶ cf Hauschild, op.cit., p 202.

as holding power over our property through a certain hidden treasure. When we dug it up, we were covered with dust but through this the opportunity of re-establishing our property is furnished. "For everyone who recovers his property obtains power over very precious wealth" (30.1). The Word of God's power over us may be referred-to the spark of the Spirit in us⁵⁷. This is like hidden treasure. If we through that spark respond to and obey the Word of God, if we channel our efforts in this direction and do not dissipate our energies (μὴ σκορπίζόντων ἑαυτούς), then the hidden treasure is recovered, though it has to be cleaned up because of its long involvement in the material.

Given the brevity and genre of the Oration, we cannot claim too much, but these pictures are congruous with a definite awareness of the Spirit's activity in the believer's experience.

B :

Because it was separated from the Spirit, the soul could no longer see things that are perfect and so in its search for God went astray into idolatry (13.2-3). The ignorant soul is in darkness. If it is ignorant of the truth it dies and is dissolved with the body (13.1).

When Tatian says that "you will easily comprehend the godhead, when the (power) which makes souls immortal has come upon you", the inference is clearly that without the Spirit we do not comprehend God.

⁵⁷ M. Elze Tatian und seine Theologie, Göttingen, 1960, p 99.

He can also speak of God's Spirit dwelling among those who lived righteously, or of those souls who were obedient to wisdom attracting to themselves the kindred Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα συγγενές 13.3). In intimate union with the soul of such persons the Spirit announced by predictions to other souls what had been hidden to them (13.3). In line with this Tatian can say that we have learned through the prophets what we did not know. The prophets used to foretell (προὔλεγον) what other souls did not know. They were convinced that the Spirit in union with the soul (ἅμα τῇ ψυχῇ) would obtain immortality (τὸ οὐράνιον ἐπένδυμα τῆς θνητότητος τὴν ἀθανασίαν lit. "the heavenly garment of mortality, immortality" = the heavenly garment of immortality to put on over our mortality). Without the Spirit the soul is doomed to mortality (θνητότης); with the Spirit, the soul receives a heavenly clothing and will enjoy immortality (20.3).

There are thus hints of the Spirit's role in illuminating believers with the truth.

C :

Tatian also speaks of those who are guarded (φρουρουμένοις) by God's Spirit and who are thus able to perceive τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων σώματα (15.3). Armed with the breastplate of the heavenly Spirit, a man will be able to protect (σῶσαι) all that is encompassed by matter (16.3) : while Tatian is here

thinking of diseases and disorders that demons inflict on us through the material, the idea is capable of extension into the ethical field, for Tatian saw demons behind the immorality of the theatre and the shows (22.1) and he stressed the chasteness of Christian women and girls in contrast to pagan standards (33.2).

The picture of the recovery of the buried treasure states that it has to be cleaned up because of its long involvement in the material. This has implications for behaviour and conduct obviously.

Again, there are hints of a connection between the Spirit and ethics, but the genre of the work hardly called for elaboration of this.

SUMMARY :

The role of the Spirit is therefore crucial for Tatian. Conversion, however intellectually conceived⁵⁸, takes place when the union of soul and Spirit is effected.

The spark of the Spirit retained by man does enable a response to be made - like responds to like. This was true of people in pre-Christian times like the prophets who continue by what they said to teach us. Not that Tatian accords in the Oration any decisive significance to the incarnate ministry of Christ or his cross and resurrection as either redemptive or revelatory. There is no salvation-history thinking or promise-fulfilment approach. The name of Jesus or Christ is never mentioned and

⁵⁸ See Elze, op. cit., pp 34-40 for his discussion of Tatian's understanding of truth; and compare Hauschild, op.cit., p 204.

oblique references seem limited to 13.3;21.1. For Tatian the Logos seems only to have a cosmological function⁵⁹, and the person of Christ is not mentioned as a revealer of truth. It is the divine Spirit who lifts man above and so has a soteriological function⁶⁰.

So union (or reunion) with the Spirit is a restoration to what man was before he sinned. Indeed the true man is one who "has advanced far beyond his humanity (τὸν πρόρρω μὲν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ... κεχωρηκότα) towards God Himself" (15.2). Tatian here is thinking of the union of Spirit and soul. This union is open to all. As Tatian says "It is possible for everyone who is naked to get this adornment (viz the immortality which the Spirit gives) and race back to his ancient kinship (πρὸς τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀναδραμεῖν 20.3).

⁵⁹ So Elze, op.cit., pp 81-83.

⁶⁰ Hauschild, op.cit., pp 203,205-6.

CHAPTER 11 : CONCLUSION

The evidence surveyed affords ample evidence of how a great deal of religious experience in Syrian Christianity continued to be ascribed to the activity of God's Spirit.

We may detect a division between Western (dominated by Antioch) and Eastern Syria, or rather the division may be between a rich, prosperous city congregation (Matthew), which moved towards a structured form of ministry (Ignatius) and was suspicious of the older type of itinerant charismatic miracle worker, and more rural situated congregations. The Didache confirms this suggestion. Its rules reveal both a respect for and suspicion towards itinerant prophets : the former reflects the older tradition of Eastern Syria, the latter more recent experiences. Nonetheless, the respect lingers on.

In the Eastern area of Syria, we find that the Spirit holds a vital place in the Johannine congregations. The Spirit takes the place of Jesus who has gone to the Father. He will be with Christians forever and will be in them. The pattern of religious experience prized in this stream of Christianity is that of rebirth by the Spirit : the dramatic conversion which comes upon a person as mysteriously as the wind and which seems to well up within like fountains of flowing water.

The Johannine Epistles speak of God's giving us His Spirit and this was a conscious experience since the believer knows thereby that God abides in him. The believer is born of God and this is clearly the work of the Spirit and betokens a dramatic experience.

The hymnbook called the Odes of Solomon reverberates with an exuberant sense of the Spirit's presence and inspiration. He lifts the believer into paradise and enables him to commune with Christ like lovers. The amatory imagery points to the intensity of the experience. The believer is in the hands of the Spirit like a lyre plucked by the musician.

Tatian too knows of union between the Spirit and the believer - the *συσυρία* ordained by God enables the soul to mount to realms above, the Spirit's home. An alternative image is that the Spirit dwells in the believer like a Temple. The Spirit comes upon the believer and the spark within is rekindled.

This intensity of experience associated with the Spirit in many documents from Syrian Christianity is akin to that reflected in the Jerusalem and Pauline congregations of the first generation.

By contrast Matthew does not appear to stress the Spirit as the origin of Christian experience. He speaks of the risen Lord's presence both in church meetings (18.20) and mission (28.20) and he knows of much charismatic activity which is not accompanied by the doing of God's will, which for him probably means carrying out the love of neighbour part of the Double Love Command. If this is correct, we would have an interesting case of virtually parallel phenomenon in the Matthaean and Johannine congregations : both have experience of those who claim to be inspired, and yet are not characterised by love of neighbour or brother. Both Matthew and

the author of 1 Jn. reject such people as non Christian (Mt.7.23; 1 Jn. 2.19). The difference is that in Matt. there is not any doctrinal aberration such as is discernible in 1 and 2 Jn.

From Western to Eastern Syria, then, we catch a glimpse of how some members of the Christian congregations prized spiritual experiences and phenomena to such an extent that they became negligent of the practical outworking of Christianity in love. Since Paul faced the same problem at Corinth, it looks as if this feature was endemic in the earliest generations and may be a constant danger of this type of Christianity.

The Spirit is certainly seen as the teacher and guide of the church in the Johannine congregations according to the Gospel (14.26; 16.12-15) and Epistles (1Jn.2.20,27;5.6-8), but we saw how concerned the fourth evangelist was to show that while the Spirit imparts new truth he does so by drawing that out of what Jesus had already taught and said. Likewise the author of 1 Jn appeals to his hearers to adhere to "what they had heard from the beginning". Interestingly Matthew also insists on the primacy of what Jesus had already commanded (28.20) - the earthly Jesus' teaching is normative. There is perhaps more room in the fourth gospel's approach for new facets of truth (though in practice Matt. also "actualises" the tradition about Jesus for the needs of his congregation), but both Matthew and John appear to be aware of the dangers inherent in claiming the Spirit's guidance and direction for new teaching : there are to be new developments of the old rather than new developments de novo.

The Odist also associates the Spirit and truth and he believes that the Lord's Spirit teaches men to know His ways (3.10). Sometimes he personifies Truth as a guide who leads or accompanies him (17.5). While we surmised earlier that the Odist might not have been averse to doctrinal tests, it remains true that his own work exhibits traces of what has been called a naive docetism. Clearly, then, in his milieu there might be the danger of others going further in a docetic direction as in the case of the Johannine congregations.

This in turn raises the question of whether the ideal proposed by the fourth evangelist is in practice effective without some sort of church structures (just as the same question must be raised of Paul's vision of a charismatic community). Brown felt that it was not : "The very fact that a Paraclete-centred ecclesiology had offered no real protection against schismatics ultimately caused (the author of the Epistles)'s followers to accept the authoritative presbyter-bishop teaching structure which in the second century became dominant in the Great Church but which was quite foreign to the Johannine tradition"⁶¹. (Of course the episcopal structure was itself incapable of preventing heretical or schismatic movements as the later story of the church shows). It looks as if Diotrephes was in fact, if not in name, virtually bishop of his congregation, and incipient structures were already emerging within the NT period in this branch of Christianity.

⁶¹ The Community of the Beloved Disciple, London, 1979, p 147. Brown felt that historically the two groups within the Johannine community were swallowed up by the Great Church and by the Gnostic movement respectively (pp 145ff).

We observed how Ignatius believed that he was prompted by the Spirit to bid the Philadelphians obey the bishop and avoid divisions. Spirit and office are here linked in indissoluble unity. Ignatius was annoyed that there were some who had the Bishop's name on their lips but in everything act apart from him (Mag.4.1).

Less prominent is the association of the Spirit and the ethical side of Christianity. The Johannine Epistles speak of God's seed abiding in the believer and this should lead to sinless perfection (1Jn. 3.6,9; 5.18). In the Didache, on the other hand, the author never insinuates the idea of the Spirit's help into his redaction of the Two Ways. Ignatius, however, sees the Spirit as enabling believers to live obedient lives pleasing to God in the flesh. The Spirit is the rope which helps to lift stones (= believers) into place in the temple of God which is in the process of being erected, but probably in the end Christ-mysticism dominates his thinking. The Odist believed that the Spirit lifted him to Paradise and as a result he turned from wickedness to holy, righteous living (25.10) and to do good works (11.18,20). The implication of Tatian's teaching - that conversion is the recovery of hidden treasure which has to be cleaned up - is ethical purification from embroilment in pagan idolatry.

Is there any reason why the association of the Spirit and ethics is not so prominent in the writings surveyed? To some extent the occasion for the documents and their literary genre may account for this, but not (one feels) entirely. Thus, in the farewell discourses of the fourth gospel there would be room for

some treatment of the ethical side of Christianity. And why did the Didachist feel happy enough with taking over the Jewish Two Ways and not redacting it more thoroughly ?

We have to ask whether the Spirit's link with the ethical side of Christianity was not so prominent generally in Syrian Christianity as was the case with Paul. Did the Spirit tend to be associated with our categories A and B rather than C ? ie uplifting experiences, phenomena like prophecy, exorcism, healings, a sense of guidance and illumination ? This might be the conclusion we should draw when we put together the paucity of evidence in section C and the evidence that some Christians stressed charismatic experiences without bothering about love (see section A).

The total impression is that in writers where mention of the Spirit attains to anything like prominence, the stress is actually on experience. The Gospel and Epistles of John, the Odist and Tatian all in their various ways describe the Spirit as a living reality who produced certain effects in their lives - images like new birth, spring water bubbling up, entry into paradise, ascending on high, all emphasise the experiential side. Then again the Gospel of John has worked out a view of the Spirit's work as teacher of Christians and, to a lesser extent, the Odist also speaks of the Spirit's leading him into the truth.

In a comparison with the picture of first and second generation Christianity, Syria 'stands up well'. There is no concern about the delay of the Parousia. The sense of the Spirit's presence in the believer's life presumably alleviates this problem.

Part III : ASIA MINOR

Next to Syria, Asia Minor was an obvious and natural centre for the Christian mission. Paul worked in the eastern (Cilicia Gal.1.21) and western (i.e. the Roman province of Asia) ends. He said that a good opportunity existed in Ephesus (1 Cor.16.8) but, later, personal factors prevented his using a similar opportunity at Troas (2 Cor.2.12f). In Rom.16.5 he mentions Epaenetus as the first convert to Christ in Asia. Churches existed in Laodicea, Colossae and Hierapolis when Colossians (whether by Paul or not) was written. Luke records missionary work in Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia and Cilicia (Acts 13f) and says that Paul had a ministry of over two years at Ephesus, though he records few stories about it (Acts 19). 1 Peter shows that at the time of writing congregations existed in northern Asia Minor while the Apocalypse was written to the churches in the western area.

We shall assume here that the Book of Revelation was composed about the early nineties in western Asia Minor, when the Emperor Domitian was intent on being acknowledged as divine. Older material may have been incorporated, but the actual composition was in the last few years of Domitian's reign¹.

It is evident that the author believed that he was the recipient of certain experiences² which he attributed to the Holy Spirit and that he felt inspired by the Holy Spirit to deliver a message to the churches as a result of those experiences.

(i) He tells us at the beginning that he was "in the Spirit" on the Lord's Day (1.10) and that he received a message to deliver to the seven churches (1.11). In this state he both heard and saw the risen Christ (1.12-20). The state of being "in the Spirit" designates an extraordinary experience during which the seer is overwhelmed by the presence of the numinous³. The normal boundaries of sense are transcended, and he saw and heard the risen Jesus who had been exalted to heaven.

¹ So E Stauffer Christ and the Caesars, (ET) London, 1955, pp147-191; E Lohse Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Göttingen, 1960; A Feuillet The Apocalypse, New York, 1965, p 91; GB Caird The Revelation of St. John the Divine, London, 1966; GR Beasley-Murray The Book of Revelation, London, 1974; JM Court Myth and History in the Book of Revelation, London, 1979; to name but a few.

² I assume that, however skilful a literary artist the Seer may be, he is describing some real experiences; cf Aune Prophecy, p275.

³ Cf JM Ford Revelation, New York, 1975, p382; RJ Bauckham The Role of the Spirit in the Apocalypse, EQ 52 (1980), pp67,71; against RL Jeske Spirit and Community in the Johannine Apocalypse, NTS 31 (1985), p464, who believes that "in the Spirit" is "a relational symbol", linking John with the community from which he is separated, "rather than a privately experiential one".

(ii) A similar phrase is used as the prelude to a vision of God's throne and of the heavenly throng (4.2). He heard a voice summoning him "Come up hither and I will show you what must take place after these things" (4.1). Then he said "Immediately I was in the Spirit". Whereas in ch.1 the seer was given a Christophany on earth, in ch.4 he claimed to have been transported to heaven.

(iii) Two other instances of "transportation", both attributed to the Spirit, occur : ἀπὴν ἐγκέμμε ... ἐν πνεύματι .

Firstly, when an angel carried the seer into the desert to behold the great whore and the divine judgment on her (17.3ff). Secondly, when an angel led him to a very high mountain to give him a vision of the heavenly city, the new Jerusalem (21.10). To experience the heavenly world and to be a recipient of a divine revelation is not within the control or prerogative of man - he needs to be taken out of himself by the Spirit to have such experiences.

While all these are specific references, they undergird the whole work and help to present it as a product of the Spirit's influence⁴.

We may now draw into our study the phenomenon where an utterance ascribed to the Spirit may have been a prophetic word :
(a) 14.13 where the Spirit responds to God's blessing pronounced on dead Christians with "Yes : let them rest from their labours, for their works follow after them". What the prophet said⁵ is traced back to its origin and the human vehicle is allowed to fade out of the picture⁶.

⁴ cf the feature at the end of the Seven Letters - "Let him who has ears to hear what the Spirit says to the churches" (in parallel with the opening word from the exalted Christ).

⁵ So Aune Prophecy, p283; A Farrer The Revelation of St. John the Divine, Oxford, 1964, p226; Bauckham, op.cit., p73.

(b) 22.16ff : The Spirit and the Bride probably represent the prophetic leader(s) and the believing community respectively⁷ (rather than the believing community indwelt by the Spirit⁸). The congregation follows the lead of the prophet inspired by the Spirit and invites the Lord Jesus to come.

(c) 19.10. The much discussed phrase "the witness of Jesus", which is "the Spirit of prophecy", is probably an objective⁹ rather than subjective genitive¹⁰ (as at 1.9; 12.(11)17; and even 1.2¹¹), i.e. the testimony about Jesus (his ministry, death and resurrection) is what the Spirit takes and places on the lips of the prophet. The Spirit who prompts the prophet to speak a word leads him to bear witness to Jesus who is the crucified and triumphant Warrior-Lamb.

⁶ cf E Schweizer, TDNT, Vol. VII, (ET) Michigan, 1968, p449.

⁷ So Caird, op.cit., p287; Beasley-Murray, op.cit., pp344-5; JM Sweet, Revelation, London, 1979, p3318; FF Bruce The Spirit in the Apocalypse, Christ and Spirit in the NT, ed. B Lindars and SS Smalley, Cambridge, 1973, p343; against Bauckham, op.cit., pp77-8, who sees the Bride as the eschatological church.

⁸ So Schweizer, op.cit., p450; E Lohmeyer, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Tübingen, 1926, p 178, though he also sees the Spirit as working through a prophet; Farrer, op.cit., p226.

⁹ So eg IT Beckwith The Apocalypse, New York-London, 1919, p729; H Strathmann, TDNT, (ET) Michigan, 1967, p501; Bruce, op.cit., p338; Ford, op.cit., p312; GWH Lampe The Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy, in The NT Age, ed. WC Weinrich, Macon, 1984, pp

¹⁰ So Farrer, op.cit., pp194-5; Caird, op.cit., p238; Beasley-Murray, op.cit., p276; AA Trites The NT Concept of Witness, Cambridge, 1977, pp156-8; D Hill NT Prophecy, London, 1979, pp89-90.

¹¹ In agreement with GWH Lampe, op.cit., p 254.

Summary : The author represented his work as a message from the risen Lord through the Spirit to himself for onward transmission to the churches. Prophets are active in the worshipping community. Prompted by the Spirit, they bear witness in their proclamation to Jesus the crucified and exalted One, while they may have led the congregation to respond in ejaculatory prayer.

C :

It is perhaps surprising that nowhere in the whole book does the author, whose pastoral aim to encourage the congregations facing imminent persecution is clear, ever mention the help of the Spirit in either strengthening Christians to bear witness (as in Mk.13.9,11) or helping them to endure the physical pain of persecution¹². The view which sees John of Patmos as a rigorous ascetic on the basis of a literal interpretation of 14.4 ought to be rejected¹³. "The 144,000 who have not defiled themselves with women" is an instance of the spiritualisation of holy war regulations (Deut.23.9f) and means those who have not been seduced by the whore, Babylon-Rome¹⁴.

John may have been a rigorist but that should not be based on 14.4 or his rejection of Nicolaitan compromise with the world¹⁵

¹² An omission noted by Ford, op.cit., p19.

¹³ Against M Kiddle The Revelation of St. John, London, 1940, pp267-71; M Black The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins, in The Scrolls and Christianity, ed. M Black, London, 1969, pp 100-01, and others.

¹⁴ So rightly Caird, op.cit., p179; Beasley-Murray, op.cit., p223; Schussler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation ; Justice and Judgment, Philadelphia, 1985, pp.190-1.

¹⁵ On John and the Nicolaitans, see P Prigent L'Hérésie asiatic et l'Eglise confessante de l'Apocalypse à Ignace, VC 31 (1977), pp

(2-3) which would be comparable to Paul's insistence that Christians should not participate in idolatrous worship (1 Cor.10).

Whether Montanus was influenced by Rev.14.4 we cannot say. Rev.14.4 could have been a contributory factor to asceticism in Christianity but that was not its original meaning.

D :

Thus far the concordance takes us. What we have gleaned so far is valuable, but we need to press our enquiry beyond the mere occurrence of the word 'spirit'. We need also to ask questions about the author and his standing in, and position towards, the churches of Asia Minor. We have to account for :

- (a) the author's being soaked in OT language and imagery and thinking Semitically while writing Greek;
- (b) echoes of the Johannine tradition accompanied by considerable differences between Revelation and the Fourth Gospel, too deep to allow common authorship.

These could point to the fact that the author was a Jewish Christian who had migrated from Palestine just before the Jewish War or a descendant of that group¹⁶. We would then have a prophetic figure who claimed to be inspired by the Spirit, who moved from being in contact with the Johannine stream of Christianity into the Pauline communities around Ephesus in Asia Minor¹⁷.

1-22; E Schlusler Fiorenza op.cit., p.24.

¹⁶ So G Bornkamm TDNT, Vol. VI, (ET) Michigan, 1969, pp669f; A Satake Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1966, pp192-3; UB Müller Zur frühchristlichen Theologiegeschichte, Gütersloh, 1976, pp46-50.

¹⁷ Bornkamm, op.cit., p667, thinks that the seer has nothing to do with the Pauline congregations. But how many Christian

He does not refer to any structured leadership in the letters to the churches. Such an omission is surprising since we know (in view of Acts 20, Ephes.4 and the Pastorals) that the Pauline congregations moved to a more structured organisation in the post-Pauline period¹⁸. The silence is probably deliberate - and revealing. Throughout the book the congregations are addressed as saints, and prophets are coupled with them at 16.6;18.24 (at 18.20 saints and apostles and prophets), i.e. the leaders = prophets and the members = saints. This fits the suggested picture of the author as a Spirit-inspired prophet. His silence concerning the merging forms of ministry reflects his dislike or suspicion or indifference to them. He sat loose to structures¹⁹. For him the Spirit speaks directly to the community. In the (to him) imminent crisis of the end of the world, of which Domitian's megalomaniac claims were a symptom and of which the emerging conflict between church and state was a part, the Spirit was urging him to deliver a message to the churches, to steel the nerve and put iron into the soul of God's people to stand firm.

If the trend in Asia Minor around the end of the first and the beginning of the second century was towards increased institutionalism and developing structures, then in many respects

 congregations were there in a place like Ephesus ?

¹⁸ cf eg Bornkamm, op.cit., p667; Dunn UD, p115; Aune Prophecy,

¹⁹ cf Aune Prophecy pp205-6, Bauckham, op.cit., p72. We view with scepticism Schweizer's theory that "the whole church was understood in principle, at least in this passage, as a church of prophets" (Church Order in the NT, (ET) London, 1961, section 13e, p135; accepted by D Hill NT Prophecy, London, 1979, pp89-90). In 19.10 the brethren are fellow church members who have received the witness about Jesus from the prophets. More nuanced is Dunn UD p121 - "a church that lives through and out of prophecy".

John of Patmos was untypical. He stood for a certain type of Christianity in which the Spirit is deemed to be active and the prophet is his agent. But he was not by any means the 'norm' of Asia Minor Christianity at the turn of the century.

CHAPTER 13 : THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

With the vast majority of scholars we believe that the Pastorals represent the attempt by a sincere Paulinist to apply the Pauline tradition to the problems facing the Pauline congregations at the turn of the century²⁰. They are of special interest, therefore, insofar as they should reveal to us whether Paul's own emphasis on the Spirit's role in the church's life continued to play a dominant part or not some forty years or so after his death.

A :

The idea of ecstatic experience in which the believer is overwhelmed by a sense of the Divine invading his life strikes one as foreign to the general ethos of the Pastorals. These letters present us with a picture of the church settling down in the world²¹. The ideal is that of good Christian citizenship²². The author "wishes to become part of the world"²³. Sobriety, moderation and contentment are important emphases in the

²⁰ Advocates of a non-Pauline authorship include PN Harrison The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles, Oxford, 1929; M Dibelius-H Conzelmann The Pastoral Epistles, (ET) Philadelphia, 1972; CK Barrett The Pastoral Epistles, Oxford, 1963; N Brox Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, Regensburg, 1969; WG Kümmel Introduction to the NT, (ET rev.ed.) London, 1975, pp366-87; JDG Dunn Jesus and the Spirit, London, 1975, pp347-350; UD, pp114-6; AT Hanson The Pastoral Epistles, London, 1982. H von Campenhausen Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe, SHA, 1951, pp5-51, attributed the Pastorals to Polycarp. Defenders of Pauline authorship include J Jeremias Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, Göttingen, 1947; C Spicq Les Épîtres Pastorales, Paris, 1947; D Guthrie The Pastoral Epistles, London, 1957; EE Ellis Paul and his Recent Interpreters, Michigan, 1961, pp49-57; JND Kelly The Pastoral Epistles,

²¹ E Schweizer, Church Order in the NT, (ET) London, 1966, p77.

²² Dibelius-Conzelmann, op.cit., pp39-41.

²³ Dibelius-Conzelmann, op.cit., p39.

author's outlook. If youthful lusts are to be avoided (2 Tim.2.22), false asceticism is equally condemned (1 Tim. 4.1-4) and the duty of raising a family maintained (1 Tim.2.15; 5.14). Indeed the so-called 'bourgeois ethics' of the Pastorals have been roundly dismissed by some as symptomatic of the decline of the post-Pauline congregations from the heights of their founder's Christianity²⁴.

In this atmosphere we might well not expect to find any stress on the sovereign freedom of the Spirit. And, of course, in letters which advise office-holders on "how men ought to behave themselves in God's household" (1 Tim.3.15) and which offer criteria for the conduct of the office-holders themselves, we do not expect to find extensive discussions on the role of the Spirit in the religious experience of believers in general. There is, however, one passage in Titus which may be characterised as part of the Pauline tradition, both because of the Pauline idea of justification by grace enshrined in it and because it is rounded off by the formula "Faithful is the saying" : 3.4-8a.

The passage affirms that we are not saved by our own good deeds but by God's mercy :

κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ
παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου
οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Assuming that παλιγγενεσία and ἀνακαινίωσις are virtually synonymous²⁵, representing the same event viewed from slightly

²⁴ eg E Käsemann Jesus Means Freedom, (ET) London, 1969, p95.

²⁵ So Dibelius-Conzelmann, op.cit.,p149; GR Beasley-Murray Baptism in the NT, London, 1962, pp210-1; Dunn Baptism, p166; Barrett, op.cit., p142; Kelly, op.cit.,p252; Lampe Seal, London, 1953, p60.

terminological angles, the Holy Spirit is the effecting agent of regeneration/rebirth.

The passage asserts that God's act of saving us by His mercy and not our deeds is experienced as a rebirth or renewal effected by the Holy Spirit, as being justified and as becoming an heir of God with the hope of eternal life. All this is bestowed on us by God's grace through Jesus Christ. ²⁶ *ἔσωσεν* is in effect parallel to *ἔξέχεεν* ²⁶ which evokes Joel 2.28ff (cf Rom.5.5).

Almost all commentators assume that baptism is in mind ²⁷. Certainly the author's views on ordination suggest that probably, whatever may have been the original reference of the faithful saying, the author linked the experience described in it with baptism administered to those who heard the gospel message and responded in faith to Christ.

Thus this passage affirms that at the beginning of the Christian life lies an experience of God's grace and mercy, part of which consists of the outpouring of God's Spirit on the believer and the awareness of a new life. The idea of a new mode of existence, contained in *παλιγγενεσία* and *ἀνακαίνωσις*, is underlined by the contrast between verse 3 dealing with the past life and vv 4-7 centred on the revolutionary change through God's generous outpouring of the Spirit ("once....but now....").

²⁶ Dunn Baptism, p166.

²⁷ eg R Schnackenburg Baptism in the Letters of Paul, (ET) Oxford, 1964, p11; Beasley-Murray, op.cit., pp210-216; Hanson, op.cit., pp190-1. Note Dunn's shift from thinking of the conversion experience (Baptism p168) to believing that the Pastor possibly read the faithful saying in a more strongly sacramental sense than it originally bore (UD p159).

But is this tradition, in which experience, defined in terms of the Spirit, is apparently regarded as the norm, one which is normative for the Pastorals ? The author is well aware of the dangers of formalism and emptiness in the religious life : at 2 Tim.3.1ff he refers to those who have the the form of godliness but deny its power (v5). Ideally, then, the true religious life is marked by power – surely a reference to the Spirit.

These two passages warn against too easily dismissing the religious experience of the Pastorals as a decline from Paul. At the same time, *many* of the exhortations within the letter do not make use of the Spirit. Are then these two passages enough to counterbalance the overall impression ? We shall return to his point at the end of our discussion.

If Tit.3.5-7 and 2 Tim.3.5 refer to all church members, the Christian minister is also considered to be the recipient of God's Spirit. In 2 Tim.1.6f Timothy is urged to stir up the gift of God which was in him through the laying-on of Paul's hands²⁸. This gift of God may be neglected (1 Tim.4.14) and need to be stirred up into activity as one might fan into flames the dying embers of a fire (2 Tim.1.6). Fear and timidity may be factors in the quenching of this gift. But Timothy should remember that God did not give him *πνεῦμα δειλίας ἀλλὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ*. The Holy Spirit is in mind here, not the human spirit. God gave the Holy Spirit who Himself mediates power, love and self-control. There is, then, a 'grace' of ordination²⁹, which the Christian minister needs to keep active

²⁸ The difference over against 1 Tim.4.14 (the gift is given by means of the laying-on of hands by the elders) can be explained by the testatory character of 2 Tim. Thus, 1 Tim.4.16 probably reflects the actual conditions of the author's day; 2 Tim.1.6f, the pseudepigraphical nature of the letters.

or else he will fail in his task of maintaining a bold and fearless witness. It seems almost a static idea of the Spirit rather than the Spirit as event. The Spirit is latent within the office-holder and can be 'turned on' by human will.

Further, if this gift is mediated by the laying-on of hands as the 'gateway' to the work of the ministry, we have arrived at the idea of office³⁰. Laying-on of hands inevitably sets up a limitation, a boundary between those who can and those who cannot exercise ministerial functions. The Spirit is envisaged as working through the official channels of the church to equip the minister for his work³¹.

B :

Two basic data must be noted for our second theme :

(a) The Pastorals seem to envisage truth as something which is given, a body of doctrine which was transmitted originally by Paul and then by his successors (Timothy, faithful men) and which must be handed on intact to the next generations. The imagery of the *παράθεκη* (1 Tim. 6.20; 2 Tim. 1.12,14) emphasises this idea : something has been deposited and entrusted for safe keeping. This is the sound doctrine (1 Tim.1.10; 6.3; 2 Tim.1.13; 4.3; Tit. 1.9;2.1) which stands over against heretical perversions of it. The idea of new interpretations is ruled out. Speculation is discouraged (1 Tim. 1.3-4; 4.7; 2.Tim.2.14,23; Tit.3.9). The faith

²⁹ Dunn UD, p352 - "a clear theology of ordination has emerged"; see the detailed treatment of H von Lips Glaube-Gemeinde-Amt (zur Verständnis der Ordination in den Pastoralbriefen), Göttingen, 1979, esp. pp183ff, 206-10.

³⁰ eg H von Campenhausen Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power, (ET) London, 1969, pp106-19.

³¹ cf Dunn JS, p348 - Charisma has become the power of Office.

must be adhered-to (1 Tim. 5.8; 2 Tim. 3.14; 4.7; Tit.1.13). Truth is already known and does not need any additions or alteration. The church's task is to be the bulwark of that truth (1 Tim.3.15) and to resist heretical perversions of it.

(b) Timothy is told to guard ἡ καλὴ παράδοσις (2 Tim. 1.14), and then the writer gives the means by which the tradition may be preserved faithfully :

φύλαξον διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος ἐν ἡμῖν.

The Holy Spirit who indwells Timothy will assist him in his role as guardian of the tradition. How he will do so is not specified.

The deposit, Paul's teaching, must be handed-on intact to future generations. In the midst of dangerous speculations, the Christian minister's duty is to eschew all debate and discussion, and authoritatively proclaim the truth. Any idea that the Spirit may reinterpret and reapply the Christian tradition to the differing needs and problems of successive generations seems absent³².

The difference in tone and ethos between 1 Cor.12-14 and the Pastorals is unmistakable. Where in the former it is the Spirit's sovereign, free working in equipping people for service which is uppermost, in the Pastorals it is office and tradition which stand to the fore and the Spirit is an aid to the office-holder in maintaining the status-quo of the tradition³³.

We ought to say a word about references to prophecy in 1 Tim.1.18;4.14 which have been taken by some scholars to show that prophecy was still alive in the Pauline churches after the apostle's

³² Schweizer Church Order, p80 (section 6c) "The problem of reinterpretation.. is not seen at all".

³³ Dunn JS, p349 "Spirit and charisma have become in effect subordinate to office, to ritual, to tradition"; cf UD, p361.

death. Whereas 1.18 suggests a Spirit-inspired utterance without specifying the occasion, 4.14 contains a tension between the concept of laying-on of hands by the elders (suggesting testing and recognition before admission to office) and that of prophecy (which implies choice by a Spirit-inspired figure). Perhaps a solution could be that 1.18 is part of the pseudonymous framework recalling the ethos of 1 Cor.12-14 (the prophet discerns those fitted for service), while at 4.14 the author reflects his own day in which a (prophetic-type) discernment of a person's abilities stands at the beginning of a process which culminates in ordination and the imparting of the divine charisma. On this suggestion the prophet is not an integral part of the congregation's life. There are general considerations which support this - viz the emergence of the bishop/elders and deacons and the rules concerning them (1 Tim.3; Tit.1.5ff) without any accompanying directions about prophets suggests the emergence of a structure which has no room for the unpredictable activity of the prophet³⁴. The structures have emerged to such an extent that it is not easy to see how a "ruling" activity can be predicated of elders (1 Tim.5.17) and room for a prophet to utter the dictates of God.

C :

One scans the Pastorals in vain for any direct reference^e to the Spirit's help in fulfilling the ethical ideal held up by the writer. There are moments when reliance on the Spirit for attaining the virtues demanded could have been mentioned and this motif exploited to good effect. Thus, in 1 Tim.2.9f a contrast between outward cosmetics and inner adornment by the Spirit: leading

³⁴ cf von Lips, op.cit., pp245-6.

to good works could have been introduced; or at 1 Tim.4.9 the Spirit's help in the training for godliness would not be unexpected nor at 1 Tim.6.17-19 in the exhortations to the rich to be generous. In the imagery of the different vessels in a house at 2 Tim.2.20ff, a reference to the Spirit would be appropriate and thoroughly "Pauline" (likewise in Tit.2.1-12).

When we add to this the absence of any reference to the Spirit in the church rules on the desirable qualifications for the office of bishop/elder, deacon/deaconess (1 Tim.3.1-13; 5.17ff; Tit.1.5-9), we are left feeling that the faithful saying of Tit.3.5-7 represents an inheritance from the past rather than a powerful force for the present. The dominant impression is that more is said about ethical performance and good works than divine help in the realisation of it. Therein exists a shift in emphasis in the Pastorals over against the genuine Paul. As in Paul, Christians are engaged fighting the good fight, but the sense of the Spirit's help to overcome "ungodliness and worldly desires" is absent.

All this is not to deny that there is a vital Christianity in the Pastorals³⁵, a passionate concern for truth and correct formulation of doctrine and a deep conviction that good deeds must characterise the lives of Christians. Yet we must record the conviction borne in upon the reader that in the terms of religious experience the Holy Spirit does not seem a dominant factor.

³⁵ cf Dibelius-Conzelmann, op.cit., pp40-1 "A genuine expression of an existence in the world based on faith".

SUMMARY :

The difference between Paul and a third generation Paulinist in their approach to the Spirit is considerable. In Paul the Spirit bestows gifts on all members of the church for the common good; without the Spirit there is no church life. Over against this stress we have reached the stage in the Pastorals where office and ordination have emerged. It is true that Paul rated ministries of the Word higher than other services (1 Cor.12.28 puts apostles, prophets and teachers above the rest), but he accords a significant role to the whole membership of the congregation which does not appear to be the case with the Pastor who concentrates on the office-holders, and puts the whole responsibility of guiding the spiritual life of the congregation on them. In the milieu of the Pastorals the voice of the prophet does not seem likely to be heard, for the development has gone in the direction of order and institution.

The silence of the Pastorals on the equipping of office-holders by the Spirit is striking : their moral qualities are laid out but there is not much stress on the Spirit (only 2 Tim.1.6f).

The idea of a fixed, unalterable body of belief which the Christian minister must guard has emerged. The Spirit helps in guarding this tradition (2 Tim.1.14), not in imparting new insights into God's plan and purpose. Faced with aberrant teaching, "the faith" has to be defined and adhered-to not only for the wellbeing but also the preservation of Pauline Christianity.

Ethical exhortation is part of the work of the ministry but mention of the Spirit as divine aid is on the whole lacking. 2 Tim.3.5 reminds us that the author knew the distinction between the outer forms and inner power of Christianity, but the idea of "walking in the Spirit" does not appear to be the way he would naturally describe the Christian life.

It is true that the traditional saying Tit.3.5-7 is included. But the overall impression created by the Pastorals is that any intensity of experience of the Spirit is not a feature of the Pauline congregations by the turn of the century. In forty years we seem to have moved a long way from the distinctive heart of the Pauline view of Christianity. The Pastorals let us glimpse how Pauline congregations had settled in to face the ongoing haul of history. The Pauline enthusiasms seem muted on the whole. An enthusiastic movement has had to develop structures and institutions to ensure that its initial impulse did not 'run into the sand'.

CHAPTER 14 : JUDE

While Kümmel³⁶ denied that we can know anything about the place of Jude's composition, we have opted to include the letter in our Asia Minor section because it was used by 2 Peter and there is a case for locating 2 Peter in Asia Minor (see below), while on the other hand Jude was not accepted as authoritative in the Syriac speaking church³⁷.

It is difficult to reach firm conclusions on the basis of such a small sample as Jude's 25 verses. We shall not be able to carry through our tripartite division because of the size of the letter.

(i) The possession of the Spirit is claimed by the false Christians³⁸ and denied to them by Jude. In vv 19-21 we have an antithetical diptych (They...but you...). The false Christians are described as unspiritual, *ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες*.

In this criticism the author may be turning back on the 'heretics' a claim which they had made - to be *πνευματικοί* (perhaps, therefore, above all questions of morality - see vv 4,8,11-12 for criticism of their licentious behaviour).

The Holy Spirit is associated with prayer as one feature of the Christian life. Christian prayer is uttered by the help of the Spirit. Is this understood in some ecstatic sense? Probably not. The thought is presumably that God calls men and women to pray and assists them to do so by the Spirit, in shaping thoughts and their consequent expression.

³⁶ Introduction, p429.

³⁷ EM Sidebottom James Jude 2 Peter, London, 1967, p101.

³⁸ JND Kelly The Epistles of Peter and Jude, London, 1969, pp284-5.

In the closing doxology, praise is ascribed to the God who is able to keep us from falling and ultimately set us before His glorious presence without blemish v24f. In this description of God it is His continuous help which is highlighted. It is not always easy to be sure whether a doxology like this is traditional³⁹ and just taken over, or whether it is composed ad hoc to fit the particular situation.

Such as the evidence is, it suggests that the Spirit was not a neglected element in Jude's religious experience and outlook. He judged the heretics as lacking in the Spirit and he believed that Spirit-led prayer was a vital facet of the Christian life and that God bestows His help to maintain Christians in an ethically acceptable lifestyle.

³⁹ So Kelly, op.cit., p290.

CHAPTER 15 : 2 PETER

There can be no absolute certainty about where and to whom 2 Peter was written, but there is some reason for accepting Asia Minor⁴⁰. The author described his writing as his second letter addressed to them and this points to the same addressees as 1 Peter, while Fornberg believed that the slight Jewish and the strong Hellenistic influences in the letter were congruous with the cultural environment of the interior of Asia Minor.

As with Jude, the sample is small. There is one specific reference to the Holy Spirit (1.21). Although this refers to the OT writers, the passage is worth examining closely because of its implications. We shall assume the translation for 1.19f - "We possess the prophetic word as something very reliable"⁴¹, to which you do well to pay attention, until the Day dawns and the Daystar rises in your hearts, knowing of first importance that all prophetic scripture is not a matter of private interpretation⁴²." The issue here is of wrong interpretation of the OT put forward by false teachers (cf 3.16)⁴³. This might give to *προβέχοντες* the nuance of "Pay attention to the correct interpretation".

⁴⁰ So Kelly, op.cit., p237; T Fornberg An Early Church in a Pluralistic Society, Lund, 1977, pp122, 125, 147. Similarly, JAT Robinson Redating the NT, London, 1976, pp197f, though for Robinson 2 Peter is not pseudonymous.

⁴¹ Taking *βεβαιότερον* as relative, thereby avoiding the idea that the prophetic word is more reliable than God's voice.

⁴² Against M Green 2 Peter and Jude, London, 1968, pp90-92, who favours "No prophecy arises from the prophet's own interpretation". See Kelly, op.cit., pp323f for decisive criticism.

⁴³ cf R Knopf, op.cit., p281.

Christians must study the OT but not in an individualistic manner. Why is there an attack on "private" interpretation of Scripture ? What is the alternative to it ? The opposite of a private individual's interpretation is the church's or the churches' in which the writer works (rather than that of the author himself, since this would run the risk of transgressing the rule being enunciated).

The phraseology here reveals a conflict between how the church at large was taking the OT and how some individuals within it were teaching it. Kelly's comment is worth quoting : "The notion of the official church as the appointed custodian of Scripture is evidently taking shape"⁴⁴.

The reason why a private, individualistic interpretation of the OT is ruled out is given in the "for" clause of v21. V21 points us to how prophecy originated and draws a distinction between human will and divine inspiration. "No prophecy was ever produced by man's will, but, as men were moved by the Holy Spirit, they spoke from God". Here prophecy is traced to the activity of the Holy Spirit and God's will. The Holy Spirit moved men and they prophesied⁴⁵. The implication is that the Spirit gave prophecy and He interprets it too.

Can we say what was the aim of our passage ? After all, it seems fairly commonplace to stress that prophecy is of divine origin under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Two possibilities present themselves :

⁴⁴ op.cit.,p324; cf K Schelkle Die Petrusbriefe - Der Judasbrief, Berlin, 1974, 202; E Käsemann Essays on NT Themes, (ET) London, 1964, p190; Dunn UD p358.

⁴⁵ For a similar viewpoint in Hellenistic Judaism, see G Friedrich TDNT Vol. VI, (ET) Michigan, 1968, pp821-3, and amongst the rabbis, P Schafer Die Vorstellung von heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur, München, 1972, pp21-69.

(a) The argument proceeds on the following lines : the Holy Spirit prompted prophecy, not the individual prophet - therefore the interpretation of that prophecy must rest not with any individual person, but with those officially recognised teachers and expositors who because of their being set apart by the church are those endowed by the Spirit. The underlined part of the above statement is inference but legitimate inference. To balance the opposition to private interpretation we must have the official teaching; to balance the Spirit's inspiration of prophecy we must have the Spirit's guidance of those entrusted with the teaching ministry. There is no place here really for the spontaneous charismatic utterance of prophet or teacher.

(b) There were actually those who asserted that the prophets did speak by their own will. E Molland⁴⁶ has argued that such a viewpoint is in fact found in The Preaching of Peter section of the Pseudo-Clementines (while Methodius and Epiphanius both said that the Ebionites asserted that what the prophets uttered was the product of their own imagination). OT prophecy was of human origin. The so-called prophets of Israel were not divinely inspired and died without having known the truth. Molland dates The Preaching of Peter around the same period as 2 Peter. Even if a later date be preferred⁴⁷, the actual tradition embodied in it could date from much earlier.

The evidence adduced by Molland is impressive, and he seems to have made out his case⁴⁸ that precisely the standpoint denied in

⁴⁶ La these : "La prophétie n'est jamais venue de la volonté de l'homme" (2 Pierre 1.21) et les Pseudo-Clémentines, Studia Theologia 9 (1955), pp67-85.

⁴⁷ G Strecker Das Judentumchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen, TU 70, Berlin, 1981 (2nd Edn.), pp 219, dates to ca 200AD.

2 Pet.1.21 was asserted by the group behind The Preaching of Peter (the second and third generations of Ebionites do not seem to have been as anti-the OT prophets as they). On the other hand, the charge of licentious behaviour brought by the author does not seem to fit them. It seems better to be somewhat cautious and accept that the evidence adduced by Molland shows that such views were current, without wishing to identify 2 Peter's opponents as Ebionites⁴⁹.

In actual fact, (a) and (b) are not mutually exclusive. The way 2 Peter combats the false position held by Ebionites behind The Preaching of Peter or others still demands the belief that God's Spirit was behind the original inspiration of OT prophecy and its exposition in the church's life.

We may summarise as follows : the problem in 2 Peter is not Christian versus Jew, but what the author deems to be "true" Christianity versus what he deems "false" Christianity. One of the contentious issues is the OT. Against a group which disparaged it, the church of 2 Peter stoutly defended it. It was of divine origin and inspired by the Holy Spirit. As such it was authoritative, though its exposition should be entrusted to official teachers and not left to the whim of anybody. So important is the OT that the church will not surrender it or brand parts of it as inferior. The Holy Spirit is behind it and this means that the church must pay attention to it.

If this is a correct discernment of the implication of the author's thought, then we have here a further 'footprint' of the onward march of institutionalism. The handling of Scripture is

⁴⁸ Kelly, op.cit., p325, assents to it.

⁴⁹ RJ Bauckham Jude 2 Peter, Waco, 1983, p 234, is also reluctant to endorse Molland's thesis.

confined to the recognised teaching office of the church. We have moved a considerable way from the conviction that the Spirit endows every member with some gift and that He may choose anyone through whom to reveal God's will and teach the truth⁵⁰.

We turn finally to consider other aspects of our theme of the Spirit's relation to religious experience. The author recognises that God's divine power has given us all things which contribute to life and true religion (1.3). It is through God's promises that we may become partakers of the divine nature and escape the corruption of the world's lust (1.4). In the light of this the readers should make every effort to increase in the Christian virtues (1.5). Nothing is said about the Holy Spirit, but there is a link between divine grace, promise, power and ethical conduct.

If we miss in this letter the clear interrelationship and intertwining of theology and ethics which is such a feature of Paul, it is only fair to say that both elements are there in 2 Peter, though they tend to be separate (eg 1.10f,14 and 3.18).

SUMMARY :

There is evidence that 2 Peter wished to confine the exposition of the OT (and such Christian writings as Paul's) to the officially appointed teachers of the Church. By implications theirs is the activity of the Spirit.

This kind of approach, designed to eliminate expositions unacceptable to the author, is inimical to notions of the spontaneous inspiration of the Spirit who may impart insight and

⁵⁰ Schelke, op.cit., p202, said that when 2 Peter linked Spirit and Office, the Pauline teaching that every Christian is Spirit-gifted has no longer been retained.

understanding to anyone. Such freedom has become dangerous, for, under the claimed inspiration of the Spirit, teaching has been perpetrated which the author deems "destructive heresies" (2.1).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Spirit is not a prominent theme. There is no attempt to 'rescue' the Spirit from the false teachers. Silence on this topic is deemed the best policy, and denunciation of the bad ethical consequences of the false teaching is offered. Rather akin to the approach of the Pastorals, 2 Peter has tied Spirit and the teaching office together.

The author's own ethical teaching, while revealing a certain stress on divine power, lacks a close link between indicative and imperative such as 1 Peter contains. In moral seriousness, the author is on a par with John of Patmos or the Montanist leaders, but where they emphasise the Spirit, it seems that 2 Peter represents the opposite pole : the Spirit does not bulk large in his thought. One could say that Montanism in emphasising prophecy and the Spirit was harking back to the original phase of Christianity, whereas in 2 Peter we see that the sense of an original, normative Urzeit, to which the church looks back (1.12-15,16-18; 3.1-2) and from which apostolic tradition it must live, produced a different emphasis to that found in Montanism. 2 Peter stressed tradition; Montanism, experience of the Spirit.

CHAPTER 16 : THE LETTER OF BARNABAS

The exact location where Barnabas was written cannot be determined. Some of the arguments used do not carry conviction because of their very general nature (thus, allegorical exegesis was not confined to Alexandria⁵¹; knowledge of Jewish traditions was not limited to Palestine or Syria⁵²; the first area to show awareness of the work is no necessary guide to its origin). H Windisch said that the author possibly lived in Egypt, but Asia Minor or Greek-speaking Syria **was** conceivable⁵³. Recently K Wengst argued for Western Asia Minor, believing that the school within which Barnabas stood shared with the group attacked by Ignatius in Phld.8.2 a view of the timeless validity of Scripture⁵⁴. While his view falls short of proof, we have decided to follow his lead and place Barnabas in our Asia Minor section.

There is agreement between Windisch and Wengst in dating the letter to the early 130s⁵⁵ on the basis of 16.3-4⁵⁶.

⁵¹ So rightly P Prigent-RA Kraft L'Épître de Barnabé, Paris, 1971, p22; K Wengst Tradition und Theologie des Barnabasbriefes, Berlin, 1971, p114; and against J Quasten Patrology, Utrecht-Brussels, 1950, p79.

⁵² Against Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., p23.

⁵³ Der Barnabasbrief, HZNT. Ergänzungsband : Die apostolischen Väter III, Tübingen, 1920, p413.

⁵⁴ op.cit., pp 113-8.

⁵⁵ cf too FM Braun La Lettre de Barnabé et l'Évangile de St. Jean, NTS 4 (1957-8), p119.

⁵⁶ Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., p27, are more general - the second quarter of the second century.

A :

A good deal of this letter consists of allegorical and midrashic interpretations of the OT, wresting it from the Jews and treating it wholly as a Christian book, the very details of which pointed to Christ. Can we discern anything that would help us understand whether this writer saw the Spirit as central to religious experience ? Interestingly, Joel 2.28ff is not quoted directly.

(i) At 1.2 the writer says that he rejoices because so innate

(ἔμφυτον) is the grace of the spiritual gift which they have received. To what is Barnabas referring by this δωρεά πνευματική ?

(a) In context he has referred to God's δικαιώματα which are numerous and rich towards them.

(b) At 9.9 ἔμφυτον and δωρεά recur. There, if the reading of G and L is followed, it is ἡ ἔμφυτος δωρεά of God's διδασχῇ⁵⁷ which God has placed within us. If διδασχῆς is the correct reading, this might confirm the idea of teaching in 1.2

(c) At 1.3 Barnabas continues διὸ καὶ μάλλον συνχαίρω as if he is going on to give an additional reason for his joy at the readers, and he says "I truly see amongst you the Spirit poured out upon you from the rich fountain of the Lord". If 1.3 mentions receipt of the Spirit as an additional cause of joy, this points again to teaching being in mind at 1.2.

So, the spiritual gift in 1.2 is God's word or instruction but the readers' receiving of the Spirit is mentioned in 1.3. If the words ἀληθῶς βλέπω are given full force, it looks as if there is tangible evidence for the Spirit's presence. We are not specifically told whether the evidence is in the form of miracles

⁵⁷ S and H have διαθήκης.

or ethical qualities, but the balance points in favour of the latter - "Because great faith and love dwell among you in hope of his life" (1.4).

The expression Barnabas uses *ἐκκεχυμένον πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* (1.3) is interesting. The verb *ἐκχύνω* is used of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Acts 10.45 and its older form *ἐκχέω* at Acts 2.17ff (Joel 2.28) and Tit.3.5. If Joel 2.28ff was an early Christian testimonium⁵⁸, then the use of such a phrase in Barnabas can hardly be accidental. He might be wishing to parallel the experience of his readers with that of the first generation and "the rich fountain of the Lord" phrase is conducive to such a thought.

For Barnabas, faith is an initial stage and he hopes by what he writes to perfect the readers' knowledge (1.5). There are three instructions from the Lord : "the hope of life constitutes the beginning and end of our faith; right conduct is the beginning and end of God's judgment; love is the witness of and rejoicing based on works done by right conduct" (1.6). Whether Prigent is correct or not in thinking that 1.6 is a gloss by the author to define knowledge⁵⁹, the function of 1.6 is certainly to explain the knowledge, and it does so in an ethical direction⁶⁰. We would have, then, a cluster of ideas - faith, Spirit, knowledge, ethics. Knowledge and ethics develop from a basis of faith and the outpouring of the Spirit.

⁵⁸ So CH Dodd According to the Scriptures, London, 1952, pp46-8; B Lindars NT Apologetic, London, 1961, pp 36-8, 253. It may have been this that caused Paul to use *ἐκχέω* at Rom.5.5.

⁵⁹ Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., pp76-7.

⁶⁰ cf Wengst, op.cit., p12.

To begin like this creates the impression that the Spirit is of central significance for Barnabas. Yet 2.2 runs : "The aids and allies of faith are fear and patience, long-suffering and self-control . If these continue in a pure manner in matters which concern the Lord, then wisdom, understanding, skill, knowledge
 " rejoice with them. Are these to be understood as the outgrowth of the Spirit so richly poured out on them according to 1.3 ?

Believers should seek out those things which can save them and flee from all wickedness (4.1). Their faith will not avail them if in these wicked days they succumb to evil ways (4.9-10). So the

appeal rings out *γενώμεθα πνευματικοί,
 γενώμεθα καὶς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ.*

As far as they can, let them strive to keep God's commands for they will receive from Him according to their deeds (4.11-12). Taken on their own, we have the moral demand without a theological undergirding. If, however, 4.11 is taken with 1.2-3, we would have a "Become what you are" idea.

