

**An Analysis of the Operations of the Holy
Spirit as Recorded in the Writings of
the Church Fathers to 170 A. D.**



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AN ANALYSIS OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT AS RECORDED
IN THE WRITINGS OF THE CHURCH FATHERS TO 170 A. D.

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate Department
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by
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APPROVAL SHEET

Παρά γὰρ ἡμῶν καὶ μέχρι νῦν
προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἔσονται.

"For the prophetic gifts remain with us
even to the present time."

Justin Martyr

Dialogue With Trypho, Ch. lxxxii

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The literature of the Holy Spirit between A.D. 100 and 170 has been practically untouched by modern writers. Most studies of Post-Apostolic Christianity have been concerned with Church organization, doctrine and the relationship of the Church to the Roman Empire rather than the religious experiences of the local churches. The purpose of this study will be to analyze the operations of the Holy Spirit in the Post-Apostolic Period in order to show what they were and to what degree they were active in the Church.

I. THE PROBLEM

It is a known fact that both in the very early days in Jerusalem and in the churches which were established by the Apostles in the Roman Empire there existed certain operations of the Holy Spirit which were peculiar to the Early Church. In The Acts of the Apostles there are numerous instances of supernatural occurrences which were accomplished by the power of the Holy Spirit, such as the baptism in the Holy Spirit, speaking with other tongues and prophesying, the working of miracles, healings, the discerning of spirits and other supernatural manifestations.

Other New Testament books also teach that believers should be filled with the Spirit and that miracles of healing, prophecy and other gifts should accompany the spiritual worship.¹ Speaking of miraculous works, Jesus Himself said, "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who believes in me will also do the works that I do; and greater works than these will he do, because I go to the Father."² There is ample evidence for the regular occurrence of the operations of the Holy Spirit throughout the New Testament period.

Some have explained these occurrences by teaching that they were special manifestations given to the Apostolic Church and that they were not meant to continue through the history of Christianity.³ That they did not continue for many centuries cannot be denied. Chrysostom wrote in his comments on chapters twelve through fourteen of First Corinthians:

The whole passage is exceedingly obscure, and the obscurity is occasioned by our ignorance of the facts and the cessation of happenings, which were common in those days, but unexampled in our own.⁴

¹Particularly First Corinthians 12 - 14.

²John 14:12 (RSV).

³Hand-Book to All Religions, (Philadelphia: John E. Potter and Company, 1877), p. 26.

⁴Chrysostom, as quoted by George B. Cutten, Speaking With Tongues, Historically and Psychologically Considered, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 37.

It is a matter of history that these supernatural works of the Spirit ceased almost completely after about three centuries.

The principal question with which this study is concerned is the determination of the degree to which the operations of the Holy Spirit continued to be active in the seventy years following the death of John, the last of the Apostles. We will attempt to show by original evidence from the Church Fathers of the period between A.D. 100 and 170 that the Holy Spirit continued to work throughout the Post-Apostolic Age in much the same way that He did in the days of the Apostles.

There are several reasons why this problem is of importance to modern Christianity. First, the operations of the Holy Spirit were stressed to such an extent by the Apostolic Church that we are warranted in seeking evidence for their continuance in the Second Century. Any subject so emphasized by the New Testament writers is worthy of our closest attention.

Secondly, nearly all of the Post-Apostolic Fathers wrote something on the subject of the Holy Spirit. However, little specific work has been done in this field. An analysis is needed to determine what the work of the Holy Spirit was and to what extent it was active in the Church.

In the third place, any study that will add to our knowledge and understanding of the history of our religion is of sufficient importance to be well worth our time. Contribution to the knowledge of history is in itself important enough to justify the study of the problem.

II. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Inasmuch as the purpose of the study is to ascertain what were the beliefs and experiences of the Church in the operations of the Holy Spirit from the death of the Apostle John to the year A.D. 170, the scope of this study will be to examine all available sources from this period which will shed any light on the subject. All of the works of the Holy Spirit will be included which were included in the Christian literature of that age. They will be considered in the natural divisions into which they fall.¹

The Church Fathers of the Post-Apostolic Age will provide the principal sources of material for the study. Although we will attempt to gain knowledge of this period from any sources available, there is little other evidence that can be found.

¹The operations of the Holy Spirit in conversion, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the evidence of the indwelling of the Spirit, and the gifts of the Spirit. These will be subsequently considered in separate chapters.

There are several limitations to be considered. Material from that period of Church history is scant. Those were days of persecution, when anything written by Christians had to be hidden. Many books which were written have probably been destroyed; many have been lost; some are only partially extant. Under the stress of such times there were many who did not write at all. Those who did write spent their time defending Christianity against Judaism, paganism and persecution. Little was written about the personal experiences of the Christians with which this study is concerned. This does not mean that such experiences were of little importance to them. There was comparatively little written concerning the weekly services of the Church, yet it is definitely known that the churches met regularly. However, there is sufficient factual material to enable us to draw some positive conclusions.

There is the added limitation that a number of pseudonymous books, which were written at later dates, used the names of writers of the Post-Apostolic Period. For example, there are a number of books falsely ascribed to Ignatius.¹

¹Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (eds. and trans.). The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Trans. of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Vol. I American Reprint of the Edinburgh Ed., Rev. and Chronologically Arranged, with brief prefaces and occasional notes by A. Cleveland Coxe. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1950), p. 46f.

Even those books which are accepted as the true writings of Ignatius have shorter and longer versions. Since it is generally believed that the shorter are the true Ignatian letters, they will be the ones used in this study.¹ II Clement is not the work of the same writer that wrote The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.² Such books as these, which are apparently neither from this period nor written by the authors whose names they bear, will not be used for this study. Their evidence is of questionable value for our purpose. This does not mean, however, that the authors of all ancient books must be known. The Pastor of Hermas, for example, provides some valuable information on the Post-Apostolic Age, but the book does not seem to have been written by the Hermas who was mentioned in Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Only those books will be used which are generally accepted to be genuine writings of the Post-Apostolic Age.

Another limitation is that of time. The study will be limited to the seventy years between A.D. 100 and 170. A.D. 100 has been chosen because it is the approximate date of the death of John, the last of the Apostles. It was also the beginning of a new era of Christian writing, moving from the authoritative New Testament writings to the less-inspired,

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 2.

but very illuminating, writings of the Church Fathers. The latter date, A.D. 170, is chosen because it also marks the beginning of a new era. It is the end of the Post-Apostolic Age; that is, the end of the era in which there were people who had had direct contact with the Apostles.

III. DEFINITION OF TERMS

In order to establish more clearly the meanings of the words and phrases used frequently in this study, it is necessary that we define some of the most outstanding terms. Basically, we may define these terms as follows:

(1). The operations of the Holy Spirit: the works of the Holy Spirit in the lives of men, especially those activities which would be called supernatural. The areas of these operations which we will discuss will be the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion, the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the evidences of the infilling of the Spirit, and the gifts of the Spirit.

(2). The baptism in the Holy Spirit: an ecstatic experience in which the Holy Spirit entered into and established His abode within a Christian believer. We have consistently used the preposition in rather than with in this phrase. For our purposes here, there is no difference in the experience no matter which word is used. In seems to be the most appropriate because we will also refer to the infilling

and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The Fathers certainly made no distinction between the two words. They did not even use the word baptism in connection with the infilling of the Holy Spirit very often.

(3). The outpouring of the Spirit: the arrival of the Holy Spirit to man in general or to a group of men, such as a church. It may also refer to the presence of the Holy Spirit with a group of men over a period of time.

(4). The infilling of the Spirit: the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

(5). The indwelling of the Spirit: the continued presence of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer.

(6). Power: added ability and strength for Christian service, resulting from the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Although the word may be used in other connections with the Christian life, we will limit its use here to the above definition.

(7). The gifts of the Spirit: specific, supernatural operations of the Holy Spirit, such as prophecy, divine healing, or the discerning of spirits.

(8). The Post-Apostolic Period: the period of Church history lasting from A.D. 100 to 170. This period began with the death of the last of the Apostles and ended when there were no longer those in the Church who had had personal contact with the Apostles. It will also be called the Post-Apostolic Age.

IV. SOURCES OF DATA

Due to the very nature of the problem, the only sufficient evidences for the formation of this study are to be found in material from the Church Fathers of the Post-Apostolic Period. The following is a list of the Post-Apostolic sources from which the material has been taken:

1. Clement of Rome.....Epistle to the Corinthians
2. _____.....The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles
3. Barnabas.....The Epistle of Barnabas
4. Ignatius of Antioch...Epistle to the Ephesians
Epistle to the Magnesians
Epistle to the Trallians
Epistle to the Romans
Epistle to the Philadelphians
Epistle to the Smyrnaeans
Epistle to Polycarp
5. _____.....The Martyrdom of Ignatius
6. _____.....Mathetes to Diognetus
7. Papias.....Fragments
8. Justin Martyr.....The First Apology
The Second Apology
Dialogue with Trypho
Hortatory Address to the

GreeksOn the Sole Government of God

Fragments

9. _____.....The Martyrdom of the Holy
Martyrs
10. Polycarp.....Epistle to the Philippians
11. _____.....The Martyrdom of Polycarp
12. Tatian.....Address to the Greeks
13. _____.....The Pastor of Hermas
14. Theophilus.....Theophilus to Autolykus I
15. _____.....The Apostles' Creed¹

In most cases the source of the English translation of the Fathers is Volumes I and II of The Ante-Nicene Fathers.² In many instances, where the author has been able to secure the original texts, he has used the Greek and Latin to gain an understanding of the passages selected from Roberts and Donaldson. All of the original Greek and early Latin texts used are from the Patrologiae, Cursus Completus.³

¹This is the earlier form of The Apostles' Creed. See The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Vol. I, 3rd Revised Ed., (New York: Funk and Wagnalls' Company, 1891), p. 241.

²Roberts and Donaldson, Op. Cit.

³Patrologiae, Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, Tom. 1 - 10, Apud Garnier Fratres, Editores et J. P. Migne Successories In via Dicta Avenue Du Maine, 189, Olim Causse'e Du Maine, 127.

The only exception to the above statement is that both the Greek text and the English translation of The Didache (The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles) have been taken from Crying Stones by Harry Rimmer.¹

V. PREVIOUS WORKS ON THE SUBJECT

Very little has been done on this subject by other writers. There are several reasons: (1) This study has been narrowed to a short period of only seventy years. (2) Most writers who have been sufficiently interested in the subject of the operations of the Holy Spirit have either written about the Apostolic Church or about the Spirit's work in modern times. And, (3) those who have written on the continuance of the the work of the Spirit in the Church have for some reason by-passed the Post-Apostolic Age.

There have been a few books published which have traced the operations of the Holy Spirit through Church History. Among these is Robert C. Dalton's work, Tongues Like as of Fire.² This book contains a chapter on the manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the Fathers, but stresses both an earlier and a later period than that of this study. Carl

¹Harry Rimmer, Crying Stones, Fourth Ed., (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1944).

²Robert Chandler Dalton, Tongues Like as of Fire, (Springfield, Mo.: The Gospel Publishing House, 1945).

Brumback, in his book "What Meaneth This?", included a chapter in which he traced the history of speaking with other tongues from the First to the Twentieth Centuries.¹ The first Father that he quoted was Irenaeus. In his work, "With Signs Following", Stanley H. Frodsham also showed some evidences for the continuance of the gifts of the Spirit in the Fathers.² However, he also went no earlier than Irenaeus. A number of other writers, such as A. Cleveland Coxe, William Schaff, and others have written on the Post-Apostolic Period, but not specifically on the operations of the Holy Spirit in that era.³

Little specific work, then, has been done on this period concerning the operations of the Holy Spirit. These other works have shed much light on the Patristic Period as a whole, but offer little real help on the Post-Apostolic Period in particular.

VI. ORDER OF INVESTIGATION

Having seen the nature of the problem and the amount of previous work that has been done on it, we turn to our

¹Carl Brumback, "What Meaneth This?", (Springfield, Mo.: The Gospel Publishing House, 1947).

²Stanley Howard Frodsham, "With Signs Following", Re. Ed., (Springfield, Mo.; The Gospel Publishing House, 1941).

³Dalton, Brumback, and Frodsham are all Assemblies of God writers.

investigation. We will proceed from the general background of the operations of the Holy Spirit in the First and Second Centuries to the specific works that the Post-Apostolic Fathers have recorded.

In order to systematize our study, we will consider the supernatural operations of the Spirit in the order in which they would be most apt to have occurred in the believer's experience. The first to be considered will be the work of the Spirit in conversion. Then, we will examine the Fathers' beliefs in the baptism in the Holy Spirit, the direct evidences of the infilling of the Spirit, and the miraculous gifts of the Spirit.

Due to the very nature of this work, it will be necessary to do a large amount of quoting. Our purpose is to find and to analyze what the Fathers have said on this subject. This would be impossible if we did not allow the Fathers to speak for themselves.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND, ENVIRONMENT, AND PROBLEMS IN THE INTERPRETA- TION OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN POST-APOSTOLIC LITERATURE

It would be impossible to understand the Post-Apostolic Fathers' beliefs in the specific operations of the Holy Spirit without first gaining an understanding of the background and environment of those beliefs. In this chapter we will examine the preparation for those beliefs in the First Century, the need for the supernatural in the Second Century, and some of the problems involved in interpreting the Post-Apostolic literature.

