

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHARISMATIC
ACTIVITY AND INSTITUTIONAL FORMS
IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
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As Donne has said, "no man is an island, entire of itself." The truth of this statement becomes no more apparent than in the production of a scholastic work. As such, words of thanks are in order.

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To God be the Glory!

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the problem of the relationship between charismatic activity and institutional forms in the Pastoral Epistles. More specifically, an answer was sought for the following question: do the Pastoral Epistles reflect a church situation wherein charismatic activity was eclipsed by a more institutionalized form of church order? It was hypothesized that the Pastoral Epistles reflect an ecclesiastical milieu where charismatic activity has neither abated nor been replaced by church 'offices' or apostolic traditions.

In order to test this hypothesis an historical-critical methodology was employed. The genuine Pauline epistles and writings of the Apostolic Fathers were examined in order to demonstrate that charismatic activity and institutional forms co-existed both prior to and after that of the Pastoral Epistles. The text of the Pastoral Epistles was then examined to determine the existence and nature of the relationship between charismatic activity and institutional forms found therein.

As a result of this research it was concluded that the level of charismatic activity displayed throughout the first two centuries was more abundant and uniform than has heretofore been realized. The Pastoral Epistles were shown to display a richness of charismatic activity, some of it problematical in nature. Instead of viewing institutional forms in the Pastoral Epistles as replacing charismatic activity, we saw that they served to correct problematic charismatic activity. In addition, they also served to protect and encourage genuine charismatic activity.

These findings imply that New Testament scholarship must re-examine the assumption that charismatic activity and institutional forms are incompatible. These findings also question the use of the criterion of the level of charismatic activity and institutional forms in determining the stage of development of a particular church. Finally, if the criterion of the level of charismatic activity and institutional forms is ill-suited to determine the stage of church development, it therefore is ill-suited to serve as a criterion for assessing authorial authenticity and date of composition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	v
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
The Scholarly Setting for this Study	1
Reasons and Objectives for this Study	7
Scope of the Study	9
Value of the Study	10
Definitional Clarification	11
Methodological Approach	20
2. CHARISMATIC ACTIVITY AND INSTITUTIONAL FORMS IN THE PAULINE CORPUS	28
Charismatic Activity in the Pauline Corpus	29
Institutional Forms in the Pauline Corpus	39
Conclusion	50
3. INSTITUTIONAL FORMS AND CHARISMATIC ACTIVITY IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS	60
Institutional Forms in the Apostolic Fathers	62
Charismatic Activity in the Apostolic Fathers	72
Conclusion	83
4. CHARISMATIC ACTIVITY AND INSTITUTIONAL FORMS IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES	89
Charismatic Activity in the Pastoral Epistles	90
Institutional Forms in the Pastoral Epistles	119
Conclusion	128
5. CONCLUSION	143
Summary	143
Implications for New Testament Studies and our Understanding of the Early Church	147
Value of the Study	149
A Personal Notation	150
BIBLIOGRAPHY	155

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals, Reference Works, and Serials

AB	Anchor Bible
BAG	W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, Greek-English Lexicon of the NT
BJRL	Bulletin of John Rylands Library
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
Exp Tim	Expository Times
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
IDB Sup	Supplementary volume to IDB
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies
JR	Journal of Religion
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LPGL	G.W.H. Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon
MNTC	Moffatt NT Commentary
Neot	Neotestamentica
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NTS	New Testament Studies
Rev Exp	Review and Expositor
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), Theological Dictionary of the New Testament

Biblical Books

Exod	Exodus
Lev	Leviticus
Num	Numbers
Deut	Deuteronomy
I Sam	I Samuel
Isa	Isaiah
Mic	Micah
Matt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Rom	Romans
I-II Cor	I-II Corinthians
Gal	Galatians
Eph	Ephesians
Phil	Philippians
I Thess	I Thessalonians
I-II Tim	I-II Timothy
Tit	Titus

Phlm	Philemon
Jas	James
I-II Pet	I-II Peter

Pseudepigraphical and Early Patristic Books

Barn.	Barnabas
I-II Clem.	I-II Clement
Did.	Didache
Herm. Man.	Hermas, Mandate
Herm. Sim.	Hermas, Similitude
Herm. Vis.	Hermas, Vision
Ign. Eph.	Ignatius, Letter to the Ephesians
Ign. Magn.	Ignatius, Letter to the Magnesians
Ign. Phld.	Ignatius, Letter to the Philadelphians
Ign. Smyrn.	Ignatius, Letter to the Smyrnaeans
Ign. Trall.	Ignatius, Letter to the Trallians
Mart. Pol.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
Pol. Phil.	Polycarp to the Philippians
T. Levi	Testament of Levi

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the middle of the twentieth century, New Testament scholarship has been greatly advanced by the publication of numerous volumes on the social structure and context of early Christianity.¹ In one way or another these publications have attempted to come to terms with the relationship between pneumatology and ecclesiology. The present study is another contribution to that discussion. This study, however, is focused on one particular instance of this relationship. I will endeavour to examine the relationship between pneumatological/charismatic activity and ecclesiastical/institutional forms as they pertain to the Pastoral Epistles (the term given to I Timothy, II Timothy and Titus). Since the Pastoral Epistles comprise a relatively small body of literature, a detailed examination of this relationship will be possible. Although the relationship has two components, pneumatology and ecclesiology, my emphasis will be upon the role which pneumatic activity played in the life of the Pastoral communities. The reasons for this will be discussed in the following sections.

The Scholarly Setting for this Study

Over the past thirty years a majority of scholars have reached the conclusion that the Pastoral Epistles reflect a church situation wherein the spontaneity of charismatic experience (seen as typical in the Pauline churches) was eclipsed by a more 'institutionalized' form of church order. Charismatic activity in the Pastorals has been perceived to have declined considerably, its place being taken by church tradition, apostolic teaching and the emerging church order. This

perception regarding the Pastoral Epistles must be seen in the context of a larger scholarly debate which has been ongoing since the late nineteenth century. H. Lombard, in his article on charisma and church office, gives a brief historical survey of the relationship between these two elements as perceived by modern scholarship since the end of the last century.² It will be worthwhile to draw attention to several features noted in this survey.

One of the first scholars to draw attention to the relationship between pneumatology and church structure and polity was R. Sohm (1892).³ He stated that the original nature of the church was that of a purely spiritual or pneumatic entity. The original church had no ecclesiastical offices or church polity. Any external organization Sohm saw as illegitimate and superfluous. Sohm presented a radically spiritualistic view of the church's structure. Apostles, prophets and teachers were seen exercising the "charisma of teaching" while presbyters, widows, ascetics and martyrs displayed the "charisma of deed". These gifts taken together met the daily needs of the Christian community.⁴

A. von Harnack (1909) argued that the church should be viewed as a "sociological entity" with a twofold organizational structure: primarily charismatic and secondarily administrative services.⁵ However, Harnack shared with Sohm the view that the institutional and juridical aspects of ecclesiastical life are totally alien to the true spiritual and charismatic nature of the church. For example, Harnack stipulated that the office of elders served as a substitute for the individual charismatic gifts of glossolalia and prophecy during an advanced phase of church development.⁶

In keeping with this general perspective, although modified

somewhat, are the views of E. Käsemann,⁷ E. Schweizer⁸ and H. von Campenhausen.⁹ Lombard calls this perspective the "actualistic view".¹⁰ This viewpoint states that "the charismata consist of in concreto working gifts of Christ and the Holy Spirit".¹¹ "Charismata are constituted by specific, concrete and incidental services and events under actual and specific circumstances".¹² Although Käsemann makes it quite clear that the Spirit and church institution exist in tension (if not antithetically), he attempts to relate them dialectically. He believes that a unity is accomplished in a merging process when, under guidance of the Spirit and his gifts, the offices are concretely and actually exercised in services of a particular local church.¹³

Schweizer takes a position between Sohm and Harnack. He acknowledges and makes a distinction between ordained and unordained (i.e., administrative and charismatic) services in the church. In the one service to the church of Christ the poles (or entities) of charisma and church office are fused together in a unity.¹⁴ This admission does not mean approval. Schweizer still maintains that "the charismatic organization has always been and must always be the authentic and true nature of the church".¹⁵ Because of this view, Schweizer disapproves of official appointments in the church as illegitimate.

H. von Campenhausen acknowledges that the primitive church was de facto not solely charismatic or pneumatic. He admits that Paul himself incorporated and acknowledged institutional structures in the church, at least to a limited degree. However, he credits Paul with developing the idea of the Spirit as the organizing principle of the church. Consequently there is no need for any fixed system with rules and regulations. "The community is not viewed or understood as a sociological

entity (contrary to Harnack), and the Spirit which governs it does not act within the framework of a particular church order or constitution."¹⁶

As mentioned, a component of the charisma-church office problem is the viewpoint that the charismata were illegitimately transposed into church offices. This generally has been the position of numerous Protestant scholars. Sohm declared that this deviation in the road was the sinful fall of the church and that this trend was already present by the time of I Clement.¹⁷ Other scholars looked more favourably on the development of established and authoritative offices in the church. Representative figures of this position would be J. Schniewind (1949),¹⁸ G. Friedrich (1952),¹⁹ L. Goppelt (1962),²⁰ B. H. Streeter (1930)²¹ and H.N. Ridderbos (1975).²² The latter two scholars took up a radical viewpoint against Sohm. They maintained that the office of bishop, as well as other offices, were not opposed but compatible with charismata.

From the Catholic circle came studies investigating the relationship between charismata and hierarchical church offices. H. Küng, as a representative figure, has stated that "it is far from the case that the great variety of charismatic gifts is concentrated and centralized in a few individuals, the leaders of the community for example (elders, bishops, elder-bishops)".²³ The charismatic structure of the church includes but goes far beyond the hierarchical structure of the church.²⁴ Nevertheless, Küng approvingly quotes Cardinal Suenens as saying: "What is to be completely avoided is the appearance that the hierarchical structure of the Church seems to be an administrative apparatus with no intimate connection with the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit which are spread throughout the life of the Church".²⁵

As we can see from this brief historical survey, the question

regarding the relationship between charismata and church order has by no means been settled. The only apparent consensus reached by these scholars would be that it is possible to discern a charismatic primitive era of the church in contra-distinction to the later development of the church into an official institution. The question as to the exact movement from one stage to the next is at the core of the debate. How early in the development of Christianity can we ascertain this movement? Can we see this movement taking place in the New Testament literature? If this movement can be seen taking place in the New Testament, how fully is it developed? Out of this context we must ask, at what stage of development are the churches as depicted in the Pastoral Epistles? Many answers to these questions have been offered in what has now come to be known as the "early Catholicism" debate.

The term "early Catholic" has carried with it a number of connotations. In continental Protestant Europe, the term has been used in a pejorative sense, stemming from the running controversy with the Roman Catholic church over the past four centuries. The term "early Catholicism" has been used to refer to a situation where three factors are said to exist: a) there has been a demise of primitive apocalyptic expectation; b) the church has an heirarchical instead of a merely charismatic structure; c) the Church as an institution has developed an organized ministry and sacraments have begun to replace the Word as the means of salvation.²⁶ These factors were detected in the New Testament writings, and they were seen by many continental Protestants as reflecting the beginning of the falling away of the church from its true nature.²⁷ Of course, pro-Catholic scholars (such as Heinrich Schlier²⁸ and Hans Küng²⁹) saw this development within the New Testament as reflecting

the legitimate direction to which the church has been called.

Although the early Catholicism debate has abated somewhat, the term still has been used to reflect the church situation in the New Testament where the three factors mentioned above seem to appear. This has particularly been the case with the church situation as reflected in the Pastoral Epistles. James Dunn (1975) has argued that the Pastorals reflect a church situation where the vision of charismatic community has faded and where ministry and authority have become the prerogative of the few. "Spirit and charisma have become in effect subordinate to office, to ritual, to tradition--early Catholicism indeed."³⁰ A.T. Hanson (1982) admits that the Pastoral Epistles show signs of early Catholicism in so far as we encounter a clearly-defined, ordained ministry, the beginnings of church order with its various rules and regulations, a strong emphasis on preserving the orthodox faith, and the beginning of the monopolization of all activity and decision-making in the church in the hands of the clergy.³¹ However, Hanson does admit that there are certain features in the Pastorals that seem contrary to the idea of early Catholicism. For example, we find no claim to apostolic succession; the ministry is not defined in cultic or sacral terms; and the gospel is still the test or norm of the church's life and belief.³²

In so far as "early Catholicism"(viewed as healthy or unhealthy) is seen as evidenced in the Pastorals, the majority opinion would view charismatic activity as being eclipsed by a more institutionalized form of church order.³³ The churches of the Pastorals are seen as reflecting a post-Pauline situation. That is, the Pastoral churches reflect a church situation wherein the spontaneity of charismatic experience (seen as typical in the Pauline churches) has been eclipsed. Dunn has stated

that "perhaps the Pastorals are the first example of that progressive institutionalizing that seems to affect so many movements of spiritual renewal in the second and third generations, when the flexibility of fresh religious experience begins to harden into set forms".³⁴ Charismatic activity in the Pastorals is perceived as playing a very inferior role to church tradition, apostolic teaching and the emerging church order.

Contrary to the above stated views, it is my contention that we see in the Pastoral Epistles an ecclesiastical community where charismatic experience has neither abated nor been replaced by church 'offices' or apostolic traditions. Instead, the Pastorals reflect a community which exhibits rich charismatic activity, some of it problematical and in need of control. The emergent church structure arose partly to meet this need. The view that the church order which subsequently arose was the result of an institutional evolution where "fresh religious experience begins to harden into sets forms" I believe to be an over-simplification. The growth of church order and the emphasis upon preservation of various traditions occurred for a number of reasons. Among these would be the fondness for regularity, the veneration of sacred practices that had an emotive element to them, the efficient and responsible collection of church funds, the encouragement of missionary activity and the propagation of the faith, as well as the need to counter problems such as heresy and uncontrolled charismatic activity. It is simplistic to assume that fresh religious experience is incompatible with the forms of church structure seen in the Pastoral Epistles.

Reasons and Objectives for this Study

Instead of viewing charismatic experience as in a process of

decline, I propose to argue that charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles is abundant. Church office is not to be seen in the Pastorals as being anticharismatic or in any way filling the void left by a demise in charismatic experience. I believe the evidence will indicate that church office was intended partly to help bring order and control to excess charismatic activity. Instead of replacing charismatic experience, the emergent church order is seen as an enlargement of genuine charismatic experience. That is, church 'office' does not rest on ecclesiastical tradition alone, but on the activity of the pneuma (Spirit).

Although my position regarding charismatic activity in the Pastorals is a minority viewpoint, I believe a reexamination of the evidence will yield a fruitful interpretation. In fact, I will advance the view that the church as reflected in the Pastorals is not too dissimilar in matters of charismatic activity from those found in the Pauline churches. If this hypothesis can be sustained, it will mark a substantial departure from many current views regarding Pastoral ecclesiology.

I shall develop my argument by summarizing evidence from the Pauline corpus indicating that Paul himself was not opposed to the use of tradition and the imposition of ecclesiastical forms of leadership in dealing with problems of a charismatic nature. This evidence will weaken the argument that charismatic spontaneity is incompatible with traditional and institutional forms. Rather, these forms are integral for charismatic activity in the Pauline churches. The idea of a church totally dependent upon the spontaneous leading of the Spirit, without human leadership and structures, is a romantic concept not compatible with the textual evidence.

I will then cite evidence from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. This will indicate that although the church was more heirarchic in structure during this period, it was not devoid of charismatic activity. This evidence challenges the notion that 'institutionalized' form is incompatible with charismatic activity. Since this literature (generally seen as slightly later in date than the Pastoral letters) contains charismatic elements, I question the validity of a viewpoint which sees in the Pastorals the "vision of charismatic community having faded".³⁵

Finally, I will produce evidence from the Pastorals themselves that suggest that the church was still very much influenced by charismatic activity. This evidence will be garnered from passages that mention charismatic activity in the commissioning of Timothy; that speak of the nature of spiritual revelation and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit; that refer to the nature of spurious charismatic activity; and that discuss treatment and correction of spurious charismatic activity.

Once all this evidence is amassed I believe a plausible case can be made for the assertion that the Pastoral Epistles reflect a church situation that is not lacking charismatic activity.

Scope of the Study

As stated, this thesis will focus upon charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles in order to determine its context within the historical milieu of early Christianity. This will require an examination of the Pauline corpus (which contains the bulk of the material concerning charisma in the New Testament) and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers as they pertain to the relationship between charismatic activity and church structure. This is not a study of charismatic activity in

general, but a study that will attempt to prove that elements of charismatic spontaneity and ecclesiastical order are not mutually exclusive. Neither do these elements, as seen in the Pastorals, reflect an institutional, evolutionary model which envisions the church moving from spontaneity (disorder) to established forms of worship (order). Instead, the Pastorals reflect a situation where charisma and tradition operated compatibly. However, the Pastorals also reflect a situation wherein order and disorder were operating in tension with each other. The solution offered to this problem in the Pastorals is not the elimination of charismatic spontaneity, but a spontaneity that is to operate within broad guidelines, thereby offering ecclesiastical stability.

Value of the Study

Although individuals such as Dunn, von Camperhausen, Käsemann and Schweizer have discussed the Pastoral Epistles in the context of larger studies, they have not provided a separate detailed treatment of the nature of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles. In fact, I have not been able to locate any major study on this topic. This is unfortunate since the Pastoral Epistles are important for our understanding of early Christianity. Given this apparently inadequate scholarly treatment, this study should prove beneficial.

Although this thesis comprises an historical study of a religious group, the topic should also be of interest to those involved with the sociological study of religion. This is due to the fact that historical data will be presented which directly concern the study of the development of religious groups. The data concerning charismatic spontaneity and its relationship to institutionalization are of particular relevance for such study. I will not be directly addressing this

issue from a sociological perspective; nevertheless those involved in that area of study would find the presentation valuable.

Finally, this study will make a contribution to the discussion of authorship and date of composition of the Pastoral Epistles. In contemporary scholarship the authenticity of the Pastorals has been questioned frequently, one of the reasons being that the Pastorals are seen reflecting a church situation later than the lifetime of Paul. For example, the perceived nature of the church structure in the Pastorals appears to be different than the perceived unstructured spontaneity of the Pauline churches. It is not my purpose to offer a firm opinion with regards to the authorship question. However, to the degree that the development of the church impinges on the authorship question, the views presented in this thesis would have relevance.

Definitional Clarification

In order to achieve greater precision in the discussion of charismatic activity and institutional forms as they relate to the Pastoral Epistles, it is important that the terms charisma and institutionalization are definitionally clarified.

Charisma

One of the major problems in the discussion of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles (and New Testament in general) has been the lack of clarity regarding the term charisma. This is due to the fact that the term has a sociological as well as a religious connotation. Unfortunately this has led to confusion in certain instances. Although there may be points where the meanings overlap, it will serve the purposes of this thesis best if a distinction can be maintained

wherever possible. After attempting to clarify the dual usage of the term charisma, I will proceed to define charismatic activity as I purpose to use it in this paper.

From a sociological perspective the work of Max Weber has been pivotal. He acknowledges that the concept of charisma ("the gift of grace") has been taken from the vocabulary of early Christianity.³⁶ He defines charisma as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or exceptional powers or qualities".³⁷ Weber's concept of charisma focuses on leadership capabilities. Since these qualities are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, the individual concerned is treated as a leader.³⁸ However, it is the social dimension which is most important in Weber's definition, not the exceptional abilities. "Although charismatic leaders may need to manifest particular qualities--to perform miracles or demonstrate ecstasy--charisma is not a personality attribute, it is the social recognition of a claim."³⁹ Weber insists that "it is recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma".⁴⁰ Consequently the legitimacy of a charismatic movement rests upon the fact that it is the "duty" of those who have been "called" to a charismatic mission to recognize its quality and act accordingly.⁴¹ If the mission is not recognized, charisma breaks down.⁴²

Weber also notes that charismatic structure knows nothing of a form or an ordered procedure of appointment or dismissal. Charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint.⁴³ Because of the inherent nature of this structure, charismatic activity is unstable.

Since legitimacy flows only from personal strength, this legitimacy (or strength) is constantly being proved.⁴⁴ All ties to any external order are rejected in a situation of charismatic domination.⁴⁵ Given this last statement, what are the possibilities of charismatic authority continuing? Weber replies that "in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating".⁴⁶ However, Weber recognized that charismatic authority does not normally occur as a pure form in history.⁴⁷ Charisma is normally seen in a routinized form. That is, charisma becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both.⁴⁸ Instead of the charisma of the "natural" leader we have the charisma of a leader who becomes "invested" in a particular office or who "inherits" charisma along hereditary lines.⁴⁹

As discussed thus far, charisma is a social phenomenon, not a psychological personality type. In modern usage the terms charisma or charismatic have become diluted, meaning nothing more than glamour or appeal.⁵⁰ Given its social dimensions, A. Etzioni, in his study of complex organizations states that, "charisma is highly effective so long as it is harnessed" (i.e., routinized).⁵¹ In such cases, a charismatic may use this power for functional purposes. If charismatic power is not harnessed, it may be employed "as a threat to the integration of the organization, or to distort its allocation of resources and rewards".⁵² But if charisma is harnessed, in what sense is that charisma? How would one determine the difference between harnessed charisma and institutionalized form? There have been conflicting opinions at this point.

E. Shils has argued that charisma not only disrupts social order, it also maintains or conserves it.⁵³ He insists that charisma is a

fundamental component of all institutions at every stage of their existence.⁵⁴ Because of this he would argue against Bultmann's view, which sees institutionalization as identical with fossilization, as being an unnecessarily rigid understanding of charisma.⁵⁵

From the opposite perspective, P. Worsley puts forth the argument that "charisma cannot, by definition, become routinized. It can be transformed, but then it becomes something else".⁵⁶ What it becomes is tradition, referring back to the traditions established by the original leader or leaders (Worsley states that often there is not just one charismatic leader but a multiple leadership).⁵⁷ He raises the question that if we mean by "charisma of office" the prestige attached to that office, why not use the word prestige?⁵⁸ Ultimately Worsley is suspicious of the value of the concept of charisma in terms of enriching sociological theory, although theoretically he does acknowledge its use.

Perhaps the sociological concept of charisma can be salvaged by using a distinction made by B. Holmberg. Given Weber's definition of charisma as a social phenomenon, it follows that charisma does not exist without a charismatic community and consequently charisma as a social phenomenon does not exist except in routinized form.⁵⁹ In order to solve this apparent contradiction Holmberg distinguishes institutionalization from routinization. He views institutionalization as the whole process of consensus generalization, structural solidification and legitimation, whereas routinization is but a part of a secondary phase in the general process.⁶⁰ The institutionalization process is therefore seen to be present from the very inception of any "charismatic" movement and is continuous throughout the life of the movement. If such is the case, from a sociological perspective it must be admitted that each charismatic

movement, even from its inception, contains seeds of institutionalization. Conversely, it must be admitted that within the institutionalization process, at the stage of routinization, the fruit of charismatic impetus may still blossom forth. Although this analysis may offend some sociological purists, it may accurately describe the complex evolution of groups from a spontaneous emergence to a more traditional mode of interaction.

From a religious perspective, the term charisma takes on a somewhat different meaning from the sociological use of the term. Whereas charisma in a sociological perspective is seen in connection with the recognition of leadership by a particular group, charisma in the biblical sense is seen as a common phenomenon, not exclusively as a mode of authority or leadership.⁶¹ Charisma is dispersed among all believers and is not the exclusive property of the leadership.

In the New Testament, charisma (the plural form is charismata) is a word almost completely distinctive to Paul. Of the seventeen occurrences in the New Testament, only three come from outside the undoubted or genuine letters of Paul (found in I Peter 4:10; I Tim 4:14; II Tim 1:6).⁶² In Pauline usage, charisma is to be understood as a particular expression of charis, meaning a gift freely given or bestowed upon individuals by God. Since charisma occurs only twice in the LXX, it is possible that Paul chose this term to contrast the new experience of grace from the religion of law and ritual seen as predominant in the Old Testament.⁶³ In secular usage, the word is used only twice by Philo (referring to creation) and once in the Sibylline Oracles (II:54). All other secular expressions of the word come from later times.⁶⁴ In post-Pauline Christian usage, the meaning given charisma by Paul has

lost its weighty significance.⁶⁵

Although there has been a general consensus that charisma in Pauline usage refers to any one of many gifts freely given by God to individuals, the precise nature of manifestation of those gifts has been open to debate. A number of scholars have suggested that the manifestation of charisma should receive a broad interpretation. For example, Hans Küng has stated that "every spiritual gift of whatever kind and every call is a charisma. Even eating and drinking can become a charisma . . . as it is done 'in the Lord' and 'for the Lord'".⁶⁶ E. Andrews states that charisma may "vary in character from the strongly emotional outpourings of the ecstatic to the normal, everyday practice of God's will".⁶⁷ It is true that charisma does have a general or non-technical connotation. Paul uses charisma in this context in the following passages: Rom 11:29, wherein the election of Israel is a charisma; Rom 5:15f., wherein charisma is seen as referring to the gift of redemption; and I Cor 7:7, wherein Paul refers to the charisma of celibacy. However, Paul also uses the term in a technical or specific way, indicating activities and ministries in and by the church (also used in I Pet 4:10; I Tim 4:14; and II Tim 1:6).⁶⁸

In the specific sense of the term, one's capacity for spiritual service is determined by one's present charisma.⁶⁹ These gifts are at the disposal of the Holy Spirit, who dispenses them as he wills.⁷⁰ These gifts are given to each member of the body of believers in order that the church may be edified and function more effectively. Examples of these gifts would include: prophecy, teaching, philanthropy, serving and exhorting. Dunn offers a more narrow definition of charisma. He states that "charisma is always an event, the gracious activity of God

through a man".⁷¹ "It is a particular act of grace in a particular instance and only for that instance."⁷² I would suggest that Dunn's definition does not do complete justice to the biblical evidence. As noted above, charisma is seen to exist in situations which are clearly more than instantaneous in duration (e.g., celibacy and Israel's election). However, while Dunn's attempt to define charisma is too narrow, the type of phenomena to which he draws attention does produce evidence that charismatic activity exists. This phenomena could be referred to as "overt pneumatic activity, that is, action which is attributed to the Holy Spirit, which is occasional and results in publicly observable action on the part of man or men."⁷³ Examples of overt pneumatic activity would be glossolalia, prophetic utterances and healings. These spiritual manifestations were not normally seen by early Christians as natural talents or abilities residing within the individual. They were viewed as a gift of God mediated through an individual.

For the purposes of this study I choose to regard charismatic activity as being evidenced where one or both of the following elements exist: a) overt pneumatic activity, and; b) an attitude towards the Spirit wherein the individual or church community understands itself to be grounded in the Spirit both in terms of theology and practise.

