

Christ, and through many contests gained the crown of immortality". She was finally despatched by being put in a net and tossed by a bull; but not before she had nerved a fifteen-year-old boy, Ponticus, to martyrdom by her example, and had prayed lovingly and persistently for her persecutors. If women like this were at all typical throughout the varied social strata of the Church, it is hardly surprising that the gospel overcame the enormous obstacles in its way, and began to capture the Roman Empire.

THE EVANGELISTS: WHAT OF THEIR LIVES

Their Example

Christians claimed that one God, good, loving and upright, was the creator of the whole world; that he had disclosed himself personally in Jesus of Nazareth, through whose death and resurrection a new relationship with God was available for all men who wished to have it; and that his Spirit was available to enter human lives and morally transform them from within, while at the same time binding the Christians together in a loving fellowship to which there was no parallel in antiquity. Moreover, it was seen to be the task of every member of this fellowship to do all in his power to spread the gospel to others. Naturally, therefore, the lives of the Christians came under close scrutiny. The truth of their claims must have been assessed to a very large degree by the consistency of their lives with what they professed. That is why the emphasis on the link between mission and holiness of life is given such prominence both in the New Testament and the second century literature. Peter holds both together when he in one and the same breath urges holiness of life springing from "reverence for Christ as Lord in your hearts", and outreach to others, "be ready always to give an account of your faith to anyone who asks you a reason for the hope you cherish". Inevitably Christians will get abused, but when they do they must keep their conscience clear so that those who revile their good behaviour in Christ may be put to shame.⁶⁶ Similarly Paul makes the link between a holy life and effective evangelism inescapably plain. It was the quality of his life, his self-sacrifice, his caring, that convinced the Thessalonians that what he proclaimed was not the word of men but the word of God.⁶⁷ They themselves believed in their turn. They began to imitate the lives of the Christians they knew,⁶⁸ and from their midst the gospel spread throughout Macedonia and Achaëa: but Paul only says this after noting in the previous verse that they became an *example* to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaëa.⁶⁹ Life and lip went together in commending the Christian cause.

Similarly, when reflecting on the power of the gospel to open eyes that were once blind to its truth and to bring men into the light which the God who created and redeemed them intended them to enjoy, Paul emphasizes two conditions. There must be a clear proclamation of Jesus as Messiah and Lord; and it must be backed up by the lives of men who are not self-centred in their approach, but are willing to be entirely at the service of the Corinthians, with their lives open to inspection at every point. "We have renounced disgraceful, underhand ways; we refuse to practise cunning or to tamper with God's word, but by manifesting the truth (i.e. both in behaviour and proclamation) we would commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."⁷⁰

This connection between belief and behaviour runs right through Christian literature. The two cannot be separated without disastrous results, among them the end of effective evangelism. That is why the New Testament writers are so intolerant both of doctrinal and moral defections among their converts. The false philosophies with which Colossians, 1 John and the Corinthian letters deal all had appalling moral consequences. Similarly the whole anti-heretical literature of the second century is as concerned with right conduct as it is with orthodox creed. The two were inextricably intertwined in the mission and appeal of Christianity. When slandered about atheistic opinions, Thyestian banquets and Oedipoean morals⁷¹ the Apologists pointed to the lives of the Christians which gave the lie to this popular libel. And then they pointed out that the pagans who raised these objections were guilty of the very same crimes themselves. Theophilus, for example, repudiates the charge of atheism by pointing out that the Christians believe in one moral God, author of the universe.⁷² He refutes the charge of incest and promiscuity by showing that evil thoughts are utterly offensive to the Christian conscience; how much more licentious deeds.⁷³ He refutes the charge of murderous cruelty by pointing out that believers were forbidden even to go to gladiatorial shows lest they become hardened to cruelty and condone murder. "Be it far from Christians to conceive any such deeds; for with them temperance dwells, self-restraint is practised, monogamy observed, chastity guarded, righteousness exercised, worship performed, God acknowledged; truth governs them, grace guards, peace screens them, and the holy Word guides . . ."⁷⁴ Having defended the Christians, he turns to reproach the pagans for these very same things. "Why then do Epicurus and the Stoics teach incest and sodomy? With these teachings they have filled libraries, so that from boyhood this lawless intercourse is learned."⁷⁵ The poets have inculcated cannibalism by their teach-

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ing.⁷⁶ The pagans have imputed wickedness to their gods, and have, moreover, tolerated plenty of genuine atheists—why then should they persecute the Christians for their supposed atheism?⁷⁷ And underriding it all is a subtle contrast between the gratuitous opposition if not active persecution inflicted on the Christians, and their response in loving their enemies, as the gospel enjoins.⁷⁸

This was standard treatment in the Apologists. Some of it may well be idealized; judging from the faults Hermas and Clement find with the Church, writing as they do from within its fellowship, the picture undoubtedly was touched up. But it could never have been painted if it did not pretty nearly reflect the truth. Unless the Christian ethic really did mark out its practitioners as a new race, it would have been no good claiming as much. Athenagoras has a moving passage in which he is contrasting the moral lives of Christians with the charges brought against them. "Among us you will find uneducated persons and artisans, and old women who, if they are unable in words to prove the benefit of our doctrine, yet by their deeds exhibit the benefit arising from their persuasion of its truth. They do not practise speeches, but exhibit good works; when struck they do not strike again; when robbed they do not go to law; they give to those that ask of them, and they love their neighbours as themselves."⁷⁹

What, then, were the particular elements in this different life led by the Christians, which made such an impression on the ancient world?

Their Fellowship

The fellowship which the Church offered, transcending barriers of race, sex, class and education, was an enormous attraction. One thinks of the sequel to the Pentecost sermon: the converts "devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers."⁸⁰ The Antioch church⁸¹ must have been a place of remarkable fellowship not only between Jews and Gentiles who had put their faith in Christ, but also among other sectors of the Christian community. Quite apart from their generosity in supporting the Jerusalem church in its need, and their vision in sending Paul and Barnabas out on the first Missionary Journey (for whose success they cared sufficiently to second to the enterprise their two most prominent teachers), there are other indications of the quality of their church life. It was a church where worship was central, and where fasting was an indication of their earnest determination to seek God's will. It was a church which cared so much about fellowship that Jews and Gentiles converted to the faith broke