(ii) Barnabas uses the concept of the new creation and new temple. In chapter 6 we seem to have a midrash on the paradise and promised land traditions (v8 citing Ex.33.1-3), applying them first to Jesus (v9) and then to Christians (vv11-16)⁶¹. In vv11-16, to enter the promised land is the new creation based on forgiveness. God renewed and recreated us through forgiveness (cf v14 where Ezek.11.19;36.26 are also quoted : "Behold the Lord says, I will take out of those (i.e. whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) the

⁶¹ NA Dahl; "La terre où coulent le lait et le miel selon Barnabe 6,8-19", Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne, Mélanges M Goguel, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1950, pp 62-9; Prigent L'Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et Ses Sources, Paris, 1961, pp 84-90; Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., pp 120-1; cf Wengst, op.cit., pp 27-9.

stony hearts and place (in them) (hearts) of flesh)", which is interpreted as referring to Christ who was to come in the flesh and dwell in us. The concept of the Lord's dwelling in us leads over into the thought of our being a holy temple for the Lord (v15), the temple imagery not being elaborated.

Christians are the ones He has brought into the good land (v16). The milk and honey of the Ex.33 quotation are then likened to our nourishment by faith in God's promise and by the word. This nourishment means that we shall live in the future as lords over the earth (v18f). The new creation transports Christians into paradise.

Most interpreters see a reference to baptism in the theme of the new creation⁶² (probably due to the clear link in 11.11 between baptism and forgiveness/cleansing; the concept of becoming like children; the assumed link elsewhere between baptism and new

creation/life). This may be correct but it is not explicit. The

stress is on what the Lord does to man : ἑκαίνισεν ἡμᾶς

.... ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς, ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡμῶς v11;

δευτέραν πλάσιν ... ἐποίησεν v13; ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα

ie by God) v14; οὓς εἰσῆγαγεν v16.

The thought of predestination as the activity of the Spirit emerges in the gloss (τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου v14) introduced into ^{the} Ezek.36.26 quotation to explain whose stony

⁶² So Prigent, op.cit., p 90; Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., p 121; G Schille Zur urchristlichen Tauflehre : stilistische Beobachtungen am Barnabasbrief, ZNW 49 (1958), pp 48-51; Dahl, op.cit., pp 76-8; LW Barnard A Note on Barnabas 6,8-17, Studia Patristica Vol IV, TU 79, 1961, pp 263-7; A Benoit Le Baptême chrétien au second siècle, Paris, 1953, pp 36, 40-5.

hearts will be replaced. Presumably the Spirit is also envisaged as the agent of the new heart, and the Lord's dwelling in our hearts for His abode is suggestive of the Spirit's activity.

In this passage, the new creation theme is clearly emphasised. It is suggestive of a conscious experience of a break between the old and new life. The imagery of entry into the promised land reinforces this, with its idea of passing from the barren wilderness to the fertile land. Then also, the idea of our hearts becoming a *ναὸς* for God strengthens the impression that the Spirit is important in the initial and ongoing Christian experience.

(iii) 11.9. Barnabas possessed a series of OT passages on water (baptism) and the cross. 11.1a is his introduction for both chaps.11 and 12 with the former giving us both water/baptism and cross references and the latter solely the cross. Wengst believes vv9-11 are traditional material⁶³ while Prigent thinks of a fresh recourse to the tradition which inspired 6.8ff⁶⁴.

Barnabas explains Psa.1.3-6 as meaning "Blessed are they who set their hope on the cross and went down into the water", a clear reference to baptism (11.6,8). He follows this up by another prophetic quotation (?Zeph.3.19) : "The land of Jacob was praised above the whole earth", and by asserting that this means that he will glorify *τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ*. While absolute certainty is impossible, the reference seems to concern the believer⁶⁵ rather than Christ himself : in context the writer is

⁶³ op.cit., p 40.

⁶⁴ Prigent, op.cit., pp 97-8; Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., p165.

thinking of Christians. The believer has received the Spirit and he "contains" the Spirit within himself.

Next follows Ezek.47.1,7,12 which are applied to Christians - "We go down into the water full of sins and filth and we come up bearing fruit in (our) hearts because we have the fruit of the fear and hope in Jesus through the Spirit" (v11a). Again the reference to baptism is unmistakable. It marks a point of transition from one mode of life, tainted by the pollution of sin, to another whose characteristics are reverent fear and hope in Jesus and the possession of the Spirit.

Though the phrasing is compressed, the meaning seems to be that through conversion-baptism Christians receive

(a) forgiveness and cleansing from sins

(b) new life characterised by trust in Jesus and experience of the Spirit (fear and hope being the human side and Spirit being the divine side⁶⁶).

The Spirit-filled believer fulfils the OT prediction that beautiful trees laden with life-giving fruit will grow along the banks of the river of Paradise⁶⁷. Then Barnabas requotes "Whoever

eats of them will live forever" and says : *ΤΟΥΤΟ ΛΕΓΕΙ ὅς ἂν ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλοῦμένων καὶ πιστεύσῃ ἴσται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* (v11b).

⁶⁵ R Knopf Das nachapostolische Zeitalter, Tübingen, 1905, p 282; Prigent, op.cit., p97; Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., p 165.

⁶⁶ cf Lampe, Seal, p 104 - "Remission of sins and the gift of the Spirit are thus associated once more with baptism into Christ".

⁶⁷ As Prigent, op.cit, p 98, says, "The baptised is integrated into paradise where he can eat the fruit refused to Adam". cf Prigent-Kraft, p 165.

The sequence of thought seems to be :

(i) the conversion experience which includes the human response to Jesus and the experience of the Spirit and which is associated with baptism (v11a);

(ii) the experience of the Spirit restores the believer to paradise - he becomes like a tree with life-giving fruit (v10; cf Ezek.47);

(iii) recapitulation - faith in the message proclaimed is the means of receiving life (v11b - where we might have expected that believers become the source of life to others⁶⁸). This way of phrasing it should warn us against too hastily assuming that baptism automatically per se effects all this⁶⁹. Repentance and faith are clearly of crucial significance. Although the exact nature of the fruit is not specified, it probably is to be taken in this context as the spiritual blessings imparted to the believer⁷⁰. The Christian already bears this fruit in his heart when he rises from the water (this would not preclude in another context the deduction that this spiritual experience had ethical consequences, but that is not the theme here).

(iv) 16.6-10. Although Wengst accepts these verses as traditional material utilised by Barnabas⁷¹, Prigent believed that Barnabas was

⁶⁸ Prigent-Kraft, op.cit., p 166 comment "Note that our author is no longer sensitive to the primitive paradisaal emphasis".

⁶⁹ as Benoit, op.cit., pp34-49, seems to assume.

⁷⁰ cf Benoit, op.cit., p47, equates the fruit with the grace of the Spirit given in baptism.

⁷¹ op.cit., pp 51-3.

himself responsible for vv7-10⁷² and felt that it was parallel to 6.14-15. Here Prigent seems to be on stronger ground, in view of not only the parallel passage 6.14-15 but the hortatory nature of the material (ζητήσωμεν v6a; εὐρίσκω οὖν v7a; μάθετε vv7,8b; πῶς vv8b-9a; προσέχετε v8) and the use of the first person pronoun plural throughout.

Barnabas begins by asking whether there is a temple of God and affirms that there is (v6). Before the readers believed in God, their hearts were corrupt and weak, a temple built with hands and full of idolatry and demons, because they did what was contrary to God. The change and transformation from this state is described thus : λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγεγόμεθα καινοί, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτισόμενοι.

The conversion experience is thus described in terms of

- (a) our hoping in the name of Jesus;
- (b) our receiving forgiveness;
- (c) our being made new - a restoration of the first creation.

The language is striking and draws a sharp antithesis before and after conversion. Now God dwells in us. Clearly this refers to the Spirit's presence in the believer.

The presence of God by His Spirit in the believer leads to our speaking for God : "He prophesies in us,
dwells in us,
opens for us who are enslaved to death
the door of His temple, i.e. the mouth,
gives us repentance,
leads us into the immortal temple".

⁷² op.cit., pp 71-83, esp. 80-3.

In this piling up of phrases to describe the Christian, two refer to God's speaking through us - the first and third - He prophesies in us and He opens our mouth. All this prepares the way for v10 :

"for he who longs to be saved (= the pagan) looks not at the human person, but on Him who indwells such a one and speaks through him. He is astonished at this because he has never heard the One who is speaking (such words) from the human mouth nor has he ever longed to hear (such words). This is the spiritual temple built for the Lord".

God's Spirit in the believer, then, speaks to convince and convict non-Christians and bring about their conversion. There is no reference here to glossolalia⁷³. Rational speech expounding the Christian message is in mind (cf the beginning of v9 "The word of faith, the calling of His promise, the wisdom of the ordinances, the commands of the teaching").

It seems as if we become part of the corporate temple of God (16.9) and thus individual temples with whom God dwells (16.8) - a blend of the corporate and individual as also found in 1 Cor.3.16 ; 6.19-20. There is a mixing of metaphor insofar as we are both led into the temple and our mouths are the door of the temple (for others to enter) v9.

Summary : Barnabas, whose OT exegesis reached extreme positions because of his anti-Jewish stance, stood in the mainstream of Christian thought in his stress on the dramatic effect of the conversion experience (within which baptism finds its place). The work of the Spirit in this renewal process is crucial. The language used is of those who are "twice born". The move from paganism to Christianity has been decisive and memorable and is attributed to God's gracious outpouring of His Spirit. Christians are cleansed and made new.

Kraft

⁷³ cf Prigent/ op.cit., p 195 : "For Barnabas the Spirit manifests himself in a gnostic reading of scripture rather than by glossolalia as in the Pauline churches".

The writer seems to use five images, not always elaborated or clearly distinguished, associated with the work of the Spirit and its effects :

- (i) Entry into paradise (11.9-11 : Barnabas applying traditional material).
- (ii) New or second creation (6.13,14a,18f, with v14 being a gloss by Barnabas).
- (iii) Promised Land flowing with milk and honey (6.13b,16b,17).
- (iv) Temple for God (4.11f; 6.15 - Barnabas' comments).
- (v) Outpouring of the Spirit as from a fountain (1.3 - Barnabas' formulation).

Furthermore, Christians become the channel for God to speak through and to prophesy to others (16.9-10a).

B :

While Barnabas stresses the need for deeper knowledge and understanding of God's way of salvation (2.10) and the nature of the present time (4.1), he hopes that he has not omitted anything of what concerns salvation (17.1).

It is probably about himself that he is thinking when he writes : "Therefore we ought to give all the more thanks to the Lord because He has made known to us things past and has made us wise about present matters and we have understanding about the future" (5.3; cf 6.10).

Despite his disclaimers that he is not a teacher (1.8; 4.6,9), he in fact expounds the OT scripture in a pneumatic way, offers instruction and passes on Schulgut⁷⁴ as well as his own individual

⁷⁴ W Bousset Jüdischer-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom, Göttingen, 1915, pp312-3, followed by many subsequent scholars, eg Wengst, op.cit., pp8,12,55.

interpretations (eg 9.9). He speaks as one who has rightly perceived God's commands, as the Lord willed. "Because of this He circumcised our hearing and hearts that we might understand these things" (10.12). The plural here probably embraces Christian teachers over against Jewish lack of understanding.

At no point does Barnabas actually claim inspiration by the Spirit for this illumination and understanding. It might be implied in the circumcision of the ears and hearts passage just quoted (cf Ezek.36), and is 'below the surface' in other passages where his knowledge is said to be a gift (5.3; 6.10).

C :

We need not repeat what was said earlier about the reference to the Spirit in the Two Ways section shared by Did.4.10 and Barn.19.7. Like the Didachist, Barnabas did not further obtrude the idea of the Spirit's help into that section. In the concluding chapter he prays that God who rules the whole world may grant them wisdom, understanding, knowledge of his commands and patience (21.5) and he asks them to be *θεοδιδάκτοι, ἐκζητοῦντες τὸ ζητεῖ κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ ποιεῖτε* that you may be found (acceptable) in the Day of Judgment" (21.6). Here reliance on God's aid and directing is clearly expressed.

Lampe believes that there is a connection with the Spirit when Barnabas says that love is the witness full of the joy and gladness of the works done in righteousness⁷⁵. But this depends really on reading the Pauline concept of love as the chief fruit of the Spirit into the passage.

⁷⁵ Seal, p 65 : "In Barn. 1.6 'joy' is the fruit of the *ἀγάπη* which is the Spirit's supreme gift".

Within the main body of the letter (chs.2-16) the new/holy temple for the Lord has ethical implications (6.15; 16.7-10), but Barnabas does not exploit them, nor does he develop (at 11.10) in an ethical direction the idea of Christians, filled with the Spirit, being like the fruit-bearing trees mentioned in the vision of Ezek.47.1-12.

SUMMARY :

The further investigations in sections B and C have not added any further substantial material. Had Barnabas expanded 5.3 and 10.12, he would probably have referred to the Spirit. Ethical implications are involved in his teaching on baptism and the idea of the Spirit in our hearts at 11.11. We may say that although there are not many references to the Spirit and although the subject matter treated is not all that conducive to expatiating on the Spirit, nonetheless enough evidence has emerged to suggest that the Spirit is important for Barnabas in the Christian religious experience (see section A).

If we discount Barnabas' disclaimers as an expression of modesty, we may think of him as an itinerant teacher who visits congregations from time to time (cf Did.11.1-2; Hermas S 9.25)⁷⁶ or sends communications to instruct the faithful in his absence (Interestingly, he does not address bishops/elders and deacons).

⁷⁶ Papias of Hierapolis is quoted as saying that he gathered information from "those who followed the elders" about what the elders reported that the apostles had said and what Aristion and the Elder John were saying. Papias preferred oral testimony to the written word.

That he allowed his modesty to prevail to this extent is interesting. Does it also reflect an age when Spirit-endowed itinerant teachers were open to some suspicion ? We have seen the evidence of this in Syria in the Did. and Matt., and how a local church leader, Diotrephes, resented the itinerant teachers/prophets of the Elder (3 Jn). We have also seen how in the Pastorals, Jude and 2 Peter some teachers/prophets were denied the Spirit's inspiration for what was deemed their heretical teaching and loose life-style. As 2 Tim.3.6; 4.3, the itinerant teacher was less controllable than a church-based one.

It may be that Barnabas represents a successor of the itinerant Spirit-filled teacher/prophet. He has a definite church base, from which he draws traditional material (Schulgut) and to which he adds his own pneumatic exegesis. With the passage of time, some of the intensity of experience has faded and Barnabas does not parade the Spirit as the source of his teaching. He does, however, think of the Spirit as active in the conversion process and that seems the main facet of the Spirit's work which emerges in a work primarily devoted to showing how the OT is a Christian book.

CHAPTER 17 : POLYCARP'S LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS⁷⁷

Polycarp was Bishop of the Smyrna church (Ign. Pol. Inscr.; Mart.Pol. 16.2). He had been asked by the church at Philippi to (a) forward their letter to the Antioch church (13.1), and (b) send them copies of Ignatius' letters to the Asia Minor churches (13.2).

This letter contains only one specific reference to the Holy Spirit, and that in a quotation from Paul (Gal.5.17) without elaboration at 5.3. There is within the letter a combination of statements which recognise our dependence on God's grace and those which demand human effort. Thus, if we are saved by grace, not works (1.3), our future resurrection to a blessed state depends on our doing God's commands and abstaining from all forms of wickedness (2.2 cf 5.2). Polycarp recognises that faith is the mother of us all and is accompanied by hope and love (3.2-3). We need to arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness (4.1), forsaking the wrong life-styles of false teachers and entreating God not to bring us to testing (7.2). We need to imitate Jesus' endurance (8.2). No one who cannot govern himself should be in a position of church leadership for how can he enjoin refraining from covetousness and the need for purity and truthfulness on others (11.2) ? Yet the letter contains a prayer request that God may build the readers up in all the Christian virtues.

⁷⁷ PN Harrison Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians, Cambridge, 1936, has proved that our present letter probably originally consisted of (a) ch.13 (? + 14) - a covering note to the collection of Ignatius' letters sent soon after the martyr's death, and (b) chs.1-12 - a letter to the church at Philippi ca 135.

SUMMARY :

In view of the esteem in which Polycarp was held as a notable teacher, a faithful leader, a man of prayer and a distinguished martyr, it is interesting that he makes no refer^ence to the Holy Spirit. We may speculate as to whether there were any local factors which might lead to hesitation to mention the Spirit - did the false teachers claim such inspiration ? On the other hand the atmosphere is like that of the Pastoral Epistles, without our needing to agree with von Campenhausen's theory that Polycarp actually wrote them.

CHAPTER 18 : THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP⁷⁸

This document is a letter from the Smyrna church to the Philomelium church, but was also intended for a wider audience of the church in general.

It has only two references to the Spirit, both within the prayer of Polycarp when he was tied to the stake. One described the blessed state as immortal and due to the Holy Spirit (14.2). The other is a Trinitarian doxology at the close of the prayer. Neither reference helps us.

What is more pertinent are (a) the sense of God's grace surrounding the holy Polycarp. He was so full of God's grace that when arrested he poured forth prayer for two hours (7.2);

(b) the grace given to the other martyrs. At the hour of their torture, the Lord stood by them and conversed with them. They gave heed to Christ's grace and so despised this world's tortures (2.2-3). Thanks are given to God because the devil didn't prevail against them (3.1).

Polycarp told the guards not to bother to nail him to the stake, for God who had enabled him to endure the fire would enable him to remain unmoved at the pile (13.3) - a reference to God's sustaining help.

The doxology of 20.2 is addressed to "Him who is able to bring us all by His grace and liberality to His heavenly kingdom, through His servant, the only begotten Jesus Christ". Perhaps a traditional doxology in use in worship, it represents the conviction that only through God's help can we enter His kingdom.

⁷⁸

Probably composed shortly after Polycarp's death, ca 156, and sent from the Smyrna church to Philomelium in Greater Phrygia.

SUMMARY :

This work offers us a negative conclusion, viz that its author did not have recourse to the Spirit to describe the divine help which assisted Polycarp to endure his martyrdom, nor did he use the idea of the Spirit's help in bearing verbal testimony (as in Mk.13.11; Lk.12.11-12). In both cases the silence seems to be significant. Neither the trance in which Polycarp saw his pillow burning with fire (5.2) nor the heavenly voice which exhorted him to be strong and play the man (9.1) were attributed to the Spirit's agency.

Polycarp is venerated as a glorious martyr, an apostolic and prophetic teacher and a bishop (16.2), a man of blameless life (17.1), but enduing by the Spirit is not mentioned.

It would be a curious coincidence, if 156/7 were accepted for the commencement of Montanism, that the Martyrdom is silent about that Spirit which Montanism claimed had just come on its prophetic leaders.

CHAPTER 19 : ASIA MINOR MONTANISM

The original home of Montanism was Asia Minor, though it spread widely beyond this area. We need not here go into the dispute over the date of its original outbreak : 156/7 (so. Epiphanius Panarion 48.1-2) or 171/7 (Eusebius Chron. 287-8; HE 5/3/4; cf 5 Praef.; 5/1/4ff)⁷⁹. Suffice for our purpose that it is a phenomenon of the second half of the second century.

In our quest for the religious experience of Montanus and his earliest followers, we must bear in mind that our two major sources, Eusebius and Epiphanius, are hostile to Montanism and reckon with this.

A :

The ecstatic experience of the Spirit must have been a feature of Montanism, for both the surviving oracles and the fact that it was the basic issue between Montanists and their catholic opponents are evidence of this.

Firstly, the evidence of the oracles.

(i) An oracle suggests that the Montanist leaders believed that the prophet was a totally passive instrument of the Holy Spirit. The oracle uses the analogy of a lyre plucked by the musician. The prophet is totally possessed and used by the Spirit : a totally 'other' activity impinges upon him and he receives this. The oracle runs :

"For immediately Montanus said :
'Look - a man is like a lyre
-----"

⁷⁹ See appendix at the end of the chapter.

And I am fallen upon like a plectron;
The man sleeps but I am awake.
Behold it is the Lord who gives ecstasy to men's hearts
and gives (different) hearts to men'." (Pan.48.4)

This oracle draws a distinction between the ἄνθρωπος and the ἐγώ,
the latter being drawn out into an ecstatic state by the Lord. The
human agent is passive ("sleeps") but the Lord "awakes" him.

(ii) This 'theory' of the ecstatic state or trance underlies those
oracles where Montanus and the two prophetesses, Priscilla and
Maximilla, expressed their conviction that they were the agents and
mouthpiece of the triune God :

"I am the Lord God omnipotent who dwells in man", "I am neither an
angel nor ambassador, but I the Lord God the Father have come"
(both from Montanus, cited in Pan. 48.11; cf "I am the Father and,
the Son and the Paraclete", quoted by Didymus of Alexandria, de
Trin 3/41/1), "Children of Christ, listen to what he says : do not
listen to me but listen to Christ" (Maximilla, cited in Pan.48.12).
Clearly, such statements could be twisted by opponents to accuse
them of claiming to be God (cf Eusebius HE.5/14/1).

(iii) That in this ecstatic state, brought about by the
inspiration of the Spirit, the prophet(-ess) was overwhelmed and
overpowered emerges in an oracle of Maximilla :

"The Lord has sent me as a supporter, revealer and interpreter of
this enterprise, promise and covenant, and I have been compelled,
whether I want to or not, to learn the knowledge of God". (Pan.
48.13.1)⁸⁰

Maximilla has been forced willy-nilly to learn about God and join
in the task of spreading the knowledge acquired to others.

⁸⁰ Or "The Lord of this enterprise, promise and covenant has sent
me as (its) supporter, revealer and interpreter, etc".

(iv) Maximilla protested against the persecution directed against her. She was driven like a wolf from the sheep. "I am not a wolf : I am word and spirit and power" (Eus. HE. 5.16.17, quoting from the Anonymous who was himself citing from a collection made by Asterius Orbanus).

Secondly, from the catholic side there comes evidence that Montanus and others were "inspired" and about the ecstatic nature of their experience.

(i) The burning question was not whether Montanus was "inspired" but whether his inspiration was of God or the devil. The catholic bishops' attempt to exorcise the leaders of Montanism (see Eus. HE. 5.16.8,16-7; 5.18.12-13; 5.19.3) reveals an acceptance of possession/inspiration, but a belief in its demonic origin. Also, catholic martyrs would not associate with Montanist martyrs "because they refused to agree with the spirit in Montanus and the women " (HE. 5.16.22), i.e. for them it was an evil spirit.

Apollonius accused Priscilla and Maximilla of deserting their husbands from the moment that they were filled with the evil spirit (HE. 5.18.3)

(ii) Catholic sources speak of an ecstatic state in connection with Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla.

(a) The Anonymous writer said of Montanus that he "became obsessed and suddenly fell into frenzy and convulsions. He began to be ecstatic and to speak and to talk strangely, prophesying contrary to the custom which belongs to the tradition and succession of the church from the beginning (HE. 5.16.7)⁸¹.

⁸¹ See P de Labriolle La polémique antimontaniste contre le prophétie extatique, RHLR 11 (1925), pp97-145.

(b) A catholic writer, Miltiades, wrote a treatise arguing that a prophet did not have to speak in ecstasy and that neither the OT nor NT nor the post-NT (Amnia in Philadelphia and Quadratus are specified) prophets were ecstatically inspired (HE. 5.17.1-2). "But the false prophet speaks in ecstasy, after which follow ease and freedom from fear; he begins with involuntary ignorance, but turns to involuntary madness of soul, as has been said before" (HE. 5.17.2-3).

Are these descriptions of glossolalia ? Possibly, yet the oracles are intelligible and those recording them never suggest that the words were first unintelligible and then were interpreted. Probably it is a case of some form of trance in which intelligible words were uttered. When catholic writers branded what was said as "bastard utterances", it was because the content of what was said was repugnant.

Was this experience confined to Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla, or were there other Spirit-filled figures in the movement ?

(a) While Maximilla did not expect a prophet after her before the End, there are a number of references in Eusebius' account which imply that many of the earliest leaders were considered to be inspired by the Spirit. "Just then for the first time the disciples of Montanus and Alcibiades and Theodotus in the region of Phrygia were winning a wide reputation for prophecy" (HE. 5.3.4). These followers claimed to be prophets in fulfilment of Matt.23.34 (HE. 5.16.12).

(b) Montanists claimed to have produced many martyrs and regarded this as proof of "the power of what is called among them the prophetic spirit" (HE. 5.16.20).

(c) The composition of a catholic epistle by Themiso (HE. 5.18.5) in imitation of the NT letters could also be taken as

implying a claim to be inspired by the Spirit with a message.

(d) When Apollonius in his exposure of Alexander asks "Let the prophetess tell us about Alexander who calls himself a martyr, with whom she banquets" (HE. 5.18.6), since he was writing after the Anonymous who claimed to be writing thirteen years after Maximilla's death (HE. 5.16.19), the prophetess must be someone other than Maximilla. The present tense points to figures current at the time of writing⁸².

This evidence points to others who claimed to be Spirit-inspired and to prophesy^{rather} than just the three leaders. The ecstatic experience leading to prophecy and credited to the Spirit's inspiration was a comparatively wide experience.

B and C :

If the ecstatic trance was one feature of Montanism's view of the Spirit, this is wedded to the conviction that the Spirit has a message for the churches. The Spirit gives a word to the prophet to deliver to the churches. The doctrinal orthodoxy of the Montanist movement in its early decades is widely recognised⁸³. Its message was not primarily doctrinal but concerned with spiritual discipline and personal holiness.

⁸² So Labriolle, Crise, pp584ff; HJ Lawlor-JE Oulton Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History II, New York-Toronto, 1928, p177; D Powell Tertullianists and Cataphrygians, VC 29 (1975), p43, thinks that Apollonius was describing a revival on a lower plane of prophecy after a period of silence.

⁸³ Labriolle, Crise, pp 106,123f; W Schepelern Der Montanismus und die Phrygischen Kulte, Tübingen, 1929, p 25; K Aland Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie, ZNW 46 (1955), p113; Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie, Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe, Gütersloh, 1960, pp 117,137. Indeed JG Davies Tertullian de Resurr. Carnis LXIII : a Note on the Origins of Montanism, JTS 6 (1955), pp 90-4, sees it as a protest against false teaching (Gnosticism).

Epiphanius quotes an oracle distinguishing between *ὁ δίκαιος* and the *μικροὶ*. "What to say about the superman who will be saved? For the righteous (he says) will shine a hundred times more than the sun; and the least among you to be saved will shine a hundred times more than the moon" (Pan. 48.10).

The future tenses point to the eschatological consummation. To whom do the phrases refer? Labriolle is probably right in suggesting that the *μικροὶ* are those who have not attained so high a degree of ethical merit as *ὁ δίκαιος* who fulfils the extra demands made by Montanus⁸⁴.

Apollonius said of Montanus: "It is he who taught the annulment of marriage, who enacts fasts.." (HE. 5.18.2), while his challenge against calling Priscilla a virgin reveals further the Montanist emphasis on celibacy and continence (HE. 5.18.3)⁸⁵.

This ethical rigorism may have had its roots in the imminent expectation of the end⁸⁶, an expectation revealed by Maximilla's announcement that there would be no prophet after her but only the consummation (Pan. 48.11; cf HE. 5.16.18-9).

A stern discipline is imposed, yet in none of the surviving sources in Eusebius or Epiphanius is there really any hint that the Spirit is an aid or power to assist in achieving this high standard of morality and piety.

⁸⁴ Crise, pp44-5.

⁸⁵ The oracle about not forgiving sinners lest others be encouraged to sin, attributed by Tertullian to the Paraclete (and not specifically to Montanus, Priscilla or Maximilla) in Pud. 21, illustrates the concern for ethical rigorism as a feature of the *movement*.

⁸⁶ So Kraft, *op.cit*, p258; Aland, Bermerkungen, pp 126-7.

The two major themes seem to fuse together. The Paraclete inspires the prophetic announcement of stern measures to promote holiness. Spiritual or holy law is given. What is imposed must be fulfilled. How it is fulfilled is not indicated. Our sources for Asia Minor give the impression of a charismatic legalism, but they may be fragmentary at this point.

SUMMARY :

Our survey of the sources for Asia Minor Montanism reveal that there was a strong ecstatic element in the experience of the Spirit for the leaders and their followers. In what appears to be a trance-like state, they uttered messages believed by them to be from God's Spirit. They put great emphasis on personal holiness and sought to impose a rigorist ethical approach to life, without our sources giving any indication that they proclaimed the Spirit's help in the realisation of this ethical ideal.

Within our survey, Montanism has most affinity with John of Patmos. They share a stress on ecstatic experiences in the Spirit and the conviction that the Spirit impells to prophecy within the context of an imminent expectation. They share an ethical rigorism and tolerate no compromise with the world (in the case of Revelation, the Nicolaitans; in that of the Montanists, the less spiritually-minded catholic Christians). A difference would be that whereas John of Patmos appears to have sat loose to ecclesiastical structures, Montanus organised his movement with a hierarchical structure, a point which undermines the view that Montanism was a protest against hierarchical organisation.

It is tempting to assume that a linear connection between John of Patmos and Montanism existed, but the historian cannot make this assertion, given the meagreness of the sources. The connecting links in the chain do not exist in the present state of the

evidence. We know that Papias was influenced by the Book of Revelation and maintained chiliastic teaching, as did Irenaeus, a native of Asia Minor. Both were bishops, however. Whether prophetic groups persisted without leaving any literary trace (a not impossible eventuality) we just cannot say : the earlier date of 156/7 would make such a continuance more credible.

Appendix : Footnote 79

Pro 156/7 include GSP Freeman-Grenville The Date of the Outbreak of Montanism, JEH 5 (1954), pp7-15; H Kraft Die altkirchliche Prophetie und die Entstehung des Montanismus, TZ 11 (1955), pp 269-70; AF Walls The Montanist "Catholic Epistle" and its NT Prototype, SE III, TU 83, ed. FL Cross, Berlin, 1964, p437; RH Grant Augustus to Constantine, London, 1971, pp153-9; LW Barnard Athenagoras, Paris, 1972, p75; H Paulsen Die Bedeutung des Montanismus für die Herausbildung des Kanons, VC 32 (1978), pp 40-1, who reiterates the telling point (made by G Salmon in DCB 3, p937) that the difference between Epiphanius and Eusebius may be due to the difference between the actual commencement and the time when the Church began to condemn it. JM Ford A Note on Proto-Montanism in the Pastoral Epistles, NTS 17 (1970-71), p338 places it between 126-172.

Pro 171 include P de Labriolle La Crise Montaniste, Paris, 1913, p12; H Chadwick The Early Church, Harmondsworth, 1967; T Barnes The Chronology of Montanism, JTS 21 (1970), pp403-8; WHC Frend The Rise of Christianity, London, 1934, pp253,265.

CHAPTER 20 : CONCLUSION

Roughly at the beginning of our period we meet two strikingly different standpoints - John of Patmos and the author of the Pastorals. The former believed that he was inspired by God's Spirit to deliver a prophetic word to the churches, and seems to have been a charismatic leader who stood somewhat aloof from the institutionalism developing in Asia Minor. This development is exemplified by the Pastorals which, while incorporating a traditional saying like Tit.3.5-7 which stresses the Spirit's renewing power, does not on the whole express the Christian life in general or the ministerial character in particular in terms of the Holy Spirit. Spirit has become subordinated to office. The Pastorals seem more typical of what was to follow.

If 2 Peter and Barnabas date from around the same era, we have again an interesting contrast. The former ties explanation of the OT to the churches' authorised teachers and denies the right of ordinary individuals to interpret it. Though he speaks of God's power and grace, he does not combine these and the ethical demand into an integrated and harmonious whole. Barnabas on the other hand mentioned the Spirit as cleansing and renewing Christians on whom He has been richly poured. Believers are a new creation brought about by God's power/Spirit and constitute the new temple in which the Spirit dwells. Indeed the Spirit restores believers to paradise in the present. Believers become a vehicle for God to speak through and convince others. The evidence suggests that the Spirit was a meaningful part of religious experience for Barnabas and that he attributed various facets of it to the Spirit's work.

It is interesting in view of the undoubtedly wide respect for Polycarp and his spiritual qualities that in his own letter and the account of his martyrdom the Spirit does not figure at all or only marginally.

In the second half of the century we meet Montanism, a movement whose leaders saw themselves as mouthpieces of the Spirit and who saw their ecstatic experiences as the sign and confirmation of the Spirit's presence and inspiration. The catholic bishops resisted Montanus and his followers. Did they warrant the strictures laid upon them by the Montanists ? In public disputation the bishops do not appear to have been very successful, but this might only mean that they were less glib of tongue and swift of thought and repartee than the Montanists - it need not necessarily be a guide to spirituality. If Polycarp and Polycrates were in any way typical of the Asia Minor episcopate in this era, the spiritual qualities of the church's leadership were not by any means negligible, even if dramatic ecstatic experiences were foreign to them.

The overall impression is that the Asia Minor churches moved more quickly to a hierarchical structure than did the majority of the Syrian churches and that as the century wore on, except for Montanism, dramatic and ecstatic type experiences were more a thing of the past compared with Syrian Christianity. It was less natural to think of the Christian life primarily in terms of the Holy Spirit. If we glance back to the first and second generations, we are struck by the change.

One letter of the genuine Pauline corpus was written from Ephesus - 1 Corinthians. The difference in terms of the place accorded to the Spirit in 1 Cor. by Paul and that in most of our sources from Asia Minor in our period is striking. Virtually all religious experience, individual and corporate, is traced back to the Spirit in 1 Cor. Ephesians, a second generation Paulinist's work, assumed that all Christians have been sealed by the Spirit. It was natural for him to exhort his readers to go on being filled with the Spirit and to pray that they might be strengthened and guided into wisdom by the Spirit.

But the Pauline stress on the Spirit as undergirding all Christian experience is nowhere prominent in Asia Minor of the second century. Even in Montanism there has not survived any indication that the Spirit's power to help believers to fulfil its stern ethical demands was stressed.

PART IV : GREECE

Paul brought Christianity to Greece as 1 and 2 Corinthians demonstrate. While he may not have been too successful in Athens (Acts 17.16-34 mentions some converts, two of whose names Lk. knows v34), he founded what turned out to be a lively church at Corinth. As we have seen, 1 and 2 Cor. contain much material about the Spirit. What was the final state of relationships between Paul and the church is complicated by scholarly division over the analysis of 2 Cor. If 2 Cor.10-13 do not precede 2 Cor.1-9⁸⁸, then it looks as if the loyalty of the Corinthians was still suspect; if 2 Cor.10-13 do precede chs.1-9, then some sort of reconciliation had been effected.

Extant literature from or about the churches in Greece in our period is unfortunately meagre or uncertain. Thus

- (a) 1 Clement supplies us with some information about Corinth;
- (b) The provenance and date of 2 Clement are uncertain. That it was associated with 1 Clement in the Alexandrine Uncial MS of the NT (fifth century) is evidence of some supposed connection, but 2 Clement was not ascribed to Clement of Rome by those fourth century Fathers who quote it. Most scholars date it to the second quarter of the second century⁸⁹, but are divided on whether the work originates from Corinth or Rome, though its association with 1 Clement referred-to above suggests the former⁹⁰.

⁸⁸ As CK Barrett has persuasively demonstrated in "Titus", in Neotestamentica et Semitica, ed. EE Ellis and M Wilcox, Edinburgh, 1969, pp 1-14; A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, London, 1973, pp 18-21.

⁸⁹ eg JB Lightfoot The Apostolic Fathers, Part I, Vol. 2, London, 1890, pp 201-4, dated it between 120-40; J Quasten Patrology, Vol. I, Westminster, Maryland, 1950, p 54, to about 150, though recently KP Donfried The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity, Leiden, 1974, argued for ca 98-100 and saw it as a sermon preached at Corinth by a church Elder.

(c) The apologist Athenagoras was associated with Athens, but his two works offer us no material germane to our theme.

⁹⁰ cf Lightfoot, op.cit., pp 197-201; Quasten, op.cit., p 53.

CHAPTER 21 : CORINTH AND 1 CLEMENT

Here we will only be concerned with what information Clement provides about the Corinthian church, although of course he is not an unbiased reporter. He was intervening from Rome on behalf of the ejected elders and sought their restoration to their former office and the voluntary exile of the ringleaders of the revolt. He is thus an opponent of those who have spearheaded the successful opposition to the former incumbents. He is not an umpire adjudicating in the dispute.

What does Clement say about these ringleaders which contributes to our theme ?

- (i) He accuses them of arrogance, unruliness and jealousy (14.1).
- (ii) Boastful and arrogant "words" figure in his charges (21.5; 57.2) and he emphasises the need for modest, humble and true speech (21.7; 30.1,3; 35.5; 38.2; 48.5).

It cannot be certainly affirmed, but it is possible that the ringleaders were charismatics⁹¹ who prided themselves on what they claimed were Spirit-inspired utterances. Some of the teaching on speech in 1 Clement is fairly standard, but the plea to display wisdom in works, not words (38.2) may be significant.

If this conjecture is correct, the division at Corinth looks like a split between the established office-holders and a charismatic group who did not think that the elders were spiritual

⁹¹ So W Wrede Untersuchungen zum ersten Clemensbriefe, Göttingen, 1891, pp 34-5; F Gerke Die Stellung des ersten Clemensbriefe innerhalb der Entwicklung der altchristlichen Gemeindeverfassung und des Kirchenrechts, TU 47, Leipzig, 1931, pp 65ff; P Meinhold Geschehen und Deutung im Ersten Clemensbriefe, ZKG 58 (1939), pp 99-117, 127-8; H Opitz Ursprünge frühkatholischer Pneumatologie, Berlin, 1960, pp 111-17; against A von Harnack Das Schreiben der römischen Kirche an die korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (1 Clemensbriefe) : Einführung in die Alte Kirchengeschichte, Leipzig, 1929, pp 91-2, who sees the dispute as a struggle for power between two cliques; AW Ziesler Neue Studien zum ersten Clemensbrief, München, 1958, pp 55-8, 133, who thinks that the ringleaders at Corinth claimed to possess a greater, deeper gnosis.

enough and prided themselves on their powers of utterance. In other words, it could have been a renewal of elements of the situation in Paul's day as reflected in his correspondence.

CHAPTER 22 : 2 CLEMENT

In this sermon (17.3; 19.1), the Spirit is certainly not a dominant motif, and we have moved into an atmosphere of moralism. While Christians are saved by God's mercy and compassion (1.7; 2.7; 3.1), the author constantly emphasises the need for pure, holy and righteous living in order to secure the rest and life of God's kingdom (4.3; 5.1,5-6; 6.7-9; 7.1-5; 11.6-7). Christians must keep their baptism, referred-to as a "seal" in 7.6; 8.4,6, pure and undefiled (6.9) or else they will be tormented in hell (7.6)⁹². The author summons his readers to keep "the flesh" pure, in order to receive the Spirit in the life to come (14.3; cf 8.4,6). If we do God's will, we shall belong to the first (i.e. spiritual) church, created before the sun and moon and revealed in Christ's flesh. If we guard her (the church) in the flesh, we shall receive her again *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ* (14.3). The earthly church (*σὰρξ*) is the *ἀντίτυπος ... τοῦ πνεύματος*. No one who defiles the copy will receive the original. This means that we must guard the flesh in order that we may receive the Spirit (14.3). To deal insultingly with the flesh/the church disqualifies us from receiving the Spirit to enjoy eternal life (14.4).

It is clear that in chap.14 the gift of the Spirit is a future, eschatological one. *τοσαύτην δύναται ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη μεταλαβεῖν ζωὴν καὶ ἀθανασίαν, κολληθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου* (14.5).

At 11.6-7 we read "If therefore we have done righteousness in God's sight, we shall enter His kingdom and receive His promises"⁹³.

⁹² Lampe, Seal, pp103-4 "Baptism imprints upon the mortal flesh a seal, which must be preserved intact by righteous living....We are in the unpauline atmosphere of works".

We miss the note of the Spirit's help and strength. There is no mention of divine aid along the present life's way. Human effort is stressed. Reward awaits us – complete possession by the Spirit to fit us to enjoy eternal life.

Summary :

Judged by this one sermon, the author does not see the Holy Spirit as central in the believer's experience and life. If we were to generalise, he is, in his moral stress, akin to the Epistle of James within the canon.

⁹³ Lampe Seal, p100, cites 11.1 as an example of the view that God's kingdom can be gained by merit.

CHAPTER 23 : CONCLUSION

It seems best not to attempt a summary and comparison in view of the uncertainty of the provenance of the evidence reviewed and of the sparseness of what is offered by it in any case. We do not really have enough firm evidence to proffer any generalisation about the religious experience of Christians in Greece in the second century. It would be unwise to assume that 2 Clement was typical even if we were sure that it originated in Greece.

PART V : ROME

The exact origins of Christianity in Rome are not known to us¹. When Paul wrote to the church there, it was a well-established and prestigious community with a wide reputation (Rom.1.8) and one which, if favourable to him, could form a launching pad to a mission in the west Mediterranean (Rom.15.29).

In the Acts' narrative Christians already existed in Rome when Paul arrived there under arrest (28.15) and met him on the outskirts of the city. Acts 18.2 may confirm a report in Dio Cassius (History 60.6.6 cf Suetonius Life of Claudius 25.4) that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome because of disputes over "Chrestus" - presumably a garbled form of Christos. Certainly Rom.9-11 reveals that Christians at Rome were racially mixed and consisted of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

Since Paul refers to no outstanding figure as the founder (had e.g. Peter been its founder, Paul would have had to have mentioned him) - although he is a little embarrassed at his own position in approaching a church not founded by himself (Rom.1.11-12;15.20-21) - probably those who took Christianity to Rome were not necessarily evangelists specifically sent out for that purpose. They are not to be associated with either Peter or Paul, both of whom were martyred according to tradition in Rome under Nero. Theologically the Roman church was independent of these two figures. How much influence they exerted during their period in the city cannot be measured. Clement utilised their martyrdom within his 'jealousy'

¹ See The Romans Debate, ed. KP Donfried, Minneapolis, 1977, esp. pp100-119; RE Brown and JP Meier Antioch and Rome, London 1983, pp 92-104 for recent discussions of the beginnings of Christianity at Rome, with references to literature on the subject.

section, though not emphasising that it was at Rome they perished (chap.5). It is in Ignatius' letter that we see what reputation the Roman church had acquired : "worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of felicitation, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity and having the presidency in love, walking in the law of Christ and bearing the Father's name... filled with the grace of God without wavering and filtered clear from every foreign stain" (Ign. Rom. Insc.).

Within our period a number of documents come from members of the Christian community, and to these we now turn.

CHAPTER 24 : 1 PETER

With probably the majority of modern scholars we shall here assume that 1 Peter is a pseudonymous work, composed at Rome, during Domitian's reign, later rather than earlier². The letter is written to encourage and support Christians about to face the outburst of persecution (4.12-17). Suffering of varying kinds, ranging from ostracism to social abuse to harassment, is assumed as the fate of Christians loyal to their faith (1.6-7; 2.12; 3.13-17; 4.4), but 4.12 mentions the imminent likelihood of something more severe, a contingency which supports the dating of the letter ca90, when Domitian became more and more suspicious of any danger to his own position.

In the salutation of 1 Peter the readers are greeted as resident aliens, elect of God, part of His scattered people in certain areas of Asia Minor. Their elect status, which contrasts sharply with their social status³, is grounded on three factors (1.2):

- (i) God the Father's foreknowledge
 - (ii) their being set apart for God's service by the Holy Spirit
-

² That Babylon in 1 Pet. 5.13 is a cryptogram for Rome is widely held - see the commentaries of Selwyn p243, Beare p183, Spicq p181, Kelly pp218-220, Best p178 and JH Elliott A Home for the Homeless Philadelphia 1981, pp138, 273ff; Kümmel Introduction p422; Marxsen Introduction p236.

For a date in Domitian's reign see Best (80-100) pp63-64; Elliott (73-92) pp84-87; Kümmel (90-95) p425; Marxsen p237 favours the period of the persecutions under Domitian, ie the later period; RE Brown and JP Meier Rome and Antioch, London 1983, p139 - 80s; RE Brown The Churches the Apostles left behind, London 1984, p75 - 80s or 90s. On the other hand, Selwyn and Spicq uphold Petrine authorship; Kelly favours an earlier rather than a later date, with perhaps some connection with Peter through Silvanus, though he does not really resolve the issue. Beare dates to Trajan's reign on the basis of alleged similarities between 1 Peter and the Pliny-Trajan correspondence.

³ cf Elliot Home for the Homeless passim, esp. pp 59ff, 120ff.

(ἐν ἀγίασμῳ πνεύματος).

(iii) Jesus' sacrificial death which affords liberating power to live obediently for God.

God the Father's foreknowledge is actualised through the atoning death of His Son and the power of the Holy Spirit, to draw us away from entanglement with the world and its desires and into the sphere of service⁴.

What experience lies behind this phraseology ? The conversion experience is certainly important in 1 Peter. A sharp line of demarcation is drawn between the past, pagan, immoral life and the present Christian life (1.14,18,21; 2.9-10;4.2ff).

This "before/"after" contrast shows that conversion was experienced as a dramatic and vivid turning point, part of which was the sense of the Spirit at work to remove believers from an alien, evil sphere into the sanctifying sphere of God's holy love. The Spirit drew them from evil to God and within that relationship thus created they are exposed to God's sanctifying power.

The phrases used in 1.1-2 would certainly help to compensate for the readers' separation from the world and their becoming the focal point of feelings of resentment on the part of erstwhile pagan friends (4.1-6). The language would help to cement and intensify group consciousness⁵.

The language used in the description of 1.1-2 creates the presupposition that the Spirit will be central for this writer⁶, a

⁴ cf Kelly, op.cit., p43.

⁵ Elliott, op.cit., pp116,127,133f,226-7.

presupposition strengthened by the fact that at the close of the eulogia (vv3-12), the author refers to the activity of the Holy Spirit twice - first, in inspiring the OT prophets (1.11) and, secondly, in empowering those who preached the Gospel to the readers in the Christian mission (1.12). Whether this is borne out by the rest of the letter must now be seen.

A :

At 2.4-5 the Lord Jesus is described as a living stone rejected by men but elect and precious to God. The readers must come to him as living stones. There is an obvious parallelism between living stone and living stones. If we ask why can Christians be described as "living", the prior description of them at 1.23 springs to mind - "born again not of mortal but immortal seed through God's living and abiding word" (cf 2.2 "newborn babes"). The rebirth image is used in connection with God's word (supported by Isaiah 40.6ff with its sharp distinction between mortals and God's word). In terms of Christian experience, there is not much difference between the word of God of 1.23 and the Spirit of God of (say) 1.2 : both in the end signify the power of God at work⁷.

The author of 1 Peter goes on to offer certain descriptions of the Christian church, including the assertion that they are

⁶ Dunn Baptism in the Holy Spirit p222 came to the conclusion that 1 Peter is close to Paul in his pneumatology.

⁷ Dunn op.cit., p222 "In the light of 1.12 we should probably think of the regenerative power of the Word in 1.23 as being due to the Spirit".

οἶκος πνευματικὸς . Should we here translate a spiritual (as opposed to a material) temple or a household filled with the Spirit ?

Elliott has challenged the former view, assumed by most commentators, and believes that the latter is correct⁸. What are the arguments on which a decision must be based ?

(a) If vv4 and 5 prepare the way for and interpret the blocks of OT material in vv6-8 and 9-10 ("Stone" and "People" complexes) respectively⁹, then πνευματικὸς interprets βασιλείον of v9 : is a noun (not an adjective), viz palace or royal residence. This means that the "royal house" is the household in which the Holy Spirit resides. Both οἶκος and βασιλείον express the elect and covenantal nature of the community which belongs to God¹⁰. The focus of thought is not, therefore, on the cultic role of the Christian community but on its election and its holiness¹¹.

⁸ The Elect and the Holy Leiden, 1966, pp 148-159 : eg "The royal house of the Eschaton, the elected βασιλείον of the Messianic Age, is the house created and sustained by the Divine Spirit. The house of the Divine King is in reality the house of the Divine Spirit"(p.159). Elliott cites P Vielhauer OIKODOME and J Blinzer "ἸΕΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ . Zur Exegese von 1 Petr.2.5 u.9", Episcopus : Festschrift für Kardinal Michael von Faulhaber, Regensburg, 1949, pp49-65, as also sharing this view. It was rejected by CFD Moule in a review of Elliott's book in JTS 18 (1967) pp472-3.

⁹ So Elliott, op.cit., pp148-159, partially accepted by E Best "1 Peter ii.4-10 - A Reconsideration", NT 11 (1969) p271 : "The OT texts offer proof texts of statements made in vv4f".

¹⁰ Elliott, op.cit., pp141ff.

¹¹ Elliott op.cit., p141, who points to "elect" in v4 of Christ and "elect race" of Christians in v 9. Best op.cit., p291, (following Hort on Exod.19.6) prefers "body of kings" for βασιλείον .

(b) If temple were in mind, *ναὸς* would be used. Though Best argued that the LXX uses *οἶκος* and *οἰκοδομεῖν* for the temple¹², *ναὸς* is used at 1 Cor.3.16; 2 Cor.6.16; Eph.2.21ff for Christians as temples, while Heb.10.21 (cf 3.2-6) uses *οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ* for God's household¹³.

(c) *πνευματικός* does not mean metaphorical or immaterial or spiritual, but created, filled by the Spirit. Words of the -*ikos* group describe the essence and nature of that to which they belong¹⁴. In any case, there does not appear to be a specific polemic against the Jewish or pagan temples in this part of the letter, though there is a contrast between before and after conversion and exhortations to a different lifestyle based on the assertions of a change which has come over the readers (1.13-2.3).

(d) If household is the meaning, there is no sharp transition from being the temple to priests who offer sacrifices; rather two thoughts are developed - members of a royal household are filled by the Spirit, to make them priests to offer sacrifices.

¹² op.cit., p280.

¹³ So in their commentaries H Montefiore p174 and FF Bruce p249.

¹⁴ Bauer A Greek-English Lexicon of NT, Cambridge-Chicago, ET 1957, p685 - "caused by or filled with the (divine) Spirit, pertaining to or corresponding to the (divine) Spirit". cf Best, op.cit., p293 "The house is one indwelt by the Spirit of God and because the Spirit of God indwells those who comprise the spiritual house they will offer a worship which is spiritual, ie. of the Spirit of God". Here Best seeks to combine Elliott's view and the traditional view; cf Kelly, op.cit., p 90, "The Spirit both brings it (sc. *οἶκος*) into existence and pervades its life, but also by implication points the contrast with material, man-made temples". Of course even a contrast between "material" and "spiritual" would rest on the fact that the Holy Spirit is at work in the Christian church.

We accept the translation "a household filled by the Spirit" and see it as "compensation" language, meeting the needs of those who had left their previous collectives and securities for Christ's sake¹⁵, rather than being temple language serving as polemic against those who said that Christian worship was unacceptable to God as it lacked animal sacrifice and temple¹⁶. The verse then becomes significant for our purpose because an important description of the church utilises the idea of its being filled by the Spirit. We are entitled to say that for this author, when the congregation gathers together, the Spirit's presence is experienced.

We must also consider 4.10-11 because of the occurrence of the word *χάρισμα*. This passage assumes that each member of the Christian church has received a spiritual gift (*ἐκαστος* is emphatically placed outside the *καθὼς* clause) and that each must use it (*διακονοῦντες*) for the common good (*εἰς ἐξυτοῦς*). The variety of gifts assumed in the *καθὼς* clause is confirmed by the manner in which the readers are exhorted to utilise their gift - *ὥς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι πακίλης χάριτος θεοῦ*. God's grace is varied and multifaceted. *Χάρις* picks up *χάρισμα*. Christians are but stewards of what God has given them. What they have received they must exercise for the good of the community.

Two types of *χάρισμα* are singled out for specific mention :

¹⁵ cf Elliott, Home for the Homeless, p132.

¹⁶ As CFD Moule argued, Sanctuary and Sacrifice in the Church of the NT, JTS 1 (1950), pp29-41.

(a) speaking/preaching. If someone is involved in preaching, he should use this gift as if he were ministering the oracles of God (ὡς λόγια Θεοῦ).

(b) practical service. If someone is engaged in serving, he must do so through the strength which God supplies. We note the emphasis on God's help in utilising His own gifts in His service. God strengthens Christians for His service.

Is this a deliberate selection of two characteristic types, or had *Χαρίσματα* become limited with the passage of time to preaching and a range of practical service¹⁷ ? This second suggestion seems an unnecessarily restrictive view of Christian life in the nineties. We think that the former view has much to commend it, the more so if preaching and teaching activities were being discharged by the eldership whose existence the author clearly assumes. 4.10f would reflect a 'high view' of preaching, without any minimisation of other forms of Christian service since these also came from God. In a household or family there were many duties even if there was one paterfamilias. In any case it would be odd for the writer to speak of God's manifold grace and then be able only to find two examples of it.