Institutionalization

The use of the concept of institutionalization originally arose from attempts to distinguish among religious bodies.⁷⁴ H.R. Neibuhr saw the process by which sects become churches as institutionalization.⁷⁵ The process has now been applied to various movements which go through a particular "life-cycle". As we saw earlier, Holmberg defined institutionalization as a process starting from the inception of a movement

and continuing throughout the life of that movement. The question becomes what characterizes the institutional process?

After a particular movement has started, it, like all human activity, becomes subject to habitualization. Berger and Luckmann point out that habitualization is a pre-condition for all institutionalization.⁷⁶ "Institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized action by types of actors".⁷⁷ That is to say that the "origins of any institutional order lie in the typification of one's own and others' performances".⁷⁸ The roles of the actors represent the institutional order.⁷⁹ This implies that the potential actors of institutionalized actions must be systematically acquainted with the meanings behind their roles. This implies a social distribution of knowledge through some sort of teaching mechanism. The process of explaining and justifying can be called legitimation.⁸⁰ Legitimation "explains" the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its actions. Legitimation "justifies" the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives.⁸¹

M. Hill points out that institutionalization involves not only the development of more formalized roles and ideological definitions, but also the creation of a set of shared values and symbols.⁸² Once these symbols are established, they serve to solidify the group and to stabilize its organizational structure. These normative symbols may include a body of literature that preserves and even idealizes the group's charismatic origins. These writings may operate as a two-edge sword. They not only serve as a source to appeal for legitimacy, but may also become a focus for change and conflict. They may become a model for renewal and a call for the group to return to its charismatic origins.⁸³

If the movement does not undergo a renewal process, it will continue to become more structurally solidified. At this point, the movement either continues to become entrenched in society as a recognized institution, or it goes into a state of decline due to the perception on the part of the group that the goals and objectives of the movement are becoming irrelevant.

Throughout this paper I will give preference to the term "institutional forms" over the term "institutionalization". This is due to the fact that "institutionalization" refers to the entire process of movement maturation, while "institutional forms" refer to those objective realities to which we can point as evidence that the institutional process is functioning. I will define "institutional forms" as those patterns of behaviour or structure which seek to impose order or control in a particular historical context. "Organizational structures" would be a synonymous term to "institutional forms". Examples of institutional forms would be: tradition adhered to for the sake of conforming behaviour to a pre-established norm; a body of literature which serves to transmit information for the proper ordering of a given group or community; and the recognition of various roles that exhibit characteristics of leadership and authority for the purpose of establishing orderly conduct and instruction within the group.

Depending on the historical situation, institutional forms may serve either in a subordinate role (i.e., giving organizational support while seeking to encourage the mutual well-being of individuals), or in a primary role (i.e., where the institutional element becomes more important than the individuals involved in the group or movement). A. Dulles refers to this later situation as institutionalism.⁸⁴ Under a

situation of institutionalism, social control restricts individual freedom. Where we have institutional form without the intrusion of institutionalism, the individual is free from the pressure of living in an unstructured world and is in fact given media for self-governed action, which increases his freedom and possibilities.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, many biblical scholars have simply equated institutional forms with institutionalism, ignoring the positive contributions which institutional forms may have. One must first recognize the type of institutional forms present before commenting on their value. In this paper, I intend to point out passages in the Pastoral Epistles where institutional forms appear and determine whether they meet Dulles' definition of serving a primary or subordinate role. I believe that the evidence in the Pastoral Epistles will indicate that formation has not yet reached the stage of institutionalism (and this is not an inevitable stage to be reached). I suspect that the data will lead one to the conclusion that in the Pastoral Epistles we have a situation where institutional forms serve in conjunction with charismatic activity. As we saw in our earlier discussion of the concept of charisma, some sociologists view charismatic activity and institutional forms as being antithetical (e.g., Worsley), while other sociologists do not (e.g., Etzioni and Holmberg). I believe that our examination of the evidence will sustain the argument that charismatic activity can operate compatibly, and in some cases more fruitfully within the context of institutional formation.

Methodological Approach

This thesis will employ an historical-critical methodology.⁸⁶
It will involve exegetical analysis in order to understand the Pastoral

Epistles in their historical and cultural milieu.

As a presuppositional starting point, I would prefer to set aside temporarily the issues of the scholarly debate regarding authorship and date of composition of the Pastorals. However, a working hypothesis or provisional starting point is required. As such, I will assume the majority position that Paul was not the author of the Pastorals and that the Pastorals reflect a date of composition later than Paul. The period of Paul's epistle writing has generally been put between 48-56 A.D. The Pastorals have generally been dated between 70-100 A.D., while the writings of the Apostolic Fathers have been dated between 80 to 90-150 A.D.

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER 1

¹ Representative scholarly works would include the following: R. Banks, Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in their Historical Setting (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975); L. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970); B. Holmberg, Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); R.P. Martin, The Family and the Fellowship: New Testament Images of the Church (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980); R. Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament (New York: Seabury, 1965); E. Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament. SBT 32 (London: SCM Press, 1961); H. von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries (Stanford: Stanford University, 1969); H. von Campenhausen, Tradition and Life in the Church (London: Collins, 1968).

² H.A. Lombard, "Charisma and Church Office," Neot 10(1976) 31-52.

³ R. Sohm, Kirchenrecht 1 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1892).

⁴ Ibid., 108-110.

⁵ A. von Harnack, The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910) 166-170.

⁶ Ibid., 53-60, 112-129.

⁷ E. Käsemann, "Ministry and Community in the New Testament," Essays on New Testament Themes, SBT 41 (London: SCM, 1964) 63-94.

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⁹ H. von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries (Stanford: Stanford University, 1969).

¹⁰ Lombard, "Charisma and Church Office," 33.

¹¹ Ibid., 33.

¹² Ibid., 33-34.

¹³ Käsemann, "Ministry and Community," 63-94.

- ¹⁴ Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament 204-205.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 203-205.
- ¹⁶ von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries 58
- ¹⁷ Lombard, "Charisma and Church Office," 35.
- ¹⁸ J. Schniewind, "Aufbau und Ordnung der Ekklesia nach dem N.T.," Festschrift R. Bultmann (Berlin: n.p. 1949) 203-7.
- ¹⁹ G. Friedrich, "Geist und Amt." Wort und Dienst, Jahrbuch der theologische Hochschule (Bethel: n.p. 1952) 3:61-85.
- ²⁰ L. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970).
- ²¹ B.H. Streeter, The Primitive Church (London: Macmillan 1930).
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- ²³ H. Küng, The Church (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967) 188.
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- ²⁵ H. Küng, "The Charismatic Structure of the Church," Concilium 4(1965) 41.
- ²⁶ I.H. Marshall, "'Early Catholicism' in the New Testament," New Dimensions in New Testament Study, eds. R. N. Longenecker and M.C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) 222-223.
- ²⁷ S. Neill, The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961 (Oxford: Oxford University, 1978) 186.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 189.
- ²⁹ H. Küng, Structures of the Church (New York: Nelson, 1964) 139.
- ³⁰ J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 349.

³¹A.T. Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles. The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 48.

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³³Representative commentaries reflecting this position would include: M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles. Hermenia. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977); R. Fuller, "The Pastoral Epistles." Proclamation Commentaries, ed. G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 97-121.; A.T. Hanson, The Pastoral Letters. The Cambridge Bible Commentary of the New English Bible (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1966); idem. The Pastoral Epistles. The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); R. J. Karris, The Pastoral Epistles. New Testament Message (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1979); A.R.C. Leaney, The Epistles to Timothy, Titus and Philemon (London: SCM, 1960); E.F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles. MNTC (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948).

³⁴Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit 349.

³⁵Ibid., 349.

³⁶M. Weber, On Charisma and Institution Building, ed. S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968) 47.

³⁷M. Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1964) 358.

³⁸Ibid., 358-359.

³⁹B. Wilson, The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charisma and Its Contemporary Survival (Berkeley: University of California, 1975) 5.

⁴⁰Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations 359.

⁴¹Ibid., 359.

⁴²Weber, On Charisma and Institution Building 20.

⁴³Ibid., 19-20.

⁴⁴Ibid., 22.

⁴⁵Ibid., 23.

⁴⁶Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations 364.

- ⁴⁷ J.G. Gager, Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975) 68-69.
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- ⁴⁹ A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1961) 204.
- ⁵⁰ Wilson, The Noble Savages 110.
- ⁵¹ A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations 222.
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- ⁵³ E. Shils, "Charisma, Order, and Status," American Sociological Review 30 (1965) 200.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., 206.
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- ⁵⁶ P. Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia (New York: Schocken Books, 1968) xlix.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., xvi.
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- ⁵⁹ B. Holmberg, Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 174.
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- ⁶¹ J.H. Schütz, "Charisma and Social Reality in Primitive Christianity," JR 54(1974) 69.
- ⁶² W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden, A Concordance of the Greek Testament according to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1897) 1005.
- ⁶³ Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit 206.

⁶⁴W. Bauer, "Charisma," BAG (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957) 887; H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, "Charisma," LSJ (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958) 1979; J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, "Charisma," The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 685.

⁶⁵Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament 99; G.W.H. Lampe, "Charisma," LPGL (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 1518-19.

⁶⁶Küng, "The Charismatic Structure of the Church," 54.

⁶⁷E. Andrews, "Spiritual Gifts," IDB (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) 4:435.

⁶⁸Lombard, "Charisma and Church Office," 44.

⁶⁹H.H. Esser, "Grace," The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, ed. C. Brown (Grand Rapids: Zondervon, 1979) 2:121.

⁷⁰E.E. Ellis, "Spiritual Gifts," IDB Sup. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976) Sup:841.

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⁷²Ibid., 254.

⁷³R.A.N. Kydd, "Charismata to 320 A.D.: A Study of the Overt Pneumatic Experience of the Early Church," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Andrews University, St. Andrews, Scotland (1973) 4.

⁷⁴Ibid., 399.

⁷⁵H.R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: World Publishing, 1972).

⁷⁶P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (London: Faber, 1969) 30-34.

⁷⁷Ibid., 54.

⁷⁸Ibid., 72.

⁷⁹Ibid., 74.

⁸⁰Ibid., 93.

⁸¹Ibid., 93.

⁸²Cited in Gager, Kingdom and Community 75.

⁸³Ibid., 75-76.

⁸⁴A. Dulles, Models of the Church (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975)

32.

⁸⁵Holmberg, Paul and Power 168.

⁸⁶The methodological details of this approach can be found in the following volumes: C. Brown, ed., History, Criticism and Faith (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1977); R.E. Brown, The Critical Meaning of the Bible (New York: Paulist 1981); F.L. Fisher, How to Interpret the New Testament (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966); O. Kaiser and W.G. Kümmel, Exegetical Method (New York: Seabury, 1981); E. Krentz, The Historical-Critical Method (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); G.E. Ladd, The New Testament and Criticism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); I.H. Marshall, ed., New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977); A.B. Mickelsen, Interpreting the Bible (Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 1977); P. Stuhlmacher, Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation of Scripture (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

Chapter 2

CHARISMATIC ACTIVITY AND INSTITUTIONAL FORMS IN THE PAULINE CORPUS

It is the intent of this chapter to produce evidence from the Pauline corpus indicating that Paul himself was not opposed to the use of institutional forms in dealing with, or in trying to prevent from arising, problems of a charismatic nature. That is, Paul did not hesitate to use tradition or impose ecclesiastical forms of leadership where problems arose or could arise regarding the use of overt pneumatic activity, or, where the theology or practise within charismatic church communities did not conform to an acceptable pattern. My purpose in restricting the discussion to the relationship between institutional forms and problematic charismatic activity is to show that in Paul's thought charismatic activity operates more beneficially if it operates in conjunction with institutional forms. If such a view can be shown in the undisputed Pauline materials, the argument that the Pastoral Epistles reflect a church structure out of keeping with the Pauline charismatic communities will be seen to be less persuasive. Instead, the argument could be made that the Pastoral Epistles reflect churches wherein Pauline ecclesiology has come to full fruition, that is, where institutional form is being used to its full extent for the proper ordering of charismatic activity.

For the purpose of this essay I am restricting my use of the term "Pauline corpus" to those seven letters of Paul whose genuineness seem beyond reasonable doubt. The seven letters I am referring to are as follows: I Thessalonians, Galatians, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, and Philemon. Others have used the term "Pauline

Corpus" to include those works of the so-called Pauline School. These works include II Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, I Timothy, II Timothy, and Titus.¹ Rather than become meshed in the debate over whether the works of the "Pauline School" are in fact genuinely those of Paul, I have limited myself to those letters where there appears to be a firm consensus regarding their genuineness. It will be shown that sufficient evidence for this thesis can be found even within this "restricted" Pauline corpus. Since Paul's epistle writing has generally been put between 48-56 A.D., we would then have definite proof that institutional forms were utilized from the earliest stages of Christianity.

Charismatic Activity in the Pauline Corpus

In chapter one, I defined charismatic activity as being evidenced where one or both of the following elements exist: a) overt pneumatic activity, and; b) an attitude towards the Spirit wherein the individual or church community understands itself to be grounded in the Spirit both in terms of theology and practise. Before giving examples of institutional forms in the Pauline corpus, I will first establish the fact that the Pauline communities were indeed charismatic in orientation and practise and that occasionally this orientation produced problematical elements.

Of the seven letters comprising the Pauline corpus, six are directed to churches located throughout Asia Minor. Two letters were written to Corinth;² one letter each was written to the cities of Thessalonica, Rome, Philippi, and one to the churches located throughout the province of Galatia. It is from these letters that we gain a glimpse of the charismatic character of the Pauline churches and it is on these letters that I will focus my attention. The one remaining

letter in the Pauline corpus is written to an individual, Philemon. This letter is the most personal of Paul's letters. The theme of the letter concerns Philemon's runaway slave, Onesimus, whom Paul sends back to Philemon after Onesimus served Paul in prison. Paul requests that Philemon treat Onesimus no longer as a slave, but as a brother (Phlm 16). Because of the nature of the letter, it is practically devoid of reference to charismatic activity. As such, I will cite evidence of charismatic activity only from those letters representing the five geographic regions mentioned above.

Thessalonica

Paul's letter to the church at Thessalonica has been recognized as being among the earliest of Paul's correspondence.³ Its writing has usually been placed between 48-52 A.D.

Paul addresses this church with the full understanding that it is a church grounded in the Spirit. The gospel which the Thessalonians received came "not only in word, but also in power and in the Holy Spirit" (I Thess 1:5). It was the Holy Spirit who gave a sense of divine reality to the spoken word.⁴ It was this same Spirit who directly imparted joy to the Thessalonian believers in spite of severe suffering which they underwent as a result of their receiving this gospel (I Thess 1:6).

Paul takes for granted the bestowing of the Holy Spirit by God upon his readers (I Thess 4:8).⁵ Because this Spirit is Holy, holy living is demanded of those who have the Holy Spirit (I Thess 4:3-8).⁶ The Spirit is seen as being given "into you" (eis humas), not merely "to you" (humin). Because the individual is so given the Holy Spirit, the believer's innermost being should be strengthened to avoid sexual

immorality.⁷

The possibility exists in I Thess 5:19-22 that we have an example of an early Christian community where overt pneumatic activity has already gone into a decline. There had probably been some abuse of overt pneumatic activity, to which the church at Thessalonica had over-reacted. The Thessalonians were well aware of the existence of overt pneumatic activity, but they had limited its usage. Paul responds to this situation, alluding to the activity of the Holy Spirit in 5:19 as a burning presence or fire. The Thessalonians were not to quench the Spirit (to pneuma mē sbennute). Nevertheless, Paul thought that the testing of overt pneumatic activity was appropriate. There was to be an evaluation of every prophetic utterance (5:21). That which was good was to be accepted, while that which was evil was to be avoided (5:21,22). However, Paul's over-all warning to the Thessalonians was that although control is necessary for the proper functioning of pneumatic activity in the church, over-control is detrimental.

Apparently the Thessalonians, like the Corinthians, had underrated the gift of prophecy.⁸ Bruce suggests that this was due to the higher value placed on more spectacular gifts.⁹ I would suggest that prophecy was underrated for a different reason, that being the intrusion of false prophecy into the church assembly. It maybe that someone had given a false prophecy regarding the nature of the Lord's return. Paul writes concerning this matter in I Thess 4:13-5:4. In addition, the author of II Thess 2:2 indicates that the Thessalonians were upset by prophecy which insisted upon some form of realized eschatology. Regardless of the nature of the problem, Paul writes in I Thess 5:20 that prophecy should not be held in contempt or despised

(prophēteias mē exoutheneite).

Although overt pneumatic activity had declined somewhat in Thessalonica (not due to any observable institutional forms), it is Paul's intent in writing to restore proper balance to this church community rooted in the activity of the Holy Spirit.

Galatia

Paul's letter to the churches of Galatia has been dated between 50-55 A.D.¹⁰ In the letter Paul gives the term pneuma "Spirit" a prominent position. Lull states that, "each time Paul uses the term pneuma, it denotes an experienced reality among the Galatians, of which Paul not only approves, but also of which he reminds the Galatians with many and complicated arguments."¹¹

Reminiscent of the Thessalonian correspondence (cf. I Thess 1:5), Paul insists that the gospel he preached to the Galatians was not something he made up, but something "he received by revelation" (Gal 1:11, 12). The reception of this revealed gospel by the Galatians Paul views as the reception of the Spirit (Gal 3:2, 3). This reception of the Spirit by faith stands in opposition to the works of the law as promulgated by the Galatian agitators. By faith one receives the promise of the Spirit (Gal 3:14).

With the reception of the Spirit came overt pneumatic experiences. Gal 3:5 states that God gave his Spirit and worked miracles or "mighty deeds" (energōn dunameis) among them. Betz concludes that "receiving the Spirit" meant an ecstatic experience.¹² Bruce argues that dunameis is used comprehensively of the manifestations of the Spirit's power. "It no doubt includes several of the manifestations separately listed in I Cor 12. Even in this wider sense, probably not

all the Galatian Christians had been empowered to perform mighty works, but their performance was a feature of their life together, and marked out their churches as communities of the Spirit."¹³

The Galatian churches were to understand their entire Christian experience as being rooted in the Spirit. The Christian is one "born according to the Spirit" (Gal 4:29). It is from the Spirit that eternal life is given (Gal 6:8). Since one lives by the Spirit, the Christian is also to walk by or in step with the Spirit (Gal 5:16,25). The contrast between 'living' and 'walking' is that the former expresses an abiding fellowship while the latter requires a constant application.¹⁴ This living and walking in the Spirit is depicted by Paul as being in opposition to the "flesh" (sarx) and being not under the "law" (nomos) (Gal 5:17,18). Instead of participating in the works of the flesh (Gal 5:19-21) the Christian is to manifest the fruit of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control (Gal 5:22,23).¹⁵ Although the Galatians are in danger of drifting into a form of legalism in the churches, Paul is adamant in grounding the experience, theology and practise of the community in the Spirit. The churches of Galatia exhibit what we have defined to be charismatic activity.

Corinth

We find in the two extant letters of Paul to Corinth (both dated between 55-57 A.D.)¹⁶ more references to charismatic activity than in any other of Paul's letters. Some of this charismatic activity is problematic in nature. Because of the large number of references to charismatic activity in the Corinthian letters, I will highlight only those passages which most vividly demonstrate the charismatic

nature of the Corinthian church.

As in the letters to Thessalonica and Galatia, Paul roots his gospel message not in himself but in the working of God. In I Cor 2:4 he states that his message was not with wise and persuasive words, but "in demonstration of Spirit and power" (en apodeixei pneumatos kai dunameos).¹⁷ As a result, the Corinthians' faith would not rest on man's wisdom, but on God's power (I Cor 2:5). Not only was God's message revealed through the Spirit, but God in fact gives his Spirit to the believer so that it is possible to understand what God has revealed (I Cor 2:10,12). Without this indwelling Spirit, it is impossible to understand spiritual truth.

Because of this indwelling of God's Spirit, the individual believer, as well as the church corporately, is referred to as God's temple (I Cor 3:16, 6:19). As a result, the church corporately is to put aside divisive factions and false doctrines, which destroy the church. Individually, the Christian is not to indulge in immorality. Paul writes to the Corinthians that, unfortunately, he could not address them as "spiritual men" (pneumatikois) (I Cor 3:1). Although they had in an objective sense been "washed, sanctified, and justified . . . by the Spirit of God" (I Cor 6:11), they had not appropriated experientially the reality of this process into their daily existence. This type of spiritual immaturity is vividly displayed in the Corinthians' use of overt pneumatic activity.

In I Cor 12:1 Paul writes to the Corinthians that he does not want them to be ignorant concerning spiritual gifts.¹⁸ Apparently, someone had cursed Jesus, supposedly under the influence of the Holy Spirit (I Cor 12:2,3). Paul wants to point out that overt pneumatic

activity is of itself no criterion for the working of the Spirit. The criterion which is required is an affirmation of the lordship of Jesus (Kurios Iēsous).¹⁹ There are different kinds of spiritual gifts, but the same Spirit, the Spirit of the Lord Jesus. These gifts are not for personal benefit, but are given for the common good (I Cor 12:7). Paul goes on to enumerate some of the gifts given for public use in I Cor 12:8-10. It is the Spirit who apportions these gifts to each individually as he (the Spirit) wills (I Cor 12:11). The focus is upon the Spirit who apportions not upon the spiritual gifts. Since these gifts come only from divine favor, there is no justification for the spiritual pride of the Corinthians (I Cor 4:6,18-20;5:2;8:1).²⁰

In I Cor 14 the gifts of prophecy and tongues are discussed more specifically. Apparently the gifts of tongues (without interpretation?) were being evaluated more favourably than the gift of prophecy in Corinth. It is possible that the unintelligibility of the tongues was seen as an indication of the working of supernatural power.²¹ Paul is quick to insist that unless the tongues are made intelligible (through interpretation) the church community is not edified, and therefore uninterpreted tongues are of little value in public gatherings. Since the Corinthians were eager for manifestations of the Spirit, Paul suggests that they seek those gifts which lead to the "edification" (oikodomēn) of the church (I Cor 14:12).

It is readily seen in the Corinthian correspondence that the church of Corinth participated in charismatic activity. Overt pneumatic activity abounds throughout the epistles. In addition, the theology and practice of the Corinthian church reflects an understanding of being Spirit-grounded. This latter aspect is further illustrated in

II Cor 1:22 and 5:55. In both of these verses the Spirit is the deposit or guarantee of the eschatological fulfillment of the Christian faith. Because the Lord of history is the Spirit (II Cor 3:17), the guarantee is sure. As such, the theology of the Corinthian church is firmly rooted in the fact that the Jesus who is proclaimed is the Spirit who manifests himself to the church. To receive a different Jesus or a different gospel or a different Spirit from the one which was originally received (II Cor 11:4) is to be spiritually deceived.

Rome

Paul's letter to the church in Rome (dated between 55-59 A.D.)²² contains numerous references to charismatic activity. Most of the discussion involving the relationship of the Spirit to the believer takes place in the context of a larger issue, that is, Jewish-Gentile relations. More specifically, the relationship of law and Spirit comes to the fore.

In Rom 1:11, Paul expresses his desire to visit Rome so that he may impart to the Christians there "some spiritual (pneumatikon) gift (charisma)."²³ A spiritual gift is generally seen as a gift emanating from and bestowed by the Holy Spirit. The specific gift Paul had in mind is difficult to determine. It is probable that he meant a general blessing or benefit to be bestowed on the Christians in Rome by God as a result of his coming.²⁴ That Paul would use such language to a group whom he has never met suggests that the notion of spiritual gifts was widespread in early Christianity.

In Rom 12:6, Paul enumerates some of the gifts that are to be used in the functioning of the church. These gifts would include: prophecy, serving, teaching, exhorting, contributing, aiding, and doing

acts of mercy. This is not an exhaustive list. These differing gifts are all necessary so that the church should function as a unity. Since they are all gifts given by grace, there is to be no place for conceit or spiritual monopolization.²⁵

It is obvious that the church at Rome viewed overt pneumatic manifestations as evidence of charismatic activity. In addition, the Romans viewed the theological grounding and practical activity of the church in terms that we have defined to be charismatic. It was through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit that God's love was given to the believers in Rome (Rom 5:5). As a result, the Roman Christians are truly "in the Spirit" if the Spirit of God dwells in them (Rom 8:9).²⁶ This life in the Spirit is to be evidenced by a release from the old way of the written code or law (Rom 7:6), to a fulfillment of the righteous requirements of the law according to the Spirit who dwells in these Romans (Rom 8:4). Those who live according to the Spirit have their minds set on what the Spirit desires (Rom 8:5). This Spirit-controlled mind produces life and peace (Rom 8:6).²⁷

The Spirit not only transforms the mind but it also empowers the Christian to live. It is by the "power of the Holy Spirit" (en dunamei pneumatos) that these believers receive hope (Rom 15:13).²⁸ It is by the power of this same Spirit that signs and miracles are accomplished (Rom 15:19).²⁹ It is by the power of the Spirit that the Christian's mortal body is to receive eternal life (Rom 8:11). Because the Spirit raised Jesus from the dead, the same Spirit which dwells in the Christian provides hope for the resurrection of the believer.

The Spirit also helps the Christian in his weakness or human frailty. The Spirit himself intercedes for the struggling Christian

with groans words cannot express (Rom 8:26).³⁰ It is the Spirit who leads the "sons of God" (Rom 8:14). "The activity of the believer is the evidence of the Spirit's activity and the activity of the Spirit is the cause of the believer's activity."³¹ It is the Spirit who bears witness to the Christian that he is a child of God (Rom 8:16). Ultimately, it is the Holy Spirit who produces within the believer the characteristics of righteousness, peace and joy which are to be the distinguishing features of the kingdom of God (Rom 14:17).

Philippi

Paul's letter to the church at Philippi (written 56-62 A.D.)³² contains but a few references to charismatic activity. In Phil 1:19 Paul sees the Spirit of Jesus Christ assisting him during his imprisonment and providing hope for his deliverance at some point in the future.³³ In a call to church unity Paul regards the "fellowship" (koinonia) of the Spirit as an essential ingredient for that purpose (Phil 2:1).³⁴ If one truly fellowships with the Spirit, self-interest and self-seeking should be subordinate to compassion and humility.

The only other specific reference to the Spirit in Philippians is found in Phil 3:3, where Paul writes that the true circumcision is not seen in the flesh but in those "who worship by the Spirit of God." Apparently, there was the threat of legalists imposing their false teaching upon this charismatic community. Paul writes to warn the church against such individuals.