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down centuries-old barriers and ate at the same table. It was a church where an aristocrat like Manaen, an ex-Pharisee of the most rigid type like Saul, Barnabas, an erstwhile Levitical landowner in Cyprus, Lucius, a Hellenistic Jew from Cyrene, and "Simeon the Swarthy", almost certainly an African, could all work together in harmonious leadership of the believers. Such loving fellowship was not peculiar to Antioch. Paul thanks God for the love of the Thessalonians;⁸² but he prays that that love may abound more and more towards all men as well as towards one another.⁸³ This internal cohesion of love was implanted by God himself, so in a sense Paul had no need to mention it;⁸⁴ but he did so in order to draw attention to one area in which their love was deficient, the aggressive independence towards leaders which was a national characteristic of the Macedonians.⁸⁵ Despite this blemish the Thessalonian correspondence leaves no room to doubt the reality of the fellowship which marked the infant church there. Greed and arrogance about spiritual gifts threatened this fellowship at Corinth;⁸⁶ disunity at Philippi and Rome,⁸⁷ immorality in the churches to which 2 Peter and Jude were directed,⁸⁸ snobbery among the recipients of James.⁸⁹ But the speed and earnestness with which these failures in fellowship were unmasked and reprovved by the Christian leaders is eloquent proof of the universal conviction that the extent and power of the Christian outreach depended on the unity and fellowship of the brotherhood. This unity was no dull uniformity. From the outset there was variety in doctrinal emphases, forms of church government, and attitudes to food and the observance of sacred days; but these were not allowed to interfere with the mutual respect and trust of children of the same heavenly Father who knew they would have to give an account to him of the conscientious decisions they had come to in these matters. Romans 14:1-3 is as good an example as any of the proper display of Christian tolerance, not allowing secondary differences of practice to disturb primary unity of fellowship. The quality of this fellowship was very striking. Within the original group of his own disciples Jesus had forged a unity which comprised irreconcilable opposites of the temperament of John and Peter, and of the political views of Simon the Zealot and Matthew the tax collector. This he continued to do subsequently in his Church. Allegiance to Jesus brought harmony to conflicting attitudes (even if, as at Corinth, it was achieved only after the greatest difficulty). A striking example of this is the change in Mary and the brothers of Jesus after the resurrection. Previously they had not believed in the claims of Jesus, and remained, in Mark's graphic phrase, "on the outside".⁹⁰ But Acts 1:14 shows them after the

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resurrection united with the disciples in a common fellowship, a common table, and common prayer. It could not have been easy for them to admit they had been mistaken, nor to play second fiddle (for a time, at any rate⁹¹) to those who were related much less intimately to the risen Christ than themselves. But the divine alchemy of *koinōnia*,⁹² joint participation in the unifying Holy Spirit, brought about this remarkable change. It is interesting that the Christians should have so readily adopted this word for their fellowship. It was in common secular use to denote unofficial associations designed to foster some communal activity—dining clubs, burial clubs, trade guilds. These were well-known aspects of Roman life, and were usually tolerated by the government unless they infringed the law in some respect. Formally, then, there was little to distinguish Christian associations for fellowship from any other: the initiation, the equal partnership, the cult meal, the mutual benefits were all standard procedure. But materially there was a difference—in the quality of the fellowship. Here were societies in which aristocrats and slaves, Roman citizens and provincials, rich and poor, mixed on equal terms and without distinction: societies which possessed a quality of caring and love which was unique. Herein lay its attraction. Here was something that must be guarded at all costs if the Christian mission was to go ahead. It is for this reason, among others, that we find Christian unity such a crucial matter not only to the New Testament writers, but to Ignatius, Clement, and the second century authors in general. It was, as Paul told the Corinthians, only a church which was manifestly united, where each member could and did speak as the Holy Spirit possessed him, that would convince the visiting outsider that God was among them.⁹³ There is no doubt that many were convinced this way. Pagan fraternities were often extremely immoral: Justin refers to idol factories where the sculptors “are practised in every vice, as you very well know; even their own girls who work alongside them they debauch”.⁹⁴ In contrast the Christian fellowship, and particularly the *Agapē*, was notable both for its real concern and for its purity. Tertullian describes the affection which marks the Christian brethren assembled together—fittingly called “brethren” because of their common relationship to the heavenly Father.⁹⁵ He explains that the meeting is opened and closed with prayer. Worship, fellowship and feasting are all carried out under the Father’s eye. The lowly, the needy, the sick are shown particular consideration. Contributions are voluntary and proportionate to each one’s income: they are used “to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls who are destitute of means and parents, and of old people now

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confined to the house, and such as have suffered shipwreck . . . or any who happen to be in the mines or banished to the islands or shut up in prison for their fidelity to God’s Church”⁹⁶ “One in mind and soul, we do not hesitate to share our earthly good with one another. All things are common among us except our wives”—the very area where the pagans most inclined to sharing, as Tertullian unkindly pointed out. The religious nature of the Christian gatherings “permits no vileness or immodesty”. “As much is eaten as satisfies the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste . . . They talk as those who know the Lord is listening to them. Each is asked to stand up and sing a hymn to God, either of his own composing or from the holy Scriptures—a proof of the measure of our drinking! We go forth from the feast,” concludes Tertullian, “not like troops of mischief-doers nor bands of vagabonds nor to break out into licentious acts, but to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if we had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet.” As we have seen, Pliny the Younger came to much the same conclusion after investigating these Christian meetings for himself.⁹⁶

This testimony from Tertullian is all the more interesting because there had been a mass turning to Christ in North Africa shortly before he wrote. The quality of Christian fellowship to which he draws attention had had large-scale effects in his native land. As in the earliest days of Christianity this fellowship was absolutely crucial to the advance of the Church. Men had to be attracted in from the existing—if shallow—fellowship of their pagan clubs (*collegia*) and taverns (*thermopolia*) by another fellowship which was richer and more rewarding. Those who themselves were animated by mutual hatred saw how the Christians loved one another, Tertullian tells us, and this must have been a powerful adjunct to the preaching of “the sacred words with which we nourish faith, animate hope, make confidence assured, confirm good habits, and administer rebukes and censures”.

The Transformed Characters

If the loving fellowship of the Christian community was one prerequisite for effective evangelism, another was a transformed character. The New Testament records lay great emphasis on this. The transformation of John, that Son of Thunder, into the Apostle of love, or of Peter, that mercurial hothead, into a man of rock is an essential part of the logic of the gospel. This is what contact with Christ does for a man. He becomes changed into likeness to Christ from one degree of glory to another by the Lord the Spirit.⁹⁷ Some-

