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THE CONCEPT KOINONIA IN THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY

Submitted by

Eldon LeRoy Olson

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Durham

Faculty of Divinity

1984



20 NOV 1984

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Eldon LeRoy Olson

The literature of the early second century Christian church demonstrates a variety of literary and theological motifs which are indicative of pastoral, interpersonal, and practical concerns of the isolated and beleaguered communities. Whereas former studies of this literature have focused on the theological and cultural aspects of early ecclesiastical formation, this effort concentrates on the self-reflection of the communities of their koinonia; that in that common life with its manifold crises and conflicts the formal theological language is developed in several patterns. The central concerns for the purpose and identity of the Christian community were the result of a radical shared participation of its members in the identity and purpose of Christ.

The corporate identity of Christians in the early second century was shaped by the dual precepts to remember and to imitate the Christ. The reflections of the community concentrated on the history of God's revelations from creation to the parousia and on the timeless shape of the community in those revelations. Both historical and non-historical images were employed to develop three distinct patterns of community definition, that the basic identity and purpose of its common life was to manifest the Christ in the world, to embody the Christ in the world, or to purify the world according to the teachings of Christ. Each pattern demonstrates the intricate Christological foundation of community self-reflection. Christ and his community participated in an eternal life and death symbiosis most vividly demonstrated in the martyr.

This analysis of Christian theology and culture in the early second century from the perspective of the community's common life provides a hermeneutic for better understanding the continuing issues of theology from the Christian community's ongoing challenges and concerns.

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CHAPTER I

PERSPECTIVES ON SECOND-CENTURY KOINONIA

Introduction

The Christian community has, from its beginnings, gathered for worship, nurture, and fellowship. Whether that beginning be fixed at Jesus's calling of his Disciples, the Transfiguration and Petrine office, the great commission, Pentecost, Paul's Gentile establishments, or other events of Apostolic collegiality, an individual Christian has always defined himself as an element of a collective. This gathering (συναγωγή, ἐκκλησία, *communio*) is not only an activity of the individual Christian's life, it is also an abstraction upon which he reflects to gain a deeper personal identity. A Christian's conscious awareness is that his own faith is expressed by, and his life enhanced through, being associated with fellow Christians.

When reflections such as these have arisen, attention has often been focused on the faith and life of the greater Christian community of the first centuries of the Christian era. A simplistic formula of the sequence of Christian origins indicates in broad generalities that the first century planted the faith in the words



and ministry of Jesus and his chosen Disciples and Apostolic witnesses, the second century witnessed the flourishing of that plantation in widely scattered communities throughout the Roman Empire, and the third century distilled and defined it in its orthodox and catholic dimensions. This chronology is superficial in that early Christian history is not so easily outlined; the faith and its institutional and theological extensions cannot be abstracted nor put into unqualified categories.

The Church's interest in Christian origins, however, has continued because of the conviction that there was then a dynamic engagement of the primitive faith with its community and its theological expression. The meaning of the Christian faith was somehow defined in its symbolic, confessional, and behavioral dimensions within the community it evoked; and that community was itself defined and legitimized by the articles of faith. Neither the faith as a theological tenet nor the Church as a social phenomenon can be considered in isolation from the other. The dynamic for a kinship between them is not unlike the confessional urgency to view Christ as both fully human and fully divine.

This dynamic is most vividly portrayed in the resources that have come from the second century. Scholarly studies of the second century have all presumed or concentrated on it. Indeed, it has even been suggested,

with some exaggeration, that the individual Christian personality of the second century became lost in the Church's preoccupation with institutional formation and conformity.¹ However true this may be, it was particularly the case in the first half of the century, before the more systematic and less situational writings of Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and the heretical and schismatic systems of the Gnostics, Montanists, and Marcion gained widespread circulation.² This intermediate era, post-Apostolic in its veneration of the first generations of Christians, yet pre-theological in the issues it addressed and the imprecision of its language,³ is the focus of this study.

Historical Perspectives on the Second-Century Church

The Classic View of the Second Century

The classic understanding of the transmission and institutionalization of the faith⁴ was expressed by Eusebius at the origins of Christian historiography.⁵ The true faith passed directly from Christ to his inspired evangelists and apostles, whence its voice "went forth to the whole earth In every city and village arose churches crowded with thousands of men, like a teeming threshing-floor".⁶ In this fruitful, though probably glorified, view, the plantation of faith into the Church "proceeded [in the second century] to increase in greatness, for it ever held the same points

in the same way, and radiated forth to all the race of Greeks and barbarians the reverent, sincere, and free nature, and the sobriety and purity of the divine teaching as to conduct and thought".⁷ Eusebius would provide the perspective for 1,200 years of reflection on the engagement of the primitive faith within the community: the Christian faith (orthodoxy) has been divinely delivered to and preserved within the community by Christ himself. Although sometimes perverted by deceptive and misguided individuals, the "faith once delivered to the saints" has been maintained in an uninterrupted state within the Church to which Christ and his Apostles committed its safekeeping.

Until the sixteenth century, the second century was viewed by the Christian Church as a time of fruitfulness and fulfillment. The Holy Spirit directed the Church through the Holy Scriptures, its institutional organizations and authorities, and its emerging heritage. Two themes informed the Medieval and ancient historian's interests: that the second century testified to the Apostolic authenticity of subsequent quests for orthodoxy and, especially since Gregory the Great, that the example provided by the Christian of the second century modeled Christian discipline and spirituality. The persecuted Church and the confessor/martyr were viewed as the embodiment of the faith, the sainted representation of Christ himself for his continuing Church. Succeeding

generations of historians, writing from a disciplined monastic environment, would write *De Vivis Illustribus* to indicate the dynamic of the faith and the Church as a continuing process of the incarnation of the obedient, suffering, crucified, and resurrected Christ in the world through his martyred saints.⁸ Whatever tension existed between the faith and the community was resolved by appeal to the authority of the bishop who represented the faith of the Apostles in its purity. The Apostolic succession of the faith in the office of the bishop was unquestioned.

Reformation Perspectives

The increasing reference to the bishops as the source of authority in any tensions between the Church and its attempts to retain the pure faith would, at the Reformation, make the issue of authority the primary interest of second-century researches into Church history. The Roman Catholic orientation since the Council of Trent would tend to view the authority of the bishop, especially the Roman Pontiff, as a progressive fulfillment and interpretation of the faith of the New Testament (first century),⁹ while the Protestant would bemoan the Post-Apostolic institutional authority as a perversion of the New Testament faith.¹⁰ This concentration on the second century through the perspective of

authority has continued to polarize more modern students, with the result that earlier issues of authenticity (wholeness, fullness, genuineness, integrity, unity of witness) and the example of Christian discipleship and spirituality have often been sacrificed to Post-Reformation polemics.¹¹ To ask the second century to resolve the issue of the merit of institutional authority has not clarified the Reformation conflict and has imposed on the second century value-judgements concerning its life and witness. For, beginning with the development of the historical sciences and the extensive application of textual-critical methods of examination in the early nineteenth century, two contrasting perspectives dominated the way the second century is viewed regarding the relationship between the Apostolic faith in the Post-Apostolic community: either the Post-Apostolic community's theology was a fulfillment of the original faith, or it was a mutation of the original faith.

The Second Century as a Mutation of Origins. The latter view, following Protestant antecedents, was adopted by liberal historians of the nineteenth century. In their view, a process of syncretism and adaptation took place following the ministry of Jesus or his Apostles. The faith (i.e., the most primitive Christian message) went through several stages of modification during the first two centuries. These stages were historically defined

as the message of Jesus himself, his disciples and immediate witnesses, the missionary Apostles, the infant communities, the second-generation Christians, and subsequent inter-church movements to attain catholicity in the face of divergence and heresy. With each state of its development, a metamorphosis took place. Since the early Christian communities lived in diverse cultural situations, they adapted their message for propagandist reasons to increase impact on the culture and for defensive reasons of self-preservation. These adaptations eventually became normative. They may have been of a practical nature (liturgical expressions, behavioral norms), cultural (geographic variations, literary and linguistic forms), or even theological (eschatological, apocalyptic world-views, cosmologies, philosophies of revelation), but they always involved a gradually increased structural institutionalization and perversion.¹²

In Germany, F. C. Bauer, the founder of the Tübingen school of theology,¹³ defined primitive Christianity as a struggle between divergent systems, the synthesis of which was the Catholic Church. Analyzed through the principles of Hegelian philosophy, Bauer believed that the basic issue was the two-stage gap between Jesus and Pauline Christianity on the one hand and Apostolic Christianity and the ancient catholic Church on the other. Since the uniqueness of Christianity lies

in its affirmation of man's moral consciousness,¹⁴ the true faith lay in the synthesis of the historical God of the Jews with the ethics of the Greek.¹⁵ To recapture the faith, the Christian must rediscover this original synthesis. Although he would not describe second-century Christianity as a perversion of its origins, Bauer makes it a mutation which completely altered its constituent antecedents. Although Ritschl, his student, rejected Bauer's philosophical presuppositions,¹⁶ he even more dramatically portrayed the second century as the result of an Hellenistic syncretization of the Gospel. This early alien influence brought to Christianity the despised tendencies toward metaphysics and religious intellectualization.¹⁷ Ritschl stressed the early Christian community in its quest for ethical values. It was the rigid institutionalization, not of the primitive community, but of the theology of the faith, its dogma and authority, that perverted the Gospel. To Ritschl, the pristine faith of the primitive community had been perverted by its second-century contact with the Greek mind. The faith-community dynamic was therefore subjected to the oppressive tyranny of the intellectual system. Once again, the issue of the value of dogmatic authority, especially in the office of the Catholic churchman-theologian, became crucial; and to Ritschl and his heirs, dogma was an Hellenistic perversion of the faith.¹⁸ Ritschl's followers would accentuate two central features of his thought--the stress on ethics

within the pristine community (Troeltsch, Dobschütz, Deissmann, Kautsky, et al.), and the repudiation of metaphysics at the expense of religion (Harnack, Franz, Lietamann, et al.).

The Second-Century Church as the Decline of the Ethical Community. Troeltsch advocated a "sociological

point of view",¹⁹ derived from Ritschl and

William Dilthey's philosophy of history, in any treatment of second-century Christianity. The Christian faith-community was the result of a "vast social crisis which marked the close of the ancient world".²⁰

The lower classes sought a value to human personality, a stability of mutual relationships, and, above all, an ethical ideal of love expressed in the "Pneuma-Christ", and they fulfilled this in a community marked by its "simplicity, creativity, and an urgent sense of need".²¹ Troeltsch would consider no efforts to discover the historical Jesus or to define such abstractions as the Christ of the second century; Christianity was only one of the religious quests of the second century, yet the community's consciousness of the Pneuma-Christ, the living presence of Christ, provided the key to its success with the masses. Religious themes of Judaism, Stoic Hellenism, and Eastern religions merged to produce a new ideal of humanity, the purpose of which was to emphasize "the independence of personality

in individuals and the universal ideas of humanity".²² Deissmann would underscore the sociological, ethical substance of early Christianity by philological studies of its uneducated, unsophisticated, non-literary origins.²³ Kautsky, the Marxist historian, further interpreted this nuclear community as a movement of the proletariat²⁴ based on the ethic of a communism of love. Martin Hengel and Shirley Jackson Case developed this primitive community ethos in more specifically economic terms, as an aversion to property and riches and a commitment to equality, social justice, and moderate distribution of wealth.²⁵ Interests in attempting to identify the historical Jesus or his teachings were either discouraged by followers of Troeltsch or declared impossible apart from the community's perception of him; the Apostolic community alone could define the pure faith. However noble the Apostolic church had been in its origins, "slowly the primitive religious motives of Christianity (the infinite value of the free soul, the love of God in the brethren, etc.) disappeared"²⁶ in the second century. Earlier human values deteriorated from self-denial to the accumulation of power and wealth,²⁷ and the literary theologian began to describe a transformed, dogmatic, and misconstrued faith.²⁸ To this perspective, the second century evidences the progressive deterioration of the primitive faith-community. Yet that community can only be known by Troeltsch and

his followers in its objective, definable dimension. The meaning of the "spirit of fellowship" cannot be speculated, and "the question of the inward influence of Christianity upon the sense of personality and upon ethical mutual relationships . . . can be neither conceived nor answered".²⁹ We can only know the great social, political, economic, and ethical aspects of the community, not the integral relationship of its members which allows identity, intimacy, and fellowship. Although the community is all we can know, Troelsch would have us know it only in terms of the social, political, and economic categories of his age.

The Second Century as the Decline of the Religion of Jesus. Harnack, meanwhile, by far the most influential of Ritschl's students, placed his primary emphasis not on the Apostolic community, but on the ideals of the Gospel of Jesus himself. To him, this Gospel was compromised by the community (Post-Apostolic as well as Apostolic), for within the primitive community, the conflict between the early Christian tenet of the person and life of Jesus and Hellenistic intellectual and cultural forms was waged and progressively lost.³⁰ The first symptom of the tension was Gnosticism's appearance in the Apostolic community,³¹ which forced the Church into an unwanted adoption of Old Testament

legalism. The decisive *coup de grâce*, however, was the development of Catholicism, which converted the Gospel into a doctrine, a *fides catholica*,³² that secularized the Church into a structural authority in matters of faith and morality. The simple faith in Christ became an Hellenestic credal Christology;³³ the Apostolic Church became a legal community whose developed system of clergy "proved that the Church had assumed a heathen complexion".³⁴ The process of the *corpus permixtum*³⁵ would take two hundred years, beginning in the Apostolic era, but by the mid-second century of the Apologists, the faith in the person and life of Jesus was distorted beyond recognition. Harnack's students would sometimes dispute his idealistic image of the ethics and life of Jesus, but they would continue to view the second century as a battlefield on which was lost faith's war with secularizing Greek influences. To Lietzmann, the second-century community took its original theology of redemption and sanctification from St. Paul, but increasingly combined it with the moralism of Judaism, the sacramental theology and pneumatic mysticism of Hellenism, and the gradual secular institutionalization of Roman-based Catholicism.³⁶ The emergence of the authority office of bishop was attributed to the "state of war [which] now existed against Gnosticism",³⁷ Gnosticism being a syncretism of Greek philosophical rationalism and Persian mythology. However, in neither Harnack

nor Lietzmann is the community itself the compromiser of the faith of Christian origins; the community is acted upon by pressures outside itself, alien philosophies (especially Greek) and mythologies (especially Persian), diverse cultural norms, ethical systems (Jewish legalism or Roman order), cultic practices, pressures which the community either unknowingly incorporated or resisted with counter-pressures which themselves compromised the faith. To Harnack and his school as well as to Troeltsch and his followers, the community and the faith were victimized by the culture at the expense of the faith-community's dynamic witness-life.

The heritage of the nineteenth century German historians has defined the community (both Apostolic and Post-Apostolic) in objective socio-historical dimensions. Their primary concern was with the elements which influenced the community from outside itself. For Troeltsch, they tended to assume images of economics, class, and ethics; for Harnack, the alien philosophies, cultures, and religious heritages would dominate. In either case, little consideration is given to the internal life of the community. Indeed the community is virtually a static ideal, hopelessly impotent against a dynamic, hostile culture; and as the community was sacrificed to the increasing catholicity of the second century, its faith was progressively compromised. The twentieth-century interest in the cultic aspects of that community would do

much to correct that simplistic liberal Protestant idealism; yet it would not entirely alter the perspective of viewing the community in terms of its external pressures at the expense of its internal dynamic. As will hereafter be shown, the internal vitality of the second-century Church was preaching and teaching, gathering, struggling to define itself in terms of its faith, and, perhaps above all, exhorting a unity and intimacy of fellowship within itself, not only as a defensive posture, but primarily as the fulfillment of its faith in Christ.

The Second Century as a Fulfillment of its Origins

As F. C. Bauer would initiate the historical-critical study of second-century Christian origins which saw the Post-Apostolic Church as a mutation of the original faith, his contemporary, John Henry Newman, would place it in an opposite posture. Based initially on the extensive research and theological wrestlings of Martin Routh,³⁸ Newman became an inheritor of the Roman Catholic post-Tridentine scholars.³⁹ Newman's primary interest, as a Catholic, was to affirm the historic authority, even infallibility, of the Pope, but, at least for present purposes, his main contribution is toward a definition of the process of theological development.

From the first age of Christianity, its teachings
looked towards those ecclesiastical dogmas, afterwards

recognized and defined, with (as time went on) more or less determinate advance in the direction of them; till at length that advance became so pronounced, as to justify their definition and to bring it about, and to place them in the position of rightful interpretations and keys of the remains and the records in history of the teachings which had so terminated.⁴⁰

Although his position is thoroughly Catholic, Newman stated the principles with the renewed precision of a wealth of primary resources and scholarly critical research. Primitive Apostolic teaching and later Catholic theology are one, he claimed, both divinely ordained and divinely preserved.⁴¹ Neither the community nor the culture can distort the faith; indeed, the community preserves and fulfills it for a variety of cultural expressions. Although Newman seldom viewed the community except in terms of its ecclesiastical structure and office, he insisted that within the community, the faith ripened, gestated in the same way Jesus took shape within the Virgin Mother.

Newman's interests have been fruitful in at least two directions. On the one hand, he reopened an intensive study of the second century as the origin of ecclesiastical structure and authority, not simply as a

confessional theology of divinely established institutions, but also as a subject of historical research. At the same time, Newman's Tractarian Anglo-Catholic regiment would find in the second century a neglected treasure of sources for the understanding of the development of incarnational Christology. Although the two interests often merged in certain prominent figures,⁴² they were not always equally present. But both shared the conviction that in the second-century community, a process of maturation was taking place that would fully realize the faith planted by the Apostles.

The Second Century as the Fulfillment of Ecclesiastical Structure. The most fruitful studies of second-century Church order and authority began in the early twentieth century with the works of H. B. Swete, J. A. Robinson, C. H. Turner, and William Sanday. While criticizing the dogmatic theology approach of Gore, as well as the liberalism of Hatch,⁴³ these scholars maintained that the primary issue of the early Church was ecclesiastical order.⁴⁴ Furthermore, ecclesiastical order came to be guaranteed by the office of the bishop as the critical factor in the preservation and proclamation of the Apostolic succession of the truth. Apostolic tradition is traced from the New Testament, through the Apostolic Fathers, in the more systematic works of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria to the great ecumenical Creeds. But in

these extensive studies, the community is viewed as created by the action of the Apostolic bearer of the faith. The community was that organism which was acted upon by Apostolic authorities, with little consideration for its internal life or dynamic. More recent studies by K. Kirk would conclude that the "essential" ministry of the second-century bishop was identical in function and office to the first-century Apostle, and "Thus the essential ministry, which came in the course of time to be called episcopate, was the earthly pivot around which the whole organic life of the church revolved."⁴⁵ Ehrhardt and Nock would deny the first-century antecedents of the office of bishop, but claim nonetheless that second-century Christianity emerged from its origins as a healthier and more viable faith, because of the structure developed in the second century which would realize the implications of its earlier tenets.⁴⁶ The faith-community relationship is here propelled not by the transforming effect of the outside culture, but by the enhancing effect of superimposed order and structure (whether divinely sanctioned or effectively necessary).