Although there are only a few references to the Spirit in Philippians it would be incorrect to suggest that this was not a charismatic community. Even though it was not Paul's intent to draw specific reference to charismatic activity in this letter, nonetheless he has

rooted the church in the Spirit. It is "by the Spirit" that one truly worships, it is "fellowship with the Spirit" which unifies the church, and it is through the "help of the Spirit" that the church is sustained and delivered.

Institutional Forms in the Pauline Corpus

As is apparent, the nature of charismatic activity varied from one letter to another. The problematic element ranges from an over-abundance to an under-usage of charismatic activity. In spite of these variations, the Pauline churches all bear the imprint of a grounding in the Spirit. We will now examine examples of institutional forms that may be seen operating within these various contexts of charismatic activity.

As defined earlier, "institutional forms" refer to: those patterns of behavior or structure which seek to impose order or control in a particular historical context. It is possible to discern three types of institutional forms existing in the context of the Pauline charismatic communities. The first type discernible is a body of literature which serves to transmit information for the proper ordering of a given group or community. The second type is tradition which is adhered to for the sake of conforming behavior or ecclesiastical practice to a pre-established norm. The third type is the recognition of various roles that exhibit characteristics of leadership and authority for the purpose of establishing orderly conduct and instruction within the group. I would now like to examine these three types in more depth.

The Transmission of Information
Through a Body of Literature
for the Purposes of Church Order

Rudolf Schnackenburg has stated that "it is difficult to make out the order that prevailed in the first Christian communities, because it varied according to place and time."³⁵ Although difficult, the task is not impossible. In the Pauline communities to which we have referred, we see three examples of institutional forms. These three at times over-lap. That is, one form often provides the impetus for another form. For the purposes of this examination, it is important to isolate these forms as much as possible. To that end, we will first examine evidence indicating the important role which literature played in the establishment of church order.

It should not be assumed that the existence of a body of literature deters the existence of charismatic activity. In fact, the writings of the Old Testament and the apostolic epistles in the early church provides ample proof that codified, normative values and symbols are not mutually exclusive with charismatic activity. It may be that a body of writings "maintain in latent form a source of charismatic authority for those who arise to challenge ecclesiastical routine."³⁶ Without question, Paul appeals to the Old Testament scriptures in order to support his new christological and charismatic understanding (Gal 4:22-31; I Cor 14:21,22). Paul's letters themselves become an instrument of apostolic and charismatic authority to those to whom he writes. Paul would have thought unthinkable the notion that his letters should serve to silence all charismatic activity. Nevertheless, the very concept of apostolic authority contains within it the idea of an exercise (if not in fact, at least in potential) of one's prerogatives over others for

the proper equipping of the church. I have already defined this type of use of authority as an example of institutional forms.

R. Bultmann is quite correct when he states that "apostolic authority lives on in the written tradition."³⁷ The task of writing was part of the working out of apostleship.³⁸ It is possible to cite numerous examples of Paul's apostolic authority in his letters. In I Thess 5:27 Paul "charges" (enorkizo) that his letter be read to all the brethren. In II Cor 10:8 Paul boasts of the "authority" (exousia) given him by the Lord to edify the church. In I Cor 4:14f. Paul deprecates the partisan tendency to favor other influential persons (Apollos, Cephas) by insisting that he himself is their sole father in Christ Jesus.³⁹ As a result of this spiritual begetting, Paul urges the Corinthians to be imitators of him.

Much of Paul's apostolic writing is of a paraenetic nature. He expects that the instructions he gives will be received by his readers as binding for the moral and ethical decisions which they are called to make (I Cor 5:9-13; 6:1-8; Rom 12:9-21).⁴⁰ In matters of theological debate Paul frequently refers to the Old Testament scriptures as a source of authority (Gal 3:8,22; 4:22,30; I Cor 10:11). In addition, Paul drew upon the words of Jesus as a source of authority. The passing on of the words of the Lord was motivated not by historical-biographical interest but by the practical concern to regulate the way of life of believers (I Cor 7:10f.).⁴¹ Although Paul draws upon the Old Testament traditions and the sayings of Jesus as a source of authority, Paul's own writings create tradition.⁴² This feature will be elaborated on below.

The Adherence to Tradition
for the Purpose of Conforming Ecclesiastical Practice
to a Pre-Established Norm

We find evidence in the Pauline churches that there already existed the expectation that ecclesiastical practice should conform to a pre-established norm. This norm may find its roots from several sources: the early Jerusalem church and the teaching of the apostles, the sayings of the Lord, the Old Testament, and the teachings of Paul. The existence of such norms should not preclude cultural or contextual variations of practice among the churches; nevertheless, there must exist at least a minimum of uniform tradition if the practice of Christianity is to have any consistency.

Paradosis "tradition" is seen operating in two ways in the New Testament. In the first sense, "tradition" stood for principles and precepts of Christian living, partly doctrinal but chiefly practical.⁴³ In the second sense, tradition is seen operating in the organization and worship of the church.

With regards to tradition being instruction for Christian living, we have clear evidence that Paul saw much of his teaching this way. In I Cor 11:2 Paul writes, "I praise you for remembering me in everything and holding to the traditions [paradoseis] just as I passed them on to you." In I Cor 11:23 and 15:3 Paul states that "he delivered" (paredoka) what "he received" (parelabon). In these contexts, paredoka and parelabon are both technical terms for transmission of tradition.⁴⁴ This same technical designation is given to parelabete, "you received," in I Thess 4:1. In I Thess 4:3-9, we are given an example of a catechetical tradition. Therein we find a hellenized summary of Lev 18, perhaps adapted from the diaspora synagogue.⁴⁵

Paul obviously finds no antithesis between pneumatic piety and tradition.⁴⁶ That which is essential for Paul is that the tradition has a Christological basis (Col 2:8). If so, gospel and tradition are one.⁴⁷ This is evident from such passages as Gal 1:9 and I Cor 15:1. In both verses "gospel" is that which is "received" (paralabete). However, this is a tradition which Paul received through a spiritual "revelation" (apokalypseos) (Gal 1:12). Because of Paul's understanding of the nature of the gospel tradition, he could refer to faith as an inner experience which results from hearing preaching about Christ (Rom 10:17). But Paul could also refer to the faith meaning correct content or doctrine, not just the experience of faith (Rom 1:5; Gal 1:23). The experience of grace meant that Christians could wholeheartedly obey the form of teaching to which they "were delivered" (paredothete) (Rom 6:17).

J. Gager is certainly correct when he states that Paul's role stood firmly within a line of tradition. The immediate context of Paul's authority is a sense of tradition, both the old tradition that he reinterprets and the new one that his reinterpretation creates.⁴⁸ "The word of the Spirit-endowed, being an authoritative word, creates regulation and tradition."⁴⁹ From the outset, charisma and tradition worked together. There was no tension in the early church between charisma and tradition.⁵⁰

The organization and worship of the Pauline churches also provide evidence that tradition played an important role in matters of liturgical propriety, church order and regulated behavior. For a proper understanding of the organization and worship of the church it must be remembered that the church was founded within Judaism and that the first

Christians were essentially all Jews. Although Gentile converts soon began to join the church, the church was already in existence before that. "Therefore, we may expect to find that her organization and worship grew out of contemporary Jewish practice, even if other factors also influenced her development."⁵¹ A simple listing will demonstrate the borrowings from the synagogues by the Christian assemblies:

i) Elders. The guidance of the synagogue was by elders before 70 A.D.⁵² In the LXX the same term is used as in the New Testament for elders of the church, namely presbuteroi.⁵³ Of course, one must bear in mind not only the Jewish custom, but also the usage of presbuteros among the nations as a technical term for the 'old ones'.⁵⁴

ii) Freedom in worship. The New Testament suggests that one did not have to be an officer or a trained rabbi to speak before a synagogue. Jesus himself addressed synagogues and frequented them throughout his ministry (Lk 4:16ff.; Mk 1:21-28).⁵⁵ The author of Acts indicates that Paul and Apollos used the same method (Acts 13:5,6; 14:1; 17:1; 18:26).

iii) Main elements of the service. There were three main elements to synagogue services: praise, prayer, and proclamation of the Word of God.⁵⁶ The Psalms made up a large part of the praises of the synagogue. Whether spoken or sung by a choir (in the Temple), these and other praises greatly influenced the early Christians to make praise a part of their services also (I Cor 14:26; Phil 2:6-11).⁵⁷

The prayers of the synagogue were formal and recited, not extemporaneous. Although not all the prayers in the Pauline churches were formal (Rom 8:26,27), it would be fair to assume that both styles of prayer played a role in the services of the church. The need for a more formal, less extemporaneous prayer is what Paul has in mind in

I Cor 14:13-16.

The reading and teaching of the Torah and the Prophets was the main reason for the founding of synagogues.⁵⁸ The Scriptures were read by someone in the congregation and an explanation or paraphrase was given. The message could be delivered by any man who could handle it.⁵⁹ This type of "teaching" (didachēn) is probably what was referred to in I Cor 14:26.

Other traditional practices of the early church would have included baptism, and the partaking of the Lord's Supper. By the rite of baptism the Christian gained admission to the Christian society and became entitled to its privileges.⁶⁰ In addition, baptism had an experiential value.⁶¹ Through baptism one is not only baptized into Christ, but one "puts on Christ" (Gal 3:27; Rom 6:3,4). The partaking of the Lord's Supper was an act of fellowship with Christ and his body. Not only was eating together a symbol and means of fellowship, it constituted a commitment to remember the paschal event.

We find still other examples of tradition being implemented in the Pauline churches in connection with church order and propriety. Paul makes provision for disciplinary procedures to be used where there is a violation of Christian conduct. In I Cor 5:1-13, Paul advises excommunication for a violator of sexual morality who will not repent. In Rom 16:17, Paul urges the church to ostracize those who teach contrary to what the congregation has learned. There are also instructions given for proceedings of a judicial nature. In I Cor 6:1-8 the church is admonished to judge disputes among its own members. A Christian is not to bring a lawsuit against another Christian in front of a secular court. In cases where the church must judge disputes, Paul

draws upon Deut 19:15 and the teaching of Jesus (Matt 18:15-20) to warn that evidence must be established by the testimony of two or three witnesses (II Cor 13:1).

Paul also gives instruction for orderly conduct in the church. I Cor 11:17-34 provides direction for the proper administration of the Lord's Supper. I Cor 14:27-33 stressed the importance of an orderly use of the gifts of tongues and prophecy. I Thess 5:19-21 makes clear that the overt pneumatic gifts (particularly prophecy) are to be tested, but not held in contempt. I Cor 11:2-16 sets forth Paul's thoughts regarding women wearing head coverings in church. He argues that this tradition be maintained on the basis of liturgical propriety and cultural custom (I Cor 11:10,14: cf. Deut 22:5).

Bultmann raises the provocative question, "were the incipient regulations appropriate to the nature of the Ecclesia as an eschatological congregation"?⁶² D. Aune argues cogently that there need not be a contradiction here. Church organization and unity provides the communal framework necessary for the realization of eschatological existence.⁶³ It is through visible, socially arranged and ordered, efficacious forms that religious experience between the deity and the community is actualized and its effects expressed.⁶⁴

Roles of Leadership and Authority for the Purpose of Establishing Orderly Conduct and Instruction

R.R. Williams has described apostleship as consisting in a "direct commission of Christ, issuing in active evangelism, involving leadership and authority in the churches thus brought into being."⁶⁵ Such a description is surely in keeping with Paul's understanding of his ministry. Regardless of whether apostleship was seen as a specific

office, the function of an apostle certainly involved exercising authority and leadership. The apostolate held supreme authority in the local church.⁶⁶ This function is clearly identifiable in the epistles of Paul. In fact, much of Paul's writing seems to be preoccupied with defending his legitimate apostolic authority (II Cor 10). I Cor 9:1-14 enumerates what could be considered apostolic rights. The apostle has a right to food and drink, to take along a believing wife, and to expect a liveable wage. Paul is quick to note however, that he has not used any of these rights (I Cor 9:15).

For the purpose our discussion it is important that we examine Paul's understanding of his apostolic authority in more depth. Paul frequently refers to himself as an apostolos Iesou Christou, indicating that he belongs to Jesus and can act on his behalf (huper Christou II Cor 5:20).⁶⁷ His apostolate is based on a vision of the risen Lord (I Cor 9:1; 15:8; Gal 1:16). However, Paul considers his absolute fidelity to Christ as the real authentication of his apostolate, not visions, signs and wonders.⁶⁸ Paul is so conscious of his dedication to the gospel of Christ which he preaches that he can tell his churches that they should imitate him (I Cor 4:16), since at conversion they became imitators of him and the Lord (I Thess 1:6).⁶⁹ Because of Paul's close affinity with the Lord he feels qualified to issue forth the Lord's commands (I Cor 7:17; 14:37,38). If Paul appears to have taken over as the centre of authority for his churches, it is only as a representative of Christ whose authority he enjoys because he has surrendered himself so fully to his Lord.⁷⁰

Even though Paul speaks explicitly of having received authority from Christ (II Cor 10:8; 13:10) he qualifies the use of his authority

by stating that it is for "the building up (oikodome), not the destruction" of the church.⁷¹ Only in this context does Paul's authority have legitimacy. Only by making Christ more of a living reality to his churches can Paul realize his own apostolic vocation. As such, he constantly refers to his work as service (diakonia) of justice, of the Spirit and of reconciliation (II Cor 5:18). He is a minister of the new covenant (II Cor 3:6). He is a slave (doulos) to the gospel of Christ Jesus whom he preaches (Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1).⁷²

Leadership and instruction was given not only by Paul, but also by his co-workers. Those who can be readily identified as Paul's co-workers are twelve in number: Mark, Titus, Timothy, Prisca-Priscilla, Aquila, Luke, Erastus, Tychicus, Trophimus, Aristarchus, Demas and Epaphras.⁷³ According to Ellis, five of these twelve "stand in an explicit subordination to Paul, serving him or being subject to his instructions" (Phil 2:19; II Cor 12:18).⁷⁴ As Paul's representatives, they had authority to guide and teach the church, which they did upon occasion. However, it should be noted that in Paul's letters no colleague is called prophet, teacher or pastor, let alone elder or bishop.⁷⁵

As a representative sample of Paul's co-workers, one may point to Timothy and Titus. Timothy seems to have been Paul's assistant for a period of about fifteen years.⁷⁶ He was sent by Paul as his authorized representative into problemmatical situations (some of which were of a charismatic nature) faced by the churches in Thessalonica (I Thess 3:2), Corinth (I Cor 4:17; 16:10) and Philippi (Phil 2:19ff).⁷⁷ In Corinth, Timothy is to remind the Corinthians of Paul's faithfulness in the Lord and the trustworthiness of his teachings. In Philippi,

Timothy is sent to encourage the church and to serve them as a faithful minister (Phil 2:19ff.). In Thessalonica, Timothy is sent to encourage and strengthen the Thessalonians in their faith (I Thess 3:2). Titus is most clearly seen as the representative of the apostle, particularly to Corinth (II Cor 8:6-12:18).⁷⁸ He apparently discharged his commission fruitfully, the Corinthian church repenting from its earlier improper conduct toward Paul and receiving Titus "with fear and trembling" (II Cor 7:6-16).⁷⁹ Titus was also entrusted to complete the collection in Corinth (II Cor 8:6). Both Timothy and Titus provide evidence that Paul utilized assistants as a medium for his own presence in his churches. Although they came on Paul's behalf, this should not obscure the fact that they themselves exercised leadership and authority in order to instruct and minister to the churches. As such, Paul can demand that his messengers be given obedience (I Cor 4:17; II Cor 7:15), and financial support ("speeding on", I Cor 16:11).⁸⁰

Finally, there were those in the local Pauline churches with the authority to provide for order and instruction. It is quite possible that the host of a particular house church might assume leadership of that particular gathering (I Cor 16:15,16,19: Phlm 2).⁸¹ Of course, Paul himself states that an elementary type of leadership structure has been established by God. "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, administration, and those speaking in different types of tongues" (I Cor 12:28). Although this structure is seen from the standpoint of a supernatural direction, it is apparent that no congregation of Paul's was left without leadership.⁸² This fact is further confirmed by Paul's reference to overseers or

bishops (episkopoi) and deacons (diakonoi) in Phil 1:1. Though their duties are not mentioned, the fact that they were specified in Paul's greeting would seem to indicate a functional difference from the rest of the congregation.

In Rom 12:8 we find mention of ho proistamenos "the one taking the lead." These officials and administrators are also referred to in I Thess 5:12 (tous proistamenous).⁸³ There is no perceptible clue as to whether this was a separate function or if the leadership was, according to circumstances, by an apostle, prophet, teacher, bishop, deacon, or member of the laity.⁸⁴ Regardless, the position gives further evidence of the existence of leadership roles in the Pauline churches. It is quite possible that the proistamenoi are not basically different from elders in the other writings of the Pauline school.⁸⁵

Conclusion

Sufficient evidence has been garnered in this chapter to suggest that the supposed incompatibility of institutional forms and charismatic activity in the Pauline churches is overdrawn. Opponents of the position that the Pauline churches exhibit institutional forms seem to overlook the fundamental human need for order.⁸⁶ To say that Paul was averse to any institutional form in the church is not in keeping with what his letters teach about the necessity of order in the church.⁸⁷ On the other hand, church order need not abolish the charismatic character of the church. One of the functions of church order is for a more effective exercise of charismatic activity.

Since this chapter has shown that institutional forms were operating in conjunction with charismatic activity in the Pauline churches, we should not think it strange if we found the same type of

situation to exist in the churches of the Pastoral Epistles. In chapter four, I will argue that the Pastoral Epistles reflect charismatic activity in spite of numerous references to institutional forms. The presence of institutionalized forms in the Pauline literature drastically weakens the argument that institutionalized forms in the Pastoral Epistles means a church with less charismatic activity. It is possible that the converse may even be true. Before entertaining that idea, I want to investigate the literature of the Apostolic Fathers for evidence indicating the ongoing presence of charismatic activity in the time period after that of the Pastoral Epistles.

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER 2

¹J.A.T. Robinson, in his book, Redating the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1976)8-9, states that "what one looks for in vain in much recent scholarship is any serious wrestling with the external or internal evidence for the dating of individual books, rather than an a priori pattern of theological development into which they are then made to fit." This criticism may have validity when applied to dating of the Pastoral Epistles. Since mention of institutional forms is made in the Pastoral Epistles it is assumed that these letters must be of a late date and therefore written to a less charismatically active church. It is also assumed that a late date would provide evidence of a church being more institutional in form than an earlier church. But this type of circular reasoning overlooks the question, does the textual evidence indicate a lack of charismatic activity? Furthermore, if institutional forms were shown to exist in the early stages of church development, is the equation of institutional therefore late date still valid? Conversely, is the equation of charismatically active therefore early date still valid? I would suggest that a more sound methodological procedure would be to give the Pastoral Epistles (or any other ancient text) a thorough textual examination before trying to fit the document into a pre-conceived pattern of theological or ecclesiastical development.

²It has been suggested that Paul may have written as many as four letters to Corinth. Unfortunately the only surviving letters we have are those found in the New Testament.

³W.A. Meeks, ed., The Writings of St. Paul (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972)3.

⁴R.L. Thomas, "I Thessalonians," The Expositor's Bible Commentary, ed. F.E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978)244.

⁵K. Grayston, The Letters of Paul to the Philippians and to the Thessalonians. Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1967)63.

⁶F.F. Bruce, 1&2 Thessalonians. Word Bible Commentary (Waco: Word Books, 1982)86. Bruce states that the holiness of the Holy Spirit is emphasized in I Thess 4:8 by the position of to agion. ton [kai] didonta to pneuma autou to agion eis humas.

⁷L. Morris, The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians. NICNT. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977)128.

⁸Thomas, "I Thessalonians," 292. The gift of prophecy may be defined as declaring the will and command of God in the power of the Spirit. A greater elaboration of the nature of prophecy will be given

in chapter 4 of this thesis. For further reference regarding this topic the following works may be consulted: E.E. Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); W.A. Grudem, The Gift of Prophecy in I Corinthians (Washington: University Press of America, 1982); D. Hill, New Testament Prophecy (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979); J. Koenig, Charismata: God's Gifts for God's People (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978); J. Reiling, "Prophecy, the Spirit and the Church," Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today, ed. J. Panagopoulos (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977) 58-76; C.M. Robeck, Jr., "The Gift of Prophecy in Acts and Paul, Part I," Studia Biblica et Theologica 4(1974)15-38; C.M. Robeck, Jr., "The Gift of Prophecy in Acts and Paul, Part II," Studia Biblica et Theologica 5(1975),37-54; H. Sasse, "Apostles, Prophets, Teachers," Reformed Theological Review 27(1968)11-21.

⁹Bruce, 1&2 Thessalonians 125.

¹⁰H.D. Betz, Galatians. Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979)12.

¹¹D.J. Lull, The Spirit in Galatia (Chico: Scholars, 1980)25.

¹²Betz, Galatians 132. Betz admits that the basis for making this assumption is certainly hypothetical, since nothing is said at least in this passage. Nevertheless, he cites Acts 10:44,45,47; 11:12, 15; 15:8; 19:1-5 as confirmation of Paul's remarks. In addition, in Gal 6:1 Paul calls the Galatians, certainly with their approval, by the technical term "pneumatics" (hoi pneumatikoi). It is also possible that the description of the gift of God's Spirit into the hearts of the believers in Gal 4:6 suggests ecstasy. It is the Spirit of the believers which cries out "Abba, Father."

¹³F.F. Bruce, Commentary on Galatians. New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982)151.

¹⁴D. Guthrie, Galatians. New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981)141.

¹⁵H.N. Ridderbos, The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia. NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976)207. I believe Ridderbos is correct when he states, "by this fruit of the Spirit no particular charismata in the sense of I Cor 12 is intended but rather that which the Spirit grants to all who live by Him."

¹⁶H. Conzelmann, I Corinthians. Hermenia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981)4; P. Hughes. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) XXXV; M. Thrall, I and II Corinthians. Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1965)11-13.

¹⁷Meeks, The Writings of St. Paul 27. Meeks remarks that how God's Spirit and power were demonstrable was one of the points of contention between Paul and the "spirituals." In this passage Paul is probably speaking quite conventionally and is referring to those miracles by which apostles and other "divine men" won attention (II Cor 12:12; Rom 15:19; I Thess 1:5).

¹⁸W.R. Orr and J.A. Walther, I Corinthians. AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979)276. The authors make the point that the phrase ton pneumatikon could refer to "persons" rather than "gifts." However, they note that the whole section (ch. 12-14), deals more specifically with gifts that are distributed to different persons. I hold to the position that ton pneumatikon refers to gifts in this context.

¹⁹Conzelmann, I Corinthians 206.

²⁰Orr and Walther, I Corinthians 283.

²¹Conzelmann, I Corinthians 233-34.

²²C.E.B. Cranfield, Romans. ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980)1, 12; E. Best, The Letter of Paul to the Romans. Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1967)8; J. Murray, The Epistles to the Romans. NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) xvi.

²³Murray, Romans 22.

²⁴Cranfield, Romans 79. Cranfield notes that the noun charisma is used in Romans in several ways: (i) to denote God's gracious gift in Jesus Christ (5:15,16); (ii) in the plural to denote the gracious gifts bestowed by God on Israel (11:29); (iii) in 12:6 to denote a special gift or endowment bestowed on a member of the church by God in order that it may be used by that member in His service and in the service of men. It is this later sense in which 1:11 is to be read.

²⁵Best, The Letter of Paul to the Romans 142. Best is correct when he says that the "word behind gift shows that Paul is not thinking so much of the talents with which a man is born as of new capabilities to serve others which appear in him when he becomes a Christian He (God) will of course use existing natural talents by fitting his gifts to them."

²⁶Ibid., 92. Best notes that "it is impossible to be a Christian and not possess the Spirit, for union with Christ (cf. Rom 8:1) and union with the Spirit go together; either the Spirit or Christ can be described as dwelling in the Christian; the meaning is the same."

²⁷Ibid., 90. When Paul refers to the Spirit, he is not referring to man's spirit, a part of his make-up like body or his mind.

Although every person has a human spirit, Paul regards the Spirit of God as active only in believers, transforming their outlook. Since the Spirit comes from God, God will form the outlook of the believer in accordance with his (God's) own outlook. What the Spirit produces in the believer is "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, fidelity, gentleness, and self control" (Gal 5:22,23).

²⁸Cranfield, Romans 748. Cranfield states that "the existence of this hope in men is no human possibility but the creation of the Spirit of God."

²⁹Ibid., 759. The phrase en dunamei pneumatos in this context probably refers to Paul's ministry as a whole being accomplished by the Spirit's enabling and not just to what has been said in the preceding phrase.

³⁰Ibid., 423. Cranfield is of the opinion that the groaning referred to in v26 refers to the Spirit's own stenagmoi, not ecstatic utterances of certain Christians inspired by the Spirit. He believes that the reference is to groanings imperceptible to the Christians themselves. I believe we should not be too hasty in rejecting the possibility that these groanings were in fact utterances given by Christians under the inspiration of the Spirit. Rom 8:23 at least points to the fact that these Roman Christians did groan inwardly for the redemption of their bodies, due in part to their possession of the first-fruits of the Spirit, that is, the working of the Holy Spirit Himself in the believer.

³¹Murray, Romans 295.

³²H.A. Kent, Jr., "Philippians, The Expositor's Bible Commentary, ed. F.E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978)98; Meeks, The Writings of St. Paul 94; J.J. Müller, The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon. NICNT. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976)28.

³³Grayston, The Letters of Paul to the Philippians and to the Thessalonians 18. Grayston suggests that the idea of deliverance being associated with the spirit of Jesus Christ (tou pneumatos Iesou Christou) perhaps refers to the promise of Jesus that his disciples, when arrested and on trial, will not need to worry about their defense because the Holy Spirit will prompt their speech (Mk 13:11).

³⁴Kent, "Philippians" 121. There has been some discussion as to whether pneumatos in this verse should be objective or subjective If objective, the sense is fellowship 'with' or 'in' the Spirit." Most interpreters have interpreted koinonia pneumatos as an objective genitive (see G.F. Hawthorne, Philippians. Word Biblical Commentary. [Waco: Word Books, 1983]66; J.J. Muller, The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon. NICNT. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976]73.). This is a fellowship which comes about through the Holy Spirit's

indwelling presence in the church and the Christian's personal communion with him. If subjective, the sense is "fellowship produced by the Spirit." I would understand the expression to include both aspects. As the church participates in the Spirit the Spirit produces a common life to form the Christian community.

³⁵R. Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament (New York: Seabury, 1956)22.

³⁶J.G. Gager, Kingdom and Community (Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975)75.

³⁷R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament (New York: Scribner's, 1955)2:140.

³⁸R.R. Williams, Authority in the Apostolic Age (London: SCM, 1950)48.

³⁹D.M. Stanley, "Authority in the Church: A New Testament Reality," CBQ 29(1967)559.