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times they expressed it in terms of imitation of Christ: the qualities of his character had to be seen in the life of any man who had undergone a genuine conversion; sometimes they used the language of mystical union with Christ or the indwelling of the Holy Spirit to get across the idea of this growing metamorphosis. The faithful pastor "travailed in birth-pangs until Christ be formed" in his converts.⁹⁸ And unless that process had progressed to a considerable degree in his own life there would have been no converts to shepherd. Luke makes it very clear from the careful parallels he draws between the life and witness of Stephen and Jesus, of Peter and Paul. Christlikeness of life is a *sine qua non* of evangelism. The contrast between the old life and the new was part of early baptismal catechesis: the "putting off" of the old life with its pagan habits and lusts was the complement of "putting on" Christ and the type of life he lived. The sort of contrast Paul makes between the "works of the flesh" and the "fruit of the Spirit" in Galatians 5 must have been a commonplace, and it was very obvious to pagan eyes. The Apologists are full of such contrasts. We have noticed the famous passage in Justin where he claims "we who formerly delighted in fornication now embrace chastity alone; we who formerly used magic arts dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions now bring all we have into a common stock and share it out to all according to their need; we who hated and destroyed one another and on account of their different manner of life would not live with men of another tribe, now, since the coming of Christ, live happily with them, and pray for our enemies and endeavour to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the good precepts of Christ, so that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God the ruler of all."⁹⁹ The link between holy living and effective evangelism could hardly be made more effectively. In particular, Christians stood out for their chastity, their hatred of cruelty, their civil obedience, good citizenship and payment of taxes (despite the severe suspicion they incurred on this count because they refused to pay the customary civil formality of praying to the emperor and the state gods). They did not expose infants: they did not swear. They refused to have anything to do with idolatry and its by-products. Such lives made a great impact. Even the heathen opponents of Christianity often admitted as much. Both Pliny and Lucian recognized the pure life, devoted love, and amazing courage of the Christians;¹⁰⁰ so did Marcus Aurelius and Galen.¹⁰¹ And Christian writers, aware of how crucial this holiness of life was to the advance of the mission, are always stressing its importance. Hermas

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and Ignatius, 1 and 2 *Clement*, the *Didache* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* are all full of exhortations to holy living and, if need be, dying. Ignatius writes to the Ephesians, in an evangelistic context, "Allow them to learn a lesson at least from your works. Be meek when they break out in anger, be humble against their arrogant words, set your prayers against their blasphemies; do not try to copy them in requital. Let us show ourselves their brethren by our forbearance, and let us be zealous to be imitators of the Lord."¹⁰² The dangers of an inconsistent Christian witness are brought out in 2 *Clement*.¹⁰³ Talking of the desire to "save those that are without" the writer warns against careless, unloving behaviour which will cause God's name to be blasphemed among the heathen. "For when the heathen hear from our mouth the oracles of God they wonder at their beauty and greatness; then, discovering that our deeds are not worthy of the words we utter, they turn from their wonder to blasphemy, saying that it is all a myth and delusion." It is difficult to overestimate this moral emphasis in second century Christianity.¹⁰⁴ And although there is some justification for the widely held view that the faith had degenerated into a moralism¹⁰⁵ enforced by fear of judgment in the future and exclusion from the Christian community for the present, nevertheless we know that the lives of Christians weighed heavily in bringing men like Minucius Felix and Tertullian to Christ.¹⁰⁶ moreover they seem to have had a decisive effect in bringing about the great swing to Christianity in North Africa towards the end of the second century, even if, as Dr Frend suggests, Carthaginian nationalism had something to do with it as well.¹⁰⁷

Their Joy

Again, the sheer joyous enthusiasm of the early evangelists enhanced their absolute claims for Jesus Christ. If he really was the only way to God, if there was salvation in no other,¹⁰⁸ then it is not surprising that they should commend him with such enthusiasm to others. Jesus had promised his joy as a permanent possession of his Church, a joy which no man could take from them.¹⁰⁹ And they demonstrated that this was so. They might be thrown into prison for their views: but they were still singing hymns to God at midnight!¹¹⁰ It was from a prison that Paul wrote Philippians, that epistle of joy and confidence.¹¹¹ Conversion and joy are closely related in the Acts of the Apostles,¹¹² and it remained a characteristic thing about the early Christians which attracted others into their company. Their new faith did not make them miserable. Often outward circumstances were unpleasant enough, but that could not rob

them of the joy which was their Christian birthright. The Thesalonians received the word in much affliction . . . but equally, in joy inspired by the Holy Spirit.¹¹³ The disciples had an infectious joy that they were allowed to suffer for their Master's sake.¹¹⁴ They rejoiced in the hope of sharing a future with God;¹¹⁵ they rejoiced in the sufferings which came to them along the Christian path;¹¹⁶ they rejoiced in God himself,¹¹⁷ and the companionship with him that nothing could deprive them of. "Be content with such things as you have: for He has said, 'I will never leave you nor forsake you.'" ¹¹⁸ The joy that Jesus had displayed even in the face of death¹¹⁹ was shared by his followers. Paul rejoiced to finish his course with joy, even though he knew that would probably mean martyrdom.¹²⁰ This joy came from the confidence that nothing could ultimately harm the man whose Creator, Redeemer, Sustainer and Friend was none other than God himself.¹²¹ "We are not ashamed of Christ," cries Tertullian, "for we rejoice to be his disciples and in his name to suffer."¹²² Sometimes this joy even in persecution led to an unhealthy lust for martyrdom: Ignatius immediately comes to mind. But there was a very right and proper side to even this somewhat macabre delight. He was in haste, so the *Martyrdom of Ignatius* informs us, "to leave this world as soon as possible so that he might meet the Lord whom he loved".¹²³ Alongside the unbalanced belief that martyrdom was the *summum bonum* for the Christian, was the thoroughly biblical belief that "in Thy presence there is fulness of joy", and that "to depart and to be with Christ is far better".¹²⁴ A joy which took a man cheerfully to his death for the sake of One he could not see made a profound impression on the ancient world. Joyful Christian lives, and even more, joyful Christian deaths were major factors which attracted non-Christians to Christ. If the gospel filled an evangelist like Philip with such enthusiasm and joy that he was prepared to leave a flourishing work in Samaria in quest of a single coloured man, and a eunuch at that (one of the untouchables according to the Old Testament); if he was prepared actually to *run* in the desert where the heat would be around 120°F. in order to reach this man and be of service to him—then it is not surprising that his message carried conviction and the Ethiopian believed.¹²⁵ Similarly, if men could, for the love of one they had never seen, "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory" even when faced by a brutal death as human torches in Nero's gardens¹²⁶—then it is not surprising that the Christian gospel carried conviction, and many believed.¹²⁷ If it could inspire men with such enthusiasm and joy, Christianity was assured of a very serious hearing indeed.