I. THE FIRST CENTURY BACKGROUND

The strongest influences which affected the approach of the Post-Apostolic Church to the operations of the Holy Spirit were the experiences and teachings of the First Century. This era laid the groundwork for the activity of the Spirit in the Second Century and left the New Testament to the Church as a foundation for the teachings of Christianity for all time. The New Testament clearly teaches that the earliest churches relied heavily on the supernatural operations of the Holy Spirit in every phase of their work. The preachers and writers of the Post-Apostolic Age recognized

this. They not only relied on the operations of the Holy Spirit for their own lives, but also based their entire doctrine on the foundation that the Apostolic Church had set down. An example of this reliance is seen in the writings of Justin Martyr:

For from Jerusalem there went out into the world, men, twelve in number, and these illiterate, of no ability in speaking; but by the power of God they proclaimed to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach to all the word of God; and we who formerly used to murder one another do not only now refrain from making war upon our enemies, but also that we may not lie nor deceive our examiners, willingly die confessing Christ.¹

This reliance on the teachings of the First Century is clearly taught throughout the writings of the Fathers of this period. Apostolicity of doctrine was of the utmost importance to them. Although no mention is made here of the work of the Holy Spirit, Justin viewed the ministries of these men as having been accomplished "by the power of God" (διὰ δὲ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως) rather than by their own abilities.

Jesus Christ had manifested the supernatural power of God to a large degree in His ministry. Early in His work He turned the water into wine at the marriage of Cana. The result was that "his disciples believed in him."² Wherever He went He healed the sick, raised the dead, or performed some

¹ Justin Martyr, First Apology, Chap. xxxix.

² John 2:11.

other miracle which occurred by the supernatural power of God. Such miracles were constant aids to His work and gave strength to His message. His followers seem at times to have been as much attracted by His miracles as by His teachings.

Christ's use of miracles was also a strong force in overcoming the Jewish opposition. The Jewish Religion was ancient and well-established in the world, inseparable from the Jewish people and nation. The growth and development of another religion within it could not be tolerated. It would have been impossible to accomplish what He did had He not had the amazing power that He did have over all things.

The Church in its very beginning found such power to be an important aid to its activities. On the Day of Pentecost the believers were filled with the Holy Spirit in a miraculous manner.¹ They all spoke with other tongues that were unknown to them as Galileans. Peter recognized that this experience was foretold by the prophets and preached to the crowd that gathered around them. The power of the Spirit became the driving force behind the work of the Church. The Church surged ahead gaining converts by the thousands in its first few years.

When Philip went to Samaria to preach the Gospel about four years after the experience on the Day of Pentecost (c.

¹The Acts of the Apostles, 2:1f.

A.D. 34), he gained a number of converts to the faith.¹ He was aided by a number of miracles which gave strength to his teaching. Later, Peter and John joined him and laid hands on the new believers that they might receive the Holy Spirit. Apparently there was some miraculous manifestation resulting from their action, although the New Testament does not say what that manifestation was.²

About A.D. 40 Peter was called to preach at the house of Cornelius, a Roman centurion, at Caesarea. During his preaching the new believers were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke with other tongues as the Jews had done earlier at Jerusalem.³

Another such experience is recorded of Paul when he went to Ephesus about A.D. 56. After baptizing the believers there, Paul laid his hands on them that they might be filled with the Holy Spirit. As a result of their being filled with the Spirit they spoke with other tongues and prophesied.⁴

Several points of similarity should be noted in these

¹The Acts of the Apostles, 8:6.

²It is evident from the Scriptures that Simon the Sorcerer was interested in gaining more from Peter than the ability to lay his hands on people. There must have been some miraculous work done to impress a magician so.

³The Acts of the Apostles, Ch. 10.

⁴Ibid., Ch. 19.

experiences: (1) they were all incidents of people being filled with the Holy Spirit for the first time; (2) in each instance the experience was accompanied by supernatural evidences; (3) whenever those supernatural evidences were mentioned by name, speaking with other tongues was included; and, (4) the experiences came soon after the experience of salvation, but were not simultaneous with it. These seem to have been characteristic evidences of the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit in the Early Church.

The miraculous is everywhere evident in the lives of the men of the Apostolic Church. The gifts of the Spirit were in constant use in the Church giving proof of the veracity of its teachings. There are a number of incidents recorded in the New Testament of individual cases of the use of the gifts of the Spirit.¹ Paul gave instructions concerning their use and encouraged the believers to seek them.²

In all of their writings the Apostles treated these supernatural operations of the Holy Spirit as a normal part of the Christian life. There is no indication that the Holy Spirit dwelt in this manner in select persons only, but the baptism in the Holy Spirit seems to have been the experience of all of the believers. Paul's question to the people of

¹Such as incidents of healing or the prophecies of Agabus.

²First Corinthians 12:31.

Ephesus seems to indicate this: "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?" (ἐς πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες).¹ In the context of the question,

Paul seems to have been surprised that they had not received the Holy Spirit. To the same Ephesian church Paul wrote the general exhortation, "be filled with the Spirit" (ἀλλὰ πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι).²

In the Apostolic Age there was a distinction made between the experience of salvation and the experience of being baptized in the Holy Spirit. In the incident at Samaria, for example, Philip had gained many converts before the Apostles arrived to pray for them to receive the Holy Spirit. At Ephesus also, the experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit was subsequent to the receiving of salvation.

The very nature of the Apostolic Church was supernatural. It appealed to men and women who had needs both spiritual and physical. In a world whose religions were ritualistic and formal, the informality and simplicity of the Christian worship met the needs of men through the message of Christ, aided by the power of the operations of the Holy Spirit.

The Post-Apostolic Church resulted from the Church of the Apostles of the First Century. The Apostles were

¹The Acts of the Apostles 19:2.

²Ephesians 5:18.

filled with the Holy Spirit and taught their followers to receive a similar experience. It is of particular importance that we study the writings of the Second Century Fathers to know whether they continued this emphasis.

II. THE NEED FOR THE SUPERNATURAL IN THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE.

There were a number of situations peculiar to the period between A.D. 100 and 170 which called for the operations of the Holy Spirit. It was a new generation of Christianity, faced with its own problems. The Apostolic Church had been largely Jewish, while the Post-Apostolic Church was becoming increasingly Greek.¹ The Apostolic Church was scattered and small, while the Post-Apostolic Church was growing and becoming important in the life of the Roman Empire.

One of the greatest needs for the work of the Holy Spirit was caused by the transfer of the leadership of the Christian Religion from the Apostles to their converts, the Post-Apostolic Fathers. Whereas most of the Apostles had been with Christ Himself and had been especially gifted for the beginning of the Christian Church, a generation came into

¹The author views the Ante-Nicene Church in three stages of development: (1) the Jewish stage (A.D. 30-100); the Greek stage (A.D. 100-200); and (3) the Latin stage (A. D. 200-325). These dates, of course, are very arbitrary and are intended only to give a general idea of these stages. The Jewish, Greek, and Latin influences greatly overlapped each other.

leadership which had not even seen the Lord.

Jesus had said concerning the Holy Spirit that He would "guide you into all the truth."¹ Here was the true test of the permanency of the Church. Could the Church continue to function according to the plan of Christ without the Apostles? The operations of the Holy Spirit in this period of Church History are of great importance to the whole of Christianity for succeeding centuries. Here was the crisis from which the type of Christianity would immerge that would be possible to the Christians of all ages. These were no longer specially trained and specially inspired men as the Apostles had been. They were representative of all of the human race. Any supernatural powers that they exercised would be available to all.

One of the problems faced by the Post-Apostolic Church and which called for the supernatural work of the Spirit was the tendency of religions in the Roman Empire toward formal worship. Neither the Apostolic Church nor the Post-Apostolic Church had any liturgy or ritual.² The services were informal and there was freedom of expression given to those present. It was this very simplicity and informal-

¹John 16:13.

²George P. Fisher, History of the Christian Church, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), p. 41.

ity that made many of the works of the Holy Spirit possible. As the Church took on more ritual and developed its liturgy, less opportunity was given to the men who were inspired by the Holy Spirit. With time the clergy became more and more important until the laymen in the congregations had no voice in the actual expression of the services. This tendency toward more formal worship was a definite hindrance to the type of manifestations of the Holy Spirit that were common in Apostolic days. By the end of the Ante-Nicene Period (A.D. 325) the operations of the Holy Spirit were almost non-existent in the Church.

There seems to be an incompatibility between formal ritual and the operations of the Holy Spirit, for in order to have the latter a certain amount of congregational participation and freedom must be allowed. Discussing men who were inspired with a message by the Holy Spirit, the writer of The Pastor of Hermas said:

When, then, a man having the Divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit, and this assembly of men offers up prayer to God, then, the angel of the prophetic Spirit, who is destined for him fills the man; and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the multitude as the Lord wishes.¹

Here the preacher was not a special clergyman with a set ritual to perform. His message came from the impulse of the Holy Spirit upon him when he was in an "assembly of righteous

¹The Pastor of Hermas, Bk. II, Com. xi.

men." Such inspiration was not given to all who stood before the congregations; in fact, the setting of the passage just quoted is concerned with the way in which the truly inspired could be distinguished from the false prophets.

This apparent incompatibility between ritual and the operations of the Holy Spirit was a serious problem that the Post-Apostolic Church was beginning to face. The tendencies were developing in that age that were to rob the Church of its early spiritual power.

Another need for the operations of the Holy Spirit in this period was the continued persecution. This pressure forced the Christians into a daily trust in the miraculous which brought about much of the supernatural work of the Spirit in that age. If a man was in danger of losing his life for becoming a Christian, he would be more apt to trust in the supernatural. He would either be a Christian in the fullest sense or he would not be a Christian at all.

Until the time of Trajan (A.D. 98 - 117) the Christians who were persecuted were charged with some specific crime, such as treason (crimen maiestates). In A.D. 112 Trajan received a letter from Pliny the Younger, governor of the Province of Bythinia, which showed that a person could be arrested solely on the charge of being a Christian. The answer of Trajan to Pliny officially made Christianity ille-

gal. The following is the text of Trajan's answer:

You have adopted the right course, my dear Pliny, in examining the cases of those cited before you as Christians; for no hard and fast rule can be laid down covering such a wide question. The Christians are not to be hunted out. If brought before you, and the offense is proved, they are to be punished, but with this reservation--if any one denies he is a Christian, and makes it clear he is not, by offering prayer to our gods, then he is to be pardoned on his recantation, no matter how suspicious his past. As for anonymous pamphlets, they are to be discarded absolutely, whatever crime they may charge, for they are not only a precedent of a very bad type, but they do not accord with the spirit of our age.¹

Thus, it was illegal to be a Christian in the Roman Empire. The ban on the Church was not lifted until the Edict of Toleration (c. A.D. 305). It read in part "that Christians may exist again, and may establish their meetings, yet so that they do nothing contrary to good order."² Although the various attitudes of the different emperors brought about different degrees in the intensity of the persecution, this statement of Trajan was to set the rule for almost two hundred years.

The type of Christianity which would result from such a situation would naturally be one of spiritual fervor. There

¹William Stearns Davis, Readings in Ancient History, Vol. II, Rome and the West, (Quoting Trajan, To Pliny), (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1913), p. 222.

²George Willis Botsford, and Lillie Shaw Botsford, A Source Book of Ancient History, (Quoting Lactantius, The Manner.....etc., Ch. xxxiv), (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 532f.

was no place in the Church for half-hearted faith.

The persecution seems to have strengthened the Church and increased its numbers rather than hindered its progress. The following statement in The Epistle to Diognetus points this out:

Do you not see them exposed to wild beasts, that they may be persuaded to deny the Lord, and yet not overcome? Do you not see that the more of them are punished, the greater becomes the number of the rest? This does not seem to be the work of man: this is the power of God; these are the evidences of His manifestation.¹

The persecution taught the Early Church to depend on God rather than on their own strength.

The Church was competing with many other growing religions and philosophies. Among them was Mithraism (which had some of the same characteristics as Christianity, such as sacramental feasts) and Neo-Platonism (which was an Alexandrian system of philosophy commingling religious ideas with Greek philosophy and Oriental mysticism). Some of the most bitter competition took place between the state religions of the Romans, Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews.¹ But always the Christians held to the view that the Church was not the result of the wisdom of man but of the revelation of God. They viewed the Church as the only possible way to the true God. Justin Martyr wrote to the Emperor, Antoninus Pius, concerning the difference between Christianity and the other relig-

¹M. Rostovtzeff, A History of the Ancient World, Vol. II, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 337.

ious thinking of the Empire:

It is not, then, that we hold the same opinions as others, but that all speak in imitation of ours. Among us these things can be heard and learned from persons who do not even know the forms of the letters, who are uneducated and barbarous in speech, though wise and believing in mind; some, indeed, even maimed and deprived of eyesight; so that you may understand that these things are not the effect of human wisdom, but are uttered by the power of God.¹

The Christian Religion was not the result of the thinking of the wise, but was revealed even through the uneducated "by the power of God" (ἀλλὰ δυνάμεν Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι). This reliance on revelation was another factor in the attitude of the Post-Apostolic Church toward the supernatural.

The background laid by the previous century, the transfer of responsibility from the Apostles to their converts, the presence of constant persecution by the Roman Empire, the simple, informal life of the Church and the competition of the Church with other modes of religious thought all worked together to produce an age that relied on the supernatural operations of the Holy Spirit. The Post-Apostolic Age continued to trust in the working of the Holy Spirit in much the same way that the Apostles had done in the previous period.

¹ Justin Martyr, First Apology, Ch. lx. (No intention was made by Justin to deny the influence of the past on the Church. He repeatedly quoted from the Jewish Scriptures and from the Greek philosophers and poets. To Justin these were the preparation for which Christianity was the fulfillment.)

III. SOME PROBLEMS IN INTERPRETING THE POST-APOSTOLIC FATHERS

There are some definite problems involved in interpreting Post-Apostolic literature. Nearly all of the Fathers between A.D. 100 and 170 wrote something on the subject of the Holy Spirit. Whether they meant what other ages have meant by the operations of the Spirit or even whether they intended in every case what was meant in the Apostolic Age is to be doubted. Caution must be used in the interpretation of these writings. Particular arrangements of words which have subsequently been used in a technical doctrinal sense must be interpreted in the light of the times in which they were written, not in the meanings that they may have to modern Christianity. For this reason ascertaining the real meanings of Post-Apostolic literature is impossible without a reasonable knowledge of the history of the Second Century and the thinking of the people of that era.