We note that to use the *Χάρισμα* received from God is to be a steward of God's *Χάρις*. Thus *Χάρις* and *Χαρίσματα* stand close together¹⁸; the *Χαρίσματα* is a specific illustration or realisation of God's *Χάρις*¹⁹, - it is God's grace in action²⁰.

¹⁷ cf F Schroger "Die Verfassung der Gemeinde des ersten Petrus-briefes", Kirche im Werden, ed. J Hainz, München, 1976, p 242.

¹⁸ So similarly for Paul, Dunn JS p206.

The use of gift, stewards and strength supplied by God, entitle us to assume that the activity of the Spirit is in the author's mind, even if not mentioned explicitly.

If we hold together 4.10-11 and 5.1-5, we are at a stage of transition in the life of the congregations represented by the author : the older view (if we may so describe it) of every member being gifted by the Spirit still prevailed, but an eldership form of government had also been established for some time. That being so, there would be the danger that over a period gifts and tasks would be concentrated in the elders, but that stage had certainly not been reached in 1 Peter.

Summary : The texts surveyed thus far reveal a conviction that the Christian life begins in an experience of the Holy Spirit's activity, and that within the Christian community his presence continues to be experienced, while he endows individuals with gifts to serve the whole congregation.

C :

Before we turn specifically to seek for evidence for the Spirit's help in the moral life and other related aspects of the Christian way, we mention the firm anchoring of the Christian life in God's redemptive activity in Christ and the way ethical demands are grounded in what God has done for us (eg 1.3,13-25; 2.9-10). If Christ is held out as an example (2.21-25; possibly 3.18-20) and

¹⁹ So similarly for Paul, Dunn JS, pp 207,253.

²⁰ cf Dunn JS p254 for Paul.

indeed God Himself (1.14-16), it is not that either is a distant figure to be emulated but the Spirit is active mediating God's strength and help to achieve that ideal.

The first piece of evidence is 2.5 where the readers are reminded that they are an *ἱεράτευμα ἁγίων* to offer *πνευματικὰ θυσίαι* acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.

What are these "spiritual sacrifices" ? Pursuing Elliott's contention that v5 prepares the way for vv9f we must include the proclamation of God's gracious salvation - ranging from spreading the gospel(? 2.9)²¹ to informal witness (3.1) and conversational witness (3.15). Also doing good should probably be included as this is a key concept in the letter (2.12,15; 3.13,16; cf 2.20;3.17) and contributes to the spread of Christianity²². If this is correct, then 1 Peter would be akin to Rom.12.1-2 and Heb.13.16 in seeing our whole lives as a sacrifice to God. Another corollary would be that *πνευματικὰ* would be "produced or inspired by the Spirit"²³, not just spiritual as opposed to physical or material, since doing good is expressed in concrete, practical situations. In the context there is no specific

²¹ Against DL Balch Let Wives be Submissive, Missoul, 1981, pp132-136, who denies a missionary thrust here and stresses that in 2.4-7 unbelievers are rejected and that sacrifices are offered to God, not men, it may be argued that the concept of spiritual sacrifices offered to God does not exclude the possibility of their being expressed in terms of service to men, while 3.1,15 should be noted as evidence that conversions from paganism to Christianity were still hoped for despite 2.4-7.

²² cf WC van Unnik "The Teaching of Good Works in 1 Peter", NTS 1 (1954-55) pp108-109; "Christianity according to 1 Peter", ExT 68 (1956-57) p83.

²³ Elliott Elect and Holy, pp175f, 183, 197 (he also cites Blinzler, op.cit., pp55f); Kelly, op.cit., pp 91-92.

polemic against animal sacrifice, whether in Judaism or paganism, although there may be an implied criticism, just as at 1.18 their previous life and traditional customs were branded as futile.

Under ethical empowering we may also include 4.14. The readers are not to consider the fiery trial which will come upon them with testing force as something strange. On the contrary, they are to rejoice and think of themselves as sharing in the sufferings of Christ. If they are insulted for the name of Christ, they must count themselves as blessed because τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται . The Greek is very difficult here²⁴. The καὶ seems to be epexegetic, i.e. the meaning is God's glorious Spirit or God's Spirit who will glorify you. I myself am inclined to this second alternative, taking τῆς δόξης not so much as descriptive of the Spirit as focussing attention on what the Spirit imparts²⁵. On this view the phraseology τῆς δόξης picks up the reference to the revelation of Christ's δόξα (4.13) when Christians will rejoice.

Why has the author used the language of the Spirit's resting upon rather than indwelling (as e.g. in Romans 8.9-11) Christians ? There may well be some influence here from Isaiah 11.2 (possibly even Num.11.25f)²⁶ : what was predicted of the Messiah is also true

²⁴ Blass-Debrunner, op.cit., 269 (6) appear to assume πνεῦμα governs both genitives and state that the repetition of the article before the substantive is rare. At 442(16) they treat the phrase as hendiadys.

²⁵ cf Spicq op.cit., p156 ; Kelly op.cit., p187 ; Beare op.cit., p224 - all describe the Spirit as the source and imparter of glory. Selwyn op.cit. pp222-4 opts for "the presence of glory, i.e. Spirit of God" (followed by Best, op.cit., p164).

²⁶ cf Selwyn, op.cit., p224; Beare, op.cit., p166; Cranfield, op.cit., p121; Kelly, op.cit., p187 ; Best, op.cit., p164.

of his followers. As Christ's followers, Christians participated in the Spirit which equipped him for his messianic task, and the Spirit's resting on them will enable them to glorify God in persecution. What, we may ask, is the specific experience which lies behind ²ἀντιδύεται? We are left to conjecture, but we may postulate (i) a sense of the nearness of God's presence over against the fearful prospect of human foes, and (ii) a heightened sense of joy/peace, even when faced with persecution.

1 Peter, then, encourages Christians, faced with persecution and slander at the hands of their Gentile neighbours, with the thought that God's Spirit will rest upon them in such experiences. They do not face such hardships on their own - God's Spirit will be with them. More than that, He will prepare them for that day when Christ's glorious revelation takes place.

The promise here, then, is a limited, though significant, one - help in times of difficulty occasioned by fidelity to one's calling as a Christian. It recalls the traditional promise of the Spirit's help (Mk.13.11; Lk.12.11-12) in time of persecution and interrogation. Actually since persecution in one form or another seems likely to be the norm, it is perhaps incorrect to call this promise 'limited'. If persecution is an all-pervasive probability, then the promise becomes correspondingly increasingly valid²⁷.

²⁷ It would be unwise on the basis of this verse to assume that for the author the Spirit did not constantly dwell in the hearts of Christians, as Beare op.cit., p166.

SUMMARY :

1 Peter is a small document dominated in the main by the theme of persecution and what ought to be Christian conduct and witness in such a situation. Notwithstanding this, the letter reveals an approach which sees the Christian life commencing in the activity of the Spirit (1.2), being sustained and developed by the Spirit (2.5,9), supported in persecution by the Spirit (4.14) and endowed with various gifts by the Spirit for God's service²⁸.

Brief as are the references to the Spirit, their implications for the Christian life are far-reaching : the beginning and continuance of such a life, service during its course, and help at crises points like persecution, all are linked to the Holy Spirit. There is no extensive meditation on the work of the Spirit, but enough references to suggest the importance of the Spirit for the author.

What we have summarised above appear as major Pauline themes in connection with the Spirit. As Christians are set apart for God's service by the Spirit in their conversion for 1 Peter, so for Paul a Christian confesses Jesus as Lord by the Spirit's help and has been made to "drink" of the Spirit. The church as the

²⁸ cf Dunn Baptism in the Holy Spirit p223 who says that for 1 Peter the essence of Christianity lies in the experience of receiving the Spirit; Kelly op.cit., p43 said that the Spirit's sanctifying action "became real for the Asian Christians in the moment of faith which led them to Christ and supremely in their baptism...; these events are probably in mind here (1.2). But the Spirit is continually present in the daily life of believers, developing their faith and deepening their sanctification (cf 1.15; 3.15)".

household indwelt by the Spirit is akin to Paul's idea of the temple of the Spirit and the thought of each church^e member equipped with his gift (with that gift being seen as an expression of God's grace in action) is obviously close to Paul's exposition of this theme (See 1 Cor., Rom.). With the idea of Christians offering spiritual sacrifices, we can compare Rom.12.1 - offering our bodies as living and holy sacrifices well-pleasing to God which constitutes a form of worship (cf Phil.4.18). Though Paul never speaks about special help from the Spirit in persecution, he did say of the Thessalonians that they had received the word amidst much affliction with joy inspired by the Holy Spirit (1 Thess.1.6), so that belief, persecution, joy and Spirit were all associated.

Thus 1 Peter emerges favourably from a comparison with Paul (There are some basic similarities without our needing, however, to assume direct literary dependence of 1 Peter on Paul for this material). The comparison suggests that this author had maintained the stress of the first generation on the Holy Spirit as a distinctive quality of the Christian life. We must now see if that is so of other authors writing from Rome in our period.

CHAPTER 25 : 1 CLEMENT

1 Clement is a lengthy letter, written by a leader of the Roman church on its behalf, to settle a dispute in the church at Corinth, soon after the persecutions of Domitian, i.e. about 96AD. A group within the church at Corinth had persuaded the members to eject the elders from office. Clement intervenes on behalf of the dismissed elders to demand their reinstatement and he suggests self-imposed exile on the part of the ringleaders of the revolt.

Most of Clement's references to the Holy Spirit are related to the inspiration of the prophets and other OT writings (eg 8.1; 13.1; 16.2; 45.2). Once he refers to 1 Corinthians as written by Paul under the Spirit's inspiration (47.3). Two references allude to the apostles : after the resurrection they went forth to preach with assurance born of the resurrection and the Holy Spirit (42.3), and from amongst the converts of their mission they appointed men as bishops and deacons after having tested them by the Spirit (42.4).

A :

In seeking to determine whether the Holy Spirit was of any significance for Clement's religious experience, 2.2 is of vital importance. In chaps.1-2 Clement praised the previous faith and piety of the Corinthians. They were humble, free from arrogance, heeding God's words (2.1). As a result (οὕτως) a profound and rich peace and an insatiable desire to do good was given to all and πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντα ἐγένετο. Three things, therefore, seem to be governed by the οὕτως : the peace, the desire to do good and the gift of the Holy Spirit. This has led scholars to speak of the Holy Spirit as a reward for

the good Christian conduct previously described (1.1-2.1)²⁹, and certainly the sequence of thought tends in that direction. It should be noted that the whole community experienced the abundant outpouring. If the tense of the verb be pressed, then ἐγίνετο suggests a continuous outpouring unless the imperfect be deemed ingressive, but even this would point to the start of something that presumably continued.

Is this ἐκχυσίς the initial gift of the Spirit or a subsequent outpouring? One would be inclined to assume the latter. It will be helpful at this point to draw 46.6 into the discussion: Clement asked why there were factions and strife amongst the Corinthians (46.5)? He then calls to mind certain factors which ought to have obviated such conditions: they worship and serve the one God who has been revealed to them in the person of His Son; they have been redeemed by the one Saviour, Christ; they have experienced the one Spirit of grace poured out on them. Their common experience of God, Christ and the Spirit should have kept them a united fellowship.

Can 46.6 help us decide the question whether 2.2 refers to the initial gift or a subsequent outpouring? Both assume that all the Corinthians have received the gift of the Spirit; both use the root (2.2 the noun ἐκχυσίς and 46.6 the verb ἐκχύνω); if 2.2 has the connotation of reward lurking in the context, 46.6 uses the expression "Spirit of grace".

To explain the differences we must realise the tendentious character of chaps.1-3 and be wary of seeing in it an exact, historically accurate account of the spiritual history of the

²⁹ eg R Knopf *Der erste Clemensbrief, Die apostolischen Väter*, HNT, Tübingen, 1923, p46, though A Jaubert *Clément de Rome - Épître aux Corinthiens* (SC 167), Paris, 1971, p74 (n2), thinks that it is difficult to decide from this verse.

Corinthian church³⁰, a position surely confirmed by 1 and 2 Corinthians themselves, since these letters do not support the idea of a golden era at the beginning of that church's history. In chap.2 he builds up a picture of the past to show that jealousy and envy struck even at a spiritually exalted period when God had poured out His Spirit - which leads into the theme of jealousy and its effects in chaps.4-6.

We may say, however, that 2.2 supports 46.6 in the assumption that all Christians are thought of as receiving the Spirit. Whether this is a traditional concept without much force or a living idea must be discussed shortly.

Once Clement claims that he has written the letter through the Holy Spirit and hopes therefore to find obedience to its demands (63.2). The polemical thrust of this remark is obvious : over against the ringleaders of the trouble at Corinth, who appear to have been charismatics³¹, Clement claims divine inspiration for the position advocated in the letter.

We now need to broaden our enquiry to take into consideration the general tenor of 1 Clement and move beyond the mere occurrence of the word *πνεῦμα*.

Clement quotes the OT extensively and he does so chiefly for its moral message³². He does not use the OT in a promise-

³⁰ So correctly K Beyschlag Clemens Romanus und der Fröhenkatholizismus, Tübingen, 1966, pp193,329-337.

³¹ So Wrede op.cit., p34f; P Meinhold Geschehen und Deutung im ersten Clemensbrief, ZKG 58 (1939), pp99-117.

³² W Wrede (Untersuchungen zum ersten Klemensbriefe, Göttingen, 1891,p76)'s well known dictum that scripture in 1 Clement is the great book of ethical examples has been endorsed by many scholars subsequently, e.g. O Knoch Eigenart und Bedeutung der Eschatologie

fulfilment pattern but to reinforce his ethical appeal. A classic example is his citation of all Isa.53 to back up his assertion that Jesus came not with arrogant pomp but in lowliness, and thus furnished us with an example which we who "have come under the yoke of his grace" should copy (chap.16). No use, however, is made of the atoning aspects of the Servant's work in Isa.53.

The lengthy expositions of jealousy and envy, humility, order, are all intended to bring about the restoration to office of the unfairly deposed elders³³. Since Paul declared love, peace, gentleness, self-control to be the fruit of the Spirit, we might have expected a writer following him to have exploited this at some point, if the Spirit had been central in his religious experience and thinking. Yet Clement does not do so.

Can it be then that Clement avoids mentioning the Spirit for 'tactical' reasons, since the ringleaders of the trouble at Corinth were themselves charismatics - to have stressed the Spirit would have played into their hands, since they claimed to be Spirit-inspired and led? The apostle Paul, of course, did no such thing and, for example, in 1 Cor.12-14, while affirming the centrality of the Spirit in Christian experience, sought to show the Corinthians a sound evaluation of spiritual gifts. Paul had pointed the way. It is hard not to think that Clement was astute enough to see the advantages of using Paul if that had been the way he wished to go. That he did not is significant. "Silence" at this point may speak volumes.

im theologischen Aufriß des ersten Clemensbriefes, Bonn, 1964, p412.

³³ cf G Brunner's careful analysis - Die theologische Mitte des 1 Klemen**u**sbriefes, Frankfurt, 1972.

Clement has been seen by many as a representative of that Frühkatholizismus³⁴ which, it is alleged, was setting-in in many parts of the church at the end of the first and in the early second centuries³⁵. Without entering into the debate about Frühkatholizismus, we can say that Clement stresses office in the church and invokes the apostolic institution of the pattern of bishops and deacons³⁶; he emphasises order in the cosmos and in the church³⁷ as a reflection of the divine nature. He is theocentric rather than Christocentric³⁸. His stress is on the ethical and moral side of Christianity. He does not seem to exhibit much sense of the history of God's saving activity³⁹ and the OT heroes seem Christians before Christ, with Christ universalising a message of

³⁴ K Beyschlag Clemens Romanus und der Frühkatholizismus, Tübingen, 1966, esp pp350-1; O Knoch Eigenart und Bedeutung der Eschatologie im theologischen Aufriß des ersten Clementsbriefes, Bonn, 1964.

³⁵ See e.g. E Käsemann New Testament Questions for Today, ET London 1963, pp236-251; W Marxsen Der Frühkatholizismus im NT, Neukirchen, 1958; JH Elliott "A Catholic Gospel : Reflections on "Early Catholicism" in the NT", CBQ 31 (1969) pp213-33. See Dunn UD pp341-366 for a useful survey.

³⁶ Chaps. 42-44.

³⁷ See chaps. 20,37f.

³⁸ cf Beyschlag op.cit.,p350; Knoch op.cit., eg pp100,150,160-1,309,420-448; and also A. von Harnack Einführung in die alte Kirchengeschichte. Das Schreiben der römischen Kirche an die korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (1 Clemensbrief), Leipzig, 1929, p61 - "a living theism".

³⁹ Wrede op.cit., pp97-99; Harnack op.cit.,pp66-71; cf also Knoch op.cit.,pp411-8.

repentance which had been proclaimed before his coming⁴⁰.

In other words, the fewness of references to the Spirit in such a long work and the general ethos of the letter cohere together to produce the conviction that the Spirit was not the centre of the Christian life for Clement⁴¹.

SUMMARY :

We have surveyed the extremely few references to the Spirit in 1 Clement and we have seen the general ethos of the letter. These combine to produce the conviction that the Spirit was not central to the Christian life for Clement. His tremendous stress on order and pattern in the church and his strong ethical emphasis together suggest that the concept of the free sovereign, unexpected, explosive activity of the Spirit would be uncomfortable, perhaps even threatening, to Clement. While he may have claimed to be in line with Paul, we can only say that on the issue of the relation of the Spirit to the Christian life and experience Clement was unPauline. Where Paul held together order and Spirit, in 1 Clement the balance has tipped wholly to the side of order, and the Spirit has been subordinated to order.

⁴⁰ See 1 Clem.7.4-7; Harnack op.cit., pp78f; Knoch op.cit., pp266-8,418.

⁴¹ Wrede op.cit., p106f " *πνεῦμα* is not a characteristic concept in the letter"; Harnack op.cit., p75 noted the renewed outpouring of the Spirit in 2.2;46.6, but said that there was "no pneumatic enthusiasm in the letter or the church".

CHAPTER 26 : THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

The next piece of Christian literature emanating from Rome is The Shepherd of Hermas. I shall assume the view that this work is the product of a period extending perhaps from ca 100 to 140AD⁴² :

(a) The earliest portions may have overlapped with Clement if the Clement of V.2/4/3 is the same as the author of 1 Clement - as many scholars believe.

(b) The Muratorian Canon stated that Hermas was the brother of Pius I (ca 140-155) and wrote during Pius' episcopate.

The theory of composition over a period could accommodate these two points.

There is far more on the Spirit in The Shepherd than in 1 Clement. In one sense this is what we might expect, since Hermas receives visions under the inspiration of the Spirit (eg V.1/1/3) and instructions from a heavenly being, the Shepherd, while Clement is rational, sober and non-mystical.

Before we proceed to the text, it might be as well to formulate an impression of Hermas' position or standing in the church at Rome. While the messages he receives are to be handed on to the leaders of the church (V.2.2.6; 2.4.2,3), it is also clear that Hermas feels himself to be inferior to the elders, as we see from the scene when the Lady has to bid him sharply to sit down whereas Hermas was avoiding the seats as fitting for the elders but not for himself (V3.1.8-9). Indeed LW Barnard has formulated the

⁴² See R Joly Hermas le Pasteur (SC 53), Paris, 1958; Hermas et le Pasteur, VC 21 (1967) pp201-218; LW Barnard Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background, Oxford 1966, pp154,156 (modified somewhat to emphasise the distinctness of Vis. 1-4 and Vis.5 to the end, in The Shepherd of Hermas in recent Study, Heythrop Theological Journal 9 (1968) p32); J Reiling Hermas and Christian Prophecy, Leiden, 1973, p23f. M Dibelius Der Hirt des Hermas, Die apostolischen Väter, HNT Tübingen, 1923, p422 dated it to possibly the third or fourth decade of the second century.

position as follows : "It seems very probable that this is a reflection of his own feelings when first allowed to deliver one of his visions to the Roman Church... Behind this scene we sense a certain reluctance in recognising Hermas' prophetic gift...The Roman Church... must have sensed the strangeness of his visions"⁴³.

If this is a correct reading of the situation, then we have to say that Hermas is not necessarily typical of the leadership of the Roman church at the time. We shall have to remember this as we consider how representative his views about the Spirit might have been in the Roman church.

A and B :

In Vision 1/1/3 Hermas tells how, when on a journey to Cumae, he fell asleep

καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν
καὶ ἔπῃνεγκεν με δι' ἀνοδιάς τινός,

to a level country where he began to pray and was granted a vision of Rhoda, his former owner, whom he had desired. She bids him repent.

Vision 2/1/1 is similarly introduced by a reference to the Spirit's taking him and carrying him away to the same place a year later. This time an aged woman appears.

The Spirit is not expressly mentioned in connection with the remaining visions. The third one follows frequent fasting and entreaty to the Lord to give him the promised further revelation. Twenty days later he has a vision of the great beast while walking along the Campanian Way. Finally the glorious figure of the Shepherd appears to him to pass on commands and parables (Vision 5).

⁴³ Studies in the Apostolic Fathers, Oxford, 1966, pp 153-4.

The two express references to the Spirit are reminiscent of the Apocalypse (with which they would be roughly contemporary if visions 1-4 were dated ca100) and also of Ezekiel's experiences.

It is worth pointing out that Hermas receives these visions when he is on his own⁴⁴ and not within the worshipping and praying community (stressed in Mandate 11), though all the visions are to be passed on to the church(es) (2.4.2-3; 3.8.11; 4.4.5-6). Though received in individual solitude, visions 2-4 contain messages for God's people in the church.

When Hermas speaks about true and false prophecy in Mandate 11, the link between the Holy Spirit and inspiration to speak comes out clearly. Whereas the false prophet gives answers to enquiries from men, the true Spirit of God speaks when God Himself determines, not man (2,8). From what Hermas says the false prophet is really a fortune teller or diviner, giving people information that would be beneficial to them in their various concerns and enterprises. The false prophet receives money for his advice, whereas "can the divine Spirit receive money and prophesy? It is not possible for a prophet to do this..." (12). Again the implication is that God's Spirit cannot be controlled or induced by man. So Hermas can conclude that the false prophet is not filled with the power of a divine Spirit, whereas the true prophet is filled by the Holy Spirit (2,8).

The true prophet responds to the 'atmosphere' of a godly gathering : "When the man who has the divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the divine Spirit and intercession is made to God by the gathering of those men, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit who is attached to him fills the man

⁴⁴ Aune Prophecy in the NT p210.

and the man, filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the multitude as the Lord wills. In this way then the Spirit of the Deity shall be manifest. This then is the greatness of the power as touching the Spirit of the Deity of the Lord" (9-10).

It is as if the believing community indwelt by the Spirit provides the right setting for the Spirit to inspire the true prophet to speak.

The reverse is said about the false prophet (14) : "when he comes into an assembly full of righteous men who have the Spirit of Deity and intercession is made from them, that man is emptied and the earthly spirit flees from him in fear and that man is struck dumb and is altogether broken in pieces, being unable to utter a word". The false prophet is thus exposed. His 'emptiness' is shown up.

The conclusion, then, is "Trust the Spirit who comes from God and has power". Hermas illustrates the difference between the Divine Spirit and earthly spirits : a squirt of water ejected upwards falls to the ground, whereas a hailstone falling from above is painful when it lands on someone's head (18-20). "Small things falling from above on earth have great power. So likewise the divine Spirit coming from above is powerful"(21).

Clearly in this line of argument, God's Spirit is powerful - so powerful as to cause lesser spirits to flee - whereas the earthly spirit has "no power for it comes from the devil" (17).

Both in the Visions and the eleventh Mandate the Spirit is seen as the power behind the prophet's inspiration - in visions and prophecy. He impels the prophet to speak God's word to the congregation.

C :

Of greatest interest really is the ethical side of Hermas' teaching on the Spirit.

For Hermas man's flesh is a vessel (*τὸ σκεῦος*) in whom the Holy Spirit may dwell : God makes the Spirit dwell in man's flesh. This is analogous to certain Christological statements which Hermas makes - God made the Holy Spirit dwell in the Son's flesh (S. 5/6/5); and this flesh served and cooperated with the Spirit; and, as a result, was chosen to be the Spirit's companion (S 5/6/6). On the analogy of the reward to the Son who had served the Spirit blamelessly, "all flesh in which the Holy Spirit has dwelt shall receive a reward if it be found undefiled and spotless" (S. 5/6/7). To defile the flesh is to defile the the Spirit (S. 5/7/1-2) who is its partner.

(There is thus no flesh-Spirit antithesis such as we find in the NT, in Paul and John especially. Of course for Paul the body is the temple of the Spirit and the Christian is called on to glorify God in his body : but "flesh" and "Spirit" are man under sin and man in Christ respectively. Hermas is using 'flesh' of man's physical being - hence the idea of the vessel in which the Spirit dwells. Thus, Hermas at this point illustrates how in the post-apostolic era the Pauline distinction between *σῶμα* and *κῆρς*⁴⁵ tended to fall into disuse).

⁴⁵ Paul was not always absolutely consistent in his terminology : e.g. he could refer to the need to put to death the deeds of the body (Rom.8.12).

When we press the enquiry into Hermas' understanding further, we are confronted by a (in one sense) bewildering blend of the Spirit seen in terms of power, strength, help, assistance for the Christian, and the Spirit as delicate and powerless in the face of opposition from evil. We shall first set out this combination.

(a) The allegory of the Twelve Virgins in Similitude 9.

Whereas in Vis. 3 Hermas saw seven women standing around the Tower (= the Church) (the Seven are explained as faith, self-control, simplicity, knowledge, innocence, reverence and love: whoever serves them and can master their works will be part of the Tower), in Sim. 9 Hermas sees twelve virgins : these are faith, temperance, power, patience, simplicity, guilelessness, purity, cheerfulness, truth, understanding, concord, love. The increase from seven to twelve may be because in the earlier writing the number seven is the perfect number⁴⁶ or because seven represents the same type of thinking as in Revelation where the seven spirits stand for the Holy Spirit, while the number twelve is the number of the twelve tribes of Israel and, possibly, since entry into God's kingdom depends on receiving these virgins, there may be the symbolism of God's true people, the new Israel, lurking in the background.

These virgins stand for "the powers of the Son of God" who is the Spirit of God (S 9.1.1). The believer needs to clothe himself with their garment. A distinction is drawn between bearing the name but not the power. The first is not enough, the second is

⁴⁶ So Dibelius op.cit., pp472f.

vital (Hermas knows the same point which 2 Tim.3.5 makes). The virgins are described as holy spirits. The one Holy Spirit's activities are personified as virgins⁴⁷.

We might also mention that the antithesis of the twelve good virgins are the twelve women clad in black (S.9/13) who represent vices (9/15). Some believers are guilty of desiring them and put on their power and put off the garment and power of the virgins (9/13/8), as a result of which they were rejected from the house of God (9/13/9). By contrast those believers who "put on these spirits (of the virgins) will become one spirit and one body...They received the power of these maidens. By receiving their spirits they were strengthened ..." (9/13/5,7). It is possible, though not certain, that the idea of becoming one spirit and body may have been influenced by Paul's assertion that the believer who is an organ/member of Christ and joined to the Lord is one spirit with him (1Cor.6.17). For Paul the believer is a bodily part of Christ and one spiritually with him, which is followed by Paul's assertion that our bodies are the temple of the Holy Spirit. For Paul, in experience, our union with Christ and the indwelling of the Spirit are the same. Of course, Hermas may not be influenced by Paul, and the expression may be a way of asserting the unity of believers. At any rate the unity of believers stems from a common experience of "the powers of the virgins", i.e. the Holy Spirit.

⁴⁷ Later, in Sim. 24/2, in yet another allegory - that of the seventh mountain - believers are described as those "clothed in the Holy Spirit of these virgins": they are people who show mercy and help people. 24/4 concludes with an exhortation to believers to remain as they are, "for you have received of his Spirit".

The association of these virgins and power is clearly enunciated. Believers are strengthened when they receive the power of these virgins/Holy Spirit.

We need not repeat the evidence for the Spirit's power in Mandate 11 when Hermas was writing about true and false prophecy, but we note now the ethical dimension involved in the true and false prophets. Their characters differ : the latter is arrogant and constantly pushes himself to the fore, whereas the true prophet is gentle, tranquil, humble and morally upright. The implication is clearly that there are some qualities of character incompatible with inspiration by the Spirit, while there is a character shaped by the Spirit which He can use. Similarly thirst for money is not harmonious with the Spirit (12). Power and morality go hand in hand : it is not a question of 'brute force', as it were, but power is exercised in a way *comme surate* with the highest ideals of Christian character produced by the Spirit of God.

In two passages, then, - Similitude 9 and Mandate 11 - Hermas' view of the Spirit as power and, therefore, as an aid to believers emerges quite clearly and distinctly⁴⁸. The idea of the Spirit as power has a Judaeo-Christian background.

Alongside this strand, we meet another, in which the Spirit appears as delicate and lacking in power. The relevant passages are :

(a) the Spirit as a deposit (ἡ παρακλῆτα θύκη), Mand. 3.2.

The Spirit which God made to dwell in the flesh is a deposit which men have received from the Lord.

⁴⁸ See the Introduction for the Judaeo-Christian background of the idea of Spirit as power.

This Spirit is true and free from lies. If therefore believers speak lies, they in effect become thieves. They have cheated the Lord. "If they return a lying spirit, they have defiled the commandment of the Lord and have become robbers" (3.2). When Hermas is alarmed at this, because in his business affairs he has not told the truth, the Shepherd says "It behoved you as a servant of God to walk in truth, and no complicity with evil should abide with the Spirit of Truth nor bring grief to the Spirit which is holy and true"(3.4).

The Shepherd says that when believers speak and love the truth, the Spirit will be found true among men and the Lord will be glorified (3.1).

We miss here any idea of the Spirit's renewing power helping believers speak the truth and eschew falsehood. All the emphasis is on man's capacity to maintain truthfulness. The concept of the Spirit is a static one. God has given a deposit, but believers may lessen the value of this and may not return the deposit intact⁴⁹.

They can 'change' the Spirit from a truthful one into a lying one.

(b) the Spirit as a new garment given to a launderer (Sim.

9/32/3).

Hermas imagines that a person sends a new garment to the laundry. If it comes back torn, that person is justifiably angry with the launderer and complains bitterly. So also the Lord will be angry with us unless we restore the Spirit to Him whole as we received it. Again the emphasis is on what believers do with the Spirit rather than with what the Spirit does to believers.

(c) the Spirit as delicate (Mand. 5; 10).

⁴⁹ Dibelius op.cit., p502, bluntly says "This is not the early Christian concept of the Holy Spirit of God".

The Holy Spirit is delicate⁵⁰ and needs plenty of space in which to live or otherwise feels restricted, choked, contaminated and unable to serve the Lord (M.5/1/3). He feels hindered if an evil spirit enters a Christian, and finds the place where He is living impure and inconvenient. The evil spirit may be a bad temper (5/1/3), double-mindedness (9/1ff) and sadness (10/1/1ff), and the devil is associated with these vices (eg bad temper 5/1/3). For both spirits to dwell in someone is inconvenient and evil for that person in whom they dwell (5/1/4). Hermas uses the illustration of wormwood added to honey which is then rendered bitter and ruined (5/5).

Hermas speaks of overcrowding. "When all these spirits dwell in one vessel, where the Holy Spirit also dwells, that vessel cannot contain them but is overcrowded" (5/2/5-6). The Holy Spirit is delicate and unaccustomed to dwell with an evil spirit or harshness and so departs from such a man and seeks to dwell with gentleness and tranquillity (5/2/5-6). The result of that abandonment is that the person is filled with evil spirits (5/2/7).

In Mandate 10, the Shepherd says that grief wears out (ἐκτρίβει) the Holy Spirit (10/1/1-2) and grieves (λυπεῖ) him (10/2/2). The first of these statements needs examining : καὶ ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει⁵¹, which is really elucidated in 10/22/2-6. Angry temper embitters a person and allows grief to enter his heart. However, this grief leads him to repent because of his wickedness (4a) : αὕτη οὖν ἡ λύπη δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ὅτι τὸ πονηρὸν πράξας μετενόησεν

⁵⁰ Dibelius op.cit., p514, sees this delicacy as "a strange characteristic" in the Christian Holy Spirit.

⁵¹ Dibelius, op.cit., ad.loc., sees this as an attempt at Christianising extra-Christian material.

The *δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν* alludes clearly to *καὶ πάλιν σώζει* of vl. Curiously the thought of salvation does not recur in the remainder of vv4b - 6. The Shepherd goes on to say that both *διψυχία* and *ὀδυχαλία* grieve the Holy Spirit (4b) and pleads that grief be put away so that the Holy Spirit may not be oppressed.

Two further points may be made :

(i) a sad person's intercession lacks power and efficacy. The delicate Spirit's power is lessened by the presence of *λύπη*.

Hermas uses the illustration of vinegar mixed with wine producing a less pleasant quality : so grief mixed with the Holy Spirit does not have the same power of intercession (10/3/3)⁵².

(ii) The Spirit prays to God to be allowed to depart from a sad person. To avert this the Shepherd encourages men to put away *λύπη* and not to oppress the Spirit who indwells them (10/2/5)

μήποτε ἐντεύξῃται τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀποστῇ ἀπὸ σου.

We could, then, say that in Hermas there is a triumvirate of vices - sadness, bad temper, double-mindedness - which expel the Holy Spirit from the believer. On this teaching the Holy Spirit lacks power. He retreats before evil spirits and may be polluted by them. There is no thought of battle and conflict, and the believer's being helped to victory by the Spirit. Evil seems able to nullify the effect of the good Holy Spirit completely.

The material surveyed in (a), (b) and (c) thus agree in general and present an antithesis to the idea of the Spirit as power and assistance for the believer.

⁵² Dibelius, op.cit., ad.loc., again sees this as an attempt at Christianising material drawn from pagan sources.

Of these two strands in The Shepherd of Hermas, the weakness strand is the unusual one which calls for explanation⁵³. Are there any precedents for this type of thought ? We may rule out some previously offered explanations which suggested that Hermas was influenced by pagan thought : Opitz's view that Hermas was indebted to a Stoicised form of the Roman concept of a person's genius⁵⁴ or Dibelius' suggestion that Hermas' thought was akin to the form of demonology found in Pseud. Clem. Hom (9.11) and Porphyrius' de abstinencia⁵⁵ - neither of which really explained the delicacy of the Spirit.

Within the NT itself there does not seem anything comparable : injunctions not to quench the Spirit (1 Thess.5.19) or grieve the Spirit (Ephes.4.30) and the assumption that a Christian minister may need to rekindle his spiritual gift (2 Tim.1.6 ; cf 1 Tim.4.14) certainly imply that the believer may nullify the influence of the Spirit. They themselves, however, do not imply that the Spirit is weaker than evil. These passages envisage that the believer may refuse to cooperate with the Spirit. Then the Spirit is powerless. The strand in Hermas says that the Spirit is delicate and incapable of standing up to evil. The Spirit seems to quit the field without a struggle and surrenders without a fight.

⁵³ cf J-P Audet Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du Manuel de Discipline, RB 60 (1953) pp 64-65, commented on Mand.5.2.4-7 : "The most remarkable feature of this passage is undoubtedly that of the sullyng of the Holy Spirit. To my knowledge, the idea is only found twice outside the Shepherd and that is in the Damascus Document."

⁵⁴ Frühchristliche Pneumatologie, pp 136 - 149, esp.142-149 .

⁵⁵ op.cit., pp 517 - 519.

Was the thought of Rom.7-8 possibly an influence here ? It is well known that many scholars believe that both these chapters refer to Christian experience. Did Hermas think likewise ? i.e. that the strand which envisages the weakness and delicacy of the Spirit draws on Rom.7, while the idea of the power of the Spirit rests on Rom.8 ? While presumably Romans continued to be known and read at Rome, the Pauline influence on The Shepherd of Hermas as a whole is not great, and again it is not a question of the weakness of the Spirit himself in Rom.7. We may set aside the idea that Rom.7-8 influenced Hermas.

In the canonical OT one writer said that God's Spirit abandoned Saul and an evil spirit tormented him (1 Sam.16.14). Then again, 4 Ezra (post 70AD in its present form) speaks of the disastrous consequences of Adam's sin : the law was in the heart of the people but also wickedness, and the result was that what was good departed and the evil remained (3.22) - there is no specific mention of the Spirit/spirits here, but there is the idea of the retreat of good before evil.

We ought also take into consideration the Hebraic-Judaic concept of sin as affecting the holiness of (eg) the Temple and causing the Divine to retreat from the Temple⁵⁶. God will remain only while His dwelling place is pure. If the community/individual is now considered the temple or vessel of the Spirit, the same ideas could apply : God's Spirit will withdraw from the individual who is not pure and holy.

⁵⁶ See M Newton The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul, Cambridge, 1985, pp 6-7,37,41,51.

The situation has to a large extent been altered by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in particular the Manual of Discipline 3.13-4.26 which envisages two spirits fiercely contending in the universe and men's hearts until the End, when the spirit of evil will be destroyed. WD Davies, commenting on the two spirits (truth and error) in the Manual of Discipline, wrote "The emphasis in the Scrolls is not on the invasive transcendent character of the two spirits, but on their enduring presence and persistence until the End : they suggest not an inrush of specially given energy but, if we may so express it, two constant currents of good and evil forces in conflict"⁵⁷, while ARC Leaney remarked that truth "has been contaminated with the ways of evil , during the dominion of perversity until the set time"⁵⁸.

Two passages from the Zadokite Fragment (or Damascus Document) to which J-P Audet has drawn attention⁵⁹ deserve to be quoted, for they contain references to the sullyng or polluting of the Spirit. They are :

"Such men have desecrated the Holy Spirit within them and with mocking tongue have opened their mouths against the statutes of God's covenant" (7.12 = 5.11), and

"Let no man sully the Holy Spirit within him" (8.20 = 7.4).

⁵⁷ Christian Origins and Judaism, London, 1962, pp164-165.

⁵⁸ The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning, London, 1966, p154.

⁵⁹ op.cit., RB 60 (1953), pp64-5.

These passages from the OT and intertestamental writings form a cogent background against which to set the strand within Hermas' teaching on the Spirit which particularly concerns us. In the actual use of *τρυφερός* Hermas almost seems unique :

(i) LSJ record no examples in classical Greek of this word's being used of the gods or spirits.

(ii) The occurrences in the LXX are irrelevant. Even Bar.4.26 which calls God's faithful ones as His "delicate ones" and Isa.58.13, where the returned Jews are promised Yahweh's blessing, if they will keep the sabbath holy and call it *τρυφερόν* = "delightful", are hardly relevant. In the end, neither of these seems to be the basis for stimulating Hermas' thought and his use of the word *τρυφερός*.

If Hermas' application of the word *τρυφερός* to God's Spirit seems unparalleled, overall it must be concluded that at this point Hermas' Jewish background exerted a considerable influence on him. He found it natural to express himself in the way that we have seen. At the same time we ought to take into consideration what we may call the pastoral situation. Many have been critical of Hermas as a theologian and dismissed him as theologically confused and shallow, but if we approach the problem from a pastoral angle rather than a dogmatic theological one⁶⁰, there may be a way forward.

Hermas as a person with a pastoral concern knew that the level of Christian commitment and discipleship varied within the church, and he sought to grapple with why some Christians displayed so little Christlike qualities. This together with his Jewish heritage (the departure of God's Spirit/the good; the bad actions

⁶⁰ Compare what R Joly wrote in his commentary *Le Pasteur*, Paris 1968 (2nd Ed.), p33 "Hermas is and wanted to be a moralist, he does not make himself out to be a theologian".

driving away the good inclination; the contamination of truth by evil) could provide an intelligible background and explanation of why he expressed himself as he did. However, to explain is not to excuse. In allowing this kind of strand to find expression within his work Hermas was weakening an emphasis which predominated in the earliest Christian generations and which is there as one strand in his own writings - the Spirit as power to uplift and assist Christians in their struggle against evil and their quest to do God's holy will.

SUMMARY :

Hermas mentions the Spirit twice in connection with his visions as if this was the 'expected' thing. The more literary these visions are seen to be, the more these two references become a sign of what was associated with prophetic visions, i.e. the Spirit is the source of inspiration for a prophet. This is confirmed by the discussion of true and false prophecy in Mandate 11 : the Holy Spirit inspires the true prophet and the believing congregation within which he prophesies in a mutual interplay of milieu and inspired person.

There is a fair amount of material which links the Spirit with how the Christian should behave. One strand assumes that the Spirit empowers the Christian. The one Holy Spirit is variously described as holy spirits and as virgins who are the personifications of virtues. Furthermore the believing congregation indwelt by the Spirit is too powerful a resistant to the false prophet whose false spirit flees from him, leaving him 'dumb'.

On the other side the Spirit is viewed as either something which can be harmed, impaired or diminished (which the believer must preserve and return intact) or as delicate, too weak to withstand the power of evil and forced to leave the believer

(whose own behaviour, especially sadness, bad temper and double-mindedness, may choke and restrict the Spirit and cause him to flee).

The striking fact is that Hermas has more material in section C than any other writer examined thus far, not only in Rome but also Syria and Asia Minor. Why is this so ? Hermas' major interest lies in this area - he feels called by God to offer sinful Christians one more chance of repentance before the End. The ethical concern then is uppermost. But, in the end, Hermas seems to have little to offer - Christians can put on "the powers of the virgins", yet on the other hand he portrays a weak, sensitive, delicate Spirit who will withdraw if evil holds too much sway in the human life and heart.

Although there are hints in 1 John and the Odes of Solomon of the Spirit's ability to produce Christlike love and holiness in the believer, ethics were tending to become autonomous and not seen as both response to God's grace and enabled by God's grace in the Spirit's power, as evidenced by the Didache, Pastorals, Polycarp, Jude, 2 Peter, Montanism, Clement and 2 Clement. In some instances, ethical performance seems to lead to salvation rather than being the product. The moralistic note⁶¹, discernible in some of Hermas' ethical teaching, fits into this apparently developing pattern. We are constrained to say that we have come a long way from the position of Paul in NT times.

⁶¹ Stressed by TF Torrance The Concept of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, 1953, pp 116 - 119, if somewhat one-sidedly.

CHAPTER 27 : JUSTIN MARTYR

Justin Martyr was a Gentile born at Flavia Neapolis (Shechem/Nablus) in Samaria ca 100. In his spiritual pilgrimage Justin moved eventually from Platonism to Christianity. He taught at Ephesus where, according to Eusebius⁶², he engaged in his disputation with Trypho. He eventually moved to Rome ca 150, where he established a "school". He wrote two Apologies, the first ca 155 and the second ca 161. He was martyred in Rome ca 165⁶³. Thus, Justin was a well-travelled person and was no doubt acquainted with Christianity in many areas, but since we know that he taught and was martyred in Rome, it seemed appropriate to include Justin in our section on Rome. Roman Christians and non-Christians could hear Justin's teaching in the middle decades of the second century.

A :

In Apology I.61 Justin describes conversion as both a divine act and a human response. The divine side is indicated by such phrases as made new, reborn, washed, illumined; the human side, by repentance, belief, choice, dedication.

Justin uses the language of being born again in contrast with our first natural birth⁶⁴. Christian conversion is a momentous occasion :

⁶² HE 4.18.6.

⁶³ For details see Dial 1; Apol. II.12; and the discussions in CIK Story The Nature of Truth in "The Gospel of Truth" and in the writings of Justin Martyr, Leiden, 1970, pp xiii - xv; EF Osborn Justin Martyr, Tübingen, 1973, pp6-10; The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Oxford, 1974 (2nd Ed.), ed. FL Cross and EA Livingstone, p770; LW Barnard Justin Martyr Cambridge, 1974,

⁶⁴ Barnard, op.cit., p10, denies that Justin was a 'twice born' Christian. "He experienced nothing like a dramatic conversion of a

it involves a passage from darkness to light, i.e. an illumination and a washing clean from moral defilement. That conversion was a 'felt' experience is confirmed by Dialogue 8.1 : when the old man instrumental in his conversion finished speaking, Justin says "a fire was kindled in my soul".

How far is this associated in Justin's mind with the activity of the Holy Spirit ?

(a) Justin applied Gen.1.1-2 to the waters of baptism, since he speaks of demons erecting the image of the pagan goddess, Kore, at springs, in imitation of Christian custom (Apol.I.64.2). Given that baptism is a focal point within the conversion experience, this passage implies that the Spirit is active in it.

(b) Justin can speak of Christians as those who have been baptised by the Holy Spirit.

"What need then of circumcision have I who have been witnessed-to by God?
What need of that (other) baptism have I who have been baptized with the Holy Spirit ?" (Dial.29.1)

Circumcision and proselyte baptism ("that (other) baptism") are set in parallelism and belong together as constituent parts of initiation into Judaism. On the other side, "being witnessed-to by God" and "baptised with the Holy Spirit" belong together as parts of becoming a Christian. By baptising the believer with the Holy Spirit God witnesses to His acceptance and ownership of the believer. The lack of circumcision - the state in which God created Gentiles - is no

St. Paul or a St. Augustine. Christianity was for him the true philosophy and throughout his days he retained the impress of his passage from an imperfect to a perfect philosophy". But while Justin may have progressed through various stages of philosophical conviction, it still was prepared to use dramatic language for his and other Christians' embracing of Christianity. Barnard has ignored the language from Apol.I.61,65-6 and Dial. 8.1.

matter for reproach, therefore. Justin here speaks for Christians in general as is shown by the fact that both before and after this passage he used the first person plural (eg "our sacrifices"; the Scriptures are "not yours, but ours").

There is no specific reference to water baptism here. Justin only employs the language of being baptised by the Holy Spirit. This surely shows that this was vitally important for him. Being baptised by the Spirit is an essential feature of conversion.

Furthermore, the use of the perfect participle passive *βεβαπτισμένῳ* suggests a past event with continuing consequences: baptism with the Spirit is not a *unique* experience but has lasting and permanent effects. The gift of the Spirit is an abiding one.

Justin's language suggests that something felt is in mind.

(c) Justin also speaks of Christians' having received a spiritual circumcision through baptism (Dial.43.2f). He contrasts Enoch and those like him who observed or followed this spiritual circumcision (*ἦν ... ἐφύλαξαν*) and Christians who received it *διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος*. Since Christians were sinners, they received it because of God's mercy and all can obtain it in a similar way.

Under *περιτομή πνευματική* Justin can only mean that the gift of the Holy Spirit has been imparted by God by His mercy to forgiven sinners, as is confirmed by chapter 114.4 : by this "second circumcision God circumcises us from idolatry and simply all forms of evil; our hearts have been circumcised from wickedness". Justin then gives the positive side of this act of circumcision. Christians "rejoice to die because of the name of the beautiful rock who both causes the living water to burst forth into the hearts of those who through him (Christ) have loved the Father of all and gives those who wish to drink the water of life". The imagery of *ζῶν ὕδωρ* or *ὕδωρ τῆς ζῶης* can be confidently

thought of as nothing less than the gift of the Holy Spirit in the life of believers.⁶⁵

The two sides of circumcision are :

- (i) the putting away of wickedness
- (ii) the receiving of the living waters = the Holy Spirit.

Baptism may be the occasion, but the important thing is receiving the Spirit, here described as spiritual circumcision because it involves both putting off evil and receiving the living water. The imagery of the living water bursting forth from Christ the rock into Christians again points to a specific vivid and memorable experience.

(d) In a section of the Dialogue where Justin contrasts Jews and Christians, he reveals that what distinguishes the church from the Jewish people is on the human side faith and on the divine side the Spirit :

"It is necessary for us here to observe that there are two seeds of Judah and two races, as there are two houses of Jacob : the one begotten by blood and flesh, the other by faith and the Spirit" (135.9-10).

The Jews are a race produced by the normal process of human reproduction; Christians are given birth *ἐκ πίστεως καὶ πνεύματος*.

Earlier in the chapter, Justin, arguing that Christians are the true Israelites and seed of Jacob, applied Isa.42.1-4 to Christ, not to the patriarch Jacob (135.3). "As therefore he calls the Christ Israel and Jacob, so also we, who have been quarried out of the belly of Christ, are the true Israelite race" (135.4-5).

⁶⁵ cf the Johannine imagery - John 4.14; 7.37-39, though in actual fact Justin quotes Jer.2.13 in support.

Since Isaiah 42.1-4 contains the reference to God's giving His Spirit to His Servant, it is reasonable to believe that here Justin was thinking that Christians have also received the Spirit.

(e) Possibly Dial. 54.1 should be mentioned. Justin is exegeting Gen.49.11 :

"He shall wash his robe in wine

and his garment in the blood of the grape".

This meant that Christ would wash believers in his blood.

"For the Holy Spirit called those, who received forgiveness of sins through him, his robe, among whom he is continually present in power and will be visibly present at his second coming".

Believers enjoy the continual presence of Christ. We may well have here that phenomenon observable in the NT where in terms of Christian experience the risen Christ and the Spirit are identical and interchangeable.

The concept of the Spirit's gifts of speech and deed is also present in Justin's writings.

(a) Trypho referred to Justin's statement (based on Isaiah 11.1ff) that Christ was filled with the powers of the Spirit, and claimed that this implied that he lacked them prior to this (Dial.87.2). Justin countered that whereas famous OT figures had had only one power, all these powers found their accomplishment in Christ.

Justin then said that when Christ came, the Spirit rested
(ἀνεπαύσατο οὖν, τούτέστιν ἐπαύσατο ἐλθόντος ἐκείνου
87.5).

Justin's theory is that in the OT era the Spirit was active, although only imparting one or two gifts to men. He then endowed Jesus with all the powers mentioned by Isaiah. He "rested" in the sense that he did not inspire any one else from the Jewish nation then or subsequently (cf "For after him no prophet has arisen among

you...it was necessary that such gifts should cease from you".

After Christ's ascension, the Spirit resumes his activity - in those who believe in Christ (87.5) and whom Christ deems worthy. As Justin puts it, "from the grace of his Spirit's power, (Christ) imparts (gifts) to those who believe in Him, according as he deems each man worthy".

To justify this argument, Justin quotes -

"He ascended on high,
he led captivity captive,
he gave gifts to the sons of men".
And again, in another prophecy it is said :
"And it shall come to pass after this, I will pour out my Spirit
on all mankind, and on my male servants and my female servants,
and they shall prophesy" ' (87.6).

Justin immediately goes on to say : "Now, it is possible to see amongst us both women and men who possess gifts from the Spirit of God" (Dial.88.1).

It is clear that Justin has in mind specific and special gifts which the Spirit imparts, otherwise he would not have phrased his statement as he does, with particular individuals in mind⁶⁶.

We note in passing that women as well as men are said to possess these gifts, though Justin does not dwell on this feature⁶⁷. No doubt such a statement acted as a fulfilment of the Joel quotation, but Justin is clearly referring to actual facts.

⁶⁶ Benoit, op.cit., pp171-173, believes that two concepts of the Spirit are juxtaposed without Justin's clearly distinguishing them : (a) the Spirit bestows his gifts on certain members of the church (χαρίσματα 82.1; 88.1); (b) the Spirit is given to all who believe (δόματα 39.2;87.5). If we examine 87.3 - 88.1, we see, however, that Justin uses δυνάμεις 87.3-4, δόματα 87.5-6 and χαρίσματα 88.1, and it is difficult to see any real distinction in the sense behind the different terminology.

⁶⁷ Justin appears to be more liberal than the author of the Pastorals (1 Tim 2.9-15) (and, perhaps, the interpolator of 1 Cor. 14. 34-35.

It is interesting that he makes this statement immediately after his somewhat abbreviated quotation of Joel which nonetheless included *καὶ προφητεύσουσι* - before Montanism.

(b) Earlier in the Dialogue Justin claimed that "the prophetical gifts remain with us, even to the present day" (82.1). Again this statement is interesting in view of the widespread assumption that prophecy had ceased before Montanism revived it. Justin goes on to say that these prophetic gifts should be a sign to Trypho and his friends that ancient Jewish gifts (*[χαρίσματα] τὰ πάλαι ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν ὄντα*) have been transferred to Christians.

(c) Elsewhere (Dial.39.2) Justin applied the passage in 1 Kings 18 about the seven thousand who had not worshipped Baal to Jewish Christians who were becoming disciples of Christ and abandoning the way of error. Each of them, as he is worthy, receives gifts:

"For one receives the Spirit of understanding, another (the Spirit) of counsel, another (the Spirit) of might, another (the Spirit) of healing, another (the Spirit) of foreknowledge, another (the Spirit) of teaching, another (the Spirit) of the fear of God" (39.2).

πνεῦμα here must be God's Spirit, not man's, as the link with healing and teaching shows. God's Spirit imparts these *δώρα* which range from gifts of spiritual understanding (understanding, counsel, foreknowledge, fear of God)⁶⁸ to miracles (strength, healing).

Again (as in chapter 87) Psalm 68 is quoted to substantiate Justin's remarks (which also reveal that conversions from Judaism to Christianity were taking place).

⁶⁸ Cf Dial.10.4, where Trypho is credited with the statement, with which Justin no doubt concurred: "Will the mind of man see God at any time, if it is uninstructed by the Holy Spirit?"