Their Endurance

This joy of the Christians both in life and death is closely linked with their patient endurance of scourging, insults and martyrdom which had an incalculable effect in bringing observers to faith. "The oftener we are mowed down by you, the more in number we grow. The blood of Christians is seed," said Tertullian; and he spoke from much personal experience.¹²⁸ It was not merely the fact that these men and women, drawn from all ranks in society and none, were prepared to hazard their lives for the Lord Jesus, but the manner in which they carried their witness through until death which caused such admiration. As Tertullian pointed out in that same passage, "Many of your writers exhort to courageous bearing of pain and death . . . and yet their words do not find so many disciples as Christians do, teachers not by words but by their deeds."¹²⁹ A Seneca or a Helvidius Priscus might meet death with courageous resignation: Christians faced it with joyful exultation. It was the same with minor annoyances. The spirit of non-retaliation for evil, inculcated by Jesus, had so taken root even in the earliest days of the Church, that when Peter and John were imprisoned and threatened by an imposing meeting of the Sanhedrin for their Christian activities, they did not bluster or complain, much less give up. They did not hold a committee meeting to decide what should be done next. They simply joined their friends, and gave themselves to prayer, and then continued preaching the risen Christ.¹²⁹ Paul regarded the physical brutalities he suffered in the cause of the gospel as the marks which branded him as Jesus's bondsman;¹³⁰ he was given the privilege of not only believing on Christ but also of suffering for his sake.¹³¹ In a very poignant sense he filled up in his own person the complement of the Messianic sufferings on Christ's behalf.¹³² Peter's own peace of mind as he faced death on the morrow was such that he was peacefully sleeping between his guards.¹³³ Clement records how both Peter and Paul endured with equal equanimity stonings, trials from enemies without the Church and strife and jealousy from some within, and showed the way to the prize of endurance as they passed from the world and were taken up into the Holy Place.¹³⁴ And we have seen how many in the second century were fired by their example—Justin at Rome, the martyrs of Scillii, of Vienne and elsewhere. *The Acts of Martyrs* record that their deaths sometimes resulted in their executioners becoming Christians, and even when this did not occur, the way they died certainly convinced men of the innocence of their creed. Wicked men would not cheerfully sacrifice themselves like that. There is a moving story recorded by Clement of Alexandria which tells that

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the man whose denunciation of the apostle James had led to his arrest by Herod Agrippa, was so impressed by his testimony to Christ in court that he himself became a Christian, and was led away to execution along with James. "On the way he asked James for forgiveness. And James looked at him for a moment and said, 'Peace be to you', and kissed him. So both were beheaded at the same time."¹³⁵

Their Power

There was one other notable characteristic about the early evangelists, though it is one which reads strangely to modern Western eyes: the sheer power that went with the proclamation of the Christian message. It was not merely the conviction with which they spoke, though this, too, was noted by the pagans: St Paul uses an interesting word for this assurance in preaching, *plērophoriā*, which appears to suggest that the preachers were so full of the Spirit of God, so persuaded of the truth and relevance of their message, that it overflowed from them and men received what they had to say, "not only in word but also in power and in the Holy Spirit and with full conviction" (*plērophoriā*).¹³⁶ That was in itself impressive enough in a society bored with the endless chatter of philosophers who had little conviction about the value or truth of their various positions.

But there was another dimension to this power. It involved healings and exorcisms, and this was a factor of incalculable importance for the advance of the gospel in a world which had inadequate medical services and was oppressed with belief in demon forces of every kind. Harnack summarizes the situation well: "The whole world and its enveloping atmosphere were filled with devils; not merely idolatry, but every phase and form of life was ruled by them. They sat on thrones, they hovered round cradles. The earth was literally a hell, though it was and continued to be a creation of God. To encounter this hell and all its devils Christians had command of weapons which were invincible."¹³⁷ This was indeed the impression which the Christian Church gave. The Gospels, particularly St Mark's, show beyond doubt that Jesus shared the contemporary belief in demons and their Satanic head. Some modern writers like G. B. Caird and H. Schlier¹³⁸ take this fact as decisive for Christian belief; others, like Trevor Ling and Edward Langton¹³⁹ believe that we are not bound by beliefs which Jesus shared in common with a very different age, and which he had to share if there was to be a real incarnation. But all agree that Jesus did believe in these forces of evil, and that he sent forth his apostles not only to preach repentance

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but to cast out demons.¹⁴⁰ According to Luke's account they came back radiant with joy at finding these demonic forces subject to them through the name of Christ.¹⁴¹ This continued throughout not only the apostolic Church but into the second and third centuries, to look no further. Christians went out into the world as exorcizers and healers as well as preachers. The Acts is full of the "signs and wonders" of exorcism and healing which backed up the Christian claim that Jesus had conquered the demonic forces on the cross, that he had come to bring salvation or health to the whole man, not merely his "soul". The early, though unauthentic, conclusion of St Mark links the preaching of the gospel with these exorcizing signs which would follow.¹⁴² Hebrews, too, speaks of the confirmation of the apostolic message which was provided by God bearing witness "by signs and wonders and various miracles and gifts of the Holy Spirit".¹⁴³ Peter and John do not merely proclaim good news to the crippled man at the temple gate: they give him the power to walk, in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.¹⁴⁴ It was the apostolic healings and exorcisms as well as the apostolic preaching which resulted in "more than ever believers" being "added to the Lord".¹⁴⁵ It was the sheer power of the name of Jesus to heal when uttered in faith that convinced Simon Magus that he was a mere amateur in magic and made him ask for baptism.¹⁴⁶ Once again, healing and exorcism were the twin factors which produced this conviction of divine power. "The multitudes gave heed to what was said by Philip (who, we are told in the preceding verse, proclaimed to them the Christ) when they heard him, and saw the signs which he did. For unclean spirits came out of many who were possessed . . . and many who were lame were healed."¹⁴⁷ When Paul spent two years at Ephesus, he was not solely concerned with debating daily in Tyrannus's lecture hall, "so that all the residents of Asia heard the word of the Lord".¹⁴⁸ No, as the very next verse tells us, "God did extraordinary miracles by the hand of Paul"; the sick were healed and the demons cast out. This continuation of the healing and exorcizing work of Jesus can be traced through the Epistles,¹⁴⁹ and continued after the end of the apostolic age. The Apologists are full of it. Justin, for instance, explains that Jesus was made man "according to the will of God the Father for the sake of believing men and for the destruction of demons".¹⁵⁰ The evidence for this claim? He continues, "And now you may learn this from what goes on under your own eyes. Many of our Christian men have exorcized in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city. When all other exorcists and specialists in incantations and drugs have

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failed, they have healed them and still do heal, rendering the demons impotent and driving them out." The power of the name of Jesus was more effective than any charm, and the Christians were careful to distinguish its effect from magic. There was nothing secretive about it, nothing of mystic gestures, special potions and closely guarded formulae. Irenaeus, in the course of a long discussion on this subject, says, "Those who are in truth Christ's disciples, receiving grace from him, do in his name perform miracles . . . Some do really and truly cast out demons, with the result that those who have thus been cleansed from evil spirits frequently believe in Christ and join themselves to the Church. Others still, heal the sick by laying their hands upon them, and they are made whole . . . It is not possible to name the number of the gifts which the Church throughout the world has received from God, in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and which she exercises day by day for the benefit of the Gentiles . . . Nor does she perform anything by means of angelic invocations, or by incantations, or by any other wicked or curious art; but by directing her prayers to the Lord, who made all things, in a pure, sincere and straightforward spirit, and calling on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, she has been accustomed to work miracles for the advantage of mankind."¹⁵¹ In contrast to the partial or temporary cures effected by Gnostics and pagan magicians, the cures effected by this reliance on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ are, he claims, both permanent and complete.¹⁵²