One of the chief problems that faces an interpreter of the Post-Apostolic Fathers is the little actual history that is available on the Church during this period. We have the writings of about fourteen men in a period of seventy years.¹

¹There are large gaps in this era even in the extant Roman history. For example, it is not known whether Ignatius wrote in A.D. 107 or 116, depending on the undetermined date of the march of Trajan on Parthia. We have the basic outline of the important history of the period, but the details are missing.

These men did not write primarily on the history of the Church in their period but on matters of doctrine.

In the writings that we do have the principal subject was the Christ. He was preached and taught zealously at the cost of many lives. It is difficult for our age to comprehend the meaning that Christ held in the lives of these people. He was believed to be not only the fulfillment of the promises of the Jewish Scriptures but of the Greek philosophies as well. Ignatius wrote early in the period:

But to me Jesus Christ is in the place of all that is ancient; His cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is by Him, are undefiled monuments of antiquity; by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.¹

Jesus Christ was the summing up of all the preparation of previous centuries. In Him was all that men searched for or needed. "His cross, and death, and resurrection, and the faith which is by Him" were to take the place of all of the religious and philosophical thinking of the world.

When not writing about the Christ, the Fathers gave much of their time to the defense of the Christian Religion against Judaism and the pagan religions and philosophies. Some whole books were given to such matters. For example, Justin's work, On the Sole Government of God, is almost en-

¹Ignatius, To the Philadelphians, Ch. viii.

tirely made up of material from the Greek poets and philosophers.

With such subjects taking the greater amount of the Post-Apostolic writings, the Fathers did not take time to write of many of the active experiences of the Christians. Little was said of the personal examples of conversion, of many of the occurrences of their times with which the Church was involved, of the life of the local churches, or of the operations of the Holy Spirit. We cannot interpret this to mean that these subjects were unimportant to the Christian writers. Their principal task was to establish the Gospel in the world. Therefore, doctrine, rather than experience, took the major part of their writing. The little writing on the work of the Holy Spirit cannot be understood to mean that it was not present in the life of the Church. By careful study, sufficient facts can be found to show that the operations of the Holy Spirit did hold an important position in the experiences of the Church.

Another problem that confronts an interpreter of the Fathers is the fact that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was as yet undefined. The earliest known form of The Apostles' Creed,¹ which was probably composed during this period, said very little about the Holy Spirit:

¹Supra, p. 10.

I believe in God the Father Almighty and in Christ Jesus, his only begotten Son, our Lord, born of the Holy Ghost and of Mary, the Virgin, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; on the third day he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh.

This is the earliest known form of The Apostles' Creed. The longer, standard text did not appear until the Fifth or Sixth Century. The form that is given above probably originated about the middle of the Second Century.¹

Note that concerning the Holy Spirit the Creed only says, "born of the Holy Ghost" (τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου) and "and in the Holy Ghost" (καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον). This simple credal statement gives no clue to the beliefs that the Second Century Christians held on the subject. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was not to be defined until the end of the Fourth Century in The Creed of Constantinople in A.D. 381.

Although these problems in interpreting the Fathers do present some difficulty, there still remains sufficient data in the writings of most of the Fathers to give us a fairly good idea of the operations of the Holy Spirit. There are areas in which we would like to find more material, but we must be satisfied with that which has been written.

¹The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Loc. Cit.

IV. SUMMARY

The New Testament gives us a rather lucid picture of what the Apostolic Church was like. It is clear that the Church of the First Century relied heavily on the supernatural operations of the Holy Spirit. The zeal of the Christians was strong and the Church was led by some of the most powerful leaders that it has ever had, the Apostles. The Church grew rapidly under their leadership.

In A.D. 100, the probable time of the death of the Apostle John, the leadership of the Church passed from those who had been trained under the ministry of Jesus Christ to those who were converts and disciples of the Apostles. Yet, the emphasis on the operations of the Holy Spirit continued because of Apostolic teaching, the life of their times, the persecution, the informality of the church services, the competition with other religions and philosophies, and the experiences of the believers.

In spite of the problems involved in interpreting the Fathers, there is sufficient evidence available in their writings to enable us to draw some conclusions. Therefore, we are warranted in continuing our investigation to discover what specific operations of the Holy Spirit were recorded by the Post-Apostolic Fathers.

CHAPTER III

THE BELIEF OF THE POST-APOSTOLIC FATHERS IN THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN CONVERSION

An understanding of the operations of the Holy Spirit in the Post-Apostolic Church would be incomplete without a study of the Spirit's work in leading men to Christ and in the act of conversion. The ~~activities~~ of the Holy Spirit in this area of Christian experience were involved more with the human will and the surrender of that will to the will of God than with the visible type of manifestations which are ordinarily termed supernatural. However, although men may have successfully lived their Christian lives without some of the supernatural manifestations of the Spirit's work, the operation of the Holy Spirit in leading men to Christ was absolutely essential.

I. THE PLACE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN POST-APOSTOLIC THEOLOGY

The subject of the Holy Spirit was one of importance to the Christian writers of the early and middle Second Century. As we have already pointed out, there were other subjects about which they wrote more, but the fact remains that nearly every book written during the Post-Apostolic Age did make some mention of the Holy Spirit. Although the number of times that the Fathers mentioned the Spirit is not in it-

self indicative of the doctrine of the period, one may at least judge from the frequency of such mention that the subject of the Holy Spirit was never far from the minds of the writers. The material that we do have on the subject varies in its importance to this study, ranging from passing references to the person of the Holy Spirit to definite descriptions of the Spirit's operations.

An index of the use of the word spirit in the Post-Apostolic literature, prepared especially for this study by the author, reveals that these writers mentioned the word in some form more than three hundred times.¹ The majority of these references were made to the Holy Spirit. When one considers that only twenty-three books are involved, the average number of times that spirit is mentioned in each book is sixteen times. This is sufficient to enable the student to gain considerable knowledge of the operations of the Holy Spirit in that age.

The place of the Holy Spirit in the doctrine of the Church was not yet fully defined, but the believers of that day did believe strongly in His work and His place in the God-head. There is evidence to support the fact that the Post-Apostolic Fathers did believe in the tri-unity of the God-head. They had not yet formulated the theological defin-

¹See the Appendix.

ition of the Trinity, which definition came with the ecumenical councils, but they did say much the same things that were said in the later explanations. For example, Justin wrote:

Both Him [the Father], and the Son....., and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing them in reason and truth, and declaring without grudging to every one who wishes to learn, as we have been taught.¹

In this passage from Justin the doctrine of the Trinity is clearly taught.

One of the best examples of the place of the Trinity in the doctrine of the Second Century Church is to be found in the baptismal formula. In his First Apology Justin wrote:

As many as are persuaded and believe that what we teach and say is true, and undertake to be able to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and to entreat God with fasting, for the remission of their sins that are past, we praying and fasting with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were ourselves regenerated. For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water.²

Furthermore, The Didache stated:

Now, as regards baptism, thus baptize ye: having first rehearsed all things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in running water.³

¹Justin Martyr, First Apology, Ch. vi.

²Ibid., Ch. lxi.

³The Didache, Ch. vii.

The Fathers did believe in the Tri-unity of the God-head. How the Members of the God-head relate to one another, however, was a question which they did not discuss. The main difference between their belief and that of the Church after the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) was that Christ's subordination to the Father was stressed to a greater extent in the former age.¹ The Holy Spirit was believed to be subordinate to the Son. The later tendency was to make them equal in position. Compare the following words of Justin with those of Athanasius, the principal teacher of the Trinitarian position at the Council of Nicea. Justin wrote:

Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ,and that we reasonably worship Him, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third, we will prove.²

In comparison Athanasius wrote:

The person of the Father is one; the person of the Son is one; the person of the Holy Spirit is one. But of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the divinity is one, the glory equal, the majesty equal.³

These quotations from two different ages show the doctrinal development that was taking place. The Post-Apostolic

¹John Henry (Cardinal) Newman, An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, (New York: Longman's, Green, and Company, 1903), p. 138.

²Justin Martyr, First Apology, Ch. xiii.

³As quoted in William G. T. Shedd, A History of Christian Doctrine, (New York: Scribner and Armstrong and Company, 1873), p. 72.

Church was dealing with the Holy Spirit in a more active sense than in the later age. While the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, such as prophecy, healing, or exorcism were active in the churches, it was difficult to draw the conclusions that made possible the Fourth Century definition of the place of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity.

The Holy Spirit was believed to be present in the world, convicting men of their sins and drawing them to Christ. Speaking of the Holy Spirit, Clement of Rome said, "Let us reflect how near he is, and that none of the thoughts or reasonings in which we engage are hid from him."¹ The Holy Spirit was believed to be at work to some degree among all men.

II. THE CALL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT TO COME TO CHRIST

The Post-Apostolic Church believed very strongly in the fact that man was basically sinful. Justin said, "for the whole human race will be found to be under a curse" (καὶ γὰρ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων εὐρεθήσεται ὑπὸ κατάραν ὄν).² The early Christians believed that all men would be judged by God for their sins, and that the only escape from the coming judgment was salvation by the blood of Jesus Christ. Clement of Rome wrote:

¹Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, Ch. xxi.

²Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. xciv.

Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, ...which having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world.¹

Although all men were sinners and could not be saved except by the blood of Christ, the Church taught that no man could come to Christ unless he was called by the Holy Spirit. In the Dialogue with Trypho, Trypho asked Justin, "Will the mind of man see God at any time, if it is uninstructed by the Holy Spirit?" (Ἡ τὸν Θεὸν ἀνθρώπου νοῦς ὄψεται ποτε, μὴ ἁγίου Πνεύματος κεκοσμημένος.² Justin took several chapters to answer the question, but the answer that he arrived at was that a man could not see God unless he was instructed by the Spirit. What Trypho wanted to know was whether it was possible for a man to come to God on the ground of his own merit or by his own initiative, or whether he must receive divine instruction, be singularly called, to find God.

Justin had said that special instruction was necessary, yet he also told Trypho that "the majority of men will not see God, saving such as shall live justly, purified by righteousness, and by every other virtue."³ In this conversation between Trypho and Justin are seen two important ideas

¹Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, Ch. vii.

²Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. iv.

³Ibid.

of the Post-Apostolic Church: (1) no man could see God unless he was called by the Holy Spirit, and (2) only a minority of the world would eventually be saved. These two ideas went hand in hand, for the Christians believed that they were the "elect" of God.¹

There are two remarkable parallel passages in Post-Apostolic literature dealing with this problem. One is in The Epistle of Barnabas and the other is in The Didache. The passages agree almost word for word in each book, indicating that they were either both from a common source or that one copied the other. The Epistle of Barnabas says:

Thou shalt not issue orders with bitterness to thy maid-servant or to thy man-servant, who trust in the same [God], lest thou shouldst not reverence that God who is above both; for He came to call men not according to their outward appearance, but according as the Spirit has prepared them.²

By comparison, The Didache states:

Thou shalt not give directions when thou art in anger to thy slave or thy handmaid, who trust in the same God, lest perchance they shall not fear God who is over you both; for He cometh not to call men according to their outward positions, but He cometh to those whom the Spirit hath made ready.³

Although there are some differences in the Greek of these passages, this repetition in two early sources only adds to

¹The Martyrdom of Polycarp, Ch. xxii.

²The Epistle of Barnabas, Ch. xix.

³The Didache, Ch. iv.

the genuine character of the passage itself. This problem in no way weakens the strength of the passage. Part of the differences are due to their translation.

The idea here so abundantly established by the Fathers is that God comes to (or calls) only those "whom the Spirit has made ready" (ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτόίμασεν).¹ It would seem to be clear from this evidence that the Fathers believed that before a man could come to Christ, the Holy Spirit had to do preparatory work in his life.

At least a part of this preparation was the convicting power of the Holy Spirit. Christ had promised that the Holy Spirit would "convict the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment."² Justin wrote on this subject:

For you shall hear other words which appear still more paradoxical; but be not confounded, nay rather remain still more zealous hearers and investigators, despising the tradition of your teachers, since they are convicted by the Holy Spirit of inability to perceive the truths taught by God, and of preferring to teach their own doctrines.³

These men of whom Justin wrote were "convicted by the Prophetic

¹This is from The Didache. The Epistle of Barnabas has ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτόίμασε .

²John 16:8 (Trans of the author).

³Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. xxxviii. (Note that the authors have translated προφητικῶν πνεύματος as "the Holy Spirit". Roberts and Donaldson are at times very free in their translation. The "Prophetic Spirit" is identical with "the Holy Spirit" with Justin. Such incidents as this are the cause for the large amount of original Greek and Latin used in this study.)

Spirit" (ἐπὶ τοῦ προφητικῶν Πνεύματος ἐλέγχονται)

of not accepting the teachings of Christ.

An examination of the Fathers shows, therefore, that they believed that no man could come to Christ unless he was especially called, convicted, or instructed by the Holy Spirit. One must be careful, however, not to read into the Fathers something that they did not say. When they said that a man must be called by the Holy Spirit to be saved, they were not insisting, as Augustine later did, that the choice of a man's being saved or not being saved was with God alone. The Fathers' position on the matter of choice in salvation is clear. It will be shown that, although the preparation of the Holy Spirit was necessary for salvation, the Holy Spirit was believed to have made ready those who chose to be prepared. The writer of The Pastor of Hermas wrote;

"That thou may behold," he added, "the great mercy of the Lord, that it is great and glorious, and that He has given His Spirit to those who are worthy of repentance."¹

One of the clearest passages in the Fathers on this matter is that of Justin Martyr in his First Apology. He had written several chapters which, if taken alone, might have indicated that man had no choice in his own salvation. In order to insure the right interpretation of his words,

¹The Pastor of Hermas, Bk. III, Sim. viii, Ch. vi.