⁴⁰R. Martin, New Testament Foundations (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 2:284.

⁴¹Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament 2:124.

⁴²Ibid., 98.

⁴³Martin, New Testament Foundations 2:287.

⁴⁴W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich. BAG (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957)620,625.

⁴⁵W. Meeks, ed. The Writings of St. Paul 8.

⁴⁶F. Buchsel, "Paradosis," TDNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964) 2:172.

⁴⁷J.H. Schütz, Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1975) 58.

⁴⁸J.G. Gager, Kingdom and Community 70.

⁴⁹Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament 2:98.

⁵⁰J.G. Gager, Kingdom and Community 70.

⁵¹C.W. Dugmore, "The Organization and Worship of the Primitive Church." A Companion to the Bible, 2nd. ed., ed. H.H. Rowley (Greenwood, S.C.: Attic Press, 1963)546.

⁵²Arndt and Gingrich, BAG 706.

⁵³A.L. Farstad, "Historical and Exegetical Consideration of New Testament Church Meetings," an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas (1972)44.

⁵⁴Arndt and Gingrich, BAG 706.

⁵⁵Farstad, "Historical and Exegetical Consideration of New Testament Church Meetings" 45.

⁵⁶Ibid., 45.

⁵⁷Ibid., 46.

⁵⁸Ibid., 47.

⁵⁹Ibid., 47.

⁶⁰S.J. Case, The Social Origins of Christianity (New York: Cooper Square Publ., 1975,1923)145.

⁶¹Ibid., 145.

⁶²Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament 2:100.

⁶³D.E. Aune, The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972)12.

⁶⁴Ibid., 9.

⁶⁵Williams, Authority in the Apostolic Age 48. A detailed account of what qualifies an individual for apostleship is found in, D.E.H. Whiteley, The Theology of St. Paul (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974)199-202.

⁶⁶Ibid., 50.

⁶⁷S. Freyne, "The Exercise of Christian Authority according to the New Testament," ITQ 36(1970)100.

⁶⁸Ibid., 100.

⁶⁹Ibid., 100.

⁷⁰Ibid., 100.

⁷¹Ibid., 101.

⁷²Ibid., 101.

⁷³E.E. Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978)4.

⁷⁴Ibid., 5.

⁷⁵Ibid., 5-6.

⁷⁶B. Holmberg, Paul and Power (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980)59.

⁷⁷Ibid., 59.

⁷⁸Ibid., 59.

⁷⁹Ibid., 59-60.

⁸⁰Ibid., 80.

⁸¹A. Malherbe, Social Aspects of Early Christianity (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1977)69.

⁸²F.S. Malan, "The Relationship Between Apostolate and Office in the Theology of Paul," Neot 10(1976)67.

⁸³Arndt and Gingrich, BAG 713.

⁸⁴M. Goguel, The Primitive Church (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964)120.

⁸⁵J.L. de Villiers, "Indications of Church Rule or Government in Pauline Parenthetic Material," Neot 10(1976)79.

⁸⁶J.H. Schütz, "Charisma and Social Reality in Primitive Christianity," JR 54(1974)66.

⁸⁷ de Villiers, "Indications of Church Rule or Government in Pauline Parenetic Material," 79.

Chapter 3

INSTITUTIONAL FORMS AND CHARISMATIC ACTIVITY IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

The primary intent in this chapter is to produce evidence indicating that the church during the period of the Apostolic Fathers was not devoid of charismatic activity. If this evidence regarding the existence of charismatic activity is valid, a major argument against the existence of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles will have been weakened. This is due to the fact that the churches of the Apostolic Fathers have been held by the vast majority of biblical scholars to be later in date and more advanced in institutional formation than the churches reflected in the Pastoral Epistles. This evidence will weaken the argument against charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles on two counts. Firstly, the notion that institutional form is incompatible with charismatic activity will be challenged. Secondly, the existence of charismatic activity at a date later than that of the Pastoral Epistles will question the validity of a viewpoint which already sees in the Pastorals the fading vision of charismatic community.

It has been said that the term "Apostolic Fathers" is an elastic one.¹ The title does not represent any ancient tradition. That is, there are no traces of an early collection of writings known as the "Apostolic Fathers."² The term has been given to those writings whose doctrinal teaching was regarded as in accord with the Apostles, or who were historically connected with the Apostles in the early church. Of course, the list of writings constituting the Apostolic Fathers will vary in accordance with the historical understanding of

the writer concerned. For the purposes of this chapter, I will examine those writings which display a rich mixture of institutional forms and charismatic activity in the materials which have been designated by most biblical scholars as writings of the Apostolic Fathers. These writings include: I & II Clement, The Epistles of Ignatius, The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, The Didache, The Epistle of Barnabas, The Shepherd of Hermas, and The Martyrdom of Polycarp. The Epistle to Diognetus is ordinarily seen as part of the collection of writings known as the Apostolic Fathers. It was omitted from this study, however, due to the lack of material pertaining to our discussion. The Odes of Solomon, while contemporary with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, are not normally seen as part of those writings. In addition, The Odes of Solomon contain language which is highly poetic and figurative in nature. Because of the genre used, the language is very difficult to analyze. Besides which, there is sufficient evidence in the writings we will be examining to indicate a fairly abundant level of charismatic activity during the period under consideration. For these reasons, The Odes of Solomon was not included in this study.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers have normally been dated between the years 80 to 160 A.D. This dating is considerably beyond that of the Pauline Epistles and the later decades are a fair distance beyond that of the Pastoral Epistles. Depending upon the date assigned the Pastoral Epistles, there may be a slight overlap between these letters and the early writings included among the Apostolic Fathers.

In this chapter, I shall proceed by examining, first the role institutional forms played in the Apostolic Fathers. This examination

will proceed along three lines: the role which a body of literature (i.e. Scripture) performs in the proper ordering of a given church community; the role which tradition plays in conforming behavior to a pre-established norm; and the role played by various individuals or "officers" who exhibit characteristics of leadership and authority for the purpose of establishing orderly conduct and instruction within the church. Then, I shall cite instances where charismatic activity can be observed in the Apostolic Fathers. These citations will meet the definition of charismatic activity as outlined in chapter one.

Institutional Forms in the Apostolic Fathers

Since it is not crucial for our argument that we be able to determine the original destination of these writings, we shall omit any discussion of this matter. Instead, I shall treat the writings together in connection with the particular institutional form being discussed.

The Role of a Body of Literature in the Ordering of a Church Community

The churches of the Apostolic Fathers have generally been conceived as being more advanced in terms of institutional formation vis-à-vis the churches of Paul and the Pastoral Epistles. The question as to how much more these churches were advanced institutionally is open to debate. With regards to the role which Scripture played in ordering the church communities, it could be argued that the role was quite large. There is extensive quoting of the Old Testament Scriptures as a source of paraenetic material. In addition, there is usage of the gospels (whether in their oral or written form), as well as the writings of Paul as sources of authority and instruction for the church. Although

the Apostolic Fathers (particularly Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp) expected their own writings to carry authoritative weight, there is nothing to suggest that they perceived their letters to be of the same stature as those writings of the actual apostles of the Lord. In order to illustrate the use of authoritative written tradition in ordering community life, I shall discuss the writings of Clement as a representative sample.

Throughout the writings of Clement we find numerous references and allusions to the Scriptures. This has given rise to Clement being labeled a scriptural theologian.³ Von Campenhausen describes Clement's attachment to the Scriptures in this way:

Only the Scripture is capable of giving real certainty, something more than uncertain human opinion. Furthermore, Scripture alone can provide decisive refutation in the fight against heresy, -- and let no one imagine he has found the truth until he discovers it here, and has based it on this independent ground.⁴

Because Clement's readers were well versed in the Scriptures (I Clem. 62:3) and would recognize the repeated use of Scripture in his own letter, Clement could commend his writings authoritatively as "sufficiently touching the things which befit our worship" (I Clem. 62:1). More specifically, he views his first letter to the Corinthians as being "most helpful for a virtuous life to those who wish to guide their steps in piety and righteousness" (I Clem. 62:1).

Examples of Clement's use of Scripture to provide a sense of guidance and ordering to the church to which he writes are seen in the following instances. These instances are essentially paraenetic in nature. In I Clem. 4-6 we find numerous references to Old Testament individuals who were involved in one way or another with the problem

of jealousy. From the Pentateuch, Clement makes mention of Cain and Abel (I Clem. 4:1-7), Jacob and Esau (I Clem. 4:8), Joseph (I Clem. 4:9), Moses (I Clem. 4:10), Aaron and Miriam (I Clem. 4:11) and Dathan and Abiram (I Clem. 4:12). From I Sam 1:18ff. Clement draws reference to David and Saul (I Clem. 4:13). These references are given to admonish the Corinthian church to put away and avoid jealousy with one another.

In I Clem. 9-12, we are exposed to numerous examples of individuals from the Old Testament who were obedient to God. Reference is made to Enoch (I Clem. 10:1-7), Lot (I Clem. 11:1), and Rahab (I Clem. 12:1-3). Likewise, Clement turns to sacred writings in order to encourage virtues of humility, peace, and gentleness. In I Clem. 13:1 we read: "Let us, therefore, be humble-minded, brethern, putting aside all arrogance and conceit and foolishness and wrath, and let us do that which is written [kai poiēsomen to gegrammenon] . . . especially remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which he spoke when he was teaching gentleness and longsuffering."

Throughout the writings of Clement it is possible to locate numerous sayings of the Lord which have obviously become an integral part of the gospel tradition. Clement utilizes these sayings to reinforce his own instruction to the church. In a passage where Clement calls the church to repentance and purity, he paraphrases a portion from Luke 16:10-12. The paraphrase reads: "For the Lord says in the Gospel, 'If ye did not guard that which is small, who shall give you that which is great? For I tell you that he who is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in that which is much'" (II Clem. 8:5). Although the verse is quoted somewhat out of context, it indicates nonetheless the authoritative usage of gospel tradition. Likewise,

Clement's use of the Lord's saying, "Not everyone that saith to me Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness" (II Clem. 4:2, cf. Matt 7:21) reinforces his admonition for good works among the Corinthian believers.

Throughout the letters of Clement we also find many direct references to the writings of Paul. This is not totally unexcepted, for both Clement and Paul wrote to the Corinthians. Clement asks his readers to "take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the apostle" (I Clem. 47:1), so that they may understand the importance of reconciliation, particularly with their presbyters. Clement cites Paul's discussion of love (I Cor 13:4-7) as the ingredient required to affect this reconciliation (I Clem. 49:5).

Other texts from the New Testament (I use this term realizing that this literature had not yet been collected under this name) are also found in Clement. One such example is found in I Clem. 2:7 where we have an almost direct quotation from Titus 3:1. The passage from I Clem. 2:7 reads hetoimoi eis pan ergon agathon "ready unto every good work," while Titus 3:1 reads einai hetoimous pros pan ergon agathon "to be ready to every good work." Even if Titus is a non-Pauline document, its usage in this passage indicates that Clement thought it would be received as carrying authoritative weight. Ultimately this is in keeping with the purpose of Clement's letters, which is, to "sufficiently touch the things which befit our worship, and are most helpful for a virtuous life to those who wish to guide their steps in peity and righteousness" (I Clem. 62:1).

The Adherence to Tradition
for the Purpose of Conforming Behavior
to a Pre-established Norm

As mentioned in chapter two, paradosis, "tradition," operated in two ways in the New Testament. Firstly, "tradition" referred to principles and precepts of Christian living of either a doctrinal or practical nature. Secondly, tradition operated in the organization and worship of the church. In the Apostolic Fathers "tradition" can be seen operating in both ways.

With regards to the principles and precepts of Christian living, Clement writes, "Wherefore let us put aside empty and vain cares, and let us come to the glorious and venerable rule of our tradition [paradoseos], and let us see what is good and pleasing and acceptable in the sight of our Maker" (I Clem. 7:2,3). In this context Clement can encourage the church at Corinth to adhere to those traditions which encourage faith and piety. In this passage, Clement particularly has in view the need for repentance (I Clem. 7:5).

In his warning against heresy, Polycarp urges the Philippian Christians to leave the foolishness of the crowd with their false teaching, and "turn back to the word which was delivered [paradothenta] to us in the beginning" (Pol. Phil. 7:2). The word which Polycarp has in mind is that of the apostles and of the Lord. This word has become the basis of Christian tradition.

With regard to tradition operating in the organization and worship of the church, we find Clement insisting that "all things are to be done in order, as the Master commanded" (I Clem. 4);2). More specifically, Clement urges liturgical propriety in the services. In I Clem. 40:2-5 we find the following instruction:

He commanded us to celebrate sacrifices and services, and that it should not be thoughtlessly or disorderly, but at fixed times and hours. He has himself fixed by his supreme will the places and persons whom he desired for these celebrations, in order that all things may be done piously according to his good pleasure, and be acceptable to his will. So then those who offer their oblations at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed, for they follow the laws of the Master and do no sin. For to the High Priest his proper ministrations are allotted, and to the priests the proper place has been appointed, and on Levites their proper services have been imposed. The laymen is bound by the ordinances for the laity.

It is apparent that the order of religious services has become somewhat formalized. By using analogies drawn from the Old Testament, Clement forcefully instructs the Corinthians to heed established church tradition. As in the Old Testament, where leaders are depicted as being responsible for directing the cultus in the appropriate celebrations and services, Clement draws attention to the fact that the church should operate according to proper liturgical propriety.

The Didache contains detailed instruction concerning the Eucharist. The precise prayers to be uttered during the Eucharist are supplied for the assistance of the one conducting the service (Did. 9:2,3,4; 10:1-6). Ignatius instructs the Philadelphian Christians to "be careful to use one Eucharist . . . in order that whatever you do you may do it according unto God" (Ign. Phld. 4:1).

In the Didache we also find reference to other traditional norms which are to be followed in the worship of the church. We find in the Did. 7:1-4 instruction concerning baptism. The baptiser is to follow an explicit mode of procedure:

"Baptise, in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," in running water; but if thou hast no running water, baptise in other water,

and if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head "in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." And before the baptism let the baptiser and him who is to be baptised fast, and any others who are able. And thou shalt bid him who is to be baptised to fast one or two days before.

Likewise, fasting and prayer were to be practised with prescribed regularity. Fasting was to be done on Wednesdays and Fridays instead of Mondays and Thursdays because "the hypocrites fasted on the latter two days (Did. 8:1). Prayer was to be made three times a day (Did. 8:3). It is apparent from these brief examples that tradition is used in the Apostolic Fathers to conform behavior to a pre-established norm.

Roles of Leadership and Authority
for the Purpose of Establishing
Orderly Conduct and Instruction

Throughout the literature of the Apostolic Fathers, we see increased importance placed on the roles of leadership and authority in the church. Some have noted a move from a plurality of elders to a monarchical episcopate. However, recent attention given to this development has suggested that the monarchical episcopate was not as widespread as originally thought.⁵ There is no evidence in I Clement that the Roman church at the time was ruled by a monarchical bishop. Neither do we find mention in Ignatius' letter to the Romans (unlike his others) of a bishop. Likewise, the Shepherd of Hermas makes no mention of a monarchical episcopate (providing of course that Rome was its place of origin).⁶ Neither I Clement nor the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians shows a ruling bishop in Corinth or Philippi. In the Didache we find reference to bishops, but no monarchical bishopric is evidenced.⁷

While most of the evidence indicates the non-existence of a

monarchical episcopate, Ignatius refers to himself as bishop and he appears to have played an important role in the development of the monarchical episcopate. In Ignatius' correspondence with the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Philadelphia and Smyrna he makes mention of only one bishop for each constituency (usually referring to each by name).⁸ It has been suggested that Ignatius, by virtue of his own strong personality, and Antioch, by virtue of its privileged position, created a pattern that was to be widely imitated in other churches.⁹

Regardless of how and when the monarchical episcopate developed, the argument that church "offices" took on an increasingly important role can still be made. This is so to such a degree that Ignatius could write to the church in Magnesia and refer to the "bishop presiding in the place of God and the presbyters in the place of the Council of the Apostles, and the deacons . . . entrusted with the service of Jesus Christ" (Ign. Magn. 6:1). In his letter to the church of Tralles, Ignatius wrote, "whoever does anything apart from the bishop and the presbytery and the deacons is not pure in his conscience" (Ign. Trall. 7:2). The author of the Didache can likewise write that once bishops and deacons are appointed they are not to be despised because they are "worthy of the Lord" and "honourable men" (Did. 15:1,2).

With regard to the function of those in leadership, it is apparent that they were in charge of the over-all direction of the church (I Clem. 1:3), conducting the official elements of worship (Ign. Trall. 7:2), as well as carrying out duties of prophets and teachers (Did. 15:1, 2). It is possible that some of those involved in leadership were alive at the time when the apostles were still living. If so, apostolic appointment may have given these leaders their present positions.¹⁰ For

others, it appears that the actions of the congregations were instrumental in the establishment of these men in their positions (cf. Did. 15:1). Whatever action lay behind the appointment of bishops and deacons, ultimately the appointment was seen as the will of God (Ign. Eph. 3:2), and the churches were thus expected to be loyal to their leaders. The distinction between clergy and laity appears firmly established in the writings of these Apostolic Fathers (cf. I Clem. 40:4,5).

In spite of the fact that these church leaders had their appointments rooted in the will of God for the purpose of upbuilding the church, not all churches accepted this form of leadership. Thus, we find numerous admonitions in the letters of the Apostolic Fathers charging the churches to give loyalty to their leaders. In I Clement we find evidence of a dispute which was leading to the invalidation of the ministry of accepted presbyters (I Clem. 47:6).¹² Much of Clement's letter is spent defending the rightful place of these leaders. In I Clem. 21:6, the Corinthians are exhorted to respect the officials of the Church (literally, "those who rule us," [tous proëgoumenous]). In the same verse the "presbyters" (presbuterous) are singled out to receive honor. Clement also uses the analogy of an army to point out the necessity for subordination (I Clem. 37:1-5). Church leaders are likened to generals and those underneath are to carry out the commands of the generals (I Clem. 37:4). Each is to serve God in his own rank (I Clem. 41:1). Because of the tendency towards strife over the title of bishop, Clement notes that the apostles knew this would happen (through foreknowledge from the Lord) and subsequently appointed bishops (I Clem. 44:1,2). As a result of these appointments, to eject from the episcopate those who faithfully ministered was "no small sin" (I Clem.

44:4).

Ignatius likewise encourages the church to be subject to the bishop and the presbytery (Ign. Eph. 4:1). Whereas Clement had a specific case of threatened order in view, Ignatius was interested in order as such.¹³ His insistence upon church order stems from two sources: first, the need for unity, and; secondly, his understanding of the ministry of the church as a three-fold ministry of bishop, presbyters and deacons, which in some mysterious way reflects the Church's faith in God through Christ.¹⁴ Several examples will demonstrate the nature of Ignatius' thought in this area.

In Ign. Trall. 3:1 Ignatius writes, "let all respect the deacons as Jesus Christ, even as the bishop is also a type of the Father, and the presbyters as the council of God and the college of Apostles. Without these the name of "Church" is not given." In Ign. Magn. 2:1 we find the statement: "the deacon Zotion . . . is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ." Again, in Ign. Eph. 5:1 we find: "I count you blessed who are so united with him, (i.e., the bishop) as the Church is with Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things may sound together in unison." Although Ignatius has placed a high importance on church office, it would be incorrect to assume that it has become more important than the individuals involved in the church. In his letter to Smyrna, Ignatius writes, "let not office exalt anyone, for faith and love is everything, and nothing has been preferred to them" (Ign. Smyrn. 6:1). This type of corrective admonition prevented the churches of the Apostolic Fathers from reaching a situation of institutionalism (see chapter 1 for the definition of this term). However,

one may accurately state that the institutional forms present in the Apostolic Fathers indicate a situation where order or control was imposed by various patterns of behavior or structure.

Charismatic Activity in the Apostolic Fathers

Although the argument may be put forward that the church reflected in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers represents an increase in the use of institutional forms over that of the most primitive Christian communities, it is not correct to think that these churches of the late first and early second centuries were devoid of charismatic activity. I would now like to turn my attention towards producing evidence indicating frequent reference to overt pneumatic activity, reflecting a view of the church expressed in these writings as being grounded in the activity of the Holy Spirit.

The Theological Understanding of Charismatic Activity in the Apostolic Fathers

T.F. Torrance notes that the use of charisma is important in the Apostolic Fathers because it is used as a special instance of charis "grace."¹⁵ This, he argues, is an important step in the history of charis, "for in the N.T. charisma is not associated with charis but with the Holy Spirit or pneuma. The identification of these two ideas coincides with the thought of pneuma as dunamis or 'power'. We have here, therefore, the idea of charis as inspired potency producing gnosis."¹⁶ I must disagree with Torrance on one point. As I noted in chapter one, the Pauline usage of charisma is to be understood as a particular expression of charis. As such, charisma is associated with charis in Paul. Since the linking of pneuma and dunamis precedes the Apostolic Fathers, appearing already in the New Testament, the

connecting of charisma and charis with pneuma and dunamis is in fact not new to the Apostolic Fathers. Dunn likewise holds this position concerning the relationship of charisma and charis in the New Testament.¹⁷ However, what is important in Torrance's statement is the observation that charisma, pneuma and dunamis can still be detected in the Apostolic Fathers as part of the theological understanding of charis. It is in this context that Clement can write: "have we not one God, and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace [kai hen pneuma tes charitos] poured out upon us"? (I Clem. 46:6). The dynamic concept of grace has not been expanded in the Apostolic Fathers, but it is in fact a continuation of the theological usage of the term found in the writings of Paul.

The theological understanding of charismatic activity reflected in the Apostolic Fathers is further illustrated in the following examples. Ignatius describes church members as bearers of God, of the temple, of Christ, and of what is holy (Ign. Eph. 9:2). Further, they are told that they are "full of God" (Ign. Magn. 14:1), and that the Church is endowed with every gift of the Spirit (Ign. Smyrn. intr.).¹⁸ In a similar vein, the epistle of Barnabas states that "the Spirit has been poured out upon you from the Lord, who is rich in his bounty" (Barn. 1:3). It is through the church that the Holy Spirit speaks (Herm. Sim. IX:1:1).

As to who constitutes the church, Barnabas states that it is only as "spiritual men," as "a perfect temple of God" that there is a church (Barn. 4:11). It is these upon whom God's Spirit is outpoured. They have received the gift of the Spirit (Barn. 1:2). In fact, the author of this epistle can even claim that his ministry to the church is really a ministry to "spirits" (Barn. 1:5). Schweizer understands

Barnabas to mean that "God dwells within every individual in such a way that he speaks through him, 'prophesies' in the Spirit-prompted preaching and the Spirit-prompted prayer that overcomes the hearers (Barn. 16:8-10) . . ."¹⁹

Ignatius likewise refers to the true church as being comprised of "spiritual ones," hoi pneumatikoi (Ign. Eph. 8:2). In this context, Ignatius is not referring to a distinct group of Christians marked out by special or more esoteric charismata. Instead, the "spiritual ones" refer to those who have the Spirit and to those who are walking according to the Spirit and not according to the flesh.²⁰ The proof of the spiritual man is love and not just overt pneumatic activity (Did. 11:8; Herm. Man. 11:8). As such, even deeds one does in the body are to be considered spiritual because all things which the true spiritual one undertakes are being done in Jesus Christ (Ign. Eph. 8:2).

Rather than church office being seen as antithetical to charismatic activity, Ignatius states that the bishop, presbyters and deacons have been "appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ" and "established . . . by his Holy Spirit" (Ign. Phld. intr.). It was the first converts of the apostles who were tested "by the Spirit to be bishops and deacons of the future believers" (I Clem. 42:4). Clement views the present establishment of bishops and deacons as a fulfillment of a prophesy made by Isaiah concerning the access of the Gentiles to the salvation of Yahweh. "I will establish their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith" (I Clem. 42:5; cf. Isa 60:17). In this context the appointment of bishops and deacons is a fulfillment of charismatic activity. In addition, not only was the appointment of bishops and deacons a fulfillment of charismatic activity, but the

bishops and deacons also had a charismatic function. They also were to "perform the ministry of the prophets and teachers" (Did. 15:1).²¹

As we have seen from the preceding discussion, it appears obvious that the church communities of the Apostolic Fathers understood themselves to be grounded in the Spirit, as is reflected in their theology. I would now like to offer evidence indicating that the churches of the Apostolic Fathers also understood themselves to be grounded in the Spirit in terms of practise (i.e., in terms of overt pneumatic activity).

Overt Pneumatic Activity in the Apostolic Fathers

J. Laporte has noted that there has been a tendency among some church historians to lay emphasis on charismatic leadership in the early decades of the church, and on Montanism as a later renewal of this charismatic leadership over against institutional forms.²² Because of this tendency, references to overt pneumatic activity in some of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers (e.g., Didache and Hermas) have wrongly been ascribed to Montanism.²³ However, once the scattered references to overt pneumatic activity in the Apostolic Fathers have been gathered together, a new view of prophecy and other forms of pneumatic activity appears in the context of a church already aware of the presence of the Spirit in all its true members.²⁴

Throughout the writings of the Apostolic Fathers we have numerous references to prophets as one example of overt pneumatic activity. Ignatius makes mention of a group of individuals known as "the prophets" (tous prophētas) whose function is to "announce the gospel" (Ign. Phld. 5:1). Barnabas states that through the prophets the Lord made known things past and things present (Barn. I:7). In

referring to the individual Christian as a holy temple, Barnabas 16:8,9 records the following statement:

. . . wherefore God truly dwells in us, in the habitation which we are. How? His word of faith, the calling of his promise, the wisdom of the ordinances, the commands of his teaching, himself prophesying in us (autos en hemin propheteuon), himself dwelling in us, by opening the door of the temple to us, giving repentance to us, and thus he leads us, who have been enslaved to death into the incorruptible temple.

In this context, the act of prophesying is seen to be open to all believers and not restricted to a select few.

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp we read that Polycarp was esteemed to be an "apostolic and prophetic teacher Every word which he uttered from his mouth both was fulfilled and will be fulfilled."