The Second Century as a Fulfillment of New Testament Christology. Pursuing a sometimes similar theme in second-century studies, scholars from diverse disciplines (Patristics, New Testament, theology, even Missionology) but with a common interest in Christology would view the

second century as critical in the Church's Christological self-awareness. Conservative Roman Catholic and Lutheran patrologists, and high-church Anglican theologians, would review Christian origins as a continuing process of translation, transmission, proclamation, or even an experiential development of fundamental Christology. The historic experience of the incarnation and resurrection overwhelmingly determined all subsequent theological evolution. "The church, indeed, from the first received Christian truths in its totality, but not in a developed form."⁴⁷ Although the Word had become flesh, the second century would begin the quest for words which would define, sharpen, and diffuse that event. Indeed, all history is seen as an arena in which the Christian Church redefines, re-sharpens, and redistributes the elemental Christ-event.⁴⁸ As the early Church increasingly defined the incarnation in the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, it would also refine its definition of itself as a divine/human embodiment of Christ's sacramental presence. While the Oxford movement in the nineteenth century would initiate study of Christian origins through the perspective of Christology,⁴⁹ a succession of English theologians would continue to develop the same thesis:⁵⁰ Christology is the key to understanding the early Church--Christology is not the result of doctrinal evolution; it is the fundamental message of Christianity expanded into ever-

changing contexts.⁵¹ This is not at all like the non-theological Jesus of Harnack; instead, theological sophistication is the positive development of the second century. It is in the works of Lionel Thornton that the development of Christology as the central focus of the second-century community is particularly exp^{ou}nded. To him, the mainstream of New Testament thought had to be rerouted through the koinonia of the early Church. From this "absolute" and concrete experience of the community, the understanding of the Persons of Christ emerged. This fully developed faith represented a reaction of Apostolic experience on primitive Christian thought-forms. "The whole rich experience of redeeming love and its transforming fellowship is poured back into the conceptual forms of the historical revelation in which that experience had its roots."⁵² In previous efforts to understand the origins of Christology, however, the second century, especially to earlier decades of non-theological writings, was viewed through the eyes of Chalcedon and Nicaea as well as the New Testament. Seldom was the second-century community illuminated in its own light. It was as if the non-theological sources somehow formed the sculptured masterpiece of the Eucumenical Councils, using the designs and patterns of the New Testament revelation. But it is to Thornton's credit that he sought to understand the "stuff", the common material, out of which the sculpture would take shape. Yet his interest remains theological,

intellectual.

A further quest for the origins of Christology would be undertaken by more conservative New Testament scholars. Realizing that the "quest for the historical Jesus" was no longer viable, yet unwilling to retract the New Testament's central kerygma of the Christ, and equally unwilling to view Catholic Christianity as a syncretized perversion, scholars such as Emil Brunner, Oscar Cullmann, Theo Preiss, and Charles Moule⁵³ would direct their attention to Christological titles, soteriology, and primitive confessions as they arose in the Apostolic language. Although the second century itself is not the focus of their attention, they clearly perceived that, although the first century wrote the New Testament, the second century selected its contents and established its canonical authority. Developing Christology⁵⁴ was based on the selection of alternatives available to the second-century community. In all such studies of the pre-theological origins of Christology, the faith-community was viewed as the dynamic, instrumental agency in the formation of theology. Furthermore, the community's work was helpful, fulfilling, even necessary, in the task of formulating catholic theological systems, the Ecumenical Creeds.

The Second Century as the Transition from the Eschatological Cultus to the Catholic Church. The interests of

Ritschl's heirs, Troeltsch and Harnack, have not been unrepresented in more current theology; yet the idealism which marked nineteenth-century German theology has been muted, resulting in a more dispassionate view of Post-Apostolic Church life, though thoroughly consistent in its historical-critical methodology. Relying on the conviction of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer that the "real" Christ is the Christ preached by the early Church as the initiator of the eschaton, eschatology has become viewed as the primary theme of primitive faith and the Christian "cultus" as the early community. To the inheritors of this perspective on Christian origins, the faith community has hence become the cultus of the end time.⁵⁵ The eschatological kerygma of Jesus created the Christ-cult. Since the cult was created with the conviction that the end-time had already begun and would soon find completion in their midst, the delay of the parousia forced the community of the second century to reshape itself and redefine its faith. The eschatological expectation became institutionalized,⁵⁶ demythologized,⁵⁷ and moralized into an assertion of a new, sanctified humanity.⁵⁸ Early proponents of the *religions-geschichtliche Schule* would scrutinize early Christian sources for regional, cultural, and religious antecedents to Christian eschatology, together with the process of its transition into catholicism.⁵⁹ The second-century Church, with its cultural variations and cultic

evolution, was regarded as having formed a community life based on a sacramental-mystery cult.⁶⁰ Stripped of the mythological apocalypticisms, the Apostolic faith could be freed from history, able to address more existential⁶¹ and spiritual⁶² concerns. Cultural forms and literary styles were carefully analyzed to distinguish the constituent elements of the developing faith.⁶³ To understand the essential meaning of the Christian faith was to distinguish the primitive Jesus-parousia message from its cultural forms of Jewish apocalypticism, Iranian-Persian mystery religions, Phrygian enthusiasm, Gnostic dualism and cosmology, etc. By looking into each community's cultural context, the variations of early theology could be explained and, most importantly, the eschatological Christ-cult could be seen as primitive Christianity's central feature.

Although this perspective has dominated New Testament studies for the last half-century, its effect in Patristics has also been significant. Indeed, it has been suggested that the history of the first Christian centuries is a history of the standardization of the diversity of regional forms in the communities inherited from the Apostolic Age.⁶⁴ From its very origins, Christianity demonstrated the diversity that existed within the Roman Empire itself.⁶⁵ The development of second-century heresies (Ebionitism, Gnosticism, Montanism) could be attributed to cultural variations. The very use of

the term heresy becomes meaningless, if one means thereby a theological system, when one considers the regional differences of North African(rural and pragmatic), Phrygian(enthusiastic and rigorist), Persian(mystery-sacramental), Palestinian (Pharasaic), Alexandrian (Hellenistic), and Roman (orthodoxy, order) sources.⁶⁶ A wealth of critical scholarship has widened the understanding of virtually every second-century source in terms of its cultic cultural milieu. Especially helpful has been the appreciation of the enormous plurality which existed in the early faith community.

The assumptions of the historical critical school have, however, not been without problems. The quest for Christianity's authentic cultic origins has become as frustrating as was the quest for the historical Jesus.

We have to admit that we do not know enough about Jesus to give us a clear start in our reconstruction of the story of the primitive church. And we do not know enough about Jesus to allow us to construct a clear account of the primitive church because we do not know enough about the primitive church to allow us to construct a clear account of Jesus.⁶⁷

The perplexing dynamic of the primitive faith and the

primitive community continues to elude definitive statement.⁶⁸ The conclusion of a survey of the attempts to understand this dynamic in the critical "tunnel period" of the early second century is not that such efforts are futile; rather, it has been indicated that the primitive church evidences a rich variety of theological wrestling in a complex pluralistic community. Furthermore, the response to the riddle of Christian origins depends largely on the perspective from which the early faith community is viewed.

The Dilemma of the Primitive Faith. For example, the primitive faith itself is difficult to define. If it arises from Jesus himself, whether from his teachings or his atoning works, then its contents become a crucial issue--be they moral, revelatory, ontological, eschatological, or salvatory. If, on the other hand, we cannot know an historical Jesus and must attribute the primitive faith to a community which defined Christology, then the sources of that definition become critical--be they cultural, mythological, or even institutional. The option selected cannot be exclusive of the other, yet both are based on a particular perspective of historical objectivity. The Jesus of history and the Christ of the catholic Church are alike objects of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century concern, based

on distinctions that have become differentiated⁶⁹ by the modern selector. Such selections are not unimportant, but they may not be capable of being extracted from the undifferentiated consciousness of the second-century Church. In fact, the second-century Church appears to have had little or no interest in the "historical Jesus" of modern studies, nor does it seem preoccupied with questions of Christology in a theological sense. In its original context, this question of Jesus's nature was precisely the question of his soteriological function and meaning.⁷⁰ Certainly, the threads of both the historical Jesus and the catholic Christ appear in profusion in the fabric of remnant sources, but to select them and differentiate them has often left merely a distorted pattern and a pile of loose threads.⁷¹ To treat the early second century with comprehensive integrity, perspectives must be taken and questions differentiated which were those of that era. It will be the thesis throughout this study that the appropriate perspective from which to view the early Church must be from within its common life, not as an objective community subject to cultural influences from without, but as a living organism that best tells its own story. It will further be affirmed that the central message of self-reflection will be neither the Jesus of history nor the Christ of the Church, but rather the common conviction that in the

Christ-event, God had addressed his chosen people and provided salvation for their lives. Especially in the early second century, Christology took the unsophisticated form of a personal and corporate participation in the saving words and works of Jesus the Christ.

The Dilemma of the Primitive Cultus. Turning to any effort to understand the primitive cultus, the undefinable elements make conclusive findings all the more difficult. Quite apart from questions of its being formed by the primitive faith (of Jesus's source or the Apostolic kerygma) or of its participation in forming that same faith, the assumptions upon which former studies were based have been seriously disputed.

How shall we understand the early Christian community if the sociological and cultural definitions of Troeltsch are unsuitable, if not rendered meaningless by their ever-expanding meaning?⁷² The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls⁷³ and the thesis regarding the essentially eschatological nature of the primitive kerygma have caused many to prefer the term "cultus". It was adopted in preference to the more traditional term "church" because the latter carried with it the polemics of the history of Christian ecclesiology, its dogmas, structures, and forms. Yet the cultus can also be defined so expansively as to be meaningless,⁷⁴ or so

limitedly as to violate the wholeness of the community's life together. The usual definition of cultus is formed in terms of the signs of temple, priest, and sacrifice--human actions or reactions done on behalf of a congregation by a special holy person at a fixed venue according to holy rules or rites.⁷⁵ Hence, in the cultic definitions of the community, the congregational activity which becomes the focus of the cult is corporate, working in its external and objective forms. Since the cult defines the community in its several other aspects,⁷⁶ the experience of worship proleptically presents the total religious experience of its members. This definition, however, is limited. Although meaningful worship must embrace in its rites and forms the communal experience of faith, worship alone does not define the community. Indeed, the conclusion that relationships between the members of the second-century Christian cultus were "dominantly otherworldly in nature and significance",⁷⁷ although descriptive of the community life in certain sacramental settings or from certain eschatological perspectives, is certainly not definitive.⁷⁸ The modern historian who insists on a cultic focus for the second-century community must read sources with the assumption that the "literary evidence usually presupposes rather than explicitly states the settings in the worship and life of the people from which the literature ultimately arose".⁷⁹ Such an assumption regarding

first-century or second-century forms, structures, cultic activities, and worship must shape the reading of the sources themselves. Although worship is regarded as integral to a community's life, the literature testifies to a more complex scope of relationships and structures apart from the cultic worship setting. Indeed, those relationships in the common life of the community will define and sanctify its worship, as well as the inverse.⁸⁰ As will be indicated, the concern of the second-century community was for the wholeness of the common life, an expansive definition of a congregation which might include all persons in all their common humanity as given life and salvation.⁸¹

The Dilemma of the Eschatological "Reorientation". The effort to define the early Christian community in cultic dimensions has coincided with a concentration on eschatology as the primary theological issue of the transition from the primitive kerygma to the catholic credal formulae. Two distinguishable currents of critical scholarship appear in the twentieth century. The first viewed eschatology, the announcement of the imminent Kingdom of God, as the basic purpose of the message and work of Jesus himself.⁸² The Apostolic Church was a community of the end-time, its most central event being the feast of the end-time, the earthly anticipation of the heavenly banquet. A second current viewed eschatology as a factor

of Persian apocalyptic mystery religion.⁸³ The Apostolic community was itself a syncretistic cult, like the Qumran community, maintaining a rigorist moral code, social isolation, and ascetic cultic life.⁸⁴ In both views, the late first century and early second century are seen to represent an adjustment of the cultic life and thought to account for the non-appearance of the parousia. The adjustments involved might include an institutionalization of the eschatological hope,⁸⁵ a redefinition of eschatology in so-called "realized" or emergent dimensions,⁸⁶ an adoption of a paraenetic ministry to replace the earlier kerygmatic and prophetic,⁸⁷ or a redefinition of Christology on a more cosmological, rather than apocalyptic, plane.⁸⁸ The ways in which the late-second-century emergence of Montanism has been viewed are illustrative of this concentration on the theological reorientation demanded by the demise of the parousia-cult. It is regarded as a desperate attempt to counteract Gnostic metaphysical rationalism with the prophetic emotionalism of the Apostolic kerygma,⁸⁹ as a final assertion of Phrygian-based and North African-based apocalypticism,⁹⁰ as a retrenchment of the cult into rigorism and separatism against the immoral and demonic society,⁹¹ or, above all, as a reassertion of the imminent parousia and millennial rule of Christ's kingdom as the central confession of the faith.⁹² It will be argued in this study that Montanism may also be viewed as illustrative of a phenomenon known

earlier and elsewhere in the second century than in Phrygia, in fact that it is a common variation within the church.⁹³ Furthermore, the Montanist tendency may be helpfully viewed as the result of dynamics within a community's fellowship.

This emphasis on the eschatological disappointment as the primary issue of the early Church has been seriously challenged. Since, on the one hand, Christ himself seems to have prepared his disciples for their roles in a continuing community⁹⁴ and the organizational function of the Apostolic Church accompanied its kerygmatic witness,⁹⁵ while, on the other hand, the apocalyptic images and language of the parousia continued long after it was considered imminent and the catholic doctrines and structures were thoroughly defined,⁹⁶ the simplistic progression from Apostolic parousia-cult to catholic doctrinal church is no longer tenable. Late New Testament works which properly demonstrate the crisis of the delay of the parousia at its most accute state are now viewed as evidencing no serious disturbance in that regard.⁹⁷ Even the most apocalyptic writings of the second century are not concerned with the non-appearance of the end of the world, but "the relation of the ideal and the empirical church".⁹⁸ There is little evidence in any second-century source that the "delay of the Parousia caused a radical reformulation of Christian doctrine".⁹⁹ Instead, the dichotomy of the imminent/delayed parousia

must be interpreted in the light of a more pervasive dynamic within the early community's faith and life, a dynamic which took many forms, yet is characterized by a balancing of seemingly contradictory tenets: Christ is Lord of all creation . . . the world is resistant to his Word; God has revealed himself and his will in his Son . . . the Christian is humbled before the silence of God's hidden mysteries; Christ has come to conquer sin's claim on mankind. . . devout saints continue to sin; the ideal church is granted possession of all truth . . . the empirical church is torn apart by schismatics; now . . . not yet. The tension of the delayed parousia is merely one of several that the early community would seek to address within its fellowship. And the dimension of that fellowship would be more complex than simply that of a cultus awaiting the end time.

The Dilemma of Early Christian Regionalism. A second aspect of the cultic definition of the primitive Christian community has been a premise that the variety of theological expressions and cultic forms reflected differences of regional and cultural sources.¹⁰⁰ As indicated earlier, it is commonly presumed that the influences upon the cult from outside itself significantly changed its message and its structure. Cultural and regional varieties are especially cited to account for the presence of early heresies. That which came to be called orthodoxy

represented Palestinian traditions which were preserved primarily in Rome.¹⁰¹ This thesis, however, is also questioned. The heresies had far more pervasive scope than was first suggested. Gnosticism appears, depending on how it is identified, virtually everywhere, but at a sophisticated stage in Alexandria and Rome.¹⁰² Ebionitism has certain Jewish origins, yet its appearance is most marked among Gnostic converts of diaspora Jewish congregations.¹⁰³ Montanism may have Phrygian origins, but it also appears in Rome, then in North Africa, Phrygia, and Southern France.¹⁰⁴ Hellenistic Christianity seems most present in Egypt.¹⁰⁵ The most prominent figures in second-century orthodox theology would originate in areas of notorious heresy.¹⁰⁶ The study of early cultic theology based on regional or cultural sources has been frustrated by the wide dissemination of a tremendous variety of forms, images, and literary styles. Scholars who earlier attributed Gnosticism to regional origins have more recently concluded that it is "a common human attitude and predisposition, not a phenomenon belonging to a unique time or place".¹⁰⁷ Closer study of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity reveals that the Mediterranean basin was, as Petrarch described it, "a well-mixed bowl of myths".¹⁰⁸ It is impossible to interpret the religious evolution of early Christianity as the result of sources derived from specific cultures or loci. By the second century, Palestine had been thoroughly

Hellenized for 350 years, together with the rest of the Mediterranean world; Judaism was represented throughout the empire; esoteric mystery cults had traveled everywhere with the Roman merchants and administrative machinery.¹⁰⁹ The striking characteristic of Roman religious and ethical life is the incredible variety of forms which are so widely diffused throughout the empire--not regional uniqueness or isolation. The situation of early Christianity in participation with the culture was not syncretistic, since the Christian and the Jew were alone in their radical isolation, but pluralistic. Christian communities were formed and prospered to assume the common language, images, and cultural forms of local residents. Yet, the Christian isolation and persecution insisted that cultural variations become transformed into Christian content. If anything, early Christianity self-consciously created a culture of its own wherever it went to accentuate its separatism from the pluralistic culture. A pagan never regarded the Christians as syncretistic or even tolerant of cultural variations. Instead, they were universally considered intolerant and separatistic--a threat to a pluralistic society. While adaptations to a culture did occur, it is not often possible to identify specific cultural antecedents, so diffuse and pluralistic was the culture. It must be noted as well that where cultural adaptations occurred, they indicate needs and tensions within a particular congregation,

while those of another congregation within the same cultural setting may be quite different.¹¹⁰ Even if it were possible to unravel the several threads which comprise a given community's origins, it must be questioned whether that would best express the integrity of that congregation. Whatever else the early Christian may have been, he was not a cultural anthropologist; to assign to him religious systems defined by twentieth-century research of ancient literature would miss the pre-literate early Christian. Nor was the early Christian so naively unaware of cultural syncretism as seems supposed by some. He maintained his Christian exclusivism in a community of perhaps a dozen religious and cultural systems, each of which bore the common epitaph of having little influence on a person's daily life.¹¹¹ Finally, the dynamic momentum of early Christianity occurred within the community. The "fire" of the early Christians resulted from the ways in which they related to each other in the fellowship of the faith, not from outside incendiaries.

The Second-Century Church as an Introspective Fellowship

Concentration on the *koinonia* of a Christian community enables the observer to view its inner life from within. A church (ἐκκλησία) is an assembly or congregation, a gathering of persons definable without consideration of its internal life. It is also most precisely

defined in terms of the action of its convenor (καλέω).¹¹² A community, on the other hand, is most succinctly defined in terms of its constituent members. It is a sociological term for a collective body (συνουσία), the members of which have certain common traits (τὸ κοινόν), the emphasis being on an element that is shared, about which the community relates (e.g., religious experience, cultural proximity, socio-economic class).¹¹³ In a koinonia, the emphasis is on the internal life of the collective body, the relationship between those who share in its life. Take, for example, the situation of a group of aquatic organisms which are left stranded in a tidal pool. They are an ἐκκλησία by virtue of what the ocean did to them when it retreated to leave them isolated among the rocks. Natural instincts to avoid waterless beaches, biological limitations of not being able to fly or walk away, physiological needs to continue searching for nutrients--these forces convened them. They are at the same time a community, or even a number of communities. The crustaceans are a community, as are the fish: so also are those of different species hiding under the same rock. But the members of each community need not be aware of their community affiliation, nor do they need to relate to each other in ways other than their common factor. On the other hand, a fellowship (koinonia) would exist in that tide-abandoned pool only if inter-relationships were formed between members which shared a complex of common

concerns, characteristics, or dangers. Furthermore, the members of that fellowship would necessarily require an awareness of their inter-relatedness. Were several fish to form a group which fostered mutual protection and welfare in such a way that they seemed conscious of their inter-dependence, their fellowship would be of greater significance to them than either their common traits or their common circumstances. It was this self-awareness of integral relationships and relatedness that distinguished the life of most of the early second-century Church.

The distinction here being developed is admittedly not one that was made explicit by theological self-reflection of the early second century. In fact, self-reflection seldom assumed the sophisticated theological language it would later develop. Nor is the distinction entirely philological, for the Greek word *koinonia* had a variety of usages that are not included in this more specific definition.¹¹⁴ But the word is most often associated with a self-conscious relationship between several active participants. In that introspective awareness of the relationship of its members, the community (τὸ κοινόν) of common people shared a sense of being the Church (convened by the election of God) and an identification of their common life. Hence, the limited definition of *koinonia* is one which attempts to treat the internal dynamic of second-century Christian relationships with

integrity.