Justin wrote:

But lest some suppose, from what has been said by us, that we say that whatever happens, happens by a fatal necessity, because it is foretold as known beforehand, this too we explain. We have learned from the prophets, and we hold it to be true, that punishments, and chastisements, and good rewards, are rendered according to the merit of each man's actions. Since if it be not so, but all things happen by fate, neither is anything at all in our own power. For if it be fated that this man, e.g., be good, and this other evil, neither is the former meritorious nor the latter to be blamed. And again, unless the human race have the power of avoiding evil and choosing good by free choice, they are not accountable for their actions, of whatever kind they be. But that it is by free choice they both walk uprightly and stumble, we thus demonstrate. We see that same man making a transition to opposite things. Now, if it had been fated that he be either good or bad, he could never have been capable of both the opposites, nor of so many transitions. But not even would some be good and others bad, since we thus make fate the cause of evil, and exhibit her as acting in opposition to herself; or that which has been already stated would seem to be true, that neither virtue nor vice is anything, but that things are only reckoned good or evil by opinion; which as the true word shows, is the greatest impiety and wickedness. But this we assert is inevitable fate, that they who choose the good have worthy rewards, and they who choose the opposite have their merited rewards. For not like other things, as trees and quadrupeds, which cannot act by choice, did God make man; for neither would he be worthy of reward or praise did he not of himself choose the good, but were created for this end, nor if he were evil would he be worthy of punishment, not being evil of himself, but being able to be nothing else than what he was made.¹

Justin supported this passage by saying in his next chapter:

And the Holy Spirit of Prophecy taught us this, telling us by Moses that God spoke thus to the man first created: "Behold, before thy face are good and evil: choose the good."²

¹Justin Martyr, First Apology, Ch. xliii.

²Ibid., Ch. xliv.

It was the belief of the Post-Apostolic Fathers that a man either came to God or did not come to God by his own "free choice" (ἐλευθέρα προαιρέσει), the gift of salvation having been "set...before the whole world".¹ Salvation from sin had been offered to all, and anyone could have received it who chose to do so. According to the Fathers, this did not mean that man was saved by his own choice, but that once God had made salvation by grace available, man was free to choose. The Fathers believed that man is saved by God's grace. Polycarp quoted from Ephesians 2:8,9, saying, "by grace ye are saved, not of works."²

Ignatius also denied that man could be saved by his own works. He wrote, "Let us not, therefore, be insensible to his kindness. For were He to reward us according to our works, we should cease to be."³ Here Ignatius made it clear that the works of man could not save him. The theme of salvation by grace appears over and over throughout Post-Apostolic literature. That man could be saved by his own works or by his own choice was everywhere denied. Yet, the choice of receiving or rejecting this salvation was left by God to the decision of the man himself. It is the grace of God

¹Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, Ch. vi.

²Polycarp, To the Philippians, Ch. i.

³Ignatius, To the Magnesians, Ch. x.

which saves a man through the blood of Christ, but that man must choose such grace.

Tatian, in his Address to the Greeks, spoke clearly on this subject, showing that it is man who must make the choice:

Die to the world, repudiating the madness that is in it. Live to God, and by apprehending Him lay aside your old nature. We were not created to die, but we die by our own fault. Our free-will has destroyed us; we who were free have become slaves; we have been sold through sin. Nothing evil has been created by God; we ourselves have manifested wickedness; but we, who have manifested it, are able again to reject it.¹

Here Tatian teaches us that "we were not created to die" (οὐκ ἐγενόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν). God's will is that all should live. In His sovereign power, He has granted us "free-will" (τὸ αὐτεξούσιον), but we have misused this freedom and "have manifested wickedness" (τὴν πονηρίαν ἧμεῖς αἰρε-
δείξαμεν). However, by the same free-will men may reject wickedness, turn to God and live. Man is saved by God's grace alone, but God has offered that grace to man, giving him the opportunity of accepting or rejecting it. Therefore, based on these passages from the Post-Apostolic Fathers, we must conclude that the free-will of man enters into the choice of salvation.

How, then, does the call of the Holy Spirit effect salvation if God has given the choice to man? The Fathers taught that the Holy Spirit prepared men for salvation and

¹Tatian, Address to the Greeks, Ch. xi.

that He convicts them of their sins and helps to draw them to a decision for salvation. His part is not to choose arbitrarily certain men to be saved, but to assist them in their own choice. An example of this teaching is found in The Epistle to Diognetus:

As a king sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him; as God He sent Him; as to men He sent Him; as a Saviour He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God, As calling us He sent Him, not as vengefully pursuing us.¹

This passage indicates that to the Fathers salvation was not forced upon anyone. God's plan, according to them, was not to call certain ones by the Holy Spirit and to compel (οὐ βραδόμενος) them to be saved but to "persuade" (ὡς πείθων) anyone who would choose God.

The operation of the Holy Spirit in salvation was believed by the Fathers to have been to prepare men for salvation by convicting, instructing, calling, or persuading men to come to Christ. This He does for all men who come into contact with the Gospel, not forcing anyone to be saved, for "violence has no place in the character of God" (βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεται τῷ Θεῷ), but assisting them in turning their wills to the will of God.

¹The Epistle to Diognetus, Ch. vii.

Having been prepared by the Holy Spirit, having made the proper choice, and having been saved by the grace of God, a convert was expected to live by the teachings of the Lord and His Apostles. He was expected to discontinue his life of sin and to live a righteous life, to be baptized in water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and he was to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit, as we shall subsequently see.

III. SUMMARY

The Post-Apostolic Fathers believed that the Holy Spirit, as the third Member of the God-head, was present in the world to convict men of their sins and to prepare them for salvation. They believed that man has sinned and must have salvation through the blood of Jesus Christ to enter heaven. God has offered this salvation to all men everywhere, but because of the attractiveness of sin and the hardships involved in being a Christian, only a small minority of the world will ever be saved. The Holy Spirit was believed to have been persuading men to come to Christ to repent of their sins.

After having been called by the Holy Spirit and having received the salvation offered by God, the new Christian was expected to live a life in keeping with the teachings of Jesus Christ and His Apostles.

This was the belief that the Post-Apostolic Fathers held concerning the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. Their belief was that this work was primarily that of conviction of sin. Thus it is seen that the first influence of the Holy Spirit upon a man took place before his conversion to the Christian Religion. We will now turn to the operations of the Holy Spirit subsequent to conversion.

CHAPTER IV

THE BAPTISM IN THE HOLY SPIRIT AS TAUGHT BY THE POST-APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Although the operations of the Holy Spirit, viewed in their wider scope, include the work of the Spirit in leading men to salvation, the term in its more specific meaning refers to that which is strikingly supernatural.

We will show that the Fathers believed that a Christian should be filled with the Holy Spirit, that this infilling with the Spirit was a definite, post-salvation experience, and that it was both a single experience of being filled and a continuous experience in which the Holy Spirit continued to dwell in the life of the believer.

I. THE OUTPOURING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The baptism in the Holy Spirit was one of the most important experiences of the Early Church. It marked the Church from the very beginning and set the Christians apart from the rest of the world. It was the outpouring of the Holy Spirit that gave the power and zeal necessary to see the Church on its way to world-wide influence. It was prophesied in the Old Testament, taught in the writings of the New Testament, and experienced by those who wrote the Christian documents. It seems to have been the common experience of all the be-

lievers in the earliest churches.

That the experience of the Second Century was the same as that recorded in the New Testament may be implied by the language of Clement of Rome in his Epistle to the Corinthians. We may compare his statement with that of Peter in The Acts of the Apostles and with the prophecy of Joel concerning the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. This comparison was first made by Irenaeus in his book, Against Heresies.¹ It definitely connects the experience of the Apostolic Church with that of the Post-Apostolic Church. Clement wrote:

Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and ye had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, ye did stretch forth your hands to God Almighty, beseeching Him to be merciful unto you, if ye had been guilty of any involuntary transgression.²

In this passage Clement made it clear that there was "a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit" upon all of the Corinthian Christians (καὶ πλήρης Πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο). The word which he used to describe the experience of this church was that they had received a full "outpouring" of the Spirit. This word (ἔκ-χυσις) was also employed by Peter on the Day of Pentecost: Peter said:

¹Irenaeus, Against Heresies, III, xii.

²Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, Ch. ii.

Being therefore exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this which you see and hear.¹

Peter and Clement both used the same root word.

Peter said, "he has poured out this which you see and hear"

(*ἔξέχεεν τούτο ὁ ὑμεῖς καὶ βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε*).

Using the verb form, *ἐκχέω* , he described the baptism in the Holy Spirit as an outpouring.

The Septuagint² gives the words of Joel, who employed the same idea in prophesying the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon mankind. Joel said:

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And on my servants and on my handmaids in those days will I pour out of my Spirit.³

Twice in this passage the same word appears. Joel quoted the Lord as saying, "I will pour out of my Spirit" (*καὶ ἐκχέω ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου*) in two verses. Again the word is the same as that used by Peter and later by Clement (*ἐκχέω*).

Peter established the connection between these passages when he quoted the prophecy of Joel in explaining the strange occurrence on the Day of Pentecost. Because of the

¹The Acts of the Apostles 2:33 (RSV).

²The Scriptures used by the Early Church.

³Joel 2:28 (Sir Lancelot Breton's translation of the Septuagint).

exact similarity of language and the fact that Irenaeus also used the words of Joel and Peter for much the same argument, this use of **ἐκχυσίς** seems to indicate that the experience of which Clement spoke in his epistle was the same as that of the Day of Pentecost and as that prophesied by Joel.

Furthermore, other Fathers employed the same word in the same way. Barnabas wrote in his epistle:

Seeing that the divine fruits of righteousness abound among you, I rejoice exceedingly and above measure in your happy and honoured spirits, because ye have with such effect received the engrafted spiritual gift. Wherefore also I inwardly rejoice the more, hoping to be saved, because I truly perceive in you the Spirit poured forth from the rich Lord of love.¹

The language of this entire passage indicates that the Holy Spirit was outpoured upon the Post-Apostolic Church in much the same manner as the Apostolic Church. This passage appears even more significant when one takes into consideration that this was probably a general epistle.

II. THE INFILLING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The Fathers not only spoke of the general outpouring of the Spirit upon the Church, but also wrote of the more specific infilling of individual believers. One of the strongest personal testimonies to the baptism in the Holy Spirit was that of Justin, who claimed the experience for

¹Barnabas, The Epistle of Barnabas, Ch. i.

himself. He told Trypho, "What need have I of that other baptism [i.e., circumcision], who have been baptized with the Holy Spirit?" (Τὶς ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος χρεῖα ἄξιω Πνεύματος βαπτισθένω).¹ In another place he told Trypho of his separate experience in receiving salvation.²

The Fathers believed that the baptism in the Holy Spirit was not only a momentary filling with the Spirit, but that in the experience the Spirit entered into a man and dwelt within him. We have already seen that Barnabas said, "I perceive in you the Spirit poured forth." Tatian wrote of the Spirit's "taking up its abode" within the Christian.³ In another place Tatian wrote of "those whom the Spirit of God dwells in".⁴ The Fathers viewed the baptism in the Spirit as a specific infilling as well as a general outpouring.

One of the most remarkable books on the Holy Spirit's work was The Pastor of Hermas, written about A.D. 140. This book was regarded very highly by the Second Century Christians and was included in the Muratorian Canon.⁵ The main

¹Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. xxix.

²Ibid., Chs. iii - viii.

³Tatian, To the Greeks, Ch. xiii.

⁴Ibid., Ch. xv.

⁵H. C. Thiessen, Introduction to the New Testament, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1943), p. 7.

purpose of this book was to give the correct views on the Holy Spirit as opposed to the views of the Montanists.¹ Montanism was at that time moving from Phrygia into the western, more conservative part of the empire. The Montanists had been very fanatical in the Phrygian environment in which religious experience was stressed so strongly; but when they began to spread into the more Roman areas where the stress was on law, authority, and stoicism they tended to become a little less radical.

The Montanists were a fanatical group of the followers of Montanus of Phrygia, whom his followers acclaimed as the incarnation of the Holy Spirit. Their chief error was not so much doctrinal (with the exception of their claims concerning Montanus) as it was an overindulgence in the ecstatic forms of Christian experience. The Pastor of Hermas attempted to correct the views on the Holy Spirit. It especially tried to teach the relationship of the operations of the Spirit to the Church, yet without denying the place of true ecstatic experience. This purpose, however, is not always seen by its readers because the book is highly figurative, dealing almost entirely with the experiences of Hermas while he was carried away by the Spirit "through a pathless place."²

¹See notes of A. Cleveland Coxe, Roberts and Donaldson, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 56f.

²The Pastor of Hermas, I, Vis. i, i.

The book is difficult to quote because of its figurative nature. The reader must read entire sections of the book to understand the meanings of many of its symbols.

There are a number of passages which shed light on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. In one of these the Shepherd said to Hermas:

Love the truth, and let nothing but truth proceed from your mouth, that the spirit which God has placed in your flesh may be found truthful before all men; and the Lord, who dwelleth in you will be glorified, because the Lord is truthful in every word, and in Him is no falsehood.¹

The Spirit is described as having been placed in Hermas' flesh (*εἶνα τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ θεὸς κατέκρησεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ*),² teaching that the Holy Spirit dwells within a person who is filled.