(Mart. Pol. 16:2). In the Didache we find an overlapping of the roles of apostle and prophet (Did. 11:3-5). Part of the apostle's function would be to prophesy on occasion. Ellis suggests that the ministries of the apostle and prophet "may be compared to two concentric circles, in which the circle of the prophet's activity is somewhat smaller."²⁵

There is not one type of activity ascribed to the Christian prophet in the New Testament that is not also true of those named apostles.²⁶

However, unlike the prophets, the apostles do "many signs and wonders" (Acts 2:43). It is possible that the authors of the Didache and the Martyrdom of Polycarp had more in mind in the usage of the term apostle than has previously been suspected.²⁷

We also have in the Apostolic Fathers several references to occasions where the Spirit spoke through individuals. Although prophecy is not always mentioned on these occasions, it is probable that this is the phenomenon being described. Ignatius cites an occasion in which

he cried out in the assembly "with a great voice, -with God's own voice, - 'Give heed to the bishop and to the presbytery and deacons'" (Ign. Phld. 7:1). Apparently some in attendance suspected Ignatius of saying these things because someone notified him previously of the division among the people. To this suspicion Ignatius replied:

But he in whom I am bound is my witness that I had no knowledge of this from any human being, but the Spirit was preaching, and saying this, "Do nothing without the bishop, keep your flesh as the temple of God, love unity, flee from divisions, be imitators of Jesus Christ, as was he also of his Father." (Ign. Phld. 7:2).

What is particularly interesting about this pneumatic utterance is that it is an example of charismatic activity seeking to give legitimation to an institutional form, in this case, the bishop. Once again we have evidence of a positive relationship between charismatic activity and institutional formation.

In the Mandates of the Shepherd of Hermas, we have another reference to the spirit of prophecy in operation:

For the Holy Spirit does not speak when a man wishes to speak, but he speaks at that time when God wishes him to speak. Therefore, when the man who has the Divine Spirit comes into a meeting of righteous men, then the angel of the prophetic spirit rests on him and fills the man, and the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the congregation as the Lord wills. Thus, then, the Spirit of the Godhead will be plain. Such, then is the power of the Lord concerning the Spirit of the Godhead (Herm. Man. 11: 8-10).

In some mysterious way the angel of the prophetic spirit rests on the individual and fills the man, and yet it is not the angel's spirit which fills the man but the Holy Spirit. This spirit is also described as the spirit of the Son of God (Herm. Sim. 24:4). It is the same Holy Spirit which pre-existed and created all creation (Herm. Sim. 6:5).

In the Didache (11:11; 12:1; 15:1) the Spirit working through the pneumatic becomes so identified with him, or he with the Spirit, that pneumatics can be called spirits.²⁸ As we saw earlier, Barnabas likewise addresses his fellow pneumatics (Barn. 1:8; 4:6,9) as "spirits" (Barn. 1:5). These pneumatics manifest "the spiritual gift" (hē dōrea pneumatikē) Barn. 1:2. To these pneumatics Barnabas wishes to impart "perfect gnosis," which is to be found in a proper understanding of Scripture (Barn. 1:5; 2:1-4).²⁹ Once more, we notice that charismatic activity is united with an institutional form (i.e., a body of literature which is to be used for transmitting information for the purposes of church order [cf. Barn. 2:1-10]). In this context, a proper understanding of spiritual or charismatic activity is found in a proper understanding of Scripture.

Another form of overt pneumatic activity which we find in the Apostolic Fathers is visions or revelations. Hermas describes an incident in which he was seized by a spirit (kai pneuma me elaben) who carried him across a river to a place where he experienced a vision (Herm. Vis. I:1:3-4). Hermas also relates that he had a revelation made to him as he slept (Herm. Vis. II:4:1). In fact, the entire book, The Shepherd of Hermas, consists of a series of revelations made to Hermas by the Church, by the angel of repentance, and by the great angel who is in charge of Christians.³⁰ Each revelation is accompanied by an explanation. Although the form of the book is apocalyptic and visionary, its object is practical and ethical.³¹ I believe the form utilized in Hermas is intended to add authoritative weight to its message. Of course, this added authority would come into play only if the readers of the book actually believed that the author could experience

these overt pneumatic manifestations. If that is the case, then the expectation of such phenomena is not far removed from the life of the book's readers.

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp we have recorded an incident of Polycarp falling into a trance while praying. While in this trance, Polycarp saw the pillow under his head burning with fire. He understood this vision to be predictive of the fact that he must be burnt alive (Mart. Pol. 5:2). L. Bouyer has maintained that several texts of the early church fathers "agreed in their descriptions of the martyrs as undergoing a special experience of the Spirit, which will be made manifest through their gifts of vision and prophecy."³² It is recorded that at the time of Polycarp's arrest he prayed, "thus filled with the grace of God so that for two hours he could not be silent" (Mart. Pol. 7:3). It is possible that this praying "in the Spirit" was a type of prophetic utterance. At the time of his death, when stabbed with a dagger, Polycarp's spirit was released in the form of a dove (Mart. Pol. 16:1). Although this may be poetic language, there was the persistent belief that the presence of the Spirit would be demonstrated during a martyr's passion.³³

It must be noted that some of the manifestations of overt pneumatic activity mentioned in the Apostolic Fathers were problematic in nature. Most notable of these problematic features was false prophecy. It is apparent from the texts that two things are involved in this issue. Either the prophecy (i.e., the message) could be false, or the prophet could be false (i.e., the prophet does not practise what he preaches). For example, the communities reflected in the Didache seem to regard the phenomenon of prophecy with a certain ambivalence. They

valued the prophetic message, but looked upon individual prophets with some degree of suspicion.³⁴ In the Didache 10:7 we find the rubric - "But suffer (or allow) the prophets to give thanks as they will." Obviously the Didachist thought that the prophetic messages would be beneficial to the church involved, and, therefore, the prophets were not to be restricted in their giving of thanks.³⁵

In the Didache 11:7, we find a similiar injunction. "Do not test [peirasete] or examine [diakrineite] any prophet who is speaking in a spirit [lalounta en pneumati], for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven." While the prophet is speaking as a prophet, the prophet is not to be judged. This should not be taken to mean that the message is not to be discerned. Did. 11:1,2 gives a criterion applicable to itinerant teachers for the judging of their messages (cf. I Cor 14:29, where Paul admonishes the others [prophets or the church? - probably the latter] "to discern" [diakrinō] what has been said). Instead, the prophet is obviously to be judged either before or after he has spoken. The Didachist notes that "not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet" (Did. 11:8).

In the Shepherd of Hermas we find a particularly high esteem for the pneumatic. As noted above, the "spirit" that seizes Hermas is the spirit that carries one away (Herm. Vis. I:1:3; II:1:1). In Hermas we also have mention of problematic activity. In Herm. Man. 11:1 we find mention of false prophets who "corrupt the understanding of the servants of God." The message of these prophets is "empty" and "according to the desires of their wickedness" (Herm. Man. 11:2,3). The problem which presents itself is that of trying to distinguish real from false pneumatic activity.³⁶

With the need for testing and correction, a pressing reality in the church communities of the Apostolic Fathers, two questions remain: a) what criteria were used to test the legitimacy of overt pneumatic activity (particularly prophecy), and; b) upon whom fell the responsibility for testing and correcting?

Because of the Didachist's understanding that "not everyone who is speaking in the spirit is a prophet," it is not surprising that we should find tests in the Didache which are offered to determine the authenticity of itinerant ministers. As mentioned earlier, Did. 11:1,2 gives a doctrinal criterion for assessing the messages of these ministers. There must be conformity to the instruction and ordinances given in the early part of the Didache.³⁷

The second criterion is a moral test which is applied specifically to the prophets. The Didachist writes in Did. 11:8 that "not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he have the behavior of the Lord (alla ean achē tous troupous kuriou). From his behavior, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known." What type of behavior was "the behavior of the Lord" (tous troupous kuriou)? Did. 11:9 states that "no prophet who orders a meal in a spirit shall eat of it: otherwise he is a false prophet." The prophet must practise the truth that he teaches (Did. 11:10). The prophet must not ask for money or similar things unless it is on behalf of others (Did. 11:12). Once the prophet has passed these tests and is approved, his prophetic ministry is not to be questioned (Did. 11:11).³⁸

In the Shepherd of Hermas we also find mention of criteria for the testing of prophecy. In Herm. Man. 11:16 we find, "You have the life of both (types of) prophets. Test, then, from his life and deeds, the

man who says that he is inspired." Kydd states that the criterion used by Hermas "lies in the conduct of the prophet rather than in the message. In this regard, Hermas corresponds to one of the criteria to be found in the Didache."³⁹ Although I do not quarrel with the fact that Hermas did use a behavioral criterion in testing prophets, I would suggest that he also used the criterion of an acceptable message. In Herm. Man. 9:1-9 Hermas states that a proof of the false prophet is that he divines (i.e., he attempts to tell future events or discover hidden knowledge by occult means) on request.⁴⁰ This would indicate that the source of the message is as important in determining a false prophet as is the moral conduct of the prophet. Clearly, by definition, a "divined" message would not be an acceptable message to the Christian community.⁴¹

Who is seen to discern and test pneumatic phenomenon in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers? According to Hermas, the discernment of spirits is a necessity for every Christian who is concerned with the regulation of his own thoughts.⁴² However, the regulation of one's own thoughts is not the same activity as discerning whether or not another individual is a true prophet. With regards to this latter situation, Herm. Man. 11:14 suggests that the false prophet is exposed and delivered by the prayer of the assembly as a whole.⁴³ This verse may describe what could be called a form of exorcism.

The Didache is not addressed to any particular individual or bishop, therefore it is assumed that the admonition to test a prophet is directed to the congregation at large. In fact, it appears that the church to whom the Didache was addressed had no bishops or deacons, though the church was instructed to appoint for themselves men worthy

of those positions (Did. 11:1).

Although not explicitly stated, one would assume that there would be some form of leadership structure which would be responsible to see that the necessary form of correction is carried out once the testing is complete. In the case of Ignatius, one can hardly imagine the bishops to whom he writes being inactive in the role of testing and correcting problematic charismatic activity. After all, Ignatius stated that without the bishop nothing must be done at all (Ign. Magn. 4; 7:1; Trall. 2:2; Ign. Phld. 7:2; Ign. Smyrn. 8:1 f.). Ignatius himself exercised a gift of discernment when some individuals tried to deceive him (Ign. Phld. 7:1). His word of correction was to "give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons" (Ign. Phld. 7:1).

The main point of the discussion concerning who is to test and correct problematic charismatic activity is not to assign this function to one particular group of individuals, but to indicate that, where problematic charismatic activity existed, corrective action was undertaken. The fact that there is much concern expressed over the problem of false prophets in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers indicates that the churches of this period still experienced overt pneumatic activity and cherished its proper usage.

Conclusion

It was the intent of this chapter to indicate that charismatic activity was still present in fair abundance during the period of the Apostolic Fathers. This indication is important because the church during this period has traditionally been viewed as being more institutional in form than the Pauline churches, resembling the churches of the Pastoral Epistles. However, it has been shown that charismatic

activity was going on during the period of or later than the Pastoral Epistles. As such, the argument indicating a fading of charismatic activity by the time of the Pastoral Epistles has difficulty being sustained.

It was also the intent of this chapter to point out that charismatic activity and institutional form could co-exist without causing a major problem. In the Didache, bishops and deacons are said to be performing the service of prophets and teachers (Did. 15:1,2). It appears that charismatics and office-holders could, did, and should work side-by-side. The fact that these two types of ministries worked side-by-side indicates that the value of both types' of ministers was recognized.⁴⁴ Ignatius serves as a prime example where the bishop's chair and prophetic activity are united. This feature is important, for it "reveals a stage in the development of ecclesiastical structure in which administrative and charismatic functions were able to be carried out by the same individual."⁴⁵

The question before us is: do we have sufficient evidence in the Pastoral Epistles to indicate that charismatic activity was abundant in spite of the institutional forms present at the time? I believe we are now in a position to seek an answer to that question. In chapters two and three I have set the chronological parameters of this discussion. The Pauline communities represent those communities which have been dated earlier than those of the Pastoral Epistles. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers reflect an ecclesiastical milieu generally dated later than that of the Pastoral Epistles. We have produced evidence of institutional forms in the early church communities of Paul and we have produced evidence of charismatic activity in the

later church communities of the Apostolic Fathers. As such, we should expect to find a rich combination of these factors present in the church communities of the Pastoral Epistles. If such is the case, those studies which have seen a dramatic decline in charismatic activity and a dramatic increase in institutional formation in the Pastoral Epistles will be seriously challenged. It is to the study of the ecclesiastical milieu of the Pastoral Epistles that I now turn my attention.

FOOTNOTES -CHAPTER 3

¹J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981, 1889-90) I,1,3.

²K. Lake, The Apostolic Fathers LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1952) I, vii. Throughout this chapter all references made to the text of the Apostolic Fathers will come from this work.

³H. von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power (Stanford: Stanford University, 1969) 202.

⁴Ibid., 202.

⁵P. Burke, "The Monarchical Episcopate at the End of the First Century," JES 7(1970), 499-518.

⁶Ibid., 500.

⁷Ibid., 501.

⁸Ibid., 501.

⁹Ibid., 516-517.

¹⁰R.R. Williams, Authority in the Apostolic Age (London: SCM, 1950) 70.

¹¹A. von Harnack, The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910) 112.

¹²Williams, Authority in the Apostolic Age, 70.

¹³Ibid., 70.

¹⁴Ibid., 70.

¹⁵T.F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1960) 81.

¹⁶Ibid., 81.

¹⁷J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 202-207.

¹⁸E. Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament, SBT 32 (London: SCM, 1961) 151.

¹⁹Ibid., 160-161.

²⁰Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit, 287.

²¹E.E. Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 143.

²²J. Laporte, "The Holy Spirit, Source of Life and Activity According to the Early Church," Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal, ed. E.D. O'Connor (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1975) 58.

²³Ibid., 58.

²⁴Ibid., 58.

²⁵Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity, 142.

²⁶Ibid., 141.

²⁷Ibid., 142. Ellis notes that it may be significant that it is in connexion with miracle-working that Barnabas and Paul are named apostles (Acts 14:3f., 10, 14).

²⁸Ibid., 31-32.

²⁹Ibid., 34.

³⁰Lake, The Apostolic Fathers, II,2.

³¹Ibid., 2.

³²L. Bouyer, "Some Charismatic Movements in the History of the Church," Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal, ed. E.D. O'Connor (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1975) 119.

³³Ibid., 119.

³⁴R.A.N. Kydd, "Charismata to 320 A.D.: A Study of the Overt Pneumatic Experience of the Early Church," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, St. Andrews University, St. Andrews, Scotland (1973) 131-132.

³⁵Ibid., 131-132.

³⁶Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament, 158.

³⁷Kydd, "Charismata to 320 A.D.: A Study of the Overt Pneumatic Experience of the Early Church," 134.

³⁸Ibid., 135.

³⁹Ibid., 190.

⁴⁰Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit, 418n. 148.

⁴¹W.C. Van Unnik, "A Formula Describing Prophecy," NTS 9(1962-63), 86-94. Van Unnik suggests that an acceptable message of Christian revelation has to do with the past, present, and future. He cites the Epistle of Barnabas as containing a similar, tripartite formula applied to the special Christian revelation which is expounded by the author. "By the prophecies of the O.T. the Lord has made known his will, and it is the aim of Barnabas to show how these prophecies speak about Jesus Christ and his church." This is seen in Barn. 1:7: "For the Lord made known to us through the prophets things past and things present and has given us the firstfruits of the taste of things to come. . . ." The author of the passage has used a standing formula. Van Unnik cites the tests of Theophilus, Irenaeus, Ps. - Clem. Hom. II: 6:1, Hippolytus [Blessing of Jacob] and Philo to indicate the wide usage of the formula. It has been revealed "through the prophets" of whom Barnabas is more or less the interpreter. Although the formula is not used by Hermas or the Didachist in their criteria of true or false prophets, Van Unnik concludes that "in the second century and still in the third a certain formula existed among Christians which could be given in varying words to describe the true prophet. It was required that he could survey by divine inspiration the whole of history in its three aspects of past, present and future." Although this is an intriguing hypothesis I would suggest that this formula was not used every time a prophetic utterance was given in the early Christian communities. The assertion that the formula was used on occasion does not qualify it as a bona fide criterion for all prophetic manifestations. Nevertheless, the fact that it was used on occasion indicates that prophetic phenomena were by no means a thing of the past in the Apostolic Fathers.

⁴²Laporte, "The Holy Spirit, Source of Life and Activity According to the Early Church," 96. The message of Hermas is destined for all (Herm. Vis. II:4:3).

⁴³Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit, 438n. 180.

⁴⁴Kydd, "Charismata to 320 A.D.: A Study of the Overt Pneumatic Experience of the Early Church," 137-140.

⁴⁵Ibid., 158.

Chapter 4

CHARISMATIC ACTIVITY AND INSTITUTIONAL FORMS IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

Since the turn of the twentieth century the question of authorial authenticity has been the central concern of critical scholarship regarding the Pastoral Epistles.¹ This concern has been labelled "the problem of the Pastoral Epistles,"² or simply, the "Pastoral Problem."³ Those who have disfavored Pauline authorship have seen in the Pastoral Epistles an ordered structure which they believe to be uncharacteristic of the Pauline churches.⁴ Those who have favored Pauline authorship have tended to view the church situation as depicted in the Pastoral Epistles as being closely akin to the other Pauline churches.

As I mentioned in chapter one of this thesis, my provisional starting point was the assumption that Paul was not the author of the Pastorals and that the Pastorals reflect a date of composition later than Paul. However, my research has led to the conclusion that the level of charismatic activity displayed throughout the first two centuries of the church is more abundant and uniform than has heretofore been realized. More specifically, it is my contention that we see in the communities of the Pastoral Epistles sufficient evidence to indicate a similarity of charismatic activity to those communities which are genuinely Pauline. This would call into question those studies which say that the Pastoral Epistles reflect an ecclesiological situation radically different from those of the Pauline communities.⁵

It is the intent of this chapter to produce evidence from the Pastorals that suggests that the church was still very much influenced

by charismatic activity. I will also examine the institutional forms found in the Pastoral Epistles in order to prove that institutional formation need not be an inhibitor of charismatic activity. In fact, I will indicate that some institutional forms were reinforced and developed in the Pastorals, not because of a void created by a decline in charismatic activity, but due to the fact that there were problematic charismatic elements which were in need of control. In other words, institutional formation in the New Testament may be an indicator of charismatic activity rather than an indicator of a paucity of charismatic activity.

Before examining the evidence of charismatic activity and institutional forms in the Pastorals, a word is in order concerning the recipients of these letters. I am assuming that Timothy and Titus were not the recipients of the actual letters bearing their names. Instead, these letters were circulated among bishops, elders, pastors, evangelists and deacons in order to guide their behavior in the face of theological conflict and heresy similar in nature to those faced in the Pauline communities. The author mentions Timothy and Titus in the letters' greetings and throughout due to the fact that both individuals were well known co-workers with Paul and would therefore provide a suitable model for other co-laborers in the service of the Lord facing similar problems.⁶

Charismatic Activity in the Pastoral Epistles

The Theological Understanding of Charismatic Activity in the Pastoral Epistles

Throughout the Pastoral Epistles we see reference to the Holy

Spirit as being of great importance for the religious development of the Pastoral communities. We see this most clearly in two areas: the nature of spiritual revelation and the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit. As a result of the indwelling presence and work of the Holy Spirit, individuals become a part of the Christian community. In addition to being an indwelling presence, the Holy Spirit is also active in the process of spiritual revelation. The Holy Spirit is the one who reveals important spiritual truths to the believer. It is upon these two facets of the Holy Spirit's operation that we shall focus our attention in this section. In so doing we shall come to appreciate the theological understanding of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles.

The Holy Spirit as Spiritual Revealer. In I Tim 3:16 we see our first reference to the Holy Spirit as a revealer of things spiritual. The passage under consideration is: "vindicated in the Spirit" (edikaiōthē en pneumati). It is the second strophe in what appears to be an early faith-profession formula or early liturgical hymn.⁷ The entire hymn is chiastic in structure. It presents Christ at two contrasting and complementary levels of 'flesh' and 'spirit', heaven and earth. Taking 'flesh' as A and 'spirit' as B we move repeatedly from one level to the other in the form of ABBAAB.⁸ The six strophes in this hymn move from humiliation-to-exaltation. Thus, this hymn does not present antithetic parallelism but chiastic, cumulative parallelism.⁹

The strophe upon which we focus is difficult to interpret. This is due to the fact that en pneumati may refer to a realm of being, i.e., the sphere of the spirit,¹⁰ or, it may be taken in an instrumental sense, i.e., through the Spirit.¹¹ Since edikaiōthē literally means

'justified' or 'declared righteous',¹² edikaiōthē en pneumatī could mean that Christ was made righteous in the spiritual sphere, i.e., Christ was exalted or gained entrance into the divine realm, the realm of righteousness.¹³ However, 'spirit' does not naturally suggest 'the realm of the spirit' (pneuma as used in the New Testament usually refers to the Holy Spirit and not realm, e.g., Gal 5:16; Eph 2:22).¹⁴

This leaves us with the second alternative that Christ was declared righteous through, or by means of, the Holy Spirit. In other words, Christ was justified in his claims to be the Christ "in virtue of the Spirit which dwelt in Him, enabling Him to cast out devils, to conquer all evil, and to rise from the grave."¹⁵ This interpretation seems consistent with Rom 1:4 wherein "Jesus was declared to be the Son of God 'in power' [en dunamei] according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead." It would appear that the language used in Romans and I Timothy to describe Christ's resurrection refers to it as a pneumatic event. This is the same language used by the churches of the Pastorals to describe their own religious experience. We will see that there is a verbal link between the descriptions of Christ's resurrection and their own religious experience. The Spirit is the agent of both. Valid pneumatic activity continues to vindicate and exalt the risen Christ, after the pattern of the resurrection.

In I Tim 4:1 we find the words, to de pneuma retos legei, "now the Spirit expressly [or clearly] says." These words precede the only part of the epistle which deals systematically with false teaching.¹⁶ The intent of these words is to indicate that the rise of false teaching is not to be seen as totally unexpected, but predicted and revealed by the Spirit.

Questions have been raised as to the nature of this prophecy and time of its delivery. Some have speculated that it was some apocalypse or letter which was referred to.¹⁷ Others believe that the utterance of the Spirit was not made to the writer himself, but to some other Christian prophet which the author quotes.¹⁸ Hanson suggests that the prophecy may have been made by some Christian prophet of Paul's day, perhaps in the context of worship.¹⁹ However, Hanson thinks that the 'prophecy' is more likely the sort of thing that the author imagined must have happened during Paul's lifetime.²⁰ The use of the present tense (legei) leaves open the possibility that the speaking by the Spirit may in fact have been given at the time of the author's writing. On the other hand, it may also be inferred that the author was merely thinking of the continual stream of the Spirit's prophesying, beginning in the Old Testament and continuing to the present time of writing.²¹ Regardless of the exact time of the prophecy, the point must be made that the person who received the prophecy is ignored, while the source of his inspiration is emphasized.²² It was the Spirit who was inspiring the utterance.

Deeply embedded in primitive Christian thought was the notion that false teaching resulting in apostasy would have to be reckoned with in the period before the Parousia.²³ However, it was also a convention of prophetic utterance to denounce sins and sinners of one's own time under a form of predictive warning.²⁴ Whatever the form, we see in I Tim 4:1 a glimpse of the important role Spirit-prompted prophecy played in the Pastoral communities. Even if the prophecy was not given to the author or one of his contemporaries, it is obvious that prophecy was taken seriously by the communities. In fact, the prophecy was taken

so seriously that the general shape could be remembered and its specific statements referred to.²⁵ Although prophecy will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, this discussion has shown that Spirit-prompted prophetic revelation was accepted as part of the normal role and function of the Holy Spirit.

A further illustration of the Spirit's revelatory capabilities is found in II Tim 3:16. Therein we find the statement that "all Scripture is God-breathed" (RSV) (pasa graphē theopneustos). Literally the phrase could be read as "inspired by God."²⁶ This phrase is important because of the close connection between the Spirit and the revealed Word of God. In this case the Word is not the preached Word but the written Word.²⁷

Before looking at the issue of inspiration, what is meant by the term 'all Scripture' (pasa graphē)? In all likelihood the author is referring to the Old Testament.²⁸ Wuest argues that the term does not refer to the Old Testament as a whole, but each separate passage considered as a unit.²⁹ Pasa in this context is better translated 'every' instead of 'all'.³⁰ Therefore, our only possible alternative is: "every passage of Scripture."³¹ This would mean every passage of the Old Testament. But what is the relation of the adjective theopneustos to pasa graphē? Is the adjective used attributively or predicatively? Without the article the distinction between attributive versus predicative cannot be made definitively. However, let us see how the phrase would be translated using the adjective both ways.

If translated with the adjective being attributive, we would have: "every Scripture inspired by God is profitable also for teaching" This rendering would imply that one could have a passage of

Scripture that was not inspired by God.³² If the passage is translated with the adjective being predicative, we would have: "every passage of Scripture is inspired by God and also profitable for teaching" The author is therefore saying that every passage of Scripture is inspired and capable of yielding edification for the Christian if properly understood.³³ It is this latter interpretation which is to be preferred. It is possible that this passage was included to refer to those opponents who were highly selective in their use of Scripture.³⁴

It should be noted that the idea of inspiration of Scripture was inherited from Judaism.³⁵ The notion of the Old Testament being "breathed into by God" was prevalent among Jews of the first century.³⁶ The early church took over this idea entirely (cf. II Pet 1:20,21). It was the Spirit of God who was to be seen as God's divine breath.³⁷

The argument has been put forward that the emphasis of II Tim 3:16 lies not on the concept of inspiration, but on the usefulness of inspired Scripture for enabling man to have wisdom (cf. II Tim 3:15).³⁸ This interpretation may be quite correct, but it appears that the author uses the notion of the Scriptures' 'God-breathed' character in order to substantiate its 'holiness' (hieros) and its ability to impart 'wisdom' (sophia). One can be sure that the author believed that without the Spirit's inspiration the usefulness of Scripture would be greatly diminished.

The Holy Spirit as Indwelling Presence. Not only is the Holy Spirit presented in the Pastoral Epistles as being a revealer of Christ and of spiritual truth, the Holy Spirit is also presented as an indwelling presence which incorporates the believer into the body of Christ and empowers the believer to live the Christian life.

In Tit 3:4-7 we see the first such presentation of the Holy Spirit as an indwelling presence. Of particular interest to us is vv 5-6, which read as follows: "He saved us, not by words of righteousness which we did, but according to his mercy through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which he poured on us richly [dia loutrou palingenesios kai anakainōseōs pneumatos hagiou, hou execheen eph hēmas plousiōs] through Jesus Christ our Savior."