Koinonia in the New Testament

The Pauline understanding of koinonia provides its most profound New Testament definition. On the one hand, it is not singly descriptive of a human fellowship of Christian friends; it is the central focus of a Christian's relationship with both God and other Christians. On the other, it is a transformation of the Christian from self-centeredness to participation in the lives of others.¹¹⁵ The Christian koinonia fore-sakes the fellowship of darkness (II Cor. 6:14-7:1) and assumes a partnership (koinonia) in the life of Christ (II Cor. 1:5-7) with others. In that participation, one is transformed into a new order of things in which all is sacred and nothing is common or profane.¹¹⁶ Boundaries which existed in the old creation are breached and relationships open to new, reconciled, and sanctified life. The old Adam's slavery to the koinonia of sin which perverted the common life to be an offense to God is broken in the new koinonia of Christ. This koinonia of Christ is a ministry to and within his body, the fellowship of other Christians.¹¹⁷ It is not simply a fellowship because of Christ's election of his Church; it is one which is constituted by a continuing participation in the life of Christ. Indeed, apart from this sharing, involvement, and dynamic connection with others, a Christian

cannot know Christ¹¹⁸ or be saved by him.¹¹⁹ "There is no such thing as a solitary Christian." Without the fellowship of other Christians, the common cannot become sacred, the disjointed member cannot participate in Christ's saving body.

The koinonia relationship can be seen to assume numerous levels in New Testament thought. It may be a sharing in the common welfare of others (Heb. 13-16), or in the eucharistic elements (I Cor. 10:16), or in the faith itself (Philem. 6); in each case, the emphasis is on a personal relationship with others in the common experience. It more often is used in reference to one's fellowship with Christ or the Holy Spirit,¹²⁰ although this may mean simply a spiritual fellowship. An intensive relationship with Christ is often meant, a participation or mingling of the person with the very life of Christ (Phil. 3:10). But this mystical communion is balanced by its implication for a Christian's fellowship with others, a relationship based on communion with Christ, but no less intensive or more mundane (I Jn. 1:3, 6-7).¹²¹

This range of usage is found in early second-century Christian literature as well as in the New Testament. The fellowship relationship becomes increasingly defined in less Christocentric and spiritual directions, and more often as the association and intimacy within the early community.¹²²

The concern of this study, however, is not so much with the use of the word *koinonia*, which is infrequent in early second-century writings, as with a particular self-reflection in the second century which is best described by *koinonia*. For the post-New Testament writings speak from an introverted stance, a stance in which Christians address fellow Christians about challenges, problems, faith reflections, tragedies, and victories which they share in common. Prior to the Apologist who addressed the pagan world, or the theologians who addressed problems posed by the separated heretic, the early churchman shared reflections on his *koinonia* that might address the needs of another *koinonia*. The literature was not introspective in the psychological sense of being egocentric.¹²³ It was instead self-reflective,¹²⁴ even meditative at times, engrossed in the events of the *koinonia* itself.

The Pastoral Nature of Theology

The pastoral functions of the church's ministry are defined as those conducted by a "representative" person.¹²⁵ He could be a bishop, a martyr or confessor, a deacon, an elder, or a catechist, either a layperson or an ordained officer. He acted as representative of the *koinonia*, performing his duty on behalf of the whole congregation. The specific ministries which a pastoral person might assume are healing, sustaining, guiding, and reconciling.¹²⁶ The first might involve ministries to the sick and dying,

exorcism, or even charismatic gifts of healing. Of this function, there is little evidence in the second century apart from miracles associated with the martyrs.¹²⁷ The pastoral function of sustaining included ministries of consolation, encouragement, and the preservation of the community's effectiveness or integrity. This was the primary pastoral function of the early second century; nearly all its literature is intended for mutual support, comfort, and fortitude. Especially in Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Odes of Solomon, the intimate compassion expressed toward fellow Christians is paramount. The pastoral function of guiding might involve paraenetic, catechetic, and other concerns for the nurture of a congregation; of this there is also much evidence.¹²⁸ Finally, the task of reconciliation is apparent in I Clement, Ignatius, and others where a particularly divisive issue creates painful factions within a congregation. The factions are exhorted to seek unity or self-discipline, and to exercise forgiveness. Other ecclesiastical functions apart from pastoral care would receive considerably less attention from second-century writers. "The church was pastoral from the very first",¹²⁹ and the formalist ministries of the theologian, the priest (liturgical president), and the administrator evolved from its second-century pastoral emphasis.¹³⁰ The pastoral functions which appear to have dominated were concerned with the health and wholeness of the organism of the koinonia--a symbiosis of persons which would constitute the

very body of Christ on this earth.

Non-Pastoral Concerns in Regard to Koinonia. The kerygmatic ministry of the Church had been the mark of the Apostles.¹³¹ Yet, that ministry did not originate from within the koinonia of the second century; instead, it addressed the koinonia from outside itself, both in the person of the prophet and in the pre-credal Christ-kerygma which had been inherited from the Apostolic authorities.¹³² The elements of this Christ-kerygma and the meaning it had as it was introduced into the koinonia will be analyzed below; yet it is important to note that the second-century Church saw itself as the recipient and treasury of the kerygma, rather than its initiator. The only kerygmatic person was the prophet, and his introduction into the koinonia would become increasingly problematic.¹³³ The kerygmatic word certainly continued to be spoken in the second-century Church, but the koinonia itself would select that kerygma of the Apostles using its own criteria. And there is little evidence of any concerted, systematic proclamation by the koinonia to the world outside itself.¹³⁴

The role of the Christian theologian in the early second century is also difficult to define. Those who suggest that this era evidences a gradual rise in systematic, doctrinal, theological refinement do so at the expense of first-century and second-century evidence. No one in the second century expresses anything vaguely

comparable to the theological precision and consistency of St. Paul or St. John. Nor is there any evidence to suggest a gradual process of increased theological acumen. No defined orthodoxy can be delineated until the end of the second century,¹³⁵ nor does there appear to be any attempt to distinguish between true and false doctrines.¹³⁶ "During the formative period of the Christian Church orthodoxy resembles a symphony composed of varied elements rather than a single melodic theme."¹³⁷ Even the most orthodox writers indicate theological language that is misleading if not heretical by later standards. Efforts to analyze second-century literature for theological content or precision violate the purposes for which it was written.¹³⁸ The second-century writer was unable and unwilling to abstract theological statements from the circumstance of the experience of the koinonia, with the result that his product cannot be analyzed into systematic, doctrinal criteria, but rather appreciated as "pastoral theology", dealing with the health and wholeness of the koinonia.

It is interesting to speculate, in this regard, to what extent the circumstances of individual congregations dictated the theology that was addressed to them. Justin Martyr certainly speaks differently to the Gentile audience of his Apologies than he does to the Christian addressees of his Dialogue.¹³⁹ Ignatius also defined the authority of the bishop in more disciplinary terms to the

schismatic Philadelphians and Smyrnaens than the cooperative, even passive, ideal shared by Polycarp.¹⁴⁰ The two accounts of the martyrdom of Blandina vividly illustrate this characteristic. Both are recorded in Eusebius.¹⁴¹ The first presents her as a young woman, the sister of all the victims, emphasizing her role as an equal to all brothers and sisters in the Church, regardless of age, sex, or individual distinction. In the latter citation, from the Letter of the Christians of Vienne and Lyonne,¹⁴² she is the mother of all, the representative of the church itself which suffers and dies in imitation of Christ of whom she is the body. The difference reflects the needs of the two communities to illustrate a message germane to individual circumstances.¹⁴³ Another second-century congregation may well have venerated both accounts as completely accurate without ever noticing this discrepancy. It is easy to deprecate the literature of the second century for the imprecision of its theology; but at that time, precise theology was of little or no concern to the koinonia. The second century was far more concerned with a need for encouragement and support as it faced the same persecutions Blandina (whoever she was) had so bravely endured.¹⁴⁴

Jesus in Second-Century Koinonia. Even the life and teachings of Jesus were rerouted through the experience of the koinonia so that particular themes and events were

highlighted. It was not so much a matter of sorting Jesus traditions and discarding those which were contrary to the experience of the koinonia as it was of focusing on those which corresponded to their own life while repeating others as stereotypical clichés,¹⁴⁵ repeated yet not reflected upon. For example, there is very little mention of the birth of Christ,¹⁴⁶ the calling of Disciples, or the ascension into glory, themes which were presented yet not expounded except as they illuminate the immediate events of the koinonia. The traditions of the historical Jesus which are most alive in the literature of the early second-century are those which were currently being re-lived in the common life of the community. Christ's essential message is viewed as a revelation, bringing the light of salvation, rather than a kerygma,¹⁴⁷ since enlightenment corresponded with the baptismal catechesis of the community.¹⁴⁸ And the critical event of Christ's life was viewed as the crucifixion, for in reflecting on it, the brutalities of the life of the confessor/martyr fellowship could become understood. Hence the interests of the early reflections on Jesus' life and words were not speculative or doctrinal, but provided consolation, illumination, and solidarity to the koinonia. In its selection by the second-century Church, the New Testament must be seen "not as the product of official ecclesiastical assemblies or even of individual theologians. It rather reflects and expresses the ideal self-understanding of the community."¹⁴⁹

Early Second-Century Communication. The early second-century Christian was most clearly representative of the common ranks of the society. This was probably true in an economic and political sense as well as from the standpoint of social classes which money and power create.¹⁵⁰ It was also true in matters of decorum, since banality, pugnacity, and grotesque theatricalities were common in their writings.¹⁵¹ But the literary remains most clearly evidence a colloquial commonness, a vernacular style marked by its unrefined language, pre-literary forms, and exaggerated symbols. The fellowship was not a "bookish community".¹⁵²

The language tended to be that of personal communication--intimate, creative, and issue-centered,¹⁵³ even randomly rambling to the modern reader, to whom the situation of the issue is occluded. The stance of a twentieth-century student is that of someone overhearing one participant in a telephone conversation. Our understanding of the conversation is limited because it is not directed to *us*, and we are unable to hear the questions and responses of the other conversant. The basic character of most second-century literature as communication cannot be understated. The early Church enjoyed prolific geographical distribution. Because of the increasing hostility of both Jewish and Gentile neighbors, the early communities became isolated. Their most basic need was for communication between isolated communities.¹⁵⁴ Contact was maintained in

part by means of traveling merchants, military, or even itinerant preachers and prophets. But the letter became the most credible vehicle for communication.¹⁵⁵ Virtually everything written during this era has an identifiable addressee.¹⁵⁶ The letter was not only preserved by the addressee, but passed from community to community¹⁵⁷ to further its intention for catholic communication. This systatic letter not only became a vehicle for theological opinion, it created a sense of intimacy among and within congregations, a vital relationship.¹⁵⁸ It is not surprising that the intimate language of personal communication of the early second century has become the object of study for psychoanalytic psychologists seeking evidence of primitive symbols for man and his relationships.¹⁵⁹ Although sometimes addressed to individuals, these letters would reach a far greater audience and usefulness in the koinonia--for in them, a given community could reflect on another's self-reflection.¹⁶⁰

The very nature of the literature of the early second century formed much of its contents. The issues addressed are uniquely practical.¹⁶¹ Care must be taken, lest this practicality be viewed as an institutional efficiency or a rational pragmatism. The practicality of the literature uses as its primary theological criteria the unity, harmony, and wholeness of the koinonia. That which is theologically true is that which benefits the life of the whole koinonia. Theology which causes discord or schism

is therefore in error.¹⁶² The proof of a congregation's integrity to the Gospel was therefore evident in the practice of its life together. Error produced disharmony, a fragmenting of the whole body of Christ. Truth brought the koinonia together as a full re-embodiment of Christ, his bodily presence on earth. The entire meaning of the Christian Gospel was evidenced in the relationships between persons in the koinonia. Because of this concern for Christian relationships, the second century has been accused of demonstrating a recurrent form of Jewish legalism. But the moral mandates of early second-century literature are not concerned with great moral issues of slavery, corrupting power, war, or social altruism. Instead, the rigorist ethics deal with interpersonal relationships within the koinonia--generosity, kindness to slaves, hospitality to traveling Christians, acceptance of brethren, sexual purity in relationships, etc. (Nor, on the main, are legal mandates offered for sabbath observances, cleanliness rituals, cultic exclusivity--there is little fear of Christians' being contaminated by the outside world.) Hence, early second-century legalism is of a uniquely relational kind, for which the ultimate evil is discord, jealousy, or chaos. And the practice of koinonia was itself a most profound theological statement:

But among us you find simple folk, artisans, and .
old women, who, if they are unable to furnish in words

the assistance they derive from our doctrine, yet show in their deeds the advantage to others accruing from their resolution. They do not rehearse words but show forth good deeds; struck, they do not strike back, plundered, they do not prosecute; to them that ask they give and they love their neighbor as themselves.¹⁶³

Second-Century Structures of Leadership

In concentrating on the koinonia of the early Christian Churches, the self-reflection of the community on the meaning of relationships, issues of structural authority and leadership need to be redefined. Structural formation and organization presuppose a certain fixed definition which may not be possible if the community is viewed as a dynamic organism. These fixed definitions are not possible because research does not allow statements regarding leadership roles and structures to imply anything but the most fragmentary conclusions in isolated congregations.¹⁶⁴ It may be suggested with probability that a three-part definition of roles was known in Syria (at least in Antioch) by about A. D. 120.¹⁶⁵ But there is no reason to assume this structure elsewhere, or even in Antioch at a later date.¹⁶⁶ Fixed definitions are also impossible because they violate the nature of second-century koinonia and its emphasis on interrelationships and self-reflective pastoral life. Whatever the structures may have been for

bishop, deacon, elder, prophet, priest, teacher, or president (προεστῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν),¹⁶⁷ they were regarded within the complex of relationships of a congregation.

The Role of The Bishop in the Koinonia. In no office is this congregational relatedness better emphasized than in that of Bishop. In Rome, for instance, the Apostles were believed by Christians to have appointed the first Bishops from among the people, employing a criterion of fruitfulness like that used by Moses in his selection of priests.¹⁶⁸ A Bishop serves by the consent of the whole Church,¹⁶⁹ so the rejection of a Corinthian Bishop is regarded as an insult to the wholeness of that congregation--tantamount to the tearing of Christ's own body.¹⁷⁰ Bishops (together with teachers and deacons)¹⁷¹ are selected to "fit" into the whole community,¹⁷² practicing peace, unity, and hospitality.¹⁷³ There is no indication that church structure was pyramidal in matters of doctrinal authority or organizational administration.¹⁷⁴ Nor is there any indication that Roman Bishops had anything but a pastoral relationship to other churches.¹⁷⁵ The application of Old Testament enthronement hymns to the whole congregation, especially the dominant use of Isaiah and Psalms in this regard,¹⁷⁶ suggests that the "royal priesthood" was corporately defined, not part of the investiture of a Bishop.

It was Ignatius alone who defined the office of the Bishop in so-called magisterial terms,¹⁷⁷ Yet the bishop

is regarded by him as a participant in a ministerial college;¹⁷⁸ his office by itself is not authoritative,¹⁷⁹ but is endowed with authority by virtue of the congregation's acknowledgement of his virtue and perfection,¹⁸⁰ his gentleness and Christ-like example. The central assertion of Ignatius is the unity of the Church, symbolically expressed in the Eucharist, as the oneness of Christ himself.¹⁸¹ Whatever claims he makes for episcopal primacy are based on his concern to preserve the unity and harmony of the congregational life. His polemic is not with those who would deny his episcopal power, it is with those who would deny the full humanity of Christ, thereby fragmenting him and his body, the Church.¹⁸² The Bishop's priority is not organizational, relating to authority or structural primacy, it is representational. He functions as the embodiment of the corporate koinonia,¹⁸³ and, insofar as the koinonia is the body of Christ, the Bishop represents the Christ.¹⁸⁴ The integrity of the Bishop is based on the extent to which he reflects or imitates the fullness of the Christ--but that is the criterion for the integrity of a koinonia as well.¹⁸⁵ Although the episcopal office may have presumed certain monarchical definitions, the bishop's primary relationship with the congregation was that of participating in the fullness of the life of the koinonia. "Care for unity . . . , suffer all men in love . . . , speak to others on the basis of a divine unity." "Labor with one another, struggle together, run

together, suffer together, rest together, rise up together as God's stewards and assessors, and servants."¹⁸⁶ The emphasis is on a self-reflection of relationships within the life of the koinonia. The relationships are described in the pastoral language of sustaining, guiding, and reconciling. The central concern is that the life and ministry of the koinonia be an authentic representation of Christ himself.

The Role of the Prophet in the Koinonia. As it was for the specific office of the Bishop, so it was also for other offices, with the exception of the itinerant teacher or prophet. Individual personalities of the early second century were not clearly identified into separate roles and offices,¹⁸⁷ yet each office was derived from the koinonia. Persons were selected from among its members to a specific ministry representing its members. Furthermore, that ministry was never separated from the life of the koinonia. Although a congregational teacher might have specific catechetical responsibilities, he must also participate fully in the total life of the congregation, sharing its labors, enduring its hardships, enjoying its benefits.¹⁸⁸ A distinction must be made, however, in the case of the itinerant teacher or prophet. He alone claimed his office and privilege from outside the koinonia. Although he was the inheritor of the role of the New Testament kerygma-bearer, the charismatic prophet,¹⁸⁹ his role in the early second-century

congregation became increasingly problematic. The koinonia honored his words and accorded him hospitality and sacramental fellowship, but only for a brief visit. He was welcome to enter the full life of congregational practices, but if he refused to participate equally in the fellowship, he was advised to move elsewhere.¹⁹⁰ The koinonia could not tolerate someone who did not acknowledge the commonly held mandates regarding interpersonal relationships.¹⁹¹

It is appropriate at this point to consider the role of the Holy Spirit in the thought of the early second-century Church. The activity of the Holy Spirit had been defined entirely as that of inspiration of the prophet or teacher, revealer of the revelations of God.¹⁹² His work was perceived only in terms of individual inspiration or revelation. Hence, the Holy Spirit became associated with the work of the prophet. Through the prophets, the Spirit edified and exhorted the Church. Other charismatic offices may have shared this role, but in no case was the work of the Holy Spirit discernable as arising from within the koinonia--the witness was addressed to the congregation by the charismatic itinerant.¹⁹³ It testified to the presence of the resurrected Christ in his Church, but the Church was the recipient of the revelation of the Holy Spirit, not the arena within which or the agent through which the Spirit operated. Consequently, as the prophet's role became more difficult when the koinonia began to define its life pastorally in terms of

congregational relationships, so also the understanding of the Holy Spirit would not penetrate deeply into the congregation's experience.¹⁹⁴ The vocabulary of the Holy Spirit would be clichéd, and a moratorium would be spread over any reflection on the meaning of the third person of the Trinity until the koinonia itself expressed its inner life in pneumatological language. But for the era under study, the Holy Spirit was associated with ministries outside the koinonia; and the koinonia itself was singularly defined in Christological images.¹⁹⁵ No one forgot the Holy Spirit or discounted his trinitarian position,¹⁹⁶ yet the inability to discern his work in the life of the koinonia left a conspicuous silence regarding second-century pneumatology. Since the remains of the early second century exhibit the self-reflection of the koinonia, the Holy Spirit remained unfocused in the background.¹⁹⁷

The Role of the Martyr in the Koinonia. It has been suggested that the role of the prophet was subsequently assumed by the martyr/confessor;¹⁹⁸ he too was chosen by God, the recipient of a special spiritual relationship with God, and in a position of veneration in the congregations. Yet the martyr/confessor arose from within the life of the koinonia. The congregation ministered to him throughout his ordeal--he was regarded as an integral part of its witness.¹⁹⁹ The very name "martyr" suggests that he witnessed on behalf of the corporate body. He personified all

Christians of the koinonia. His was a representational role no less than the bishop's, representing not only the congregation but, most importantly, Christ himself, reliving in his suffering and death the very presence of Christ. The rigorist confessor might present problems to the Church regarding the acceptance of those who had denied their faith under torture or threat of death,²⁰⁰ but that would be in the third century when prominent confessors assumed the role of theologians to the Church. For the second century, the martyr/confessor was the truly corporate personality, more representative than any other role or office for the life of the whole koinonia.²⁰¹ And it was the introspection on the life of the martyr/confessor within the fellowship of the Church that added the most profound meaning to the faith of the second century.