Again, the book said:

Both these are grievous to the Holy Spirit--doubt and anger. Wherefore remove grief from you, and crush not the Holy Spirit which dwells in you, lest he entreat God against you, and he withdraw from you. For the Spirit of God which has been granted to us to dwell in this body does not endure grief nor straitness.³

Although this passage is speaking about the possibility of one's losing the Spirit from his life, the teaching that the

¹Ibid., II, x, ii.

²The Latin has here "ut spiritus quem Dominus constituit in carne tua..." The most complete manuscripts of this book are in Latin. Apparently Roberts and Donaldson relied on the Latin for the translation of this passage.

³Ibid., II, x, iii.

Holy Spirit dwells in a person's life is clear. This thought is mentioned repeatedly throughout the book. We see, then, that the Fathers believed that the Holy Spirit entered into and dwelt in the lives of the believers.

III. THE COMMON EXPERIENCE OF ALL BELIEVERS

The Fathers not only believed that this experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit was available to the believer, but they taught that all who were saved should receive it. This was particularly true early in the period. As time went on and the experience began to wane, fewer and fewer were filled, until by the time of Chrysostom very few, if any, were baptized in the Spirit. This waning was beginning to take place toward the end of the Post-Apostolic Period.¹ For the greater part of the era, however, most believers were filled with the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic sense.²

Clement said that "a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, ...while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all."³ Note here the stress on the idea that

¹This was one of the reasons why Montanism was so effective in the Second Century. With the number of people who were filled with the Spirit becoming less, the tendency of those who wished to retain the experience was toward over-emphasis on the supernatural and the ecstatic.

²This will be subsequently shown.

³Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, Ch. 2.

this experience of receiving the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was given to all (ἐπὶ πάντας) who were in the Corinthian church. This idea pervades the writings of the Fathers. Nowhere is the Holy Spirit seen to dwell in a special, select group. All of the believers were taught to receive the gift. That each believer be filled with the Holy Spirit was considered a necessity. In a passage dealing with the Holy Spirit's union with the believer, The Pastor of Hermas goes so far as to say:

If you bear His name but possess not His power, it will be in vain that you bear His name.

(Ita frustra nomen ejus portabit quis, nisi etiam potestates ejus portaverit).¹

This passage should not be interpreted as meaning that the baptism in the Holy Spirit was necessary for salvation. It does indicate, however, that every believer was expected to receive the experience of being empowered by God. It was a common experience in the Church.

If a person did not wish to go on into the fullness of the Christian life, it was an indication of his lack of consecration to Christ. This the basic thrust of the above passage, that Christian profession must be accompanied by Christian

¹The Pastor of Hermas, III, ix, xiii. This passage appears in a section dealing particularly with the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer.

experience. It would be in vain that a person be called a Christian if he did not fully accept the experience of the Church. All of the Christians, then, who continued to follow Christ received the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. No doubt there were some exceptions, but by and large the Fathers' writings show this to have been true.

Toward the end of the Post-Apostolic Period Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, wrote concerning the indwelling of the Holy Spirit:

But the Spirit of God is not with all, but, taking up its abode with those who live justly, and intimately combining with the soul, by prophecies it announced hidden things to other souls.¹

This passage tells us that the Spirit is not with everyone, but only with those who live justly, meaning that the Holy Spirit is only with the believers who are living just lives. The implication is that the Holy Spirit dwells in all of the just, but in none of the unjust. The baptism in the Holy Spirit was believed to be the common experience of all of the just.

IV. THE INDWELLING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

The presence of the Holy Spirit was experienced by the Post-Apostolic Church both as a baptism in which the Holy Spirit first entered the believer and as a continuous exper-

¹Tatian, To the Greeks, Ch. xiii.

ience of the indwelling of the Spirit in the believer's life. That the baptism in the Holy Spirit was a crisis experience seems to be shown by the fact that that to which the Fathers refer was substantially the same as that recorded in the New Testament and prophesied by the prophet Joel.¹ The receiving of the Holy Spirit was marked by definite characteristics and evidences which seem to have been similar to the two ages.²

One example of the difference between the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the continued indwelling of the Spirit was the experience of Justin Martyr.³ He said that he had "been baptized with the Holy Ghost." The perfect tense of the participle, **βεβαπτισμένῳ**, indicates that his baptism was a completed action with continuous results. The baptism in the Spirit was a complete experience in itself, followed by the resulting continuous indwelling of the Spirit. The Pastor of Hermas speaks of "the Holy Spirit which dwells in you."⁴ Here continuous action is stressed. There was the initial experience of being filled with the Spirit, and the continuous experience of remaining filled.

¹Supra, p. 49f.

²These characteristics and evidences will be subsequently discussed.

³Supra, p. 51.

⁴Supra, p. 53.

The fact that most of the Fathers referred to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit is an indication that they considered that the Holy Spirit continued to abide in the believer. It was this indwelling that made the operations of the Holy Spirit possible.

Another example of the difference between the infilling and the indwelling of the Spirit may be seen in a figurative story in The Pastor of Hermas.¹ Although the story itself, if taken literally, is pagan in nature, it describes a person who was being filled with the Holy Spirit. Like the rest of the book it is highly figurative, but on this point it contains its own interpretation.

In the story Hermas had been left by the Shepherd beside the tower (which represented the Church) with twelve virgins (which together represented the Holy Spirit).² As the night came on they began to rejoice with singing and dancing. When it had grown quite late they began to pray and continued praying in an ecstatic state for the duration of the night. The next morning when the Shepherd asked him about his experience, Hermas told him that he had supped "on the words of the Lord the whole night." During the experience

¹The Pastor of Hermas, III, ix, xi.

²The Shepherd told Hermas in this passage, speaking of these twelve virgins, "Hae, inquit, Spiritus sancti sunt" ("These," he said, "are the Holy Spirit.")

the virgins (the Holy Spirit) informed Hermas, "we intend to abide with you, for we love you exceedingly."¹ The Shepherd confirmed this by saying:

Moreover, I sent you these virgins, that they may dwell with you. For I saw that they were courteous to you. You will therefore have them as assistants, that you may be the better able to keep his commands: for it is impossible that these commandments can be observed without these virgins. I see, moreover, that they abide with you willingly; but I will also instruct them not to depart at all from your house: do you only keep your house pure, as they will delight to dwell in a pure abode.²

Although the story is an allegory, using a pagan basis, the message which the author of the book attempted to teach was his view of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, both as a single experience and as a continuous action. That the experience is likened to a pagan orgy is perhaps not too different from the first instance of the baptism in the Holy Spirit at Jerusalem, when the one hundred twenty were accused of having been drunken.³ It seems that such instances merely point out that the baptism in the Holy Spirit took place in a state of ecstasy.

We should note also from the baptism in the Spirit of Hermas that it was not permanent on the basis of that baptism alone. The Holy Spirit will not dwell in an impure abode.

¹Ibid., ("tecum habitare paratae sumus...").

²Ibid., III, x, iii.

³The Acts of the Apostles 2:13 - 16.

To retain the Spirit in his life, the Christian had to continue to live a sin-free life. Hermas in another passage wrote:

For if you be patient, the Holy Spirit that dwells in you will be pure. He will not be darkened by any evil spirit, but, dwelling in a broad region [the heart or soul] he will rejoice and be glad; and with the vessel in which he dwells he will serve God in gladness, having great peace within himself. But if any out burst of anger takes place, forthwith the Holy Spirit, who is tender, is straitened, not having a pure place, and seeks to depart.¹

The Holy Spirit will not continue to dwell in an impure vessel. The Fathers seem to have taught that a believer must live a life of holiness to retain the presence of the Holy Spirit.

This connection between the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and sin in the person's life brings us back to the question of the basic differences between the work of the Holy Spirit in salvation and His operation in baptizing a believer. The evidence of the Fathers seems to indicate that, although conversion and the infilling of the Holy Spirit were separate experiences, the latter took place very soon after the former. Most of what was written concerning the believer referred to persons having both of these experiences. Therefore, they complemented each other and, unless otherwise stated, their effects were inseparable when both had been received.

¹The Pastor of Hermas, II, v, i.

IV. THE EVIDENCES OF THE BAPTISM IN THE HOLY SPIRIT

An experience in which the Holy Spirit of God entered into a person and made His dwelling in his life would not be without certain evidences. Such an experience would be climactic in the life of the person, and would demonstrate lasting results. One is naturally led to seek to find the evidences of such a union of God with man.

The Post-Apostolic Church was very particular about its acceptance of any person who said that he was filled with the Holy Spirit. Certain evidences of the infilling of the Holy Spirit had to be present in his life or his experience would be rejected. In this connection The Pastor of Hermas said:

Try by his deeds and his life the man who says that he is inspired. But as for you, trust the Spirit which comes from God, and has power; but the spirit which is earthly and empty trust not at all, for there is no power in it: it comes from the Devil.¹

Here is seen the true test of whether a man was filled with the Spirit or not. It was not primarily based upon the fact that he might have uttered inspired messages to the people, as many did, but it was concerned first of all with his deeds and his life. Apparently there were some false prophets in the Church who were not really filled with the Holy Spirit.

¹The Pastor of Hermas, II, xi, i.

Such persons would make inspiration an invalid test of the presence of the Holy Spirit. The above passage appears in a chapter in The Pastor of Hermas which discusses the matter of public, inspired messages.

We must turn, then, to an examination of other evidences for the baptism in the Holy Spirit than the matter of public inspiration. The believers were to "Try by his deeds and his life the man who says that he is inspired (or, '...who says that he has the Holy Spirit')" (Proba ergo de vita et operibus hominem, qui dicit se Spiritum sanctum habere).¹

The Fathers of the Post-Apostolic Age give abundant material on the operations of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer following his being filled with the Spirit.

In Post-Apostolic literature there seem to have been two kinds of evidence for the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Some of the evidences for the experience were the direct results of the baptism itself. These were qualities which would not have been a part of the believer's life if he had not received the Holy Spirit into it. They were special qualities or abilities which were added to the life of the ~~filled~~ filled person.

There seem to have been other evidences which were qualities the believer already had possessed or might have

¹Roberts and Donaldson were quite free in their translation at this point.

possessed prior to the infilling of the Spirit. Some of these were derived from the good qualities inherent in man, and others were the results of salvation. They become evidences of the baptism in the Holy Spirit when the Spirit intensifies them and amplifies them into full Christian character. It is in the Spirit-filled life that these qualities see their greatest fulfillment.

Of the direct evidences of the infilling of the Holy Spirit, the one which was probably the most immediately noticeable was the endowment with power. Power may be defined as added ability and strength for Christian service. A person who was filled with the Holy Spirit was full of zeal for the work of the Lord and had available to him the power of God to accomplish the work of the Church. Power is a word which characterized the activity of the Church throughout that era. Of all of the evidences of the presence of the Spirit, it is the one mentioned most often by the Post-Apostolic Fathers. Let us examine their witness to it.

The first of the Fathers who specifically mentioned power in this sense was Ignatius. He wrote to the church at Smyrna: "Be ye strong, I pray, in the power of the Holy Ghost" (Ἐρρωθεέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει Πνεύματος).¹ This

¹Ignatius, To the Smyrnaeans, Epilogue.

exhortation was given to people who were already believers and probably had been filled with the Holy Spirit. Note that connected with the subject of the Holy Spirit are the words "strong" and "power". The Holy Spirit was to give the believers strength through His power.

Justin joins with the witness of Ignatius by writing of men....

....who had no need of rhetorical art, nor of uttering anything in a contentious or quarrelsome manner, but to present themselves pure to the energy of the Divine Spirit, in order that the divine plectrum itself, descending from heaven, and using righteous men as an instrument like a harp or lyre, might reveal to us the knowledge of things divine and heavenly.¹

This reference to "the energy of the Divine Spirit" (ἀλλὰ καθαρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τῇ Θεοῦ Πνεύματος παρασχῆν ἐνεργείᾳ)

again shows that the presence of the Spirit in the life was believed to have been for the purpose of giving power, strength, or energy to the Christian for his service to the Lord. Here there was recognition of the fact that more than human strength was needed to establish the Church in the pagan Roman world.

In this connection we might well view again the words of The Pastor of Hermas: "If you bear His name but possess not His power, it will be in vain that you bear His name."² This was a necessity to every believer. One had to have the

¹Justin Martyr, Hort. Address to the Greeks, Ch. vii.

²The Pastor of Hermas, III, ix, 13.

power (potestates) of the Holy Spirit to be an effective Christian.

The power for service was one of the outstanding characteristics of the Spirit-filled life. It was the evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit most spoken of by the Post-Apostolic Fathers, and was of great value to the Christians during the years of persecution and hardship.

Another one of the important direct results of the Spirit's indwelling was that the believer who was filled would begin to be used in the operation of the gifts of the Spirit. Such gifts as healing, for example, were important characteristics of the work of the Church in that era. Prophecy--the delivery of a message directly from the Lord--was also very common in the Church services. The gifts of the Spirit will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter. However, let it here be noted that the operations of these gifts were through those who had been filled with the Holy Spirit and were allowing the Holy Spirit to work through them in this manner. Thus, the presence of the gifts of the Spirit in the Church was an important evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Another evidence for the indwelling of the Spirit, which came directly from that indwelling, was guidance. This also was an important part of the work of the Spirit in the

believer's life. A person who was indwelt in this manner could expect the Spirit to guide him in his beliefs and in his actions. Speaking of the union of the soul with the Spirit of God, Tatian wrote:

But, if it [the soul] enters into union with the Divine Spirit, it is no longer helpless, but ascends to the regions whither the Spirit guides it: for the dwelling-place of the spirit is above, but the origin of the soul is from beneath.¹

By "above" and "beneath" Tatian meant the difference between spirit and matter, not heaven and hell. He tells us that if a soul "enters into union with the Divine Spirit" (συσυγίαν δὲ κεκτημένη τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεύματος), "the Spirit guides it" (ὁδηγεῖ χωρὶς τὸ Πνεῦμα). This guidance is presented as a general work of the Spirit as a result of that union. Thus a person who was baptized in the Holy Spirit gave evidence of being guided by the Holy Spirit.