What a lot we would give to have accurate documentation of these cures! There is undoubtedly a lot of exaggeration in the Apologists. It was a credulous age. We are unimpressed by Irenaeus's repeated and earnest claim that he knows of an instance where a man was actually brought back from the dead "on account of some particular necessity" and in answer to the believing prayer of the community.¹⁵³ Some mistake in diagnosing death had surely been made in this instance: could not the same be said of all the healings and exorcisms of which we read? It is hard to accept this. The effectiveness of the name of Jesus in healing and driving out demons is too widely attested, in modern as in ancient times, for incredulity on this point. Both Origen and Celsus believed in demons and exorcism: Celsus, though muttering constantly about magic, cannot deny the reality either of Christian exorcism or the miracles of Jesus. Origen points out that unlike magic Christian miracles are always wrought for the benefit of men, that they are done by men whose lives are exemplary, not wicked, and by faith in the power of God, not of evil.¹⁵⁴ No magical lore and sophisticated training was necessary: indeed "it is

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generally speaking uneducated people who do this kind of work" by means of prayer, reliance on the name of Jesus, and some brief allusion to his story.¹⁵⁵ For it was not the power of men, or their knowledge of the right formulae which produced these cures, but "the power in the word of Christ."¹⁵⁶

It is an interesting fact arising from all this evidence that exorcisms were done in an evangelistic context. They were so clearly designed to back up the claims of the preached word that a primitive creed was a normal feature of the process. It was no mere utterance of the name of Jesus, but a recital of the saving events of the gospel which accompanied these healings. The emphasis, accordingly, was thrown not on the exorcizer but on Jesus in whose name it was done, and the gospel he had brought to light. Justin is explicit on this point. Though they will not yield to exorcism in the name of other men, "every demon when exorcized in the name of this true Son of God—who is the Firstborn of every creature, who became man by the Virgin, who suffered, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate . . . who rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven—is overcome and subdued."¹⁵⁷

Tertullian is another writer who has a great deal to say on this subject. He claims that the Christian power of exorcism is undeniable and well known. In the course of an argument to show that demonic forces lie behind the pagan gods, he challenges his readers: "Hitherto it has been merely a question of words. Now for a test case, now for a proof that 'gods' and 'demons' are simply different names for the same thing. Let someone be brought before your judgment seats who is plainly demon-possessed. Bidden to speak by any Christian whatsoever, that spirit will confess he is a demon, just as frankly as elsewhere he has falsely asserted he is a god." This is all *à propos* of Tertullian's impassioned plea that they should believe in the one true God and "worship him after the manner of our Christian faith and teaching". If his pagan audience is disposed to mock at Christ, "Who is this Christ with his fables? Is he an ordinary man? a sorcerer? was his body stolen from the tomb by the disciples?", then "mock as you will, but get the demons to mock with you! Let *them* deny that Christ is coming to judge every human soul . . . Let *them* deny that, condemned for their wickedness, they are kept for that judgment day. Why, all the power and authority we have over them is from our naming the name of Christ, and recalling to their memory the woes with which God threatens them at the hands of Christ as Judge . . . Fearing Christ in God and God in Christ, they become subject to the servants of God and Christ. At our command they leave, distressed and unwillingly, the bodies they have entered.

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Before your very eyes they are put to an open shame."¹⁵⁸ In his *To Scapula* Tertullian makes just the same appeal to empirical verification of this power of the Christians. "We do more than repudiate the demons. We overcome them. We expose them daily to contempt, and exorcize them from their victims. This is well known to many people."¹⁵⁹ Such claims would be pointless and injurious were they not true. The same story is repeated in Minucius Felix¹⁶⁰ and Tatian,¹⁶¹ and continues in the third century in Origen,¹⁶² Cyprian¹⁶³ and the *Apostolic Constitutions*.¹⁶⁴ It was one of the undeniable marks of the power of the Christian message; so much so that, as we have seen, Jews and pagans tried to use the name of Jesus as a magic charm.¹⁶⁵ Always the emphasis was not on the miracle itself but on its supporting role attesting the truths of the gospel message proclaimed by the evangelists. A passage in the *Apostolic Constitutions* crystalizes the point well. "These gifts were first bestowed upon us, the apostles, when we were about to preach the gospel to every creature, and afterwards were necessarily provided to those who had come to faith through our agency, not for the advantage of those who perform them, but for the conviction of the unbelievers, that those whom the word did not persuade the power of signs might put to shame."¹⁶⁵ The *charismata* given in the apostolic age had not been revoked: they continued in the Church of the third century.

As signs to validate the Christian evangel, these exorcisms were no more invariably successful than was the preaching of the word. Some put them down to magic, others remained quite unmoved by them.¹⁶⁷ But it is evident that, allied to the proclamation of the gospel, they had a great converting effect in an age which was hagridden with the fear of demonic forces dominating every aspect of life and death. The greatest intellectual of the third century can soberly claim, "The Christian, the real Christian who has submitted himself to God alone and his Logos, will not suffer anything at the hand of demons: for he is superior to them."¹⁶⁸ Christus Victor indeed!

Such was the power wielded by the early Christians. It greatly influenced the spread of the gospel. Are we to put it all down to delusion? Such is the general attitude in Western Christendom. But it is interesting to find on the one hand scholars of the calibre of Professors T. K. Oesterreich of Tübingen¹⁶⁹ and John Foster of Glasgow¹⁷⁰ taking it very seriously, and on the other hand missionaries and ministers in the younger churches of Africa and Asia equally convinced of the reality of exorcism and the power of healing in the name of Jesus.¹⁷¹ There seem to be quite well authenticated cases of both in this country.¹⁷² But the conclusion I reached in

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The Meaning of Salvation still seems to me to be on the whole true. "Where medical knowledge is so advanced as it is in the West, where 2,000 years of Christian evidences, not to mention the sacred Scriptures, abound to authenticated Jesus's Messiahship, the conditions would appear to be lacking in which we might have a right to expect miracles in the New Testament sense, though we cannot exclude the possibility. However, in missionary areas, where there is only a tiny church in a vast pagan stronghold, where there is a shortage of medical means, where there may be no translations of the Scriptures available or where the people are as yet illiterate, where, furthermore, there are definite spiritual lessons to be reinforced by it—there, on the fringes of the gospel outreach, we have a situation in which we may expect to see God at work in miraculous ways today. That he does so is attested by all the missionary societies working in primitive areas."¹⁷³

Whether or not this be a fair assessment of the contemporary scene, there can be no doubt that in the early days of the Church the power of the Christian evangelists was a factor to reckon with in addition to their love, the quality of their fellowship, the character of their lives, the courage of their deaths, and the joy and enthusiasm with which they bore testimony to their Lord.