This passage has been the subject of much discussion. At issue is the question: does this passage refer primarily to water baptism, or Spirit baptism? Although the term 'baptism' (baptisma) is not specifically used in the passage, the reference to 'washing' (loutrou) or 'bath of rebirth' (loutron palingenesias)³⁹ has fueled speculation regarding its implied presence. Loutron has been translated by some as 'laver', i.e., the instrument of baptism. Support for this rendering has not been strong. Nevertheless it has been suggested that vv 5 and 6 may have formed part of a baptismal hymn.⁴⁰

Without question, baptism as 'new birth' was taught by other New Testament writers (cf. John 3:3-8; Rom 6:4).⁴¹ However, the argument may be made that rebirth is effected by the Holy Spirit (John 3:5-6). It is not the washing of water, but the Holy Spirit who is the efficient cause in baptism.⁴² Of course, the association of the Holy Spirit with baptism goes back to Christian origins (cf. I Cor 12:13; Matt 28:19). In Tit 3:5,6 it is possible that water baptism is being alluded to. It is more likely, however, that we see here a spiritual washing which is effected by the Spirit.⁴³

Although palingenesias was a term used in the mystery religions,⁴⁴ it is unlikely that there was any direct influence from these, due to

the fact that the term is found in this context only at a period later than that of the New Testament.⁴⁵ Hanson suggests that we have reference here to Christ who is regarded as having undergone "an archetypal baptism on behalf of all Christians in the waters of death."⁴⁶ He goes on to state that what we have reference to is a moral and not an ecstatic experience.⁴⁷ In other words, a special sort of mystical Christianity is not meant.⁴⁸ But what is a moral experience? If it is an experience, what are its experiential features? If what is meant by 'washing' (loutrou) refers to that cleansing of the believer from the guilt of sin which makes regeneration possible, are we not also talking about a mystical experience?⁴⁹

A more satisfactory explanation of the passage before us is found in the concept of Spirit baptism.⁵⁰ Since palingenesias and anakainōseōs are both dependent on loutrou, and neither can be separated from the Spirit, "it is best to take 'regeneration and renewal' as a single concept describing the washing of the Holy Spirit - the washing, of regeneration and renewal, which the Holy Spirit effects."⁵¹ This suggestion is confirmed by the use of execheen in v 6. Therein the writer speaks of the Spirit as being 'poured out' "because he is thinking of the Spirit's regenerative and renewing activity in terms of water and washing."⁵² As a result of the Spirit being poured out, we are baptized (i.e., cleansed and purified), thus bringing about our regeneration and renewal and our incorporation into the body of Christ (I Cor 12:13).⁵³ It is important to note that the figure of pouring out, applied to the bestowal of the Spirit, comes originally from the famous prophecy of Joel 2:28. This prophecy is recalled in Acts 2:17. The allusion to the 'outpouring' of the Spirit is important for it

echoes an understanding of the Spirit as baptizer (apart from water baptism) and indwelling presence (Acts 1:5; 2:4; Rom 5:5).⁵⁴ Obviously this understanding was not lost upon the readers of the letter to Titus. The fact that this 'pouring out' was done richly (plousiōs) has led to the speculation that the adverb 'richly' indicates "the rich supply of spiritual gifts which results from this outpouring."⁵⁵ If such be the case, we have further evidence that the theological understanding of the churches of the Pastoral Epistles involved the view of the Holy Spirit as being important not only for inward regeneration and renewal, but also for the continual work of the church.

In II Tim 1:14 we find another reference to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. In this context the Holy Spirit is to assist in guarding the "good deposit" (kalēn parathēkēn) which was entrusted to Timothy. What is this "deposit"? The suggestion has been made that it refers to the concept of tradition.⁵⁶ The term parathēkēn is found only in the Pastoral Epistles and it is always used with phulassein "to guard" (I Tim 6:20; II Tim 1:12,14).⁵⁷ Maurer believes that II Tim 1:12,14 refers to the traditional confession which Timothy "received at his ordination (v 6) from the ordained apostles (v 11) and which he himself is to pass on further."⁵⁸ In all likelihood, the good deposit refers to the gospel in its widest sense (I Tim 1:8,10).⁵⁹ If that is what Maurer meant by his phrase "the traditional confession" he is probably correct. However, Maurer's references are somewhat misleading. First, II Tim 1:6 does not refer to Timothy's reception of a traditional confession formula, nor even the gospel. Instead, Timothy receives "the gift of God" (to charisma tou theou). This charisma Timothy is to stir up or fan (lit. "fan the flame")

(anazopurein). Nowhere in the New Testament is the gospel referred to as "the gift of God." Second, the practise of laying on of hands need not indicate an ordination. In fact, its use in Acts 19:6, where some disciples receive the Holy Spirit after Paul laid on his hands, sounds more in keeping with II Tim 1:6 than the practise of ordination. Third, there is no reference to a group of apostles laying hands on Timothy, only Paul. In I Tim 4:14 reference is made to elders laying hands on Timothy, however, no other apostles are mentioned.

Of importance for our study is that mention of the indwelling Holy Spirit is not made with any sense of strain or strangeness. It is depicted simply as an aspect of Christian experience and doctrine which the author felt needed no further elaboration.⁶⁰ The notion of the Holy Spirit indwelling in men is not without precedent in the New Testament (cf. Rom 8:11). Likewise, the Holy Spirit as an agent who preserves gospel tradition is not a unique feature of the Pastorals (cf. John 16:13,14).

Some have seen reference in this passage to a special gift given to ministers to assist them in their work.⁶¹ While the Holy Spirit does aid ministers in their special responsibilities, there is no reason for confining "in us" (en hēmin) to those in "the ministry."⁶² The Holy Spirit dwells within all Christians (cf. Rom 8:9). Although Clement (I Clem. 42:2-4; 44:2) elaborated the doctrine that the heirarchy of the Church forms an orderly succession of teachers charged with preserving the apostolic tradition while being especially sustained by the Holy Spirit, we do not find such a doctrine here. (This is notable since the writings of Clement were penned at a time concurrent with or very shortly after those of the Pastoral Epistles). While we

may find a germ of the doctrine which was later more fully developed by Clement, there is no conscious theology of that nature in the text under consideration.⁶³ In addition, those who see in the Pastorals a situation similar to that as delineated by Clement usually assume a distinction whereby the apostolic church was 'creative' and 'prophetic', while the post-Pauline churches were 'transmissional' and 'priestly'. As Kelly correctly notes, any such distinction between 'creative' and 'transmissional' stages in the first-century Church is entirely misleading, for the emphasis on tradition was prominent from the very start (this feature was noted in chapter two of this study).⁶⁴

That feature which is noteworthy in the present passage under consideration is that the indwelling Holy Spirit is not antithetical to gospel tradition. Instead, the Holy Spirit is seen as of assistance in its preservation. The Holy Spirit is thus presented not only as a creative force but also as a preserving power.

A couple of other passages in the Pastoral Epistles allude to the Holy Spirit as an indwelling presence. II Tim 3:2-5 speaks of those whose lifestyle is one of godlessness. Nevertheless, these same individuals still attempt to put forward "a form of piety" (morphosin eusebeias). Although these individuals have a form of godliness, their lives do not reflect the "power" (dunamis) of a godly life. What is this power to which reference is made? Opinions have varied on its meaning. Falconer contends that it is the Risen Christ to whom the word refers.⁶⁵ Kelly⁶⁶ and Kent⁶⁷ postulate that it is the authentic gospel which is being denied. (Rom 1:16 refers to the "gospel" [euangelion] as the power of God).

Although both of the above suggestions have merit, I believe

a third interpretation deserves attention. It is obvious from v 5 that dunamin is to be seen in connection with eusebeias. The believer is to draw upon an inner power which assists in fulfilling the duty one owes to God, that is, living a godly or pious life.⁶⁸ I suggest that this inward power refers to the power of the Holy Spirit. Throughout the New Testament we see many examples of the connection between the Holy Spirit and power. On the day of Pentecost the disciples were to wait together until they had received the power of the Holy Spirit necessary to live as witnesses of the gospel (Acts 1:8). This inward empowering of the Holy Spirit to live a godly life is attested in numerous references (Rom 15:13,19; I Thess 1:5; Eph 1:19,20; Acts 4:31, 33; 6:3,5,8). To argue as Falconer does, that 'power' refers to the Risen Christ, is to read into the passage a meaning which has little direct support in other literature of the period. The explanation is not given by Falconer as to how the Risen Christ is to empower one towards godliness, apart from the power of the Holy Spirit. The view put forward by Kelly and Kent does have some merit; however, the majority of references to 'power' necessary for godliness favor the 'Holy Spirit' rather than the 'gospel' as its source. The gospel is seen as the power unto salvation (Rom 1:16; I Cor 1:18), but the Holy Spirit is depicted as the necessary source of power to live the gospel (Acts 1:8; Eph 3:16,17; Rom 15:18,19). It is plausible that II Tim 3:5 refers to the power of Holy Spirit which has been denied by some in the author's day. Since these individuals are not Spirit-filled, it is not surprising that they lack power.⁶⁹

We may also have reference to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in II Tim 4:22 wherein we find: "the Lord be with your spirit." As

noted earlier in this paper, the Apostolic Fathers saw the spirit working through the pneumatic so closely that the pneumatics can be called spirits (Did. 11:11; 12:1; 15:1; Barn. 1:5). This notion may have been prevalent when the Pastorals were written. The phrase "the Lord be with your spirit" is certainly Pauline in character (Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; Phlm 25). It is, of course, quite possible that "your spirit" is simply a Hebraism for "you."⁷⁰ However, some scholars maintain that it refers to the Holy Spirit.⁷¹ If this view is correct this would indicate an understanding in the Pastoral churches which sees the Spirit as an integral force within the Christian believer.

Overt Pneumatic Activity in the Pastoral Epistles

Overt pneumatic activity can be categorized under two labels: non-problematic and problematic. Non-problematic (or positive) overt pneumatic activity refers to pneumatic activity which was accepted by the churches reflected in the New Testament as being: a) Holy Spirit inspired, and; b) non-disruptive in its manifestation within the Christian community. Problematic (or negative) overt pneumatic activity refers to pneumatic activity which was rejected by the churches reflected in the New Testament as being: a) non-Holy Spirit inspired and/or; b) disruptive (i.e., manifestations which seek to draw the church away from genuine received tradition). We see both types of overt pneumatic activity in evidence in the Pastoral Epistles.

Non-problematic Overt Pneumatic Activity. When reading the Pastoral Epistles one cannot but be struck by the major role played by prophecy, particularly as it relates to Timothy.⁷² As we shall see, prophecy contributed significantly to the charismatic grounding of Timothy's

ministry. Timothy's charismatic authority is obviously seen in these verses. The questions to be asked are: is the depiction of Timothy's authority as being ground in the Spirit and displayed by overt pneumatic activity required of all those in church leadership? Were the intended readers of these letters to have seen this type of charismatic enduement as being essential for their own ministries? If not, why include these descriptions of Timothy's charismatic enduement? These questions must be kept in mind as we examine the following passages.

In I Tim 1:18 we see our first reference to prophecy. The verse reads as follows: "This command (or instruction) I commit to you, child Timothy, according to the preceeding prophecies respecting you [kata tas proagousas epi se propheteias], in order that you might by them fight the good fight." The understanding of this verse is not without difficulty. Two interpretations have been favoured. Some scholars believe that the prophecies referred to were utterances made by Christian prophets pointing out to Paul Timothy's promise of useful work.⁷³ Hanson (somewhat uncharacteristically, given his views regarding the lack of charismatic activity in the Pastorals) states the following about v 18:

It no doubt gives us a picture of how candidates for ordination were selected. A Christian prophet (whether ordained or not) would probably have some part in declaring who should be ordained, and may have participated in the ordination service, though we certainly cannot identify the prophetic utterances with any formula of ordination.⁷⁴

It has been suggested that these prophecies may parallel those given to the Antiochine church regarding the missionary vocation of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:1-3).⁷⁵ The fact that "prophecies" is plural would

seem to indicate that either the prophecy was repeated more than on one occasion, or there was more than one speaker. Both may be true.⁷⁶

The major difficulty with this view is that we have no indication in Acts or in Paul's letters that Paul's selection of Timothy for ministry was indicated by prophecy. This difficulty has led other scholars to postulate that the prophecies were given just prior to or at the time of Paul's ordination of Timothy.⁷⁷ If such is the case, did the prophecies direct that Timothy be ordained? Or did the prophecy provide confirmation and encouragement to the selection already made by Paul?⁷⁸ In order to clarify this verse more fully it has been suggested that I Tim 1:18 be seen in connection with I Tim 4:14.⁷⁹

I Tim 4:14 reads: "Do not be neglectful of the gift [charismatos] which was given to you by means of prophecies [dia prophetais] with the laying on of the hands of the body of elders [meta epitheseos ton cheiron tou presbuterion]." Two immediate questions arise. First, does the reference to prophecies in I Tim 4:14 refer to the same prophecies given in I Tim 1:18? Second, what is the nature of the gift mentioned in I Tim 4:14. In response to the first question, if the occasion of these prophecies is the same, we must ask ourselves why I Tim 1:18 does not mention that Timothy was given a gift? If, as some suggest, these prophecies occurred at the time of Timothy's ordination to ministry, why is there no body of elders mentioned in I Tim 1:18? On the other hand, if these prophecies occurred at different times (presumably I Tim 1:18 before I Tim 4:14), it is necessary to explain in more detail the occasions of these utterances. Although it is difficult to say definitively that these prophecies did not occur on the same occasion, I believe they did not. I will put forth my reasons for this

belief after examining the question; what is meant by the term 'gift' (charismatos) in I Tim 4:14?

Charisma is used twice in the Pastoral Epistles (I Tim 4:14; II Tim 1:6). On both occasions explicit reference to the exact nature of the gift is not given. Nevertheless, two similarities are found in both verses. First, in both passages the context is one of trying to encourage use of a neglected gift. Second, both passages maintain that the reception of this gift by Timothy was accompanied by a laying on of hands.⁸⁰ Although I Tim 4:14 maintains that Timothy received the "gift" when the elders laid hands upon him, and II Tim 1:6 mentions only Paul laying hands on Timothy, it is likely that these verses refer to the same occasion.⁸¹

As a result of the ambiguity surrounding the term charisma in these two verses, several proposals have been put forth. Some have suggested that charisma refers to the "grace" of office being transferred.⁸² Others have suggested that charisma appears to be the spiritual equipment received at the time of ordination.⁸³ Part of the gift may be the gift of discernment between the true and the false.⁸⁴ This would be important in being able to exhort, teach and guide. However, to assume that charisma is "given once for all in the course of an act of ordination," and that it is "no longer the wholly free gift of Spirit,"⁸⁵ is to read into the text that which cannot be supported historically. Even Hanson recognizes that at this stage in the development of the church there is no strict co-relation between charisma and ministry.⁸⁶ Also, to believe that charisma is the spiritual equipment one receives at the time of "ordination" makes the act of ordination instrumental in the bestowal of spiritual gifts. Pauline tradition indicates that

the Holy Spirit is instrumental in the bestowal of spiritual gifts (I Cor 12:11). If the author of the Pastorals was trying to pass on Pauline tradition, certainly he would not have changed this key feature of Paul's pneumatology. It is therefore more likely to assume that charisma refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁷

In II Tim 1:6 Timothy is reminded "to fan the flame of the gift of God" (anazōpurein to charisma tou theou). This may be a conscious reference to the thought of the Spirit as fire (cf. Acts 2:3; Matt 25:8; I Thess 5:19).⁸⁸ The charisma is certainly more than natural ability and has the character of a supernatural operation of the Spirit. The fact that the charisma is specified as being "in" [en] Timothy makes the point that the true gift of God is an internal grace and not an external operation.⁸⁹ In II Tim 1:7 the use of "us" (hēmin) in the phrase, "God gave not to us a spirit of cowardice, but of power and love and of self-control," may indirectly refer to the outpouring of the Spirit on the church at Pentecost.⁹⁰ Undoubtedly the reference to "spirit" in regards to cowardice does not refer to the Holy Spirit but "a" spirit. However, the understood use of Spirit in the next clause certainly refers to the Holy Spirit.⁹¹ In this context three specific graces mediated by the Holy Spirit are mentioned: "power" (dunameōs) "love" (agapēs), and "self-control" (sōphronismou).

The association of power with the Spirit of God goes back at least to Mic 3:8. Throughout the New Testament (especially the writings of Paul and Luke) we find further association of power with the Holy Spirit (I Thess 1:5; Rom 15:19; Luke 1:35, 4:14; Acts 1:8, 10:38). The power referred to in II Tim 1:7 does not refer to outward manifestations of confirming wonders, but of the inward strengthening of Timothy

needed to fulfill his ministry.⁹² This notion of power is very similar to that expressed in II Tim 3:5, which was discussed previously in this chapter. The graces of love and self-control are also associated with genuine Pauline tradition (Gal 5:22,23) concerning the "fruit" (karpos) of the Holy Spirit.⁹³ As a result of the author's usage of terms connected with the Holy Spirit, it is quite probable that charisma refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit, not an "office" or a spiritual manifestation of the Spirit which one permanently possesses. The gift of the Holy Spirit, who is imparted to the believer from God, in turn imparts his own gifts to the believer (I Cor 12:11). Let us now return to the question of prophecy and the sequence of events depicted in the passages presently under consideration.

According to the view that charisma in I Tim refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit I suggest the following. First, I Tim 4:14 and II Tim 1:6,7 refer to Timothy's reception of the gift of the Holy Spirit which occurred at the time when hands were laid upon him (possibly at the time of Timothy's initiation into Christianity). The fact that I Tim 4:14 states that this gift was given "by means of prophecy" (dia prophēteias) is not too problematic. Dia prophēteias can also be translated "to the accompaniment of prophecy."⁹⁴ Although reception of the gift of the Spirit was often seen occurring in concert with glossolalia in the early church (Acts 2:4; 10:45,46), it was not uncommon that prophecy would also accompany the reception of the Spirit (Acts 19:6; 2:18b). If, on the other hand, the laying on of hands referred to a rite of ordination, to what "office" was Timothy being ordained? There is no evidence that Timothy ever served as an elder or bishop. He is referred to in varying instances as a helper (Acts 19:22); a

fellow-worker (Rom 16:21); and an evangelist (II Tim 4:5). We have no explicit evidence in the New Testament that these functions required "ordination."

Second, in my opinion I Tim 1:18 does not refer to the prophecies which occurred at the time of Timothy's reception of the gift of the Spirit (cf. I Tim 4:14), nor do they refer to a word of foreknowledge pointing to Timothy as an individual who was to be especially called out for Christian service. I submit that this verse may recount prophecies made by Timothy himself. The key phrase in understanding this verse is "according to the preceding prophecies concerning you" (kata tas proagousas epi se propheteias). An alternative translation may be, "according to the prophecies which pointed me to you." In other words, Paul is saying "I saw you exercise prophetic utterances after you received the gift of the Spirit and I liked what I saw." The word "preceding" (proagousas) does not mean "preceding prophecies given by others pointing Timothy out as a ministerial candidate," but, prophecies Timothy gave "prior to Paul's choosing him as a co-laborer" (cf. Acts 16:2,3a). Timothy's prophecies indicated to Paul that he would be valuable in Christian service. The content of these prophecies was not a foretelling of the future, but a "forthtelling" of God's word in the form of exhortation and encouragement. As a result of these words of edification, Paul could remind Timothy to remember those words spoken by himself in order that "by them" (en autais) he "might wage the good warfare" (strateue en autais ten kalen strateian). Prophetic utterance was seen as a most valuable gift in the instruction, teaching, and edification of the early church. Pauline tradition stated that prophecy was to be "eagerly desired" (I Cor 14:1). Because of the problems

facing the churches reflected in the Pastoral Epistles (to be discussed later), it is not unreasonable to assume that "genuine" prophetic utterances would be seen as desirous.

Regardless of whether Timothy actually delivered the prophecies himself or they were delivered by others concerning him, the point remains that the author of the Pastorals saw the importance of drawing upon Pauline tradition concerning prophecy. The question remains as to why this was so? I would suggest that the author believed that in order to fully convey sound teaching in the faith it was essential that those in leadership draw upon the resources of the Holy Spirit (II Tim 1:14). Part of drawing upon those resources would include manifesting overt pneumatic activity. As such, those in positions of leadership should not shun such activity, but encourage it, especially desiring prophecy.

In addition to the prophecies concerning Timothy, it may be possible to locate in the Pastorals those verses which take unto themselves prophetic form and content. An example of such a passage would be I Tim 4:1. Although this passage was touched upon earlier during our discussion of the "Spirit as revealer," it will be helpful to examine this passage briefly once again in order to examine more fully its form.

The opening phrase of this verse states, "Now the Spirit clearly [literally, 'in words'] says" (To de pneuma r̄het̄os legei). But where does "the Spirit clearly say"? The author probably was not referring to a specific word of the Lord.⁹⁵ If so, he probably would have said so in order to substantiate his position. Nevertheless, the words of this prophecy reflect the general tenor of apocalyptic passages,

especially those teachings of Jesus (Mk 13:21-3).⁹⁶ Although Hanson suggests that this prophecy may be solely the fabrication of the author, a better suggestion is that he is drawing upon some explicit teaching of Christian prophecy.⁹⁷ If so, this means "that prophecy was taken so seriously in this community, that its general shape could be remembered and its specific statements referred to."⁹⁸ Could it be that the author himself gave the prophecy? A parallel passage, found in II Tim 4:3,4, appears to be of a prophetic nature. The passage is not set off by an introduction claiming Spirit inspiration, but is part of the author's flow of instruction. Of course, the author may have been referring to I Tim 4:1 (although there has been some debate as to whether II Tim preceded I Tim). In any case, it is obvious that the role and function of prophecy was seen as important. We must also remember that if the Pastoral Epistles were written at a relatively late date in the first century, they would not be far removed in time from the Didache, wherein (as seen in chapter three of this paper), prophets are held in very high honor, equivalent to the status of bishops.⁹⁹

It may be possible to see other examples of positive overt pneumatic experience in the Pastoral Epistles. Ellis puts forth the view that the "faithful sayings" (i.e., "faithful is the word" [pistos ho logos] cf. I Tim 1:15; I Tim 3:1; I Tim 4:9; Tit 3:8; II Tim 2:11) may represent the teaching of a circle of prophets.¹⁰⁰ If so, were prophetic utterances under suspicion in the Pastoral communities, thus requiring the hearers of the prophecies to be reassured that what they had heard were "trustworthy statements worthy of full acceptance"? What was the content of these "faithful sayings"? Of the five "faithful sayings" noted in the Pastoral Epistles, four of them either stress

things to be taught or the proper qualifications of teachers (i.e., a bishop, I Tim 3:2). Only I Tim 1:15 seems to lack either of the aforementioned contextual characteristics.¹⁰¹ If indeed these "faithful sayings" reflect the teachings of a circle of prophets, it appears that we have evidence indicating the use of prophetic utterance to establish or maintain institutional forms, that being, the use of tradition (teach "these" things, cf. I Tim 4:11; II Tim 2:14; Tit 3:8) and church leadership ("if anyone aspires to oversight desires a good work," cf. I Tim 3:1).

Problematic Overt Pneumatic Activity. Not all the charismatic activity that we see in the Pastoral Epistles is positive. Negative overt pneumatic activity may also be identified. Admittedly, much of this evidence is implicit. However, explicit evidence also exists. When all of the evidence is amassed, I believe we will see that some of the major problems facing the churches of the Pastoral Epistles were rooted in negative overt pneumatic activity. Ultimately, a strong, doctrinally "orthodox," morally "pure" leadership was emphasized as a partial solution to these problems.

When reading the Pastoral Epistles, one cannot but be struck by the large amount of discussion concerning false doctrine, false teachers, and apostasy (cf. I Tim. 1:3-11; I Tim 4:1-5; I Tim 6:3-10; II Tim 3:1-9; Tit 1:10-16). When trying to ascertain the exact nature of these problems, one is faced with numerous clues, but not a systematic treatment of the disorder. The difficulty with interpreting these clues is trying to decide whether the problems have one root cause or whether each has their own cause. For the purpose of this discussion, I am assuming that some of the problems faced by the churches

of the Pastoral Epistles had, as their root cause, a form of incipient gnosticism, which was primarily Jewish in nature. This notion does not preclude the possibility that other influences contributed to the problems encountered by these churches. We merely assume that the type of incipient gnosticism displayed in the Pastoral Epistles was the predominant force behind the rise of problematic overt pneumatic activity. In order to illustrate this connection, it is necessary to examine the text closely.

What are the characteristic features of incipient Jewish gnosticism? The answer to this question is best formulated by first examining gnosticism in general. It is commonly agreed that 'gnosticism' is a rather loose term. Only a few of the several sects, groups, and tendencies now considered gnostic were known as such in their own time. It is unlikely that any group was known as such when the Pastoral Epistles were written. For this reason the type of gnosticism which we are discussing is best described as incipient. However, this fact should not preclude the use of this convenient term for the religious movement that proclaimed a mystical esotericism for the elect based on illumination and the acquisition of a higher knowledge of things heavenly and divine.¹⁰² It is to this knowledge that the very term 'gnōsis', meaning knowledge, alludes.

In all gnostic systems there appears a radical dualism between matter and spirit.¹⁰³ Matter was viewed negatively, and it was held to be quite incapable of raising itself (or even of being raised) to the realm of the spirit.¹⁰⁴ Yet, it was always thought possible for spirit to become embodied in material forms, and on this assumption a series of aeons could be postulated, linking the worlds of spirit and

matter.¹⁰⁵ The ultimate goal of gn̄osis was that "the pneumatic might know the heavenly origin of his spirit and that through this knowledge he might at death be enabled to outwit the arch̄ons and return to the sphere where he truly belonged."¹⁰⁶

Gn̄osis for the gnostic was unlike gn̄osis for either the Greek or the Jew. It was not simply a body of teachings rationally comprehended.¹⁰⁷ Gn̄osis was a matter of knowledge of the 'Supreme God', and as such it included the understanding of all kinds of secrets relative to the world of the spirit.¹⁰⁸ Gnostic knowledge was an actual part of the subjective religious experience of the 'knower'. "The Gnostic did not 'know' because he had been taught, but because he was the recipient of some specific revelation."¹⁰⁹ It is quite possible that it was this type of gnosticism, albeit in a somewhat primitive form, which we encounter in the Pastoral Epistles. There is, however, an additional element which we need to consider. The form of incipient gnosticism displayed in the Pastoral Epistles has a distinctly Jewish flavour.