These were the principal direct evidences of the indwelling of the Spirit. All of these were considered to have been necessary.

The indirect evidences of the indwelling of the Spirit were many. The work of the Spirit was not to add these qualities to the believer's life so much as to intensify those good qualities which came to him at salvation or which he might have already possessed. In this phase of the Spirit's

¹Tatian, Address to the Greeks, Ch. xiii.

work He only intensified and amplified the best qualities of the believer.

The Pastor of Hermas lists twelve powers of the Holy Spirit which are a part of the Christian's life after the infilling of the Spirit. The virgins in this passage are jointly the manifestations of the Holy Spirit, for the passage is figurative. The passage reads:

"Hear," he said, "the names of the stronger virgins who stood at the corners. The first is Faith, the second Continnence, the third Power, the fourth Patience, And the others standing in the midst of these have the following names: Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Cheerfulness, Truth, Understanding, Harmony, Love."¹

Some of these qualities might have already been possessed by the believer, but they were intensified by the Spirit.

This action of the Holy Spirit in the Christian's life can be seen in the words of Clement of Rome to which we have referred earlier. He wrote:

Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and ye had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, ye did with true earnestness of mind and a godly confidence stretch forth your hands to God almighty, beseeching Him to be merciful unto you, if ye had been guilty of any involuntary transgression.²

Whereas the believer had peace as a result of salvation, he now had "a profound and abundant peace" (εἰρήνη βαθεῖα

¹The Pastor of Hermas, III, ix, 15.

²Clement of Rome, Epistle to the Corinthians, Ch. ii.

καὶ λιπαρά). Where he had a desire to do good before, he now had "an insatiable desire for doing good" (καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιΐαν). He had the desire to follow holy designs, but now he was "full of holy designs" (μεστός τε ὁσίας βουλήs). The Spirit gave intensity to these good qualities. Others of the Fathers add assurance, truthfulness, meekness, and humility to those already mentioned.

None of the evidences described here, neither those which came directly from the experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit nor those which came indirectly by a general intensification of the good qualities of the believer, were in themselves sufficient to persuade the Post-Apostolic Christians that a man was filled with the Spirit. It was the whole life of the person, including these evidences, that proved the experience. The most valid test of all was that suggested by The Pastor of Hermas that the Church "Try by his deeds and his life the man who says that he is inspired."

V. SUMMARY

The baptism in the Holy Spirit was an important experience of the Early Church. It not only marked the Apostolic Church, but it occurred regularly in the lives of the believers of the Post-Apostolic Period. It was a definite experience, separate from the act of conversion, coming to

the believer subsequent to his regeneration. The Fathers believed that the Holy Spirit was not only outpoured upon the Christians in general, but that each individual believer was to receive the infilling of the Holy Spirit. It was a crisis experience, occurring in a state of ecstasy. They believed that the Spirit entered into a person in the baptism in the Spirit and that the Holy Spirit continued to dwell in his life so long as he remained free from sin.

The experience was shown in the life of the believer by certain characteristics. There were those evidences which came directly out of the experience, such as power, the operation of the gifts of the Spirit, and the guidance of the Spirit; and there were the more indirect evidences, which resulted from a general intensification of all of the better qualities of the believer.

All of these evidences together constituted proof to the Post-Apostolic Church that the Holy Spirit was dwelling in the Christian. They did not accept the presence of one of these evidences alone as proof, but tested the whole life and all the actions of him who claimed to be filled.

These were the teachings of the Post-Apostolic Church concerning the baptism in the Holy Spirit. We turn now to a closer examination of the operation of the gifts of the Spirit.

CHAPTER V

THE OPERATION OF THE GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT AS RECORDED BY THE POST-APOSTOLIC FATHERS

One of the principal evidences of the baptism in the Holy Spirit was the operation of the gifts of the Spirit in the local churches. The indwelling of the Spirit often resulted in the operation of extraordinary powers, such as prophecy, healing, exorcism,¹ the revelation of knowledge, or other such supernatural activities. These gifts of the Spirit varied according to the ministry of the individual and accompanied the other evidences which occurred in the lives of all of the Spirit-filled believers.

In this chapter we will examine the gifts of the Spirit in the Post-Apostolic Church, both to ascertain their general presence in the Church and to study their individual modes of operation.

I. THE PRESENCE OF THE GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT IN THE CHURCH

The Post-Apostolic Fathers wrote a considerable amount about the operation of the gifts of the Spirit in the Church.

¹No attempt is made here to define "evil spirits". The exorcising of evil spirits was a common religious practice in the Roman Empire. Let it here suffice to say that the Fathers believed that the person who was filled with the Holy Spirit had the power to cast out devils.

They wrote of these supernatural gifts in a way that assumed that they were common knowledge. They were nowhere denied by any of the Christian writers of that era; and those writers who made mention of them did so to add strength to their arguments for the validity of the Christian Religion. They did not attempt to prove their existence, for they treated them as being already known to their readers.

Justin wrote about the gifts of the Spirit in his Dialogue with Trypho. As Scriptural background for the gifts, he quoted from two sources, Psalm 68:18¹ and Joel 2:28:

It is accordingly said, "He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, He gave gifts unto the sons of men." And again, in another prophecy it is said: "And it shall come to pass after this, I will pour out My Spirit on all flesh, and on My servants, and on My handmaids, and they shall prophecy."²

Irenaeus also used the quotation from Joel to support his teaching on the work of the Holy Spirit in the believer.³ He used this passage to show the connection of the contemporary operations of the Holy Spirit with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit that occurred in the Apostolic Church.⁴

The gifts of the Spirit were believed by these Fathers to have been given by God through Christ for the Church in

¹See also Ephesians 4:8

²Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. lxxxvii.

³Irenaeus, Against Heresies, III, xii.

⁴Supra, p.

general and not for their age alone. The Fathers showed the background for these gifts in the prophecies of the Old Testament, the presence of these gifts in the Apostolic Church, and the operations of these gifts in their own period. They apparently believed them to have been some of the distinguishing marks of Christianity.

In dealing with the gifts of the Spirit we are faced with the problem of the connection of the gifts of the Post-Apostolic Period with the gifts mentioned in Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. Most modern writers who have written about the gifts of the Spirit have done so in connection with the specific nine gifts mentioned in I Corinthians 12:8 - 10. Dalton writes:

Upon receiving the Baptism with the Holy Ghost and giving forth the proper evidences the individual is immediately in line for any or all of the nine gifts of the Spirit enumerated in I Corinthians 12:8 - 10.¹

Pearlman writes:

What is the main purpose of the gifts of the Spirit? They are spiritual enablements for the purpose of building up the church of God through the instruction of believers and the winning of converts. Eph. 4:7 - 13. Paul enumerates nine of these gifts in I Corinthians 12:8 - 10...²

Riggs, also, says:

¹Dalton, Op. Cit., p. 81.

²Myer Pearlman, Knowing the Doctrines of the Bible, (Springfield, Missouri: The Gospel Publishing House, 1937), p. 321. (Pearlman was an Assemblies of God writer).

The gifts of the Spirit, as listed in First Cor. 12, can be classified in three groups. There are three gifts of revelation, three gifts of power, and three gifts of utterance.¹

The Fathers of the Post-Apostolic Church in no passage quoted from or mentioned any of the verses quoted above. The operation of the Holy Spirit in these gifts seems to have been explained solely on the basis of their activity in the Church. The gifts were active in the churches of that age and as such were accepted as the normal experience of the Christian life. It is interesting to note, however, that there is no contradiction between those gifts enumerated by them and those mentioned by Paul. They did give a wider meaning to the term, but, generally speaking, there is a continuity between Paul's list of the nine gifts and the various lists of the Fathers.

The Fathers believed that the source of the gifts was Christ. These gifts rested in Him. From Him they were given to the believers individually as a result of their having been baptized in the Holy Spirit.² In his book, Dialogue with Trypho, Justin quoted from Isaiah 11:1 - 3 and interpreted the passage as having reference to Jesus Christ. It is included in the context of a question that Trypho asked:

¹Riggs, Op. Cit., p. 113.

²It must be remembered that the experience of conversion and that of the baptism in the Holy Spirit were experienced in very short sequence by the believers of this age.

"Tell me, then, how, when the Scripture asserts by Isaiah, 'There shall come forth a rod from the root of Jesse; and a flower shall grow up from the root of Jesse; and the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety: and the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill Him:' (now you admitted to me," continued he, "that this referred to Christ, and you maintain Him to be pre-existent God, and having become incarnate by God's will, to be born man by the Virgin:) how He can be demonstrated to have been pre-existent, who is filled with the powers of the Holy Ghost, which the Scripture by Isaiah enumerates, as if He were in lack of them?"¹

Justin answered by saying:

"The Scripture says that these enumerated powers of the Spirit have come on Him, not because He stood in need of them, but because they would rest in Him, i.e., would find their accomplishment in Him, so that there would be no more prophets in your nation after the ancient custom: and this fact you plainly perceive."²

To Justin the powers of the Spirit of the Old Testament found their accomplishment in the Christ (ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἀνάπαυσιν μελλουσῶν ποιῆσθαι). By this Justin meant, as he himself went on to say, that the gifts had dwelt in the prophets, but in Christ they ceased to operate in the former manner and that from that time forward they were given to believers through Christ. Justin added:

He [the Holy Spirit] rested, i.e., ceased, when He [the Christ] came, after whom, in the times of this dispensation wrought out by Him amongst men, it was requisite that such gifts should cease from you; and having received their rest in Him, should again as had been

¹Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. lxxxvii.

²Ibid.

predicted, become gifts which, from the grace of His Spirit's power, He imparts to those who believe in Him, according as He deems each man worthy thereof. I have already said, and do again say, that it had been prophesied that this would be done by Him after his ascension to Heaven.¹

It is seen then, that Justin believed that the gifts rest in Christ for the purpose of their becoming gifts to be imparted to the believers through the power of the Holy Spirit (γενήσεσθαι δώματα, ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐκείνου τοῖς ἐν αὐτὸν πιστεύουσι δίδωσιν). It is important here to note that this passage does not refer to the baptism in the Holy Spirit, because that experience was probably common to all of the believers. These gifts were given to individuals differently, "according as He deems each man worthy thereof" (ὡς ἅξιον ἕκαστον ἐπίσταται).

In another passage Justin said:

Now, it is possible to see amongst us women and men who possess gifts of the Spirit of God; so that it was prophesied that the powers enumerated by Isaiah would come upon Him, not because He needed power, but because these would not continue after Him.²

Here Justin definitely stated that one could have seen women and men of that time who did possess the gifts of the Spirit (καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ θηλείας, καὶ ἄρσενας χάρισματὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχοντας).

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., Ch. lxxxviii.

This evidence was given to prove that the gifts were resident in Christ, not that they were present in the Church. That there were those who did possess these gifts in the Church was presented as a historical fact, known to the readers of that time. By "these would not continue after Him" (*ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἐπέκεινα μὴ μέλλειν ἔσσεσθαι*), Justin meant that the gifts would no longer operate as they did in the prophets, but that they would be in Christ after the ascension. They were then available only to those who were converted to Christianity and who were filled with the Holy Spirit.

Justin gave another account of the gifts of the Spirit in operation in his day. In the same book he said:

Therefore, just as God did not inflict His anger on account of those seven thousand men, even so He has now neither yet inflicted judgment, nor does inflict it, knowing that daily some [of you] are becoming disciples in the name of Christ, and quitting the path of error; who are also receiving gifts, each as he is worthy, illumined through the name of this Christ. For one receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, and another of the fear of God.¹

This passage would not be clear for this study were it not for the fact that Justin had declared that the gifts were "of the Spirit of God" (*τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ*). Thus, it becomes one of our better lists of the gifts of the Spirit. Justin taught that the believers received these gifts "each

¹Ibid., Ch. xxxix.

as he is worthy, illumined through the name of this Christ"

(ὅς καὶ λαμβάνουσι δόματα, ἕκαστος ὡς ἄξιός ἐστις, φωτιζόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τούτου).

This indicates the close connection that existed between the act of conversion and the baptism in the Holy Spirit in that age.

On the basis of the passages which we have presented we may list the gifts of the Spirit as follows:

(1) and (2) "the spirit of wisdom and understanding"
 (πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως),
 or "the spirit of understanding"
 (συνέσεως πνεῦμα);

(3) and (4) "the spirit of counsel and might"
 (πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος),
 or the spirit "of counsel"
 (ὁ δὲ βουλῆς)
 and the spirit "of strength"
 (ὁ δὲ ἰσχύος);

(5) and (6) "the spirit of knowledge and piety"
 (πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας),
 or the spirit "of foreknowledge"
 (ὁ δὲ προγνώσεως);

(7) "the spirit of the fear of the Lord"
 (πνεῦμα φόβου Θεοῦ);

- (8) the spirit "of healing"
 (ὁ δὲ ἰάσεως); and,
- (9) the spirit "of teaching"
 (ὁ δὲ διδασκαλίας).

The fact that Justin named nine gifts of the Spirit was probably only coincidence, because he did not name them all in one passage. To this list must be added those of other Fathers, namely the gifts of prophecy and the discerning of spirits. The Fathers apparently did not limit their views of the gifts of the Spirit to the gifts mentioned by Paul in First Corinthians.

The subject of the gifts of the Spirit in the Post-Apostolic Fathers may as a whole be divided into three divisions: (1) the gifts of prophecy, (2) the gifts of healing and casting out devils, and (3) the gifts of knowledge and the discerning of spirits. The first was concerned with divine utterance, the second with miracles, and the third with supernatural revelation. Most of the references to the gifts of the Spirit in the Fathers come within these three areas of operation.