¹³⁵ *Clem. Recogn.* 1.1-10. See below, p. 198f., 208.

¹³⁶ *2 Apol.* 2.

¹³⁷ *Ad Donatum* 3, 4. Somewhat surprisingly, Professor Wiles does not "sense the personal anguish of soul which so clearly shines through the also highly rhetorical account of the conversion of the later North African Bishop, Augustine". He doubts whether the record of Cyprian's conversion suggests any deep transformation of personal life and moral ideals. Yet as he recognizes, the change consequent on Cyprian's transition from paganism to Christianity was so marked that he gave away a large proportion of his possessions and made such a radical break with pagan practices and culture that he refused even to quote pagan literature in his writings. Moreover, it would be difficult to imagine a more deeply moving and genuine way of speaking about his sense of sin and release than Cyprian in fact gave in this letter to Donatus. See "The Theological Legacy of St Cyprian" by M. F. Wiles, in *J.E.H.* xiv. 2, pp. 139-49.

¹³⁸ Galatians 2.20.

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¹ Mark 3:14.

² Matthew 10.

³ Acts 6:4.

⁴ *H.E.* 2.3.1f.

⁵ *H.E.* 3.1.1.

⁶ Mid-third century.

⁷ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.10. Professor H. Chadwick, citing two articles by A. Dihle, writes of the Pantaenus story, "In view of the trade between the Red Sea and Malabar during the first and second centuries A.D., there is no *a priori* improbability in the story." (*Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*, p. 138.)

⁸ J. N. Farquhar, *B.J.R.L.* 1926 and 1927, "The Apostle Thomas in North India" and "The Apostle Thomas in South India". See also ch. 10 n. 4.

⁹ Matthew 28:18-20, Mark 13:10, Acts 1:8.

¹⁰ *1 Apol.* 39.

¹¹ See Rengstorff's article "Apostolos" in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.*

¹² He had to fight hard for recognition of his position as an "apostle of Jesus Christ". The Epistles to Galatia and Corinth shows that there were plenty in the early Church who refused to credit it: he did not, after all, fulfil the conditions of apostolate indicated by Mark 3:10, Acts 1:21ff. By the time of *1 Clem.* 47.4, Ignatius, *Rom.* 4.3, his claim was not seriously questioned, though continued rumblings in the pseudo-Clementines seem to show that some Jewish Christians remained unconvinced.

¹³ Thus possibly James (Galatians 1:19), Barnabas (1 Corinthians 9:4), Silvanus (1 Thessalonians 2:7), Andronicus and Junia or Junias (Romans 16:7), though all of these can be disputed.

¹⁴ 2 Corinthians 8:23, Philipians 2:25.

¹⁵ 2 Corinthians 11:5, 13, 12:11.

¹⁶ Galatians 1:1ff.

¹⁷ 2:2.

¹⁸ *Vis.* 3.5.1, *Sim.* 9.15.4, 16.5.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 352-66.

²⁰ Though bishops and presbyters are equivalent in the New Testament. For a discussion of the evidence, see my *Called to Serve*, p. 42f.

²¹ 3 John 6, 7.

²² *Didache* 4.

²³ *Didache* 13.

²⁴ *Didache* 11.

²⁵ On Christian prophecy, see below, p. 200ff.

²⁶ *Contra Celsum*, 3.9.

²⁷ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.10.2.

²⁸ Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.37.2.

²⁹ Mark 1:38.

³⁰ 2 Timothy 4:2, 5.

³¹ Ephesians 4:11.

³² Acts 20:18-28.

³³ 1 Timothy 3:1-7.

³⁴ Ignatius, *Polyc.* 1.

³⁵ *Mart. Polyc.* 12.

³⁶ *Preface to Adv. Haer.* 1.1.

³⁷ Thus Cyprian, of whose conversion we read in the last chapter, was actually brought to faith through the agency of a presbyter. "Caecilianus brought Cyprian from pagan error and led him to the knowledge of the true God" (Pontius, *Vit. Cypr.* 1).

³⁸ *Ap. Const.* 2.6.

³⁹ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.10. See note 7 above.

⁴⁰ *Contra Celsum*, 3.50-8.

⁴¹ *Act. Just.* 2.

⁴² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.28.

⁴³ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.13.

⁴⁴ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 3.52. This policy was, of course, potentially (and actually) explosive.

⁴⁵ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 3.54.

⁴⁶ Eusebius, *H.E.* 6.3.

⁴⁷ Eusebius, *H.E.* 6.21.

⁴⁸ Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

⁴⁹ Acts 8:4.

⁵⁰ Acts 11:19-21.

⁵¹ *Contra Celsum*, 3.55.

⁵² See above, ch. 2, n. 78, and G. Highet, *Poets in a Landscape*, p. 231f.

⁵³ 1 Peter 3:15.

⁵⁴ Phoebe in Romans 16:1f. occupies an official position. She is *patrona* of the Church, her home its headquarters, her status that of an accredited deaconess. On this office, see the *duae ministrae* of Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96; 1 Timothy 3:11 also probably denotes this office.

It is possible that the Junia of Romans 16:7 is a woman (the accusative case, *Junian*, in which it occurs here would be the same for a man and a woman), and that "apostles" there indicates "apostles of Jesus Christ", particularly as Paul says they were Christians before he was.

⁵⁵ Philipians 4:2, 4.

⁵⁶ *Contra Celsum*, 3.55.

⁵⁷ 1 Peter 3:1f.

⁵⁸ *Ap. Const.* 1.10.

⁵⁹ *Ad Uxorem*, 2.3-7.

⁶⁰ and nerve-racking as well. As Tertullian remarks, at any moment the husband could denounce his wife to the authorities as a Christian, and unless she recanted she would face execution. We have already seen this very thing taking place in Rome when an aristocrat's denunciation of his Christian wife was the main cause for the writing of Justin's *Second Apology*.

⁶¹ *Ad Uxorem*, 2.7.

⁶² *De Praescr.* 41.

⁶³ See W. H. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 375ff.

⁶⁴ *Dio.* 67.14, cf. Suetonius, *Domit.* 15, and ch. 5, n.48 above.

⁶⁵ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.1-61.

⁶⁶ 1 Peter 3:15f.

⁶⁷ 1 Thessalonians 2:1-14.

⁶⁸ 1 Thessalonians 2:15, cf. Philipians 4:9.

⁶⁹ 1 Thessalonians 1:7, 8.

⁷⁰ 2 Corinthians 4:1-5.