The Pastorals show a characteristic blending of gnostic aeon-speculation with a strict legalism. Although gnostics were vehement in their denunciation of the Old Testament (they absolutely rejected the concept of the Old Testament Creator God), Judaism has been considered to be a most likely and fertile source of gnosticism, particularly the Judaism of the Diaspora.¹¹⁰ It is true that some would regard the term Jewish gnosticism as self-contradictory: what is Jewish cannot be gnostic; what is gnostic cannot be Jewish. That fact is, a line can be drawn from some pre-Christian groups of Jews to Jewish Christian heretics in the second century. Some have seen in the mysticism of the Essenes a pre-Christian Judaism of gnostic character.¹¹¹

Others, in their analysis of early Christian gnostic teachings and their Jewish implications, have concluded that the oldest documents of Christian gnosticism presuppose a Jewish gnōsis in which the figure of the Redeemer has not yet acquired a central place.¹¹² In addition, Jewish gnostic development may not have taken place in Palestine alone, but in Babylonia as well. In the latter locale, Jewish and Persian elements seem intertwined with each other.¹¹³ It has been suggested that the Jewish elements in the Mandaean texts are much stronger than generally supposed.¹¹⁴

We may also see a clue regarding the development of Jewish gnosticism in the mystical revelations known as the Hekhaloth books. Most of these texts purport to be revelations about the heavenly chariot, the Merkabah. The texts describe a kind of "mystic way" leading up to the final goal of the soul.¹¹⁵ The object of the vision was to be carried directly into the halls of the unseen. Although the Hekhaloth books were probably written after the period of the Pastoral Epistles, the possibility has been raised that these writings were drawing upon older Merkabah speculations and visions.¹¹⁶ It should also be noted that ecstatic journeys are well-known in Jewish literature from the days of the early apocalypticists to those of the Hekhaloth (e.g., T. Levi 2:5).¹¹⁷ Paul's ascension into the "third heaven" (II Cor 12:2-4) may serve as a link between the older Jewish texts and the gnōsis of the Tannaitic Merkabah mystics.¹¹⁸

In I Tim 1:3-11, we see what appears to be a form of primitive Jewish gnosticism. Certain individuals are teaching various "myths and genealogies" (muthois kai genealogiais) while at the same time desiring to be "teachers of the law" (nomodidaskaloi). This appears to

be very similar to the problem indicated in Tit 3:9, wherein there are arguments and quarrels about the law and foolish controversies and speculations concerning genealogies. The expression "myths and genealogies" is to be seen as one. Some see the reference to myths pointing to those used by the gnostics, while the genealogies would then correspond to the list of emanations by means of which the gnostics sought to account for the creation of the world and the origin of the human race.¹¹⁹ Others lay stress on the idea that "myths and genealogies" refer to speculative treatment of the Old Testament, referring specifically perhaps to stories of the creation, and other stories, respectively.¹²⁰ Much of the rabbinical Haggadah consisted of just such a fanciful re-writing of Scripture.¹²¹ For example, the "Book of Jubilees is an attempt to rewrite primitive history from the standpoint of the law based on the genealogies and introducing many legends about evil spirits."¹²² It may not be necessary to choose between these two alternatives since the heresy mentioned in Colossians appears to bear witness to a combination of Jewish and Gnostic elements.¹²³ The author of I Tim 6:20 simply refers to this combination as godless chatter and opposing tenets of what is falsely called "knowledge" (gnō̄sis).

Out of this background of incipient Jewish gnosticism and false knowledge appears what we have labelled "problematic overt pneumatic activity." This is most vividly displayed in the manifestation of false prophecy. Ellis notes that false prophets appear, implicitly or explicitly, in virtually all strata of the New Testament and in other early Christian literature.¹²⁴ This type of prophecy would convey a teaching of demons (I Tim 4:1; cf. Jas 3:15) characterized by greed (Phil 3:19; I Tim 6:5-10) and by asceticism or sexual

licentiousness (II Tim 3:6; Jude 7,8; I Tim 4:1-3).¹²⁵ I Tim 4:1 explicitly states that those abandoning the faith were doing so as a result of following "deceiving spirits and teachings of demons" (planois pneumasin kai didaskaliais daimonion). The teaching of demons in a more general sense would have included all harmful mysteries illegitimately revealed by angels (e.g., "magic" and incantations).¹²⁶ In contrast to the elect angels in I Tim 5:21, these spirits and demons belong to lower orders of angels.¹²⁷ The seductive ascetic laws of these angels stands in contrast to the warning words of the Spirit (I Tim 4:1). It is not by accident that the confession of the truth (I Tim 3:15,16; cf. 3:9) precedes the warning about the ascetic teachings of spirits.¹²⁸ I would suggest that the "teaching of demons" was made manifest through overt pneumatic activity, which was seen as problematic in the eyes of the author of the Pastorals. Ellis concurs, stating that these "teachers of the law" were in fact pneumatics.¹²⁹

In II Tim 3:1-9,13 these false teachers are compared to the "impostors" (goētes), Jannes and Jambres. According to the targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Jannes and Jambres were the magicians or sorcerers who defied Moses before Pharaoh (Exod 7:11,22; 9:11).¹³⁰ The word goētes in v 13 literally means a "magician" or "wizard," especially one who works with verbal formulae.¹³¹ "To goētia belong conjurations, since it normally works with the help of evil, lower and stupid material demons."¹³² We conceivably have here an allusion to false teachers (or prophets?) in the Pastoral communities who are dabbling in the magic arts, those who are "deceivers and deceived."¹³³ It should also be noticed that in the New Testament religious charlatans regularly claimed miraculous powers (Acts 8:9; Matt 24:24).¹³⁴

I Tim 4:1-8 offers us more information on the teaching of these "deceitful spirits." Although these evil spirits and demons employ human agents, the source of the teaching is rooted in the demons themselves.¹³⁵ It is known that some elements in contemporary Judaism were interested with the activities of demons.¹³⁶ The New Testament as a whole presents God's act of rescue in Christ as banishing the fear of demons, though they are acknowledged as part of the religious background. These doctrines of demons, as presented in I Tim 4:1-8 and II Tim 2:16-18, exhibit three characteristics:

(a) There is the prohibition of marriage. This practise was especially congenial for a person of the Hellenistic age on anti-materialistic grounds. It is no wonder that we meet this prohibition in connection with these incipient gnostic ideas.¹³⁷ (b) There is abstinence from foods.¹³⁸ We also see indirect evidence of asceticism in I Tim 5:23 and Tit 1:15. This practise derives partly from the same motivations as the sexual asceticism, and partly from traditional Jewish food laws.¹³⁹ This type of asceticism with regard to food is also a characteristic of the Colossian syncretism (a Judaizing gnosticism, possibly).¹⁴⁰

(c) There is also enthusiasm, together with a spiritualizing of the hope of the resurrection.¹⁴¹ This "gnostic denial of eschatology" so exalts the present "spiritualized" status of the individual that there is no need for hope and faith.¹⁴² In II Tim 2:17, Hymenaeus (probably the same as in I Tim 1:20) and Philetus are singled out as the major proponents of this view. The false pneumatics had materialized a spiritual experience and had spiritualized the resurrection of the body.¹⁴³ In many respects we see in these verses an echo of the false prophecy (concerning realized eschatology) mentioned in I Thess 4:13-5:4. In both

instances I would suggest that the conclusion reached by these erring individuals came as a result of an incorrect understanding or use of overt pneumatic activity.

In I Tim 2:8-15 it may be possible to glimpse a further piece of evidence concerning problematic overt pneumatic activity. In this particular passage we find reference to a command that women are to remain silent. Dibelius cites Theodoret as saying that "since women too have the benefit of the prophetic gift, it was necessary that he give instructions also about that."¹⁴⁴ Does this mean that the author, by advocating silence for women, was instructing them to prophesy no longer? Or did the author have an occasion of improper overt pneumatic activity in mind?

There was a long tradition in ancient religion of female figures, both human and divine, who served as mediators of spiritual knowledge.¹⁴⁵ Women were supposed to possess a special affinity for the divine. A well known example is the priestess Pythia, through whom Apollo spoke in Delphi.¹⁴⁶ Although ordinary women were disbarred from approaching the oracle, the mouthpiece was always a woman.¹⁴⁷ At a later time, Tertullian reported that several groups, known as the Ophitic sects (honoring the snake), based their theology on the secret gnōsis given to Eve by the serpent.¹⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that the prohibition of I Tim 2:12 against female teachers is based on the Adam and Eve rebuttal of verses 13-14. Epiphanius tells us that certain women heretics did indeed justify their doctrinal aberrations on the basis of the superior knowledge Eve first gave.¹⁴⁹ This is not to insist that there is a precise identification of I Tim 2:12 with these female heretics. Nevertheless, those elements which would later crystallize around certain

leaders already existed in a more nebulous form in the churches reflected in the Pastorals.¹⁵⁰

If the preceding line of thought is correct, it would then appear that the structure of I Tim 2:12 refers to the heretical doctrines and practise of women and to their assertion that they have been given a special revelation which only they can impart to men.¹⁵¹ If the female heretics were to be silenced, the author of the Pastorals would need to refute their use of Eve as a paradigmatic revealer of truth to man.¹⁵² Regardless of the overt pneumatic means by which these women received revelations, the author of the Pastorals viewed them as problematic. As a result of these and other problems faced by the churches of the Pastoral Epistles, the author called for the use of institutional forms in order to correct those things which were in error. In addition, institutional forms were utilized to preserve and strengthen those things to which one must hold in order to behave properly "in the household of God." It is to these institutional forms that we now turn our attention.

Institutional Forms in the Pastoral Epistles

It is my contention that one of the reasons why we see the development of institutional forms in the Pastoral Epistles is that they served as a protection for acceptable charismatic activity and a protection against spurious charismatic activity. The intent of this section is not to examine all of the instances of institutional forms used in the Pastoral Epistles and the development thereof, but to briefly state how institutional forms served their dual protective role.

The Role of a Body of Literature in the Ordering of the
Church Communities Reflected in the
Pastoral Epistles

There are several specific passages in the Pastoral Epistles which indicate that a body of literature was used to encourage and/or restore order to those communities reflected therein. In a general sense one may argue that the entire Pastoral Epistles were designed to meet that end.¹⁵³ Unquestionably, the instruction given within the Pastorals was designed so that "people will know how to behave in God's household" (I Tim 3:15). More specifically, part of the instruction for these communities was to be conveyed through the "reading" (anagnōsei) (I Tim 4:13). Presumably this would mean the reading aloud in public worship of the Scriptures (i.e., the Old Testament). The Church carried on this synagogue practise and made it a basic element of Christian worship (Luke 4:16; Acts 15:21; II Cor 3:14).¹⁵⁴ It should be noted that this reference to the public reading of Scripture falls within the context of the discussion concerning those who are "abandoning the faith" and "following deceiving spirits and teachings of demons" (I Tim 4:1-15). This problem we have labelled as incipient Jewish gnosticism. The public reading of Scripture is to protect the hearer from such theological deviation (I Tim 4:15).

In II Tim 3:15 we have further reference to the "sacred writings" (hiera grammata). Only in this passage of the Bible is the term hiera grammata found. The context of the passage indicates that these writings are able "to make one wise to salvation" (sophisai eis sotērian). It is probable that the author of the Pastorals wishes to hint at an antithesis both to the unwritten "myths and genealogies" of

the false teachers and to the sacred books and claims of the sorcerers at Ephesus (II Tim 3:13; cf. Acts 19:19).¹⁵⁵ These false teachers are described in I Tim 1:7 as wanting to be "teachers of the law, but they do not know what they are talking about." That which is falsely called "knowledge" (gnō̄sis) (I Tim 6:20) will never be able to make one "wise" to salvation.

Furthermore, this theme of "sacred writings" versus the varieties of doubtful literature used by the false teachers is emphasized in II Tim 3:16,17. In these verses emphasis is laid upon the fact that "all [or every] Scripture" (pasa graphe) is "God-breathed" (theopneustos). As noted earlier, many gnostics rejected outright the Old Testament. Other gnostics were more eclectic in their use of the Old Testament. The author of the Pastorals forcefully indicates that all Scripture is God-breathed and therefore useful for teaching and giving instruction in righteousness. In addition, Scripture is a vital tool for refuting false teachers (cf. Tit 1:9,13,14), and rebuking those who sin (cf. I Tim 5:21; Tit 2:15).¹⁵⁶

We also find throughout the Pastoral Epistles several quotations or paraphrases of the Old Testament. The most important for our purposes is found in II Tim 2:19. This verse in fact contains two Old Testament references. The first is from Num 16:5 and is a rather loose version of the LXX. It states, "the Lord knows those who are his." The original context of the verse is important. It comes from the story of the revolt of Dathan and Abiram against the authority of Moses and Aaron. The quotation is actually Moses' answer to the challenge of the rebels. One cannot fail to see the appropriateness of this reference to the author's situation, for the false teachers

were certainly challenging the authority of those given the oversight of the Pastoral churches.¹⁵⁷ The second reference is a composite quotation from Isa 52:11: "Let everyone who names the name of the Lord depart from iniquity." Originally a call to the exiled Israelites to come out of doomed Babylon, it is echoed here as a call to those false teachers who once knew the truth (II Tim 2:18) to put aside their false teachings and return to the true faith.¹⁵⁸ Without question a body of literature (in particular the Old Testament) is being referred to as a corrective to the problems faced by the churches reflected in the Pastorals, and as a source of inspiration for those desiring to live in accordance with apostolic teaching (II Tim 3:14-17).

The Adherence to Tradition for the Purpose of Conforming Ecclesiastical Practise to a Pre-Established Norm

As a result of the new challenges faced by the churches of the Pastoral Epistles, there was a tendency to require adherence to set tradition for the purpose of conforming behavior to a pre-established norm. What was this pre-established norm? It was doctrine and practice derived from the teachings of Jesus, the apostles, and the sacred writings as interpreted by those currently in positions of church leadership, of which the author of the Pastorals saw himself a member. In effect, the teachings of Jesus, the apostles, and the sacred writings were the sources of tradition for the churches of the Pastoral Epistles. The author of the Pastorals saw himself as flowing along with this stream of early Christian tradition. As such, he could admonish his readers to accept what he wrote because he saw his instruction as part of acceptable, "orthodox," Christian tradition. In turn, the readers of those epistles, individuals such as bishops, elders,

and deacons, were to pass on what they had received. They too were instrumental in preserving and promulgating Christian tradition.

There are several passages in the Pastorals which tend to support the view just presented. In I Tim 6:3, in response to the false teaching present in the Ephesian church, we find the statement: "If anyone teaches differently [heterodidaskalei] and does not agree to the sound instruction of our Lord Jesus Christ and to godly teaching, he is conceited and understands nothing." The "sound instruction of the Lord" is possibly an allusion to some written collection of the Lord's teaching.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, oral tradition may be what the author has in mind (cf. Acts 20:35). Regardless, the point remains, false teaching is antithetical to sound teaching rooted in the Jesus tradition. True knowledge comes as a result of heeding godly teaching. One who heeds false gnōsis in fact understands nothing.

The reader is continually to nourish himself on the good words and teaching of the faith, which he has to this point followed (I Tim 4:6). Likewise, II Tim 1:13 encourages the reader to follow the pattern of sound (hugiainontōn) words he has heard from the author which is in the faith and love of Christ Jesus. II Tim 3:14 cites the "sacred letters" and godly teaching as the reason to continue in the faith. However, the author points out that the credibility of this teaching is further emphasized by the fact that the reader is personally acquainted with the one who was doing the teaching, i.e., the author. The fact that Timothy has been exposed to the Scriptures from infancy (II Tim 3:15) also alludes to the fact that the Christian household is important for effective training in Christian tradition (cf. II Tim 1:5). We should also be aware that the author regards the "deposit"

(paratheke) of trustworthy instruction to be mediated by the presence of God as it is represented by the Holy Spirit living in the believer (II Tim 1:14). Thus, in his understanding of godly instruction and the Scriptures, the author has revealed that behind the structure of these instructions and traditions is the presence of the living God.¹⁶⁰

Not only was the reader to receive sound teaching and instruction rooted in Christian tradition, he was to pass this tradition on to others who in turn would pass it on to others still (II Tim 2:2; Tit 2:1). Beyond giving instruction in sound doctrine, the church leader was to hold on to the "faithful word" (pistou logou) as taught in order to refute or convince those who contradict it (Tit 1:9). This admonition comes in Titus in the context of those who are members of the "circumcision party" and who pay attention to "Jewish myths" (Ioudaikois muthois). Once again we find tradition being used in order to refute a doctrine and practise which, as we have argued previously, was rooted in problematic charismatic activity.

It is of interest to note that in spite of the author's insistence on tradition being rooted in the teachings of Jesus, the apostles, church leaders and the Old Testament scriptures, we find evidence in the Pastoral Epistles of tradition being rooted in other sources. First, as noted in II Tim 3:8, we have reference to a piece of haggada based originally on Exod 8:8-19. This haggada reference to Jannes and Jambres is illustrative of the fact that sources of tradition, other than those mentioned above, were drawn into the discussion as argument against false teachers. Although the reference to Jannes and Jambres is merely for analogous purposes, its use points to the familiarity with haggadic tradition in the lives of the author

and his readers. Second, it has been argued that the author of the Pastorals views the church as a social entity, the structure of which is modelled on the "household rules" (Haustafel).¹⁶¹ In so doing, the author employs the concept of the household of God (on analogy with the traditional patriarchal household) in order to bolster the authority of the leadership group against challenges from below.¹⁶² Although at times not directly related to the issue of charismatic activity, the use of the Christian Haustafel tradition serves as an important model for the proper ordering of the "household of God" in the Pastoral Epistles.¹⁶³

Roles of Leadership and Authority for the Purpose of Establishing Orderly Conduct and Instruction

As we have seen in I Tim 3:14,15, the major purpose of the Pastoral Epistles was to instruct the people "how to behave in the household of God." Part of this instruction included reference to those who were in positions of leadership and authority. In Tit 1:5, we have a clear indication that those in positions of authority were to conform to acceptable doctrine and practise. In this passage we are told that Titus was left on Crete to set in order those things which were defective, and in so doing appoint elders as directed. The idea behind this passage is that there were unfinished reforms which needed completing. This would imply that the church in Crete, far from being recently founded, had existed long enough to grow corrupt and was in the process of being reformed.¹⁶⁴ I would suggest that false teachers made inroads into the leadership circle of the church in Crete. As a result, the author of the Pastorals indicates that new leaders (elders, v 5) were to be installed, providing they met the specified criteria set out in the epistle. One of the criteria, set

forth in Tit 1:9, is that an elder be able to distinguish sound from unsound doctrine. As vv 10-11 indicate, there were those who were teaching doctrine and practises contrary to orderly conduct and godly instruction. It is no wonder that I Tim 3:2 also has as a qualification for a "bishop" or "overseer" (episkopēs) the ability to teach, implying of course teaching that encourages "godliness" (eusebeia).

Because we find mention in the Pastorals of those who function as bishops/elders¹⁶⁵ or deacons, we should not conclude that the role of charismatic activity has somehow diminished. As Goppelt correctly concludes: "the Spirit does not set the physical and historical elements aside, but enlists them into service."¹⁶⁶ In many respects, church order is a manifestation of the Spirit.¹⁶⁷ As we noted earlier in this chapter, Timothy was endued with a certain charismatic authority in order to carry out his ministry (I Tim 1:18, I Tim 4:14; II Tim 1:6,7). This charismatic authority was emphasized to illustrate that the "good warfare" cannot be waged on human strength alone (cf. I Tim 1:18; I Tim 4:7,8). Those who opposed the true gospel needed to be confronted boldly. For this reason church leaders needed to be assured that God did not give them a spirit of timidity, but a spirit of power and love and self-control (II Tim 1:7).

We should also draw attention to the fact that Timothy and Titus are portrayed in the Pastorals as Paul's special assistants rather than as prototypes of the monarchical bishop. Although their portrayal in the Pastorals does not provide direct information about the characteristics of any particular office in the church, they are definitely pictured as having a leadership role in the church.¹⁶⁸ The importance of the teaching function of the leadership, emphasized in

the section on the bishop in Tit 1:9, is highlighted to an even greater degree in various exhortations to Timothy and Titus.¹⁶⁹ I Tim 4:13 suggests that the worship assembly of the church was the regular setting for teaching activity. Much of the content of the teaching has to do with behavior and relationships in the household of God.¹⁷⁰ We must remember at this juncture that Pauline tradition saw teaching as one of the "gifts" (charismata) of God (Rom 12:6-8; I Cor 12:28). The notion that the teaching of sound doctrine is contrary to charismatic activity is a notion definitely uncharacteristic of Paul.

To Timothy in particular are given other labels describing his functions. In II Tim 4:5 he is said to be an "evangelist" (euangelistou) implying that he would "preach the gospel he has been entrusted with as opposed to alien fables."¹⁷¹ In II Tim 2:15 he is seen as a "workman" (ergatēn) who "correctly" handles the word of truth. In I Tim 4:6,7 he is to be a "good minister" (kalos diakonos), one who has nothing to do with profane or godless myths. If it is true (and I believe it is) that Timothy and Titus do not serve as a prototype of a particular office, the same cannot be said of their function. To the readers of the Pastoral Epistles the functions of Timothy and Titus were obviously meant to serve as a role model for their own respective ministries. If the bishops/elders were to rule or give oversight effectively in problematic church situations, it was imperative that the instruction given Timothy and Titus be applied to them. Leadership and authority would have to be exercised in order to re-establish orderly conduct and instruction in the church communities reflected in the Pastoral Epistles.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to indicate that the churches reflected in the Pastoral Epistles were still very much influenced by charismatic activity. I believe the explicit and implicit evidence presented indicates that this is in fact the case. There are rich theological and experiential aspects of the type of charismatic activity displayed in the Pastoral Epistles. Unfortunately, problematic elements were also shown to exist. However, regardless of whether the elements of charismatic activity were problematical or not, this study has shown that claims that the Pastorals indicate a dramatic decline in charismatic activity require re-examination.

It might be argued that mention of the more spectacular gifts, such as healings, miracles or glossolalia is lacking in the Pastorals. This fact should not be taken automatically to mean that the church communities reflected have declined in their use of overt pneumatic activity. There is a similar lack in Romans. In fact, there are fewer references to positive overt pneumatic experience in the genuine Pauline letters to the Galatians, the Thessalonians, the Philippians and to Philemon (also addressed to an individual) than there are in the Pastoral Epistles. Oddly enough, many still view the Pastorals as reflecting a less charismatically active period of the church.

Part of the reason why the Pastorals have been seen as declining in terms of charismatic activity is due to the perception that institutional forms are incompatible with charismatic activity. Since the Pastorals make definite mention of institutional forms (particularly a fixed form of church leadership) it is assumed that charismatic activity must have declined. We have suggested that this need not be

the case. Since there was much false teaching and practise of a type that we have labelled "problematic charismatic activity," it is not surprising to see an emphasis upon those institutional forms that would restore order to the church communities in question. Whether institutional forms eventually lead to a decline in charismatic activity is not the point in question for this discussion. At the stage of development reflected in the Pastorals we see at best a rather rudimentary structure. To argue that this structure would dramatically decrease charismatic activity is to see in the Pastorals a form of institutions which is not found until at least the period after the Apostolic Fathers.

Instead of seeing in the Pastoral Epistles church communities which have lost sight of charismatic activity, while taking on aspects of institutionalism, we see churches in the very throes of theological and experiential controversy. There is a dynamic present that is aiming to balance the tension between charismatic activity and institutional forms. Instead of presenting an agenda for the systematic decline of charismatic activity, the Pastorals present a framework for resolving problematic charismatic activity, while encouraging charismatic activity that is in conformity with the "mystery of our religion" (I Tim 3:16).

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER 4

¹The title "Pastoral" was given the letters to Timothy and Titus by P. Anton in 1726, in recognition of their distinct character and content. For a resume and assessment of recent trends regarding the authorship of the Pastorals see, E.E. Ellis, Paul and His Recent Interpreters (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973) 49-57. For those who disfavor Pauline authorship the following sources may be cited: M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles. Hermenia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972); B.S. Easton, The Pastoral Epistles (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947); R. Falconer, The Pastoral Epistles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937); A.T. Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles. New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); J.L. Houlden, The Pastoral Epistles. The Pelican New Testament Commentaries (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976); R.J. Karris. The Pastoral Epistles. New Testament Message (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1979); A.R.C. Leaney. Timothy, Titus and Philemon. (London: SCM, 1960); E.F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948). Those who favor Pauline authorship include the following: D. Guthrie. The Pastoral Epistles. Tyndale (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980, 1957); J.N.D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981, 1963); W. Lock, The Pastoral Epistles. ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973, 1924); E.K. Simpson, The Pastoral Epistles (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954); R. Ward, Commentary on 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus (Waco: Word, 1981, 1974).

²P.N. Harrison, The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles (Oxford: University Press, 1921); C.F.D. Moule, "The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles: A Reappraisal," BJRL 47(1965) 430-452.

³Ellis, Paul and His Recent Interpreters 51.

⁴Houlden, The Pastoral Epistles 27.

⁵R. Schnackenburg, The Church in the New Testament (New York: Seabury, 1965) 100. Schnackenburg states: "There can be no doubt then that the Church in the pastoral epistles assumes a more institutional appearance which seems to contrast with the "pneumatic" and indeed heavenly nature of the Church in Paul's earlier letters." Banks also sees the Pastorals presenting a less dynamic view of the Christian community, R. Banks, Paul's Idea of Community (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 194.

⁶MacDonald, The Legend and the Apostle (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983) 55,59-71. MacDonald asserts that pseudonymity was a widespread early Christian practise, especially in the Pauline tradition. As examples, he cites an Epistle to the Laodicians, a Prayer of the Apostle Paul, and an Apocalypse of Paul. "Pseudonymity. . . represents a kind of 'transsubjectivity' in that it reclaims the

foundational period by identifying with one important figure of that time, and by translating the perspective of that figure into the new situation of the church. The author of the Pastorals has Paul writing to two individuals. By so doing he can develop these characters as well as Paul. Some scholars speak of this feature as "double pseudonymity" in the Pastorals. MacDonald argues that Timothy and Titus were selected as the "recipients" of the Pastoral Epistles because they were "best suited for expressing the author's idealization of the authentic Pauline lineage, but in the Pastoral Epistles these two characters are further developed so as to epitomize the perfect church leader." Although I disagree with MacDonald's conclusion that Timothy and Titus are developed so as to epitomize perfect church leaders, I believe there is merit to the idea that Timothy and Titus provide an important link for establishing the continuity between Paul's authority and the authority of the church leaders of the author's own day. Contrary to MacDonald, I believe that the continuity which exists between Paul, Timothy and Titus, and the churches of the Pastorals is primarily charismatic, not hierarchic in nature. As such, the Pastoral Epistles were not written to contradict the image of Paul in popular legends as a social radical, but to preserve Pauline tradition and in so doing retain positive charismatic activity in the midst of institutional development and negative overt pneumatic activity.

⁷G.T. Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition (New York: Paulist, 1976) 229-30.

⁸Houlden, The Pastoral Epistles 85.

⁹W. Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus. New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Baker 1981, 1955) 139.

¹⁰Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 90.

¹¹Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 89.

¹²Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 90.

¹³Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 62; Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 89-90. Even Dibelius admits, however, that the process designated by "vindicated" (dikaiousythai) does not correspond with the usual Pauline usage of the term. In fact, the term is not used in such fashion anywhere in the New Testament (cf. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 90).