II. THE GIFT OF PROPHECY

The best definition of the gift of prophecy in the Fathers is that of Justin Martyr in which he quoted from Plato's Dialogue with Meno. Justin's particular reason for

quoting from Plato was that he was writing his Hortatory Address to the Greeks. Speaking of Plato, then, Justin wrote that....

....on this account he [Plato] expresses in the Dialogue Meno his wonder at and admiration of prophets in the following terms: "Those whom we now call prophetic persons we should rightly name divine. And not least should we say that they are divine, and are raised to the prophetic ecstasy by the inspiration and possession of God, when they correctly speak of many and important matters, and yet know nothing of what they are saying..."¹

The basic operation of the gift of prophecy was that it came from God, it was a message of importance to the hearers, and it was operated through the inspiration and possession of God. Furthermore, its source was not in the man who spoke, because he did not know what he was saying, i.e., he spoke, but the words came directly from God.

The Pastor of Hermas gives an example of the gift of prophecy:

When, then, a man having the Divine Spirit comes into an assembly of righteous men who have faith in the Divine Spirit, and this assembly of men offers up prayer to God, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit, who is destined for him, fills the man; and the man being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaks to the multitude as the Lord wishes. Thus, then, will the Spirit of Divinity become manifest. Whatever power therefore comes from the Spirit of Divinity belongs to the Lord.²

¹Justin Martyr, Hort. Address to the Greeks, Ch. xxxvii. Although Plato was not speaking of the Christian or Jewish God, Justin interprets him as though he were. The translators have capitalized "God" because of Justin's usage, rather than Plato's meaning.

²The Pastor of Hermas, II, xi.

There are several things mentioned in this passage which were considered necessary to have the gift of prophecy in operation in the local assembly. They were: (1) the place in which the gift of prophecy usually operated was in the "assembly" (in turbam)--the local church; (2) the assembly had to be made up of "righteous men" (vivorum justorum); (3) even though these men may have been righteous, they had to have "faith in the Divine Spirit" (that is, the gift of prophecy was in operation only where there were believers who were filled with the Spirit, and who were believing in the Holy Spirit for such spiritual activities),- (4) the gift of prophecy was active where such men offered up "prayer to God" (et oratio illorum fit ad Dominum); and (5) when these conditions existed "the man being filled with the Holy Spirit" spoke to the multitudes as the Lord wished. "Thus, then, will the Spirit of Divinity become manifest."

Such an operation of the Holy Spirit as the gift of prophecy could conceivably be falsified by someone who wished to have the honor which the prophets of the Early Church received. There were many false prophets, such as Marcus and many of the Montanists.¹ Even before these movements began

¹This is not meant as an over-all condemnation of Montanism. It certainly had its good points, to which the Church would have done well to have listened. There were some excellent men, such as Tertullian, in that movement. It did, however tend in general toward over-indulgence in the more ecstatic forms of the Christian experience, bringing fanaticism and false doctrine.

there were those who falsely represented themselves as Spirit-filled prophets. The Didache gives the manner in which the Church was to tell the difference between the true and the false prophets. This very early book declares:

But not every one who speaks in the Spirit is a prophet, but only if he have the ways of the Lord. So from their ways shall the false prophet and the prophet be recognized.¹

Thus, in the final analysis, the message of the prophet was not received without due consideration of the life of the prophet. He had to have "the ways of the Lord" (ἀλλ' εἶναι ἔχῃ τοῦς τρόπους Κυρίου). This indicates that the gifts of the Spirit were not manifested in an environment of fanatical fervor, but in orderliness and in a rational manner both by the congregation and by the one prophesying. They were operated in a state of "prophetic ecstasy"² but yet not without the involving of the mind.

It is quite evident from the large amount of material on the subject that the gift of prophecy was generally present in the Church.

III. THE GIFTS OF HEALING AND CASTING OUT DEVILS

The gifts of healing and exorcism are indivisible in the writings of the Post-Apostolic Fathers. They both seem

¹The Didache, Ch. xi.

²Justin M., Hort. Address to the Greeks, Ch. xxxvii.

to have been the manifestation of the same gift, that of healing. Most of what the Fathers say on the subject has to do with the casting out of devils. When an evil spirit was cast out the person was healed. The Fathers did not view the evil spirits as causing disease but as antagonizing the sick.

Justin spoke of exorcising devils and of healing in his Second Apology:

And now you can learn this from what is under your own observation. For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our Christian men exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.¹

In this passage Justin not only connected the two gifts but used them both in reference to the same work of casting out devils. Justin here made it clear that this was a very common practice among the Christians "throughout the whole world." It happened often enough that Justin could tell the Roman Senate (to whom this book was addressed) that they could learn this simply by observation. The exorcising (ἐπι-
κίβοιτες) of the demons and the healing (ἰάσαντο) of the demoniacs both took place on the same individuals.

¹Justin M., Second Apology, Ch. vi.

Exorcism was a common practice in the Roman Empire, as is evident from this very passage. The basic difference between that done by the Christians and that done by other men was that the Christians did it "in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate" (κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου). This seems to have been the formula which they used, because it occurs often in the Fathers' writings on the subject.

In his Dialogue with Trypho, Justin said:

For every demon, when exorcized in the name of this very Son of God--who is the First-born of every creature, who became man by the Virgin, who suffered, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate by your nation, who died, who rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven--is overcome and subdued.¹

Here the same phrase was used. The fact that Jesus Christ was crucified under Pontius Pilate was mentioned in connection with the casting out of devils.

The same formula is found in another place in the Dialogue with Trypho:

And now we, who believe on our Lord Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, when we exorcise all demons and evil spirits, have them subjected to us.²

Thus, we see that although healing was a gift of the Spirit, the actual healing, or casting out of devils, was

¹Justin M., Dialogue with Trypho, Ch. lxxxv.

²Ibid., Ch. lxxvi.

done in the name of "Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate." This phrase was very important to the Early Church and became incorporated in The Apostles' Creed.

The connection between disease and the evil spirits may be more clearly seen in Tatian's Address to the Greeks:

There are, indeed, diseases and disturbances of the matter that is in us; but, when such things happen, the demons ascribe the causes of them to themselves, and approach a man whenever disease lays hold on him. Sometimes they themselves disturb the habit of the body by a tempest of folly; but, being smitten by the word of God, they depart in terror, and the sick man is healed.¹

Tatian seems to have meant that most diseases were not caused by evil spirits but that they were caused by "disturbances of the matter that is in us" (Εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ νόσος καὶ στάσεις τῆς ἐν ἡμῶν ὑλης). Disease, then, had a physiological origin. However, these evil spirits did act upon a man who was sick already. In cases where the sickness was caused by the evil spirits "the word of God" (λόγῳ Θεοῦ) was the power that could drive the spirits out "and the sick man is healed" (καὶ ὁ κάμνων θεραπεύεται).

The Fathers do seem to have recognized that most sickness and perhaps all sickness was not caused by evil spirits but by "diseases and disturbances" in the material body. When they prayed for a sick person in the name of Jesus

¹Tatian, Address to the Greeks, Ch. xvi.

Christ, they found that such a sick person would be healed of his sickness. What evil spirits were or what they did to a person was not clearly stated by the Fathers. The Christians of that age did not live in the daily fear of evil spirits that marked the middle ages.¹ The idea of a hierarchy of evil spirits on the one hand and that of the saints on the other did not exist at this early stage of Christianity. The teaching of the Fathers is clear that one who was filled with the Spirit of God need have no fear of evil spirits.

The Fathers did not teach against the use of medicine, even though they believed in the healing power of God. They only believed that healing by God was superior to that of medicine. Tatian wrote:

But medicine and everything included in it is an invention of the same kind. If any one is healed by matter, through trusting to it, much more will he be healed by having recourse to the power of God.²

And, in another place Tatian said:

Even if you be healed by drugs (I grant you that point by courtesy), yet it behooves you to give testimony of the cure of God. For the world still draws us down, and through weakness I incline toward matter.³

The Fathers did grant that men could be healed by medicine. But, whether healed in one way or another the glory should

¹Charles M. Jacobs, The Story of the Church, (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1947), p. 179f.

²Tatian, Address to the Greeks, Ch., xviii.

³Ibid., Ch. xx.

go to God, who made all things.

The gifts of healing and of casting out devils were very closely allied in the writings of the Post-Apostolic Fathers. Many Christians over the whole Roman Empire were filled with the Holy Spirit and experienced these gifts in operation in the Church.

IV. THE GIFTS OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE DISCERNING OF SPIRITS

Little is said in the Fathers of this era concerning the gifts of knowledge and the discerning of spirits. Besides those passages already referred to in the general discussion of the gifts of the Spirit, there are only three passages which shed any light on their use. One has to do with the discerning of evil spirits; the other two deal with revelation of knowledge that would ordinarily be unknown to the person involved.

To the Fathers of the Post-Apostolic Period the gift of the discerning of spirits was given to the Spirit-filled believer in order to enable him to know when demon spirits were present. Tatian wrote:

But none of the demons possess flesh; their structure is spiritual, like that of fire or air. And only by those whom the Spirit of God dwells in and fortifies are the¹ bodies of the demons easily seen, not at all by others.¹

¹Ibid., Ch. xv.

This gift would necessarily work in connection with the gifts of healing and of casting out devils as well that that of knowledge.

Concerning the gift of knowledge, Ignatius told of an experience that he had while preaching to the church at Philadelphia:

For, when I was among you, I cried with a loud voice: Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons. Now, some suspected me of having spoken thus, as knowing beforehand the division caused by some among you. But He is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I got no intelligence from any man. But the Spirit proclaimed these words: Do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies as the temples of God; love unity; avoid divisions; be the followers of Jesus Christ, even as He is of the Father.¹

Ignatius was suspected of having known beforehand what he claimed was revealed to him by the Spirit. It would be difficult to draw the line between the Fathers' view of the gifts of knowledge and of prophecy. No doubt there were many instances in which these gifts overlapped or were indistinguishable from each other.

Ignatius had another such experience just before he was martyred. When some of the believers learned that he was going to be killed, they were going to try to prevent the people from demanding death for such a just man. The writer of the book, The Martyrdom of Ignatius, said:

¹Ignatius, Epistle to the Philadelphians, Ch. vii.

He being immediately aware of this through the Spirit, and having saluted them all, and begged of them to show a true affection towards him, and having dwelt on this point at greater length than in his Epistle, and having persuaded them not to envy him hastening to the Lord, hewas led into the amphitheatre.¹

Ignatius knew what the people were thinking because it was revealed to him through the Spirit.

The gifts of knowledge and the discerning of spirits gave to the Christians a power that was beyond ordinary human wisdom or understanding. The Lord revealed knowledge to them when they were in need of such knowledge. The difference between the two gifts seems to have been that the gift of knowledge was a special revelation from God of knowledge outside the reasoning power of the person through whom the gift operated, and the gift of the discerning of spirits was more of a deepening of insight in the receiver of the gift, enabling him to have some kind of perception into the underlying causes of the actions of men and into the presence of evil spirits. The first was the delivery of knowledge outside the reasoning ability of the person, while the second was the added ability of the person's own reasoning and insight. This seems to have been the Father's teaching concerning these two gifts.

¹The Martyrdom of Ignatius, Ch. vi.

V. SUMMARY

In summary, the gifts of the Spirit were in active use during the Post-Apostolic Period. The Hellenistic peoples who made up the major part of the Church of that age were particularly interested in the operations of the Holy Spirit and through their faith in the Lord saw much activity of these gifts in the Church services.

There were three major kinds of spiritual gifts in the Church: (1) the gift of prophecy; (2) the gifts of healing and of casting out devils; and (3) the gifts of knowledge and of the discerning of spirits. Although the Post-Apostolic Fathers did not mention the specific nine gifts of First Corinthians 12:8-10, they did give the essence of them in other words and wrote that they were still very active in the churches.

The well-established presence of the operation of the gifts of the Spirit in the churches indicates the spirituality of the Post-Apostolic Age. The believers lived in daily contact with the Spirit of God, and trusted in God for help in every phase of their lives.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The Second Century Church was still very much like that of the Apostolic Period. It had shifted its center from Palestine to Asia Minor, and its people were predominantly Hellenistic rather than Jewish. But, it still retained much of its early informality. The members of the congregations were allowed sufficient freedom to express themselves in the services, often in inspired utterances which they believed came from the Holy Spirit. It was a controlled informality, however, for those who did express themselves were required to prove their inspiration by their exemplary Christian lives. There appears to have been a fairly well standardized order of their services.

The Church believed that the influence of the Holy Spirit began in a person's life before his conversion, leading and preparing him for his own choice in the matter of accepting or rejecting the Christian Faith. Even though they believed that men were saved or damned by their own free choice, they also believed that no one was in a position to make such a decision who had not been instructed by the Holy Spirit.

Having been converted to the Christian Faith, the believer was expected to be filled with the Holy Spirit. This experience apparently took place shortly after conversion.

The account of the baptism in the Holy Spirit in The Pastor of Hermas indicates that this experience took place while the believer was in a state of ecstasy. The Holy Spirit not only filled the believer during this ecstatic crisis, but He also continued to dwell in the person's life.

The Fathers viewed the presence of the Holy Spirit in three stages: (1) the general outpouring of the Spirit upon the age, the believers, or a church; (2) the specific, initial infilling of the Spirit in the lives of individual believers; and, (3) the continued indwelling of the Spirit in those who were so filled. The Holy Spirit entered into and remained in the life of the filled person as long as that person demonstrated a holy life. This infilling and continued indwelling seem to have been the common experience of all believers.