(d) As regards miracles mentioned in 39.2, we find evidence for exorcisms in Justin's day elsewhere in the Dialogue and II Apology. Christian believers find that all demons and evil spirits are subjected to them when they adjure them (Dial.76.6). So powerful is Christ's name that Christians do not need to use fumigations and incantations, as Jewish and Gentile exorcists do (Dial.30.3;85.3). In II Apology Justin refers to past and present exorcisms of innumerable demoniacs throughout the world and at Rome, although other exorcists who used incantations and drugs were impotent to effect their cure (6.6).

Justin, then, believed that some Christians have received special gifts of the Spirit in fulfilment of Psalm 68 and Joel 2 :

(a) Dial.88.1 seems to have in mind some, not all, Christians.

(b) After the ascension Christ imparts gifts to believers

"according as he deems each man worthy" (Dial. 87.5).

(c) II Apology 6 seems to refer to a specific group of Christian exorcists - πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀνθρώπων.

Given the style of the Dialogue, Justin cannot have been romanticising about these gifts. They were part of his argument, which would collapse unless they did occur and were visible.

SUMMARY :

Justin held that all Christian believers have received the Holy Spirit (through faith and baptism) and this marked them off from the Jews, the old people of God and the first circumcision. This experience is the heart of conversion. Justin's use of the language of rebirth/being made new argues for a dramatic experience attending conversion.

Some Christians have received special gifts of the Spirit in fulfilment of Psalm 68 and Joel 2. Prophecy is still current as is the power to perform miracles, healings and exorcisms, while special spiritual wisdom and understanding are granted to some. Both Ephesians and Justin use Ps. 68 and take the "gifts" bestowed on men to mean the risen Lord's gifts through his Spirit. There could be at least an allusion to the original form of Ps. 68.19 in Acts 2.33 - the ~~ἁβύ~~ would agree with the MT and LXX, plus Joel 2.28. The value of Ps. 68.19 for the early Christians was the combination of the ideas of ascending and gifts. There may have developed an exegetical tradition which drew together Ps.68 and Joel 2 to support the Christian experience of the Spirit : Acts 2, and Ephes. 4 would be the start of the process and Justin could be an heir to it⁶⁹.

Whereas in Ephesians the gifts are men capable of holding certain offices in the church, in Justin the gifts are activities (cf Dial.39.2), i.e. Justin is closer in fact to 1 Cor.12 than to Ephes. 4, though both use Ps.68.

Justin Martyr, then, becomes evidence that in "popular"⁷⁰

⁶⁹ If P Prigent (Justin et l'Ancien Testament, Paris, 1964 pp 12,113-5, 321, 326) is right, Justin was utilising in Dial. 87 a section from his own Syntagma, a treatise against heresies (RM Grant thinks it more probable that he was quoting from memory) - in which the divinity of the exalted, glorified Christ who is reigning and will come in glory was celebrated and proved by Pss. 19, 24, 47, 72, 99, 110, Dan. 7 and Is.66, and that the Exalted One gave the Spirit to men was backed up by Is.11, Ps.68 and Joel 2.

⁷⁰ H Chadwick Justin Martyr's Defence of Christianity, BJRL 47 (1964-65) p293 has said that Justin's theology deserves 'the epithet "popular" in the sense that he wants to stress the points prominent in the mind of ordinary Christian folk with a practical concern for moral responsibility and a devotion quickened to life by the dramatic story of the divine acts of redemption through Christ and the work of the Spirit'. Thus, Justin may be a good guide to what ordinary Christian folk thought and felt on the topic of the Holy Spirit.

Christianity of the mid-second century the experience of the Holy Spirit was part of Christians' lives and discipleship. Far from playing a negligible role, the Spirit is an important ingredient in the life of the church⁷¹.

⁷¹ This dissents from the view of Story, op.cit., p147, who asserts that the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the actual life of the Christian receives little attention in Justin's writings and says that "neither from D.29.1 nor D.87.6 - 88.1 can one conclude that the Holy Spirit has a significant role to play in the daily life of Christians".

CHAPTER 29 : VALENTINIAN GNOSTICISM

Born in northern Egypt and educated at Alexandria, Valentinus moved to Rome where he lived and worked ca 136 - 155AD, possibly as late as 165⁷², apparently in and out of membership of the church there (according to Tertullian⁷³) and having at one time (ca 143) hopes of becoming bishop⁷⁴.

From Hippolytus' Ref.Haer. 6.30, we know the names of some followers : the "Eastern School" - Theodotus, Marcus, Axionicus of Antioch, Bardesanes of Edessa, and in the so-called "Italian School" - Ptolemaeus, Heracleon, Secundus. While there are variations and development of thought, some common features run through the thinking of these "Valentinians". As these common features have been adequately described by Sagnard, Jonas, Rudolph and Berthouzoz, to name a few, we need not spend time in describing the whole Valentinian system⁷⁵. Suffice to say that all 30 aeons between the supreme Deity and the Demiurge are spiritual and one of these aeons is the Holy Spirit (not the 'orthodox' Holy Spirit) and that there are 3 classes of people - pneumatics (in whom a spiritual seed has been sown by Sophia), psychics and hylics. The

⁷² So Irenaeus AH 3.4.3.

⁷³ Praescr. Haer. 30.

⁷⁴ Tertullian Adv. Val. 4.

⁷⁵ FMM Sagnard La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de saint Irénée, Paris, 1947; H Jonas The Gnostic Religion, Boston, 1958; K Rudolph Gnosis, (ET) Edinburgh, 1983; R Berthouzoz Liberté et Grace suivant la Théologie d' Irénée de Lyons, Fribourg-Paris, 1980.

first-named have to be awakened to their true nature through the revelation of the Saviour, to be reunited with an angelic partner.

Through limits of space we propose to confine ourselves to a discussion of the Gospel of Truth and two of the Italian school, Ptolemaeus and Heracleon.

(a) VALENTINUS/the AUTHOR OF THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH⁷⁶

A and B :

The vivid distinction which the GT draws between the pre- and post-conversion states leaves no doubt that a genuine and dramatic experience is being described. There are three pictures which are employed for the pre- conversion state :

- (i) anguish or terror which envelops the person like a fog, thus giving Plane (Error) her opportunity to deceive 17.10f;
- (ii) drunkenness in which a person is not his true self 22.16ff;
- (ii) the experience of nightmares during which people try and do things but are unable 28.28-30.12.

While these images are favourite gnostic themes as Jonas has shown⁷⁷, the GT is one of the earliest gnostic writings we actually

⁷⁶ All quotations from the translation by K Grobel The Gospel of Truth, London 1960. Among those who accept Valentinus as the author of the Gospel of Truth (hereafter GT) are WC van Unnik "'The Gospel of Truth' and the NT", The Jung Codex, Ed. FL Cross, London, 1955, pp81ff, and Grobel himself, op.cit., pp19, 26-27; RM Grant Gnosticism and Early Christianity, New York, (2nd Ed.) 1966, pp128ff. The issue of authorship is not of particular concern to us : what matters is that GT is probably the earliest known sample of Valentinian theology. Grobel remarks that if a pupil of Valentinus, the author would seem to be an "earlier" one than Ptolemy or Heracleon because he is less involved in the mythological-heterodox trend than they.

⁷⁷ op.cit., pp 49 - 74.

possess and there is no reason why literary skill and personal experience may not have been fused to make the powerful impact of (eg) the nightmare section. To what experiences do these images point? We may say that they point to a sense of alienation vis-a-vis this world, to a sense of not being at home in this world, of not being one's true self and needing to discover who one really is. The individual does not "see" where he is going; like a drunken man he has no control over his direction and is in a stupefied state, not his true self. He seeks but never achieves his true goal in life, like a person in a nightmare strives but never accomplishes what he aims to do. These are powerful images for a particular human predicament and need, and suggest that the author of GT starts from the experience of alienation over against the world and of inner dividedness. He is aware of being a foreigner in the world and of a lack of inner peace and harmony. The images do not convey the sense of man's sinful state vis-a-vis a holy God. The starting point could therefore be formulated as residing not so much in a theological but anthropological understanding of life, though this latter does have a theological aspect (viz that God/divine is alien to the world)⁷⁸.

What reverses this state so graphically described? The concept of a "call" plays a part in the GT (as in Gnosticism generally)⁷⁹. The Father calls the gnostic (21.25-27); He pronounces their name (21.28f, 30ff).

⁷⁸ What we have described accounts for why Gnosticism has proved such a source of interest to modern existentialists - see eg H Jonas op.cit., pp320-40.

⁷⁹ See eg Jonas op.cit., pp74-91; W Foerster GNOSIS I (ET) Oxford, 1972, pp2,20.

Of course it is the basic revelation of the Son in his incarnation which enables the separation between the unknown Father⁸⁰ and the gnostic to be abolished : 34.28-29,32; 38.21-24;40.27-28. What was achieved then becomes actualised in the call of the gnostic.

Once the call is received, the pre-conversion state is reversed :

- (i) the gnostic wakes up 30.13-19 (as from sleep) or sobers up 22.16-20 (after drunkenness) and becomes his true self (he knows "whence he came and whither he goes" 22.13-15; that he is from above 22.3f and came from out of God 27.11-14);
- (ii) the state of forgetting is abolished 18.5-12, 16-18; 37.37-39;
- (iii) he receives light to replace darkness 24.32ff; 35.27-29; 32.23,32-34;
- (iv) he receives rest 42.21f; 35.23,25-27 instead of torment 31.21f,26f;
- (v) he has a sense of completeness 19.3-7; 25.35-26.15; 34.28-32; 36.1ff; 42.31-33; 43.19ff;
- (vi) warmth replaces coldness 34.28f,32.

What part, if any, does the Spirit play in the experience of this conversion/call ?

"For everyone who loves the Truth...attaches himself to the Father's mouth by means of His tongue as he receives the Holy Spirit, this (the Spirit) being the revelation of the Father and the manifestation of Himself to His aeons" (26.32-27.8).

The expressions "Father's mouth" and "tongue" stand for God's revelation and the means of revelation. In this passage the means of revelation is the Holy Spirit, from whom the gnostic receives the revelation (what comes from the Father's mouth).

⁸⁰ This description appears at 17.8,22; 18.32; 20.2; 30.34.

We have here (i) a parallel between the heavenly and the earthly. The Father has revealed Himself to His aeons, but also to the gnostic. What happens to the aeons also happens at an earthly level to the gnostic, the lover of truth⁸¹;

(ii) a filiation of names⁸². Elsewhere the Son or Word is described as the one who reveals the Father; here Spirit is used.

That the Spirit is involved in the process of revelation can be seen in the passage which begins with a beatitude on "the man who has returned to himself and awakened" and "on Him who has opened the eyes of the blind" (30.12-16). Whereas Grobel⁸³ assumes that the latter refers to the Father or Jesus, Story⁸⁴ believes that the Holy Spirit is the one who is in mind and this certainly fits in with the continuation of the passage in vv16ff -

"and the swift Spirit followed him up after he had caused him to wake up. Having given hand to him, who was stretched out on the ground, he set him on his feet, though he had not yet (ever) risen up. And he gave them means of understanding the gnosis of the Father and the revealing of his Son, for when they had seen him and heard him, he permitted them to taste him and smell him and lay hold of the beloved Son" (30.16-31).

The Spirit wakes up the sleeper and helps him on his feet.

The Spirit brings the call and enables the one called to return to himself. He helped him understand the Father's gnosis and what the

⁸¹ Sagnard, op.cit., p244; B Aland "Gnosis und Christentum", The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, ed. B Layton, Leiden, 1979, p335 maintain that each individual event of redemption is only the subsequent accomplishment of the first inner-divine event.

⁸² cf Sagnard, op.cit., p240.

⁸³ op.cit., p 119.

⁸⁴ op.cit., p19.

Son has revealed. The Spirit deepens the believer's understanding of the Son⁸⁵ - he permitted the believer to "taste and smell and lay hold of the beloved Son". The language here may owe something to 1 Jn. 1.1-3, but certainly goes beyond it (taste, smell), and, in that very fact, probably reveals the experience underlying the passage under consideration.

The writer continues :

"Having been revealed, he teaches them concerning the Father, the Incomprehensible One, having breathed into them that which is in the Thought, (thereby) doing His will. Many received the light, they turned to Him" (30.32-35).

The mention of "breathing" evokes Jn.20.22 but the Johannine passage is the Johannine Pentecost and the fulfilment of the promise of the Spirit made earlier in the course of the Gospel, ' whereas the GT's use is detached from any prior anchorage and used to convey the author's particular slant. The phrase may be intended to suggest the gift of the Holy Spirit as the agent who mediates gnosis ("That which is in the Thought", i.e. teaching concerning the Incomprehensible Father).

We come across the idea of breath in another passage 34.9-14, and here Grobel believes that there is a double sense of Breath and Spirit⁸⁶ :

"It is not the ears that smell the aroma but it is the brèath which has the sense of smell and is wont to bring it to him for him and to submerge (him?) in the aroma of the Father".

⁸⁵ Story, op.cit., p20, believes that here the Gospel of Truth is akin to the fourth gospel's teaching on the Holy Spirit in Jn.16.12-15, esp. v14 - the Spirit expounds the teaching and revelation of the Son.

⁸⁶ op.cit., p151. Story, op.cit., p26, also sees a reference to the Spirit in the passage - "The Father's aroma can only be sensed by the gift of the Spirit (34.9-12)" (my italics).

The Spirit (the breath of God) utilises human breath to convey the divine aroma to him who breathes it in. If the sons of the Father are His aroma (so 33.39-34.1), which He loves, then the idea of conveying that aroma to someone means that he becomes a son of the Father. He is awakened to the fact that he is "from the Father" (33.32). The redeemed realises his origin, and this aroma "takes him up to the Place out of which he came forth" (34.15-16).

Another passage mentions breathing. After saying that the return of the redeemed is called repentance (35.23), the writer goes on :

"This is why Imperishability breathed out, and followed after him who had sinned : in order that He might give him rest. For forgiveness is to remain behind in the Light within the Lack" (35.24-28).

If we follow Grobel in taking Imperishability as abstract for concrete⁸⁷, ie the Imperishable One (=the Father), then what is His breathing out but the gift of the Spirit ? As at 30.16 the Spirit followed the awakened person, so here the Spirit follows the sinner to impart forgiveness, light, rest (to replace the darkness and restless anguish already noted).

There is a passage on anointing 36.13ff and we may well here also detect a reference to the Spirit. Our writer says that finding the unchangeable light of the Truth is "why it was said about the Christ in their midst 'Seek and they shall receive' a return, - they who were perplexed - and He will anoint them with the anointing". Grobel takes the anointing as probably Spirit baptism⁸⁸. This anointing is from the merciful Father. Those anointed are complete (36.17-20). The experience of the Spirit completes him whose origin is from above.

⁸⁷ op.cit., p163.

⁸⁸ op.cit., p169.

There then follows the complicated illustration of the jars, smeared around the stopper to seal them, which distinguishes between full and partially full jars.

The Spirit is also experienced as power. After a reference to the incarnation (31.4-7) and the teaching ministry which gave life (31.9-15), GT continues ..(the Son)

"gave them thought and wisdom and mercy and salvation and the Spirit of power from the infinitude of the Father and from the kindness. He caused the torments and scourgings to cease... and with power he abolished them and defeated them by gnosis" (31.15-22,26-27; cf 26.18-27).

Clearly, then, the Spirit is one of the Son's gifts, with the Father remaining the ultimate source ("the infinite and kind Father"). The link of Spirit and power receives emphasis from the fact that gnosis is powerful to end the torments and anguish of illusory existence (cf 28.19ff). The Spirit will enable those illumined to defeat Plane and her confusion themselves (cf 31.32-33 : "By his victory he becomes stability to those who were staggering").

Towards the end of GT the author contemplates the ultimate rest of the redeemed. They rest in Him who rests (42.21-22). The Father is in them and they are in the Father (42.26-30). They are complete, indivisible in the Good One, "lacking nothing at all but taking rest, being fresh in the Spirit" (42.31-33). The Spirit confers all blessings on the redeemed in the Place from where they originally came and whither they have returned. They do not descend to Hades (42.18), but all are at rest in Him who is perfect rest. Contemplating this eventuality, the author says :

"And His children are complete and worthy of His name, for it is ⁸⁹children of this sort that the Father Himself desires" (43.19-23).

⁸⁹ I have left out of this survey 24.10f, 26.34-27.1, which are regarded by Grobel op.cit., pp93 and 109 resp., as interpolations,

C :

In Clem. Strom. II.20 there is a reference to the ethical transformation of the gnostic. Before conversion the heart is like an inn often filled with filth by men who live there licentiously and who have no regard for the place because it belongs to another. The heart is unclean and the abode of many demons.

"Through God alone is it possible for the heart to become pure when every evil spirit is banished from the heart... When the Father who alone is good visits it, it is sanctified and becomes bright with light; and he who has such a heart will be proclaimed blessed, for he will see God" (Matt.5.3).

This aspect is not dwelt on in GT.

SUMMARY :

It cannot be said that the Holy Spirit is a dominant or central theme in the GT⁹⁰. He is seen as the gift of the Father. His task is to reveal the Father and the Son, and He is experienced as power. He transports the redeemed into the aroma of the Father, gives rest and refreshment and completion. But the references are few and sparse, and the impressive quality of the meditation is not dependent on them.

Is the link between the Spirit and experience which we have nonetheless discerned any different from what can be discerned in writings from within the "orthodox" wing of Christendom? I do not think so. The difference comes in the interpretation given to the experience. This of course raises the question whether an

though Story in his commentary does not treat them so.

⁹⁰ cf Grobel, op.cit., p22 "The (Holy) Spirit is not prominent in the meditation". By contrast Story, op.cit., p176, believes that the Gospel of Truth tries to fill the lack of emphasis which he claims exists in Justin on the work of the Holy Spirit. We have already queried Story's assessment of Justin and we are not inclined to follow him in his verdict about the GT and the

experience understood differently eventually in the course of time becomes a different experience. This whole issue will be discussed at greater length in our final Conclusion to the entire study.

(b) HERACLEON

Clement of Alexandria called Heracleon "the most celebrated of Valentinus' school" (Strom.4.9). We owe the survival of any of Heracleon's teaching to the fact that Origen incorporated some of it in his own commentary on John's Gospel⁹¹. It thus appears that Heracleon was himself the first known commentator on the fourth gospel.

Heracleon has an ontological explanation of the pneumatic : he is ὁμοούσιος with the Father and may be described as πνεῦμα because He is πνεῦμα. However, the pneumatic seed is lost in or intertwined with matter. Heracleon interpreted the 46 years of Jn.2.20 as follows : 6 refers to matter and "40 which is the uncombined Tetrad to the inbreathing and to the seed (contained) in the inbreathing". (This assumes the idea of Sophia using the Demiurge to breathe the pneumatic seed into the elect).

This involvement in matter causes ἀγνοία - ignorance of God, of the worship agreeable to Him and of those things essential for true life. The Samaritan woman's sexual involvement with six husbands is a symbol of this. At the same time her request to Jesus for the water of life reveals a dissatisfaction with worldly life.

⁹¹ All quotations which follow are from W Foerster GNOSIS I, (ET) Oxford, 1972. The number of the fragment will be given and then the page reference in Foerster.

Heracleon taught that a response was called for from the pneumatic. Faith was needed to secure release from this involvement in the material and to cast away the passions resulting from false relations and to come to the Saviour both to receive gnosis and so that the pneumatic might receive her heavenly bridegroom (the heavenly counterpart).

In the extant fragments Heracleon took the cleansing of the temple (Jn.2) and the Samaritan woman episode (Jn.4) as illustrative of the pneumatic.

(a) The cord and the wood which formed the whip constructed by Jesus to cleanse the temple are taken to symbolise the Spirit and the cross respectively. By these means the Saviour purifies and cleanses the pneumatics separating them from the rest who are evil and so the church consists no longer of a den of robbers and merchants but is a house of his Father.

Heracleon distinguishes between the *ἱερόν* and the *ναὸς* : the former stands for the pneumatics and the latter for the psychics. Jesus came to the *ἱερόν* i.e. to help the pneumatics.

We have to ask whether this process of separation betokens a definite "felt" experience of "the power and energy of the Holy Spirit". We cannot be dogmatic at this point but we could say that at least the language is consistent with it. The pneumatic is conscious of a moment when he became a pneumatic and thus was separated from others. The basis for this feeling was the experience of the Spirit, and the Cross' upright beam becomes a symbol of a line of separation, while the cross beam symbolises Christ's reaching out to form or fashion both Sophia in the heavenly realm and the pneumatics on earth.

(b) Heracleon praises the Samaritan woman "because she showed the kind of faith that was inseparable from her nature and corresponded to it, in that she did not hesitate over what he told her"⁹² and "because she behaved in a way suited to her nature, for she neither denied nor explicitly acknowledged her shame... wanting to learn in what way, and pleasing whom and worshipping God, she might be released from her immorality, she said 'Our fathers worshipped on this mountain'"⁹³. The woman must cast out the passions of her false relationships (her immersion in the material, the worldly) and come to the Saviour to receive gnosis and her heavenly bridegroom.

Is faith automatic on the part of the pneumatic ? Is the response already predetermined ? We need at this point to consider the fragments which deal with the sowing (another picture alongside that of inbreathing).

Heracleon's interpretation of Jn.4.35ff is helpful to us for this purpose. He referred the harvest of v35ff to the "souls of believers, saying 'They are already ripe, ready for harvest, and suitable for being gathered into the barn, that is, through faith into rest, all those who are ready. For they are not all (ready). Some (souls) were already ready, he says, some were on the point of being ready, some are near to being ready, and some are still being sown'"⁹⁴. This extract shows that (i) there are stages of readiness among pneumatics, and (ii) some seeds are still being sown.

⁹² Fragment 17, p169.

⁹³ Fragment 19, p170.

⁹⁴ Fragment 32, p174.

Although B Aland stresses the latter point⁹⁵, the former seems the more significant argument, viz that even among pneumatics there are varying stages of readiness of response. As to the latter, this argument could still be combined with the automatic response, since the myth of Sophia and the pneumatic seeds is true of every generation.

Probably, overall, we have a phenomenon not dissimilar to the Johannine combination of predestinarian passages alongside the tremendous stress on faith

(i) Heracleon expresses the grace character of salvation in ontological terms - the pneumatic is such because the seed is sown in him/her from above.

(ii) Faith is necessary to turn away from one's entanglement in the material and in the state of ignorance of the divine. The experience of the turning away from the material to the divine is due to "the power and energy of the Holy Spirit".

Heracleon taught that the pneumatic has an evangelistic responsibility. The experience of "conversion" leads to speaking to the psychics. The Samaritan woman is a symbol of this. She "returned to the world to announce the good tidings of Christ's coming to the calling (=psychics)"⁹⁶. Heracleon picks up the idea of the Samaritans' believing because of the woman's report (Jn.4.39) and equates her report with the witness of "the spiritual church"⁹⁷. The pneumatics then can help the psychics to come to

⁹⁵ B Aland Erwählungstheologie und Menschenklassenlehre, (Die Theologie des Herakleon als Schlüssel zum Verständnis der christlichen Gnosis?), Gnosis and Gnosticism, ed. M Krause, N.H.S. III, Leiden, 1977, p164.

⁹⁶ Fragment 27, p 173.

⁹⁷ Fragment 37, p176.

saving belief.

This same idea emerged briefly in Heracleon's exposition of the living water passage Jn.4.12-15. Origen said "Not improbably he interprets the 'springing up' (v14) as referring to those 'who receive what is richly supplied from above and who themselves pour forth for the eternal life of others that which has been supplied to them'"⁹⁸. Heracleon said "For through the Spirit and by the Spirit the soul is drawn to the Saviour"⁹⁹. In other words, the pneumatic becomes the vehicle by which the Holy Spirit may work in the life of non-pneumatics, i.e. the psychics.

Foerster saw a contradiction between Heracleon's interpretation of Jn.2.13-16 and Jn.4.39¹⁰⁰, but this may be challenged :

(i) The cleansing of the temple is primarily concerned with the pneumatics, and Heracleon emphasises that it is they who elicit the help of the Lord - by the cross and the Spirit he will separate them and constitute them as the true church and house of the Father.

(ii) The Samaritan woman's evangelism is directed to winning the psychics to a saving knowledge and experience of the Lord.

(iii) That psychics may experience salvation is confirmed by Heracleon's treatment of the nobleman's son. Healing takes place through forgiveness : the Saviour raised "him to life through

⁹⁸ Fragment 17, p169.

⁹⁹ Fragment 27, p173.

¹⁰⁰ op.cit., p173.

forgiveness". The servants (=angels) tell the father (=Demiurge) of the cure: "'Thy son lives' means that he is behaving fittingly and rightly, and no longer doing what is unseemly"¹⁰¹.

In fragment 46¹⁰² on Jn.8.44 Heracleon said that some psychics "become sons of the devil by intent", whereas others "may also be called sons of God by intent". He adds "Because they have loved the desires of the devil and performed them, they become children of the devil, though they were not such by nature".

Heracleon considered that children must be understood in three ways :

- (i) by nature (φύσει) - a child is begotten.
- (ii) by inclination (γνώμη) - "When one who does the will of another person by his own inclination is called the child of him whose will he does".
- (iii) by merit (ἀξία) - e.g. by doing the works of the devil they become like him.

Clearly, if one can become a child by inclination, choice and will are involved. Some have by their choice become children of the devil; others, children of God.

¹⁰¹ The father asks the Saviour to help his son, i.e. the nature thus constituted. A few sentences earlier Heracleon had said that Jn.4.48 was fittingly said to the kind of person whose nature is determined through works and who is convinced by means of sense perception and does not believe the word. See Fragment 40, pp177-9.

¹⁰² pp180-1.

We have, then, three types of persons - the pneumatic who responds in true faith to the Saviour; the psychic who responds but not fully to the Word and who is convinced by means of sense perception; and the choics who do the works of the devil, and do not respond to the Saviour at all. Religious experience is here involved. The first group are the most "spiritual"; the last are not spiritual at all; while the middle group are not as spiritual as they might be but cannot be 'written off' totally¹⁰³.

Is then ontology a means of explaining the facts of religious experience ? The truly spiritual are predestined to respond - all is of the grace of God. They have a responsibility to others to help them become true believers. The psychic group are explained because of the nature of their response. They can respond and become sons of God, or the opposite. It depends on their inclination. Those who make no response are predestined not to do so - their nature is that of the devil; they are of the same substance as he¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ cf E Pagels The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis, Nashville and New York, 1973, pp112,120.

¹⁰⁴ In recent years L Schotroff "Animae Naturaliter Salvandae, zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers", Christentum und Gnosis, ed. W Eltester, Berlin 1969, pp65-97, has swung away from the view that the Valentinians assumed an automatic response on the part of the pneumatic. She asserted that the three classes of men illustrate three decisions defining human experience. B Aland, op.cit.,p154, also argued that the sowing of the pneumatic seed is not limited to a definite group of men and maintained (p171) that all depends on the encounter with the Saviour - the moment when sonship is constituted (p181). E Pagels, op.cit., pp114ff, stressed the experiential focus of Valentinian theology and maintained (p100) that it was the theology of divine election which led to the description of "natures". She believes that hylics and pneumatics have no choice (p104); the psychics, however, may choose to be sons of God or the devil. Cf WD Hauschild Gottes Geist und der Mensch, Studien zur frühchristlichen Pneumatologie, München 1972, p165, who said that Heracleon ontologised the thought of election with the help of the pneuma concept.

SUMMARY :

The fragments of Heracleon are not substantial and we could wish for more before making firm pronouncements. He seems to have emphasised a conversion experience in which there was imparted a sense of release or separation from involvement in the material world, and the Holy Spirit is the agent of this. Faith is a necessary part of this religious experience and the realisation of one's salvation should lead to personal evangelism to convince the psychics of the possibility of their gaining salvation.

(c) PTOLEMAEUS

In the extracts of Ptolemaeus preserved by Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria¹⁰⁵, the interpreter has to seek to press through the mythology to the religious experience of which the mythology is an expression. Ptolemaeus makes much of the idea of an angelic counterpart in the pleroma to the offspring of the Sophia outside the Pleroma¹⁰⁶. The offspring need to be reunited with the angels in order to enter the Pleroma. Gen.1.27 is so interpreted that "male" = angelic, while "female" = superior seed (cf also Adam and Eve who derives from Adam). The union of angel and the offspring of Sophia is the ultimate goal of the training of the latter (see below).

¹⁰⁵ Irenaeus AH 1.1.1 - 1.8.6 (called Account A) (= Epiphanius Panarion 31.9.1 - 31.27.16) runs parallel with 43.2 - 65.2 of Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria (though there are some differences). This can be confidently ascribed to Ptolemaeus. To this we may add Ptolemaeus' Letter to Flora (preserved in Epiphanius' Pan. 33.3.1 - 33.7.10). Hippolytus' Refutatio 6.29.2 - 36.4 exhibits certain differences over against Ptolemaeus' views as recorded by Irenaeus. This is called Account B.

¹⁰⁶ This is the terminology used in Iren. AH 1.5.6 and 1.4.5.

What religious experience lies behind the conviction that one has a heavenly bridegroom, that one is part of an entity, the superior half of which is an angel ? We have to conjecture here, but it is not stretching the imagination too much to envisage some sort of ecstatic or rapturous experience of the Spirit. Indeed Hauschild considers that the Syzygy thought represents a reinterpretation of the concept that Christ or the Spirit is in the Christian¹⁰⁷. But we perhaps need to go further than this general statement and conjecture a specific religious experience of some intensity which suggested the 'invasion' of the earthly by the heavenly. In other words, Valentinian gnostics like Ptolemaeus were intellectual charismatics.

Ptolemaeus likened the seed sown in the pneumatic to gold in the mud. As the gold retains its nature and beauty because the mud is unable to harm it, so the pneumatic cannot suffer injury or lose his spiritual substance, whatever material actions he may engage in. How we may ask does the pneumatic realise that he has the seed within him ? As gold is discovered buried in the mud, so is it not legitimate to envisage a special spiritual experience when the pneumatic "discovers" the seed within him ? This is probably so.

It is interesting that Ptolemaeus taught that a period of training was necessary¹⁰⁸. The seeds were sent forth immature, to be trained and brought up here¹⁰⁹, and later, when they are accounted worthy of perfection, then they will divest themselves of

¹⁰⁷ op.cit., p177, note 100.

¹⁰⁸ See AH 1.6.1 and Exc. ex Theod. 59.1.

¹⁰⁹ AH 1/6/4 ("the seed sent forth thence in a feeble, immature state"); 1/7/5 ("weak").

their souls¹¹⁰ and become intelligent spirits and without being hindered or seen, will enter into the Pleroma and will be bestowed as brides on the angels around the Saviour who himself will form a pair with Sophia who enters the Pleroma also¹¹¹. Exactly what this training consists of is not spelt out in detail: it could in part refer to the ongoing experience of the Holy Spirit which the pneumatic now enjoys after the period of unawareness (like the gold in the mud) though it is linked with the acquiring of knowledge¹¹², but had nothing to do with moral discipline according to Irenaeus¹¹³.

SUMMARY :

Behind the recognition that one is an offspring of Sophia there probably lies an experience which was interpreted as due to the divine Spirit¹¹⁴. The pneumatics' experience is expressed in terms of the rediscovery of oneself, of belonging to the heavenly world and of training to be prepared for the union with the angelic counterpart. This is expressed ontologically in the idea of the pneumatic seed within and mythologically in the idea of the

¹¹⁰ cf Exc. ex Theod. 61.3 - divesting of the passions.

¹¹¹ AH 1/7/1.

¹¹² See Exc. ex Theod. 59.1.

¹¹³ AH 1/6/3-4.

¹¹⁴ cf HA Green The Economic and Social Origins of Gnosticism, Atlanta, 1985, p239 - "Gnostic sects can be identified as religious groupings characterised by the belief that the Spirit is immediately present".

ultimate marriage with an angel. In the mythology, the pneumatics' experience has been projected into the heavenly world. The dangers of this approach are evident in the way that Irenaeus describes gnostic reaction to the vast majority of church members - they were deemed inferior spiritually and would enjoy an inferior salvation¹¹⁵.

We have been left to surmise and conjecture from the intellectual framework or theological *raison d'etre* back to a religious experience, and we cannot always be sure that our inferences are correct. The gnostic myths explain experience. Pneumatic experiences may have been part of this.

¹¹⁵ AH 1.6.2; Exc. ex Theod. 51.2 (pp 45f).

CHAPTER 29 : CONCLUSION

We have surveyed the literature emanating from within the Roman church, both "orthodox" and "heretical". It gives us some reflection of what was being taught in all its diversity among Christians and interested enquirers in the period under review.

At the beginning of our period we have two writings penned within perhaps a decade of each other and revealing substantial differences. 1 Peter seems to base the Christian life in the activity of the Spirit, from its start to its end. The Spirit is active in conversion; is at work within the life of the congregation making it the dwelling place or home of the God who is King, equipping members with various gifts and enabling the church to offer spiritual sacrifices; and sustains Christians amidst persecution. By contrast Clement seems to subordinate Spirit to order within the church. Though he believes that a common experience of the Spirit binds Christians together, it cannot be said that this appears as a controlling or dominant theme in his lengthy letter. Clement mentions the Spirit occasionally but never discourses on the Spirit.

Both writers agree in seeing the apostolic mission as undergirded by the Spirit's activity (1 Pet.1.11; 1 Clem.43.2 cf 42.4).

At the beginning of our epoch we are confronted with a diversity : the Spirit is experienced as a vital part of the Christian life in the one case, while the Spirit is a traditional concept but not a vitally significant part of experience in the other.

The Shepherd of Hermas shows us that prophecy was believed to be the mouthpiece of the Spirit, though how far prophecy was a living and widespread phenomenon is difficult to gauge from the Shepherd itself in view of the conflicting nature of the evidence. What is surprising is Hermas' teaching on the delicacy of the Spirit as if the Spirit is inherently weak and ultra sensitive and not able to fight against evil. This aspect appears alongside that of the Spirit as power (personified in the twelve virgins around the Tower). If we were right earlier in suggesting that this idea of the delicacy of the Spirit is part of the moral urgency of the preaching of Hermas, it still remains a strange development, for it is shifting the emphasis from God to man, from God's power in the, Spirit which helps to man's need so to act as to preserve[†] the Spirit within him.

Justin began teaching at Rome a few years after Hermas published his work. He believed that all Christians had been baptised or circumcised with the Holy Spirit. They have been born anew through faith and the Spirit. Justin also reveals that activities like prophecy, miracle-working and exorcisms were still flourishing and these are seen as the gifts of the Spirit in fulfilment of Psa.68 and Joel 2. The evidence, though culled indirectly from his writings, is far more positive than Hermas on the role of the Spirit in Christian experience.

Interestingly, if experientially the Spirit does not appear to have been dominant in the extant writings taken as a whole, credally the blessings associated with the Spirit received acknowledgment in the Old Roman Creed¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁶ See eg JND Kelly Early Christian Creeds, London, 1957, p130; HJ Jaschke Der heilige Geist im Bekenntnis der Kirche, Münster, 1976, pp21-35.

Our final block of writings was the "Italian" school of Valentinus. In Ptolemaeus we observed how the experience of the Spirit had been 'ontologised', so that now the Spirit is a substance or part of man. If we probe behind the mythology which Valentinian gnosticism developed, we may assume spiritual experiences which were explained in terms of a pneumatic seed implanted in the true Christian and which he rediscovered in conversion. The sense of kinship with the divine in some spiritual experience(s) was enunciated in terms of the heavenly seed sown within the pneumatic and destined to be reunited with an angelic partner. The division of men into pneumatics, psychics and choics - the first are the spiritual elite - ran the risk of spiritual pride and a possible moral laxity.

With Valentinian gnosticism we meet a speculative branch of Christianity which proved unacceptable to what came to be the mainstream Christian movement. It flowered within the church, only to be ejected from it as its tenets were deemed incompatible with what was considered the apostolic faith. Whatever the leading Valentinian gnostics may have thought and said, their development went beyond the parameters of apostolic witness about the Spirit. It contravened it at one decisive point - that the gift of the Spirit was open to all who believe, and it developed an explanation of gnostic experience which perverted the basis of apostolic preaching as now deposited in the NT.

With Rome we have come to what we may call "western Christianity", compared certainly with Syrian - with Asia Minor standing half way between them both geographically and

theologically. If Clement and Hermas are representative, then it cannot be claimed that it was natural to describe religious experience in terms of the Spirit. In the case of Clement, order seems to have so controlled his thinking that Spirit is subordinate to order. Hermas' view of the delicacy of the Spirit is bound to inhibit a sense of the Spirit as power, blowing like the wind and sweeping a person on in God's ways. We miss the sense of the of the Spirit which emerges in the Johannine writings and the Odes of Solomon, even Tatian, both as teacher and guide and as the mainspring of personal experience.

We sense the nearness - in terms of experience - of Clement, the author of the Pastorals and Polycarp : office and order are uppermost - Spirit is controlled by these, rather than vice versa. Though he has visions, Hermas' sense of being the agent of the Spirit is not so pronounced as John of Patmos or Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla. The sense of authority which pervades what John of Patmos says and which also comes across from Montanist oracles does not somehow emerge as strongly in Hermas. Where John of Patmos and Montanus would see themselves as authorised to speak directly to the churches, Hermas does not feel on the same level as the elders and is unsure of his reception by them.

Our conclusion has to be that overall we seem to have a diminishing stress on the centrality of the Spirit in religious experience as we move westwards.

PART VI : SOUTHERN GAUL

The first piece of extant evidence for Christianity in Southern Gaul is the letter of the churches at Lyons and Vienne¹, which was addressed to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia. This fact, together with the details that of the martyrs killed in 177 Attalos and Alexander came from Pergamon and Phrygia respectively (HE 5/1/17.,49,53) and a slave's name (Pontikos) suggests his native area, Pontus, plus the fact that Irenaeus was born in Smyrna (HE 5/20/5-6; AH 3/3/4), have suggested close ties between the two areas and offer therefore a possible hint that the church in Southern Gaul was founded through outreach from Asia Minor. More than this we cannot say with any certainty.

¹ Our sole authority for this is Eusebius HE 5.1-3. The text with translation is printed in H Musurillo The Acts of the Christian Martyrs, Oxford, 1972, pp xxv-xxvii, 106-131.

Perhaps the letter was written by Irenaeus - so P Nautin Lettres et Écrivains chrétiens des II et III siècles, Paris, 1961, pp 54-59, but the letter may be too small to afford sufficient basis for a decision.

CHAPTER 31 : THE LETTER OF THE CHURCH AT LYONS AND VIENNE

This letter was probably written just after the persecution of the summer of 177² and soon after Eleutherus had become bishop of Rome in succession to Soter.

The bulk of the letter deals with a narrative of the sufferings and death of the martyrs of 177 (HE.5.1.1-63). Then Eusebius adds two sections (5.2-3) with a view to the situation in Asia and Phrygia where due to the rise of Montanism there was 'dissension'.

(a) HE 5.2 stresses the martyrs' charity, tolerance and compassion to those who, under judicial pressure or mob harassment, had denied Christ. They made every effort to persuade them to revoke their recantation and to stand firm in their witness to Christ. They showed love to them and prayed earnestly to God for them. Indeed they managed successfully to persuade the lapsed to confess Christ anew (5.2.6). Such behaviour contrasted with "the inhuman and merciless disposition towards the members of Christ" displayed by others (5.2.8) - which may be an allusion to the rigorist attitude of Montanists towards the lapsed, though this has been denied.

(b) Eusebius narrates how one Attalus corrected the harsh asceticism of a fellow Christian, Alcibiades, who, when imprisoned, tried to maintain his previous life style. Attalus received a revelation that Alcibiades was not doing the right thing in not making use of God's gifts and was causing offence to others. Accordingly he persuaded Alcibiades to eat all kinds of food and to

² WHC Frend Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church, Oxford, 1965, pp 1-30 discusses the historical circumstances of the persecution.

thank God for them. The apologetic note is clear - Montanism's asceticism is not the Spirit's will to be imposed on all (5.3.1-3).

Thus, on two issues, the Gallic churches differed from the Montanist approach. This does not necessarily mean that they were unsympathetic to an emphasis on the Spirit.

We turn now to investigate what the letter may reveal about the experience of the Spirit amongst members of these congregations.

A :

The letter recounts something about the activity of two members of the church, Alexander (a Phrygian by origin, who had spent many years in Gaul) and Vettius Epagathus. Alexander, a doctor, "was known practically to everyone because of his love of God and his outspokenness in preaching the word, for he did in fact possess a share in the apostolic charisma" (ἀποστολικοῦ χάρισματος 5.1.49). In this thumbnail sketch we have a fascinating glimpse of how Christianity must have spread in these early years. Here was someone who earned his living through medicine but whose love for God led him into preaching the gospel. He stood in this in the apostolic succession and shared in the same χάρισμα as the apostles. That here the call and empowering of the Spirit is in mind can hardly be gainsaid. The adjective 'apostolic' may have been applied because (a) Either experiences credited to the influence of the Spirit were rare and had come to be confined to the apostolic era. Thus, Alexander would be exceptional;

(b) Or since the apostolic era (the 'founding era') was a time when experiences credited to the prompting of the Spirit were frequent, it was natural to regard subsequent experiences as similar to the apostolic charisma.

We may rule out (a) on the evidence of the letter itself and of Irenaeus and opt for (b).

Vettius Epagathus had drawn attention to himself because, indignant at the biased judgments passed by the authorities against Christians, he requested to be allowed to speak in defence of his brethren. This only led to his own eventual martyrdom, for which he earned himself the title *παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν*:

ἔχων δὲ τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ πλεόν, τοῦ

Ζαχαρίου ³. The language of the letter is conditioned by the judicial setting - hence the play on *παράκλητος* ⁴ : clearly for the writer, Vettius Epagathus was a Christian in whom the Holy Spirit dwelt. "He was and is a true disciple of Christ, following the Lamb wherever He goes"⁵. The source of *παράκλητος* is

³ HE 5.1.9-10. The manuscript tradition varies on whether *πλεόν* should be read or not. Certainly the reading without it is the 'harder' reading and is preferred by Lawlor-Oulton Eusebius Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I, New York - Toronto, 1927, p 141, and GWH Lampe "Martyrdom and Inspiration", Suffering and Martyrdom in the NT, ed. W Horbury and B McNeil, Cambridge, 1981, p 126. Surprisingly, Musurillo, op.cit., p 64f does not even mention the manuscript variation and includes *πλεόν* in his printed text, though does not translate it. The allusion to Zachariah recalls Lk.1.67. For a tradition that Zachariah was martyred, see H von Campenhausen 'Das Martyrium des Zacharias', Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums, Tübingen, 1963, followed by Lampe, op.cit., pp 125ff.

⁴ Frend, op.cit., p 17 sees here a pro-Montanist stance.

clearly the fourth gospel (Jn.15.26; 16.8-11) but we may ask whether the logion about the Spirit's aid in times of judicial interrogation (Mk 13.11 et par, Lk 12.11f) may have exerted some influence here. The difference that Vettius speaks on behalf of others is not an insurmountable one - the Spirit could be seen as using him to defend other believers. We could say that Mk.13.11 envisages a specific situation, whereas the Paraclete Sayings of the fourth gospel do not particularise but use lawsuit imagery. It could be that the description of Vettius Epagathus would turn the minds of Christians to both the Johannine Paraclete sayings and the more limited, but very pertinent and relevant Synoptic promise of the Spirit's help before tribunals.

In the case then of Alexander and Vettius Epagathus we have men abounding with enthusiasm for the faith, motivated by a desire to spread that faith and by love of the brethren and who count their own lives cheap for the gospel's sake. Such men were deemed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, whether it is stated indirectly (ἀποστολικὸν χάρισμα) or directly (ἔχων δὲ τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ). The old idea of the Spirit assisting the faithful Christian to bear witness has not been lost sight of entirely, even if, as we shall see in section C, there is material on the theme of either the Spirit's or the risen Christ's strengthening the martyr⁶ (5.1.10).

⁵ HE 5.1.10.

⁶ H von Campenhausen Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche, Göttingen, 1936, pp89-91, comments on the shift, as time went on, from the Spirit's help in witnessing, to Christ's miraculous presence strengthening the martyr.

B :

When he refers to the incident in which Attalus persuaded Alcibiades, Eusebius concludes by saying of Attalus and the other martyrs : "They were not inattentive⁷ to God's grace, but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor" (5.3.3). This description agrees with the statement that Attalus received a revelation (5.3.2.)⁸.

The letter only refers to this particular revelation. It would, strictly speaking, be impossible to judge how far we could generalise from the case of Attalus to others, and assume that others (non-martyrs) were recipients of the Spirit's guidance and revelation of God's will. Certainly the Spirit is depicted as imparting knowledge of what is right in God's sight through a particular Christian. The Spirit imparted knowledge of God's plans to one believer through another. The Letter does not, however, enlighten us as to the mode of this revelation.

C :

We meet the idea of the Holy Spirit as power and strength particularly in martyrdom. The letter described Vettius Epagathus as showing the Spirit that indwelt him through the fulness of his

⁷ The Post Nicene Fathers Library translation offers "deprived of", but this sense of ἀνεπίσκεπτος is not attested by either Liddell-Scott-Jones or Lampe's Patristic Lexicon.

⁸ Lampe, Martyrdom and Inspiration, op.cit., p 119, commented on the "pneumatology of martyrdom" : "The martyr's testimony was believed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit and the Christian who confessed his faith in circumstances of persecution was regarded as closely akin to the prophet as a recipient of revelation and a proclaimer of God's word".

love, in that he consented to lay down his life in defence of his brethren (5.1.10). The Spirit led him to such a love for his fellow Christians that he embraced martyrdom for them.

The letter asserts that the confessors "were comforted by the joy of their martyrdom, their hope in the promises, their love for Christ and the Spirit of the Father" (5.1.34). The first three items are the human attitude (the joy they experienced as they contemplate martyrdom, their hope, their love), but the last is God's comfort and strength - "The Spirit of the Father" (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικόν).

At the same time, of course, joy, hope and love are among the fruit of the Spirit according to Paul, as is humility, and the letter emphasises the martyrs' humility. They begged that they should not be called martyrs before they had actually suffered death and asked for prayers that they might be faithful to the end and be perfected. They were also mindful of Jesus' exclusive right to the title martyr (5.2.2-4).

The idea of the martyrs' being strengthened or empowered frequently occurs. Blandina was filled with such power that her torturers were exhausted (5.1.18). Her confession "I am a Christian" renewed her strength (5.1.19). Sanctus withstood all the indignities heaped on him, with superhuman strength (5.1.20), and he remained firm, "strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the water of life that flows from the side of Christ" (5.1.22) : the Johannine echoes here (Jn.4.10;7.38;19.34) permit our thinking that the strengthening agent, the crucified Christ's gift, is the Spirit. When tortured a second time, this proved by Christ's grace to be not a torture but a cure (5.1.24).

The letter reports of the doctor Alexander, previously mentioned, that amidst horrible persecution he did not utter any cry of pain but "held converse with God in his heart" (5.1.51). It also speaks of those who had been tortured so severely that it seemed impossible for them to survive, actually living on : "although deprived of human attention, they were strengthened and given power by the Lord in soul and body", and they continued to encourage their comrades in prison (5.1.28).

We notice also how the concept of Christ in the martyrs⁹ or Christ's achieving things through the martyrs pervades the account. Christ suffering in Sanctus achieved great glory and overwhelmed the adversary and thus gave an example to those who remained that nothing was to be feared where love of the Father existed and that nothing was painful where Christ's glory was present (5.1.23). The tyrant's instruments of torture were completely overcome by Christ through the perseverance of his followers (5.1.27). Fellow Christians gazed on Blandina who seemed to hang on the post in the arena in the form of a cross, and "saw in the person of their sister Him who was crucified for them" (5.1.41). The letter says of her that "she had put on Christ, that mighty and invisible Athlete, and had overcome the adversary in many contests and through her conflict had won the crown of immortality" (5.1.42)¹⁰.

⁹ Lampe, op.cit., pp119-120, called this the Christocentric aspect of martyrdom.

¹⁰ Lampe op.cit., p122 - "The faithful confessor is inspired by the Holy Spirit and dies as an imitator of Christ and a participant in his victory over the demonic powers".

During her dying moments she did not perceive what was happening "because of the hope and possession of what she believed in and because of her communion with Christ" (5.1.56).

Frend discussed whether Montanism influenced the Lyons Christians¹¹. While noting many similarities of language and ideas between them and the Phrygian Montanists, he thinks "The problem would, however, appear to be more one of parallel religious developments rather than allegiances"¹². This seems an apposite comment, since, while the Lyons Christians display evident experience of the Spirit/risen Christ, the letter breathes a different atmosphere from Montanist rigorism and asceticism (which the redactor exploited).

SUMMARY :

If parallel religious development is a correct assessment and the experience reflected in the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne does not owe its direct inspiration to Montanism, then we have evidence of the independent vitality of Christian experience in the 170s in southern Gaul, coming from the period after the horrendous persecution of 177. Faith before the persecution must have been vibrant, for these Lyons and Vienne Christians, when persecution erupted, to stand firm for Christ, conscious that the Spirit of God was guiding and empowering them.

¹¹ op.cit., p16-7. If Montanism started ca 172/3, the question arises whether it could have directly influenced the southern Gallic churches by 177 ?

¹² op.cit., p16.

The conviction that the martyrs were inspired and upheld by the Holy Spirit breathes through the letter. And it is married to a gentle, loving and compassionate outlook. Their spiritual experience did not lead to fanaticism and pride, but humility and courage of the highest order.

The Spirit is also seen as one who guides some believers into what is God's will, and corrects mistaken emphasises in the lives of others.

CHAPTER 32 : IRENAEUS

Because Irenaeus said that when a boy he heard Polycarp (AH 3.3.4), he was presumably a native of Smyrna or a neighbouring town. If he studied at Rome (a conjecture based on AH 3.3.3 where he speaks appreciatively of Justin's teaching), then he remained unknown to the leaders of the church¹³. Later he became a presbyter at Lyons. He took letters from the church there to Bishop Eleutherus of Rome, requesting toleration for Montanists of Asia Minor (Eusebius HE 3.4). While he was away, the fierce outbreak of persecution in Lyons ca 177, already alluded to, occurred. Among many church members, Bishop Pothinus was martyred. Irenaeus was elected Bishop on his return from Rome to Lyons (5.5). He wrote Adversus Haereses (ca 182-188), a rebuttal of Gnosticism, especially its Valentinian form¹⁴, and also Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching, which sets out the main themes of Christian belief.

We need to bear in mind the polemical nature of AH and the fact that Irenaeus concentrated mainly on the doctrine of God and the person of Christ¹⁵ plus the question of the authority on which belief in God is based - revelation, scripture, true gnosis¹⁶.

¹³ since the letter which Irenaeus took from the Lyons-Vienne congregation commended him to the Roman Church leaders, as A von Harnack Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur II : Chronologie I, Leipzig, 1897, pp 324,332, convincingly argued.

¹⁴ See A Benoit Saint Irénée, introduction à l'étude de sa théologie, Paris, 1960, for an analysis of the structure of AH.

¹⁵ Cf H-J Jashke Der heilige Geist im Bekenntnis der Kirche (MBT 40), Münster, 1976, pp176-7,185.

Irenaeus had especially to refute the Gnostic view that God was remote from the world, because matter is inferior and the divine cannot have contact with it. There were fundamental differences over the Spirit too (the spiritual seed idea and the corollary of this in terms of redemption and ethics), but it was the other topics that engaged Irenaeus' attention particularly. Despite this, Irenaeus' work abounds in references to the Spirit and we can gain a well-rounded picture from what he says. For example, he wrote "For where the church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the church, and every kind of grace" (3.24.1). "Where the Spirit of the Father is, there is a living man" (5.9.3). These two quotations of themselves can serve as an illustration of the central significance, in religious experience, which the Spirit had for Irenaeus¹⁷ : without the Holy Spirit there is neither the church nor the individual Christian. Without the Spirit there is no life. The first of these quotations warns us ever to bear in mind the ecclesiological setting for the experience of the Spirit in Irenaeus' thinking¹⁸. Our interest is to see how far religious experience was 'stamped' by the Holy Spirit for Irenaeus. It would be wholly wrong for us to envisage the individual in isolation. For Irenaeus the church is in a sense primary and the individual derivative.

¹⁶ cf N Brox Offenbarung, Gnosis und gnostischen Mythos bei Irenäus von Lyon, Salzburg-München, 1966.

¹⁷ d'Aulès "La Doctrine de l'Esprit en saint Irénée", RSR 14 (1924) pp537-8, said of 3/24/1 that it was the most eloquent and complete expression of Irenaeus' doctrine of the Spirit.

¹⁸ Cf Jashke, op.cit., pp159, 265ff, 341, 347, 349-51.

Here we need not go into the issue of Irenaeus' sources. Loofs' theory¹⁹ was criticised by FM Hitchcock²⁰, while G Wingren²¹ and H-J Jashke²² (of more recent scholars) have argued that Irenaeus has welded his material into a coherent whole. Even Hauschild²³, who is more favourably disposed to the kind of position proposed by Loofs, admits that Irenaeus "lived from many traditions but he has bound them together into a certain unity"²⁴.