The Scope of This Study. The theological expression of the early second century cannot be identified except as a reflection of the concerns of the koinonia. Furthermore, the resources for a precise understanding of ecclesiastical structures are not available except as reflections of concerns for congregational wholeness and unity. Therefore, the dynamic of relationships within the koinonia will be asserted as the key to both early second-century theology and ecclesiology. The intimate life of the isolated Christian congregation will be the focus from which the images of the emerging Church's theology appear. The reflections

of the congregation on the common struggles for faithful and authentic representation of Christ's salvation will be seen as the matrix from which its ecclesiastical structures would take shape.

This perspective on the second century is admittedly limited, and no pretense is made that it is definitive. The theology and ecclesiology of the emerging Church can also be defined in terms of relationships between itself and external factors. It is indeed critical to appreciate the role of the primitive Christ-kerygma in calling the koinonia together in the first place. It is also critical to identify the Jewish and Hellenistic antecedents of its formation, as well as cultural variations within which the early koinonia operated. But these dimensions, when taken by themselves or considered primary factors, cannot deal with the sources of early second-century Christian literature without an understanding of the inner life of fellowship--koinonia--which related to them. Even if the early Church could be considered solely as the product of external factors, the issue of the process by which it selected its unique confessional and behavioral identity is still paramount.

For purposes of demonstrating this inner dynamic of the koinonia, this study will concentrate on literature which is subsequent to the New Testament kerygmatic writings, yet prior to the apologetics addressed to a broad audience. Falling roughly within the first half of the second century,

the literature under consideration will include the later New Testament writings (II Peter, James, Jude), the Apostolic fathers (Clement, Pseudo-Clement, Ignatius, Barnabas, the Didache, Hermas, Polycarp, the Epistle to Diognetus, Papias), primitive apocalypics (4th Esdras, the Ascension of Isaiah), martyrologies (Polycarp, Ignatius, Vienne and Lyonne, Scillitan), the Odes of Solomon, and early heretical writings (Valentinus and other early gnostics, proto-Montanists, and Judeo-Christian sectarians). The writings of the Apologists, especially Justin, will also be helpful as statements about early Christian congregational life. Research studies concerning these sources as expressions of congregational life are summarized within the text.

This study will not only operate within the confines of this particular era (100-150) and perspective (inner-congregational reflections), it will as well be confined to certain expressions of that congregational life. Studies which have concentrated on the early Christian community as a cultus, for instance, have addressed issues of symbolic rites and rituals of worship, the liturgical structure of the koinonia. While the worship experience of baptism was certainly at the heart of the koinonia, it will be regarded as the expression of the congregation's self-reflection, rather than as a specific, formal, normative rite which provides identity to the cultus. There is little evidence for cultic formulae of worship, while the sources

abound in a wealth of information about the life of the koinonia which was undoubtedly expressed in its worship. Similarly, relationships of the community have often been described in terms of its ethical norms, rigorism, and Judaic legalism. While there is a substantial indication of formal systems of Christian behavior, the concern here studied will not be the ethical system itself, but rather the dynamics of the koinonia which gave rise to its formalized behavioral expressions.

Subsequent chapters will regard the koinonia of early second-century Christians as a fundamental quest for Christian identity (Chapter II)--as a quest which sought corporate as well as individual identity most profoundly in the person of Christ. Christ was evoked as the corporate identity of the koinonia by a constant appeal to remember and to imitate him. In its remembrance of Christ, the koinonia attained an historic identity (Chapter III), a oneness with the people of God in the Old Testament or a challenge to be God's people as his chosen community of the end time. The appeal to imitate Christ would take two distinct forms. It would seek a certain sense of wholeness, a shape and image that would approximate the wholeness of Christ himself, and it would also claim a radical uniqueness, a new way of life, based on the teachings and example of Christ (Chapter IV). In this perspective of the community's reflections on the history, wholeness, and new life of the koinonia in Christ, implications may be

drawn concerning Christian variations in the life of the second-century Church and the stage upon which the first attempts at a defined orthodoxy are made.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. E. H. Pagels, "The Demiurge and his Archons--
A Gnostic View of the Bishops and Pres-
byters", HTR, 69 (1976), 301-324 (P. 315).
According to Pagels, heresies arose due
to pressures for ecclesiastical confor-
mity.
2. M. Dibelius, "Christologie--Urchrist", in Die
Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed.
2, vol. 1, col. 1593 (Tubingen, 1967).
The riddle of the origin of Christology
is tied to the origins of Christianity
itself in the early second century.

M. Werner, The Formation of Christian Dogma,
translated by S. G. F. Brandon (London,
1957). The transition from primitive
Christianity to the early theological
writings is the basic problem of the
history of doctrine in the early Church.
3. See page
4. H. E. W. Turner, The Pattern of Christian
Truth (Bampton Lectures 1954) (London,
1954). Note Turner's discussion re-
garding the "classical" view of orth-
odoxy and the rise of heresy, pp. 3-8.
5. Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History (H. E.) I:1:1
& IV:29:3 & Irenaeus: Against the Here-
sies (Ad. H.) IV:19:2.
6. H.E., II:3:1-2.
7. Ibid., IV:7:13.
8. Jerome (393), Gennadius (480), Isadore of Se-
ville (615), Sigebert of Gembloux (1112),
Honorius of Augustodorum (1122), Johan-
nes Trithemius (1494).
9. Cardinal Bellarmine: De Scriptoris Ecclesias-
ticis (1613) provides the perspective of
the Council of Trent that tradition ful-
fills and interprets the truth of the New
Testament.

10. Johannes Gerhard: Patrology (1653) sets the pattern for post-Reformation Protestant study by examining the literature of the second century in terms of its testimony to the theological themes of the Reformation.
11. See James Fenelly's "Primitive Christian Values of Salvation and Patterns of Conversion", in Man and His Salvation, edited by E. Sharpe and J. Hinnells, (Manchester, 1973) as a current example of theological interpretation based on denominationalism.
12. Note Form-Religions-Geschichtelicheschule Theologians.
13. F. C. Bauer made a study of Schæiermacher and Hegel in 1853.
14. F. C. Bauer, The Church of the First Three Centuries (3rd edition), translated by A. Menzies (London, 1878), vol. 1, p. 9.
15. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 17.
16. A. Ritschl, Die Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche.
17. W. Pannenberg, Basic Questions in Theology, vol. 2 (London, 1971), p. 122.
18. G. W. Richards, "The Place of Adolph von Harack Among Church Historians", The Journal of Religion 9 (1931), pp. 333-345 (p. 335-337).
- E. von Dobschutz, Christian Life in the Primitive Church (London, 1904), p. 366 ff.
- R. S. Franks, History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ, vol. 1 (London, 1918), pp. 11-33.
19. E. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, vol. 1, translated by O. Wyon, (London, 1931; originally published, 1911), p. 30.
20. Ibid., p. 47.
21. Ibid., p. 43.
22. Ibid., p. 68.

23. A. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, translated by L. Strachen (London, 1927), pp. 144-148.
24. K. Kautsky, Foundations of Christianity, translated by H. Mins (New York, 1953).
25. S. J. Case, The Social Triumph of the Ancient Church (Freeport, NY, 1933), pp. 8-35.
- M. Hengel, Property and Riches in the Early Church, translated by J. Bowden (London, 1974), pp. 32-42.
26. Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 161.
27. Case, op. cit., pp. 95-140.
28. Diessmann, op. cit., pp. 245-250.
29. Troeltsch, op. cit., p. 30.
30. Richards, op. cit., pp. 337-340.
31. A. Harnack, History of Dogma, vols. 1, 2, translated by N. Buchanan (London, 1905), p. 228. "The Gnostics were, in short, the theologians of the first century." This comment says more about Harnack's opinion of theologians than of Gnostics.
32. Harnack, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 30-38.
33. Hengel, The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion (London, 1976), pp. 3-4.
34. Harnack, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 128.
35. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 45.
36. H. Lietzmann, The Beginnings of the Christian Church translated by B. L. Woolf (London, 1937), p. 285.
37. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, translated by B. L. Woolf (London, 1938), p. 74.
38. M. Routh, Reliquiae Sacrae (1814).
39. Newman's scholarship follows the publication (1693-1712) of the sixteen volumes of Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles, by L. S. DeNain de Tillemont, editor (and the rapid proliferation of texts culminating in the Migne edition).

40. J. H. Cardinal Newman, An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine (15th impression) (London, 1914), p. 122.
41. Ibid., p. 169.
42. F. L. Cross, editor, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London, 1958), pp. 571-572.
43. E. Hatch, The Organization of the Early Christian Churches (Oxford, 1981) asserts that the office of Bishop arose for practical purposes of organizing philanthropy in the early Church.
44. W. Sanday, The Primitive Church and Reunion (Oxford, 1913), pp. 49-112.
45. K. Kirk, The Apostolic Ministry (London, 1946), p. 13.
46. A. D. Nock, Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background (New York, 1964), pp. 100-101.
- A. Ehrhardt, "The Apostolic Ministry", SJT, 7 (1958), p. 9.
- Erhardt, The Apostolic Succession on the First Two Centuries of the Church (London, 1953), pp. 21-31.
47. J. A. Dorner, History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ, Division 1, vol. 1, translated by W. L. Alexander (Edinburgh, 1937), p. 183.
48. R. Seeberg, Textbook of the History of Doctrines, translated by C. Hay (Grand Rapids, MI, 1956), p. 52.
- K. S. Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, vol. 1 (London, 1938), p. 60.
- H. E. W. Turner, The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption (London, 1952), p. 24.
- J. Daniélou, "Patristic Literature", in Historical Theology, vol. 2, edited by R. P. C. Hanson (Middlesex, 1969), pp. 25-137.

49. R. I. Wilberforce, The Doctrine of the Incarnation (London, 1848).
50. C. Gore, The Incarnation of the Son of God (London, 1891).
- L. S. Thornton, The Incarnate Lord (London, 1928).
- J. K. Mozley, The Doctrine of the Incarnation (London, 1936).
51. Mozley, Doctrine of the Atonement (London, 1915), pp. 167-190.
52. Thornton, op. cit., p. 305.
53. H. E. Brunner, The Mediator, translated by O. Wyon (London, 1934), pp. 316-320.
- O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by S. C. Guthrie & C. A. M. Hall (London, 1959), pp. 1-10. "Early Christian theology is, in reality, almost exclusively Christology."
- T. Preiss, Life in Christ, translated by H. Knight (London, 1952), p. 194.
- C. F. D. Moule, The Origin of Christology (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 1-10.
54. Moule, op. cit., prefers the term "development" to the term "evolution" as the appropriate understanding of Christological reflection in the early Church.
55. D. E. Aune, The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity (London, 1972). On pages 2-8, Aune distinguishes several perspectives of current New Testament scholarship regarding eschatology: 1) In the teaching of Jesus, the Kingdom of God will appear shortly; 2) In the teaching of Jesus, the Kingdom of God is initiated by the life and death of Jesus; 3) The teaching of Jesus is distinguished from apocalyptic Judaism.
56. Werner, op. cit., pp. 31-70, note 2.
57. Ibid., p. 328.
58. W. Bousset, Jesus, translated by J. Trabelyan (London, 1906), pp. 60-98.

59. Bousset, Kurios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus (zweiten auflage) (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 275-333. The formation of the Christ-cult was an effort to define the new, eschatological people of God.
60. Ibid., p. 303.
61. R. Bultmann, Existence and Faith, introduced and translated by S. M. Ogden (London, 1961), p. 237.
62. A. Schweitzer, The Quest for the Historical Jesus (third edition), translated by W. Montgomery (London, 1954), pp. 399-400.
63. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting, translated by R. H. Fuller (London, 1956), pp. 175 ff.
- R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (Berlin, 1927), p. 91.
64. B. H. Streeter, The Primitive Church (London, 1930), pp. 27-65.
65. E. L. Woodward, Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire (London, 1916), pp. 17 ff.
- H. Koester, "The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity", HTR, 58 (1965), 279-318 (p. 281).
66. W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, translated by Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, edited by R. Kraft & G. Krodel (Philadelphia, 1971). On pages xxi-xxv, Bauer suggests that each heresy was an original form of Christianity.
- A. H. M. Jones, "Were Ancient Heresies National or Social Movements in Disguise?", JTS (New Series), X (1959), p. 280.
- L. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, translated by R. A. Guelich (London, 1970), pp. 123 ff.
67. J. Downing, The Church and Jesus (London, 1968), p. 51.

68. Dibelius, op. cit., col. 1593. The issue is "how the historical figure of Jesus changed . . . into belief in the heavenly Son of God of the Church."
69. B. Lonergan, The Way to Nicea: The Dialectical Development of Trinitarian Theology, translated by C. O'Donovan (London, 1976), pp. 2 ff.
70. A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, vol. 1 (revised edition), translated by J. Bowden (London, 1975), p. 7.

F. Hahn, "Methodologische Überlegungen zur Rückfrage nach Jesus", in Rückfrage nach Jesus, edited by K. Kertegle (Frieburg, 1974), pp. 11-77.
71. Hahn, "The Quest for the Historical Jesus and the Special Character of the Sources Available to Us", in What Can We Know About Jesus, edited by Hahn, W. Lohff, and G. Bornkamm, translated by G. Foley (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 9-48. "The new quest for the historical Jesus begins with the correlation between the historical Jesus and the kerygma of the early community, a concern for a continuity in content between faith and community." That continuity of content "involves salvation", p. 48. Hahn carefully avoids the pitfalls incurred by any use of the word "eschatology".
72. The variety of meanings used to describe early Christian community compounds sociological and cultural definitions. For Troeltsch, the community is defined as a sociological-economic phenomenon. For Harnack, it is a collective of those who share the common experience of Christ. For Carrington (Early Christian Church), the community is defined in terms of the inherited Jewish identity of the people.
73. Regarding the relations of the Christian community to the Dead Sea community, note corollaries identified by Aune, op. cit., pp. 29-44.
74. S. Mowinckel, "Kultus", RGG (third edition), IV (1953) cols. 12-121. The cultus is a "visible, socially arranged, ordered, and efficacious form through which the religious experience of communion is actualized and its effects expressed."

75. The definitions of the cult are summarized in great variety by Bultmann, von Dobschutz, Deissmann (the "acting" and the "reacting" cult), and Conzelmann in Aune, op. cit., p. 10, note 2.
76. Aune, op. cit., pp. 12-16.
77. Ibid., p. 19.
78. Aune cites Ignatius' argument (as is frequently done by this school of thought) regarding sacramental unity. But to speak of Ignatius as having a proleptically realized eschatological concern for unity is to concentrate on an illustration from Ignatius, rather than the central matter he addresses--devisive forces in the Church which are upsetting its total and full humanity, its this-worldliness. N.B., Aune, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
79. Ibid., p. 220.
80. W. D. Davies, Christian Origins and Judaism (London, 1962), pp. 67-77.
81. As an example of this concern for a definition of community which embraces the wholeness of common life, Ignatius pleads for a unity which will be exemplary in a complex of relationships (Mag. 6, Trall. 12). The eucharistic common cup is regarded as the expression of a unity already realized by the brethren in their common life (Phil. 3-4, Smyr. 7).
82. Schweitzer, op. cit., pp. 312 ff. Note the discussion of Jesus' self-consciousness of his role as initiator of the parousia in D. E. Nineham, "Schweitzer Revisited", in Explorations in Theology I (London, 1977), pp. 112-133.
83. It is difficult to distinguish a consistent meaning for the word "eschatology". For Schweitzer, it is "konsequente Eschatologie" (a usage which is indistinguishable from the modern use of apocalyptic). C. H. Dodd concentrates on "realized eschatology" as distinct from "futurist eschatology". R. Fuller identifies "proleptic eschatology". G. Florovsky (Bible, Church, Tradition) and J. A. T. Robinson suggest the term "inaugurated eschatology". The development of the role of eschatology in

twentieth-century New Testament research is surveyed in N. Perrin, The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus (Philadelphia, 1963).

84. This is most specifically true for the inheritors of the "history of religion" school. For W. Bousset, Kurios Christos, pp. 90 ff., and 216-274, the origins of the Christ-cult must be understood in the context of apocalyptic mythology (also cited in Bousset, Jesus, pp. 71-98). For Reitzenstein (op. cit.), p. 91, the change into apocalyptic mystery religions began with St. Paul's useage of Jewish sources.
85. K. L. Schmidt, Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesus (Berlin, 1919), p. iv. For a comparative study in relation to the Kumran community, note M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (London, 1961).
86. C. Eastwood, The Royal Priesthood of the Faithful (London, 1963).
87. Aune, op. cit., pp. 6-8.
88. Goppelt, op. cit., pp. 123 ff.
89. S. G. F. Brandon, The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church (London, 1951), pp. 249-251.
- Hengel, The Son of God, p. 90.
90. H. M. Gwatkin, Early Christian History to A.D. 313, vols. 1, 2 (London, 1909), p. 73.
91. Woodward, op. cit., pp. 29 ff.
- W. H. C. Frend, Town and Country in the Early Christian Centuries (London, 1980), p. 35.
92. This classical view of Tertullian finds modern expression in: F. E. Vokes, The Riddle of the Didache (London, 1938), p. 136, and G. B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers (Cambridge, MA, 1959), Chapter 2. This view is discussed and refuted in: P. de Labriolle, La Crise Montaniste (Paris, 1913) pp. 123 ff.

93. It is interesting to note that, whereas modern studies identify the primary feature of Montanism as its eschatological expectation in cultic life, this is not the distinctive feature noted by its contemporaries. They were instead concerned with problems arising from Montanism's claims for special sources of revelation and authority, its rigorism, and its emotionalism (Phrygian heresy).
94. According to Labriolle (op.cit., pp. 136-142), Montanism was a movement *within* the Church, never attaining any level of structure except as a faction of the catholic community or a reaction to the catholic mainstream. It was on the margin of the great church (p. 205).
95. Interview with C. E. B. Cranfield, Durham, March, 1980.
96. Acts 2-3.
97. J. Pelikan, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600) (London, 1969), pp. 123-132.
98. C. H. Talbert, "II Peter and the Idea of the Delay of the Parousia", VC, 20 (1966), 137-145, (p. 137).
99. E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, vols. 1, 2, edited by W. Schneemelcher, translated by R. M. Wilson (London, 1963 [1], 1965 [2]), p. 641, vol. 2.
100. Werner, op. cit., pp. 67-68. Werner claims that this is evident only in I Clem. 23:3, Barn. 19:5, and II Clem. 11:2.
101. W. Bauer, op. cit., pp. 172 ff.
102. Ibid., p. 193.
103. Note the origin of Gnosticism as a systematic theology in Valentinus of Rome and in Alexandria.
104. Bauer, op. cit., pp. 79 ff.
105. The Alexandrian Jewish community was the largest such community outside Palestine.

106. It is important to note that patristic authors used earlier writings much less than has been previously thought, and that phrases and interpretations commonly supposed to indicate literary dependence are really due to phraseology common throughout the whole Church. This caution is well documented in A. L. Williams, Adversus Judaes (Cambridge, 1935), p. 16.
107. J. F. McCue, "Orthodoxy and Heresy: Walter Bauer and the Valentinians", VC, 33 (1979), pp. 118-130 (p. 124).
108. A. D. Nock, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, vols. 1, 2, edited by Z. Stewart (Oxford, 1972), p. 940.