¹⁴Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 90.

¹⁵Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 46.

¹⁶Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 64.

- ¹⁷Falconer, The Pastoral Epistles 139; Houlden, The Pastoral Epistles 87.
- ¹⁸Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 47.
- ¹⁹Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 87.
- ²⁰Ibid., 87.
- ²¹H. Kent, Jr., The Pastoral Epistles (Chicago: Moody 1982, 1958) 143.
- ²²Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 47.
- ²³Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 93, 94; Houlden, The Pastoral Epistles 87; G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979, 1962) 236. Apparently the Qumran community also shared the view that 'at the end of the days' blasphemers would arise (see Habakkuk Commentary 2:5f.).
- ²⁴K.S. Wuest, The Pastoral Epistles in the Greek New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979, 1952) 66.
- ²⁵Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 234.
- ²⁶Ibid., 232.
- ²⁷Ibid., 232.
- ²⁸Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 201; Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 232.
- ²⁹Wuest, The Pastoral Epistles in the Greek New Testament 150.
- ³⁰BAG 636. Bauer indicates that pas with the noun in the singular without the article emphasizes the individual members of the class.
- ³¹Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 152.
- ³²Ibid., 152.
- ³³Ibid., 152.

³⁴Houlden, The Pastoral Epistles 128. Houlden notes that this "is not necessarily being put forward as a strong feature of the opposition party's outlook; rather, the value of Scripture is stated positively, as part of the equipment of those who have a sense of fidelity to the true tradition."

³⁵Ibid., 129.

³⁶Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 203.

³⁷Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus 302.

³⁸Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 120; Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 164.

³⁹Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 148. Dibelius and Conzelmann state that "bath of rebirth" was well known and frequently used by the author of the Pastorals and in his congregation. Unfortunately he cites no evidence to substantiate this statement. In fact, the phrase loutron palingenesias does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. The term loutron does occur in one other text, Eph 5:26, where "the washing of water" is indeed mentioned. However, the emphasis is upon the washing of water "through the word." In this context, water is symbolic of God's word.

⁴⁰Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 204.

⁴¹Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 252.

⁴²C.K. Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963) 142.

⁴³J.D.G. Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit (London: SCM, 1979, 1970) 168, 225-26. Dunn notes that it is "a sad commentary on the poverty of our own immediate experience of the Spirit that when we come across language in which the NT writers refer directly to the gift of the Spirit and to their experience of it, either we automatically refer it to the sacraments and can only give it meaning when we do so . . . or else we discount the experience described as too subjective and mystical in favour of a faith which is essentially an affirmation of biblical propositions, or else we in effect psychologize the Spirit out of existence."

⁴⁴E. Buchsel, "Palingenesia," TDNT 1:688-89.

⁴⁵Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 191.

⁴⁶Ibid., 191. Unfortunately Hanson does not elaborate further on this suggestion.

⁴⁷Ibid., 192.

⁴⁸Ibid., 193.

⁴⁹Much confusion seems to surround the terms ecstatic and mystical. For the purposes of this paper I will seek to avoid the use of the term ecstatic to describe overt pneumatic activity. The use of the term ecstatic has usually been made in a pejorative sense, referring to uncontrolled, 'fanatical' behavior. Overt pneumatic activity does not necessitate this type of behavior. When referring to mystical experiences I am primarily drawing attention to the unseen action of God, not the subjective manifestation of that experience to the individual. This usage does not deny subjective experience, but places the emphasis upon the action of God rather than on the individual's sense of God's presence.

⁵⁰Although the phrase "baptism in the Holy Spirit" has been variously used in classical Pentecostal circles and in the contemporary charismatic renewal, I am using the phrase to refer to God's means of incorporating the convert into Christ. Baptism means to "have the Spirit" (Rom 8:9) and is an essential characteristic of all Christians. Vide E.E. Ellis, "Spiritual Gifts," IDB Sup 841-42.

⁵¹Dunn, Baptism in the Holy Spirit 168.

⁵²Ibid., 168.

⁵³Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 231. Montague notes that the word 'renewal' is a key word in Paul's pneumatology. The noun "renewal" (anakainōsis) does not appear in the Greek language before Paul and is apparently a word of Paul's own coining. This part of Tit 3:5 is therefore echoing a strong Pauline tradition.

⁵⁴Clement refers to the Holy Spirit being poured out in abundance upon the Corinthian Christians (I Clem. 2:2) as does Barnabas, who rejoices at the Spirit being poured out on his readers (Barn. 1:3).

⁵⁵Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus 392.

⁵⁶C. Maurer. "Paratheke," TDNT 8:163.

⁵⁷"Paratheke," BAG 621. cf. R. Hanna, A Grammatical Aid to the Greek New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1983) 391.

⁵⁸Maurer, "Paratheke," 164.

⁵⁹Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus 237.

⁶⁰Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles 98.

⁶¹Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 89.

⁶²It may be questioned whether the church as reflected in the New Testament differentiated between those Christians in "the ministry" and those not in "the ministry." It is likely that most Christians perceived themselves as being "ministers," even though they recognized that individual functions of ministry would differ. Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 134, notes that "there is no support in these verses for the Roman Catholic doctrine of the ministry as custodian of the Church's traditions, for the words "in us" need not mean, as is widely supported, that Paul and Timothy are alone intended. . . It is better to assume the words to mean that since the deposit must be faithfully guarded, any man without the aid of the Holy Spirit is attempting the impossible."

⁶³Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 167-168.

⁶⁴Ibid., 167-168.

⁶⁵Falconer, The Pastoral Epistles 90.

⁶⁶Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 195.

⁶⁷Kent, The Pastoral Epistles 275.

⁶⁸Bauer, "Dunamis" BAG 207. Bauer suggests the key portion of v 5 should be translated, "they have only the outward appearance of religion, and deny its inward power."

⁶⁹Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus 286.

⁷⁰Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 164.

⁷¹Ibid., 164.

⁷²E.E. Ellis, "Prophecy in the Early Church," IDB Sup 700-701. Ellis notes that since prophecy was rooted in Israel's experience of the revelation of God's mind to his people through divinely chosen individuals, the early church understood it as a gift received at God's pleasure and for his purposes. It was not at one's own disposal. Prophecy appears in the church as both the occasional utterance of

various members of the community and the activity of some who are recognized to "have prophecy" (I Cor 13:2) as a continuing ministry. Other valuable information concerning prophecy can be found in the following: W.H. Mare, "Prophet and Teacher in the New Testament Period," Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society 9(1966) 139-148; J. Panagopoulos, ed., Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977); D. Hill, New Testament Prophecy (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979).

⁷³Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 18; Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 233.

⁷⁴Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 65.

⁷⁵Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 67.

⁷⁶Ward, Commentary on 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus 40.

⁷⁷Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 233.

⁷⁸Ibid., 233.

⁷⁹Kent, The Pastoral Epistles 91.

⁸⁰Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 70. Laying on of hands is evidenced throughout the New Testament. The hand served as a means of transferring power, be it upon the sick for healing, upon the young, the weak, or the religiously impure for the purpose of blessing (Mark 10:33 ff), or upon those who did not have the Spirit for transmitting the Spirit. I Tim 4:14 and II Tim 1:6 belong to the last named group.

⁸¹Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 98.

⁸²Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 70; H. von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries (Stanford: Stanford University, 1969) 115.

⁸³Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 98.

⁸⁴Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus 159.

⁸⁵J.D.G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975) 348; H.F. Peacock, "Ordination in the New Testament," Rev Exp 55 (1958) 263. Peacock notes: "if the word ordination is to be employed only where there is some concrete evidence that the imposition

of hands sets an individual apart for a ministry in which he has not previously engaged or provides him with gifts which he did not previously possess, we will probably conclude that there is no evidence for ordination in the New Testament."

⁸⁶ A.T. Hanson, The Pastoral Letters. Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 54. For other literature concerning ordination in the New Testament note the following: E. Ferguson, "Laying on of Hands: Its Significance in Ordination," JTS 26(1975) 1-12; E. Ferguson, "Jewish and Christian Ordination," HTR 56(1963) 13-19; J.K. Parratt, "The Laying on of Hands in the New Testament," Exp Tim 80(1968) 210-214. Peacock notes that there are no clear examples of ordination in the Church Fathers until the third century. Peacock, "Ordination in the New Testament," 265. It is interesting to note that when Acts 16:2,3 records Paul's encounter with Timothy, no reference is made to Timothy's ordination, but his circumcision.

⁸⁷ Ferguson, "Laying on of Hands: Its Significance in Ordination," 6; Peacock, "Ordination in the New Testament," 264.

⁸⁸ Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 85.

⁸⁹ Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 126.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 126.

⁹¹ Hendriksen, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus 229. Hendriksen notes that some scholars argue "that the descriptive genitive ("... of power and love and self-control") rules out any reference to the Holy Spirit. But the use of such a genitive does not in itself settle the question, for a similar modifier is also used in passages which undoubtedly refer to the Holy Spirit. Thus, Jesus, in speaking about the coming Helper or Comforter, calls him "the Spirit of truth" (John 14:17; 15:26; 16:13).

⁹² Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 235.

⁹³ Although sōphronismoi in II Tim 1:7 is not the same word for self-control used in Gal 5:23 (wherein egkrateia is used) there is a definite parallel in meaning. cf. BAG 215, 809.

⁹⁴ Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 106.

⁹⁵ Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition 234.

⁹⁶ Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 91.

234. ⁹⁷Montague, The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition

⁹⁸Ibid., 234.

⁹⁹Ibid., 234.

¹⁰⁰E.E. Ellis, "How the New Testament Uses the Old," New Testament Interpretation, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) 200.

¹⁰¹G.W. Knight III, The Faithful Sayings in the Pastoral Letters (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979) 150.

¹⁰²G.G. Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960) 1.

¹⁰³J.W. Drane, "Gnosticism and the New Testament 1," Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin 68 (Spring 1974) 7.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 8.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 9.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 9.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 9. Over the last eighty years or so, three main positions have been taken up on the question of Gnosticism and the New Testament. cf. J. Drane "Gnosticism and the New Testament 2," Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin 69 (Summer 1974) 2-6. Drane lists the three as follows;

- a) The classical theory: Gnosticism was a Christian heresy.
- b) Pre-Christian Gnosticism: Gnosticism existed in a developed form before the rise of the church, and the New Testament represents a form of Christianized Gnosis.
- c) A simultaneous development: Christianity developed alongside each other, often meeting, but with no real 'dependence' in either direction.

¹¹⁰G. van Groningen, First Century Gnosticism (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967) 10.

¹¹¹Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles 13; Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition 3.

¹¹²Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition 4.

¹¹³Ibid., 4. See also E.M. Yamauchi, Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins, HTS 24 (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1970).

¹¹⁴Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition 5.

¹¹⁵Abelson, Jewish Mysticism 84.

¹¹⁶Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition 8.

¹¹⁷See I. Gruenwald, Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980).

¹¹⁸Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition 18.

¹¹⁹Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles 40.

¹²⁰Ibid., 40.

¹²¹Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 44.

¹²²Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 8.

¹²³See F.O. Francis and W.A. Meeks, eds. Conflict at Colossae (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1975).

¹²⁴Ellis, "Prophecy in the Early Church," 701.

¹²⁵Ibid., 701.

¹²⁶J. Gunther, St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973) 184.

¹²⁷Ibid., 183.

¹²⁸Ibid., 279.

¹²⁹ E.E. Ellis, Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 114.

¹³⁰ Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 117.

¹³¹ G. Delling, "Goes," TDNT, 1:737.

¹³² Ibid., 737.

¹³³ Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 200; Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 109; Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 117-119.

¹³⁴ Easton, The Pastoral Epistles 66.

¹³⁵ Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 94; Kent, The Pastoral Epistles 144.

¹³⁶ Hanson, The Pastoral Letters 48.

¹³⁷ Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 117.

¹³⁸ For an interesting essay on Christian asceticism see the chapter on "Early Christian Asceticism" in H. von Campenhausen, Tradition and Life in the Church (London: Collins, 1968) 90-122.

¹³⁹ Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 65.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 65.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 65.

¹⁴² Barrett, The Pastoral Epistles 106.

¹⁴³ Ward, Commentary on 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus 174.

¹⁴⁴ Dibelius and Conzelmann, The Pastoral Epistles 48.

¹⁴⁵ R. Kroeger and C.C. Kroeger; "May Women Teach?" Reformed Journal 30(1980) 15.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 15.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 15.

148 Ibid., 16.

149 Ibid., 17.

150 Ibid., 17. Incidentally, Ephesus (the purported location of I Tim) has been called the "bastion of the female spiritual principle" in ancient religion. If it is true that Ephesus was known as a centre of female spirituality, it is reasonable to think that one of the problems addressed in the Pastorals was a problem related to female spirituality.

151 Ibid., 18.

152 M.D. Roberts, "Women Shall Be Saved: A Closer Look at I Timothy 2:15," Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin 5,2 (1981) 5.

153 Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit 349. Dunn argues that "perhaps the Pastorals themselves were written in response to a resurgence of earlier enthusiastic excesses, a forerunner of the Montanism which challenged the church so profoundly later in the second century." Cf. J. Massingberd Ford, "A Note on Proto-Montanism in the Pastoral Epistles," NTS 17 (1971) 338-346.

154 Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 97.

155 Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 109; Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles 162.

156 Interestingly enough, the Pastoral Epistles also cite Haggadic material as a traditional source in order to substantiate the case against the false teachers e.g. Jannes and Jambres.

157 Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 137.

158 Ibid., 138.

159 Lock, The Pastoral Epistles 68.

160 T. Coleman, "Interpretation of the Pastoral Epistles and Some Old Testament Wisdom Elements," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina (1977) 174.

161 D.C. Verner, "The Household of God and the Social World of the Pastoral Epistles," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia (1981) vi.

¹⁶²Ibid., vii.

¹⁶³Ibid., 123-268.

¹⁶⁴Hanson, The Pastoral Epistles 172.

¹⁶⁵R.E. Brown, The Critical Meaning of the Bible (New York: Paulist Press, 1981) 139. Brown also notes the interchangeability of presbyteros and episkopos in the Pastoral Epistles.

¹⁶⁶L. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970) 197.

¹⁶⁷E. Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament. SBT 32 (London: SCM, 1961) 194-205.

¹⁶⁸Verner, "The Household of God and the Social World of the Pastoral Epistles," 232.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 233.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 233-234.

¹⁷¹Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles 207.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

In this final chapter I intend to present three main sections. The first section will provide a brief summary of the arguments and findings of this study. The second section will examine the implications of this research for New Testament studies and our general understanding of the early church. The third section will discuss the value of this study. I will conclude this chapter with a personal observation comparing the ecclesiastical situation as found in the Pastoral Epistles with the development of classical Pentecostalism and the contemporary charismatic movement.

Summary

Chapter one of this thesis opened with an historical survey of the relationship between charismatic activity and institutional forms in the New Testament as seen by Protestant and Catholic scholars. Although the debate has by no means been settled, a consensus of these scholars would indicate that it is possible to discern a charismatic, primitive era in the church in contra-distinction to the later development of the church into an official institution. With regard to the Pastoral Epistles specifically, it was felt that they reflect a post-Pauline situation. Charismatic activity was seen as being eclipsed by a more institutionalized form of church order.

Contrary to this position, I put forward the view that the Pastoral Epistles reflect church communities that exhibit rich charismatic activity, some of which was problematic in nature. The opinion was also put forward that the emergent structure arose in part as a

corrective to the problematic situations faced by these churches. It was hypothesised that the charismatic activity displayed in the Pastorals was not too dissimilar in nature from that found in the Pauline churches.

It was indicated that this study was not a discussion of charismatic activity in general, but a study of the relationship between charismatic activity and ecclesiastical order. It was postulated that the two are not mutually exclusive. The chapter concluded with a section on definitional clarification. We examined the terms charisma (both from a religious and sociological perspective) and institutionalization. We then defined charismatic activity and institutional forms as used in this study.

In chapter two we examined the evidence of charismatic activity and institutional forms in the Pauline corpus. The Pauline epistles have been dated earlier than those of the Pastorals and it has been assumed therefore that they would be less institutional and more charismatic. Without question, the Pauline epistles reflect church communities that are charismatically active (although in I Thessalonians too stringent control of overt pneumatic activity appeared to be a problem). For our purposes, an important feature to note was the Pauline churches' use of institutional forms. Rather than being non-existent, it was found that institutional forms did indeed exist. The Pauline churches drew extensively upon a body of literature (the Old Testament and Paul's own writings), tradition, and functions of leadership (exercised by Paul and his co-workers). It was noticed that one of the functions of church order, as perceived by Paul, was for a more effective exercise of charismatic authority. Since it has been widely

recognized that the Pauline churches were charismatically active, the existence of institutional forms in the Pauline material weakens the argument that institutional forms in the Pastoral Epistles imply a church with less charismatic activity.

Just as the Pauline churches have been thought to be devoid of institutional forms, since they existed during a time of pristine charismatic activity (pre-dating the Pastorals), the churches of the Apostolic Fathers have been thought to be relatively devoid of charismatic activity, since they existed at a time when the church had become more institutional and orderly (post-dating the Pastorals). In chapter three, we sought to indicate that this was not necessarily the case. Certainly, evidence of institutional forms is to be found, but so are examples of charismatic activity. There is a continuation of Paul's dynamic concept of grace. Christians were seen as having the Spirit upon and in them. The church itself was seen as established by the Holy Spirit.

Overt pneumatic activity also existed in the churches of the Apostolic Fathers. Prophecy was very important. Prophecy was open to all believers and not restricted to a select few. In addition, visions and false prophecy are also mentioned. Charismatic activity had by no means been eliminated. As in the Pauline epistles, it was seen that where problematic charismatic activity existed, corrective action was undertaken. The very fact that bishops and deacons were performing the services of prophets and teachers indicates that charismatic activity and institutional forms could co-exist without causing major problems.

Having set the chronological parameters of this study (the

Pauline epistles representing a pre-Pastoral period and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers representing a post-Pastoral period) we then examined the extent of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles. Given the fact that charismatic activity was found reflected in those writings both prior to and after the date of the Pastoral Epistles, it was not surprising to find charismatic activity reflected in the Pastorals themselves.

The Pastorals displayed a deep theological understanding of charismatic activity. This was seen both in terms of the role which the Spirit played in spiritual revelation, and in his indwelling presence within the believer. It is the Spirit who reveals or manifests the power and presence of the Lord. It is the Holy Spirit who incorporates the believer into the body of Christ. It is the Spirit who gives inner power to live a godly life.

The Pastorals also display a richness in charismatic experience. It was possible to ascertain both positive and negative elements of overt pneumatic activity. In terms of positive pneumatic activity, we found reference to prophecy, the gift (infilling) of the Holy Spirit, and spiritual discernment. Negative pneumatic activity was seen in the practises of incipient Jewish gnosticism. These would include false prophecy, magic and spiritual revelations from demonic sources.

In response to the problematical elements (some of which were charismatic in origin) present in the Pastorals, we saw that the author of the epistles stressed the utilization of institutional forms. A high priority was placed on the proper use and understanding of Scripture. The acceptance and promulgation of genuine tradition was encouraged. Godly leaders were invoked to teach and set in order those

things which were defective.

Instead of viewing the Pastorals as documents that sought to fill in the void left by declining charismatic activity, we saw that the situation presented therein was somewhat more complex. The author of the Pastorals found himself with the dual task (such as that faced also by Paul) of trying to encourage and cultivate a receptivity to genuine charismatic activity, while at the same time trying to discourage those charismatic elements that were having a negative influence upon the church communities with whom the author had contact. Rather than seeing a decline in charismatic activity, we saw its continued presence. There was nothing in the Pastorals to indicate that the author wanted to see all charismatic activity cease because some churches were faced with problematical elements. Instead, the author wished to see those problematical elements corrected, while maintaining acceptable charismatic activity.

Implications for New Testament Studies and our Understanding of the Early Church

The conclusions reached in this study imply that there is a need in New Testament scholarship to re-examine the assumptions regarding the relationship between the existence of charismatic activity and institutional forms. For too long the assumption has been made that charismatic activity and institutional forms are incompatible. That which is required is a more detailed analysis as to how both elements operated in a compatible relationship. This may require a re-definition (or at least a greater preciseness) of the terms we use in order to describe charismatic activity and institutional forms. The terms "charisma" and "institutionalization" have at times been

used ambiguously. In so doing, their improper use has tended to foster the view that charismatic activity and institutional forms are mutually exclusive.

This study concluded that the Pastoral Epistles did not reflect a situation wherein charismatic activity was eclipsed by a more institutionalized form of church order. This conclusion questions the use of the criterion of the level of charismatic activity and institutional form in determining the stage of development of a particular church. Previously it was assumed that the level of charismatic activity displayed by a particular church was an indicator of its development and age. An abundance of charismatic activity (with a corresponding lack of institutional forms) meant an early stage of development and age. Conversely, a lack of charismatic activity (with a corresponding rise of institutional forms) meant an older, more advanced stage of development. This criterion appears simplistic. The Pastorals reflect both charismatic activity and institutional forms. I would suggest that a different criterion must be found in order to assess the age and stage of development of a given church community.

Since the level of charismatic activity and institutional forms is ill-suited to serve as a criterion to assess church development, it therefore is ill-suited to serve as a criterion for assessing authorial authenticity and date of composition. As applied to the Pastoral Epistles, the level of charismatic activity found therein neither proves nor disproves Pauline authenticity. This is due to the fact that charismatic activity appears not only in the Pastorals, but also in the Apostolic Fathers. In such a situation, how can one discern whether the charismatic activity level of one period is greater or less

than another? Is one to count the number of references to charismatic activity in the literature in order to make such a determination? I believe it is far more safe to say that charismatic activity is readily apparent throughout the first two centuries (at least) of the early church, and then look for other criteria in order to assess the questions of authorship and date of composition. The same type of statements could also be made with regard to the presence of institutional forms in the early church.

One further statement may be in order concerning the authorship and date of composition of the Pastoral Epistles. Although the level of charismatic activity found in the Pastorals neither proves nor disproves Pauline authenticity of those epistles, one cannot say that there is such a lack of charismatic activity in the Pastorals that the question of Pauline genuineness need not even be entertained. The fact that charismatic activity is found in both the Pastorals and Pauline epistles leaves open the possibility that the Pastorals may be Pauline, but criteria other than the levels of charismatic activity must determine this.

Value of the Study

This study has been of value for several reasons. First, it has provided a somewhat detailed treatment of the nature of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles. Due to the fact that a major study of this topic has not been undertaken elsewhere, the present discussion has made a contribution to the ongoing research into early Christianity.

Second, this study should be of interest to those involved with the sociological study of religion. The Pastoral Epistles indicate

that charismatic activity and institutional formation do not preclude each other. The Pastorals offer firm evidence that each charismatic movement contains seeds of institutionalization. At the same time it must be admitted that within this institutionalization process we saw that charismatic impetus still blossomed. We also noted that the usage of the term charisma differed somewhat between a religious and a sociological perspective.

Third, this study also made a contribution to the discussion of authorship and date of composition. It was noted that the perceived differences in the structure and spontaneity of the Pastoral versus the Pauline churches may be somewhat exaggerated. This has tended to cause a lack of attention to evidence of charismatic activity in the Pastoral Epistles. It was suggested that although the criterion of charismatic activity could not in itself prove Pauline authenticity of the Pastorals, one could not argue against Pauline authenticity on the basis of a supposed lack of charismatic activity. This means that the authorship question must be settled on other grounds. This observation has (to the best of my knowledge) not previously been made with regards to the Pastoral Epistles.

A Personal Notation

I would like to conclude this paper by offering a few remarks concerning the development of classical Pentecostalism (i.e., the movement which sought to re-introduce overt pneumatic activity into the life of the church, commencing in the early twentieth century) and the contemporary charismatic renewal movement, as compared with the ecclesiastical situation portrayed in the Pastoral Epistles.

Having been exposed to "Pentecostal experience" for most of my life, and having made a point of studying the development and history of Pentecostalism, I found it rather interesting to discover that some biblical scholars and church historians actually believed that charismatic activity and institutional forms could not co-exist and flourish in harmony. Within ten to fifteen years after the first appearance of overt pneumatic activity in Canada by Pentecostals, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (the country's largest Pentecostal/charismatic body) received their Dominion charter in 1919. Shortly thereafter, Pentecostals demonstrated keen interest in education for their members and their clergy and developed Bible institutes and colleges. During the entire second quarter of the twentieth century, theological training took on increased importance for the Canadian denomination under the direction of Dr. J.E. Purdie, a former Anglican clergyman.¹ From its earliest inception and through its most robust period of development, charismatic elements have always operated within the confines of some institutional forms.

The situation has not been all that different in the United States.² Within six years after the famous "Azusa Street revival" in Los Angeles in 1906-1909, there was a sense of inadequacy among Pentecostals over their very loose organization. As a result, a conference was held:

. . . to try to achieve better understanding and a direly needed unity of teaching, to consider how to conserve the movement's work at home and abroad, to consult on the protection of funds for missionary endeavors, to look into the chartering of churches under a legal name, and to explore the establishment of a Bible training school.³

Out of this conference came the Assemblies of God in 1914 (the largest

Pentecostal body in the United States). It is obvious that in both the American and Canadian contexts the need for some sort of structure, order and leadership was seen as a necessary and positive development if charismatic activity was to develop properly.

From 1960 onward, the Pentecostal movement included a new form known as the charismatic movement within mainline Christian churches.⁴ By the 1970's, the charismatic movement was a phenomenon in most denominations, and "informal structures were established to unite charismatics within denominational families."⁵ The charismatic movement also spread to the Roman Catholic church. The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church took note of the movement in 1969 and encouraged its development as a legitimate movement within the denomination.⁶ It is of interest to note that in many of these mainline denominations it was not felt necessary for those participants in charismatic activity to leave the church. Instead, it was often encouraged that charismatic activity find expression within the context of some institutional form. It was this type of understanding that I believed to be the norm in those churches with a charismatic emphasis. It should not therefore surprise us to find that this was the approach taken by the churches reflected in the Pastoral Epistles.

Although it is a dangerous activity to read contemporary events back into history, the data in the Pastorals are open to an interpretation that suggests that institutional forms were being encouraged as a stimulus to genuine charismatic activity and a corrective to false charismatic activity. I would conclude by suggesting that the pursuit of the delicate balance between charismatic activity and institutional forms was what the author of the Pastorals was trying to achieve. The

same balance is required for the church to minister effectively today. If such is the case, the message of the Pastoral Epistles remains relevant.

FOOTNOTES-CHAPTER 5

¹A.C. Piepkorn, Profiles in Belief (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979) 3:117.

²See R.M. Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited (New York: Oxford University, 1979) for a socio/psychological interpretation of the history of American Pentecostalism.

³Piepkorn, Profiles in Belief 113.

⁴Ibid., 113.

⁵Ibid., 95.

⁶Ibid., 95.

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