Irenaeus' conviction that the OT prophets had received God's Spirit deserves comment. The reason within God's purpose for this is significant : 4.14.2 states that God raised up prophets "accustoming man upon earth to bear His Spirit (within him) and to hold communion with God". The prophetic experience is part of

¹⁹ Theophilus von Antiochien adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenaus (TU 46), Leipzig, 1930.

²⁰ "Loofs' Theory of Theophilus of Antioch as a source of Irenaeus", JTS 38 (1937), pp 130-139, 255-266; "Loofs' Asiatic Source IQA and the Ps. Justin de resurrectione" ZNW 36 (1937) pp35-60.

²¹ Man and the Incarnation, (ET) Edinburgh, 1959.

²² op.cit., pp 170-4.

²³ Gottes Geist und der Mensch, München, 1972 pp207-8.

²⁴ op.cit., p220; ^{which} footnote to this sentence runs "One can thus speak with a certain degree of correctness of a 'unified teaching on the Spirit by Irenaeus' (so Brox Offenbarung p163 n147) so long as one does not thereby overlook that it has been built up out of different complexes". For Hauschild Irenaeus blended two basic viewpoints - the prophetic Spirit who empowers to special deeds (eg 3.9.3) and the life-giving Spirit who forms the essence of Man (eg 5.6-13).

God's educative process : He was seeking to counteract the effects of the Fall and to restore man to his pristine state and the possibility of developing that state to maturity²⁵. The incarnation continues that educative process : the Word/Son "became the Son of Man that He might accustom man to receive God and God to dwell in man, according to the Father's good pleasure" (3.20.2)²⁶; the Spirit truly prepared man in the Son of God and the Son led him to the Father (4.20.5); the Spirit became accustomed through the incarnation to dwell in man (3.17.1). By His incarnation the Son unites the human and the divine and so prepares the way for the outpouring of the Spirit, thus opening the way for the ultimate gift of the vision of the Father and incorruption for man.

In another passage (4.20.6) Irenaeus speaks of the prophetic experiences of God (their vision of the advent of the Lord, their audition of the divine voice, their sight of the prophetic Spirit and His influence) : such were prefigurements²⁷ of that ultimate beatific vision of God for "men who bear His Spirit (in them) and

²⁵ cf 4.38.3 for the general idea of man's development.

²⁶ Jashke, op.cit., p 218 says "The Spirit who overshadowed Mary shaped the human nature of the Son in the incarnation and so can also possess the creature in his totality". Pentecost is thus the result of the process of the divine 'growing accustomed' to dwell in man.

²⁷ See R Tremblay La Manifestation et la vision de Dieu selon saint Irénée de Lyon, Münster, 1978, pp 71,91-102 (esp.94-5,101), 145, 147,165ff, for a careful examination of relevant passages to show that, while concrete realities, the prophetic experiences were signs or types, imperfect economies, which only sketch those by which the Word-Son will show Himself in the incarnation. They still leave the Word-Son invisible; it is the incarnation that makes him visible. Cf the same point made earlier but more briefly by A Houssiau La Christologie de Saint Irénée, Louvain-Gembloux, 1955, pp 87-90,130.

do always wait patiently for His coming" . Although Irenaeus is talking about the OT prophets, he describes them and what they foresaw in terms of what he believes a Christian is, viz someone who bears God's Spirit within him and who is looking forward to the consummation of salvation - the vision of God. The present and future aspects of salvation are linked together and seen to be continuous - present experience of the Spirit in fact preparing us for the future glorious experience of God. Irenaeus uses a triadic structure in his summarising description of the prophetic experience :

"God the Father is shown forth in all these (operations), the Spirit indeed working and the Son ministering, while the Father was approving and man was being prepared for salvation".

A little further on (4.20.8) Irenaeus again reverts to the idea of our being prepared in the OT era. He says that "the Spirit of God pointed out by the prophets things to come, forming and adapting us beforehand that we might be made subject to God". In one sense the prophetic experience is analogous to Christian experience. Their experience is that necessary discipline and training in order that man might be received into the future glory of God.

These passages are suggestive for our theme : they concern the OT prophets²⁸, yet they reveal how Irenaeus was thinking about Christians and how central the experience of the Spirit was in his understanding of the Christian faith. In his description of what the prophets experienced in an anticipatory manner, he helps us see that for him a Christian is one who bears the Spirit within him.

²⁸ cf Dem.56 : The righteous of the OT era, "such as feared God and died in righteousness and had in them the Spirit of God, as the patriarchs and prophets and righteous men ", may obtain salvation at the Last Judgment.

The same Spirit who rested on the prophets of old now rests on the church and its members (4.33.9,15). Pentecost is the fulfilment of God's promises and means the universal outpouring of the Spirit (3.12.1). The same Spirit who came on the OT prophets had come upon Christians, "although He has been poured out upon us after a new fashion in these last times" (4.33.15) : active from creation onwards He is received by those who believe God and follow His Word.

The "vineyard" of Matt.21.43 has been taken from the Jews and given to the church, and this "illustrious church is everywhere, for those who receive the Spirit are everywhere" (4.36.2; cf Dem.6). While Irenaeus is in context concerned to trace the various stages of Salvation-History back to the one God, we note that "church" and "those who receive the Spirit" are set in parallelism. The implication is that the heart of Christianity is the experience of the Spirit. The hallmark of the church and its members is the possession of the Spirit.

Thus even those who are barbarians as regards language have salvation "written in their hearts by the Spirit, without paper or ink" (3.4.2), alluding to 2 Cor.3.1-6. Men and women, despised on cultural grounds as barbarians, have experienced God's Spirit in their hearts and consequently they preserve the church's ancient tradition which goes back to the apostles. The subjective and objective sides of Christian experience are held together in a fascinating manner. Salvation is a matter of "the heart" - the Spirit has been at work in their inner experience. Yet the objective side is the faithful adherence to apostolic tradition. The experience of the Spirit does not produce subjectivism on the rampage but is in harmony with the tradition.

Once again this paragraph reveals where Irenaeus puts the centre of Christianity : salvation through the mediating work of the Spirit, and, since that salvation has been wrought by the Creator through His Son Jesus Christ, there is a triadic confession of Father, Son and Spirit.

A :

We shall begin our survey by considering when and how for Irenaeus believers receive the Holy Spirit. He states clearly in Dem. 42 that Jesus Christ gave the Holy Spirit in baptism to believers and that the Holy Spirit abides in them continually, provided that they walk in truth and holiness etc. Christ cleansed "their (Gentiles') souls and bodies by the baptism of water and of the Holy Spirit" (Dem.41). According to Dem.3, three blessings are linked to baptism in the triune name :

- (i) remission of sins.
- (ii) seal for eternal life.
- (iii) new birth for God, i.e. adoption.

Though here the Holy Spirit is not expressly named as the author of these blessings, nonetheless we may safely assume that He is in mind, both because of the specific mention of Him in the Trinitarian formula which precedes the reference to the blessings and in the light of what Irenaeus says in 41-2. The reference to baptism following on confession of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit suggests a kind of elaboration of that confession, especially the work of the Holy Spirit²⁹.

²⁹ cf Jashke, Der heilige Geist, pp 131ff. There is widespread evidence of a baptismal confession in which the third article confessed belief in the Spirit and the blessings associated with His activity - Epistula Apostolorum 5; Justin Apol. I.61; Irenaeus

After Dem 6 outlines a trinitarian basis for our faith, Irenaeus continues in 7 : "and for this reason the baptism of our regeneration proceeds through these three points : God the Father bestowing on us regeneration through His Son by the Holy Spirit." The Son and Spirit are God's agents to effect regeneration on believers in baptism.

At AH 3.17.1 Irenaeus begins by denying that Christ or Saviour descended on Jesus. The apostolic testimony was that it was the Spirit of God who descended on him in his baptism and Irenaeus cites Isa.11.2; 61.1 in support; then declares that it is the same Spirit who, the Lord promised, would help the disciples (Matt.10.20); and follows this up by saying "And again when giving to the disciples the power of regeneration unto God he said to them 'Go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. For God promised through the prophets that in the last times He would pour out Him (the Spirit) upon (His) servants and handmaids". The cluster of ideas - regeneration, baptism, Holy Spirit - is hardly accidental. The power of regeneration is linked with the execution of the Lord's command to baptize and the connecting link (hunc enim promisit... effundere se in novissimis temporibus) binds the Spirit's outpouring with this baptism, and it is clearly the Spirit who effects the regeneration. There is an implicit parallelism between Jesus' baptism and ours in this sequence of thought, the common denominator being the bestowal of the Holy Spirit.

In the next paragraph we read :

Dem 3,6 and AH 4.33.7.

" For our bodies have received through the bath that unity which leads to incorruption; but our souls, by means of the Spirit. Therefore both are necessary, since both contribute towards the life of God" (3.17.2).

Baptism marks the entry of believers into the church - the many become one in Christ. So it is a means of physical unity within God's people. The Spirit is imparted to the soul and this also is a bond of union. Since the Spirit is given in baptism, the two coincide. Both are necessary. This is a clear statement that baptism without the gift of the Spirit is incomplete. The outward rite of baptism has value but the Spirit is also necessary. Both contribute towards the bestowal of God's life to the believer.

The healing of the man born blind through washing in the pool of Siloam has for Irenaeus a twofold meaning : the man was restored to his original formation (creation) and he was reborn ("that regeneration which takes place by means of the bath", "inasmuch as man, with respect to that formation which was after Adam, having fallen into transgression, needed the bath of regeneration" 5.15.3). There was a physical restoration but also a spiritual regeneration. The washing in the pool of Siloam is a symbol of baptism. The thought of the Spirit is below the surface of what Irenaeus writes.

Clearly the one who has responded to the church's proclamation of the gospel with believing faith in Christ receives the Spirit in baptism as far as Irenaeus is concerned. The human response of faith is matched from God's side with the renewing of man's being through the Holy Spirit.

Certain expressions and concepts which Irenaeus uses lead us to believe that the reception of the Spirit was a conscious experience in his thinking.

(i) The Abba prayer mentioned twice by Paul as being prompted by the Spirit (Gal.4.4-6; Rom.8.14f) is seized upon by Irenaeus. He exploits it in contexts where he mentions adoption (see below). Thus at 4.9.2 he refers to the Holy Spirit who is with us and who cries Abba Father, while 5.2.1 quotes Rom.8.15 and mentions the Spirit again as the author of the Abba cry. We may also refer to 3.6.1, though here the Spirit is not specifically mentioned. Irenaeus refers the phrase from Psa.82.1 "You are gods and all sons of the Most High" to those "who have received the grace of adoption, by which we cry Abba Father"³⁰.

By itself this point would not of course be decisive, but it will be part of a chain of evidence. For the moment we content ourselves with saying that Irenaeus appears to have found the prayer of Christians addressing God as Abba through the movement of the Spirit within them to be a significant feature of their Christian life.

(ii) The Abba cry leads naturally on to the theme of adoption. Irenaeus can often use "adoption" as an umbrella term for salvation without any elaboration³¹. On other occasions he does elaborate and it is these which are of interest to us.

³⁰ Irenaeus refers the phrase "God stood in the congregation of the gods, He judges among the gods" to "the Father and the Son and those who have received the adoption; but these are the church" (3.6.1). The later verses (Psa.82.6-7) are referred to those who have not received the gift of adoption but who "despise the incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, defraud human nature of promotion unto God, and prove themselves ungrateful to the Word of God who became flesh for them" (3.19.1). See Contre Les Hérésies III/1, ed. A Rousseau and L Doutreleu, Paris, 1974, p254.

³¹ See 3.6.1,2,3(bis); 3.19.1; 3.20.2; 3.21.4; 4.33.4; 5.32.2.

Baptism is the point of adoption³² : thus Dem.3 says that "this baptism is the seal of eternal life and is the new birth unto God, that we should no longer be the sons of mortal men but of the eternal and perpetual God". The images of new birth and becoming sons of God are here fused together. In 4.31.2 Irenaeus points out that it is only God Himself who can bestow the power of giving birth to children on the elder and younger church (Jewish and Gentile respectively). God has made His Word the father of the human race, and the Word poured out the life-giving seed, i.e. the Spirit, through His incarnation. From His incarnation the two synagogues (churches) produced "living sons to the living God". The Jewish and Gentile churches' power to produce "living sons" is due to the Word and the Spirit, i.e. the incarnation when flesh and Spirit were united, while stage two is assumed, viz that after his exaltation this union is extended and universalised by the gift of the Spirit to believers. The fact that there are now "living sons" is due to the gift of the Spirit. A living son is, like the Word incarnate, a commingling of flesh and Spirit. It is above all the gift of the Spirit which makes us sons who are alive.

That the experience of the Spirit lies at the heart of what Irenaeus understands by adoption emerges from other passages. At 5.12.2 Irenaeus is distinguishing between the breath of life which all people have and the vivifying Spirit. When the sinner turns from evil to what is good, he receives the quickening Spirit and will find life. To this end he quotes the LXX Isa.57.16 which has destroyed the parallelismus membrorum of the Hebrew :

"For the Spirit shall go forth from me

³² cf Jashke op.cit., p167.

And I have made every breath".

The latter is what everyone shares in; the Spirit, however, is poured forth by God "upon the human race by adoption of sons".

Adoption and Spirit go together, and this status and experience are open to everyone, though not all respond to God's saving activity.

Adoption means to know and love God the Father and to obey His word (4.16.5). God has widened the scope of "those laws which are natural and noble and common to all" from their application to the Jews :

God "has generously given men (the privilege of) knowing God as Father by adoption and to love Him with the whole heart and to follow His word unswervingly... He has also increased their reverence, for sons should have more respect than slaves and have greater love for their father".

Here we breathe the essence of the filial relationship : it has its side of respect and awe (timor) but also of love and affection (diligere eum ex toto corde). The "knowing" is clearly that of personal relations, not something abstract or theoretical.

This is confirmed by 3.18.7. Irenaeus here says that the Mediator between God and man had "to bring both to friendship and concord, so that at one and the same time God received man and man presented himself to God. For, in what way could we be partakers of the adoption of sons, unless we had received from Him through the Son fellowship with God Himself". While the Spirit is not expressly mentioned, the other passages permit us to assume that the Word sets up the possibility of this friendship and the Spirit is the means of realising it. The Spirit confers what Christ has made possible.

Examination of the relevant passages reveals clearly that adoption is a very meaningful concept and experience for Irenaeus : Christians have been brought into a loving relationship with their Heavenly Father and at the heart of this relationship, making it possible, is the Spirit's activity.

(iii) Akin to adoption, but belonging to a different range of ideas, is that of new life, which has already been touched upon in several of the quotations previously utilised. Irenaeus is fond of emphasising the vivifying effect of the Spirit. Because man has been overcome by the devil and is in bondage to sin and death, he needs to be set free and quickened to life, and this is what the Spirit does. Irenaeus pictures the Spirit continually renewing the youth of the church :

the Spirit "as if it were some precious deposit in an excellent vessel, is rejuvenated and makes the vessel which contains it to be rejuvenated also. For this gift of God has been entrusted to the church, as breath was to the first created man, for this purpose that all the members might receive it and be vivified" (3.24.1).

Here Irenaeus draws a parallel between the creation of Adam in Genesis 2 and the creation of the church : as God breathed into man and he became a living being, so He bestowed His Spirit on the church and gave its members life; cf the same parallel in 5.12.2 :

"The breath of life which made man an animated being is one thing and the vivifying Spirit, which also caused him to become spiritual, is another".

Then Irenaeus uses Isa.42.5, in exactly the same way that he used Isa.57.16, (see above) viz a separation of breath and Spirit - that God gave breath to people on earth and the Spirit to those who walk on it.

The breath of life is given to all living creatures and is temporal. The Spirit by contrast is eternal and "is theirs alone who tread down earthly desires" (which is a description of believers); and is poured out by God on the human race by adoption of sons (again a way of referring to believers : the gift is offered to all but only those who respond receive the Spirit and in that act are thereby adopted as sons).

Irenaeus explains Jacob's wives and concubines allegorically in 4.21.3. That Jacob had sons from his wives and concubines becomes a symbol that "Christ should present sons to God, both from freemen and from slaves after the flesh, bestowing upon all, in the same manner, the gift of the Spirit, who vivifies us".

In this allegory, Jew and Gentile are treated alike - both receive "the vivifying Spirit", though they come from the free (the Jewish race) and the slave (the Gentiles). The important thing for our purpose is the link between the Spirit and receiving life.

So, then, the Father bestows "regeneration" on us through His Son by the Holy Spirit (Dem.7); alternatively, Irenaeus can say that it is the Spirit who "renews" man to God (Dem.6).

If Irenaeus can use the language of the vivifying Spirit, this strongly suggests that for him the passage from the old life to the new life in Christ is a vivid and memorable one. Again we would suggest that behind the use of a certain type of language there lies a certain type of experience. To those most conscious of a dramatic experience of the Spirit there springs naturally to the lips the language of new life, of being regenerated, of being revived.

(iv) Germane to our theme is also Irenaeus' use of the image of water, which is a picture with rich associations in the Bible and which had been used for the Spirit, particularly by the fourth evangelist (Jn.4.14; 7.37-39). In 4.14.2 the Spirit is described as "like many waters", because God is rich and the Word can liberally confer benefits upon His subjects. The "many waters" thus represent an inexhaustible supply of blessing proceeding from God to man, in its capacity to supply spiritual renewal and growth.

For Irenaeus the Son of God, who is always one and the same, gives to believers a well of water springing up to eternal life - a clear allusion to Jn.4.14, and, therefore, by implication, to the gift of the Spirit (4.36.4). In 4.33.14 Irenaeus recalls God's promise of a new covenant (Jer.31.31ff) and of a new heart and spirit (Ezek.36.26) and he quotes Isa.43.19-21 which mentions the new Exodus, in the course of which God will cause rivers to arise to give drink to His people. He takes the words of second Isaiah as a prediction of the liberty of the new covenant -

"the faith in Christ, the way of righteousness sprung up in the desert, and the streams of the Holy Spirit in a dry land, to give water to the elect people of God whom He has acquired that they might show forth His mighty works."

The desert or dry land becomes a symbol of man apart from God before the incarnation. Christ and the Spirit together transform the situation : the former is "the way of righteousness" while the latter is "the streams" which "give water to the elect people of God"³³. The Holy Spirit's work is to vivify God's chosen people.

In another passage (3.17.2) Irenaeus describes believers as like -

³³ Contre Les Hérésies (SC), III/I, p274, sees here an echo of Rom.3.22 and Jn.7.37-9.

(a) a lump of dough which must be united by means of liquid : that is, believers needed to be made one in Christ by means of "the water from heaven"; "through the bath (of baptism) we have received a union which leads to incorruption". There is in all probability a dual reference here : Irenaeus has in mind the Holy Spirit (Paraclitus/"the water from heaven"), but the phraseology "water" leads his thought on to the idea of baptism³⁴, since that is where the believer first encounters the Spirit and receives Him (as expounded above), and so he can speak of "the bath" as the sacrament of the church's unity, which leads to incorruption.

(b) a dry tree unable to bring forth fruit without rain from above, but believers' souls have been moistened by the Spirit.

Both the union of believers (through the one baptism) and the gift of the Spirit contribute to the life of God imparted to us. The Lord Jesus received the water which springs up to eternal life and conferred it on "those who are partakers of Himself, by sending the Holy Spirit upon all the earth". Union with Christ means receiving the Spirit. John 4 and the Samaritan woman are again in Irenaeus' mind : the Lord promised her living water "so that she should thirst no more..., having in herself water springing up to eternal life".

This section (3.17.2) works extensively with the dryness/water imagery as a picture for the work of the Spirit.

Irenaeus continues to work with it in 3.17.3-4. Gideon's prophecy (Irenaeus uses "prophesied" whereas, strictly speaking, it is a petition) of a dry fleece (Judges 6.39) is allegorised as a sign that the Israelites would no longer have God's Holy Spirit

³⁴ cf also A Benoit La baptême chrétien au 2 siècle, Paris, 1953, p203; Jashke, op.cit., p162.

(and to support this Irenaeus quotes Isa.5.6 "I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it") "but that the dew, which is the Spirit of God,... should be diffused throughout all the earth". We need the dew of God, continues Irenaeus, for three reasons :

(a) that we be not consumed by fire, i.e. by the devil who has been cast down from heaven like lightning (cf Lk.10.18). The Holy Spirit is thus our defence against the attacks of the devil.

(b) that we be not rendered unfruitful : the Holy Spirit revivifies us so that we bear fruit for God.

(c) that we might have an Advocate to withstand the accuser : it looks as if here Irenaeus is widening the activity of the Johannine Paraclete-Spirit to include our defence in the Heavenly Court (in I Jn.2.1-2 the ascended Christ performs such a role).

Finally, we may mention two further references to the Holy Spirit in terms of water. Irenaeus says in Dem.57 that Immanuel "makes glad those who drink of him, that is to say, who receive His Spirit, (even) everlasting gladness". The picture of drinking from Christ means receiving the Spirit, which entails joy and gladness. Union with Christ can be described equally in terms of receiving the Spirit.

In 5.18.2 the Spirit is described as "in us all and He is the living water which the Lord grants to those who rightly believe in Him and love Him and who know that 'there is one Father who is above all and through all and in us all' ". The language of indwelling is utilised, and the "living water" evokes Jn. 7.37-9. To be in a relationship of faith in and love for Christ means to have the Spirit. Union with Christ is the experience of the Spirit.

The use of the water imagery for the Holy Spirit by Irenaeus reinforces the impression conveyed by the "vivifying" description of the Spirit's work : man cannot of himself obtain that life which he forfeited in the fall - he needs help from God through the Son and the Spirit (God's "hands"). Thus the Spirit is described in terms of "the life-giving seed - that is, the Spirit of the forgiveness of sins through means of whom we are quickened" (4.31.2). Forgiveness of sins and new life belong inseparably together, like two sides of a coin, and both are mediated to the believer by God's Spirit. When He encounters the believer in baptism, we receive forgiveness and new life (cf Dem. 3). The idea of being quickened into life by the Spirit suggests an experience which can be looked back on, recalled and dwelt upon : in other words, a specific experience in which man is conscious of being taken out of himself by God and set on a new mode of existence. All this comes filtering through the imagery utilised by Irenaeus.

(v) Irenaeus also uses the idea of believers' carrying the Holy Spirit within them. He states this in Dem. 7 :

"As many as carry (in them) the Spirit of God are led to the Word, i.e. to the Son; and the Son brings them to the Father...Without the Spirit it is not possible to behold the Word of God, nor without the Son can any draw near to the Father : for the knowledge of the Father is the Son, and the knowledge of the Son of God is through the Holy Spirit; and, according to the good pleasure of the Father, the Son ministers and dispenses the Spirit to whomsoever the Father wills and as He wills".

There is a movement out from the Father through the Son and through the Spirit, and a movement back through the Spirit via the Son to the Father. There is no access to the Son now without the Spirit; and no access to the Father without the Son.

At 5.8.1 Irenaeus says that "we receive a certain portion of (God's) Spirit" which prepares us "for incorruption, because we are little by little accustomed to receive and bear God". To have the Spirit is to receive and bear God in an educative and preparatory way so that ultimately we are prepared "for incorruption".

The idea of bearing the Spirit may indicate one of two ideas - the flesh is a receptacle for the Spirit who is now a constituent part of the believer, or a conscious awareness of the activity of the Spirit within one's life. The two are of course not necessarily mutually incompatible. In the light of the evidence so far surveyed we could not exclude the second line of interpretation.

(vi) With some hesitation we mention the language of pouring out the Spirit. The Lord Jesus has not only redeemed us through his own blood "but also has poured out the Spirit of the Father (effundente Spiritum Patris) for the union and communion of God and man..." (5.1.1)³⁵. Here Irenaeus might be echoing the language of Acts 2 /Joel 2, since he probably has Pentecost in mind (cf 3.11.9). On the other hand he is talking about what is true for believers in general. Since that is the case, we have to ask whether "poured out" signifies a vivid experience in which Irenaeus at any rate had been conscious of being 'drenched' by the divine presence, which he described as the Spirit. It certainly cannot be ruled out, though we cannot be certain.

³⁵ cf 5.12.1, where the editors of the Sources Chrétiennes V/I, p256, doubt that Acts 2.17 is in mind in view of the fact that the language, Greek ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν (καιρῶν) , Latin in novissimis temporibus, does not correspond to Acts 2.17.

(vii) This last passage from 5.1.1. leads us on to the next point - the Spirit is the means of communion with Christ and imparts God to men. The passage continues - "leading indeed God down to men by means of the Spirit, and, on the other hand, leading man up to God by His own incarnation".

There is a two stage process here :

(a) By his incarnation Jesus united man and God - he "attached man to God". Christ joins humanity and God together, because he is the Word and the Spirit indwells Him³⁶ (i.e. "the hands of God" are involved, as in the act of creation).

(b) This sets the pattern for believers. Their humanity is now joined by the Spirit. The Lord "has poured out the Spirit of the Father" on believers and this creates the union of God and man in them. Irenaeus uses two phrases - "for union and communion of God and men" and "imparting indeed God to men by means of the Spirit", and these mean the same thing. Clearly to have the Spirit is to have God.

If Jesus' incarnation establishes a pattern in general, his baptism in particular is also a pattern for us because the Spirit descended on Him in the Jordan and is now given to believers (3.17.1 cf 3.18.3).

The Spirit is then the vital means of our experience of God. Knowing God is a matter of being indwelt by the Spirit. To receive the Spirit is to have fellowship with God. Another way of putting this is that the Spirit is the means of our fellowship with Christ and He is our means of access to the Father.

³⁶ Cf Wingren, op.cit., p105 : "By His incarnation our Lord brought God down to men through the Spirit, and man to God by His assumption of human flesh".

Thus Irenaeus says that "the means of communion with Christ has been distributed throughout it (the church), that is the Holy Spirit, the guarantee of incorruption, the means of confirming our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God" (3.24.1). It would be tempting to assume that "the ladder of ascent to God" referred to experience of God now, but probably it refers to the conviction that the Spirit raises our bodies to participate in the life of eternity with God :

(a) the preceding phrase "the guarantee of incorruption" points in that direction.

(b) elsewhere Irenaeus speaks of ascending through the Spirit to the Son and through the Son to the Father, on the journey to that part of the Father's house which is appropriate according to men's worthiness (5.36.2).

Even so, the Spirit is still described as "the means of communion with Christ", ie the Spirit is the agent of actualising the risen Lord's presence in the believer. Without the Spirit there is no fellowship with the Son, while to have the Son is to have the Father.

We have to ask ourselves whether this kind of emphasis could be propounded by someone who was not consciously aware of the presence of the Spirit. The close link between Spirit and fellowship with God, the stress on knowing God in an obviously experiential manner, seem to demand an affirmative answer to this question. Both because of scriptural promises and because of his own experience, Irenaeus knows that Christians are in fellowship with God because the Spirit is a 'tangible' factor in their lives.

(viii) We might here also mention the way Irenaeus handles 1 Cor.3.16 in 5.6.2. In context Irenaeus is maintaining that our flesh will be saved. He argues that here and now the Spirit indwells believers and this fact is a guarantee that our bodies will participate in the ultimate salvation (Irenaeus' teaching about recapitulation is the ultimate basis for this³⁷). "How then is it not the utmost blasphemy to allege that the temple of God, in which the Spirit of the Father dwells, and the members of Christ, do not partake of salvation but go to perdition ?".

Proof that Christians are God's temple, indwelt by God's Spirit, is afforded by 1 Cor.3.16 which Irenaeus applies to the individual believer (not to the church, as Paul does) : "Here he (Paul) manifestly declares the body to be the temple in which the Spirit dwells...not only does he acknowledge our bodies to be a temple but even the members of Christ", and he then goes on to quote 1 Cor.6.14 also. Yet again Irenaeus reveals his conviction that Christians possess God's Spirit, and this constitutes the decisive characteristic of their life in Christ.

Once again this argument seems to demand the underlying explanation that for Irenaeus experience of the Spirit is something real, not theoretical.

So far, then, we have considered how the Spirit is given in baptism to those who believe and how Irenaeus uses various concepts which cumulatively suggest a deeply felt awareness of the Spirit's presence in the believer's life. We now turn to consider the concept of the perfect man in Irenaeus.

³⁷ cf A Grillmeier Christ in Christian Tradition, (ET rev.ed.) London-Oxford, 1975, pp103-4.

The truly spiritual person is one who has received God's Spirit (4.33.1), not one in whom the pneumatic seed has been sown (as in Valentinian Gnosis). Irenaeus can also speak of the "perfect" as those who have the Spirit remaining in them, i.e. "perfect" does not stand for some spiritual elite, but all Christians who have received the Spirit through faith and baptism³⁸. Irenaeus writes :

"The perfect man consists in the commingling and the union of the soul which has received the Spirit of the Father, and been mixed with that flesh which was moulded after the image of God" (5.6.1).

Spiritual, Irenaeus insists, does not mean to be stripped of one's flesh - that would mean that a person was reduced to his spirit.

"But when this Spirit, blended with the soul, is united to (God's) handiwork, man is rendered spiritual and perfect because of the outpouring of the Spirit, and this is he who was made in the image and likeness of God" (5.6.1).

Although the ANL translation prints "spirit" with a small letter³⁹ and Harvey "spiritus"⁴⁰, the context points to God's Spirit⁴¹. It is body (plasma) plus soul (anima) plus Holy Spirit (Spiritus) that makes a person "spiritual", because the Spirit has been poured out

³⁸ cf eg d'Aulès op cit., p 502; H-J Jaschke Der heilige Geist, pp 240-1, 262.

³⁹ The Writings of Irenaeus, Vol.2, Edinburgh, 1869, p 68.

⁴⁰ S.Irenaei..Libros quique adversus haereses ed. WW Harvey, Cambridge, 1857, Vol.2, p 334.

⁴¹ The Sources Chrétiennes editors, V/2 p77, rightly render the Greek, Latin and French in capitals.

upon him. A few lines earlier too, Irenaeus said that Paul spoke of the "spiritual" - "they being spiritual because they partake of the Spirit"; while a few lines later he says :

"But if the Spirit be wanting to the soul, such a person is indeed of an animal nature (animalis) and is left carnal, shall be an imperfect being, possessing indeed the image (of God) in his formation (in plasmate), but not having received the similitude through the Spirit"⁴².

Normally imago and similitudo are synonymous in Irenaeus⁴³, but here is one occasion where he differentiates them, because he wanted to emphasise the difference which receiving the Spirit makes to a person.

Irenaeus interprets 1 Cor.15.45-46 not so much Christologically but rather of believers. Just as Adam who had been made a living soul (anima) forfeited life when he turned from God, so "the same individual when he reverts to what is good and receives the quickening Spirit shall find life" (5.12.2). First comes what is animal (ie flesh plus soul); then the spiritual - "Afterwards... it should receive the communion of the Spirit".

The same distinction between creation and adoption occurs in

5.12.2 : "To some He (the Word) gives after the manner of creation the (spirit) of creation, (the spirit) which is made; but to others (He gives) after the manner of adoption, (the Spirit) which is from the Father, namely His generation" (= the Word grants the Spirit to all as the Father wills).

⁴² Cf 4 Praef.4 : Man is a mixed organisation of soul and flesh, who was formed after the likeness of God and moulded by His hands; 3.22.1 "Everyone will allow that we are (composed of) a body taken from the earth and a soul receiving the Spirit from God"; see also 2.33.5; 5.6.1.; 5.9.1.

cf DE Jenkins "The Make-Up of Man according to Irenaeus", Studia Patristica Vol.6(4), ed. FL Cross, Berlin, 1962, p 94 "The Spirit is no part of man's first make-up"; similarly J Lawson The Biblical Theology of St. Irenaeus, London, 1948, pp 206ff; Jashke, op.cit., pp 294-295.

⁴³ So e.g. Wingren op.cit., p 158; Jashke op.cit., p 314.

"The Spirit (is) in us all (ie Christians) and He is the living water, which the Lord grants to those who rightly believe in Him and love Him."

Clearly, then, for Irenaeus the distinctive feature of the Christian is the possession of the Spirit, bestowed by God through His Son. This means a Christian can be called "spiritual" or "perfect"⁴⁴ - in distinction to non-believers (and not, as in Valentinian Gnosis, in distinction to the hylics and psychics).

Finally, we turn to consider how possession of the Spirit leads out into action and speaking. Specifically, we shall here consider what Irenaeus has to say about spiritual gifts.

In Dem. 99-100, Irenaeus refers to heretics who "receive not the gifts of the Holy Spirit and cast away from themselves the prophetic grace, watered whereby man bears fruit of life unto God...And such are in no wise serviceable to God, seeing that they cannot bear any fruit" (99). "They receive not the Spirit, that is, they reject prophecy" (100). It looks as if here Irenaeus has in mind the Alogoi (cf 3.11.3, where he says that "others" (ie Alogoi) set aside the gift of prophecy from the church"). The clear implication is that prophecy is for Irenaeus a gift of the Spirit to the church and still current in his day⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Jashke, Der heilige Geist, p177, rightly emphasises that, over against the Gnostics, there is no natural bond between us and the Divine Urgrund of our being.

⁴⁵ A Mehat "Saint Irénée et les Charismes", Studia Patristica, TU Vol. 17(2), ed. EA Livingstone, Oxford, 1982, p720 says that Irenaeus was more upset by the suspicions of antiMontanists than by the rebellion of Montanist prophets.

In AH 2 Irenaeus gives us some information about the presence of spiritual gifts amongst Christians. In 28.7 he says that while the Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God, yet to us "there are diversities of gifts, diversities of administrations and diversities of operations" and at the moment we "know in part and prophesy in part" (1 Cor. 12.4-6; 13.9 echoed). This is used in context to point out that there are some questions so difficult that all we can do is leave them in God's hands. Nonetheless it is interesting that Irenaeus uses the reference to prophecy when a reference to partial knowledge alone would have made his point.

In 2.31.2 he says that Valentinians cannot give sight to the blind or hearing to the deaf nor can they exorcise demons, cure the weak, lame, paralysed etc.,

nor can they "raise the dead, as the Lord raised them, and the apostles did by means of prayer and as has been frequently done in the brotherhood on account of some necessity - the entire church in that particular locality entreating (the miracle) with much fasting and prayer, the spirit of the dead man has returned, and (the life of) the man has been granted in answer to the prayers of the saints".

Irenaeus follows this up (31.3) by saying that the church performs such miracles without payment and gives financial help to those cured since they frequently do not possess the things which they require.

Irenaeus claims in 2.32.4 that while the Lord performed the miracles predicted of Him by the prophets, "those who are truly His disciples, having received grace from Him, do in His name perform (miracles) so as to promote the welfare of other men, according to the gift which each one has received from Him". Some exorcise devils. Frequently those thus cured believe and join the church.

"Others have foreknowledge of things to come : they see visions and utter prophetic expressions. Others still heal the sick by laying their hands upon them and they are made whole. Yes, moreover, as I have said, the dead even have been raised up and remained among us for many years. And what shall I more say ? It is not possible to name the number of the gifts which the church throughout the whole world has received from God in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and which she exerts day by day for the benefit of the Gentiles, neither practising deception upon any nor taking any reward from them. For as she has received freely from God, freely also does she minister (to others)". (2.32.4)

Though the Spirit is not expressly mentioned, the references to grace and gift(s) make it indisputable that Irenaeus has the Spirit's gifts in mind.

Irenaeus believed that the OT prophets themselves had predicted these gifts. After quoting Deut.5.24 ("We shall see in that day that God will talk to man and he shall live"), he said : "For certain of these men used to see the prophetic Spirit and His active influences poured forth for all kinds of gifts". Then he quoted Hos.12.10, that God said : "I have multiplied visions and have used similitudes by the hands of the prophets", and said that Paul was expounding this passage in the church when he wrote 1 Cor.12.4-7 (4.20.6). Prophecy in the church in particular was predicted by the OT prophets. "For (the Word) promised by the prophets that in the last times He would pour Him (the Spirit) upon (His) servants and handmaids that they might prophesy" (3.17.1). Joel's language is clearly being employed though not expressly cited⁴⁶.

As to the gifts of the Spirit, Irenaeus said :

⁴⁶ The Greek text runs ἐν ἑσχατοῖς καιροῖς .

"We do also hear many brethren in the church who possess prophetic gifts and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of languages and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men and declare the mysteries of God" (5.6.1)⁴⁷.

The possession of gifts should not, however, be the occasion for pride in us; rather they should lead to humility (5.22.2).

Summary :

Four main areas have occupied us in this first section ; believer's baptism as the point of reception of the Holy Spirit; expressions suggestive of a conscious experience of the Spirit (the Abba cry; adoption; new life; the water image; carrying the Spirit within one; the Spirit poured out; the Spirit as the means of our communion with God and our knowing God); the concept of the spiritual or perfect man; the evidence of spiritual gifts (miracles and prophecy especially) being exercised in current church life. All these substantiate the case that for Irenaeus the Spirit was not a matter of theory but a central factor in Christian experience.

⁴⁷ J Lawson, op.cit., pp 97-8, doubted whether passages like 2/32/4; 3/11/9 and 5/6/1 pointed to a Spirit-given charismatic ministry in Irenaeus' own day. Rather, he felt that these passages vindicated the church's claim that it was she, not the heretics, who possessed the Spirit of God. These two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive. Lawson's view, however, seems refuted by Irenaeus' assertions that

- (i) raisings from the dead had been frequent;
- (ii) the church helps financially those cured;
- (iii) the healed or exorcised often join the church;
- (iv) he himself had heard prophecy and glossolalia in

the church.

These references point to the presence of the charismatic gifts in the church of Irenaeus' day (so FR Montgomery Hitchcock Irenaeus of Lugdunum, Cambridge, 1914, pp 259-60).

B :

We turn now to consider the relation of the Spirit and truth in the believer's experience. For Irenaeus the Spirit "furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth"; He "has set forth the 'economies' of the Father and Son, in virtue of which He dwells with every generation of men, according to the Father's will" (4.33.7). This knowledge of the truth is of course "the doctrine of the apostles and the ancient constitution of the church throughout all the world and the distinctive character of the body of Christ according to the successions of the bishops" (4.33.8).

Here we see the strong link that Irenaeus forges between the Spirit and the Church. The Spirit does not stimulate unrestrained speculation (like Valentinianism), but leads believers to a firm conviction about the teaching which rests on the apostolic witness and tradition, which is enshrined in the scriptures, and which is given by the bishops and presbyters in the various congregations of the one church throughout all the world.

Irenaeus' remarks about the spiritual disciple, i.e. one who has received God's Spirit, in 4.33.1ff confirm this. He says that the spiritual disciple judges all men but is himself judged by no one (echoing 1 Cor.2.15) : because of the Spirit who indwells him the Christian can assess and evaluate others, but they cannot reach a considered judgment on him because they do not possess the Spirit. Specifically, this spiritual disciple is able to evaluate the idolatrous nature of Gentile religion, the enslavement to the law of the Jews; the heretical views of Marcion, Valentinus, the Ebionites, the Docetists, false prophets and schismatics (4.33.1-7). Such a person has a firm faith in the one God Almighty, His Son Jesus Christ and His incarnation and "in the

Spirit of God who furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth" (33.7). The spiritual disciple will also understand the prophecies of the OT (33.15) against those who divide the God of the OT from the God of Jesus.

It is not surprising that Irenaeus, in seeking to rebut Gnosticism, should strongly link the Spirit and the tradition inherited from the earliest generation and enshrined in the NT and the Rule of Faith. There is clearly a polemical thrust behind this. There is a twofold line of approach :

- (a) the Spirit has produced the catholic faith,
- (b) those who adhere to such a faith clearly are led by the Spirit.

Irenaeus does not discuss the relationship between this strong adherence to what he believes is apostolic faith and his belief in prophecy as a gift of the Spirit still current in the churches. Perhaps he did not feel that it was a problem since the apostle Paul had seen certain limits placed on the exercise of prophecy, viz that it operated within the conviction that Jesus was Lord (1 Cor. 12.1-3) and should be exercised in accordance with faith (whatever Paul had exactly in mind in Rom. 12.8, a later writer could take this as in accordance with the faith).

Summary :

Irenaeus saw one aspect of the Spirit's work as leading into the truth, and this truth he equated with the traditional teaching of the church. The amount of material in section B is however fairly small. Is there a reason for this ? It may be that (a) for Irenaeus the truth had already been given to the church through the apostles, and (b) the bone of contention with the Valentinians lay elsewhere than in the belief that possession of the Spirit and Truth went hand in hand.

The 'blinding flash' of inspiration is not an aspect on which he dwells, for the truth has been settled.

C :

At 3.17.2 one reason Irenaeus gave why Christians need the dew = Spirit of God was to bear fruit for life. The language has Pauline overtones (Rom.7.4), though is commonplace enough. We should probably take the bearing fruit idea in an ethical sense : the Spirit's renewing activity is to lead to an ethically pleasing life in God's sight.

On several occasions Irenaeus links the newness of the Christian life and the ongoing activity of the Spirit. He maintains that God would not send the redeemed back to Mosaic legislation; on the contrary, He desires them "to live in newness by the Word, through faith in the Son of God and love" (Dem. 89). In Dem. 89-90 Irenaeus interprets the wilderness of Isa.43.18ff (where God will cause streams to flow), as standing for the Gentiles. The Word of God, by disseminating the Holy Spirit over the earth, has "fashioned the new way of godliness and righteousness and made copious streams to spring forth", as promised. Clearly the Holy Spirit is the inspiration, power and mainspring of the Gentiles' new life style : He has enabled them to break with their idolatrous, immoral past, and step forth on a new life style in harmony with God's will and characterised by righteousness. "Therefore by the newness of the Spirit is our calling and not in the oldness of the letter", and he adds an extensive quotation from Jer.31.31ff. Clearly the writing of God's law in the inner being is equated with the gift of the Holy

Spirit. The new way of life, the way of "godliness and righteousness", which fulfils God's laws, is made possible by the Spirit who is the main impetus behind a new ethical direction.

Isa.43.19-21 is used on another occasion by Irenaeus, viz 4.33.14, in the context of mentioning the promise of a new covenant (Jer.31.31-34) and a new heart and spirit (Ezek.36.26). All these passages "plainly announced that liberty which distinguishes the new covenant, and the new wine which is put into new skins, that is the faith which is in Christ, the way of righteousness sprung up in the desert and the streams of the Holy Spirit in a dry land". Again we note the link between ethics and the Spirit in the way that there exists a certain parallel between faith, the way of righteousness and the streams/water of the Holy Spirit whom Christians receive. There is a way of righteousness to be followed, but it is the Spirit who helps the Christian to walk that way. God's aim in acquiring such a people is "that they might show forth His mighty acts but not that they might blaspheme Him who made these things, that is, God". While Irenaeus' last phrase is directed against Gnostic division between a supreme Deity and a Demiurge/Creator, we may surmise that godly and righteous conduct in the Spirit's power would be one of the ways in which Christians show forth God's mighty acts.

Irenaeus believed that the apostles at the Jerusalem Council "gave the new covenant of liberty to those who had in a new way believed in God through the Holy Spirit" (3.12.14). He clearly has in mind James' ruling, accepted by the Council, that the Mosaic Law was not to be imposed on the Gentile converts. This was the

"liberty" which had been accorded to Gentile believers. He goes on to say that "the apostles who were with James allowed the Gentiles to act freely, entrusting us to the Spirit of God" (3.12.15).

Irenaeus linked the disciples' power of regeneration with baptism in 3.17.1 because God has fulfilled His promise to pour out His Spirit on His servants and handmaids. "Therefore (*ὅθεν* /unde) the Spirit descended on the Son of God made Son of Man to become accustomed through Him to dwell in the human race, to rest with human beings and to dwell in God's workmanship, voluntatem Patris operans (in them) et renovans eos a vetustate in novitatem Christi". The indwelling Spirit helps Christians to do God's will. This whole process is a renewal : it brings men from their old habits into Christ's new life. The Spirit is the agent of a new ethical life.

This newness is at the same time a restoration. We receive by the Spirit the image and superscription of the Father and Son (3.17.3). Man was originally made in the image and likeness of God, lost this by the Fall, but now, through Christ's work as man and the gift of the Spirit, recovers this position, and the possibility of growth is opened up to him. Irenaeus allegorises the parable of the good Samaritan. The Lord entrusts to the Holy Spirit the man who fell into robbers' hands. The two denaria given to the innkeeper are the image and superscription of the Father and Son. After we have received these by the Spirit, "we should make the denarius entrusted to us multiply and remit it to the Lord thus increased". So God will not lose His 'original outlay' but will gain interest on it, as redeemed man progresses to that goal appointed for him.

In this process of restoring the image and likeness and enabling man to grow, the Spirit has a key role.

It is fascinating and relevant for our theme to observe how Irenaeus handles the flesh-Spirit theme compared with Paul. For Paul the flesh is weak (Rom.7.3), and there is a warfare between flesh and Spirit which may neutralise the believer's attempts to do good (Gal.5.17).

Irenaeus accepts that the flesh is weak and quotes Jesus' words (Mk. 14.38) to this effect (5.9.2). Indeed, the flesh, "when destitute of the Spirit of God, is dead, not having life, and cannot possess the kingdom of God" (5.9.3). However Irenaeus claims that

(a) The Spirit of God is "a stimulus to the weakness of the flesh"; what is strong prevails over what is weak "so that the weakness of the flesh will be absorbed by the strength of the Spirit"; "when the infirmity of the flesh is absorbed, it exhibits the Spirit as powerful; and again, when the Spirit absorbs the weakness (of the flesh), it possesses the flesh as an inheritance for itself, and from both of these a living man is formed - living because he partakes of the Spirit, but man, because of the substance of the flesh" (5.9.2).

The power of the Spirit is impressively set forth here. There is no suggestion of a struggle in which the Spirit may be hindered or checked. Here Irenaeus concentrates on the all-powerful conquering might of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit gives the martyrs strength to despise death and bear their witness.

(b) The Holy Spirit inherits the flesh which is dead and translates it into the Kingdom of Heaven (5.9.4); the Spirit purifies man and raises him up to the life of God (5.9.2). It is

clear that this translation into the Kingdom of Heaven and this being raised to the life of God are not purely future ideas but present realities, as can be seen by Irenaeus' words : "In order that we may not lose life by losing that Spirit who possesses us, the apostle exhorting us to fellowship with the Spirit has said ... 'That flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God' " (5.9.4). The Spirit possesses the believer now; and therefore he lives now - he is "a living man" (5.9.2,3). When Jesus said "Let the dead bury their dead", he was referring to "men of this stamp", flesh and soul without God's Spirit - "because they have not the Spirit which quickens men" (5.9.1).

The Spirit as Life-Giver, vivifying what is lifeless, is uppermost here. Life invades death and transforms the situation. (c) The Spirit of God "lays hold of" the flesh. To justify this Irenaeus quotes 2 Cor.3.3 and continues : "If therefore in the present time fleshly hearts are made partakers of the Spirit, what is there astonishing if, in the resurrection, they receive that life which is granted by the Spirit ?" (5.13.4; cf the use of 2 Cor. 3.1-6 in 3.4.2).

. Here, in three images, which cannot be too rigorously separated, Irenaeus sets forth his belief in the aid given to the believer by the Spirit. Hence he can say that although the flesh is weak, it forgets what is its own inherent quality and "adopts the quality of the Spirit, and is conformed to the Word of God" (5.9.3). In former days when we were without the Spirit, we did not obey God (we "walked ... in the oldness of the flesh"); now, however, "having received the Spirit, let us walk in newness of life, obeying God" (5.9.3).

Thus, once more, we meet the ethical implication of fellowship with the Spirit – the change of lifestyle. The same is true of the assertion "When man is grafted in by faith and receives the Spirit of God, he does not lose the substance of his flesh but changes the quality of the fruit of his works, ... and receives another name which shows that he has been changed for the better, being no longer flesh and blood, but a spiritual man and is called such" (5.10.2). Here Irenaeus is taking the Pauline image of the wild olive tree (Rom.11) in an individual sense. If men progress by faith towards better things and receive God's Spirit and bring forth fruit of the Spirit, they "shall be spiritual, as being planted in the paradise of God". If the opposite happens – they reject the Spirit and desire to be of the flesh rather than of the Spirit, then they will not inherit the Kingdom of God (5.10.1 cf 5.11.1). It is important that as the good olive tree should not be neglected or else it will itself run wild, so also men should not become unfruitful in righteousness (5.10.1). It is vital that we should "not neglect the engrafting of the Spirit while pampering the flesh" (5.10.1). Later Irenaeus says that we must lay aside the lusts of the flesh and receive the Holy Spirit, and then quotes Col.3.5,9 "Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth... Cast ye off the old man with his deeds" (5.12.3).

God causes us "to serve Him in holiness and righteousness all our days, in order that man, having embraced the Spirit of God, might pass into the glory of the Father" (4.20.4)⁴⁸. There are

⁴⁸ A somewhat similar pattern is presupposed in 5.11.2. To do the works of the flesh brings death. Believers, however, are not in that plight : whereas they have borne the image of the earthly man in their pre-conversion stage, they now bear the image of the One from heaven. This came about when they were washed and received the Spirit. Where Paul himself in 1 Cor.15.46 is eschatologically

three stages involved :

- (a) the conversion experience here described, from the human angle, as man embracing the Spirit of God.
- (b) that same Spirit frees man from wickedness and leads him along the path of holiness, thus preparing him -
- (c) to pass into the glorious presence of God.

Thus the Spirit is the ethical power for the believer.

It is clear that man's "embracing" the Spirit is not just a future experience but holds good of the present, producing the desired ethical qualities, and all this prepares the human race for the future communion with the Father in glory⁴⁹.

It is this ethical implication that explains a strand in Irenaeus' thought, which suggests that by doing righteous deeds we preserve the Spirit within us. God's Son made it clear "that we ought, after our calling, to be also adorned with works of righteousness, so that the Spirit of God may rest upon us" (4.36.6). In a similar way Irenaeus invokes Paul : "Because, therefore, we cannot be saved without the Spirit of God, the apostle exhorts us through faith and pure lifestyle to preserve the Spirit of God, lest, having become non-participators of the Divine Spirit we lose the Kingdom of Heaven..." (5.9.3) : as Jaschke

orientated, Irenaeus thinks of the present. The image of the Heavenly Man is already being borne by the Christian and 1 Cor.6.11 is utilised to expound this.

Christians have washed away their "former vain conversation" and now in those very bodies which were doomed to death "we are made alive by working the works of the Spirit".

⁴⁹ H-J Jaschke, Pneuma und Moral, p 281, summarising what is the "Christian proprium" in moral conduct for Irenaeus, says that man lets himself be grasped by the one God who embraces creation and redemption, so that he, possessed by the Holy Spirit and in fellowship with believers, matures into a son to find his goal at the end in the vision of the Father.

rightly stresses⁵⁰, we do not in Irenaeus' view dispose of the Spirit; Christians can only preserve the Spirit by a believing life. In demanding the preservation of the Spirit, Irenaeus shows that our possession of the Spirit is not automatic or self-evident.

Normally, Irenaeus stresses the initiative and power of the Spirit as in the illustration about the Lord wanting His temple - that is our flesh - "to be clean that the Spirit of God may take delight in it, as a bridegroom with a bride" (5.9.4). Just as a bride is wedded, not weds, so the flesh is inherited by the Spirit. The initiative and influence lie with the groom and the Spirit; the bride and the flesh are passive recipients. The flesh is not the dominant partner but is 'taken over' by the Spirit, not vice versa.

In 4.38.1ff Irenaeus answers the question why God did not make man perfect from the beginning. He maintains that man was an infant and needed to develop. Hence our Lord, "who was the perfect bread of the Father, offered Himself as milk to us, as to infants". This was to enable us via the nourishment of milk to "become accustomed to eat and drink the Word of God", that we might "be able to contain in ourselves the Bread of immortality, which is the Spirit of God (4.38.1)⁵¹. The incarnation was a stage in the process by which man might be able to 'bear' the indwelling Holy

⁵⁰ Der heilige Geist, pp 177-8; Pneuma und Moral, pp 262, 257.

⁵¹ There is no need to read a eucharistic interpretation into this sentence as Jashke, op.cit., p 271, does. Wingren, op.cit., p 161, refers the food and drink to the incarnate Christ or the Spirit. "Bousset Kyrios Christos, (ET) Nashville-New York, 1970, p 430, while acknowledging that the language is drawn from the eucharist, believes that Irenaeus is thinking of the union of deity and humanity held out to the believer.

Spirit : it was a preparation, the ultimate aim of which was to assist man to accommodate the Spirit who is the guarantee of immortality ("the Bread of immortality").

Irenaeus then picks up Paul's rebuke to the Corinthians that he has fed them with milk, not with meat, because they were not able to bear it. He explains this : "You have been taught the advent of our Lord as a man; but, because of your weakness, the Spirit of the Father does not yet rest upon you... That is, that the Spirit of the Father was not yet with them, because of their imperfection and the shortcomings of their lifestyle"⁵². Irenaeus says of the Corinthians that "they could not receive the Holy Spirit because the faculties which can be trained for God were still feeble and undisciplined" (4.38.2)⁵³.