Note also P. Brown, The Making of Late Antiquity (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 7.
109. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, vols. 1, 2, translated by J. Bowden (London, 1974), p. 308.
110. T. G. Jalland, The Church and the Papacy (London, 1944), pp. 80 ff. Jalland cites the Roman example of several "house churches", each having its own bishop, existing at the same time. This corresponds with I Clement's counsel that fragmented church members might begin a new community, not because of theological or cultural differences, but better to reflect the differences which existed within a given area. This citation is discussed in E. W. Fisher, Soteriology in First Clement (Ann Arbor, MI, 1974), p. 58.
111. Nock, Conversion (Oxford, 1933). Nock stresses that whereas other contemporary religions were syncretistic, spiritual, and had little relation to daily events or life, Christianity alone was exclusivistic and encompassed all dimensions of human existence.

112. Regarding the use of ἡ ἐκκλησία in the literature to be considered: The predominant useage is the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ. I Clem. 1:1--the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ as those who are "called and sanctified by the will of God"; II Clem. 14:1--the ἐκκλησία is "spiritual, created before the sun and the moon"; see also Ig. Tral. 2:3, 12:1; Ig. Phil. 1:1, 10:1; Ig. Smyr. 1:1; Poly. 1:1; Mart. Poly. 1:1. The ἐκκλησία is "holy" (Ig. Tral. Proem.) by virtue of God's action of creation and election (Herm. Vis. 3:4).
113. Regarding the use of τὸ κοινόν (the shared or common attribute) and οἱ κοινωνοί (the sharers or participants in a common attribute) in the literature to be considered: Diog. 11:7--"We are sharers (κοινωνοί) of the revelation."; I Clem. 51:1--"The society (κοινόν) of hope."; Ig. Poly. 4:3--"Let them not desire to be freed from the commonness we share (ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ)."; Ig. Phil. 1:1--The bishop obtains "the ministry for the common good." (τὸ κοινόν).
114. Lexicon analysis of koinonia identifies four meanings: 1) association or connection, 2) communication, 3) an act of sharing, and 4) eucharistic participation. G. W. H. Lampe, editor, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford, 1961). H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek English Lexicon, new revised edition by H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1941).
115. Thornton, The Common Life in the Body of Christ (Westminster, 1941), pp. 16-17.
116. Ibid., p. 12.
117. Col. 1:20 ff.
118. Thornton, op. cit., p. 40. Note also Ig. Phil. 3:10.
119. Ibid., p. 310-311.
120. In the Letters of St. Paul, there appears to be no koinonia with God--Christ is always the mediator. Even where there is koinonia with the Holy Spirit, it is part of a trinitarian litany (II Cor. 13:13), or directly associated with Christ (Phil. 2:1).

121. I John 1:3, 6-7 is an excellent summary of the New Testament's useage of koinonia: "That you may have fellowship with us; and our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ . . . if we say we have fellowship with him, while we walk in darkness, we lie and do not live according to the truth; but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with one another, and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin."
122. Lampe, op. cit., pp. 762-764.
123. The only readily identifiable personality in the literature to be discovered is that of Ignatius; yet his personal thoughts and feelings are portrayed as a model (τύποι) for the koinonia, not as a study of his own personality.
124. A. Benoit, Irenaeus: Introduction à l'Etude de sa Théologie (Paris, 1960), pp. 1-8.
125. C. Jaekle and W. Clebsch, Pastoral Care in Historical Perspective (New York, 1964), pp. 4-7.
126. Ibid., pp. 33-66.
127. In the martyrdom of Polycarp (chapter 13), Christians crowd to touch Polycarp's body as he was "adorned with every kind of good".
128. This is particularly true in Barnabas and the Didiche. Harnack regarded the early Gnostics as the first theologians, but at its origins Gnosticism may have been directed toward comfort and paraenesis (the Gospel of Truth's use of the term "rest"). R. M. Grant (Gnosticism in Early Christianity [New York, 1959]) suggests that Valentinus was provoked to write by the crisis of 135 in which apocalyptic events of the Jews needed to be interpreted with comfort and instruction for the Christians (p. 128).
129. Kirk, Vision of God (London, 1931), p. 125.
130. W. Elert, Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries (St. Louis, MO, 1966), pp. 27 ff. regarding the role of the priest. The suggestion by Pelikan (op. cit., p. 5) that prior to 170, all Christian writers were bishops cannot be maintained. Only Polycarp and Ignatius are self-confessed bishops. Nonetheless, all writers were pastoral.

131. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, pp. 9-42.
132. For an excellent discussion of early Christian credal traditions, see J. N. D. Kelly , Early Christian Creeds (London, 1960), pp. 65-76, and Grillmeier, op. cit., pp. 6-9.
133. Regarding the problem posed by the prophets in the Didache, note M. Lods , Confesseurs et Martyrs (Paris, 1958), and P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", JRS, LXI (1971), pp. 80-101.
134. Regarding the missionary interests of the second century, note Y. Conger, "Souci du Salut des Païens et Conscience Missionnaire dans le Christianisme Postapostolique et préconstantinien", in Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten, vol. 4, edited by P. Granfield and J. Jungman (Munster, 1970), pp. 3-11. For Conger, the kerygma-bearer (apostle) becomes witness-bearer (martyr).
135. A. Ehrhardt, "Christianity before the Apostles' Creed", HTR, LV, 2 (1962), pp. 73-119 (p. 119).
136. Ibid., pp. 74-79.
W. Bauer, op. cit., p. 193.
137. Turner, op. cit., p. 9. Note also Kelly, Early Christian Doctrine (London, 1958), pp. 36-39. For Kelly, koinonia can be regarded as a vehicle for revelation.
138. T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Edinburgh, 1948). Using a Pauline definition of grace, Torrance concludes: "The plain fact is that the Church of the Apostolic fathers has but a very feeble understanding of the great truths of the Gospel . . . they have not grasped the new orientation of life brought about by justification through grace and the indwelling presence of Christ.", p. 39.
139. Note the role of Plato in Justin's 1st Apology (chapter 8) in which he quotes him as an authority on the righteousness of God and makes other analogies between Plato and Christian beliefs. (See also 1 Ap. 1:18, 44, 60, and 2:10.) In the dialogue with Trypho, however, Justin cites his experience with Platonism as stupidity (Dial. II).

140. Compare Ig. Phil. 1 and Smyrn. 8 with Ig. Poly. 6.
141. Eusebius, H.E. IV:1:41-42.
142. Ibid., IV:1:55.
143. M. L. Guillaumin, "Une Jeune Fille Qui S'appelait Blandine", in Epektasis, edited by J. Fontaine and C. Kannengeiser (Paris, 1972), pp. 93-98 (pp. 93-94).
144. It is not surprising that systematic theologians tend to overlook any Christian literature between the New Testament and Irenaeus. Its content is virtually incomprehensible to the framework within which most modern theologians operate.
145. Kelly, Creeds, pp. 74-76.
146. Note Diognetus' treatment of the incarnation (11:3-4). Christ is here the Word sent by the Father to the world. Yet his chosen people dishonored him, so instead he became born in the hearts of the saints. Thus, it is not a statement about the Christ, but a statement about the New Israel.
147. Cunliffe-Jones, History of Christian Doctrine (Edinburgh, 1978), p. 27.
148. It is important to note that even the more ethical teachings of the Didache and Barnabas were not intended as didactic lessons on how to walk the straight and narrow. Instead, they illuminate the distinction between the way of life and that of death and exhort the Christian that he should be watchful (Didache 16:1, Barn. 18:1).
149. Grant, The Formation of the New Testament (London, 1965), p. 24.
150. Note the previous discussion of Troeltsch and his followers.
151. Note the Apocalypse of Isaiah, in which Isaiah is sawed in half, Ignatius' images of his martyrdom, and Polycarp's grotesque death.
152. L. W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford, 1961), pp. 111 ff.

153. Kelly, Doctrine, pp. 63 ff.
154. N. H. Baynes, The Early Church and Social Life (London, 1927), p. 8.
155. In the Didache (12:1,2), the Church is commended to beware of the traveling prophets, to test them out in their behaviors. Therefore, it may be inferred that the systatic letter is more credible than the person.
156. The works of the Gnostics and of Hermas are the most notable exceptions.
157. In Poly. Phil. 13:2, Polycarp sends his greetings to accompany the packet of the letters of Ignatius.
158. The extent of correspondence in the second century was amazing. Dionysius wrote to Crete, Greece, Macedonia, and Rome--nine letters in all--leaving the conclusion that the office of the Bishop may not have been that of authority, but of secretarial skills. See P. Nautin, Lettres et Ecrivains Chrétiens des II^e et III^e Siècles (Paris, 1961), pp. 13-32.
159. C. G. Jung, Memories, Dreams, and Reflections (London, 1963), pp. 270 ff.
160. The prevalence of the systatic letter confounds any effort to identify regional origins of Christian theological variations. The local became general very quickly, so quickly and generally as to erase its roots.
161. Regarding the Church's methods for dealing with conflict and strife, note H. J. Carpenter, "Popular Christianity and the Theologians in the Early Centuries", JTS, New Series, XIV (1963), pp. 294-310 (pp. 296-297).
162. Note, for instance, H. Chadwick, "Justification by Faith and Hospitality", SP, IV (1959), pp. 281-285 (pp. 281-284 regarding Clement's use of hospitality for theological truth).
163. Athenagoras, Legatio 11.
164. Contrast the role of the Bishop in I Clem. (43-45), in which the Bishop stands in the role of Moses, elected by the congregation, with that of Ignatius (Eph. 2-5), where the Bishop is the representative person of the holy man.

165. Jalland, op cit., p. 77.
166. Ibid., p. 75. There is no mention of ecclesiastical offices in the Odes of Solomon, written in or near Antioch contemporary with Ignatius (see R. Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, vol. II (Manchester, 1920), pp. 61-69). Nor is there any role of bishop in Theophilus of Antioch (ca. 165), although there is regular reference to the distinct Christian relationships within a congregation (note Ad Autolycus III:11-14).
167. Justin, I Ap. 65.
168. I Clem. 43:1-5.
169. Ibid., 44:3.
170. Ibid., 46:7: "Why do we . . . reach such a pitch of madness as to forget that we are members one of another (ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων).
171. In the Didache (15:1-2), Bishops, teachers, deacons, prophets are linked together; in Hermas (Vis. III:5:1), apostles are added; and in Mart. Poly. (Chapter 16), bishops, prophets, apostles, and teachers are jointly mentioned.
172. Note Hermas' image of the tower (Vis. III:5:1).
173. Hermas Sim. IX:27:2. In I Clem. 1:2, the hospitality of the Corinthian church is jeopardized by conflicts over the bishop. Regarding hospitality as a primary episcopal concern in I Clement, see Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 281ff.
174. A. T. Hanson, The Pioneer Ministry (London, 1961), pp. 108-119.

C. Eastwood, The Royal Priesthood of the Faithful (London, 1963), pp. 56-61.
175. J. J. Taylor, "Eastern Appeals to Rome in the Early Church: A Little-known Witness", Downside Review, 295 (1971), pp. 142-146 (pp. 143f). Indeed, according to Jalland (op. cit., pp. 80-108), Eusebius misunderstood Rome's role in the Paschal controversy. "There is no evidence for self-consciousness of primacy." (p. 124).

176. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament (London, 1962), pp. 22-23.
177. Though Polycarp is often associated with Ignatius, Ignatius' definition of the bishop is not to be found in his writings. He was accorded honor and devotion by his congregation (Mart. Poly. 16 & 19) but did not claim this because of his office so much as by the magnificent example of his person which glorified the Christ (Mart. Poly. 20).
178. Ig. Poly. 6:1.
179. Ig. Smyr. 6:1-2.
180. Ig. Phil. 1:2.
181. Ig. Smyr. 8:1-2; Phil. 4:1, 8:2. Note the excellent discussion in J. D. Zizioulas, "The Eucharistic Community and the Catholicity of the Church", in The New Man: An Orthodox and Reformed Dialogue, edited by J. Meyendorff and J. McLelland (New Brunswick, N. J., 1973), pp. 107-131.
182. Note Ig. Phil. 7:2. The Holy Spirit speaks directly to Ignatius, so that his authority is sanctioned by his prophetic office, not his episcopal office. Note also Ig. Eph. 5:1, in which fellowship with the bishop is likened to the unity of Christ with the Father, "so that all things might be a symphony in unison."
183. Ig. Trall. 1:1: "I saw your whole congregation (τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ὑμῶν)" in the person of the bishop, Polybius. See also Ig. Mag. 1:1; Eph. 1:3, 2:1.
184. Ig. Eph. 5:1-2.
185. Ig. Trall. 1:2.
186. Ig. Poly. 1:2, 6:1.
187. Polycarp was a bishop (Ig. Poly. Proem., Mart. Poly. 16), a teacher (Mart. Poly. 16), a prophet (Mart. Poly. 5), and a martyr. Ignatius was a bishop, a prophet (Ig. Phil. 7:2), and a martyr. Hermas was a prophet (Vis II:1:2, II:4:1) and a presbyter (Vis. II:4:4).
188. Note Didache 4:1-4, I Clem. 21 & 22, Ig. Smyr. 7:1-2, Ig. Eph. 15:1.

189. Regarding the role of the prophet as a phenomenon of early community formation, see G. Theissen, Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity, translated by J. Bowden (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 8-16.
190. The Didache provides the most thorough discussion of the prophet. He must be tested (12:1), join the community (12:4), and be self-supporting (11:5). If authentic, however, he has decisive authority (13:1). Note also Lucian's parasite prophet in Peregrinus 16.
191. According to Theissen (op. cit., pp. 10-12), the marks of the wandering charismatic were homelessness and lack of a family. He was also expected to have a blameless moral life. The prophet's morality was inspired by God (note Didache 11:11).
192. N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin (London, 1927), pp. 47ff.
193. Lods, Précis d'Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne du II^e au Début du IV^e Siècle (Neuchâtel, 1966), pp. 62ff.
194. The use of the Holy Spirit is most clearly developed in Montanism and Gnosticism. In both, the Holy Spirit addressed the individual for purposes of moral or intellectual rigor; there is no congregational participation in the work of the Holy Spirit.
195. See Chapter II.
196. Note II Clem. 14:1-5, in which the Holy Spirit is Christ (τὸ πνεῦμα χριστόν).
197. It is important to note that the Holy Spirit was not regarded as the common experience of Christians. Christ was the commonly shared identity, not the Holy Spirit.
198. P. Brown, The Making of Late Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 66f.

Lods, Confesseurs et Martyrs, pp. 10f.
199. Regarding the position of the martyr, note the Ascension of Isaiah, Ig. Rom. 5:3, 6:1-3.

200. Controversies cited by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hippolytus. See R. Evans, One and Holy (London, 1972).
201. H. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (Oxford, 1972), Chapters 1 & 2.

CHAPTER II

KOINONIA AS IDENTITY IN CHRIST

Introduction

In the previous chapter, it has been asserted that the early Christian writings after the New Testament and before the Apologists and Irenaeus can helpfully be understood by examining the self-reflection of the communities in their koinonia. The expressions of that period indicate widespread communication between scattered congregations into which the primitive apostolic kerygma had called believers to a common life. The issues facing these primitive outposts of the faith were regarded as similar even in diverse cultural settings. The lack of defined theological heritage or authoritative canon, the dangers of syncretism and cultural alienation, the gradual separation from Jewish antecedents,¹ and the struggle for effective structure--all of these issues would dictate a theology which was at the same time pastoral and self-reflective. It was distinctly pastoral in that it addressed the needs for encouragement, nurture, consolation, and congregational solidarity, the cultivation of the community as a vital, comprehensive and healthy organism.

It was also distinctly self-reflective in that, lacking precise models for a fellowship which was regarded by its members as startlingly new and precursory to the very kingdom of God, even commonplace incidents needed to become interpreted in terms of categories implicit in the common faith.²

Early second-century theology could thus be described as a quest for the identity of the Christian. Individual Christians would find that identity only as they reflected on their relationships within the community of the church. For the early Christian, a radical reorientation of all dimensions of life was involved-- religion became coextensive with life itself.³ This resulted in part from an isolation imposed on early Christians by both Pagan and Jewish societies, but it was also the result of radical implications of the kerygmatic Gospel itself. Hence, the identity of the Christian would be developed largely in the fellowship of the church, and this fellowship would be understood in Christological dimensions.

Identity of Persons in Graeco-Roman Culture

To a large extent, this early Christian quest for identity corresponded to a distinct crisis of "failure of nerve" in pagan Graeco-Roman religions and philosophical systems.⁴ The ancient formulae of faith became systematized by a rational, functional, pragmatic criterion

for religious truth. Persons did not worship the ancient Gods, to a large extent they *used* them to respond to situational needs.⁵ Cultural pluralism offered a full range of religious options, but none of them claimed the total allegiance of its adherent. Hence, there was no possibility of anything which can today be called conversion. The ancient religious myths may have illuminated the role of an individual in the cosmic drama, but the response expected was merely fatalistic acceptance of the cosmic powers themselves, not a greater self-conscious participation in the drama. Popular religion became "divorced from means through which it could be realized in an effective sense, incapable of being a dynamic, living force, and of providing a form for society as a whole".⁶ The ancient gods were not dead, they had simply lost contact with the human situation.

The only unifying religious identity of the Graeco-Roman society was the embodiment of that society itself in the genius of the emperor. The authority and power of the emperor alone pervaded the popular mind of the Empire. But this cultic worship was not a form of absolutism and exclusivism; it was rather a deification of fluctuation and pluralism. Nothing might be considered religiously absolute except the spirit of catholicity itself embodied in the emperor, a catholicity which tolerated virtually anything except religious absolutism. The only identity possible for the believer was that of

the cosmopolitan sophisticate, the philosopher-trained man of letters whose social position allowed him to regard himself as the inheritor of the heritage and wisdom of the ancients. For the vast mass of society, religion became progressively more inner, subjective, and redeemer-oriented.⁷ There was little sense of human value, individual worth, or personal spirituality; at best, merely the hope that after death these might be allowed.

Even those few who pursued the faith of the philosopher found themselves with many of the same conclusions. By the year A.D. 100 the scope of the intellect had narrowed so that it was no longer a source of individual enlightenment; it was instead almost entirely ethical, a quest for ethical ideals that might lend a focus or purpose to life.⁸ But the conclusions of this quest were often pessimism, discouragement, and inner confusion, while the identity of the philosopher became that of a roguish, urbane cynic.⁹ Whatever former role philosophy had played in the spiritual struggle for more exalted levels of human understanding, the faith in the intellect was nearly gone, "the salt of the earth had lost its savour".¹⁰ The central question of persons could no longer be answered by rational methods: "What can we do . . . in a night with which we cannot cope?".¹¹ The disheartening quest for a meaningful philosophy which Justin Martyr experienced before his conversion

was repeated throughout in the experience of the cultured élite.¹²

It was, however, with the "small man" in antiquity that the spiritual malaise was most conspicuous. Deprived of distinct cultural roots in an increasingly pluralistic society, the lower classes were virtual strangers to the world they inhabited. They were oppressed by a sense of powerlessness, not just a powerlessness in economic and political self-determination, but a sober and serious-minded fatalism in which the individual was unable to identify meaning or identity. "The small man in antiquity suffered from a marked feeling of inferiority and from a pathetic desire for self-assertion, of which the epitaphs supply abundant illustration."¹³

Recent studies in the cultural situation of early Christianity have defined pagan religious attitudes with contrasting language. E. R. Dodds (1965)¹⁴ speaks of an "age of anxiety" in which the individual was left bankrupt of his religious and philosophical heritage, resulting in a psychologically defined condition of loneliness, namelessness, and ennui. Life was fragmented, with little orientation provided by which a person might define or value his religious experience as integral to daily existence. Peter Brown, on the other hand,¹⁵ complemented Dodds's understanding, saying that we cannot attribute to Roman society modern problems

of loneliness, urbanization, and deculturation. "If anything, claustrophobia and the tension of living in a face-to-face society, not loneliness and rootlessness, are the *Leitmotifs* of the typically late antique forms of being unhappy."¹⁶ Instead of psychological definitions, Brown describes the process by which, in the second and third centuries, a new concept of the locus of divine power and presence became popular among the masses. By becoming a "friend of God", the holy person brought God's power to persons in the midst of their struggles. Access to God's power raised a person above the identity which he shared with the nameless masses.¹⁷ Christianity was one of several alternatives which responded to this fundamental conceptual reorientation.