⁷¹ Theophilus, *Ad. Autol.* 4.

- ⁷² *Ad. Autol.* 9.
⁷³ *Ad. Autol.* 13.
⁷⁴ *Ad. Autol.* 15.
⁷⁵ *Ad. Autol.* 6.
⁷⁶ *Ad. Autol.* 5.
⁷⁷ *Ad. Autol.* 3, 7, 8.
⁷⁸ *Ad. Autol.* 14.
⁷⁹ *Presb.* 11.
⁸⁰ Acts 2:42.
⁸¹ Acts 13:1ff.
⁸² 1 Thessalonians 1:3.
⁸³ 1 Thessalonians 3:12.
⁸⁴ 1 Thessalonians 4:9ff.
⁸⁵ 1 Thessalonians 5:13.
⁸⁶ 1 Corinthians 11:20ff.; chs. 12-14.
⁸⁷ Philippians 1:15, 3:15-19, 4:2f., Romans 14:1-15:3.
⁸⁸ Jude 1 and 2 Peter 2.
⁸⁹ James 2:1ff.
⁹⁰ Mark 3:32ff. cf. John 7:5.
⁹¹ Later, of course, James achieved leadership in the Jerusalem Church, and was in fact succeeded by another of the Lord's relatives.
⁹² See on this term, A. R. George, *Communion with God*.
⁹³ 1 Corinthians 14:23ff.
⁹⁴ 1 *Apol.* 9.
⁹⁵ The descriptions which follow are all taken from Tertullian, *Apologet.* 39. See, however, above, ch. 2, n. 65.
⁹⁶ *Epi.* 10:96.
⁹⁷ 2 Corinthians 3:18, cf. Romans 12:1, 2.
⁹⁸ Galatians 4:19.
⁹⁹ 1 *Apol.* 14.
¹⁰⁰ Pliny, *Ep.* 10:96, Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, *passim*.
¹⁰¹ *Med.* 11.3; Galen, *De Sententiis Politiae Platonicae*.
¹⁰² *Ephes.* 10.
¹⁰³ 2 *Clement* 13.3. While 2 *Clement* contains much preaching material, it is designed for use in church, at worship. Consequently, Conzelmann's astounding statement, "No primitive Christian preaching has been transmitted to us . . . The oldest is 2 *Clement*" (*The Theology of the New Testament*, p. 88) is as misleading about 2 *Clement* as it is libellous about Acts.
¹⁰⁴ Sadly, the variety of Christian good works (cf. Titus 2:7 Gk) tended to become fossilized as time went by into the more obvious categories of sexual continence and abstinence from anything cruel or idolatrous. But these short-hand pointers to Christian ethic never entirely supplanted the flowering of true Christian *agapē*.
¹⁰⁵ Harnack (*Mission and Expansion*, p. 208f.) has pointed out the curious paradox in Christian moral theology at this point. On the one hand they assumed that pagans knew, almost intuitively, what virtue was: in that respect Christian morality was not new. It was professed, if not kept, by the philosophers. On the other hand, they argued that the quality of their Christian living was a demonstration of the supernatural life at work within them, and in this sense, therefore, it was entirely new. If a Celsus had to confess that "nobody could entirely change people who sin by nature and habit, not even by punishment, much less by mercy" (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.65) the writer of the *Epistle to Diognetus* could point to Christian lives and say, "This does not look like the work of man: this is the power of God" (*Diogn.* 7).
¹⁰⁶ *Oct.* 22.8, Tertullian, *Apol.* 15.
¹⁰⁷ *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, p. 330ff.
¹⁰⁸ Acts 4:12.
¹⁰⁹ John 15:11, 16:22.
¹¹⁰ Acts 16:25.

- ¹¹¹ Cf. Philippians 3:1, 4:4.
¹¹² Acts 8:8, 13:52, 15:3.
¹¹³ 1 Thessalonians 1:6.
¹¹⁴ Acts 5:41.
¹¹⁵ Romans 5:2.
¹¹⁶ Romans 5:3.
¹¹⁷ Romans 5:11.
¹¹⁸ Hebrews 13:5.
¹¹⁹ Hebrews 12:2.
¹²⁰ Acts 20:24.
¹²¹ Romans 8:34-9.
¹²² *Apologet.* 21.
¹²³ ch. 5.
¹²⁴ Psalm 16:11, Philippians 1:23.
¹²⁵ Acts 8:5, 6, 26ff.
¹²⁶ 1 Peter 1:8, Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44.
¹²⁷ It is not improbable that Flavius Sabinus, the elder brother of the Emperor Vespasian, who perished in the year of the four emperors, A.D. 69, was a Christian, and owed his conversion to the events he had witnessed in A.D. 64 when, as *Praefectus Urbi*, he was in charge of the execution of Christians for supposed arson. He had been a man of action throughout his distinguished career, in the course of which he had served the State in thirty-five campaigns and had been the Governor of Moesia. Surprisingly, therefore, we read that he became "a gentle man who abhorred slaughter and bloodshed" at the end of his life. "Some thought had had got lazy, but others believed that he had mellowed, and was anxious to spare the blood of his fellow citizens" (Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.65 and 75). The latter estimate proved the more just, it would seem, for he died, when the Vitellians stormed the Capitol, "unarmed and showing no thought of flight" (Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.73). All of this does not prove he was a Christian. But when taken alongside the fact that his niece Domitilla and others in the family were Christians, the sudden transformation of a man of action into a man of peace, of a soldier into a martyr, of a man whose trade was arms into one who hated bloodshed, then the probabilities are that he did come under Christian influence, to rate it no higher. The most probable cause was the wholesale slaughter of Christians, which disgusted Roman society, and in which Sabinus was officially implicated. It may well be that the entry of Christianity into the imperial family in this way was the direct result of the faithful testimony of the Christian martyrs of A.D. 64.
¹²⁸ *Apologet.*, 50.
¹²⁹ Acts 4:23ff.
¹³⁰ Galatians 6:17.
¹³¹ Philippians 1:29.
¹³² Colossians 1:24.
¹³³ Acts 12:1-6.
¹³⁴ 1 *Clem.* 5.
¹³⁵ Recorded in Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.8.
¹³⁶ 1 Thessalonians 1:5.
¹³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
¹³⁸ G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers*, H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament*. See also K. E. Koch, *Between Christ and Satan*.
¹³⁹ *The Significance of Satan and Essentials of Demonology*.
¹⁴⁰ Mark 6:12, 13.
¹⁴¹ Luke 10:17.
¹⁴² Mark 16:15ff.
¹⁴³ Hebrews 2:4.
¹⁴⁴ Acts 3:1ff.
¹⁴⁵ Acts 5:14.
¹⁴⁶ Acts 8:13.
¹⁴⁷ Acts 8:6f.