At first sight this seems to go against Irenaeus' clear emphasis that the distinctive mark of the Christian is that he is indwelt by the Spirit of God. Yet we must bear in mind the context and Irenaeus' defence of his idea of man as an infant who needs to grow⁵⁴. Rather, Dem.42 would be more typical : Irenaeus says

⁵² GWH Lampe, Seal, pp 118-9, thinks that Irenaeus has in mind Acts 8 : while he believes that Irenaeus is implying that Paul had not laid hands on the Corinthians, he maintains that Irenaeus does not relate this to the baptismal rite of his own day. Benoit, op.cit., pp 205-7 points out that Irenaeus ignores 1 Cor.3.16. He also thinks that Irenaeus is interpreting 1 Cor. in the light of customs related in Acts.

⁵³ Jashke, Der heilige Geist, pp 318-9, says that Irenaeus here "shows yet again the need for human qualification without which no union with the Holy Spirit is possible".

⁵⁴ Benoit, Baptême, pp 205-6, stresses that Irenaeus' concern is with the idea of human development, not baptism, but goes no further into this. Irenaeus in the next paragraph (4.38.3), wrote, after referring to the Trinity, "man making progress day by day and

about believers "In them continually abides the Holy Spirit, who was given by Him (God) in baptism and is retained by the receiver, if he walks in truth and holiness and righteousness and patient endurance". The conditional clause is again a reminder that the believer does not dispose of the Spirit, but that he may by his conduct preserve the gift.

We may draw this section to a close by quoting Irenaeus' words in 5.20.2. He says that the Lord recapitulated in himself the human condition and situation :

"By uniting man to the Spirit (a reference to the incarnation) and causing the Spirit to dwell in man (a reference to the risen Lord's pouring out of the Spirit) He is Himself made the Head of the Spirit and gives the Spirit to be the head of man : for through Him (the Spirit) we see and hear and speak".

There is a 'hierarchy' here, as it were : Christ-Spirit-Christian (cf the hierarchy of God-Christ-Christian in 1 Cor.3.23). Through His incarnation and exaltation (cf Acts 2.33), our Lord is the executive power over the Spirit (cf 3.11.8). The immediate Head over the believer is the Spirit, for the Spirit is the means by whom the Christian (spiritually) sees and hears and speaks : his spiritual discernment, sight and speech is prompted by the Spirit. Because the Spirit is the source of all that the Christian has and is, He may rightly be termed the "head" of man. Such is eloquent testimony to the central significance of the Spirit in the life of the believer for Irenaeus.

ascending towards the perfect, that is, approaching to the uncreated One...Now it was necessary that man should in the first instance be created; and having been created, should grow; and having grown, should become adult; and having become adult, should be increased; and having increased, should grow strong; and having grown strong should be glorified; and having been glorified, should see his Lord".

Summary : Irenaeus believes that the Christian is enabled to live a new life through the indwelling power of the Spirit⁵⁵. Irenaeus' view of the ethical life is firmly anchored in his conviction about the strength imparted by the Spirit. The Spirit is both motivation and power for Christian living so different in quality from paganism. Irenaeus affords an interesting contrast to Hermas in this ethical section. Where Hermas has much on the delicacy and sensitivity of the Spirit, Irenaeus has no such idea but speaks strongly of the Spirit's power to swallow up the weakness of the flesh. He unambiguously focuses attention on the Spirit as aid to ethical progress. The few statements which indicate that believers preserve the gift in effect teach that our possession of the Spirit is not automatic and so emphasise the importance of our conduct. But we are left in no doubt that the Spirit aids our weakness by his power.

SUMMARY :

On extant evidence Irenaeus is the first since Paul to ground the Christian way so thoroughly in all its aspects in the work of God's Spirit. While Irenaeus used sources and allowed those sources to speak for themselves, he had thought through the Christian faith theologically. The way in which overall his conception hangs together enables us to see the prominent role which the Holy Spirit plays in Irenaeus' thought both in the experience of Christians and also from Creation to the End.

⁵⁵ It is interesting how on a number of occasions R Tremblay, op.cit., eg pp 138-9,143,162,171, stresses that what Irenaeus is talking about is an interior experience or the activity of an interior order by which man appropriates the very Being of God Himself or by which he enters personally into communion with God.

CHAPTER 33 : THE VALENTINIAN MARCUS

Although Hippolytus places Marcus in the "Oriental School", Irenaeus expressly locates the activities of his followers "in our own district of the Rhone" (1.13.7).

Leaving aside Marcus' numerological speculations (1.14-16), we may make some conjectures from what Irenaeus says about his attitude to the Spirit.

Irenaeus acknowledges that Marcus is inspired, but maintains that he is possessed by "a demon as his familiar spirit, by means of which he seems able to prophesy" and assist others to prophesy (1.13.3). He reports Marcus as claiming to possess the greatest knowledge, to have received the highest power from above (1.13.1) and to be inspired by Charis whose mediator he was (1.14.1).

Irenaeus accepts too that Marcus is able to command his followers to prophesy but argues that "such spirits as are commanded by these men and speak when they desire it, are earthly and weak and audacious and impudent, sent forth by Satan for the seduction and perdition of those who do not hold fast that well-compacted faith which they received at first through the church" (1.13.4).

Irenaeus maintains that Marcus used manipulative arts in order to deceive and lead astray "a great number of men and not a few women" (1.13.1). Marcus "is a perfect adept in magical impostures" (1.13.1). Irenaeus reports how he persuades women by some trick with cups (perhaps the Marcosian eucharist). Of interest is what Marcus is reported to say to the women:

"May that Charis who is before all things and who transcends all knowledge and speech, fill thine inner being and multiply in thee her own knowledge, by sowing the grain of mustard seed in thee as in good soil." (1.13.2)

Clearly this is a prayer for a being filled with heavenly power and knowledge - i.e. a specific experience of the 'invasion' of the human personality by the divine⁵⁶.

Similarly in the case of prophesying, Marcus is alleged to devote himself to wealthy women. He says to them :

"I am eager to make thee a partaker of my Charis... Receive first from me and by me (the gift of) Charis. Adorn thyself as a bride who is expecting her bridegroom that thou mayest be what I am, and I what thou art. Establish the germ of light in thy nuptial chamber. Receive from me a spouse, and become receptive of him, while thou art received by him. Behold Charis has descended upon thee; open thy mouth and prophesy". When she demurs, he insists and then she "utters some nonsense as it happens to occur to her such as might be expected from one heated by an empty spirit... Henceforth she reckons herself a prophetess and expresses her thanks to Marcus for having imparted to her of his own Charis" (AH

1/13/3).

This gratitude (Irenaeus alleges) expresses itself in monetary gifts and sexual favours⁵⁷.

Even when allowances have been made for 'smear tactics', it still looks as if Marcus sought to induce a state of inspiration in the women : he convinced them that he could pass on divine inspiration to them⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ J Reiling *Marcus Gnosticus and the NT : Eucharist and Prophecy, Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, ed. T Baarda, AFJ Klijn, WC van Unnik, Leiden, 1978, p 169 : "The purpose of this gnostic eucharist is fulfilment with the Spirit which means at the same time fulfilment with the true gnosis".

⁵⁷ 1.13.5 says that Marcus used love potions to retain his hold on these women.

⁵⁸ Reiling, op.cit., p 176 - Marcus plays the role of

By contrast Irenaeus' definition of prophecy is worth quoting:

"Only those to whom God sends His grace from above possess the divinely-bestowed power of prophesying; and then they speak where⁵⁹ and when God pleases, and not when Marcus orders them to do so".

Geistvermittler.

⁵⁹ cf Hermas' words in Mandate 11, discussed in the chapter on Rome.

Summary :

Brief, biased and tendentious as are Irenaeus' remarks they do at least clearly show the emphasis within Marcus' group on experience of divine power, however questionably induced.

CHAPTER 34 : CONCLUSION

Our survey from the southern Gallic churches has covered two sources from the 'orthodox' side and one source concerning heretical Christians. All three reveal an emphasis on the experiential side of the Christian faith. One might say that Irenaeus provides a theological explanation for the kind of religious experience revealed in the Letter of the Lyons and Vienne congregations. In the Letter we meet a fervent kind of Christianity which seeks to spread the faith and win others and which embraces martyrdom for Christ, often enduring atrocious torments with heroic courage born of the conviction that the Spirit/risen Christ was with them to strengthen and support them.

Irenaeus gives us a theological assessment of the work of the Spirit. Faith leading to baptism is the moment when Christians receive the Spirit.

In our Syrian section we met documents which reflected an intense religious experience which did not necessarily link that experience with baptism (eg the Odes) or which did not magnify the role of baptism (The Fourth Gospel). In Irenaeus there is a very definite link with baptism as we saw. Our knowledge of the conditions under which people became Christians and joined the church in S. Gaul is sketchy - were they baptized immediately and then instructed or were they instructed as catechumens first and then baptized ? In either case baptism by immersion would provide a dramatic moment at which a sense of the Spirit's presence would be entirely natural. It crystalised the passage from paganism to Christianity, from darkness to light. Irenaeus' view is comparable

to a tradition like Tit.3.4-7 but we do not meet anything like Ignatius' cosmic speculation approach in which the baptismal water has been purified by Jesus' own baptism.

The implication of a whole series of phrases which he uses is that the experience of the Spirit was a conscious one - Christians are aware of the Spirit in their lives prompting prayer to God as Abba and imparting a new quality of life. They have a sense of the Spirit as a permanent indwelling force who enables communion with Christ and the Father to take place. The perfect man is not someone already morally perfect but rather a Christian who has received the Holy Spirit. The receiving of the Spirit does indeed involve a changed life style and Irenaeus stresses the new ethical conduct which flows through the inner strength imparted by the Spirit.

Gifts and graces of the Spirit continue to be experienced within the congregations known to Irenaeus, including prophecy, healing and exorcisms.

The Spirit leads into the truth, i.e. the truth known within the catholic church, embodied in the church's tradition and rule of faith. Irenaeus' position is akin to -

(a) John's stress on the Paraclete's ministry of leading into the truth. But when once the Johannine re-interpretation of Jesus' ministry was encapsulated in the fourth gospel, it became tradition, part of the basis on which the church's belief was erected. From a standpoint later on, Irenaeus' link between the Spirit and truth was due to the need to preserve apostolic witness;

(b) the Pastorals' emphasis on the Pauline deposit to be preserved;
(c) Tertullian's stress that the Paraclete does not alter doctrine, the Rule of Faith.

The Spirit, one of God's hands, was active in the first creation, is active in regeneration and in the educative process preparing man for the ultimate vision of God. From start to finish the Spirit, along with the Word-Son of God, is one of God's executive agents in carrying out His work of restoring man.

Finally, the Valentinian Marcosians known to Irenaeus seem to stress a religious experience in which some at any rate of their number are seized by a power from above which enables them to be the mouthpiece of what they conceived to be the divine pneumatic pleroma.

The evidence then from southern Gaul, orthodox and heretical alike, bears ample testimony to the vitality of religious experience within all shades of Christian opinion. If we compare this with the result of our investigation in other areas, then we could say that these churches were not dissimilar to many of the Syrian churches in their deep sense of the power of the Spirit at work in their midst. Probably in touch with Asia Minor congregations, they also share the Montanist stress on the Spirit without having certain features which they deemed a fault in Montanism. Irenaeus as a church leader has points in common with the seer John and the author of the Pastorals of earlier generations, and yet differs from them both. He shares in general with the former a sense of the Spirit's present activity while he himself however is at home in the structures of the developed threefold ministry. With the latter he accepts the institutional side of the church but manages to have a theology of the Spirit's

ongoing activity which seems to go far beyond anything hinted at in the Pastorals. Eighty years on he seems to have a balance between Spirit and institution which the Pastor did not altogether succeed in maintaining.

The Southern Gallic churches seemed to have stressed the Spirit more than the church at Rome did, as reflected in extant literature, though we must remember that the Old Roman Creed embodied the conviction that blessings did accompany the gift of the Spirit. Earlier we pointed out that Irenaeus reflected use of such a trinitarian baptismal confession of faith and he too expatiated on the blessings of the Spirit. The Spirit is not only a credal statement but part of the very fabric of Christian life , and experience for Irenaeus.

PART VII : NORTHERN AFRICA

The origins of the church at Carthage and the provinces of Roman Africa and Numidia are shrouded in mystery. In 180 twelve Christians from Scilli (whose exact location is unknown) were executed in Carthage by the proconsul, Saturninus. The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs quote from a Latin translation of the Bible, which suggests that the church's origins in this part of N Africa must be sought earlier in the second century. Whether the church at Carthage was founded from Rome¹ can neither be proved nor disproved. Certainly connections between Rome and Carthage were close. Tertullian does not give precise information, though he did claim that Christians were very numerous in Carthage and the provinces (eg Apol. 37.4; Scap. 5.2).

WHC Frend has suggested² that the origins of the seniores laici may go back to a Jewish or Judaeo-Christian environment out of which the N African Church developed in the second century AD.

It is mainly from towards the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries that we get first hand documentation of African Christianity. In this chapter we shall concentrate on two sources of evidence - The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas³ and the writings of Tertullian. (Without looking at

¹ So eg H Lietzmann The Founding of the Church Universal, (ET) London, 1950, (2nd Ed.), p 217.

² "The Seniores Laici and the Origins of the Church in North Africa", JTS 12 (1961) pp 280-4.

³ Though many scholars believe that Tertullian was the final redactor of the Passion (eg Labriolle, op.cit., pp 338-53, especially 345-51 for tables of the language used by the redactor in the prologue and conclusion of the Passion and by Tertullian; cf too V Morel Disciplina RHE 40 (1944-45), p44; Musurillo, op.cit., p xxvii, etc), R Braun Nouvelles observations

Tertullian we would not in fact have within our survey first hand evidence from Montanism - cf our previous remarks on Asia Minor Montanism).

linguistiques sur le redacteur de la "Passio Perpetuae", VC 33
(1979), pp105-117, has cast serious doubts on this hypothesis, and Barnes, op.cit., p329, has accepted his case.

CHAPTER 35 : THE PASSION OF PERPETUA AND FELICITAS

The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas is "a vivid witness to the youth and vigour of the growing African church of the late second century"⁴. It tells the story of the martyrdoms and persecutions suffered by the churches in N Africa in 202AD.

The redactor of the Passion either belonged to the Montanist persuasion or shared some of their convictions⁵. In the introduction (chap.1) he criticised those who would restrict the power of the old Spirit to times and seasons (1.3). Recent events are greater than past events because of being "a consequence of the extraordinary graces promised for the last stage of time" - there then follows a quotation from Joel 2.28 (1.4). "So too we hold in honour and acknowledge not only new prophecies but new visions as well, according to the promise. And we consider all the other functions of the Holy Spirit as intended for the good of the church; for the same Spirit has been sent to distribute all his gifts to all, as the Lord apportions to everyone" (1.5).

He intended to record some of these recent events so that "no one of weak or despairing faith may think that supernatural grace was present only among men of ancient times, either in the grace of

⁴ H Musurillo The Acts of the Christian Martyrs, Oxford 1972, pxxv. All quotations taken from Musurillo's translation.

⁵ JF Matthews, reviewing Barnes' Tertullian, has written "No one will question the Montanist tone of the Preface of the Passio", but does not think that the grounds for believing it actually to be Montanist (eagerness for martyrdom and the spiritual ascendancy of confessors over the established clergy) are adequate - JTS 25 (1973), pp248-9.

martyrdom or of visions, for God always achieves what He promises, as a witness to the non-believer and a blessing to the faithful" (1.5).

The Montanist 'party' was still within the church in N. Africa⁶, as is shown by the account of Saturnus' vision in which bishop Optatus and the elder and teacher, Aspasius, ask Perpetua and Saturnus to effect a reconciliation between them⁷. The defensive tone of the author in his opening paragraphs when he asserted that the working of the Spirit was not to be confined to past ages but was present in his own day is clear and probably suggests that Montanists, though inside the church, were a minority.

The writer was clearly seeking to refute a view which invested the past with now spiritually unattainable heights. He wanted to undermine that tendency to look back at the past as a golden age and to lament that things were not the same. On the contrary the Spirit was at work, and he inspired the present martyrs and imparted visions and dreams. Was there then a deep divide within the congregations known to the author? How strong numerically were those Christians who felt aware of the Spirit's help and power? Were they chafing against the alleged lack of spirituality of the majority? We can only pose such questions; we cannot supply the answers.

⁶ TD Barnes Tertullian, Oxford, 1971/reissued with postscript 1985, pp 164-86.

⁷ So too Barnes, op.cit., p79.

A :

After her baptism Perpetua says that she was "inspired by the Spirit not to ask for any other favours after the water (i.e. her baptism) but simply the perseverance of the flesh" (3.5). The Spirit guided her petitionary prayers so that her requests focussed only on the prayer to persevere faithful to Christ amidst the physical sufferings ahead.

An instance of charismatic prayer is when Perpetua involuntarily prayed for Dinocrates, her dead brother, and continued to do so because she felt that he was in torment. Later she has a vision which assured her that he was released from his suffering (7.1-8.4).

The Spirit-filled, prospective martyr's prayer avails powerfully for the object of her intercession - in this instance reaching beyond this life to the life beyond death.

We might also mention here the prayer for Felicitas, now eight months pregnant, made by her comrades afraid of the postponement of her martyrdom. As a result of the prayer, her labour commenced and she gave birth to a son. In this way she was able to go forward with them all to martyrdom (15.1-7).

Along with prayer, there are visions granted to Perpetua. She had two visions which revealed to her her impending martyrdom : 4.3-10 (the bronze ladder reaching to heaven, symbolising martyrdom) and 10.1-15 (the fight with a vicious-looking Egyptian, symbolising the devil).

These visions are a mode of revelation - a message is conveyed to Perpetua from God. Given the writer's introduction, it is clear that as far as he is concerned such revelatory visions are the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. We notice certain features of these prayers and visions :

- (i) they were not concerned with the spread of the Gospel,
- (ii) or some aspect of God's plan;
- (iii) they tend to glorify the Christian rather than Christ;
- (iv) prayer concerned either the martyr's own fate or a relative of the martyr.

In these features there are both similarities to and differences from the visions in the Acts of the Apostles, for example.

C :

In a martyrological document we naturally do not expect to find ethical discussions but rather we look for whether there is any idea of the martyr's receiving strength to cope with his impending ordeal.

When the author narrated the ordeal of Perpetua's martyrdom - she was attacked by a heifer - he said "She awoke from a kind of sleep (so absorbed had she been in ecstasy in the Spirit) and she began to look about her. Then to the amazement of all she said 'When are we going to be thrown to that heifer or whatever it is ?'" (20.8). The Spirit had answered her prayer (3.5) and lifted her above the consciousness of the pain of the wild beast's attacks.

We have mentioned the pregnancy of Felicitas. During what was a difficult labour, a guard reminded her of the even greater pains which she would have to endure when she got in the arena. To this she replied "What I am suffering now I suffer by myself. But then another will be inside me (alius erit in me) who will suffer for me, just as I am suffering for him" (15.6). The martyr is conscious of a reciprocity of suffering due to the mutual indwelling of servant and Master in the Spirit.

The author concluded his work : "These new manifestations of virtue will bear witness to the one and the same Spirit who still operates and to God the Father almighty, to His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom is splendour and immeasurable power for all the ages" (21.11)⁸.

All this is hardly a literary motif. Rather, it is a case of men and women possessing a sense of the Spirit within them and as a result developing the type of theology which eagerly embraces martyrdom. Experience came first - then the impulse to martyrdom, as following in the steps of Christ and being conformed to his sufferings and so bearing witness to him. However, the tendentious nature of the final redaction suggests that the editor sees the martyrdoms as proof of the validity of the Montanist position⁹.

⁸ cf 16.1 "Therefore, since the Holy Spirit has permitted the story of this contest to be written down and by so permitting has willed it ...".

⁹ Whether or not the Passion is by Tertullian, he certainly believed that martyrdom was a duty and that the Paraclete did urge Christians to martyrdom - Barnes, op.cit., pp 164-186.

They are seen as a proof of the Spirit's present work in the churches : he was not absent as if confined only to previous generations.

SUMMARY :

The picture which emerges reveals at least one type¹⁰ of Christianity in Africa - enthusiastic, Spirit-directed, world-renouncing¹¹, eager to embrace martyrdom¹². It may not have been that of the majority, but at least within the one church it represented a particular facet of church life and in its stress on the Spirit is reminiscent of the kind of portrait that Luke gives us of the early church. Naturally martyrdom is to the fore, and in the sense of being one with Christ in suffering the outlook is close to Paul.

¹⁰ Frend Martyrdom and Persecution, p365 (and also The Donatist Church, Oxford, 1952, pp112-8) contrasts this type of Christianity in N. Africa with the religion of Clement of Alexandria.

¹¹ Barnes op.cit., p79, says that the dominant motif of African Christianity was "an uncompromising rejection of an alien world".

¹² Compare what the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs (to be dated ca 180, the time of the martyrdoms - see Quasten, op.cit., p 181) reveals of another N African Christian congregation. This document also exhibits a strong world-renouncing approach (eg one Speratus said "I do not recognise the empire of this world. Rather, I serve that God whom no man has seen, nor can see, with these eyes...I acknowledge my Lord who is the emperor of kings and of all nations" Para.6), a biblically based Christianity (if one may use the term - see para.12 "What have you in your case ? Speratus said "Books and letters of a just man named Paul") and an eagerness for martyrdom (Nartzalus said "Today we are martyrs in heaven. Thanks be to God" para.15, and all thanked God as they were led out to the execution para.17). It is probably only the extreme brevity of the account why no reference to the Spirit occurs. If we were to go by feeling, we sense their vibrant personal experience of the Spirit.

CHAPTER 36 : TERTULLIAN

There are difficulties in gaining a true understanding of the Spirit's role in Tertullian's religious experience :

(1) Tertullian was primarily a controversialist, whether attacking heretical views or defending practices considered essential to the Christian lifestyle. The controversial nature and style of his writings might not offer much information on our theme. Yet on some subjects treated¹³ we might expect references to the Spirit.

(2) Tertullian's skill in the use of rhetoric¹⁴ also has to be taken into consideration. As an illustration we may refer to how F Forrester Church has shown how Tertullian can describe women following in the steps of Eve, as diaboli ianua, when he wants to appeal for modesty of dress, while elsewhere he blames Adam for the Fall and shows a far more positive view of women and their spiritual potential and capability (eg for martyrdom)¹⁵. We might have to take this rhetorical skill into consideration when evaluating some of Tertullian's statements which might seem paradoxical.

(3) How far did Tertullian change his views due to his adherence to Montanism or did this strengthen existing ones?¹⁶ Did

¹³ cf H von Campenhausen The Latin Fathers, (ET) London, 1964, p9 : "...scarcely a problem in the church of that time about which Tertullian did not express his view, or in some way offer his opinion".

¹⁴ See RD Sider Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian, Oxford, 1971.

¹⁵ Sex and Salvation in Tertullian, HTR 68 (1975), pp 83-101.

Tertullian initially hold that all Christians received the Spirit, but later believed that only those who accepted the New Prophecy possessed the Spirit ? or are there signs in the earlier writings of a division between spiritual and unspiritual Christians which his move to Montanism only strengthened ?¹⁷

(4) A fourth issue is that of inner consistency. If a writer like Tertullian alluded to the Spirit's power in a few places, is this a reflex of tradition, almost unconscious lipservice to a NT emphasis, or should it be assumed in the other passages where no explicit reference is made ?

(5) A further point needs to be made, viz that Tertullian, under Stoic influence¹⁸, envisaged spirit as a material substance, extremely fine and rarefied but material nonetheless. For him, spiritus is

(a) the substantia of divinity¹⁹, as in Prax. 7.8 : "For who will

¹⁶ According to H von Campenhausen, op.cit., p31, "As a Montanist Tertullian did not become other than he had always been".

¹⁷ Barnes, op.cit., pp 43-4, listed certain words or phrases in Tertullian's works which are distinctive of Montanist beliefs, two of which may be mentioned here : the abuse of catholics as "psychici" and the employment of "nos/vos" or "noster/vester", used either explicitly or by implication, to contrast Montanists with catholics. Among the generally accepted 'Montanist' works of Tertullian are adv. Val., de anima, de resurr. mort., adv. Marc., de corona, de virg. vel., de exhort. cast., de fuga in persecutione, adv. Prax., de monogamia, de ieiunio, de pudicitia.

¹⁸ eg S Otto "Natura" und Dispositio", München, 1960, pp3,17,38,46,88; R Braun Deus Christianorum, Paris, 1962, pp149,201,206,285,554; J Daniélou The Origins of Latin Christianity, (ET) London, 1979, p209-223; Grillmeier Christ in Christian Tradition, (ET 2nd Ed.) London, 1982, p118.

¹⁹ See Braun, op.cit., pp149,182, for a thorough discussion.

deny that God is a corpus although God is spiritus ? For Spirit has a body of its own kind (generis), in its own form (effigie)". Spiritus is the substance which passes from the Father to the Son and from the Father through the Son to the Holy Spirit (Prax. 3.5; 4.1) ;

(b) the substantia of the Word, while sermo, ratio and virtus are the modes of manifestation (the 'accidens') (Apol.21.11, which continues "We have been taught that He (the Word) is called Son of God and God because of the unity of substance. For God too is spiritus" - so (He is) de spiritu spiritus et de deo deus" 21.12). In Prax.8.4 we read that "Sermo autem spiritu structus est et...sermonis corpus est spiritus".

In other words, spiritus has a double meaning - the substance of divinity and the Holy Spirit. The context must be examined carefully for the sense²⁰.

For Tertullian, what has corporeal reality can resist, act or operate on or move something else. "In God existential density is at its strongest"²¹. "How could it be that He, without whom nothing was made, is nothing ? How could He who is empty have made things which are solid, and He who is empty have made things which are full, and He who is incorporeal have made things which have corporeality?" (Prax.7.7).

²⁰ cf H Bender Die Lehre über den heilige Geist Tertullians, Munchen, 1961, p99.

²¹ Daniélou, op.cit., p217.

There is an interplay of Biblical and Stoic thought. Jn.4.24 was influential as well as Stoicism; and while Spirit in the Bible is a way of expressing God's activity, in Stoicism the activity springs from corporeality²².

By way of introduction we shall consider two passages in which Tertullian gives a formal definition of the Paraclete's work :

(a) In de virginibus velandis²³ Tertullian described the Holy Spirit as the vicar of the Lord. Since human mediocrity could not comprehend everything at once (Jn.16.12), the Lord sent the Paraclete to bring discipline to perfection :

"The Paraclete's administrative office (is) the direction of discipline,
the revelation of the Scriptures,
the re-formation of the intellect,
the advancement towards the better things." (1.4-5)

Tertullian then developed his idea of growth and seasons both in nature and the spiritual realm : as regards the latter, he instanced four seasons -

- (i) the rudimentary - characterised by natural fear of God.
- (ii) infancy - the era of law and the prophets.
- (iii) the fervour of youth - the Gospel era.
- (iv) that of maturity - the time of the Paraclete, who, after Christ, is the only one to be called and revered as Master (1.6-7).

²² Otto, op.cit., p4, points to the link between natura and activity, between the substratum and its result.

²³ Dated before 207 by J Qua sten Patrology, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1953, p307; to 208/9 and after by Barnes, op.cit., pp55,328, the treatise deals with the veiling of virgins lest they should entice men to lust after them and endanger also their own purity.

The first work of the Spirit is, then, the establishment of discipline. Arguably, all four items really refer to discipline, since "the better things" are synonymous with it, while the correct interpretation of Scripture and the reshaping Christian minds' appertains to it also.

(b) In de Monogamia²⁴, Tertullian described the work of the Paraclete as twofold :

- (i) he initially bears witness to Christ.
- (ii) then he reveals the "many things" concerning discipline which the disciples could not bear (Jn.16.12) and which are no less burdensome to Tertullian's day than to the original disciples (2.4).

In these two writings from within the Montanist period, we discern an emphasis on discipline. The Paraclete witnesses to Christ, and then imposes a discipline which goes beyond what Jesus taught, because we are now in the era of maturity.

We notice a silence in these passages on whether the Spirit empowers men to shoulder this discipline. Does he impose a heavy yoke and expect men to carry it unaided ?

The resistance to this discipline which Tertullian noticed amongst those whom he branded as the sensualists who do not receive the Spirit (eg de Monogamia 1) served only to mark off the unspiritual from the truly spiritual.

We now turn to our three areas of concern.

²⁴ Barnes op.cit., p55 - 210/11AD; Quaesten op.cit., p305 -217AD; WP le Saint Tertullian's Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage, London, 1951 p68 - also 217AD : i.e. all three date it within the Montanist period of Tertullian. This work is the last of three treatises dealing with marriage and remarriage; it strongly upholds one marriage as God's will and judges second marriages as unlawful and akin to adultery.

A :

Did Tertullian think of a specific experience of receiving the Spirit ? Did he expect Christians to be conscious of having the Spirit?

In de cultu feminarum II.1.1²⁵, all Christians are God's temple because they have appropriated the Holy Spirit. The "appropriation" seems to suggest the conscious acceptance of the proffered gift by believers.

The family image is used in Apologeticum²⁶. Christians are brothers - even pagans say "Look how they love one another" - who possess the knowledge of their common Father, have drunk of the one Holy Spirit and have been born into the same light of truth (39.9). The reference to drinking the one Spirit may echo 1 Cor.12.13, but the use of such a vivid phrase, when less dramatic ones were available, suggests an experience of which Christians were conscious. One of the common bonds of the Christian family, then, is their mutual possession of the Holy Spirit.

Tertullian's treatise de baptismo²⁷ seems to envisage both an

²⁵ Barnes op.cit. p55 - 196 or early 197; Quaesten op.cit., p295 - "before his Montanist period". Tertullian basically appeals for modesty in female dress to distinguish Christian from pagan women, and condemns cosmetics, jewelry, etc.

²⁶ Quaesten, op.cit., p265 - 197AD; TR Glover Tertullian Apology (Loeb), London, 1966, pxix - 197-8; C Becker Tertullians' Apologeticum, München, 1961, p44 - 197; Barnes op.cit., p328 - autumn 196 or later. Tertullian defends Christianity against the various criticisms made by pagan critics (incest, infanticide, atheism, disloyalty to the state) and protests against the treatment of Christians in the law courts.

²⁷ Quaesten op.cit., p280 - 198-200D; E Evans Tertullian's Homily on Baptism, London, 1964, pxi - "about the turn of the century"; Barnes op.cit., p55 - 198.

infusion of the water by the Spirit or Angel²⁸ (to produce cleansing²⁹) and, following laying-on of hands and prayer, a personal experience of the Spirit who descends on Christians as He did on Jesus in his baptism and who brings God's peace like the dove after the Flood (6.1; 8.3-4)³⁰. The analogy with Jesus' baptism and the Flood fits in with a personal awareness of the Spirit's activity.

The idea of the Spirit's visitation of the heart to take up His abode there (after repentance has prepared a clean heart) occurs in de Paenitentia (2.6)³¹, and this language is commensurate with a felt awareness of the Spirit's coming upon the Christian. The common experience of the Spirit is again a mark of Christians (10.4,6).

Tertullian employs the nuptial image (de Anima³²). The soul

²⁸ Tertullian equates the Holy Spirit (ch.4) and the Angel (ch.3), using Jn.5.1-9 as a typology of Christian baptism - see J Daniélou The Bible and the Liturgy, (ET) London, 1960, pp210-3.

²⁹ Tertullian says that baptism prepares for the reception of the Spirit (ch.6). For the tension between what Tertullian says here and elsewhere about the relation of the Spirit and baptism, see Lampe Seal pp157-62, who describes Tertullian's statements on this subject as confusing and inconsistent.

³⁰ EC Ratcliff Liturgical Studies, ed AH Couratin and DH Tripp, London, 1976, p129, distinguished between recovering the Spirit of God and receiving the Holy Spirit, but this is hardly convincing (such a view was rejected by Lampe, Seal, pp161-2).

³¹ Quasten op.cit., p299 - 203; WP le Saint Tertullian - Treatises on Penance, London 1959 - either between 200 and 206 or between 193 and 202/3, certainly before 207; Barnes op.cit., p55 - between 193 and 203.

³² Barnes op.cit., p323 - after 208AD; Quasten op.cit., p289 - 210-213, similarly JH Waszink De Anima, Amsterdam, 1947, p6. The

is wedded to the Spirit, and the flesh 'follows' as part of the bridal portion - no longer the servant of the soul but of the Spirit (41.4)³³. Since intimacy is the essence of the nuptial metaphor, its usage argues for a conscious experience of possessing the Spirit.

It is true that for Tertullian our present experience of the Spirit is a "guarantee" of our future experience³⁴ and when the fulness of the Spirit has been received, then the flesh will become a Spirit-informed body. But this does not lessen the fact that it is assumed that Christians have received the Spirit.

In de resurrectione mortuorum³⁵ Tertullian interprets God's gifts mentioned in the OT not as material bounties, as the Jews took them, but spiritually. Thus, the water stands for the Spirit and the wine represents the soul which receives strength from the vine which is Christ : "even as they reckon the holy land itself to be strictly the Jewish territory, though it ought rather to be interpreted as the Lord's flesh, so that flesh thenceforth in all who have put on Christ is a holy land, truly holy through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, truly flowing with milk and honey

treatise refutes false doctrines about the soul and discusses certain questions about the soul.

³³ cf de resurrectione mortuorum 63.1,3 also for this image of bride and groom applied to the flesh and the Holy Spirit. Waszink, op.cit., p 457, says that the picture of the soul wedded to the Spirit does not seem to occur before Tertullian.

³⁴ He takes pignus Spiritus of 2 Cor.1.22;5.1, cf Eph.1.14 pignus hereditatis nostrae, as a partitive genitive, not epexegetic, as de resurrectione mortuorum 51.2;53.18f, make abundantly clear.

³⁵ Quaestiones op.cit., p283 - perhaps 210-2; Barnes, op.cit., p326 - 208/11.

through the sweetness of his own hope, truly Judaeans through the familiar converse of God"³⁶. We note the parallelism between putting on Christ and the indwelling of the Spirit and the assumption that this is true generally of Christians.

To put on Christ and to be indwelt by the Spirit are two sides of the one coin. The flesh of those "who have put on Christ is a holy land, truly holy through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit". This state produces "familiar converse with God". If Tertullian can use the idea of familiaritas with God, it is clear that conscious awareness of God's presence is in mind.

The implication of Scorpiace 9.3³⁷ (one aspect of our continuity with the apostles is the Spirit) is that all Christians have the Holy Spirit and this is explicitly asserted by de fuga in persecutione 6.4³⁸, where Tertullian uses Joel 2.28 to countermand Matt.10.23 : "No command that shows Judaea to be specially the sphere for preaching applies to us, now that the Holy Spirit has been poured out upon all flesh". But no hint is given in either passage as to the exact manner of experiencing the Spirit.

³⁶ 26.10-11. The text is translated from the Corpus Christianorum series : Tertulliani Opera II, Turnholt, 1954 p955; cf E Evans Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection, London, 1960, pp72,74.

³⁷ Barnes, op.cit., p55 and Tertullian's Scorpiace, JTS 20 (1969), pp105-132 - late 203/early 204, convincingly against the later date of 213 during Scapula's persecution, advocated amongst others by Quasten, op.cit., p282. Tertullian defended martyrdom against the gnostics (who are the scorpions).

³⁸ Quasten op.cit., p310 - 212AD, whereas Barnes op.cit., p55 dates to 208/9. In this work Tertullian withdrew his earlier permission of flight during persecution (ad Uxor.1.3; de Paen.13) and discussed Matt.10.23 at length.

Tertullian spoke of the Christian's being clothed with the Holy Spirit, when he allegorised the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and took the Prodigal not as a backsliding Christian but an unbeliever. He denies that an apostate can "recover his former garment, the robe of the Holy Spirit, and a renewal of the ring, the sign of baptism" (de pudicitia.³⁹9.11). "The ring which is signaculum lavacri" may be paraphrased as "the ring which stands for that sign which consists of baptism". Tertullian's order - Holy Spirit and baptism - is probably due to the exigencies of the allegory, as earlier he allegorised the prodigal's "substance" as baptism, the Holy Spirit and eternal hope. The idea of "being clothed with" has a NT ring - Lk. 24.49 of the Spirit; Rom.13.14; Gal.3.27; Eph.4.24; Col.3.10 of Christ the New Man.

Yet it is also in this treatise that Tertullian enunciated the sharp division between spiritual and psychic men. "The very church itself is properly and principally the Spirit Himself" (21.16). The church consists of those who possess the Spirit. To this church (and not to the psychics) is given the power of forgiving sins, "the church of the Spirit by means of a spiritual man, not the church which consists of a number of bishops" (21.17)⁴⁰.

³⁹ Barnes op.cit., p55, dates to 210/211AD, whereas Le Saint op.cit., p52, says that it was "composed some time after 212/3"; Quasten contents himself with the comment that it is violently Montanist, op.cit., p312. It deals with ecclesiastical discipline and 'the power of the keys' and criticises an unnamed bishop for forgiving adultery/fornication.

⁴⁰ WHC Frend Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church, Oxford, 1965, p378 wrote "In this work, the theology of the gathered community was given classic expression...It is a permanent protest against institutional religion in favour of a religion of the Spirit".

Thus, it would appear that only in the latest of his writings do we meet a distinction between spiritual and psychic, the true church and an outward hierarchical church. Tertullian certainly began with the assumption that all Christians receive the Spirit.

We turn now to consider the link between the receiving of the Spirit and activity of word and deed resulting from that experience. Particularly we shall consider Tertullian's view of prophecy and visions as inspired by the Spirit.

He believed that the former gifts of grace to Israel had been withdrawn and that the Holy Spirit no longer lingered in Jewish synagogues (adv. Iudaeos 13.15⁴¹; cf adv. Marc. 3.23.2; 5.8.4). The law and prophets were until John the Baptist. Vision and prophecy were "sealed" by Christ - after him there were no visions, prophecy or miracles in Judaism. All the previous spiritual gifts ceased in Christ (adv. Iudaeos 8.14). The disciples of Christ, however, obtained the promised power of the Holy Spirit for the gift of miracles and utterance, and then proceeded into the world and preached the gospel (de praescriptione haereticorum 20.4)⁴². The initial fulfilment of the promise was at Pentecost and between then and Tertullian's own day spiritual gifts and endowments had existed in the church as is revealed by his ironical comment

⁴¹ This was sparked off by a dispute between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte and deals with how Christians should interpret the OT. Qua_{sten}, op.cit., p268-9, offers no date; Barnes, op.cit., p55 - summer 197; H Trankle Tertullian Adversus Iudaeos, Wiesbaden, 1964, p lxvii, contents himself with the comment that it is one of Tertullian's earliest works.

⁴² Praes. Haer. denied the right of heretics to use the Bible and maintained that Catholic doctrine originated in apostolic tradition, the truth of which is prior to the lateness of falsehood/heresy. Qua_{sten}, op.cit., p272, dates to ca200; Barnes, op.cit., p55, to 203.

that truth had to wait for certain Marcionites and Valentinians to set it free. Tertullian used the expression "the new prophecy" and saw Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla as a fulfilment of the Johannine promise of the Paraclete. He spoke of "us, ... whom the recognition of spiritual gifts entitles to be deservedly called spiritual" (de monogamia 1.2).

One of Tertullian's criticisms levelled at Praxeas was that he had done a twofold service for the devil : "He drove away prophecy and brought in heresy; he put to flight the Paraclete and he crucified the Father" (ad Praxeas 1.5)⁴³. According to Tertullian Praxeas persuaded a Bishop of Rome, who was about to recognise Montanism, to withdraw that recognition⁴⁴. Prophecy and Paraclete stand in parallelism, for the Spirit produces prophecy.

Prophecy was an endowment of God's grace (de Anima 22.1). For Tertullian it was associated with ecstasy. He also links sleep and ecstasy and illustrates this by Adam who during sleep experienced the influence of the Spirit, "for ecstasy, the Holy Spirit's creative power of prophecy, fell upon him". As a result he exclaimed "This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife and they two shall become one flesh"⁴⁵,

⁴³ The reference to heresy/crucifying the Father is to the "modalism" or patripassianism propounded by Praxeas. Quaesten, op.cit., p284 dates the work at AD213; Barnes, op.cit., p55 - 210/11.

⁴⁴ Which Bishop of Rome is a matter of dispute. We need not discuss this issue here - see Labriolle, op.cit., pp267ff, who favours Zephyrin and thinks that Praxeas' intrigues took place ca 198-200 (op.cit., pp 273-5).

⁴⁵ de Anima 11.4; 21.1-2; 45.3; cf deieiuniis 3.21; adv. Marc.

the true interpretation of which is the great mystery of Christ and the church (Ephes.5.31-2).

We dream and the memory of those dreams is the gift of the ecstatic condition during which mental function is withdrawn, though not totally extinguished, for the soul is never inactive. It is absent (amentia) when ecstasy is at work in us to bring before us images of a sound mind and wisdom⁴⁶.

Tertullian also associates Daniel with ecstasy (de Anima 48.3-4). This ecstasy, however, was not due to his fasting, for this aimed to please God and not induce a state of the soul amenable to dreams and visions. God alone can give ecstasy. Fasting may, however, "recommend" the ecstasy to God so that "it happens in God" (ita non ad ecstasin summovendam sobrietas proficiet, sed ad ipsam ecstasin commendandam ut in deo fiat (de anima 48.4)). What does Tertullian mean by ut in deo fiat ? Presumably God acts by sending the ecstatic state within the dream. He is the author of this state of grace.

Ecstasy was the state in which Peter at the Transfiguration made the suggestion about erecting three tabernacles. It was not a mistake on his part but uttered in a state of ecstasy which is the concomitant of grace. "For when a man is in the Spirit, especially when he has sight of the glory of God or when God is speaking by

4.22.4.

⁴⁶ adv.Marc.5.8.12; cf ad.Prax.15.8. For the discussion of sleep and ecstasy see de Anima 45 and JH Wazink op.cit., pp 480-7.

him, he must of necessity fall out of his senses, because in fact he is overshadowed by the power of God – on which there is disagreement between us and the natural men"⁴⁷.

Dream and an ecstatic state within it are an essential feature of the experience of receiving prophetic revelation from God. In this way the Spirit of God bestows the gift of prophecy on chosen vessels like Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla. Tertullian wrote about Priscilla : "Through the holy prophetess Prisca the gospel is thus preached : 'The holy minister knows how to minister sanctity'. 'For purity', she says, 'is harmonious and they see visions; and turning their face downward, they even hear manifest voices as salutary as they are secret" (de exhortatione castitatis 10.5)⁴⁸.

In de anima 9, a famous passage gives an account of a Christian sister's visions :

"For because we acknowledge spiritual charismata, we too have merited the attainment of the prophetic gift, although coming after John (the Baptist). We have today amongst us a sister whose lot it has been to be favoured with spiritual gifts of revelation, which she experiences in the Spirit by ecstatic vision amidst the sacred rites of the Lord's Day in the church : she converses with angels, and sometimes even with the Lord; she both sees and hears mysterious communications; she understands some men's hearts, and to them who are in need she distributes remedies. Whether it be in the reading of the scriptures, or in the chanting of the psalms, or in the preaching of sermons, or in the offering up of prayers, in all these religious services matter and opportunity are afforded to her of seeing visions. It may possibly have happened to us, whilst this sister of ours was rapt in the Spirit, that we had discoursed in some ineffable way about the soul. After the people are dismissed at the conclusion of the sacred services, she is in the

⁴⁷ Adv. Marc. 4.22.4-5 (Quaest. op.cit., p275 - 212; Barnes op.cit., p327, espouses the view of several editions, the last being post 207/8; E Evans Adversus Marcionem, Oxford, 1972 , p xviii - 207-8).

⁴⁸ Quaest. op.cit., p305 - between 204 and 212; Barnes, op.cit., p328 - after 208. This work was written to a friend after the death of his wife, to dissuade him from contemplating a second marriage.

regular habit of reporting to us whatever things she may have seen in vision (for all her communications are examined with the most scrupulous care, in order that their truth may be probed).

'Amongst other things' she says, 'there has been shown to me a soul in bodily shape, and a spirit has been in the habit of appearing to me; not, however, a void and empty illusion, but such as would offer itself to be even grasped by the hand, soft and transparent and of an etherial colour, and in form resembling that of a human being in every respect'. This was her vision, and for her witness there was God; and the apostle most assuredly foretold that there were to be 'spiritual gifts' in the church" (9.3-4)⁴⁹.

Is this a Catholic or Montanist service ?

(a) Tertullian has preached. Even if he was a layman, he might have been involved in some ministry of the word⁵⁰.

(b) Plebs may mean the congregation as opposed to the leaders (who could be referred-to in the phrase solet nobis renuntiare quae viderit). Yet nobis could refer to a group of Montanist Christians.

(c) The visions were tested by some after the service that their veracity might be established⁵¹. Waszinck's comment that "it is dubious whether such an examination would have taken place after a catholic service; and if so, if Tertullian would have been present at it", assumes that the examination would have been conducted by 'catholic' ministers. But if the Montanists were still part of the catholic congregation, then the nobis could refer to almost a kind of "after meeting" which Montanists would frequent.

⁴⁹ cf the challenge to Marcion to produce evidence of spiritual gifts and graces in adv. Marc. 5.8.12 and 5.15.5.

⁵⁰ so H von Campenhausen, op.cit., p7, though Labriolle, op.cit.p461, assumed a Montanist assembly with a sermon by Tertullian.

⁵¹ Oracles, tested and approved, may have been gathered into a book or books; cf Epiph. Pan. 49.2; Theodoretus Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium 3.1.

(d) The late date for the composition of de Anima, upheld by Waszinck and Qua^usten, would favour a purely Montanist service, with nobis referring to their leaders. The earlier date preferred by Barnes is congruous with a catholic service.

(e) The elements of the service might point to a catholic service (assuming that Scripture reading, chanting of psalms, preaching and prayers suggest a fairly structured Word-Response type of service⁵²) - would not Montanist services be more free and less structured ?

On the whole, the evidence seems slightly in favour of a catholic service. We note that apart from visions this prophetess was gifted with the understanding of what was going on in men's hearts and the capacity to proffer help to those who were willing to acknowledge their need (et medicinas desiderantibus sumit).

There are several references to exorcisms in Tertullian's writings⁵³, though in none of these is the Holy Spirit specifically

⁵² From an earlier period, Justin (I Apol. 67) intimates that a service consisted of readings from the memoirs of the apostles or writings of the prophets, a discourse, prayers, and then communion, while slightly later Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition (to be dated ca 215 - see G Dix The Apostolic Tradition, London, 1937, pxxxvii; Qua^usten, op.cit., Vol II, p181) shows how structured services at Rome could be (In the 1986 reissue of Dix's edition, H Chadwick sought to refute the case for linking the Apostolic Tradition with Egypt or Syria and supported Rome as the place of origin - see pp f - i). Tertullian himself in Apol.39 mentions prayer; reading of Scripture, exhortation, rebukes and sacred censures, as integral parts of Christian worship, and also says that the Agape began and ended with prayer and included the singing of hymns to God - all of which suggests a certain order in worship.

⁵³ Apologeticum 23.4,15-6; 27.5,7; 32.3; 43.2;46.5,10-12; de Spectaculis 29.3; de Anima 57.5; ad Scapulam 2.9; 4.5 (Qua^usten, op.cit., p267 - 212, with which Barnes, op.cit., p55 agrees. Tertullian addressed this to the proconsul of Africa, pleading for freedom of worship and referring to a recent eclipse of the sun as a sign of God's anger at the persecution).

mentioned. Doubtless they were seen a sign of his presence and power.

Summary : We have explored the references in Tertullian to Christians' receiving or possessing the Spirit in an endeavour to ascertain whether they lend support to the idea of a conscious awareness of the Spirit's invasion of or presence in the believer's life. We suggested that many of the images (appropriation, drinking, visitation, marriage, indwelling) could indeed be so taken. Confirmation has resulted from Tertullian's views on spiritual gifts, and the illuminating description of the Christian sister who received visions from the Spirit and how these were tested afterwards. Of significance also is Tertullian's analysis of the ecstatic state in which prophecies were received.

B :

We saw in our introductory section that Tertullian had described the Paraclete as the one who was to reveal those things which Jesus could not impart during his earthly ministry. We, therefore, expect to encounter the idea of the Spirit as one who guides into a deeper perception of God's truth. The description of the Spirit as the Spirit of Truth occurs frequently⁵⁴. It is interesting to observe how Tertullian handles Jn.16.12-13 in de praescriptione haereticorum 22. He says that Jesus "promised the future attainment of all truth by the help of the Spirit of Truth" (22.9) and he fulfilled this promise by sending the Holy Spirit as the Acts of the Apostles shows (22.9-10). Indeed, Bender

⁵⁴ See e.g. de praescriptione haereticorum 8.14; de Corona 4.6 (Quasten, op.cit., p 309 - 211, while Barnes, op.cit., p328 - after 208); de fuga in persecutione 14.3; ad Prax. 30.5.

maintained that Tertullian has said little on the way in which the Holy Spirit helps to guard the truth. "The real activity of the Spirit lies for him first and foremost more in the past, namely when he taught through the apostles. What they preached is handed down to us in the Holy Scriptures. Through the words of Scripture the Holy Spirit also practises today his office as guardian of the faith"⁵⁵. This is probably correct in what it affirms rather than in what it appears to deny, as we shall see below.

We cannot discern the truth without the help of God, Christ, the Spirit and faith (de Anima 1.4). The Spirit, received through baptism and laying-on of hands, illumines the soul (de resurrectione mortuorum 8.3); indeed, de Paenitentia speaks of God's grace illuminating the world through His Spirit (gratiam ... quam in extremitatibus temporum per Spiritum suum universo orbi inluminaturus esset : 2.4)⁵⁶. At the same time Tertullian is prepared to argue that the Paraclete is not an innovator opposed to catholic tradition (de monogamia 2.1).

Specifically there are seven areas where the Spirit is thought of as guiding into the truth :

(a) He preaches "one monarchy" and interprets "the economy (of Father, Son and Spirit) for those who admit the words of his new prophecy" (adv. Prax.30.5).

(b) He teaches the corporeal nature of the soul, through the visions of a Christian sister (see above).

⁵⁵ op.cit., p115; somewhat similarly H Kärpp Schrift und Geist bei Tertullian, Gütersloh, 1955, pp 58-67 (esp.63-4), 70.

⁵⁶ Tertullian can refer to the illumination of Christians without expressly mentioning the Spirit : eg Pud. 7.11.; Apol. 39.5.

(c) He teaches the punishment of the soul in Hades before the resurrection (de anima 5.7).

(d) He teaches monogamy, and has now retracted the concession made in 1 Cor.7.39 (de Monogamia 3-4). The new prophecy outlawed a second marriage : if the infirmity of the flesh was allowed to prevail up till then, the Paraclete has now revoked the indulgence which permitted a second marriage. (Accordingly, we cannot completely accept Bender's statement quoted above, since here is an example of the Spirit 'tightening up' even on what Paul allowed⁵⁷).

This is further illustrated by Tertullian's use of the Pauline expression "the newness of the Spirit and not the oldness of the letter" (Rom.7.6) in de Monogamia. In his exposition he equates the body of Christ of Rom.7.4 with "the church, which consists in the Spirit of newness" (13.3) - to contrast the law and the new dispensation under which a second marriage is forbidden. While in Paul "the newness of the Spirit" stands for the new life freed from sin and under the leading of the Spirit, Paul would no doubt have believed that the Spirit leads in new directions. Tertullian takes the "newness" in that sense, viz a new ethical demand banning a second marriage.

(e) He counsels a willingness for martyrdom (de Anima 55.5; de fuga in persecutione 9.4). And so Tertullian brands those Christians who criticised a soldier for refusing to wear a laurel as having rejected the prophecies of the Holy Spirit and as purposing to refuse martyrdom (de Corona 1.4).

⁵⁷ Kärpp, op.cit., p 63, refers to this as the only time when a word of Scripture is deprived of its authority by the Spirit.

(f) He refuses a second repentance to heinous sinners (de Pudicitia e.g.1.20-1). The prophecy of Montanus is reported to the effect that while the church can forgive sins, he would not do so lest others also sin (de Pud. 21.7). Tertullian defends the consistency of the Spirit. Thus, when exegeting Rev.2.18-22 concerning the repentance offered to Jezebel, Tertullian asserts that Jezebel was never a true Christian but a heretic - a Nicolaitan - on a par with the heathen, and so this was why an opportunity of repentance was offered to her (de Pud.19).

(g) He teaches the resurrection of the flesh. Tertullian cites Prisca the prophetess as the mouthpiece of the Paraclete to brand those who denied the resurrection of the flesh as erroneous. "They are carnal and yet they hate the flesh" (de resurr. mort. 11.2).

Of our list of seven items, there is almost an equal division between doctrinal beliefs (the economy of the Trinity; the nature of the soul; its pre-resurrection punishment; the resurrection of the flesh) and ethical issues (no second marriage; no second repentance; willingness for martyrdom). This is in harmony with what Tertullian said in de virg. vel.1.2 - the Paraclete brought no alteration to the Rule of Faith (He confirms and clarifies already known truths) but He might alter aspects of custom, conduct and lifestyle⁵⁸.