Whatever the popular cultural condition may have been, described psychologically, conceptually, or sociologically,¹⁸ there was an individual discontent with traditional religious formulae. They were unable to give distinct and unique meanings to a person's life and they failed to create a sense of corporate identity within the pluralistic society. Whether claustrophobic, alienated and lonely, or disenfranchised, the man of the masses found himself unable to characterize his life as sacred, self-controlled, or valued. Furthermore, he regarded his relationships with others in the society as, at best, a problematic necessity.¹⁹

The distance between the master and the masses, the patron of sophisticated culture and the dependent, constituted two separate worlds. The poor of both rural areas and towns were suspicious, defensive, and a "pitiful organism".²⁰ Although the upper classes occasionally noticed the condition of the masses, they were paralyzed in any efforts to change social structures or respond to human suffering. Instead, the dominant attitude was conservative if not fatalistic. To change the situation was regarded by peasant and urban poor, as well as the powerful and rich, as a threat.²¹ For the poor, change was a threat which promised only reprisals and greater social division. For the rich, it jeopardized the future of their preferred position. Both rich and poor, rural and urban, educated and illiterate, were bound together in terror of innovation, social integration, or a sense of community initiative. The pleasures of life were not derived from life itself, daily events, or social relationships. Instead, pleasure (as well as religion) was derived from life's distractions, the sumptuous banquet of the rich or the gladiatorial show of the poor.²² The real world, the daily commerce and industry, the events and relationships that give value or purpose to the person's life, was held in polite contempt by the upper classes²³ and in suspicious fear by the lower.

Identity of Persons in Jewish Culture

For the Jew, a person's identity within the historic family of the people of God embraced all dimensions of life. He was, above all, a member of the Jewish ghetto. And by virtue of this identity, he was given political legitimacy,²⁴ economic security,²⁵ social corporateness, and individual self-worth. His was the only separatist society permitted by the Romans--a separation the Jew would constantly impose upon himself. A Jew paid a special tax which allowed him to live as a Jew. The political problems that emerged for the Jew after A.D. 70 were not the results of Jewish integration with the Gentile community, or from Jewish refusal to worship the genius of the Emperor; they resulted from Jewish proselytism in which pagans were urged to adopt a Jewish life of separation and exclusivism.²⁶ The more intense those political problems became, however, the more rigorously the Jew would withdraw into his separatistic cultural identity.

Long before the destruction of Jerusalem--A.D. 69-70--Hellenizing elements within Judaism had translated its sacred writings into Greek and attempted to define the faith in Hellenistic philosophical categories; but these excursions into the Gentile world would be inherited by Christianity, not Judaism, for the destruction of the temple "resulted in a violent upheaval in the

inner life of the Jewish people".²⁷ The four-hundred-year-old process of Greek adaptation came to a close, the image of Jerusalem and its temple were replaced by the Torah as the central authority of religious life, and the Sadducean power which had been held by the Sanhedrin was succeeded by the Pharisees and rabbis gathered at Jamnia.²⁸ Although their interpretive methods would remain largely Greek,²⁹ succeeding generations of Jews would seek to purge the faithful remnant of its faithless compromise of the Torah. The Torah became the focus of all studies regarding civil law, social structures, religious statutes--even the topography of the much-awaited rebuilt temple and the daily schedule of the priest's duties there. Yet this religious zeal was less theological than political. There was little sense of theological uniformity or confessional unity. Judaism was above all a cultural identity bestowed upon the chosen people by God's act of giving and preserving the Torah.³⁰

As Jewish solidarity was increasingly centered on a devotion to the Torah, the diaspora Jew became more isolated from the pagan community in which he lived. The isolation caused suspicions leading to persecution--the persecution increased Jewish sentiments of divine self-identity--this identity became in turn increasingly resolute in its alienation from pagan society. Hence, the Jewish communities fueled ever more explosive fires

in their zeal for the Law.

Quand les polémistes païens assimilent le monothéisme juif à l'athéisme, le grief n'a qu'une portée assez théorique. Ce qu'on incrimine en effet, ce n'est pas tant la croyance, si étrange qu'elle paraisse, c'est le comportement qu'elle détermine, c'est la Loi et sa vertu isolante. En serrant la vie quotidienne des Juifs dans le réseau des observances, la Loi les place en marge de la société, hors de la règle commune, comme un groupement solidaire dans tous ses membres dispersés, totalement irréductible, exclusif, ennemi du genre humain.³¹

During the continuing struggles for Jewish autonomy, the ideal of martyrdom portrayed in IV Maccabees further reinforced the zealous millennialism. The great day of the Lord, the Sabbath fulfillment of the kingdom of God, would be introduced by righteous adherence to the Torah and the sacrificial blood of the faithful. Conflicts in Syria in A.D. 95-96 under Domitian, A.D. 115-17 in Egypt, Cypria, and Cyrene under Trojan, and virtually continuous unrest in both Alexandria and Jerusalem culminated in the great revolt of A.D. 132-35 by Bar Kochba. Hailed as the true Messiah, Bar Kochba led a desperate revolt against Romans, Christians, and fellow Jews who remained passive to him. The war was provoked by Hadrian's edicts forbidding circumcision and ordering the rebuilding of

Jerusalem as a pagan city--the final indignity to the already isolated and explosively angry Jew.

The revolt was brutally crushed by Hadrian. In spite of sporadic guerilla reprisals, Rome exacted a devastating toll. Thousands of Jews were martyred. Yet the most disastrous defeat would be the sanctions imposed against Jewish identity. Jews would be forbidden access to Jerusalem until the fourth century; Sabbath observations were forbidden, together with rites of circumcision and purification. The early Christian community had every reason to believe that Judaism faced imminent extermination.³² What remained of Judaism retreated from any public contact with either Christian or pagan. The Torah would be preserved and the Mishnah developed as the basis of a closed ghetto-community. "Jews became complete strangers in the Gentile world",³³ seldom addressing that world in Jewish garb.

The crushing of the Bar Kochba revolt did not simply mean the death of Jewish nationalism and political autonomy; it destroyed further Jewish intercourse with Christians and Gentiles. Jewish Hellenistic philosophy would be disallowed; Philo and his school would become inherited by the Christians, not the Jew. Similarly, the Christian would inherit the Septuagint, while the Jew would revert to using the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

Jews ceased from any proselytizing, and even recently converted Gentiles were spurned from the synagogues. Any public display of faith was discouraged by the Jews themselves, so that the ideal of the witness-bearing martyr of IV Maccabees was no longer allowed. Each of these elements--the use of Gentile language and thought forms, the public testimony of the faithful community, the witness of the martyr, and the concern for the Law as a public witness rather than a private ideal of devotion--had become essential elements of the life of a Christian community. Yet the reasons for the Christian adoption of these elements were practical rather than theological, having more to do with the life of the community as it perceived its image in the world than with the confession of the faith of the community. For example, the martyr's model of self-denial and self-abnegation was not prescribed as integral to the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, as was the case for the Jewish martyr. Instead, the martyr bore witness to the Christ whose suffering and death ushered God's kingdom to earth. God's kingdom would certainly come without the martyr's sacrifice, yet by his death the martyr could reassert Christ's sacrifice as an example to the community of its life together and as a witness to the world of the salvation which comes in Christ's death and resurrection.

The Radical Identity of the Christian Individual

The Graeco-Roman concern for a pluralistic society united in the genius of the Emperor, intolerant of intolerance itself, of separatism, exclusivism, and innovation, coupled with the religious yearnings of the mass of threatened and despised lower classes, would contribute to the early Christian's "crisis of identity". He could not reconcile his common faith and life with the current expectations of society regarding religious matters. His was not only viewed as a new religion, but as an innovative destroyer of previously-accepted definitions of religion. At the same time, the disengagement of the church from the synagogue heightened the Christian's crisis of identity. Many of the very elements of Judaism which were most important to Christian community-identity were being discarded by the parent Judaism.³⁴ Although Christians viewed themselves as the true heirs of the message of Moses to the prophets, an historic identity which was essential to their message, they nonetheless needed to distinguish themselves from Judaism's return to its Semitic roots. Problems of innovation and historic continuity would not be easily resolved. The Christians were regarded both as separatists by the pagans and syncretists by the Jews, and this alternative too would create continuing anxiety among the Christians themselves. In their self-reflection, they were not

only aware of the need for a sense of shared identity in their common faith and life; they were also aware of problems which both Gentile and Jewish models of religious identity presented.

"Identity" is a self-awareness that a "positive picture of a group is constructed on the basis of an adequate consensus and is balanced with the picture of other groups which has been arrived at".³⁵ This consensus includes socio-cultural factors of values, norms, and traditions which are shared by the group and are expressed by all of the group's social interconnections.³⁶ Early Christianity was unique in the extent of the social interconnections and implications expected of those who identified themselves as Christian. Identity can also be regarded as an individual's reflection on his participation in a certain ethos of a group or society. "Concern for ethos orients us to communities and institutions and sees individuals in relation to them. Ethos is a Gestalt term, gathering up into itself the practices and habits, assumptions, problems, values and hopes of a community's style."³⁷ To understand identity in this sense is to strive to be as holistic as possible, but not so broad as to include the culture itself. For the identity of early Christians was that derived from their common ethos, as well as their interactions with the culture, interactions which might be a complement to the culture as well as a reaction to it.³⁸ In fact, given the

tensions which existed between Christians and the larger society, the explicit comments made by early church leaders about non-Christians are remarkably free from reactive condemnation.³⁹ Even in the cases of the Jewish cultural environments, such as Palestine or Alexandria, the reactive element of Christian identity is difficult to distinguish. The ethos of the loving self-sacrifice was more persuasive in forming the identity of Christians than was their reaction to a hostile and suppressive culture. So although the early Christian search for identity was shared in part by the Jewish and Gentile world and even imposed by those cultures by repression and alienation, it was even more implicit within the radical statements of the primitive kerygma.⁴⁰

This need for identity is best described by Christians as they reflect on their condition prior to conversion or on the state of those outside their fellowship. In the so-called Second Letter of Clement, the state of the unconverted is graphically described:

We were maimed in our understanding, worshiping stone, and wood, and gold, and silver, and copper, the works of men, and our life was nothing else than death. We were covered with darkness, and our eyes were full of mists; but we have received our sight, and by his will we have cast off the cloud which covered us For he called us when we were not, and it was his will

that of our nothing we should come to being.⁴¹

It is important to note that this is not only descriptive of the salvation which came in Christ, but of a metamorphosis that occurred in the way a Christian reflected on his old and new self. The process of salvation, with its component elements of divine grace and human assent and participation, is not of concern here. Instead, the Homily addresses the transfiguration of man which is effected by the salvation which is in Christ. Nor is Clement describing a process of sanctification by which a Christian proceeds to grow in faith or holiness. The stark contrasts of death and life, darkness and light, non-being and existence, emptiness and fullness, illustrate the radical new definition the Christian had of himself.⁴²

His identity in Christ led him to view the wisdom of both Jew and Gentile as "tombstones and sepulchres of the dead, on whom only the names of men are written",⁴³ corpses with epitaphs affixed. The Christian abandoned the utter "emptiness of the masses",⁴⁴ the *ματαίωσις* which is under the domination of the "Black One".⁴⁵ The beliefs and customs which deceived the masses were thrown aside, cleared away so that one might "become as a new person from the beginning".⁴⁶ Though often expressed as the "third race", a concept to which reference will later be brought, Christians saw non-Christian life as virtual non-existence rather than alternative existence. Such an

understanding of the human condition and identity by Christians is remarkably like that of Stoics such as Marcus Aurelius who, although he perceived the true existence in philosophy, continually bemoaned man's plight:

Of man's life, his time is a point, his existence a flux, his sensation clouded, his body's entire composition corruptible, his vital spirit an eddy of breath, his fortune hard to predict, his fame uncertain. Briefly, all the things of the body, a river; all the things of the spirit, dream and delirium.⁴⁷

The non-being of those who do not know Christ is most fully explored by works which are often considered Gnostic or Proto-Gnostic.⁴⁸ The primordial nature of man is cosmologically developed. Man exists in the mind of the Father, but he is called into existence only by becoming Christian:

If he wishes, whomsoever He wishes He makes manifest, giving form to him And He is want to give name to him and causes this: that they become. They who have not yet become are a-Gnostic of Him who produced them.⁴⁹

Until a person has been granted full existence, he lives in the illusion that he exists, a dreamlike state of



mistaken reality. "For he who has no root also has no fruit, but thinking of himself 'I have come to be' he will perish of himself."⁵⁰ "There were many delusions by which they were bewitched, and inane follies, as if they had been put to sleep and been found by troubling dreams."⁵¹ Although the non-Christian may catch glimpses of his non-existence, the extent of his identity can only be appreciated by those who know the contrast of non-life with life.⁵² We do not become human until we see our true humanity reflected in the face of Christ; and it is only in the light of that reflection that a man may know his former formlessness. As the hymnist in the Odes of Solomon describes the radical alternative,

Behold, the Lord is our mirror:

Open your eyes and see them in him [in Christ]

And learn the manner of your own face.⁵³

In retrospect, the newly-converted Christian viewed his former identity as "a being characterized by an animate mold".⁵⁴

It has been correctly observed by M  nard that early Gnosticism is characterized by an intense quest for self-knowledge.⁵⁵ There is certainly a metaphysical knowledge of God which is attained by introversion; and from this gnosis, man sees his true condition. "L'  me doit retrouver son «moi» authentique."⁵⁶ The knowledge of faith is a "re-connaissance", a certain

"palingénésie".⁵⁷ It will be demonstrated in Chapter IV that the early Gnostic sense of knowledge of self became an individual and private matter, whereas the more catholic expressions of the human condition would be shared in the fellowship of the faithful. Yet both early Gnostic and more catholic writers were motivated by the same quest to define non-Christian and Christian life in glaring polarities of non-existence and existence, death and life; and in these polarities the radical transformation of human identity was portrayed. The non-Christian is a non-person. Although pagan and Jewish reflection realized vague impressions of this, only the Christian understood its desperate truth.

It is important to note in this regard that this reflection on radical Christian identity is not here dealing with a theological statement of original sin, although it certainly anticipates that later development. Nor is it presenting a consistent Christian anthropology. As N. P. Williams has indicated in his unrivaled study, *Idea of the Fall and Original Sin*,⁵⁸ there is little Sub-Apostolic reference to original sin and no development of a consistent Christian anthropology. The alternative Jewish perspectives of the Adamic fall and original sin compared with the "evil imagination" both find expression in the literature here considered, yet neither is theologically developed.⁵⁹ This will be explored in Chapter IV, particularly as it relates to

the problems the early Christian community faced in dealing with rigorism. At this point, however, it is sufficient to observe that the fundamental transformation of human identity which marked the Christian's view of himself was not theological. It was instead morphological, illustrated by Christ's transfiguration and resurrection.⁶⁰ The concentration is not on the nature of man, but on the dramatic contrast between non-man and man. Human identity is not defined apart from Christ--apart from Christ, there is no identity about which to speculate.

A host of common expressions and concerns are based on this fundamental distinction of identity. These concerns of the early church are often regarded as the result of Judaizing influences,⁶¹ and indeed they are expressed in Jewish thought forms; yet they do not arise from a concern for legalism, but from a concern for identity. They were not unlike the concern which led to Jewish separatism; yet the unique Christian identity resulted from a transformation which occurred in a person's life rather than a distinction between himself and other races or peoples. This transformation, whether due to divine election or individual choice,⁶² so altered a Christian's self-regard that he could no longer identify with the non-Christian mass. He was a sojourner,⁶³ an alien in a foreign land,⁶⁴ of different substance⁶⁵ from the rest of humanity. The

Jew was unique because his people preserved the Torah; the Christian was unique because he had been transformed to become a person. Hence, the terms used to define Christian identity, although similar to those of the Jew in their concern for uniqueness and separatism, would gradually become increasingly divergent as the Jew became identified with the Torah and the Christian with the "new life".

Expressions of Radical Christian Identity. A number of common expressions in the literature of this period are based on this understanding of Christian identity. Generally speaking, any phrase which suggests a radical alteration (if it be by grace) or alternative (if it be by choice) is based on Christian identity in distinction from non-Christian non-identity. Certainly central to this is the use of the word *μετάνοια* and its correlative *μετανοέω*. Though they occasionally refer to moral repentance and regret for sins,⁶⁶ the overwhelming majority of citations refer to a change of life, the beginning of a new life. The death of Christ brought salvation and "the grace of repentance to all the world".⁶⁷ Repentance is here contrasted to death, using the examples of Noah and Jonah, for the Lord does "not desire the death of the sinner so much as his repentance".⁶⁸ In *Hermas*, the shepherd is the angel of repentance, sent to give understanding, "so that I might know what I must do to live".⁶⁹

By repentance, we are led from the slavery to death into the eternal temple.⁷⁰ Even the unconverted live in the "hope of repentance", for with repentance comes the purity and moderation of Jesus Christ.⁷¹ When Polycarp was commanded to repent of his faith and swear by the genius of Caesar, he responded that "repentance from the more exalted to the worse is impossible for us Christians".⁷² Once a person has become human, he cannot revert to his former condition.⁷³ The greatest danger to Christian identity was regarded as διψυχία--double-mindedness. It could be the result of sin or doubt,⁷⁴ but was usually associated with the need for repentance,⁷⁵ and resulted from not being fully alive (διψυχόι εισιν οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσιν οὔτε τεθνῆκασιν).⁷⁶ Those who succumb to double-mindedness deny their own life.⁷⁷ It is associated with an "inner disunity of the heart",⁷⁸ a condition in which the life-principle has disintegrated.

The radical alternative of Christian identity and non-Christian non-identity also informs the understanding of the early Christian theology of the "two ways". This common catechetical material will be considered in later chapters, since it was a resource for the ethics of Christian relationships within the community. For present purposes, however, it too must be identified as an expression of the radical alternatives the Christian knew.⁷⁹ There was no *via media*, or even the hint of the

slightest deviation. The alternative of life, light, identity, fullness, birth, humanness, etc., cannot be compromised by contrasting behavior. And the two ways, where they are described, are introduced with stark contrasts of life and death. "There are two ways, one of Life and one of Death, and there is a great difference between the two ways."⁸⁰ "There are two ways of teaching and power, one of Light and one of Darkness. And there is a great difference between the two ways."⁸¹ In *Hermas*, the alternative is between the angel of righteousness and the angel of wickedness.⁸² "For they relate to the righteous and the unrighteous That which is righteous has a straight path, but the unrighteous one has a crooked",⁸³ and a person cannot be directed by both. Either he goes the path of death and darkness or that of life and light. This distinction of two totally exclusive ways is variously expressed and forms the basis of early Christian ethics and/or legalism. Even though the theology of the two ways is derived from Jewish legalism antecedents, it is employed to demonstrate the radical distinction between Christian identity and non-Christian non-identity.

Christological Dimensions of Radical Christian Identity

For the early Christian, the quest for identity was resolved in Christ. A believer became a person, human, alive, and full of light and knowledge, when he became

Christ-like. The identity of Christ became the identity of Christians. Man is regarded as redeemed as a new creation in Christ; he is transformed from non-existence to the very image and likeness of Christ. The name of Christ became his name, the sign of Christ (the cross) became his sign, the very life of Christ became his life. He regarded his identity as defined only $\epsilon\nu\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, which meant he possessed "the presence of a new constituent element in personality".⁸⁴ This identity the believer found in Christ was more than simply a matter of regarding Christ as a model for behavior or an object lesson in divine purpose, to be studied, loved, and followed. In his comprehensive study of the atonement, Moberly has captured the depth of the believer's identity in Christ.