- ¹⁴⁸ Acts 19:1-12.
¹⁴⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:9, 10, James 5:14f.
¹⁵⁰ 2 Apol. 6.
¹⁵¹ Adv. Haer. 2.32.
¹⁵² Ibid.
¹⁵³ Adv. Haer. 2.31, 32.
¹⁵⁴ Contra Celsum, 2.51.
¹⁵⁵ Contra Celsum, 1.6, 7.4. Origen's words clearly refer to recounting some stories about Jesus.
¹⁵⁶ Contra Celsum, 7.4.
¹⁵⁷ Dial. 85.
¹⁵⁸ Apol. 23.
¹⁵⁹ Ch. 2.
¹⁶⁰ Oct. 27.
¹⁶¹ Orat. 12-19.
¹⁶² Contra Celsum, passim.
¹⁶³ Ad Demetr. 15, Ad Donat. 5.
¹⁶⁴ 8:1.
¹⁶⁵ See above, p. 109ff., also the Paris Magical Papyrus, and, of course, Acts 19:13ff.
¹⁶⁶ 8:1.
¹⁶⁷ The same chapter of the *Constitutions* points this out. Precisely the same thing happened in Jesus's own day. His mighty works could either be shrugged off by persistent unbelief, or assigned to Beelzebub.
¹⁶⁸ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 8.36.
¹⁶⁹ In his massive book *Possession, Demoniacal and Other*. See, for instance, p. 389: "The purely negative reply [*i.e.* to the question of "parapsychic phenomena"] which so greatly facilitated for rationalism the historical criticism of all these accounts is frankly no longer possible today."
¹⁷⁰ *After the Apostles*, pp. 61-71. His opinion is particularly weighty as he was not only a Professor of Church History but also a missionary. He gives records of both exorcisms and healings on the contemporary mission field.
¹⁷¹ Thus the head of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship writes, in a personal letter, of scores of such instances in South East Asia, referring to such written documentation as *Borneo Breakthrough* by S. Houlison, and *Demons Despoiled* by N. M. Nordmo. He continues, "What is called 'demon possession' seems to relate chiefly to dramatic manifestations of demon possession or demon influence. But in our thinking this is the sign and symptom, whereas the crux of the matter is submission to demons, the manifestations of which, in addition to demon possession, include service as spirit mediums, trance activities such as fire walking, having swords thrust through cheeks and tongue, and so forth, and also manifestations of demonic violence and wickedness quite apart from the usual evidences of trances or 'possession'." Foster's conclusion (see previous Note), is this. "This Younger Church is repeating the experience of the Early Church and is true to the tradition both of apostolic and post-apostolic preaching." (*op. cit.* p. 71). See also C. N. Moody, *The Mind of the Early Converts*, p. 105f., "Joy in redemption from bondage to idols and demons, joy in the great Creator and Preserver, is a prominent feature in the Christianity of many peoples. Among converted savages it is sometimes the whole of religion." He proceeds to give specific examples.
¹⁷² See, e.g. Dr K. E. Koch, *Between Christ and Satan*.
¹⁷³ Page 224.

CHAPTER 8

- ¹ *Worship in Ancient Israel*, ch. 7, "The Synagogue".
² Acts 13:16, 26, 38.
³ ch. 4.
⁴ *Missionary Methods*, p. 62ff.

- ⁵ On the place of his *The Meaning of Salvation*.
⁶ Israel Levinthal, p. 11.2.
⁷ John Peterson, *Mission in the Early Roman Empire, A Study in the Earliest Church*, p. 64ff.
⁸ See above, p. 17.
⁹ *Ad Demetr.* 13.
¹⁰ *H.E.* 1.13.18.
¹¹ *H.E.* 1.13.20f. See further, ...
¹² *Clem. Recogn.* 1.7. On the value that may attach to the *Grundchrift* of the Clementine romances, see O. Cullmann, *Le Problème Littéraire et Historique du Roman Pseudo-Clementin*, and G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudo-clementinen*.
¹³ See Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4, Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.13 and Josephus, *B.J.* 6.5.4.
¹⁴ *Clem. Recogn.* 1.9.
¹⁵ See Acts 11:27, 13:1, Romans 12:6, 1 Corinthians 12-14, 1 Thessalonians 5:20, Revelation 1:3, 22:18. One category in which Christians saw the newness of their religion was that of prophecy. Jesus was the eschatological prophet, promised long ago in Deuteronomy 18:18, who revived and brought fulfilment to Israel's long line of prophets (Matthew 5:19, Acts 3:22, 7:37, 17:37 cf. John 4:44). In succession to Jesus, Christian prophecy was born on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:18). And its content was none other than the prophet, Jesus himself. Once again the proclaimer had become the proclaimed.
¹⁶ 1 Corinthians 12:29. However, Revelation 10:7 (cf. 11:10, 16:6) seems to indicate that the gift was open to all: "prophets" seems to be synonymous with "servants of Christ".
¹⁷ It was also prized, of course, because it was so valuable to the community bent on discerning the will of the Lord. See 1 Corinthians 14:1.
¹⁸ Ephesians 2:20, 3:5.
¹⁹ 1 Corinthians 14:3, 32.
²⁰ Acts 11:28.
²¹ 1 Timothy 4:14.
²² Revelation 19:10.
²³ 1 Corinthians 14:24f.
²⁴ 1 Corinthians 14:3f., and the probable implication of Acts 13:1 is that the prophets are also teachers.
²⁵ 1 Corinthians 14:29f.
²⁶ 1 Corinthians 14:37-9.
²⁷ e.g., *Didache* 11.
²⁸ *Adv. Prax.* 1.
²⁹ *Contra Celsum* 7.9.
³⁰ So Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 353, n. 3, Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, p. 143f.
³¹ So, for instance, Ritsch in *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, p. 506. As, however, P. de la Labriolle has observed in *La Crise Montaniste*, p. 95f., Origen knew too much about the Montanists not to mention them in his reply to Celsum's charge, if it was indeed they who were meant.
³² W. K. Knox, *Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity*, p. 83, n. 2.
³³ The text appeared in *Papyrus Bodmer 13*, and is edited by M. Testuz, *Méliton de Sardes, Homélie sur la Pâque*, 1960. A little of it is to be found in the recently identified Latin of Melito. See H. Chadwick, "A Latin Epitome of Melito's Homily on the Pascha" in *J.T.S.* April 1960.
³⁴ Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.24.5.
³⁵ *Philad.* 7.1.
³⁶ *Pap. Bod.* 13, para. 100ff.
³⁷ *Pap. Bod.* 13, para. 9.
³⁸ This was professedly based on the style of Gorgias in the fifth century B.C.,

salvation preaching, see my book, *Healing and Salvation*, p. 17, citing *Koheloth Rabba*

in the Early Roman Empire, A Study in the Earliest Church,