Tertullian speaks of the new prophecy pouring in from the Paraclete and dispelling former ambiguities in the Scriptures. God, by pouring the Spirit forth, "has cleared from all obscurity and equivocation the ancient Scriptures by the clear light of their

⁵⁸ The importance of this passage is stressed by V Morel Le Développement de la "Disciplina" sous l'action du saint-Esprit chez Tertullien, RHE 35 (1939), pp 243-65; cf too Kärpp, op.cit., pp 52-7.

words and meanings " (de resurr. mort. 63.9). This means that He has removed any support that heresies might have obtained from the ambiguities of Scripture :

"It was fit and proper therefore that the Holy Spirit should no longer withhold the effusions of His gracious light upon these inspired writings... He has accordingly now dispersed all the perplexities of the past, and their (the heretics') self-chosen allegories and parables, by the open and perspicuous explanation of the entire mystery through the new prophecy which descends in copious streams from the Paraclete" (op.cit. 63.9)⁵⁹.

Tertullian claimed that he was a disciple of the Paraclete, not men (ad Praxean 13.5; cf 1.7; 2.1). Having received the Paraclete, he declared that he himself was a better man (de Pud. 1.11). In the end the test was whether a person recognised the truth of the new prophecy. If he did, then that person was led by the Spirit; if not, then such an one was unspiritual.

Summary :

The teaching ministry of the Spirit, his ongoing ministry of leading into all the truth, his continuous unfolding of the will of God as he takes the things of Christ and applies them to the church, that is to say, above all, his exposition through the Scriptures - all this was taken with utmost seriousness and conviction by Tertullian. Thus there is for Tertullian a close link between the Scriptures and the Spirit⁶⁰. The Spirit inspired them in the past, as when Tertullian asserts that Paul's remarks in 1 Cor.7.40 are a statement of the Holy Spirit (ad Uxorem II 2.4) : this admonition to continence and only one marriage has "divinity for its patron" (de exhort. cast. 4.5). And the Spirit has a

⁵⁹ "Kärpp, op.cit., p 46, commented that the new prophecy did not devalue scripture but perfected its use.

⁶⁰ cf Apol. 20.4 "The same Spirit inspires them" (viz the prophets and the books of Scripture).

present role in explaining them : of his own exposition of 1 Cor.7.12-4 Tertullian says that he will seek to explain the passage if the Spirit gives ability to him (ad Uxorem II 2.8)⁶¹. Indeed sometimes the Spirit may revoke what he had earlier allowed (eg the permission to remarry in 1 Cor.7), while the command to flee (Matt.10.23) caused Tertullian considerable problems when in his later writings he forbade all flight in the face of persecution or its threat. The Spirit exercises his office as guardian of the faith through the Scriptures and through them he has taken measures against heretics⁶². There is a combination of a past and present role regarding the Scriptures, but his inspiration of the Scriptures in the past must not obscure his present task of illuminating them.

C :

We turn now to consider the vital field of Christian ethics and the Spirit and how Tertullian envisaged the relationship between them. His stern moral demands are well known. Did he dwell on the empowering of the Spirit ?

In a fairly early work de Idolatria⁶³, Tertullian said that as slaves of Christ freed from captivity to the world, Christians

⁶¹ Quaesten, op.cit., p302 - between 200-206; Barnes, op.cit., p55 - between 198-203.

⁶² See de Idol. 15.6; de Praes. Haer. 6.6; de Carne Christi 23.6; de Resurr. Mort. 24.8; adv. Marc. 5.7.1.

⁶³ It sought to dissuade Christians from anything connected with idolatry including festivities, state office, military service, etc. Quaesten op.cit., p310, dates it to the same time as de Corona - 211, whereas Barnes op.cit., pp55,328, dates it to after the Apologeticum - i.e. after 196.

have an obligation to act according to Christ's pattern (18.5). Is "obligation" the note Tertullian strikes or does he mention the Spirit's help ?

(a) In another of Tertullian's early works, de Spectaculis⁶⁴, we meet an idea not dissimilar to that enunciated by Hermas, viz that the Spirit is tender and sensitive⁶⁵. "God has enjoined us to deal calmly, gently, quietly and peacefully with the Holy Spirit, because these things alone are in keeping with the goodness of His nature, with His tenderness and sensitiveness, not to vex Him with rage or ill-nature or anger or grief"(15.2). So Tertullian can ask 'What concord can the Holy Spirit have with the Games and all their bloodthirstiness ?' (15.3). He knows of instances where Christians have attended the spectacles and fallen away from Christ (26.1-4). He had previously said in de cultu feminarum II that modesty was necessary lest God should be offended and forsake the polluted abode. We are a temple of the Holy Spirit, and modesty is the sacristan and priestess of that temple (1.1). Accordingly "we ought to wish our sphere of pleasing to lie in the graces (bonis) of the Spirit not in the flesh"⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ This work, dated by Quaestén, op.cit., p293, to 197; and by Barnes op.cit., pp55,328 to after 196, is a bitter condemnation of the public games.

⁶⁵ Not touched upon by A Adam Die Lehre von dem hl. Geiste bei Hermas und Tertullian, Th.Q. 58 (1906), pp 36-61, who is mainly concerned with the relation of Christ and the Spirit.

⁶⁶ 3.2 following the reading in spiritus bonis advocated by N Rigaltius QSF Tertulliani Opera, Paris, 1634, followed by Oehler (1854), ANF (1882), Marra (1930) and W Kok (1934), against A Kroymann de cultu feminarum, Corpus Christianorum Latina Series (Tertulliani Opera I, Turnholt, 1954, p 356 - in spiritu nobis).

The Christian should seek to please God by behaviour laid down, not by the flesh and its desires, but by the Spirit, for this will be in accordance with God's will. Later in chapter 10 he says that God has put certain things in the world "in order that there should now be the means of putting to the proof the discipline of His servants" and so we should act usefully and cautiously (10.5). The emphasis is on man, not on God – how man behaves, rather than on a divine-human cooperative act.

We meet the idea of shocking the Spirit in de Patientia. When a Christian gives precedence to things earthly over things heavenly, when he is impatient over, and grieves because of, the loss of something, "he greatly shocks (the Spirit) for the sake of a worldly matter" (7.7). On the other hand Tertullian believes that patience is a cardinal virtue of the Christian life. Love is trained by it (12.8). Faith makes patience its preeminent cohelper for amplifying and fulfilling the law (6.3). When the Spirit descends, patience accompanies him. If we do not admit patience with the Spirit, then the Spirit will not always stay with us (15.7). Here again is the idea of a sensitive Spirit who will desert the uncongenial abode. The same idea occurs in the de exhortatione castatis. Here Tertullian speaks of the spiritual benefit of sexual abstinence even in a first marriage ("By parsimony of the flesh you will gain the Spirit" 10.1) and implies the dulling effect of involvement in sexuality. "If this dulling (i.e. of the spiritual faculties), even when the carnal nature is allowed room for exercise in a first marriage, averts the Holy Spirit, how much more when it is brought into play in a second marriage" (11.1).

Here then in these remarks we encounter the idea that the Spirit's influence is lessened and thwarted by man's behaviour. The Spirit seems to be weaker than the opposing powers⁶⁷.

(b) Alongside of this strand is Tertullian's conviction that the Spirit is an aid and help to the Christian. The conclusion to de idolatria begins thus :

"Amid these reefs and inlets, amid these shallows and straits of idolatry, faith navigates, her sails filled by the Spirit of God; safe if cautious, secure if intently watchful" (24.1).

A little later he says that the reason why at the apostolic council the Holy Spirit relaxed the bond and yoke of legal observances for us was that

"we might be free to devote ourselves to the shunning of idolatry. This shall be our Law ... This law must be set before such as approach to the Faith..." (24.3).

The law of shunning idolatry is an irreducible minimum. To assist us there is the Holy Spirit like the wind blowing the sails of a boat.

Tertullian says in de carne Christi⁶⁸ when exegeting 1 Cor.

⁶⁷ We might compare Tertullian's comments in de Oratione (Barnes op.cit., p55 - 198-203; Quaesten op.cit., p296 - ca198-200; E Evans Tertullian's Treatise on The Prayer, London 1953, -"among the earliest of Tertullian's writings") where he says that a defiled spirit can receive no recognition from the Holy Spirit. Prayer should be free from anger (he refers to Matt.5.22f) and all perturbation of mind, and one's own spirit should be in accord with the Holy Spirit (chap.12). "What reason is there in going to prayer with hands indeed washed but the spirit foul?" (13.1). On the other side, Tertullian can say that we offer a sacrifice of prayer in the Spirit (28.3) and that Christian prayer multiplies grace in power (29.1). See also 20.5ff for the power of the prayer of the newly baptised (i.e. now possessing the Spirit).

⁶⁸ Quaesten, op.cit., p283, - 210-212; E Evans Tertullian's Treatise on the Incarnation, London, 1956, pvii "The date 206 will not be far out, though it may be somewhat too early"; while Barnes, op.cit., p326 - written between 200-203, but unpublished till he

15.47 that we who are in the flesh are being made celestial by the Spirit (8.6). He maintains that this verse is not concerned with any difference of material (ad materiae differentiam spectat) : rather it contrasts the earthly substance of Adam's flesh and the heavenly substance of Christ's spirit (caelestem de spiritu substantiam Christi). The passage refers the celestial man ad spiritum, i.e. that which is the substantia propria of the Word and which is the constitutive material of divinity⁶⁹. Just as Christ was heavenly in an earthly flesh, so also they who are incorporated in Him (8.7). His followers are becoming celestial even in this earthly flesh. The agent of this is the Spirit, spiritu scilicet. What sense does spiritu have here ? It seems possible that here the meaning is hovering between substance and the activity of the Spirit, i.e. a combination of Stoic materialism and Biblical realism⁷⁰.

It is the power of the Holy Spirit who leads such as believe - this statement occurs in a reproduction of the rule of faith (de praesc.haer. 13.5). He it is "who was to sanctify man" in the divine person (ad Prax. 12.3). The power of God's grace is more potent than nature (de Anima 21.6). Exegeting Jn.6.63 in de resurr. mort., Tertullian asserts that the Spirit establishes salvation and is profitable to the flesh and is the giver of life

wrote de Resurr.Mort. 5-8 years later.

⁶⁹ cf Evans op.cit., p123 "i.e. Christ's divine substance".

⁷⁰ Evans, op.cit., p35, translates "by spirit of course", while the ANL prints "Spirit" and Bender Die Lehre über den Heiligen Geist bei Tertullian, München, 1961, p132, alludes to this passage while discussing the new birth mediated by the Spirit and water.

to what is put to death (37.6). The inner man (cf Eph.3.16f) needs renewing by the supply of the Spirit (40.7). In de patientia Tertullian referred to the mind as the ruling principle in man and asserted that it easily communicates the gifts (invecta) of the Spirit to its habitation, the body (13.1).

When discussing Jesus' remarks about the hardness of men's hearts as the cause of Mosaic divorce law, Tertullian asserts that "Hardness of heart prevailed until the coming of Christ; it should be enough that infirmity of the flesh prevailed until the coming of the Paraclete. The new law abrogated divorce, which was a definite abuse that had to be ended; the new prophecy outlaws second marriage, which is just as truly the dissolution of a prior marriage" (de monogamia 14.4). At first sight it seems as if Tertullian is talking about the Spirit's overcoming the weakness of the flesh. Yet a careful reading of the passage suggests that Tertullian is thinking of correct teaching. Paul had allowed a second marriage because of the infirmity of the flesh (14.2). Now the Paraclete has revoked this indulgence which Paul permitted (14.3). The time is short and honour demands that marriage should not be repeated (14.4), though Tertullian concedes that church people still appeal to the Pauline permission, evading the force of his dearest convictions and frustrating his intentions (14.5).

Then Tertullian goes on to maintain that if in the days of Jesus' earthly ministry there were things that his disciples could not bear (Jn.16.12), however, "there is no one who cannot bear them now, for He is at hand who gives us the ability to do so" (14.6). Jesus himself said that the spirit was willing though the flesh was weak. He said this "that the Spirit might overcome the flesh and

that weakness might give way to strength" (14.6). Tertullian applies the Deuteronomic assertion (30.15) - that good and evil had been placed before the people - to his readers. "In proposing both good and evil to your choice He shows that you are able to choose good if you wish" (14.7). He implies that if they are unable to choose good, it is because they do not wish to do this and then they must depart from the Christ whose will they do not obey. Teaching is uppermost, not help to do it. The issue is whether men can bear the extra teaching, not whether the Spirit assists to perform it.

De Pudicitia, one of Tertullian's most violent Montanist treatises⁷¹, acknowledges that Tertullian is renouncing a previously held opinion (referring to the position that the sin of adultery might be forgiven by the church 1.10). He says that he is not ashamed that he has abandoned an error. "Rather I rejoice that I am quit of it, since I recognise that I am now a better man and one of greater purity. Nobody blushes when he makes progress" (1.11-12). What he goes on to say shows that he is thinking of the knowledge of the truth. "In Christ also knowledge has its ages and through these even the apostle (Paul) passed" (1.12 = a reference to 1 Cor.13.11). Tertullian wished that certain in the catholic church would change their views instead of promising "pardon to adulterers and fornicators in opposition to fundamental Christian discipline" (1.14).

⁷¹ So WP de Saint, op.cit., p41.

Tertullian exclaims "What excellent remedies the Holy Spirit has provided to prevent the recurrence of something which he is unwilling to allow for a second time" (16.18). These remedies turn out to be perseverance in widowhood and reconciliation of partners (16.17).

The apostolic decree is quoted in chap.12 (and interpreted in an ethical sense) with the addition "with the assistance of the Holy Spirit" (12.4), a phrase which occurs neither in the Greek nor Latin MSS tradition of Acts. Does Tertullian mean assistance in the sense of power to abstain from the offences prohibited, or in the sense that the Holy Spirit shows us clearly what are now God's demands ? I suspect the latter, since Tertullian goes on to say, "how do the apostles wish to regard those crimes which they single out from the Old Law for special attention and which are the only ones they insist must necessarily be avoided ? ...They have loosed us from a multitude of obligations so that we may be forced to discharge those whose neglect is more dangerous" (12.6,8), and then goes on to speak of an engagement which the Holy Spirit has contracted with us. "The Holy Spirit will not accept what He has remitted (= ceremonial observances of the old law) nor will He remit what He has retained (= the obligation to avoid the three capital sins)" (12.9). We are at the level of revelation of what mode of behaviour is required of Christians.

In chap.17 Tertullian quotes Rom.8.2,3-5, but follows this up by saying "It is to us that he is directing the integrity and plenitude of the rules of discipline" (17.11 "sed in nos dirigit integritatem et plenitudinem disciplinarum"). The law of the Spirit replaces the old law.

When in chap.21 he speaks of the Spirit's power as a thing apart⁷², Tertullian is thinking of the authority to forgive sins especially - something which is (he accepts) inherent in the church, but the Paraclete has spoken through one of the new prophets - "The church can forgive sin but I will not do it lest others also sin" (21.7).

Our summary must be that Tertullian does speak of the power of the Spirit, yet it does not occupy a prominent place in what he has written. The picture of the sails of a boat filled by the wind is a graphic and arresting one. It cannot be said however that in his writings as we have them Tertullian has much exploited that aspect of the Spirit. There is little of comfort or encouragement or pastoral help in what he says. There is plenty of demand; little of grace or assistance.

Thus, we could say that in (a) above Tertullian is more akin to Hermas than to Paul, since both speak of the delicacy or sensitivity of the Spirit, whereas in (b) there is some, though not a great deal of, kinship with Paul, insofar as both speak of the help of the Spirit, but the Apostle emphasises this far more than does Tertullian.

(c) We need also to consider a view which Tertullian expressed in ad Uxorem I⁷³. He said to his wife that some things are bestowed by the Lord through his bounty; and others we have by our own

⁷² 21.1 - assuming "seorsum, quod potestas (spiritus)". The Corpus Christianorum Series Latina op.cit., p1326, reads "Sed rursum quid potestas ? But again what power? (The Spirit)". The sense would not be radically different.

⁷³ Quaestiones op.cit., p302 - between 200-206, while Barnes, op.cit., pp55, - between 198-203.

efforts. Those which the Lord has bestowed are governed by His generosity; those which are achieved by man are won at the cost of personal endeavour (8.3). In context the persistence in widowhood and the avoidance of a second marriage is due to our own efforts. So he exhorted his wife to cultivate the virtue of self-restraint, industry and temperance (8.3). In Book II he described continence as something heroic (1.2), whereas it is the weakness of faith which leads to passion for worldly pleasure, especially among the wealthy (8.2-3), although in Book I he had said that the spirit (which is from heaven) is stronger than the flesh and we have no excuse when we yield to the weaker force. Servants of God ought to scorn the concupiscence of the flesh and the world since we renounce both lust and ambition (I.4.1-2), and he appealed to his wife to train herself to imitate the example of continence furnished by Christian widows of the past (4.3-5). To root out desire has its compensation in the blessings of heaven which last forever (4.5).

In de resurrectione mortuorum Tertullian describes himself, who once committed adulteries, as striving towards continence now, for it is this flesh of ours which will receive either God's judgment of fire or His salvation (59.3 : cf Isa.40.5). As Christ made an alliance of flesh and Spirit in his incarnate life (63.1), so in believers the flesh (the bride) is wedded to the Spirit (the groom) through Christ's redemptive act (63.3), and that union will be brought to pass at the resurrection.

Certainly in these passages Tertullian gives the impression of Christianity as self effort.

The emphasis brought out in the previous paragraphs leads us on to consider how Tertullian regards Christianity as a disciplina⁷⁴. When for example he argues for a physical resurrection, he maintains that salvation is promised to the flesh by Paul "for it would on no account have been fitting to demand of it any discipline of its own in holiness and righteousness unless to it also had pertained the prize of the discipline" (de resurr. mort. 47.9). Tertullian applies the earthly and heavenly of 1 Cor.15.48 to "such at first in discipline and afterwards in the dignity which has been the aim of the discipline" (49.4). Christians must seek to wear the image of Christ here and now "in this flesh and in this time of discipline" (49.6). The apostle, Paul's words "let us wear..." point in the direction of discipline (49.8).

Men and women have free choice. God places some actions to our credit and recompenses with an eternal reward. The choice we make shows how we are disposed towards God. So, Tertullian says, if we practise continence, we will amass a great store of sanctity. "Deny the flesh and you will possess the Spirit". "Let us renounce the things of the flesh so that we may in due season bring forth the fruits of the Spirit"^(de exhort. cast. 10.1). After mentioning pagan examples of chastity he says "A Christian, then, is all the more guilty if he refuses to embrace a chastity which effects salvation"^(13.2).

⁷⁴ cf P de Labriolle Latin Christianity (ET) London 1924, pp78f said that to Tertullian Christianity was "above all else, a discipline, that is a rule of life, and a check upon the will.... a closely circumscribed network of regulations....He likes to give rules for everything.... Rigidly defined explanations must therefore adapt the injunctions of the law to everyday realities"; see also V Morel DISCIPLINA : Le mot et l'idée représentée par lui dans les oeuvres de Tertullien, RHE 40 (1944-5), pp 5-45, for a detailed analysis of Tertullian's usage.

To visit the Games is incompatible with disciplina⁷⁵, because of the rivalry, madness, bile, anger, pain, etc (de Spect. 15.3-4). So it is important not only to abstain from doing certain things but also to keep clear from those who do them (15.8). Tertullian extends Psa.1.1 to Christian abstinence from the Games and says that "Divine scripture may always be broadly applied, wherever, agreeably with the sense of the actual matter in hand, discipline is fortified" (3.4)⁷⁶.

In those works most strongly influenced by his Montanist views, the question of discipline figures quite prominently. In de velandis virginibus Tertullian enunciated the role of the Paraclete as the director of discipline. Whereas the Rule of Faith remains unchanging, points of discipline may be changed (1.4). Appeal is made to Jn.16.12-13 (1.5). Discipline has advanced from a rudimentary stage until now under the Paraclete it is settling into maturity (1.7). In chap.10 Tertullian draws a distinction between maintaining virginity and continence practised by widows. "Constancy of virginity is maintained by grace; of continence, by virtue. For great is the struggle to overcome concupiscence when you have become accustomed to such concupiscence, whereas a concupiscence the enjoyment of which you have never known you will subdue easily..." (10.3-4).

⁷⁵ Morel, op.cit., p 33 interprets disciplina here as the moral laws.

⁷⁶ Morel, op.cit., p 30, interprets disciplina as divine laws.

The idea of the introduction of a severer discipline by the Paraclete comes out also in de monogamia. When Paul claimed to have the Spirit of God in 1 Cor.7.7,40 it was "his intention to retract, on the authority of the Holy Spirit, any concession which may have been forced from him by necessity" (3.6). Paul was really abrogating the permission given to marry. Therefore it is not impossible that after apostolic times the same Holy Spirit should come again in order to introduce a discipline according to all truth (3.8). What the Paraclete reveals is no novelty (3.9). What He deferred, He now exacts (3.9). The Paraclete could have forbidden marriage altogether but has only in fact insisted on monogamy (3.10).

Likewise in de ieiuniis⁷⁷, Tertullian says that the Holy Spirit has issued mandates for fasting so that Christians might be disciplined (13.5) and he contrasts the truly spiritual Christians with the psychics :

"To you your belly is god, and your lungs a temple, and your paunch a sacrificial altar, and your cook the priest, and your fragrant smell the Holy Spirit, and your condiments spiritual gifts, and your belching prophecy"(16.8)

In his stress on fasting, Tertullian maintains that it is "the instrument of the iniquitous spirit's egress as of the Holy Spirit's ingress" (8.3), and he interprets the pre-baptismal gift of the Spirit to Cornelius as a sign that his fasting had been heard (8.4).

⁷⁷ Quaesten, op.cit., p312, offers no date apart from its being within Tertullian's Montanist period, while Barnes, op.cit., p55 puts it at 210/11; it attacked alleged laxity in fasting by Catholics and upheld Montanist practices.

Strictures on psychic Christians are found in de pudicitia : they bring disgrace on the Paraclete by their irregular discipline (1.20). In chap.11.3 Tertullian asserts that Christian discipline begins after redemption (the passion of the Lord) :

"No one was perfect before the economy of faith was revealed; no one was a Christian before Christ was taken up into heaven; no one was holy before the Holy Spirit came from heaven to establish this discipline."

The scriptures - apostolic authorship is assumed - "are the chief determinants of that discipline which like a priest guards the perfect sanctity of the temple of God and roots out from the church, everywhere, every sacrilegious act committed against chastity - with never a word about its restoration" (Revel. 6.4-8 is cited shortly afterwards) (20.1)⁷⁸.

While Morel has convincingly shown that disciplina in Tertullian is wider than moral or disciplinary matters, nevertheless the majority of instances do fall under his category "rules and laws and their observance" (in fact, about one third)⁷⁹.

Finally in this section, we turn to consider what Tertullian had to say on the theme of martyrdom and the Spirit. In ad Martyres⁸⁰, which was addressed to imprisoned Christians awaiting trial and facing the prospect of martyrdom, Tertullian tells them that the Holy Spirit has entered prison with them - indeed they would not be there if He had not been with them (1.3) - presumably he means that it is the Holy Spirit who made them Christians and has led them to confess Christ openly. Tertullian

⁷⁸ Here disciplina shades over into the specific point about non-forgiveness for flagrant sinners and the observance of this, as also at de pud.6; cf Morel, op.cit., pp 25,39.

⁷⁹ op.cit., pp 27-45.

⁸⁰ Quaest. op.cit., p292, dates to 202, while Barnes op.cit., pp55,328 dates to after 196.

asks the martyrs not to grieve the Spirit and to do all they can to retain Him so that He may lead them from prison to their Lord, in martyrdom (1.3). While "retain" points to the efforts of believers, the expression "lead" must carry overtones of help and support in order to endure the ordeal of martyrdom.

They are about to pass through a noble struggle. The living God is their superintendent, and the Holy Spirit (with whom Christ has anointed them) is their trainer. Christ has led them to prison and intends the period of imprisonment as part of their training. The prize is an eternal crown, heavenly citizenship and everlasting glory (3.3-4). They must remember, therefore, that the flesh is weak and make sure that the flesh obeys the Spirit and gains strength from the Spirit (4.1).

Of OT prophets who were persecuted and killed, Tertullian says "They who were accustomed to be led by the Spirit of God used to be guided by Himself to martyrdoms" (Scorpiae 3.4), and the same is true of Christians - "neither can we suffer on behalf of God except there be in us the Spirit of God, who also speaks concerning us the things which belong to our confessorship" (ad Praxean 29.7). There seem to be two ideas intermingled here : firstly, the idea of the Spirit's indwelling Christians - he imparts strength and patience to endure amidst suffering; and, secondly, the idea of *the* Spirit's inspiring the witness of Christians who are on trial (confessorship) (cf Mk.13.11; Lk.12. 11-12)⁸¹.

⁸¹ H von Campenhausen Die Idee des Martyriologie, Göttingen, 1937, p90 believes that the shift from thinking of the Spirit as inspiring witness to and confession of Christ before a hostile world to Christ within the martyr prompting martyrdom represents a considerable move away from the earlier stress on witness. Yet here in ad Praxean 29.7 both ideas are combined and traced back to Christ - support to endure and help in making one's defence; cf de fuga in persecutione 14.3 discussed on the next page.

Tertullian argues that the persecution saying of Mt.5.10-12 was meant for all Christians and not just the apostles (Scorpiace 9.2). Even if initially applicable to the latter, this rule has come down to us as disciples by inheritance and as bushes from the apostolic seed. We are an offshoot of the name (of Christ) and have the Holy Spirit as part of the vine branches (tradux)⁸². The implication of this passage is that the Holy Spirit enables the disciple to endure martyrdom.

This idea becomes explicit in de fuga in persecutione. Here Tertullian maintains that the Spirit incites us to martyrdom, not to flight (9.4). If we were to ask the advice of the Spirit, He would approve of what He has already uttered (9.4) - that perfect love casts out fear and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren (9.3 quoting 1 Jn. 3.16; 4.18). Indeed the Spirit brands the runaways (11.2) - in context Tertullian is thinking very much of church leaders :

"When persons in authority themselves - I mean the very deacons and presbyters and bishops - take to flight, how will the layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city ? Thus too, with the leaders turning their backs, who of the common rank will hope to persuade men to stand firm in the battle ?" (11.1).

Tertullian then quotes Jn.10.12 and alludes to the prophetic threats against the false shepherds who abandon their flock as prey to the beasts (11.2). For Tertullian it is not "the duty of those who have been set over the church to flee in the time of persecution" (11.3).

⁸² 9.3. (Tradux is a branch of the vine, a vine-layer, which has been trained for propagation - so CT Lewis and C Short, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1894, p1885).

Later Tertullian refers to the help of the Paraclete in bearing persecution :

He "guides into all truth and animates to all endurance. And they who have received Him will neither stoop to flee from persecution nor to buy it off, for they have the Lord Himself, One who will stand by us to aid us in suffering as well as to be our mouth when we are put to the question" (14.3).

The Paraclete and the risen Lord are an aid to endurance, to bear suffering and an inspiration to speak a word of Christian testimony when under cross-examination. In moving to speak of the risen Lord Tertullian seems to have in mind Lk.21.14f - probably a Lucan reshaping of Mk.13.11/Lk.12.11f, possibly also a passage like 2 Tim.4.18.

Tertullian points out to any Christian who may be fearful lest he should under persecution deny his faith, that God has the power to shield us in danger. While countering the idea that he who flees lives to fight another day, Tertullian points out that Christ is in us; we have been clothed with Christ since baptism, and we should rely on the Lord in whose hand we are (10.2-3). Here, then, the believer is assured of Christ's presence within him and that is sufficient guarantee of his being able to stand firm in the faith against persecution. Christ language and not Spirit language is used but the overall sense is the same - divine empowering to stiffen our resolve and our endurance.

Summarising, it must be admitted that Tertullian is on the whole more interested in the "ought", the moral rightness, of enduring persecution. If he can prove that we ought to do it, that is sufficient. Is it indicative that only in the last sentences of de fuga in persecutione does the stern moralist mention the help that is given to the Christian in meeting the rigorous demands imposed on him ?

Arguably throughout his life Tertullian was a stern puritan⁸³ical rigorist. In de Spectaculis his opposition to worldly spectacles like gladiatorial contests, athletic games and the theatre, is plain and trenchant. They are not in harmony with the religion of Christ (15) and the Christian exposes himself to the attacks of evil spirits by frequenting them (26) : "How monstrous it is to go from God's church to the devil's... to raise your hands to God and then to weary them in applause of an actor" (25). A few months later in Apologeticum he admitted that "it is our desire to suffer... We conquer in dying; we go forth victorious at the very time we are subdued... But we go zealously on, good presidents; you will stand higher with the people if you sacrifice the Christians at their wish. Kill us, torture us, condemn us, grind us to dust; our injustice is the proof that we are innocent... The oftener we are mown down by you, the more in number we grow; the blood of Christians is seed" (50.1,3,12,13).

To this extent, Montanism only reinforced his existing puritanism⁸³. Tertullian represents a certain religious type. One is inclined to say that psychological factors enter in here rather than theological ones. Tertullian bolstered his position with theological and other arguments. But temperamentally he was a rigorist from the start⁸⁴.

⁸³ Labriolle Latin Christianity p 91; Frend Persecution p371.

⁸⁴ RPC Hanson Notes on Tertullian's Interpretation of Scripture JTS 12 (1961) p 279 "Having virtually removed the burden of a legalistic OT religion, he introduced a legalistic NT one"; Frend op.cit. pp 373f says that Tertullian developed "a sort of...a baptized Judaism".

CHAPTER 37 : CONCLUSION

The evidence available from North Africa around the end of the second century and the beginning of the third certainly attests the liveliness of experience of many within the churches there. The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas shows the conviction that the Spirit is still active in the churches of Christ, especially as the inspirer of prayer, prophecy and revelation, vision and dream, and as the imparter of strength in martyrdom. This is also confirmed by Tertullian's description of the visions of a Christian lady, recorded in de Anima. The tone of spiritual exaltation discernible in the Passion remind us of the spiritual exuberance of the Odes of Solomon and the accounts of the martyrdoms narrated in the Letter from the Lyons and Vienne congregations.

The comments of the final editor of the Passion show, however, that there existed within the congregations known to him many who did not look for an activity of the Spirit in the present and seem to have confined that to the past.

Tertullian originally believed that all Christians received the Spirit through faith and baptism, but in the end denied the Spirit to catholic Christians and he could be extremely biting in his sarcasm about their spiritual degeneracy and their sensuality as he deemed it. In his 'them/us' approach, he is rather like the author of 1 John (2.19) in Syria, Jude (19-20) in Asia Minor, also both the Montanists and Catholics in Asia Minor in their mutual hostility, and the Valentinian gnostics (who set themselves in a category above church christians). There is an element of judgmentalism and spiritual elitism here. "Orthodox" and "heretic" alike may thus display it. The need to carry on a polemic

against heretics on the one hand or to bolster one's claims against an 'establishment' regarded as less illuminated and perceptive on the other may well inevitably produce these hardened attitudes.

Tertullian's main emphasis is on the work of the Spirit in 'legislating' for moral discipline within the church. The Spirit's work of helping to interpret the Scripture seems in the end to be geared virtually exclusively in Tertullian's works to matters of discipline. Although references to the help of the Spirit in ethical conduct and martyrdom are not lacking in Tertullian, the predominant emphasis is on the Spirit's tightening up on discipline and ethical directives. Tertullian seems almost a charismatic legalist. Duty stands out rather than a grateful response to God in the power of the Spirit. He lacks the balanced wholeness of Irenaeus' approach and the reiterated stress found in Irenaeus of the Spirit's strength to empower the new lifestyle.

This particular emphasis in respect of the Spirit in Tertullian seems strange in view of his passionate conviction that the Montanist leaders were a fulfilment of the Johannine Paraclete sayings, although the combination of a stress on the Spirit and legalism would not be peculiar to him in the history of the Christian church. Thus Tertullian confirms the impression we gained from our study of the Asia Minor Montanists.

By his stress on the Paraclete and his claim that the Johannine promise had been fulfilled, Tertullian invites comparison with the fourth evangelist. It is precisely at the point of John's emphasis on the power of the indwelling Christ (chap.15;17) that we have found Tertullian lacking. On the other hand in one sense Tertullian is an heir of John in the way he increasingly draws the lines of demarcation tighter and tighter and excludes those deemed

to be spiritually 'unfruitful branches', so that one has the feeling that Tertullian and the author of 1 John are not far apart in many respects (as hinted at above).

Tertullian came to be very critical of Hermas because the latter had preached the possibility of a second repentance for those already Christians, though as we have seen, he actually seems to have shared with Hermas the idea of the Spirit's delicacy, a motif which, we suggested, was far from NT convictions about the Spirit. Tertullian was also bitterly disappointed with the bishop of Rome for not having endorsed Montanism and he saw this as a sign of the spiritual degeneracy of that church whose praise he had sung in previous works. The isolation of his last years reveals the ultimate outcome of that spiritual pride and elitism noted above⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ On the issue whether Tertullian actually seceded from the catholic church, see D Powell Tertullianists and Cataphrygians, VC 29 (1975), pp 33-54, who believes that his followers were an ecclesiola in ecclesia; followed by Bray, op.cit., pp 56-63.

PART VIII : EGYPT

The early history of Christianity in Egypt still remains shrouded in mystery. Since Walter Bauer it has been considered to have been of a nature later frowned on by the orthodox catholic church. Bauer⁸⁶ believed, firstly, that at the beginning of the second century there were two Christian groups in Egypt, each centred on a distinctive gospel and both resting on syncretistic gnostic foundations : Jewish Christians of Alexandria using the Gospel of the Hebrews, native Christians using the Gospel of the Egyptians (the fragments of these which have survived offer us no help for our theme). Secondly, he drew attention to the fact that well-known personalities originating from Egypt in the second century were gnostics - Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus. Furthermore, at the end of the century, Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria was apparently the only Egyptian bishop, which suggested a limited church organisation.

More recently this view has been challenged by CH Roberts⁸⁷ :
(i) An examination of the nomina sacra in Biblical MSS suggests that Christianity developed its own system and was not dependent on Judaism. It is more likely that this system was taken with Christianity to Alexandria by Jewish Christians whose theology of the Name has been stressed by several scholars, than that it originated in Alexandria.

⁸⁶ Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity , (ET) London, 1973, pp44 ff, followed by Koester, op.cit., pp 219ff.

⁸⁷ Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt, Oxford, 1979, favourably reviewed by TC Skeat in JTS 31 (1980), pp 183-6; and earlier his "The Christian Book and the Greek Papyri", JTS 1 (1949), pp115-168; also M Hornshuh Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum (Patriscche Texte und Studien 5), Berlin 1965, pp 99-115.

- (ii) Probably the Synoptic Gospels were in circulation since the Gospel of the Egyptians appears to depend on them.
- (iii) It would be odd if Gnosticism flourished alone, provoked by and provoking no contrary movement.
- (iv) The fragment of Irenaeus' AH found at Oxyrhynchus and probably dating from the last part of the second century shows the orthodox reaction against gnosticism and close relationship between Alexandria and the church of the West.
- (v) Probably because in Alexandria Christianity was initially closely associated with Jews who were hated and resented, Christians found it a difficult task to promote mission and gain converts. Only after the 117AD revolt was the movement able to dissociate itself from Jews.
- (vi) It was not so clear that Basilides and Valentinus were unorthodox in the early stages of their career, and in any case undue weight should not be attached to two teachers. The rest of Egyptian Christianity may not have shared their views.
- (vii) Pantaenus may have been appointed to cleanse the Catechetical School of Gnostic influence.
- (viii) Only one Gnostic papyrus dating before the fourth century has been discovered.

There can be no doubt that Roberts has offered a credible alternative to the Bauer hypothesis. He does not deny that Gnosticism found a fertile soil in Egypt but he has shown that a Jewish Christian presence is likely in Alexandria and the provinces (given the close links between the two) from the first century, even if at first it may have been numerically small.

Since the Epistula Apostolorum does not offer us material germane to our theme, we turn to a brief examination of Clement of Alexandria, although just how typical Clement was of Egyptian Christianity is not easy to determine. He certainly presents a contrast to Tertullian.

Clement doesn't deal thematically with the Holy Spirit⁸⁸, although references to the Spirit are scattered through his writings. Clement divides what all men possess into two spirits⁸⁹:

(a) τὸ ὑποκείμενον πνεῦμα, also called τὸ σωματικόν or τὸ σαρκικόν πνεῦμα or τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡλίκην πνευματικόν or τὸ πλασθέν. "Through the bodily spirit, then, a man perceives, desires, rejoices, is angry, is nourished, grows" (Strom.6.136.1).

Clement says that the command 'You shall not lust' means "You shall not serve τὸ σαρκικόν πνεῦμα

but subdue it" (Strom.6.136.2; cf 6.134.1 where flesh and spirit of Gal.5.17 are applied τοῖς διπλοῖς πνεύμασιν τῷ τε ἡγεμονικῷ τῷ τε ὑποκειμένῳ).

(b) τὸ ἡγεμονικόν πνεῦμα rules when it holds sway over desires (Strom.6.136.1). The power of choice belongs to it, and through it man lives (Strom.6.135.4)⁹⁰. This is the reason why man is in the image of God (Strom.5.94.5), or rather the image of the

⁸⁸ cf P Galtier Le saint esprit en nous d'après les peres grecs, Rome, 1946, p70; Hauschild, op.cit., pp 16-17.

⁸⁹ See C Bigg The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, Oxford, 1913, pp107-8 and Hauschild, op.cit. pp16-28. For precursors in the idea of the partition of the soul, see SRC Lilla Clement of Alexandria : a Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism, Oxford, 1971, pp80-92, and also S Sandmel Philo of Alexandria, New York-London, 1979, pp25,62,99-100,153 for Philo's concept of lower and higher mind, the latter of which can rule man's passions and enable him to live by the law of nature.

⁹⁰ As with the first spirit, so also with the ruling spirit a variety of terms is used : νοῦς, ἀπόρροια, θεϊκή, ἐμφύτημα, θεία ἔννοια, ψυχὴ λογική.

Image (=Word) of God.

On these two spirits, shared by everyone, we may quote
Strom.4.165.1 : "Always therefore the good actions, as better, are
attributed to (or, if προσάπτουνται is middle, have to do
with) the better, the πνευματικόν , whereas voluptuous and
sinful (actions) are attributed to the worse, ἡμαρτητικόν ".
".

The distinctive mark of the Christian believer, however, is
the Holy Spirit whom he has received in baptism⁹¹. Christians are
those with whom the regal gold has been mixed⁹² ἐγκαταμέμικται
viz the Holy Spirit (Strom.5.98.4). God has begotten us as His
adopted children by the Spirit (Paed.1.21.2). The Holy Spirit has
flowed down to us from above (Paed.1.28.1), and our sins have been
washed away and we have been spiritually illuminated and awakened
from spiritual sleep (Paed.1.26.1-2). Instruction leads to faith,
which, with baptism, is trained by the Holy Spirit (Paed.1.30.2).

A :

Clement can use the language of friendship with the Lord
(Strom.2.104.2) or being near God in His presence (Strom.4.148.2)
or entertaining God as a guest in souls free from stain
(Protr.9.84.5).

His ideal - constantly reiterated - is that a Christian should
be liberated from all passion, disciplined in pursuit of the good,
moderate in such habits as eating, calmly and rationally

⁹¹ eg Paed.1.26.1 draws a parallel between Jesus and Christians.

⁹² cf Paed.2.20.1 - man is κράμα with Spirit, though see Exc.
Theod. 17.3f for a denial that there is a κράσις - rather a
juxtaposition (παράθεσις).

contemplating the divine, motivated by love of God, perpetually ascending along the path of moral virtue until at last, through death, he attains the beatific vision of God.

Firstly, reason is for Clement the ordering power. Faith is the necessary first step to salvation (Strom.2.31.1), but then knowledge should be the governing principle building on faith. While passions disturb the soul, (Strom.2.59.6), reason is unmoved and acts as a sure pilot of the soul. To know the truth imparts stability which avoids passions and adheres to the good and imitates God (Strom.2.51.6). So, faith and knowledge together make the Christian soul uniform and equable (Strom.2.52.3). For Clement, once a Christian is armed with reason, it is a case of "Will and you shall be able" : for the true gnostic, will, judgment and exertion are identical (Strom.2.77.5-6). Reason, then, is the stabilising power which the gnostic receives from the Word.

Secondly, Clement saw our friendship with the Word through the Spirit actualised in prayer, study of the Scriptures, contemplation and the eucharist⁹³ : "By these things, (the gnostic) unites himself with the heavenly choir, being enlisted in it for ever-mindful contemplation, in consequence of his interrupted thought (of heaven while on earth)" (Strom.7.49.4; cf 80.2). Indeed prayer should be a constant activity of the gnostic, not just at set times (Strom.7.73.1).

⁹³ eg Strom.7.40.3;44.5-8;45.1;49.1-8 (prayer); Strom.3.42.4-5 (Scriptures); Strom.4.152.3 (contemplation); Paed.2.19.4-20.1 (eucharist - though JND Kelly Early Christian Doctrine, London, 1977 (5th Ed.), p213, sees this as an unusual passage in Clement); cf Bigg, op.cit., p130.

Clearly Clement envisages this communion with the Word/God as having the potential for assimilation to God. The mind will be kept steadfast in its relation to divine matters (Strom.4.139.4). "I must be in what is Yours, O Omnipotent One, and if I am there, I am near You" (Strom.4.148.2). As those at sea are held by the anchor and brought back to it, so the gnostics in drawing God towards them imperceptibly bring themselves to God (Strom.4.152.2-3; cf 7.82.2 *θεοφορῶν καὶ θεοφορούμενος*). In the contemplative life, the gnostic in the act of worshipping God attends to himself and through his own spotless purification beholds the holy God in a holy manner (Strom.4.152.3). For to know oneself is to know God (Strom.3.1.1;7.3.1)⁹⁴.

By these two means then - the stabilising power of Reason and Communion with God - the true gnostic has reached the state of passionlessness, waiting to put on the divine image (Strom.4.138.1).

Within this passionlessness, nonetheless, Clement can also speak of the gnostic's experience of joy throughout the day as he utters and does the precepts of the Lord (Strom.7.80.3). There is one noteworthy passage, where Clement appeals to his readers to abandon the pagan mysteries and join the worship of the Word : "O truly sacred mysteries, O pure light, In the blaze of torches I have seen a vision of heaven and of God" (Protr.12.120.1-121.3).

⁹⁴ Cf EF Osborn The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria, Cambridge, 1957, p93, "... the emphasis is on the gnostic's personal holiness and spiritual fellowship with God. He is joined to God as a spiritual being".

Clement is describing an ecstatic experience he enjoyed amidst the assembled Christian congregation. It must be admitted, however, that this passage is unusual.

Given Clement's ideal outlined above, it would be surprising to encounter the note of rapturous experience - where the Christian feels overwhelmed by a power outside himself - as the norm⁹⁵. In Clement's writings we are in a rather different world than that of earlier generations who had certain experiences which 'swept them off their feet' and which they attributed to the Spirit. Heightened emotional feelings, which were for them a sign of the Spirit, are on the whole alien to Clement's understanding of Christianity. The new man created by God's Holy Spirit is for Clement ἡμαθῶν.

B :

Clement links the Holy Spirit, baptism and illumination. "While being baptised, we are illuminated" (Paed.1.26.1; cf 1.25.1). This is explained as follows : our sins had obscured the light of the divine Spirit, but now they have been wiped away and the eye of our own spirit is unimpeded and we can contemplate the Divine, because the Holy Spirit flows down from heaven upon us" (Paed.1.28.1). The Spirit is the agent of illumination (Alternatively, this is the Saviour's activity, eg Strom.1.178.1).

⁹⁵ cf the prayer at the end of Paed.3.101.1-2 "Cause all of us who live in Your peace..., having sailed tranquilly over the billows of sin, to be wafted in calm by Your Holy Spirit ... by night and day to the perfect day".

The illuminatory role of the Spirit figures in

Strom.6.137.4ff. The seventh day is one of rest (which humans need because of life's troubles), preparing for Christ, our ἀρχέγονος ἡμέρα, ἡ ἀνάπαυσις whom Clement also equates with the first creation of light. He then describes the Holy Spirit in terms of light :

"For the Holy Spirit, who is indivisibly divided to those who are sanctified through faith, is the light of truth, the true light who casts no shadow. He has the task of being a lamp to give knowledge of the things that exist" (Strom.6.138.2)⁹⁶.

The Holy Spirit belongs to the whole range of activities called Wisdom (understanding, knowledge, science, faith, right opinion, art, experiment). Indeed, the Spirit is a dominant and ruling principle. Those who possess the Spirit can search the deep things of God (an echo of 1 Cor.2.10) - particularly of OT prophecies (Strom.2.7.3; cf 5.25.5 where Clement, citing 1 Cor.2.9f, says that Paul recognises the spiritual and gnostic person as the disciple of the Holy Spirit, whom God dispenses, and who, therefore, possesses the mind of Christ).

Commenting on Rom.8.15, Clement says that we have received the Spirit that we may know the true and only Father (Strom.3.78.5). Whereas for Paul the Spirit prompts an exuberant cry 'Father', Clement envisages the knowledge of God purifying το ἡγεμονικόν τῆς ψυχῆς so that nothing stands in the way of its contemplating the divine and of entering more nearly into impassibility (Strom.4.39.2), i.e. Clement sounds a more intellectual note.

However, Clement finds it more natural to speak of the Word as our Instructor, Teacher and Guide. As the image of God and genuine Son of Mind (=God Protr.10.98.4), he sprinkles all men with the dew

⁹⁶ Hauschild, op.cit., pp33-34, calls this a Sabbath-creation-baptism typology.

of truth (Protr.11.114.3). So Clement appeals to men to receive the Word as Teacher : to receive Christ is to receive sight and light and so to know God (Protr.11.113.2-3). He exhorts his pagan audience to abandon custom and sail past this 'wicked island' :

"Exert your will only and you have overcome ruin, bound to the wood of the cross you shall be freed from all destruction, the Word of God will be your pilot and the Holy Spirit will bring you to anchor in the haven of heaven" (Protr.12.118.4).

Clement emphasises study, meditation, contemplation, the pursuit of Reason, in order to reach a passionless state. We have moved from a standpoint where a sudden insight or clarification is attributed to the Spirit as in primitive Christianity. Clement sees careful study and contemplation of spiritual things as the guidance of the Spirit, or, more frequently, of the Word.

C :

When Clement speaks of the new man created by God's Holy Spirit (Protr.11.112.3), we half expect a development in Pauline style of the new creation empowered by the Spirit. Earlier, he had spoken of the Word as the only one who ever tamed the most intractable of all wild beasts - man (Protr.1.4.1) : by the power of the Holy Spirit, the Word of God arranged in harmonious order both this great world and the little world of man too, body and soul (Protr.1.5.3). Or Clement can assert that God our teacher alone has the power worthily to conform man to His own likeness (Protr.9.86.2). But here teaching effects the conforming rather than power of the Spirit directly.

When Clement speaks of the indwelling help of the Word⁹⁷ or

⁹⁷ Osborn, op.cit., p107, wrote "... the indwelling Christ ... is the source of all that is good".

the Spirit, is ethical empowerment in mind ?

(i) "By his own Spirit, He (the Word) will nourish those who hunger for the Word" (Paed.1.47.3). Spiritual communion is uppermost in mind rather than ethical transformation.

(ii) When talking of instruction in the truth (leading to contemplating God) and the pattern of holy deeds, Clement says that our Instructor keeps hold of the child(=the individual Christian)'s helm and wafts us on by the favouring breeze of the Spirit of Truth until he brings us safe to anchor in the haven of heaven (Paed.1.54.3). Basically the idea is that Truth keeps us on a safe course in life.

(iii) The Holy Spirit is the true ointment with which Christian women should be anointed (Paed.2.65.2). Alternatively, Clement can say that those women who are adorned with the Word adopt simplicity of lifestyle (Paed.2.126.1; 128.1). Here conduct and behaviour are in mind.

(iv) Clement maintains that the person who strives after passionlessness will prevail by the addition of the power which comes from God. For God breathes power into willing souls, but if they turn away from their eagerness, even the Spirit given by God is withdrawn (Qds.21.1-2). Here human willingness and divine power cooperate together⁹⁸ to achieve that freedom from the wrong passions or that "enemy within" (Qds.25.5). Later the rich are reminded that they are fortified by the power of God the Father, the blood of the Servant of God and the dew of the Holy Spirit (34.1).

⁹⁸ Hauschild, op.cit., p66, calls this "synergism of man and the Spirit"; cf too WEG Floyd Clement of Alexandria's Treatment of the Problem of Evil, Oxford, 1971, pp88-90.

How in practice did all this work out in Clement's view ?

(a) Clement has a striking confidence in the power of knowledge/truth itself. Truth is immovable and so "the righteous shall not be shaken forever" (Strom.6.81.1,3, citing Psa.112.6). This confidence rests on the belief that man was made for close fellowship with God and for contemplation of heaven, a heavenly plant destined to come to the knowledge of God (Protr.10.100.2-3). For Clement, it is intended that we should be saved by ourselves (Strom.6.96.2), for we are all naturally constituted to acquire virtue (Strom.9.96.3).

Once we have responded, then the divine power of goodness clings to the soul which is engaged in contemplation and prophecy, and impresses on that soul something of its intellectual radiance, as in Moses' experience (Strom.6.104.1-2). The gnostic is illuminated and becomes kingly (6.152.2 cf 6.149.5), can fulfil the divine command to be lord over the wild beasts within us (6.115.2) and is studying to be *θεός* (6.113.3; cf Protr.1.8.4).

There is a graphic illustration which Clement uses of the Word as a charioteer who leads and drives to salvation the human horse (= the irrational part of the soul) bent on pleasures (Paed.3.53.2).

(b) Clement also assumes a link between knowledge and action (Strom. 6.68.3-69.3) : knowledge is "the beginning and author of all rational action". The Word may either inspire men with fear of the consequences of an action and so ward them off it (Paed.1.68.1; Strom.2.37.2; cf Protr.9.95.1) or rebuke men and so shame them from sin (Paed.1.74.2). Either way, the Word seeks to induce a change of behaviour.

Clement maintains that the character of the life which Jesus enjoins is not very formidable. He commands and so fashions his commands that we can accomplish them (Paed.1.98.1).

In this link between knowledge and action, Clement moves in a different world to Paul's 'divided man' of Romans 7.

(c) Discipline and practice lead to habit (Strom.6.78.4). "The gnostic associates through love with the Beloved One to whom he is allied by free choice and by the habit which results from training approaches closer to Him" (Strom.6.72.1). The acquiring of knowledge demands application, training and progress. "In him, then, who has rendered his virtue indefectible by discipline based on knowledge, habit is changed into nature" (Strom.7.46.9). The disciplined training becomes ingrained habit.

An essential part of our training is copying Christ. During his incarnate life, the Word was free from passion, envy, ignorance etc (Strom.7.72) : he trained the flesh, by nature subject to passion, to a habit of impassibility (Strom.7.7.6). So also the true Christian should emulate his Teacher and Instructor, and strive for a passionless state through undisturbed intercourse and communion with the Lord (Strom.7.13.3), and so he will be like a wrestler victorious over all his opponents (Strom.7.20.3-5)⁹⁹.

Not surprisingly the Word is often pictured as a trainer of the Christian athlete (eg Paed.1.57.3).

⁹⁹ cf Bigg, op.cit., p126 "Self-control, holiness, has made reason the absolute master of the brute in the centaur man".

(d) If knowledge perfects faith, love perfects knowledge.

Knowledge terminates in love (Strom.7.57.4). Love is "celestial

food, the banquet of reason" (Paed.2.53). It is "not desire

(ὄρεσις) but is a relation of affection (στερκτην οἰκείωσις)

restoring the gnostic to the unity of faith (Strom.6.73.3). Love

means affinity to the impassible God and also the friends of God

(Strom.6.73.6).

Perhaps surprisingly Clement never links love and the Spirit as Paul did (Gal.5.22). We do not meet the antithesis 'Knowledge puffs up, love builds up' of Paul's rebuke to the Corinthians.

Where for Paul faith works itself out in love, there is an ascending order in Clement - faith, knowledge and love.

If love brings affinity to God, being in His presence influences our actions, words and temper¹⁰⁰. We will feel God's inspiration in everything (Strom.7.35.4-7). Indeed our holiness is Providence's return to itself - a responsive feeling of loyalty from him who is a friend of God (Strom.7.42.2). God assists the gnostic, honouring him with closer oversight and breathes into him the strength he needs for the completion of his salvation (Strom.7.48.1-2).

Somewhat similar is the idea of the Holy Spirit's influence on Christians.

"For, in the first place, the best beauty is in the soul, as we have pointed out on many occasions, when the soul is adorned by the Holy Spirit and influenced by the radiant charms which proceed from Him - righteousness, wisdom, fortitude, temperance, love of the good and modesty, than which no more blooming colour has ever been seen" (Paed.3.64.1).

¹⁰⁰ cf Osborn, op.cit., p163, paraphrases Clement "How can the gnostic help growing better, when he is always in the company of God?".

The Holy Spirit influences the Christian to embrace the kind of ethical virtues listed, thereby producing the true beauty.