It is not by becoming like him that men will approach towards incorporation with him; but by the result of incorporation with him, received as a gift, and in faith adored, *and used*, that they will become like him. It is by the imparted gift, itself more than natural, of literal membership in him; by the indwelling presence, the gradually disciplining and dominating influence, of his Spirit--which is his very self within, and as the inmost breath of our most secret being; that the power of his atoning life and death, which is

the power of divinely victorious holiness, can grow to be the very deepest reality of ourselves . . . It is only by incorporation to the reality of our identification with him that we ever attain to that true sovereign freedom and insight and love which are the essential truth of personality, the consummation of the meaning of ourselves.⁸⁵

Resources for this sense of total identity are most profoundly Pauline. M. D. Hooker has described this Pauline transformation of human personality in Christ as an "interchange".⁸⁶ Christ and man exchange roles so that Christ became what we are in order that we might become what he is. Christ became "Adam", the original and true image of God; and the renewal of that "Adam" in us is effected in Christ. This interchange of persons takes place, as Hooker further understands Paul, within Christ himself. Incarnation and crucifixion are held together in a total work of God in Christ,⁸⁷ so that the cross is both Christ's work and simultaneously the incarnation of Christ in the believer. To be found in Christ is to have the righteousness of God instead of that of the Law; it is to possess the power of his resurrection and the communion of his sufferings. Ethics to Paul could be summarized, "be what you are",⁸⁸ fulfill the life you now have in Christ. This Pauline

sense of interchange was that which informed the unique Christological concern of the early second century. Other corollary Pauline themes, though central to Paul's thought, are vaguely delineated in the early second century.

The historical Jesus of the Gospels is certainly represented, yet he is vague and indistinct in his relation to the spiritual Christ.⁸⁹ No life of Jesus could be written based on early second century sources. At the same time, no systematic Christology could be written.⁹⁰ Jesus is seldom described by historical events of his life (except crucifixion and resurrection), and Christ is seldom regarded in theological abstractions. Jesus Christ is portrayed most vividly as indistinguishable from the approximation of him in the life of the believer. Hence, early second-century Christology is not *περὶ χριστοῦ*, but *περὶ τῶν ἐν χριστῷ ἀνθρώπων*. It is soteriology, not as a process of salvation, but as a nature of the Savior-saved, the identity of those who are saved by Christ. Christ and the believers form one person; what happens to Christ happens to them, what defines Christ defines them, the savior and the saved form one inclusive personality.⁹¹ Reflection on Christ is often indistinguishable from self-reflection, and self-reflection invariably points the believer to Christ or his image in the world or the history of his people.⁹²

The catechetical works of Barnabas and the Didache

present this salvation identity in terms which are more limitedly ethical. The image of Christ which is now our new life is the same as that which was given to Moses, except that Moses's covenant of tables of stone has been surpassed by the "covenant of Jesus the beloved", which is "sealed in our hearts in hope".⁹³ The purpose of Christ's atonement is thus "to fulfill the promise made to the fathers, that he himself might show for himself the new people he has prepared on the earth".⁹⁴ Christ has thus "redeemed us from darkness"⁹⁵ and "when we received the remission of sins, and put our hope on the Name, we became new, being created again from the beginning (πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι); wherefore God truly dwells in us, in the habitation (ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ) where we are For he who desires to be saved looks not at the man, but at him who dwells and speaks in him, and is amazed at him, for he has never either heard him speak such words with his mouth, nor has he himself ever desired to hear them."⁹⁶ This holy name of Christ is made the "tabernacle in (κατασκηνοῖν) our hearts".⁹⁷ The heart is here regarded as the seat of physical, spiritual, and mental life, the most inclusive term for describing "the place in man at which God bears witness to himself".⁹⁸

There are two elements to consider as the basis of the catechetical ethic. In the first place, Christ occupies the life of the Christian, his salvation resides

within a person's whole identity. At the same time, the life of the Christian is being re-constituted.

Since then he made us new by the remission of sins he made us another type (τύπος), that we should have the soul of children, as though he were creating us again. For it is concerning us [Christians] that the scripture says that he says to the Son, 'Let us make man after our image and likeness' Again I will show you how he has spoken to us. In the last days he made a second creation; and the Lord says 'See, I make the last things as the first.'⁹⁹

The transformation Barnabas describes is one which radically alters the basic core of human life: "I will take out from them the hearts of stone and I will put in hearts of flesh."¹⁰⁰ The restructuring of mankind will take place at man's heart, so that a man's life will betray the pattern of his inner Christ. These two themes demonstrate the tension which marked Christian life. Christ's residence in the heart of the believer made of him a new person, redeemed and holy. Yet the Christian is also being remade in the type of Christ, a construction which is not yet completed. Hence, the ethical concern of Barnabas is that evil thoughts and behaviors should not destroy the building before the finishing touches are completed. This is

reinforced by Barnabas' frequent references to hope: "I am above all constrained to this, to love you above my own life, because great faith and love dwell in you in the hope of his [Christ's] life."¹⁰¹ This "hope of life is the beginning and the end of our faith".¹⁰² The strong Jewish ethical legalism which characterizes Barnabas and the Didache is rooted in this tension between the realized Christ-self-image and the futurist Christ-self-image. Far from being incompatible or obversive, both the resident Christ and the unfinished image of Christ mark the identity of the Christian and prescribe his ethics. The Christian who possesses Christ must strive to fulfill that resident Christ in his worship, his charity, and all his behavior.¹⁰³

The Shepherd of Hermas is very much like Barnabas and the Didache in its concerns for a unique Christian life. Hermas is granted a vision of Christ so that he might urgently denounce men's evils and $\delta\iota\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha$, demanding repentance that fulfills God's building of his kingdom. In this basic purpose, Hermas is more anxious to exhort Christians to a repentance which will merit a new life in Christ than he is to define that life itself. The purposes of Hermas do not allow precise comparisons with Barnabas and the Didache to be made. Yet the radical dualism of life for the repentant Christian and death for everyone else is maintained. "For before a man bears the name of the Son of God, he is dead. But

when he receives the seal, he puts away mortality and receives life."¹⁰⁴ This is so for those who are double-minded as well: "Such men (the διψυχοί) are neither alive nor dead; they will only be able to live if they repent quickly, but if they do not repent they have already been given over to the women who take away their life."¹⁰⁵ The self-conscious identity of the Christian, attained through purity and self-abnegation, remains of central concern in the face of death, darkness, duplicity, and abandonment.¹⁰⁶ Hermas's central concern is to provide a "*Kanon des neuen Lebens*",¹⁰⁷ stated most succinctly in the fifth Vision:

So I wrote the commandments and parables as he (the Shepherd, i.e., Christ) commanded me. If then you hear and keep them, and walk in them, and do them with a pure heart, you shall receive from the Lord all that he promised you; but if you hear them and do not repent, but continue to add to your sins, you shall receive the contrary from the Lord. All these things the shepherd commanded me to write thus, for he is the messenger of the new life.¹⁰⁸

(ἀγγελος τῆς μετανοίας)

The new life of the Christian is also described in Hermas, as in Barnabas and the Didache, as the result of Christ's habitation of the heart. "If they repent he enters into their hearts."¹⁰⁹ By one's demonstration

of the love of the truth of God, "the Lord who dwells in you will be glorified".¹¹⁰ The heart which is occupied by Christ (or his Spirit) cannot tolerate being crowded by evil-tempered spirits. "Whenever all these spirits dwell in one vessel, where also dwells the holy spirit, that vessel does not hold them, but overflows. So the delicate Spirit . . . leaves such a man."¹¹¹ "So you who are empty and vacillating in the faith, put the Lord into your heart" ¹¹²

Hermas, however, represents the identity of a Christian in Christ in ways which contrast sharply with other early second-century writers. In the first place, the Christ occupying and defining a person's life is not perceived by Hermas in visual images (seeing, beholding as a τύπος, illuminating, revealing as a μορφή, etc.), as was the case in Barnabas and the Didache, and will be evermore evident in I Clement, Ignatius, and the Odes of Solomon. Instead, he is perceived by auditory images: he is listened to, heard, and his revelations are of ἀλήθεια. Even though the visions of Hermas are symbolic and graphic, they are nonetheless intended to convey commandments which are heard, understood, and obeyed.¹¹³ "All these things which have been written above I, the shepherd, have declared and spoken to the servants of God. If then you shall believe and shall listen to my words and shall walk in them, and shall correct your ways,

you shall be able to live."¹¹⁴ The difference between these visual and auditory languages may seem subtle, yet it distinctly alters the identity a Christian has of himself in Christ. In other second-century authors, a Christian's whole person is radically recreated in the fullness of Christ, and Christ's incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection are relived in his experience of life. Self-reflection is thus Christ-reflection. For Hermas, self-reflection is merely listening to one's conscience. Insofar as Christ is the revealer of the commandments of God, self-reflection is a reflection on Christ; identity in Christ is only possible when seen as ethical purity. The tension which exists in Barnabas and the Didache between the realized Christ-self-image and the futurist Christ-self-image, to which reference has already been made, does not exist in Hermas. There is no process by which Christ becomes increasingly fulfilled in a person's life. There is a future eschaton, but it is reserved for those who are already totally pure; and its delay is meant to complete the number of those who are saved in Christ.¹¹⁵ Hermas concedes the possibility that a Christian may fall from his identity in Christ's commandments (but only once);¹¹⁶ otherwise, the baptized Christian is totally transformed, not into the person of Christ, but into the commandments of Christ. The identity which is developed by a Christian's self-reflection is, for Hermas, an identity based on

the purity of Christ, a purity which is defined verbally rather than morphologically.

In the second place, corresponding to Hermas's more limited sense of Christian identity, the identity of Christ is also circumscribed by an intense concern for total purity. It has been demonstrated that there is, properly speaking, no such thing as a Christology in Hermas.¹¹⁷ Numerous studies have described his as a spirit-Christology, wisdom-Christology, nomos-Christology, and angel-Christology.¹¹⁸ These several aspects of Hermas' Christology all relate, however, to Christ's central task of communicating the commandments of God. The identity of Christ is most profoundly encountered as God's agent for transmitting the commandments which alone lead to purity and salvation. Hence, the identity of the Christian is based on whether he "heard" and "obeyed". The interchange of personality between the believer and Christ is no longer defined in terms of being born, suffering, dying, and rising again; it is a more static reduplication of God's constant mandate for purity. The commandments of God are the foundation of life; Christ is a rock; and on this rock, stones representing purified Christians are being built into a tower.¹¹⁹ Because of this static definition of Christ and of the identity of believers in Christ, there is in Hermas little sense of a Christian's life as an imitation of

Christ. Christians are not urged to reduplicate Christ's life on Earth, only to obey his commands for purity leading to salvation. This underscores Hermas's lack of visual images of Christian identity. It is for these reasons that when an understanding of primitive Christian koinonia is later sought, Hermas is the most deficient source.

It is another Roman, perhaps, if we accept Hermas's testimony, a contemporary to Hermas,¹²⁰ who most demonstrates the visual images of the identity of the Christian in Christ. In I Clement, the ethical concern which has dominated those who have been considered thus far is mitigated by his central concern to respond to problems within the Corinthian congregation. With a wealth of visual images, I Clement describes the transformation of the Christian $\epsilon\nu\ \eta$ [sc. $\eta\ \delta\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$] $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \eta\mu\omega\nu,\ \text{Ἰησοῦν}\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\nu$. . .¹²¹ In Christ, the Christian sees with new vision.

Through ($\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$) him we fix our gaze on the heights of heaven, through him we see the reflection of his faultless and lofty countenance, through him the eyes of our hearts are opened, through him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms towards the light, . . . for it is written, 'He makes his angels to be spirits and his servants

to be a flame of fire.' "¹²²

Indeed the believer is virtually identical to an angel, "sharing with angels in his great and glorious promises. For he says, 'Eye has not seen nor ear heard nor has there entered into the heart of man, what things he has prepared for those who patiently wait for him.' "¹²³ Without Christ, "there was no shape before my eyes (μορφή)",¹²⁴ and life was characterized by darkness and death. But in Christ, the eyes of our hearts have been opened--and by their opening we see him who is our redeemer and creator as well as ourselves¹²⁵ in holiness and honor.

Although no single image in I Clement fully describes the Christian's identity in Christ, it is as if a person literally occupied Christ's body. Somewhat different from Christ's inhabitation of man, as has been mentioned elsewhere, I Clement describes the Christian as if he were enclosed, clothed, resident within Christ. Christ surrounds the believer so that, when the eyes of Christ are opened, the world can be viewed properly and light is also cast on the believer to allow him to be seen through the eyes of Christ. "Let us fix our gaze on (εἰς) the blood of Christ . . . it was poured out for our salvation and brought the grace of new life to all the world. Let us see what is good and pleasing and acceptable in the

vision (^Jἐνὸπλιον) of our maker."¹²⁶ Clement praises the Cornithian congregation for the profundity and the richness of its faith and life, for "you kept his sufferings before your eyes".¹²⁷ The eye which is focused on Christ is itself illuminated by what it sees.

For he [Christ] says in one place: 'The Spirit of the Lord is a lamp searching the inward parts.'
 Let us see how near he is, that nothing escapes him of our thoughts or of the devices which we make
 For he is the searcher of thoughts and desires; his breath is in us, and when he will he shall take it away.¹²⁸

This indwelling Christ, furthermore, is continually at work, not only focusing the vision of the faithful, but also uniting the faithful into closer unity which represents his whole body.¹²⁹ The indwelling Christ causes us to "gaze with the eyes of our heart on his long-suffering purpose"¹³⁰ and the pursuit of those purposes continues to reinforce the believer's life in Christ. To live in Christ is to live in love: "In love did the Master receive us; for the sake of the love which he had toward us did Jesus Christ our Lord give his blood by the will of God for us, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our souls (. . . καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν).¹³¹ The identity of Christ is, for Clement, inconceivable apart from his transforming work of

salvation in the life of the Christian.¹³²

If the identity of a Christian is now defined by Christ, it is in the letters of Ignatius that the identity of Christ is most singularly defined. For it is in the cross of Christ, the moment of the crucifixion, that the whole life of a Christian takes place.¹³³ Through the cross of Christ, the faithful have for the first time participated in real life. The immediate suffering of Ignatius at the hands of his captors, his painful reflection on his troubled congregations, and his imminent death of martyrdom encourage this cross-centered perspective of Christian identity. Christians appear as "branches of the cross [their fruit being incorruptible] by which through his Passion he calls you who are his limb."¹³⁴ For Jesus Christ is our undivided life (τὸ ἀδιάρκιστον ἡμῶν ζῆν).¹³⁵ Christ is spoken of as "though he were dwelling in us, that we may be his temples and he might be our God in us."¹³⁶ But it is always against the shadow of the cross that his life is most vividly in us:

Just as there are two coinages, the one of God, the other of the world, and each has its own stamp impressed on it, so the unbelievers bear the stamp of this world, and the believers the stamp of God the father in love through Jesus Christ, and unless we have the free choice to die in his passion, his life

is not in us.¹³⁷

Ignatius, together with other early second-century martyrs, develops in this regard a theology of martyrdom which will be addressed later in this chapter. Suffice it to note for the present that in Ignatius, the identity of a Christian is confirmed by his participation in the new life of Christ's death.¹³⁸

This participation of a believer in the death of Christ provides a certain sacramental transformation of Christ's life into his own:

I have no pleasure in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ . . . and for drink I desire his blood, which is incorruptible love. I no longer desire to live after the manner of men ¹³⁹

By participation in the Eucharist, the Christian relives both Christ's death and his baptism into that death.¹⁴⁰ For in that death, he is granted life. Henceforth, sacramentally, the Christian lives the life of Jesus. "I pray that there may be a union (ένωσιν) of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our everlasting life."¹⁴² This unity is maintained in the life of the church; it is urged to "be careful therefore to use one Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one

cup for union with his blood)." ¹⁴³ Christian participation in the Eucharist is not only an assertion of the corporate union of the community in Christ, it is also an assertion of the whole person united with the whole Christ. Just as at his saving death the whole of Christ was sacrificially offered, body, blood, soul, and spirit, so also in the eucharist the whole of a believer's life is made new in his sacrifice.

The ^Jαγαπή-feast is the cultic expression in Ignatius of the ^Jαγαπή which marks the life of a Christian in Christ. Love is itself the presence of Christ in us. ¹⁴⁴ As God has given his beloved son to be the evidence of his love, so by Christ's love is the true work of God known among his people. By living lives of love, we know we have Jesus Christ in ourselves, and we recognize him in the lives of others. In this reduplication of Christ's life of love, a life which is of God, "Les Chrétiens sont des 'théophores', des 'Christophères'. C'est cette immanence de Dieu qui commande toute la vie des Chrétiens." ¹⁴⁵ As I Clement noted in similar language, Ignatius based the Christian love-ethic on an identification between Christ's life and the life of the believer. And as Barnabas and the Didache would indicate, that identity would be both present in the indwelling Christ and futurist in the hope of Christ which, to Ignatius, would be fulfilled only beyond death.

The pains of birth are upon me. Suffer me, my
 brethren; hinder me not from living, do not
 wish me to die Suffer me to receive
 the pure light; when I have come thither I
 shall become a man [ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος ἄνθρωπος
 of ἔσομαι]. Suffer me to follow the example
 of the Passion of my God.¹⁴⁶

The lyric quality of Ignatius's identity in
 Christ is fundamental to the Odes of Solomon. The
 Odist sings of a mystic participation of the Chris-
 tian in the life and salvation of Christ:

I love the Beloved, I myself love Him¹⁴⁷
 And where His rest is,¹⁴⁸ there also am I.
 And I shall be no stranger there.
 Because there is no jealousy¹⁴⁹ with the
 Lord Most High and Merciful.
 I have been united [to Him], for the lover
 has found the Beloved.
 Because I love Him that is the Son, I shall
 be a son.
 Indeed he who is joined to Him who is immortal,
 Truly shall be alive also.
 And he who delights in the Life¹⁵⁰
 Will become alive.¹⁵¹

The Odist's life is changed from "darkness to light",¹⁵²

and his life becomes "like a remembrance of Thyself"¹⁵³
 (addressed to Christ who is in the image and likeness
 of God). Indeed, man is himself patterned after the
 image of God which is most fully realized in Christ:
 only in Christ does one's true identity become known.

The likeness of that which is below

Is that which is above.

For everything is from above,

And from below there is nothing.¹⁵⁴

Were it not for the clearly Jewish character of the
 Odes, such expressions might be considered Platonic.¹⁵⁵
 The emphasis of the Odist is not simply with forms and
 ideas of which Christ is the archetype, but with the
 revelation of life and salvation which, embodied in the
 Christ, becomes the very nature of the believer. "Grace
 has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live
 and be saved."¹⁵⁶

A distinctive element of the Odist's sense of a
 Christian's identity in Christ is his pre-theological
 expression of the pre-historic election of the believer.¹⁵⁷
 Because God in his foreknowledge knew those who would be-
 lieve, the Christian was created from the beginning of
 time with the ability to recognize the Christ in whose
 image he was made, the inference being that the unelect
 had no such faculty.

He who created me when yet I was not
 Knew what I would do when I came into being.
 On account of this He was gracious to me in
 his abundant grace.

And allowed me to ask from him and to
 benefit from his sacrifice.¹⁵⁸

He [God] has allowed Him [Christ] to appear
 to them that are His own;

In order that they may recognize Him that made
 them,

And not suppose that they came of themselves.¹⁵⁹

He [Christ] became like me, that I might receive
 Him.

In form he was considered like me that I might
 put him on.¹⁶⁰

The Odist presents Christ as coming to claim those he
 had elected:

Before they came into being, I recognized them;
 and imprinted my seal on their faces.¹⁶¹

I willed and fashioned mind and heart, and
 they are my own.