There were two kinds of evidences for the presence of the Holy Spirit in the believer's life. The first were special qualities or abilities which were added to the person's life. As a result of his being filled, he would manifest power for Christian service, the operations of the gifts of the Spirit, and the guidance of the Spirit. The second kind of evidence was that the Holy Spirit was expected to intensify and improve those good qualities which the person already possessed. All in all, the baptism in the Holy Spirit was a well-rounded experience, preparing and aiding the

believer in the performance of his Christian duties.

This infilling and indwelling was only a part of the Spirit's activity in the Church. One of the most outstanding phases of the Spirit's work was that of the operations of the gifts of the Spirit. The believers often manifested extraordinary powers, such as prophecy, healing, exorcism, the revelation of knowledge, and other supernatural gifts. The Fathers wrote a great deal about these gifts. They stated that they were quite active in the local churches and that they were used for the general benefit of the people.

Although the Fathers listed a number of gifts of the Spirit, they spoke the most about the gift of prophecy (the public delivery of a divine message in the language of the listeners), healing and casting out devils (the curing of the sick and the deliverance of the tormented by divine power), and the gifts of knowledge and the discerning of spirits (the revelation of special knowledge or insight). The Fathers tell us that these gifts were active throughout the Post-Apostolic Period.

It is not necessary to read far in the literature of the Church following the Second Century to discover that the operations of the Spirit that were the common experiences of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Ages were soon lost. By the time of the Nicene Council (A.D. 325) they were almost unknown. The results of this study indicate that some of the contri-

buting factors which helped to retain these operations of the Spirit in the Post-Apostolic Period were the proximity in time to the Apostolic Age and the informality of the Church services. The persecution by the local and Roman authorities was also a factor, for it forced the believers into a strong reliance on the supernatural.

As time widened the gap between the Apostolic Era and the Old Catholic Age, and the center of the Church moved westward, the informality that had allowed the freedom of expression of the congregations slowly disappeared. It was gradually replaced by a clergy-centered form of worship that produced a more formal service, eventually developing into a set liturgy. In such an atmosphere the operations of the Holy Spirit were no longer possible.

Besides the passing of time, the rise of the clergy, and the introduction of liturgy into the services, there were several other causes for the decline in the supernatural. The Latin influence, the rise of monasticism, the theological debates, and the wider acceptance of Christianity all had their part.

The significance of this study has been this: that the Post-Apostolic Church succeeded in putting into practice the operations of the Holy Spirit as taught by the Apostles. The history of that age stands as a witness to the fact that

Apostolic Christianity can be achieved without the actual presence of the First Century Apostles. The testimony of The Post-Apostolic Fathers indicates that any age may have such power. Whether this is true depends on another age to prove.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

AN INDEX TO THE USE OF THE WORD "SPIRIT"
IN THE POST-APOSTOLIC FATHERS¹

(A. D. 100 - 170)

1. Clement of Rome, First Epistle to the Corinthians

Chap.		Chap.	
2	full outpouring of H.S. ²	42	proves bishops
8	ministers speak by H.S.	44	not H.S.
13	S. speaks thru Scrip.	45	Scriptures inspired.
16	S. speaks thru Scrip.	46	one Spirit.
18	in quote-Ps. 51:1-17.	47	S. inspired Paul.
21	in quote-Proverbs 20:27.	55	Not H.S.
22	S. speaks thru Scrip.	57	in quote-Prov. 1:23-31
28	in quote-Ps. 139:7-10	58	not H.S., souls.
42	gives full assurance		

2. The Epistle of Mathetes to Diognetus

(No mention of Spirit in this book.)

3. Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians

2 not the Holy Spirit

7 not the Holy Spirit

¹Using the text of Roberts and Donaldson.

²These references are not necessary quotations.

4. The Martyrdom of Polycarp

Chap.		Chap.	
14	with Father and Son.	22	The F. and the H.S.
14	S. imparts incorruption.		

5. Ignatius, Epistle to the Ephesians (Short Version)

7	Christ was flesh and s.	11	a reverent s.
9	S. used as rope to God	18	Christ conceived by H.S.
10	Flesh and S.		

6. Ignatius, Epistle to the Magnesians (Short Version)

1	flesh and s.	13	flesh and s.
9	Proph. waited by S.	13	Apostles' relation to S.
12	modesty of s.	15	S. identified as Christ

7. Ignatius, Epistle to the Trallians (Short Version)

13 my (Ignatius') S.

8. Ignatius, Epistle to the Romans (Short Version)

Pro. flesh and s. 9 my s. salutes you.

9. Ignatius, Epistle to the Philadelphians (Short Version)

Pro. S. establishes bishops 7 S. spoke thru Ignatius.
7 S. not deceived.

10. Ignatius, Epistle to the Smyrnaeans (Short Version)

Chap.		Chap.	
2	evil s.		Conc. power of Holy Spirit
3	flesh and s.		

11. Ignatius, Epistle to Polycarp (Short Version)

1	flesh and spirit.	2	flesh and spirit.
1	sleepless spirit.	5	flesh and spirit.

12. The Martyrdom of Ignatius

Chap.		Chap.	
2	evil spirit	6	aware thru the Spirit.
3	sp. gifts	7	with the Holy Spirit.

13. The Epistle of Barnabas

1	honoured spirit.	10	Sp. references.
1	engrafted sp. gift.	10	sp. significance.
1	Spirit poured forth.	11	vessel of His S.
1	minister to such s.	12	Spirit speaks.
1	elevation of s.	14	written in the Spirit.
2	a broken spirit.	14	quote: Isa. 61:2.
4	s. minded.	19	rich in spirit.
6	created us by His S.	19	Spirit prepared them.
6	the Spirit foresaw.	20	with your spirit.
7	vessel of the Spirit	11	trust Jesus in our s.
9	Spirit of the Lord.		

14. Papias, Fragments

ascend thru the spirit - (Irenaeus, Against Heresies V, 36.)

15. Justin Martyr, First Apology

Chap.		Chap.	
6	S. we adore.	44	quote: Deut. 30:15-19.
8	body and spirit.	44	God foretells by H. S.
13	Father, Son, Spirit.	47	quote: Isa. 64:10-12.
18	assistant spirit.	48	S. predicted persecution.
18	s. of the dead.	51	S. foretold Christ.
27	wicked s.	53	S. of Prophecy.
31	Prophetic S.	53	S. spoke thru Isaiah.
32	Christ foretold by S.	56	evil spirit.
32	S. thru prophets.	59	S. moved over the waters.
33	Virgin Birth predicted	60	" " " " "
33	"conceive of H.S."	60	" " " " "
33	S. declared Virgin Birth	60	S. spoke thru Moses.
33	S. same as Word of God!	61	H.S. (in bap. formula)
33	Prophets inspired by S.	63	S. spoke thru Isaiah.
35	Inspired Isaiah.	63	" " " "
36	speaks thru the inspired.	64	S. moved on waters.
38	S. speaks from Christ.	64	" " " "
39	S. predicts the future.	65	H.S. (In Eucharist).
40	quote: Ps. 19.	67	bless Maker thru H.S.
40	exhorts how to live.		
41	quote: Ps. 96.		

16. Justin Martyr, Second Apology

1	evil spirit.	13	evil spirit.
6	cast out evil spirit.		

17. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho

4	S. leads men to God.	33	S. calls Christ Lord
7	S. gives authority to man	34	S. dictated the 72nd Ps.
7	fills men	36	S. author of parable.
9	S. fills words.	36	S. teaches in parables.
25	Spoke by Isaiah.	38	S. convicts.
29	baptized with H.S.	39	sp. gifts.
29	S. in the Scriptures.	40	S. in creation of man.
30	S. in conversion	49.	S. of God in Elijah.
32	Christ foretold by S.	49	baptized in H. Ghost.

Chap.		Chap.	
49	S. in Elijah and John.	82	Proph. gifts remain.
52	S. uttered parables.	84	S. knows future.
52	S. in Prophets and Kings.	87	(gifts of S. named)
53	S. of Prophecy.	87	filled Christ
54	H.S. calls to salvation	87	power came on Christ.
55	S. is authority of div.	87	His S. (Christ's)
55	H.S. " " "	88	possess gifts of S.
56	H.S. " " "	88	lighted on Christ
56	S. author of Old Test.	88	S. like a dove
56	H.S. authority of Scrip.	88	lighted on Christ
56	" " " "	91	S. spoke by Moses.
61	H.S. labels Christ.	100	S. came on Virgin Mary.
73	in quote: Ps. 96	105	His S.
74	statements in above Ps.	105	"I commend my spirit."
74	" " " "	113	S. empowered Joshua.
77	S. spoke in Isaiah.	114	S. speaks in types.
77	S. foretells events.	123	in quote: Isa. 42:1-4.
78	H.S. in Virgin Birth	124	S. spoke thru David.
78	Jeremiah pro. by H.S.	134	S. of Prophecy
79	in quote: Isaiah 30:1-5.		

18. Justin Martyr, The Discourse to the Greeks

(No mention of Spirit in this book)

19. Justin Martyr, Hortatory Address to the Greeks

8	energy of S. on prophets	32	avoided by Plato
10	Divine and Prophetic Gift	32	" " "
32	S. descends from God.	32	" " "
32	H.S. the gift of God.	35	Inspired Prophets.
32	called virtue by Plato.	37	truth inspired by God?
32	" " " "	38	Prophets inspired
32	Seven S. of God.		

20. Justin Martyr, On the Sole Government of God

(No mention of Spirit in this book)

21. Justin Martyr, On the Resurrection, Fragments,

Chap.	Chap.
10 The Spirit dies not.	10 soul the house of the s.

22. The Pastor of Hermas

Book I		XI	no connection with s.
I,1	S. carried me away	XI	no s. given by God.
I,2	a well-trying s.	XI	S. having power
II,1	S. carried me away	XI	power of Divine S.
III,8	renewal of your s.	XI	S. which is asked.
III,11	your s. is broken	XI	try man with Div. S.
III,12	not the H.S.	XI	he who has Div. S.
III,12	not the H.S.	XI	S. speaks.
III,12	not the H.S.	XI	H.S. speaks.
III,13	not the H.S.	XI	man having Div. S.
		XI	faith in Div. S.
Book II		XI	S. fills man.
III,	S. which God placed	XI	filled with the H.S.
III	S. of truth	XI	S. of Divinity.
III	holy and true S.	XI	power from S. of Div.
V,1	H.S. dwells in you	XI	seems to have S.
V,1	H.S. departs from sin	XI	Can S. take rewards?
V,1	evil s. and H.S.	XI	an earthly spirit.
V,2	H.S. dwells in you.	XI	men who have Div. S.
V,2	S. withdraws from sin.	XI	earthly spirit
V,2	S. driven out by sin	XI	s. of the righteous
V,2	S. fills a man	XI	S. from God.
V,2	wicked s.	XI	S. which is earthly
X,1	more wicked than all s.		S. comes from above.
X,1	grief wicked	XI	trust the S.
X,1	grief crushes out S.		earthly s. powerless
X,2	" " " "	Book III	
X,2	grief grieves H.S.	V,5.	H.S. an heir of God
X,2	Anger and grief grieve H.S.		
X,2	anger grieves H.S.	V,6	holy, pre-existent S.
X,2	grievous to H.S.	V,6	S. in Christ's flesh
X,2	H.S. dwells in you.	V,6	subject to the S.
X,2	grieves the H.S.	V,6	not defiling the S.
X,2	a cheerful s.	V,6	cooperating with S.
X,2	grieving the H.S.	V,6	acted with the H.S.
X,2	mixed with the H.S.	V,6	having the H.S.
X,2	H.S. does not mix.	V,6	H.S. dwelt in flesh
XI	power of Divine S.	V,7	inhabits flesh.
XI	his own s.		

Chap.		Chap.	
V,7	defile the H.S.	IX,13	one S.
V,7	flesh and s.	IX,14	The Lord renewed s.
V,7	not body nor s.	IX,15	The powers of the S.
Vii,6	His S. and repent.		named in an interpreta-
Ix,1	S. that spake to you.		tion of IX,11.
IX,1	S. is the Son of God!	IX,15	who bore these s.
IX,1	strengthened by the H.S.	IX,15	neither the s.
IX,1	the same S.	IX,15	men from the s.
IX,11	No mention of word "s"	IX,15	the s. remained
	but refers to "spirit"	IX,15	these S. with them.
	in allegory.	IX,17	s. of the virgins
IX,13	Interprets the preced-	IX,24	clothed with the H.S.
	ing allegory of H.S.	IX,25	received the H.S.
IX,13	clothes with those s.	IX,32	a s. sound
IX,13	one S.	IX,32	a sound spirit.
IX,13	having received these.	IX,32	His Spirit

23. Tatian, Address to the Greeks

4	God is a S.	13	spirit of men
4	material s.	13	union with Div. S.
4	S. pervades matter	13	the S. guides.
4	more diverse s.	13	dwelling place of S.
7	a s. (the Logos).	13	s. companion of soul.
7	spirit (God).	13	s. forsook the soul.
12	two varieties of s.	13	S. of God not with all.
12	a material s.	13	souls with the S.
12	s. which is matter.	15	the soul with the H.S.
12	s. in the stars.	15	S. of God dwells
12	s. in the angels	16	the celestial s.
12	s. in plants and waters	18	healing by power of S.
12	s. in men.	19	gift of prophecy by S.
12	s. in animals	20	healing
13	preserve the s.	21	perfect s.

24. Theophilus, To Autolycus

3	He (God) is S.	9	foretold by the S.
7	a s. to nourish		

25. The Didache.¹

Chap.

4 S. has made ready.

7 H.S. (baptismal formula).

7 H.S. (baptismal formula).

11 speaks in the S.

Chap.

11 speaks in the S.

11 who in the S.

11 whoever in the S.

¹Translation of Rimmer, Op. Cit.