(e) Christ's help is mentioned in connection with martyrdom which should be undergone for love, not reward. We can only fight against the spiritually wicked powers by trusting in the Almighty God and the Lord Jesus. "The Lord says 'Lo, here I am'. See the invincible Helper who shields us" and Clement also quotes 1 Pet.4.12-14 with its reference to the Spirit's resting on the persecuted (Strom.4.47.1-4).

Martyrdom for Clement is the climax of a process of discipline and training by which the gnostic has been freed from fear and pain and becomes like his Teacher in impassibility (Strom.6.71.4-72.2; cf 4.78.2).

Finally we turn to a strand in Clement's thought which needs to be mentioned, viz : provided that the Christian continually disciplines himself to eradicate all passions, he will earn the Holy Spirit¹⁰¹.

(i) "The more of a gnostic a man becomes by doing right, the nearer is the illuminating Spirit to him" (Strom.44.107.6).

(ii) The body "becomes receptive of the soul which is most precious to God and is deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit through the sanctification of soul and body, perfected by the Saviour's equipping" (Strom.4.163.2).

¹⁰¹ Hauschild, op.cit., p71 : "Moral progress and ascent to knowledge of God make union with the Holy Spirit possible"; Floyd, op.cit., p89 "Man must dispose himself for the reception of grace through the acquisition of particular virtues".

(iii) The soul thus beautified becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit when it has acquired a temper (*διαθεσις*) of mind in the whole of life, corresponding to the gospel" Strom.7.64.7).

If phrases like 'receiving the power of God/His grace' are synonyms for the Spirit, then passages like Strom.3.42.6 and 4.138.4 should also be included.

We meet a duality : through baptism we receive the Holy Spirit; by moral ascent we become fit to receive the Spirit. We are already temples of the Spirit through Baptism; we become temples by moral perfection. There is something of the 'Become what you are' of the NT here, though never in Paul do we meet the idea of becoming fit for the Spirit.

Divinisation is for Clement a process. The Christian is on the way to becoming a perfect man. "What can be fixed anthropologically as the new being must be first realised ethically by a new life"¹⁰². Clement is loyal to the tradition of new creation/birth which goes back to primitive Christianity, especially Paul, yet he also wishes to emphasise the need for progress and development, morally and spiritually, and ascent towards the heavenly world and union with God.

¹⁰² Hauschild, op.cit., p76.

CHAPTER 39 : CONCLUSION

Why does someone like Clement present baptism and reception of the Holy Spirit as illumination ? What does that tell us about his religious experience and its main features, particularly as in Clement's case this fits in with the stress of faith proceeding to knowledge and on reason and truth as guides in the Christian life ? Clement represents an intellectual rather than ecstatic approach to Christianity. At a time when Montanism was making its impact in Asia Minor and in N Africa, Clement represents an opposite pole¹⁰³. This does not mean that there is nothing of what we might call 'passion' in his religion - one thinks of some of his lyrical outbursts in praise to Christ (Strom.2.21.1-5) and prayer (Paed.3.101.1-3) or the evangelical appeals to receive God's grace (Protr.9-10). Clement's ideal of passionlessness means of course the impure passions of anger, jealousy, anger, lust etc. Clement is no 'dessicated calculating machine', even if he is an 'intellectual' and sought to counter heresy without surrendering the intellectual approach¹⁰⁴.

Of all writers surveyed in our period Clement seems to exemplify best the Christian intellectual. In Strom.1.11.2 he describes how he listened to various teachers in Greece, Syria, the East and finally in Egypt where he heard a teacher (=Pantaeus) whom he likens to a bee gathering the spoil of the flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow. When he tracked him down, he found

¹⁰³ Hauschild op.cit., p60, sees the reaction of the church against Montanism exemplified in Clement.

¹⁰⁴ H Chadwick Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition, Oxford, 1966, p 33.

rest. The Alexandrine tradition of redemptive knowledge coming through the Spirit's gift of illumination clearly fitted Clement's experience.

Within the Christian church of the second century Clement stands as an example of the scholar who consciously brought his scholarship into the service of the church as the gift of the Spirit.

I

As we seek to draw together the results of our study, we can see that the claim to have the Spirit of God on the part of Christians may be understood as part of their 'self-understanding'. The sense of having received the Spirit may be seen as marking Christians off from others outside the movement, or as characterising some but not all within the movement, with certain consequences being drawn from this.

(a) Early Christianity was a sect in the sense that it was very much a minority movement, on the 'outside' of society, often suspect and likely to be the victim of social abuse and popular violence. Arguably that did not alter in our period, although Christianity had grown considerably and spread widely by the end of the second century. Whereas Paul had cast longing eyes towards Spain in the late fifties, just over a century later, in 177, Christianity was strong enough in Southern Gaul to withstand and survive some horrendous persecution. Of course Paul himself had an ecumenical and 'catholic' outlook in the sense that he both sought to keep the Jewish and Gentile wings of the church together and had a global sense of mission; while in the second generation the author of Ephesians had a deep sense of the universal Lord exercising his sovereignty through his body, the church, and Luke held strong convictions about the church's mission beginning from Jerusalem and going out to the ends of the earth. Nonetheless Christianity was still a comparatively small movement around 90AD.

At the beginning of the period which our study embraces, I Peter combines a sense of a persecuted and abused minority with the awareness that the brotherhood is spread through the world. At the end of the era Irenaeus can speak of the catholic church, of a succession of bishops going back to the apostles and of a rule of faith adhered-to by all the churches. This stress is of course in opposition to gnosticism - it is part of the apologetic/ polemic to stress the all-embracing, universalist aspect of the "orthodox" church over against the elitist, exclusive claims of the heretics; but is nonetheless real for all that. We might, however, wonder how would Irenaeus have spoken, had he been setting the church over against the world/the Empire? The Letter of the Southern Gallic congregations to those in Asia Minor concerning the martyrs of 177 reveals all too clearly how the might of the state as well as mob violence could be aroused against Christians, how cruel torments as well as false accusations, could be heaped against them.

In the light of all this, we can ask whether the sense of the Spirit's presence acted as a Christian distinctive, the 'theological' conviction dovetailing into the sociological factor - a minority movement bolstered its morale by claiming to have the Spirit of God, whereas the world did not possess the Spirit? Certainly traces of this can be found in Syrian Christianity. We meet this position in the fourth gospel : "I will give you another Paraclete that he may be with you forever, the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it does not see him nor knows him. You know him because he remains beside you and will be in you" (Jn. 14. 16-17). The piety of the Odes of Solomon is akin to that of Johannine Christianity. The author is aware of a sharp division between believers and the world. There is nothing quite

as explicit as Jn.14.16f, but we read of the experience of the Spirit as leading away from vanity and folly to the present entry into Paradise (cf imagery like release from captivity, the passage from darkness to light or death to life). Possibly Tatian should be mentioned here in view of his sharp criticisms of the Greeks and his conviction that receiving the Spirit means a return to what man ought to be - that is, body-soul-Spirit. Only those who have the Spirit are completed human beings.

In Asia Minor the nearest expression of this appears in the Book of Revelation : John of Patmos feels himself inspired by the Spirit to speak a word to the churches in the crisis when the power of the Beast will stir the earth's inhabitants against the followers of the Lamb. If there is a holy 'Trinity' (God, the Lamb, the Spirit) plus the Woman of Chap.12, there is a Satanic Trinity (Satan/the dragon, the beast, the three unclean spirits of 16.13) plus the great whore of Chap.17. As the seven Spirits of God are sent forth into all the world, so the three unclean spirits go forth to the kings of the whole world to make them fight at Armageddon.

1 Peter reveals how the minority group of Christians at Rome compensated for lack of status in the world's eyes by their conviction that they were elected by the Father, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ and sanctified by the Spirit (1.2). Even when faced by the world's persecution they were assured that God's glorious Spirit would rest upon them (4.14). They were God's family indwelt by the Spirit (2.5), whereas unbelievers were rejected (2.8).

In a similar fashion, Tatian and Clement of Alexandria see the Holy Spirit as the distinctive mark of the Christian over against the rest of mankind. For the latter, it is the "tenth" quality which completes a person.

(b) We may say that this church/world antithesis is similar to that when the church claims to have the Spirit and denies it to Judaism. The Spirit becomes a sign of being the true people of God. Thus Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho argues that the Spirit ceased to operate amongst the Jews and has baptised Christians. The OT prophecies about God's gifts to men have been fulfilled in the outpouring of the Spirit upon Jesus' followers. The implication of Barnabas 6.11-16; 16.6-10 is that Christians filled by the Spirit are the fulfilment of the promise of a land flowing with milk and honey and of a new heart/spirit to replace the heart of stone. A strong anti-Jewish note runs through Barnabas and he sees the OT as a Christian book which the Jews have misunderstood and which has come true in the Christian era and is now fully understood. Tertullian also advances the idea that the Spirit ceased to work in the Jewish people but has been poured out on Christians (adv. Iud. 13.15; 8.14).

(c) We can go a step further and say that it is an extension of the use of the contrast just discussed when we meet an 'internal' application. This may take one of two forms : what we may call a struggle for power and what we may call a doctrinal dispute. We shall differentiate these two for the sake of clarity, though in practice they may not necessarily be so clearly separated and may overlap : the latter may be overt and the former latent or vice versa.

(i) In a struggle for power within the church one group may claim exclusive possession of the Spirit and deny it to the rival group. There may be no doctrinal differences of any significance. Thus Clement of Rome, intervening on behalf of the ejected elders at Corinth, claims to have written under the guidance of the Spirit and, therefore, demands that his advice should be followed, while he brands his opponents as arrogant, proud, boastful upstarts - qualities clearly alien to the Spirit of God. One is inclined to see this as a tactical move in view of the general tenor of Clement's theology with its stress on order and absence of stress on the Spirit elsewhere. (There may have been latent different theologies of the church or of the way the Spirit inspires men and women).

A little later in Rome Hermas denied that certain who claimed to be prophets by foretelling the future were in fact true prophets : they are inspired by the devil and possess an earthly, vain spirit empty of any real power (Mand.11).

In Asia Minor the outbreak of Montanism produced fierce division. Catholic bishops did not deny that Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla were inspired but attributed the inspiration to the power of evil. In N. Africa Tertullian was to return the compliment and brand catholics as sensualists and denied them the possession of the Spirit.

The example of Ignatius points in two directions. He claimed to be inspired by the Spirit when he involuntarily cried out "Pay attention to the bishop and elders and deacons" (Phld.7.1). Here the Spirit 'supports' the emergent institutional structure. But it

is true that those who were in opposition to the bishop appear to be more judaistically inclined than Irenaeus felt appropriate (5.2-6.2), and so this leads us on to -

(ii) In a doctrinal dispute one group may claim to have God's Spirit and therefore the truth, and deny God's Spirit to their opponents. (Those who believed that they were inspired by the Spirit would naturally assume that they ought to have the leadership of the church). There are a number of examples of this in the literature which we have surveyed.

(a) Syria. The Elder of the Johannine Epistles encouraged his flock by assuring them that they and not the heretics possessed the Spirit and proffered tests by which to expose false inspiration and confirm true inspiration. The members of his congregation didn't need a teacher : their anointing from God meant that they all had knowledge, whereas the opponents were anti-christs.

(b) Asia Minor. The author of the Pastorals wanted reliable men to be appointed to ministerial office in order to ensure the preservation of the true tradition, and the indwelling Holy Spirit assists in this task of guarding the deposit (2 Tim.1.14,2.2), over against heretical perversions and falsities. The heretics may have the form of religion but lack its power.

Jude denied the heretics the Spirit and branded them as unspiritual and 2 Peter believed that as the Spirit moved the prophets to speak, so he guided the Church's official teachers to interpret the OT scriptures in the contemporary scene. The author denied 'private' interpretation of the scriptures. He seems to link Spirit and Office.

(c) S. Gaul. Irenaeus denied gnostic views about a pneumatic seed only in the elect; the gnostics claimed to be linked by nature to the divine pleroma in contrast to the psychikoi (who might be saved) and the hylics (who would never be saved). Though this spiritual seed needed development, the gnostic was truly spiritual and was destined to be saved. For Irenaeus the Spirit who is active in creation and redemption has been poured out on all believers, having first become accustomed to dwell in man through the incarnation.

Thus at many points along the spectrum, the Spirit becomes the touchstone of whether a person is "in" or "out", whether a person belongs or is excluded, whether a person's views are acceptable or to be rejected. Possession of the Spirit and orthodoxy go hand in hand. Or, alternatively, possession of the Spirit and being cooperative with the 'powers that be' are synonymous. The Spirit becomes a 'bone of contention' in an inner-church struggle. From having been a hallmark of the church over against the world, the Spirit becomes the hallmark of the true church over against the false.

II

Within the overall idea of the Spirit as a hallmark of the church over against the world, as something which should characterise believers, one of our major interests has been whether possession of the Spirit was something consciously felt, a sense of being encountered by divine power from outside and enhancing one's existence, an experience which is not appropriately attributed to latent human powers but comes from God (= A). We probed behind language and concepts used to the religious experience underlying

them. We have assumed that the use of a certain type of language is wedded to a certain type of religious experience. Someone who has undergone a certain type of spiritual experience finds it natural to use certain phrases. Thus the dramatic conversion may be described as "seeing the light", "born again", "my chains fell off", "the dungeon flamed with light" (a glance at the hymn book of any Christian denomination reveals the type of language we have in mind). Of course language can become traditional and repeated as a matter of habit and inheritance - the group expects to hear it. Yet careful reading of a text will usually or often disclose whether the language has become ossified or whether genuine experience suffuses it.

The evidence for a continuing experience of the Spirit is "patchy". Thus the Johannine communities of Syria at the beginning of our period seem to have a strong awareness of the Spirit who is present as "the Friend from Court", teaching and guiding them, while the roughly contemporary Pastoral Epistles from Asia Minor reflect a growing institutionalism and credalising of the faith, with less stress on the Spirit's help.

Around the middle of the century we have the spiritual exuberance of the Odes of Solomon (Syria) and the prosaic moralism of 2 Clement (?Corinth). Later, both Justin and Irenaeus attest the continuing existence of miraculous healings and exorcisms, and prophecy and speaking with tongues. Justin was a widely travelled man, while Irenaeus had been brought up in Asia Minor, knew something of Rome and ministered in Southern Gaul. While Montanism may have had special features (eg a stress on ecstasy), it would be

erroneous to see it as an isolated phenomenon as if there were no manifestations of prophecy or inspired speaking either during the decades before its emergence or contemporaneous with it.

At the end of our period the N. African congregations clearly contained within them men and women who experienced dreams, visions and revelations, which they felt came to them from the Spirit. However, the editor of the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* was clearly attempting to combat a viewpoint which saw the Spirit as present in power in the past rather than in the present. Thus there was a difference of opinion and experience in the churches of that area.

Unfortunately, we do not possess much evidence from Egypt. Though Clement's type of Christianity may be quite untypical, we do not possess documents which let us glimpse more 'popular' Christianity.

Thus, there is variety and diversity over our period.

Within any given geographical area, there is not a picture of a uniform type of experience (as later an Antiochene and an Alexandrine emphasis in theological thinking emerged, or an East/West division).

(a) In Syria the evidence points to a continuing experience of the Spirit over our period - in the Johannine communities, Ignatius, the Odes of Solomon and Tatian. Yet even here the Didache, with its evidence that 'the first fine careless rapture' was not being maintained and that respect for itinerant prophets claiming the Spirit's inspiration was tempered by the recognition of the need to test their claim (so that this third generation writing did what Paul had to do at Corinth in the first), rubs shoulders with the Odes of Solomon, while Matthew seems to have had an even deeper

suspicion of the charismatic miracle worker-prophet than the Didache. If Ignatius was himself a charismatic bishop, his overall emphasis is on the institutional side as a way of preserving unity and doctrinal purity : he believes all Christians have the Spirit but they must submit to and obey the bishop. If Matthew's Gospel and Ignatius represent Antioch, the Johannine congregations and those within which the Odes of Solomon originated may come from Eastern Syria. The Didache may represent the situation among rural congregations which had depended on itinerant prophets, though were now beginning to move to an established ministry of their own.

(b) Again, a uniform picture does not emerge from Asia Minor. The Spirit-inspired seer John the Divine seems an unusual figure amidst the growing trend towards institutionalism as exemplified by the Pastorals, Jude and 2 Peter. Yet Barnabas seems to reflect a spirituality in which the Spirit is experienced as recreating, cleansing power and Christians are seen as a temple of God whose Spirit indwells them. Montanism thus 'came on the scene' in an area where the threefold ministry had established itself : although in public disputations, the catholic bishops were not preeminently successful, they produced a stream of literature - Apolinarius of Hierapolis, Miltiades (HE 5/17/1), Apollonius (HE 5/18/1) and the Anonymous anti-Montanist (HE 5/16/2). Labriolle felt that the church in Asia Minor was not so mediocre as the Montanists made out, and that it exhibited a certain moral rigorism rather than worldliness¹.

¹ op.cit., pp 136-138.

It is interesting that when Miltiades traced a prophetic succession from NT times, those whom he mentions outside the NT era are associated with Asia Minor - the daughters of Philip (at least they moved there - so HE 3/31/3-4; 3/39/9; 5/24/1-2), Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia (HE 5/17/1-2); while Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, in his letter to Bishop Victor of Rome, mentioned Melito as one who lived entirely ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Certainly if Polycarp is in any way typical, the Asia Minor churches were well served.

Although absolute certainty is impossible because of the fragmentary nature of our sources, Montanist attacks on the catholic bishops of Asia Minor probably were not completely fair (just as the reverse was true).

(c) In Rome Clement and Hermas represent very different types of spirituality, the one rational, sober, orderly, and the other more enthusiastic and charismatic. With hindsight we may say that Clement was to be the more typical of the future, and this fits with the impression created by Hermas' visions that he was not entirely sure of his reception in the Roman church. Justin taught at Rome for perhaps fifteen years, and it seems from his writings that the Spirit was not a negligible factor in the life of Christians. Valentinus also taught at Rome and if the Gospel of Truth represents his teaching, then certainly the experience of God plays an important role, though this is not prominently defined in terms of the Spirit.

(d) Irenaeus, leader of the churches in Southern Gaul, gives the impression of a Christianity in which the Spirit undergirds all aspects - the Spirit was not an intellectual abstraction but experienced as a living, energizing power. There is no Christian or church without the Spirit. The idea of the Christian bearing

the Spirit within him does not mean for Irenaeus that the believer is not conscious of the Spirit's presence and help. To receive the Spirit is to know God and experience His adoption and the privilege of addressing Him as Abba-Father. The letter from the congregations of Lyons and Vienne confirms the vitality and strength of the experiential side of the life of Christians as seen theologically in Irenaeus. Here were congregations whose sense of the Spirit's nearness, leading and power enabled them to face persecution and avoid the extremes of a severe and unattractive fanaticism.

(e) The North African evidence comes from pro-Montanist sources. Given this, it is not surprising that there should be a stress on the Spirit. But we have seen how Tertullian began by assuming that all Christians received the Spirit, though he later restricted this experience to those who accepted the new prophecy and its ethical directives. He gives a vivid picture of the experiences of a Christian sister in ecstasy during which she received revelations from the Spirit and he reports the prophetic utterances of Priscilla and Maximilla.

The editor of the Passion, as already noted, was troubled by the fact that some Christians believed that the Spirit was only active in past periods, which suggests that they were not conscious of the presence and power of the Spirit in their lives.

(f) In Egypt, we only have Clement of Alexandria who represents a highly intellectual, rational type of faith which, nonetheless affirms very strongly that Christians do possess the Spirit. His ideal is freedom from passions of an evil sort into a calm, immovable state based on contemplation of the Divine and nearness to God.

There is, then, variety and diversity within a given area. Mere geographical proximity does not ensure similarity of religious experience. Perhaps this is what we might expect a priori.

III

We turn to pose the question whether within our sources we can observe different types of experience, though claimed as stemming from the same Spirit, or similar types of experience, but which are interpreted by their recipients in a manner doctrinally unacceptable to others. We shall look at three possible examples drawn from the Shepherd of Hermas, Valentinian Gnosticism and Montanism.

Was Hermas describing different types of experience when he examined the true and false prophets ? Or did the two types of prophets have similar types of experience, but in the case of the false prophets they debased them by the use to which they put them (viz fortune telling to the personal profit of the prophet concerned)? In actual fact Hermas does not expatiate on the actual experience² except to say that the false prophet is struck dumb when he enters a gathering of righteous people, whereas the true prophet 'finds voice' in such company. We may speculate how such people ever gained a reputation in the first place : it is clear that pagan practices have infiltrated the church - perhaps on the 'fringes' of the church, where church members of not very strong faith and some pagan enquirers whose understanding of the Christian faith was not very profound, rubbed shoulders³. Within such types

² cf Reiling, op.cit., p 93.

a person might build up a coterie of followers and win a reputation for fortune telling, while at the same time being paid for 'services rendered'.

Thus milieu seems all important - within their own 'group' and within the company of righteous men. We are not told, however, what the false prophet did when enquiries were made - did he induce some trance like state or did he possess some mechanical means to aid fortune telling ?

Since the true prophet speaks involuntarily, i.e. when the Lord wills, and not when man wishes, we may assume that there was some sense of inner compulsion in his case : the true prophet spoke because he could not do any other.

Thus we may conclude that if Hermas was being fair to the two types of prophets, we are dealing with basically different experiences in Mandate 11. At least on his view they were different.

Next we turn to Valentinian Gnosticism. Here we use the Gospel of Truth as an indicator of the type of personal experience involved. We are on more solid ground than in the discussion on Mandate 11, since this work represents the author's own views and not someone else's about him (whether the author was Valentinus or a pupil of his is, therefore, unimportant at this point). We notice that the questions are more man-centred - Who am I ? Where have I come from ? etc, - not Where is God ? How do I find Him ?

³ Reiling op.cit., p 91, located this activity on the borderline between the church and the pagan world, and believed that Mandate 11 showed how easily prophecy could change into divination and assume pagan forms.

How can I be right with Him ? We cannot rule out such questions as illegitimate simply because the canonical scriptures are predominantly theocentric⁴. But what men like Irenaeus objected to was the interpretative framework imposed on the experience. No doubt as a church leader Irenaeus would have agreed that there were spiritually keen members of the church; some church members who were not deeply committed; and some men and women who seemed impervious to any spiritual matters. When, however, the Valentinians talked about a pleroma of thirty aeons, the passion of Sophia and the pneumatic seed, etc, Irenaeus resisted with all his vigour.

Though we cannot say with certainty, the spiritual experiences of some Valentinians may have been akin to 'orthodox' church members - a sense of peace, of being born again, etc - but how these were explained was unacceptable to Irenaeus. Of course there were bad Valentinians and (even allowing for exaggeration) some were no doubt morally lax or manipulated the feelings of others (see Irenaeus' description of Marcus).. But there were also orthodox members who were guilty of moral laxity and financial deceit (see, for example, the Elder Valens mentioned by Polycarp 11.1-4).

⁴ E Schweizer convincingly showed that the questions behind 1 Cor. 15.3-5 and 1 Tim.3.16 were very different and reflected the different cultural milieux in which these two creeds originated : "Two Early Christian Creeds Compared", NT Issues Today, edited by W Klassen and GN Snyder, London,1962, pp 166-177.

Why did Irenaeus accept one conceptual framework or one 'grid' of tradition, while the Valentinians accepted another ? We may in the end have to admit that we have not the evidence to answer this fully, but we can offer some suggestions :

(i) What Irenaeus charged Marcus with was deluding wealthy women, who enriched him with monetary gifts (AH 1.13). While one must be careful about using standard anti-heretical smear tactics, this may afford us a hint : were there sociological factors for some conversions to Valentinian gnosticism ? Social position and wealth was bolstered by the thought of being among the spiritual elite⁵. Certainly the abstruseness of Valentinian speculation would need a fair degree of education and intelligence to master.

(ii) It is clear that many Valentinians continued to be within the catholic church and wanted to remain there. Did Valentinus' failure to become bishop of Rome (so Tertullian) have any effect on his thinking ? Were the second generation pushed more into extreme speculation because of factors like that ?

(iii) The syncretistic nature of gnosticism in which "unchristian" elements are mingled with "Christian" forces us to ask whether there were certain types of people to whom syncretism would be almost 'natural' ?

⁵ H Green The Social and Economic Origins of Gnosticism, Missoula, 1985, sees disenfranchised intellectual Alexandrian Jews as the catalyst for the origins of Gnosticism. What was the appeal of Gnosticism, once launched, in other areas of the Mediterranean world ?

Some or all of these considerations may have played some part in disposing one thinker to go along one plane of thought, and another a totally different plane; for one to remain loyally within the parameters of an inherited tradition and for another to venture off into a different terrain of thought.

Finally, we turn to Montanism. In our discussion we saw that while there was some sort of ecstatic condition involved, the actual oracles were uttered in rational, intelligible language. No point of doctrine was involved and the early Montanists were doctrinally orthodox. Why then were they branded by the catholics as inspired by evil spirits ? The experience per se does not seem to have been unusual, since

(a) glossolalia occurred in NT times.

(b) Justin argued that prophetic gifts still remained in the church of his day (Dem.82) and he also stressed the passivity of the prophet when inspired.

(c) Irenaeus knew of prophecy and inspired speech in the churches (AH 5/6/1).

But the mode of the experience did become an important issue at the heart of the controversy. The catholics turned the stress on ecstasy against the Montanists and denied that ecstasy was an inseparable accompaniment of true prophecy (eg HE 5/17 Miltiades wrote a treatise with the thesis that a prophet need not speak ^{ἐν} ^{ἐκστασει}).

The rift came⁶ because the Asian episcopate

(i) resented the personal attacks on their supposed lack of spirituality (cf HE 5/16/9);

⁶ See Labriolle op.cit., pp 131 - 143.

(ii) considered the claims of Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla to be the mouthpiece of the Paraclete as objectionable (HE 5/14);

(iii) believed that it was blasphemous of the Montanists to wish to add to the precepts of Jesus (HE 5/18/5);

(iv) found offensive Themiso's composition of a καθολικὴ ἐπιστολή (5/18/5);

while in the third century (v) Origen argued that women had no right to teach in public (Commentary on 1 Cor.).

There was a struggle for the nature of the church, and the episcopate in the end succeeded in driving the Montanists out of the church.

If we confine ourselves to the first four reasons, none of these is strictly speaking theologically grounded. The first is personal; the second is also, since from the earliest days of the church men and women had been regarded as the mouthpiece of the Spirit. Similarly, the third seems to be of the same nature, once one accepts that the gospel-tradition had been augmented and takes into consideration that a writing like The Shepherd enjoyed wide popularity. The fourth again invites the same comment - writings like The Shepherd or Epistula Apostolorum were intended for wide circulation.

We are driven to acknowledge that there were personality factors in the case of Montanism issue. This would be comparable to Paul's dispute with the Judaisers, where we could surmise that not only did cultural factors become involved with points of theology (adherence to the law, circumcision, etc, with belief in Jesus as Messiah) but that these may have been exacerbated by personal ones (eg Paul's temperament). Paul claimed that there existed theological unanimity between himself and Jerusalem (1 Cor.

15.11), yet he knew that he was mistrusted by the congregation there (Rom. 15.30f). When Luke told how the church had settled the issue of the admission of Gentiles to the church, he stressed that Peter had been deeply impressed that the Gentiles had received the same Spirit as Jewish believers (Acts 10-11,15). Yet even Luke had to acknowledge that though the Spirit had been given to Gentile believers, some Jewish Christians refused to accept that this was enough (Acts 15.1), and that Paul, though a chosen vessel of the Lord and vouched for by devout men like Ananias and Barnabas (Acts 9.15-18,27), was suspect in the eyes of many Jerusalem Christians (Acts 21.20-22).

To return to our survey. We have looked at three groups of people who claimed to have the Spirit of God (or to be inspired or possessed of oracular powers) : those whom Hermas calls false prophets, the Valentinian gnostics and the Montanists. The historian may legitimately conclude that on the basis of what Hermas says the false prophets of Mand. 11 did not have an experience of God's Spirit comparable to the true prophet, whereas it is conceivable that the best representatives of Valentinian gnosticism had spiritual experiences not necessarily dissimilar to many who held orthodox views but that their interpretation of these experiences proved unacceptable. The Montanists' stress on ecstasy cannot be said to be unheard-of or unique but other factors led to their being condemned by the catholic bishops.

Thus in two out of the three samples, it does not seem that the type of experience per se was the root cause of division : rather, it was the interpretation placed on it that aroused

opposition. In the case of Montanism the opposition then seized on the mode of experience as a handle with which to undermine the influence of the new prophets.

This conclusion can fit in with general observations, for it is clear that people are both shaped by their experiences and in turn shape their experiences. On the one hand our experiences may often have a profound affect on us and shape our approach to life. Thus, conversion to Christianity, the sense of receiving a new awareness of the presence and power of what is described as the Spirit of God, may produce a different lifestyle or a changed personality (eg more loving and gentle and less selfish than before) or a change of career, resulting from a sense of vocation. All that would not be denied. But on the other hand, the kind of people we are or have become may exert a determining influence on the type of experience to which we are open. Some types of people are more susceptible to certain types of experience. Furthermore, the person who has experienced a dramatic conversion often may not be able to understand the person who has not undergone such an experience and dismiss them as unspiritual. Training in what is often termed academic theology may produce a rift between what the person has become and his or her previous background. That is, their ongoing experience has produced a changed outlook or modified their approach to life and they have moved beyond the circle of previously accepted assumptions. To hold office in the church for a lengthy period also may exert its influence in this way and act as a conditioning for the way we expect to experience God through the Spirit.

These general considerations agree with the particular examples which we have surveyed. They serve to back up the difference between 'experience' and the 'interpretation of experience' which we have suggested emerges from our study.

IV

In all three cases the implications of the alleged experience passed from the sphere of the individual into the corporate life of the church : the 'false' prophets of Mandate XI were influencing some church members; Valentinus was teaching a version of Christianity and making followers; Montanism attempted to lead the church in a certain direction. The Church was forced to test and evaluate.

The validity of a claim to be inspired was a notoriously difficult one to evaluate and had had a long history. It vexed Israel in connection with prophecy as, for example, Deut.13.1-11; 1 Kgs.13,22; Isa.28.7-8; Mic.3.5-12; Jer.27-8 amply show; and it was a problem in earliest Christianity. Paul enunciated tests to measure the claim : a confessional one - Jesus is Lord; a behavioural one - love and a Christlike pattern of dying to self and rising to new life; an ecclesiological one - building up the church, none of which centred on the experience itself but on its discernible effects, both in the life of the individual and the community (see 1 Cor.12.3,10; 14.12,29; 1 Thess.5.19-22; 2 Thess.2.1f), while the Synoptic tradition contains warnings against false prophets (Mk.13.5f,21-23) who may be unmasked by the type of message they proclaim (self claims as part of the proclamation of the approaching End).

In our period the problem surfaces again and again, and it is interesting to observe the type of tests which various writers draw up :

- (a) Mt.7.13-23 : behaviour ("fruits"), doing God's will.
- (b) Did.11-12 : disseminating false teaching, not stopping long in one place, asking for money, behaviour, etc.
- (c) Rev.2.20 : association with idolatry and immorality.
- (d) 1 Jn.4.1-21 : doctrinal test (incarnation) and behaviour (love).
- (e) Ignatius : doctrine, behaviour (too Jewish or lack of care for the needy), obedience to the Bishop and elders.
- (f) Hermas Mand.XI : the people among whom the prophet functions; whether he responds to human requests or inner - divine - compulsion; character and conduct.
- (g) Montanism : some criticism (fair or unfair) of the character and conduct of Montanist leaders; plus the argument that prophets did not have to be in ecstasy in order to prophesy.

With the partial exception of (g), none of the other tests proposed really centre on the actual experience itself. Thus, no one says that someone must feel certain emotional stirrings within. The tests proposed are external ones : subscription to doctrine; character; conduct; relation to church authorities or the congregation; practical tests like attitude to money, hospitality. Tertullian seems unique in arguing for ecstasy as a component part of prophecy.

In this general approach, then, second century Christianity followed in the pattern set by Paul.

We have already seen how the idea of possession of the Spirit was intertwined on occasions with disputes over different interpretations of the Christian faith. We suggested that this was an extension of the original belief that Christians as the messiah's people and the new people of God had received the Spirit of God. A blend of Joel 2.28ff and Jer.31.31-34 would of course produce the conviction that the Spirit mediated the presence of God and inscribed the knowledge of His will on the human heart.

The link between the Spirit and a sense of illumination, being guided into possession of the truth, an awareness of God's will, a feeling of a deepening of one's knowledge of spiritual things (= B throughout our study), can be found in our period. This may take various forms, and once more we have to be prepared to ask whether writers were so convinced that their interpretation was the correct one that they argued that therefore it was given by the Spirit. Perhaps it is Clement of Alandria who in our period claims illumination most insistently, though there is little direct link-up of this with the Spirit in his writings, and he emphasises study and contemplation rather than sudden illumination attributed to the Spirit.

Arguably there are five facets of the Spirit's ministry in this respect :

(a) Scripture can be understood now through the Spirit.

Barnabas expounds the OT Scriptures in a pneumatic way. He claims that the Lord has circumcised his hearing and heart that he might understand the truths concealed in Scriptures (10.12). This circumcision of hearing and heart is probably an allusion to the work of the Spirit. Barnabas contrasts his exegesis of the OT with the erroneous way of interpreting it by the Jews. They took

literally what God meant figuratively all along. There is a polemical thrust even if Barnabas is in his writing not expressly combatting Jewish teachers.

Much the same can be said of Justin whose Dialogue with Trypho claims that the OT is only properly understood if referred to Christ and the Church. Among the gifts of the Spirit are those of understanding, counsel, foreknowledge and teaching, and within this array it is legitimate to see the capacity to understand the OT. Clearly Justin believes that his interpretation is 'correct' whereas Trypho is in error.

2 Peter believed that as the Spirit inspired prophecy originally, so He inspired the official teachers to interpret it (and not private individuals).

Clement of Alexandria was also convinced that the gift of the Spirit enabled Christians to understand the sense of the OT Scriptures.

(b) The truth has been given in Christ but there is need to understand it better and more fully by the help of the Spirit.

This is particularly the approach of the fourth gospel (Jn. 14.26; 16.12-15) : the Spirit takes the things of Christ and proclaims them to the disciples. He teaches by reminding disciples of what Jesus said and helping them to understand it. The Paraclete sayings may well be the evangelist's defence of what he has done in his gospel : an interpretation that draws out of the tradition what was implicit in it. Thus, there is both freedom (reinterpretation of the tradition) and control (a basic fidelity to the tradition). This emphasis has not been totally ignored by the Elder of 1 and 2 John, for he says that his readers have

received an anointing (= the Spirit) who teaches them about everything so that they do not need anyone to teach them (1 Jn. 2.27), but it has certainly been strongly balanced by the command to adhere to what they had been originally taught.

For Irenaeus the Spirit of God "furnishes us with a knowledge of the truth" and it is He who "has set forth the dispensations of the Father and the Son"(4/33/7). He too knows the blend of freedom and control, the latter being the church's rule of faith, the apostolic faith which is adhered-to by the churches everywhere.

Tertullian believed that one of the Paraclete's tasks was "the revelation of the Scriptures", i.e. the NT, and that meant for him particularly ethical matters, for he was in the fourth age, the era of the Paraclete, the time of maturity. Accordingly Tertullian grappled with the interpretation of Dominical and Pauline statements, and sought to interpret them in terms of a more rigorist demand, for this was what the Paraclete was now saying to the church.

(c) The truth has been given and there can not be any additions. We must preserve what we have been given.

This is a feature of the post-apostolic era for that epoch faced the problem of preserving the true apostolic proclamation amidst the welter of rival interpretations.

This strand appears in the Johannine Epistles : the Spirit is the teacher of Christians but he has already given them the truth in what they heard from the beginning and they must abide or continue in it. In the Pastorals, Jude and 2 Peter there is a similar emphasis on the tradition, the faith once for all delivered to the saints. The idea of reinterpretation seems foreign - the stress is holding on to the truth in which they are already

established. The Spirit's task in the Pastorals is to aid ministers to preserve the Pauline tradition and, by implication, in 2 Peter to refute those who twist not only the OT but also Paul's letters.

Irenaeus often wrote in a similar vein because of the need to combat gnostic reinterpretations of the gospel and apostolic preaching. The Spirit leads believers/the Church to certainty about the teaching which is enshrined in the Scriptures and which has been handed down from the apostles in the various congregations of the one church throughout all the world. Tertullian spoke of the new prophecy, but did not believe that the Paraclete brought new doctrinal revelations, while for Clement adherence to the apostolic faith was essential and the Spirit's illuminating activity did not infringe that.

(d) The understanding of God's will for a specific situation.

Here John of Patmos claimed to be God's messenger to the churches in what he believed would be the hour of trial about to burst over the whole world. Hermas believed that the true prophet spoke as God willed, within the believing congregation. Justin attests that prophetic gifts were present still in the church (Dial.82.1). Montanus and the prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, believed that they were the mouthpiece of God and the Paraclete, burdened with a message for the church of their day. Tertullian agreed with this and his later writings stridently affirm that the new prophecy ought to be heeded and Christians should follow the Paraclete's directives and eschew second marriages, embrace the opportunity of repentance, discipline the body and refuse a second repentance to flagrant sinners. The Paraclete was now imposing sterner measures.

Irenaeus is also a witness to the presence of prophecy in Southern Gaul (eg AH 5/6/1; 3/17/1). Prophets bring to light the hidden things of men and declare the mysteries of God.

Both the letter of the churches at Lyons and Vienne and the Passion of Perpetua reveal a conviction that the Spirit may impart a revelation of God's will. In the former, Attalus received a revelation to persuade Alcibiades to give up a too rigorist life style; in the latter, Perpetua is led through two visions to a realisation that martyrdom awaits her, while through other visions she sees her dead brother and is led to pray for him.

(e) In the gnostic experience of conversion, the believer is led from a sense of alienation and purposelessness to a knowledge of his true self - who he is, where he is from, and what his true destiny is. The Gospel of Truth portrays this as an awakening from sleep, the coming-to after the stupor of drunkenness, the emergence from the terrors of a nightmare and the realisation of how all the terrors and fears were groundless. Just occasionally the GT links this experience of conversion with the work of the Spirit, though it does not appear that the Spirit plays a prominent role in this document.

This type of experience was linked with a theology which was unacceptable to catholic thought and belief.

By contrast Clement, who also expressed the idea that to know oneself was to know God, might be termed an orthodox Christian gnostic and sought to remain loyal to what was held to be the apostolic faith within the mainstream catholic tradition.

VI

The evidence that Christians in the period under review were aware of the help and power of the Spirit, enabling them to live better and more Christlike lives varies, but on the whole there seems less holding together of the ethical demand and the Spirit's help than is characteristic of Paul (= C throughout our study).

In Syria the Johannine Epistles linked possession of the seed of God (= Spirit) and a sinless lifestyle and believed that God's indwelling power in the believer was greater than the power of evil present in the world. Ignatius described the Holy Spirit as the rope which winches Christians into place as stones in God's temple while another image describes Christians as carrying God and Christ around rather as pagans carry their idols. Obedience to Christ's commands is the garment that adorns Christians, who are *πνευματικοί* who cannot do the things of the flesh. Helped by the Spirit they live for God within the fleshly realm.

Concurrently with this we have the approach of the Didache and Matthew. Ethical lapses by charismatic persons have led to prophecy's being viewed with either caution or hostility. If the Didache takes over and shapes a Jewish Two Ways ethical teaching it does not interpolate references to the Spirit's help. Matthew nearly sets obedience to God's commands over against charismatic activity in 7.15-23. He does however set ethical teaching forth as a consequence of the proclamation of the Kingdom of God by Jesus.

Within the Odes of Solomon there are a few ethical references, some mentioning the Spirit, others not doing so. The genre of the work, however, does not lend itself so readily to ethical discussion. Clearly however the Odist envisages a holy lifestyle

resulting from commitment to Christ and the experience of the Spirit. If Tatian uses the picture of the soul, bereft of the Spirit, going astray into idolatry and of conversion as recovering hidden treasure which needs to be cleaned up because of its long involvement in the material, the implication is that the Christian lifestyle resulting from receiving the Spirit will be a morally pure and holy one.

In Asia Minor we noted the tendency not to hold together the ethical imperative and the divine help to fulfil the demands laid upon Christians (Pastorals, 2 Peter, Barnabas, Polycarp) though the two elements are there. Similarly in Montanism there appeared to be an ethical rigorism and a sterner approach to discipline but no mention in extant sources of the Spirit's gracious assistance and power to help the weak progress along the Christlike way.

Rome represents a mixture. 1 Peter speaks about Christians offering 'sacrifices' produced by the Spirit, while Clement stresses Christian morality but does not mention the Spirit as the powerhouse of Christian living. Hermas, who is concerned with the question of postbaptismal repentance and forgiveness, knows of the strength supplied by the Spirit but equally seems to have introduced the idea of the 'delicacy' of the Spirit who retreats from a person when confronted by evil, and thus abandons that person. Here the emphasis seems to be the preservation of the Spirit's purity rather than man's.

Ethics are not the dominant concern where Justin speaks about the Spirit. The GT is concerned mainly with the experience of the call or conversion, though Valentinus (according to Clement Strom.2.20) referred to the ethical transformation of the gnostic -

evil spirits are banished, the Father visits and sanctifies the heart, hence the gnostic will see God. But this is not touched upon by the GT.

It is Irenaeus in S. Gaul who of all the writers in the second century seems to be closest to a Pauline view of the Spirit undergirding the Christian's ethical life. For Irenaeus the experience of the Spirit leads to a newness of life. The Spirit is power and lifts our weakness up and forwards along Christ's way, enabling us to grow spiritually and bear ethical fruit for God. The Spirit works the Father's will in us and restores God's image and likeness in us. The Spirit is active from creation through redemption to consummation as one of "God's hands", the Word being the other hand.

Tertullian in N. Africa confirmed the impression, gained from a study of Asia Minor Montanism, of charismatic legalism. He does speak of the Spirit's aid and strength occasionally, but the dominant impression is of the duty of fulfilling the high ethical demands imposed by the Paraclete. Tertullian (like Ephesians) has the idea of grieving the Spirit and (like Hermas) the concept of the delicacy of the Spirit, who will desert an uncongenial abode. Christianity is often described in terms of self help and the note of pastoral help and encouragement seems lacking. There is then in Tertullian plenty of demand; little of grace or assistance.

Occasionally Clement of Alexandria mentions the help of the Spirit, but he does not develop this with any consistency. His emphasis on reason as a force for stability to overcome the ruinous effects of passion was an factor no doubt inhibiting such a development.

We are forced to ask whether this widespread failure to hold together grace and demand, power and command, Spirit and ethics, is linked to the varied picture obtained from our survey of religious experience per se. The link between the two would not be surprising. Where a deep sense of the presence and power of the Spirit has been experienced, it would be natural to translate that into daily living and moral victory. Where there is no sense of the Spirit's indwelling, there would always be the possibility of seeing Christianity in moralistic terms without the divine help to live out such an ideal.

VI

Finally, we touch on a question which seems to push itself to the fore more sharply from material towards the end of the second century. Was there in the period under review any shift in understanding the nature of the Spirit as God's power ab extra towards the Spirit's becoming as it were an integral part of man's make-up ? Is there a shift away from the Spirit's residing in man (yet always remaining God's Spirit and never man's to control) to an ontological view of man as body-soul-spirit/Spirit (in which it might be difficult to distinguish human spirit and divine Spirit) ? Is there an anthropologisation of the Spirit ?

Yet we must be careful not to exaggerate the differences between these two perspectives. A glance at the literature from Syria warns us to be cautious. John's Gospel speaks of the Spirit's coming to reside in the believer and yet the strongly personal traits of the Paraclete-Spirit are well known and need not be rehearsed here. We have also seen that the experiential awareness of the Spirit is assumed in John. Without the Spirit the

disciples would be like helpless orphans without protection in a hostile world - without him they would be incomplete and his coming leads the work of salvation to its culmination⁷.

Likewise in the Odes of Solomon, we have language which, while speaking of the Spirit's residing within the believer (eg 28), also speaks of the Spirit as acting upon the believer, lifting him to heaven (36.1-2), imparting the "milk" of spiritual nourishment (19.5), inspiring composition of Odes (6.1-2; 14.7-8; 16.5-7), etc.

Ignatius frequently uses flesh and spirit in connection with believers⁸ and also (though to a lesser extent) Jesus⁹. When at Smyrn.12.2 he describes Jesus' resurrection as both fleshly and spiritual, he cannot be referring to the Holy Spirit, as such an idea would be inconceivable. In other words, "flesh and spirit" is a description of the whole man : in the case of Jesus the phrase underlines his true and full humanity, while for believers it denotes what one might call the outer and inner aspects of a person. For Ignatius this inner side of the Christian has been brought to a new dimension because the Christian is born of or belongs to the Spirit, and the Spirit is "the rope" which hoists Christians into place in the building which is God's temple. Thus it would probably be wise to allow for some oscillation in the phrase "flesh and spirit", ie the inner side of the Christian is

⁷ cf WH Cadman The Open Heaven (ed. GB Caird), Oxford, 1966.

⁸ Eph.10.3; Mag.1.2; 13.1-2; Trall.insc.; 12.1; Rom.insc.; Smyrn.13.2; Pol.1.2.

⁹ Eph.7.2; Mag.1.2.

what it is because he is indwelt by the Spirit. Clearly however, those who are born of the Spirit have to live in the flesh and should act in a spiritual manner. But we have seen also how the Spirit came upon Ignatius and inspired him to speak in a particular way which exceeded the bounds of his own knowledge. Thus ideas of inspiration and indwelling coexist in him.

Tatian clearly has a tripartite view of redeemed man : man is body-soul-Holy Spirit. However it must be noticed that he speaks of the Spirit as being originally the soul's companion (13.2) but as leaving the soul when the latter refused to follow the Spirit. When reunited with the Spirit, the soul "mounts to realms above where the Spirit leads it" (13.2); or the believer is the temple indwelt by the Spirit of God (15.2). Reunited with the Spirit, man becomes what he once was ("his ancient kinship" 20.3).

It seems difficult to say that Tatian has completely ontologised the Spirit when he can use the idea of the Spirit's being a companion of the soul and leaving the soul. Man is not perfect without the Spirit, but the Spirit controls him, not vice versa.

There is certainly no evidence for any shift in extant literature from Asia Minor. At the end of our era the Montanist prophets were passive recipients of ecstatic experiences : the Spirit came upon them - they claimed that they did not control the Spirit. As Maximilla remarked she was compelled whether she wished or not to speak.

The evidence from Rome is more instructive. On the one hand there is Hermas. He sees man's flesh as a vessel for the Spirit to dwell in. So man is flesh-Holy Spirit.

We have seen the strands in Hermas which envisaged the Spirit:

- (i) as a deposit to be returned to God (Mand.3.2). This may be diminished or spoilt or contaminated by Christians (S.9/32).
- (ii) as delicate and either forced to flee before evil as something which is uncongenial and restrictive, or crushed by human sorrow, angry temper or double-mindedness (Mand.5,10).

The first envisages the Spirit as something static, almost a thing; whereas the second sees the Spirit at least as personal - He can be upset or worn out or crushed or feel restricted. Perhaps it is significant that in the first strand Hermas is using illustrations - a deposit or a garment.

Could Hermas really believe that God's Spirit could be changed into a lying Spirit ? Must not we allow for some oscillation between man's spirit and God's Spirit and assume that Hermas has glided from envisaging God's Spirit to man's spirit ?¹⁰ Thus, in Mandate 3.1, Hermas speaks of God's making the Spirit dwell in our flesh (parallel to saying that the Lord dwells in us); in 3.2 he speaks of our receiving a πνεῦμα ῥψευς ταν from God and how some Christians have returned a πνεῦμα ψευδές which must be man's spirit; yet in 3.4 the servant of God is warned that the Spirit of Truth has no complicity with evil. Also, when Mand.10/3/2 speaks

¹⁰ J Lawson A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers, New York, 1961, p 239, wrote on Mand.5 : "It is characteristic of Hermas that he is vague in his conception of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is here written of almost as though He were merely the higher side of man's natural faculties, rather than an empowering and indwelling divine Presence".

of the sad man's grieving the Holy Spirit who was given to him surely the effect of the Spirit is in mind - the Spirit produces cheerfulness. Similitude 9, as we saw, can speak of various holy spirits and can personify the virtues produced by the one Holy Spirit as virgins (9/13/2; 9/15/1-2).

We have earlier had occasion to comment on the fact that Hermas is not a systematic theologian, and that is apparent in this area too. Hermas can move from speaking of God's Spirit to the human spirit or speak of holy spirits. Yet equally Mandate 11 on true and false prophecy emphasises the power of God which lies outside of man's manipulation or control and which works in sovereign freedom.

On the other hand we have Valentinus and his followers. It is when we come to them that we encounter the idea of the divine pneumatic seed within the elect which constitutes that person's essence. Although training is necessary, the elect will be saved and ultimately the pneumatic seed will be united with its angelic partner. We believe that Hauschild is right when he said that the concept of election has been ontologised, though we would want to argue for some experience, some sense of the divine presence, which has been taken to be an assurance of election. The Pneuma is a substance or part of man. Even here there is need of a Call to reveal to the gnostic that he does in fact possess the pneumatic seed and that his real self comes from on high. He may be one of the elect and *ἑμμοσύνης* with the Divine, but this true self comes ab extra and his present state is that of a stranger in a foreign land and his destiny is to be reunited with the divine world above.

Turning to Southern Gaul, we find that for Irenaeus the true, perfect man is body-soul-Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit became accustomed to dwell in man through the incarnation and then the Spirit was poured out on all believers, and thus they are in turn prepared for the ultimate vision of God and incorruption. Irenaeus uses 1 Cor.3.16 in an individual sense - the individual believer is a temple of God in which the Spirit of God dwells. The believer does not dispose of the Spirit - hence the idea of our preserving the Spirit by faith and pure conduct, which we do encounter occasionally in Irenaeus. We have seen however that there is ample evidence for assuming that experience of the Spirit as the life-giving power of God was something real and vivid for Irenaeus. Once again we have to say that ideas of inspiration/empowering and of indwelling are present in a Christian thinker and leader.

We turn to North Africa, and especially Tertullian. For him Christians are a temple of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit takes up his abode in us. He is wedded to the soul, and the flesh is part of the soul's bridal portion, while the soul communicates the gifts of the Spirit to its habitation, the body. We meet (as in Hermas) the idea that the Spirit is tender and sensitive - hence we ought to live holy lives such as please the Spirit. Martyrs should not grieve but retain the Spirit so that he can lead them from prison through martyrdom to their Lord. Believers can shock the Spirit if they become impatient over the loss of something and give precedence to earthly above heavenly things, and he will leave them. So Tertullian's advice is to deny the flesh and the Christian will possess the Spirit. Fasting is a means of "the Holy Spirit's ingress".

Thus, like Tatian and Irenaeus, Tertullian sees the true man as body/flesh-soul-Holy Spirit, and there is no doubt that for him the Spirit is fully personal. But, as we saw earlier, there is a tendency in Tertullian to emphasise the moral duties of Christians without much corresponding stress on the power of the Spirit to help. In fact we glean more of the experiential side of the Spirit from the small document The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas than from Tertullian's writings.

Finally, we mention Clement of Alexandria. Clement sees the Christian as comprised of body/flesh plus soul (itself divided into the subject and the ruling spirit) plus the Holy Spirit. There is no sense in Clement of ecstatic experience or invasion by the Spirit. With his stress on rationality, there is no room in Clement for the Spirit to blow like the wind where it wills. At the same time Clement uses the language of friendship with the Lord through the Spirit and of entertaining God as a guest in spotless souls. This friendship is actualised at certain special moments (prayer, study, contemplation), but equally is something that ought to go on all the time as the Christian gnostic progresses in detachment from passion and becomes more and more assimilated to God.

All in all, our brief survey leads us to bring a negative answer to the query of this last section. Clearly in the second half of the second century we are meeting writers whose basic presuppositions concerning anthropology are different from those who come from a predominantly Jewish milieu - there is a greater assumption that man is a body and soul. But, notwithstanding this,

the inheritance from the earliest Christian tradition of a combination of the Spirit as power from on high and an indwelling companion is not lost.

VII

We have come to the end of our survey which set out to examine how far the generations of the subapostolic era were consciously aware of the Holy Spirit and how far they described their religious experience in terms of the Holy Spirit. Our conclusion must be that the truth lies somewhere between the impression created by the letters of Paul that true Christianity is experience of the Spirit of Christ and the assumption made by many writers that experiences of the Spirit were much rarer even by the end of the first century, never mind the second century. If we do not live in the atmosphere of the Pauline letters, nor do we descend to the impoverished level painted by some. The literature surveyed leaves us with a variegated picture and in that at least it probably faithfully reflects second century Christianity.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with deep gratitude the help of Professor JDG Dunn throughout the preparation of this thesis. His penetrative criticisms and helpful guidance have been of immense assistance to me. I owe an incalculable debt to him.

I have discussed small parts of the thesis with various other friends and I am grateful to Doctors S Brock, G Dragas and EJ Yarnold for their advice and encouragement.

While I have profited from the help of others, I must, of course, bear full responsibility for the final product.