And upon my right hand I have set my elect ones.¹⁶²

Thus the identity of the believer is fully that of
 Christ:

Abide in the love of the Lord:

You who are loved within the Beloved,
 You who are found in him who is life,
 You who are saved in Him who was saved.¹⁶³

In several different forms, using diverse images arising from varied situations, the identity of a Christian has been shown to be uniquely developed in the early second century from the identity of Christ. Apart from life in Christ, there is only non-life, non-existence. Christ calls one into existence, an existence which is marked by its re-duplication of whatever the believer perceived Christ to be. Like the Jew, the Christian identified himself as wholly unique among men. His was a uniqueness, furthermore, which distinguished every aspect of his life, his perception of himself, others, and the world. Unlike the Jew, this radical sense of identity was derived from the single image of Jesus. Jewish legalism, cultic forms, and corporate mentality would certainly become adapted as expressions of that identity. Yet behind these expressions was always the image of the identity of Christ. And it was this transformation of life into the image of Christ that formed the basis of Christian koinonia in the early second century.

Christology as the Identity of the Koinonia

The relationship between Christians was, in the early second century, a congruence of those who shared the same identity in Christ; Christ was the common image they shared in their lives. Since their whole lives were regarded as defined by him, their common life thus embraced all elements of their individual lives. There was no distinction between the individual life and the corporate life; both were totally included in the identity which they found in Christ. Although it is possible to speak of different perspectives by which that Christ-image was viewed, between congregations as well as within them, the appeal to unity and harmony always proceeded from a common regard of Christ as the definitive substance of their koinonia. Just as it was often difficult to distinguish statements of Christological identity from the identity of Christ in the life of the believer, so also it was often difficult to distinguish Christological statements of the identity of Christ from statements of Christ's image in the koinonia: Christology, individual identity, and corporate koinonia were virtually indistinguishable from each other. What could be said about Christ could also be said about the believer; and what could be said about the believer was identical to what the community said about itself when reflecting on its common life. Just as it was impossible

to distinguish in early second-century sources a consistent Christology or anthropology, so also it was impossible to distinguish a consistent primitive ecclesiology. Anthropology, Christology, and ecclesiology were comprehensible only when regarded together, and it was in the church's reflection on the community's life together that these themes become illumined, as will be indicated.

Recent studies in New Testament theology helpfully indicate this primitive Christian undifferentiated alloy of individual identity, Christology, and ecclesiology. Whereas earlier writers sought the origin of New Testament Christology in the primitive eschatological kerygma,¹⁶⁴ or in the development of Christological titles,¹⁶⁵ more recent scholars such as Helmut Koester and Charles Moule have concentrated more emphasis on the "Corporate Christ". The Apostolic witness to Jesus spoke of him in terms of a "mystical indwelling", Moule suggests.¹⁶⁶ The early Christian's experience of Christ constituted some sort of spiritual contact of the savior with the community of those who were saved. The Christian, therefore, "finds himself unable to describe the Christian experience of Christ either as the mere looking back to a great moment of the past, or as the experience of a community in which the memory of Christ has been developed".¹⁶⁷ Rather, Christology emerged from the integration of the community

with the Christ. Christ was not definable in isolation from the community, nor was an individual Christian conceivable apart from the corporate body. Moule identifies two universally accepted doctrines which were both dependent on an understanding of the corporate Christ.¹⁶⁸ In the first place, all early Christians presumed that the benefits of Christ's death were universally relevant. All mankind is affected by the crucifixion; whatever Christ did on that cross, all others were also involved in. "Jesus is or constitutes the ideal society; he is the ultimate Adam, to be incorporated into whom is to belong to a renewed society."¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, it was universally held that Christ's death fulfilled the historic destiny of the Jewish people. Jesus occupied the position that, according to the Scriptures, had always been intended for Israel and, through Israel, for all mankind.¹⁷⁰

Koester, meanwhile, is intrigued by the universally consistent emphasis on the humanity of Jesus in the first-century and second-century church.¹⁷¹ The events of Christ's life that would attest his divinity (virgin birth, miracles, ascension, etc.) are not so consistently cited as those which attest his total humanity (suffering, temptation, rejection, and death). "In the church Jesus's humanity remained the criterion that called all who suffer and die, all who are poor and despised, who have neither social or

political identity nor possess moral or religious virtues."¹⁷² In the communities, "Christological and ecclesiological statements tend to become interchangeable".¹⁷³ Statements about a believer being ^Jἐν χριστῷ or ^Jἐν σώματι τοῦ χριστοῦ became formulae descriptive of the individual, Christ himself, the church, and Christian relationships. This sense of God's activity in humanity through Christ is both the origin of Christology and the birth of the church.

Pursuing this thesis in terms of the earlier-described second-century quest for identity, it may be said that as the believer found it necessary to define himself as radically and completely transformed in Christ, so also the community was wrestling to find language to describe its identity. At the same time, the identity of Christ was being clarified as a reflection of these struggles within the community. Since Christ was the true self of the human race, incorporated in the life of the Christian and fulfilled in the *koinonia* of the church, the writers of the early second century evidenced the problem of discovering "a doctrine of personality which will make conceivable this combination of the universal [the church] and the particular [the individual believer] in a single person [the Christ]".¹⁷⁴

The treatment of this theme at the hands of the phenomenologists of religion has been interesting.

To Karl Gustaf Jung, Jesus captured the "collective mentality (the *zeitgeist*) of his time, the quest for the primordial image of *anthropos*".¹⁷⁵ Attributing the development of the collective mentality to Jesus himself, Jung claimed that his genius was that he resolved the troubled identity of a person in a oneness with both God and humanity by the phrase $\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, which embraced both harmonies. Jung recounts a dream of his own in which he faced the unopened doorway to a large room at the very center of his house. This hidden chamber contained not only the secrets of life, but also the profundity of death. Christ was the door which, when opened, not only enabled one to view and comprehend the true human condition, in a world which kept it locked and hidden, but also revealed a crowded room, filled with others who had been granted the same entrance through Christ into life's realities. Mircea Eliade further describes the collective consciousness in terms of incarnational Christology. The incarnation of Christ, as it was perceived by the primitive church, must not be reduced to the taking-on of flesh alone, as it was later described. Instead, "God has intervened even in the collective unconscious that it may be saved and fulfilled".¹⁷⁶

Certainly the comparison of the early Christian between the non-being, death, and darkness image of a person apart from Christ and the totally alive,

transformed, Christ-like existence of a person within the body of Christ assumed psychological dimensions, as Dodds has observed, no matter what the cultural conditions may have been. Yet the scope of Christ's transformation of the Christian collective is even more pervasive than a radically alternative personality; all of life's extensive dimensions aggregated and metamorphized. First Clement, in a protracted statement, addressed a congregational schism with images that sought to describe this sense of an all-embracing transformation of persons in the collective of Christ. He appealed for unity as God's basic purpose for them, a unity epitomized in the resurrection of Christ. Yet it is a resurrection that is portrayed as well in the processes of nature--day and night, seed and harvest--as well as the Phoenix myth of death and rebirth (cc. 24-25). All this was done by the omnipotent and omniscient God who bids us to follow (cc. 26-27). For his people are God's "holy portion" (c. 30:1). They live and serve in that elect fellowship as participants in an army marked by obedience, diversity, and mutual dependence.

Let us take our body [as an example of our mutuality]; the head is nothing without the feet, just as the feet are nothing without the head; and the least members of the body are necessary and useful to the whole body; but they all

coalesce and are alike subordinated for the health and salvation of the body as a whole body (εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ δῶμα). Let, therefore, our whole body be preserved (δωζέσθω) in Christ Jesus.¹⁷⁷

The whole of the natural order, the whole of human history, the whole of an individual's life and body are graphically portrayed in the wholeness of the resurrected Christ in his fellowship of believers.¹⁷⁸ In the Church, we share in Christ all the fullness of nature and history.¹⁷⁹

The Homily called II Clement uses a similarly protracted outline in the development of its assertion of the Church as the collective identity of Christ, using many of the same images and concluding with the same Pauline analogy of the Church as the body of Christ. After exhorting his audience to abandon the futilities of this world and age and to know and obey the single course set in the Christ, revealed both historically and in creation, the Homilist concentrates on the collective transformation of persons into Christ's body. "We are clay in the hand of the workman", ¹⁸⁰ intended for eternal life (ἵνα σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου).¹⁸¹ The model of this is the very flesh into which Christ was incarnate and resurrected.¹⁸² Forsaking fears and transitory pleasures and

concentrating on the joys of the promised salvation (c. 10), Christians are compared to a tree which, though its leaves fall in tumults and afflictions, afterward shall receive the good things (c. 11:3-4). Just as male and female are made one in marriage (c. 12), Christians must bear witness to the love and unity of Christ's name (c. 13).

Thus, brethren, if we do the will of our Father, God, we shall belong to the first Church, the spiritual one which was created before the sun and moon Therefore, let us choose to belong to the church of life, that we may be saved. I think you are not ignorant that the Church is the living body of Christ. For the Scripture says, 'God made man male and female'; the male is Christ, the female is the Church . . . and the Church, which is spiritual, was made manifest in the flesh of Christ.¹⁸³

Then follows the appeal to obedience, unity, repentance, and self-control (cc. 15-16). But the primary concern of II Clement is not strictly ethical, nor is it ecclesiastical in any sense of obedience to a structure: it is rather to assert that the salvation which is in Christ has corporate dimensions--it is "so that we may all have the same mind and be gathered together unto life".¹⁸⁴ (ἵνα πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντες

δουνηγμένοι ὧμεν ἐπὶ τῇν ζωὴν). Once again, Christology (here distinctly soteriologically expressed), ecclesiology (especially the life of unity and corporate witness), and individual Christian identity are strangely combined in a single statement.

The most catechetical early second-century works, Barnabus and the Didache, though their overall purpose is paraenetic, describe the Collective Christ in strongly sacramental language, with distinct echoes of the Jewish temple scenes of ritual sacrifice by the people of the covenant. Since Christians are made new "by the remission of sins, he made us another type, that we should have the soul of children, as if he were creating us afresh . . . ", after his "image and likeness".¹⁸⁵ The resulting image of Christ is the covenant of Jesus to the Beloved, which is sealed in the hearts of the faithful ("εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν").¹⁸⁶ But it is not the written covenant which was abused by the Jews; it is rather a covenant of flesh, an offering for the sins of a new people ("ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου").¹⁸⁷ Just as the scapegoat which bears the scarlet thread is crowned in the midst of thorns, so also Jesus is placed in the Church, bearing the same crown of suffering to those would claim his kingdom.¹⁸⁸ In the sacrifice of Jesus, he has redeemed his people and "prepared a place for himself",¹⁸⁹ a people who will together share the purposes of

Christ's life. They will be "a light to the Gentiles, to be for salvation unto the ends of the earth".¹⁹⁰ Barnabas's most profound image is that of the temple. The Jews were mistaken in considering God's temple to be a building. Instead, it is what God is building in his name.¹⁹¹ It is that which betrays the interior inhabitation in the heart of man.¹⁹² When we received the remission of sins, and put our hope on the Name [of Christ], we became new, being created again from the beginning; wherefore God truly dwells in us, in the habitation which we are."¹⁹³ This is the true temple and household of God, comprised of those people whose lives together evidence their inhabitant Christ. The metaphor of the temple is interwoven with that of the true people of God as those who bear the name of the Lord,¹⁹⁴ presumably the name of Christ bestowed at one's baptism into Christ's cross (c. 11:1) and sacrificial death.

This connection between the name of Christ which is the common property of all Christians and the indwelling of Christ in the Church is expressed in specifically eucharistic language in the Didache. In the offering of the eucharist, those who share the name of Christ are convened. They are no longer Gentiles (dogs, *goyim*, people outside the covenant);¹⁹⁵ they are transformed by having been baptized in the Lord's name. And in their eucharist, they are instructed to pray: "We

give thanks to you, O Holy Father, for your holy Name which you have caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which you have revealed to us through Jesus your child."¹⁹⁶

The eucharist is not only expressive of the indwelling Christ in the common lives of Christians, it also conveys a unity among believers that evidences the greatness of Christ and the amazement of his name among the heathens.¹⁹⁷ While there is in the Didache no defined doctrine of Christ's sacramental presence in the elements of bread and wine, his presence is nonetheless known in the very gathering of his people in whom he is alive.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, it is even intimated that the very gathering of the community is itself an occasion of Christ's presence.¹⁹⁹ "My child, you should remember day and night the one who speaks the word of God to you, honoring him as Lord, for wherever Lordship is spoken of, there the Lord is. You should daily seek out the presence of the saints, so that you might be supported by their words."²⁰⁰ It is this presence of Christ which defines the collective body of the saints.

It is important to contrast this sacramental language of the Didache with Hermas. As has already been noted, individual identity for Christians in Hermas is modeled after the image of Christ as the revelation of God's call to obedience and purity. Corporate

identity is similarly defined as the building of God, the tower which will be built, comprised of stones representing those whose obedience will qualify them for inclusion. Although the tower is the people of God,²⁰¹ being grateful for the final cataclysm, there is only the vaguest reference that Christ himself comprises its plan,²⁰² and no indication that he resides in it. The tower has no sacrificial or sacramental purpose; it is simply the composite structure of those who have heard and obeyed Christ's words, with several gradations of stones placed in more honorable positions in the tower on the basis of their merit. The only purpose of the corporate identity of Christians is that they "may stand joyfully before the Father, and give an account of all to the Lord".²⁰³ In fact, in one context, the Lord is quite absent from the tower,²⁰⁴ and will only reappear at the end of time to be its judge. On the other hand, the tower is supported by a rock with a gate in it. Separated from the tower itself, the rock and the gate are the Son of God,²⁰⁵ the rock being ancient and the gateway new. "The gate is the Son of God";²⁰⁶ but so is the glorious and great man who inspects the stones and judges their acceptability.²⁰⁷ The church, therefore, is founded on Christ, entered only through Christ, and subject to Christ's censure, and all who are accepted within it bear the name of Christ²⁰⁸ through the baptismal water; yet Christ and his Church remain separated. The Church

does not approximate his life; it does not live in him, nor he in it. Even though the "Church of God should be one body, one mind, one spirit, one faith, one love, and the Son of God should rejoice and be glad in them when he has received his people in purity",²⁰⁹ it is nonetheless not the body of Christ. Although the images and language of Hermas are similar to his predecessors, "there is no place for the cross in Hermas's concept of soteriology".²¹⁰ Christ is the teacher and sustainer of his Church; his work is not the life of the community, it is the edification of the church. The *koinonia* of the Church is not ἐν χριστῷ, it is the *koinonia* of those whose obedience will merit their admittance διὰ χριστοῦ. The very contrast between Barnabas's sacrificial temple (ναός) and Hermas's triumphal tower (πύργος) demonstrates a fundamentally different perspective regarding the Church, a perspective based on a different Christological work of salvation and leading to, as will be shown, quite a different sort of *koinonia*.

Nonetheless, for present purposes, it must be affirmed that Hermas describes the Christian community in terms of corporate unity and identity: apart from that corporate structure, there is no salvation,^{211, 212} there is no identity,²¹³ and there is no life.²¹⁴ It is inconceivable that a Christian might identify himself apart from his role in the fellowship of Christ's Church. Although

the configuration of that fellowship is static, disregarding possibilities for change, growth, or maturation (hence, as will be shown in Chapter III, little sense of history), it does insist that being a Christian is necessarily a matter of reflecting on oneself in a cohesive, common relationship with other Christians. Furthermore, that relationship which binds Christians together is entered and defined in totally Christological terms.

Many of the same images which Hermas used to describe Christ's Church as a corporate identity established by him are also employed in the Odes of Solomon: Christ is again related to the door, to the Church, the rock upon which it is built, the water through which it is purified, and the building which God has called to be erected on this earth. Yet, appropriate to its form as a psalter of the early Church, the Odes of Solomon displays a quite different use of these images. They are, on the one hand, more sacramentally interpreted, as they are in Barnabas and the Didache. But even more noticeably they are devoid of any appeals for corporate Christian purity and perfection. The same images affirm the corporate identity of the community in Christ, while disallowing that the individual is incorporated into that community by any qualification except divine election.

The identification of the Christian community with the building of Christ is oblique, yet traceable through

several Odes.²¹⁵ In this usage, the focus is not on the structure itself, but on the activity of God in his incarnation among his people. Responding to the Jewish contention that the temple of God is Jerusalem's ruined sanctuary, the Odist established that it is his love in the lives of the believers:²¹⁶

No man can pervert Thy holy place, O my God;
Nor can he change it, and put it in another place.

Because (he has) no power over it;

For Thy sanctuary thou designedst before thou
didst make special places.²¹⁷

The ancient one shall not be perverted by those
which are inferior to it.

[Note Barnabas's assertion that the Jerusalem temple is a perversion of God's intention.]

Thou hast given Thy heart, O Lord, to Thy believers.

.....

For that which Thou gavest, Thou gavest freely,

So that no longer wilt Thou draw back and take them again.

For all was manifest to thee as God,

And was set in order from the beginning before Thee.

The heart of God produces his word,²¹⁸ which is not only the agent of all creation, but also the new creation in Christ, as Christ claimed to have "sowed myself in hearts and transformed them through myself".²¹⁹ The dwelling of Christ is the result of the implantation of his Word into

men's hearts. Therefore, to whatever extent Christians respond to praise Christ,

To the blessed ones the joy is from their heart,
And light from Him who dwells in them;
And the Word from the truth who is self-originate.²²⁰

Since the "dwelling place of the Word is man",²²¹ Christ resides in the corporate community and is indistinguishable from that community. He is not the door of the Church, as in Hermas; rather, he opens the door to himself as the head of a body whose members are transformed in him.²²² Nor is Christ identified with the rock upon which the structure is built. Christ stands securely as a solid rock,²²³ yet, as in Matthew's Gospel, the rock itself is established by Christ.²²⁴

And upon it Thou hast built Thy kingdom,
And you²²⁵ became the dwelling-place of the holy
ones.²²⁶

The dwelling place of Christ's saints is not, however, the triumphant residence of placid permanence as it is shown in Hermas. It is rather constantly surrounded and even ass^aulted by Christ's Holy Spirit which, like an uncontrolled flood, sweeps away all who resist. "Indeed it carried away everything, and it shattered and brought (it) to the Temple."²²⁷ The dramatic imagery is thus intended to portray the creative, purgative, uncontrollable,

and irresistible action of the Spirit of Christ in establishing his community.

Perhaps the Odes' most vivid image of the Christological identity of the Christian community is that of the Church as a plantation of trees which bear fruit resembling Christ. The Odist is granted a vision of Christ's Paradise. The trees were planted by the seed of Christ,²²⁸ nurtured by his word, refreshed by his water of baptism:

He has planted me.

For he set the root,

And watered it and endowed it and blessed it,

And its fruits will be forever.

It penetrated deeply and sprang up and

spread out,

And it was full and was enlarged.

And the Lord alone was glorified,

In his planting and in His cultivation.²²⁹

The individual Christian, knowing himself thus planted and nurtured, gazes at the community of the saints.

I beheld the blossoming and fruit-filled trees,

And self-grown was their crown.

Their branches were sprouting

And their fruits were shining.

From an immortal land [were] their roots.

And a river of gladness was irrigating them

And everyone was like Thy remnant.²³⁰

The reference of the metaphor is, however, difficult to delineate. A tree is certainly, as in Ode 38,²³¹ the individual Christian reflecting on his identity in Christ. It is also, as in Ode 11,²³² an expression for the community of saints. But the image of the tree also relates directly to Christ himself, God's fruitful plantation.

Put on the grace of the Lord generously,
And come into his Paradise,
And make for thyself a crown from His tree.²³³

Once again, Christological reflection has become indistinguishable from the self-reflection of the Christian or his community. This becomes more apparent in the use of the symbol of the outstretched arms. It is an obvious reference to Christ's posture on the cross, yet it is also the posture assumed by Christians in their private prayers,²³⁴ and by the community as a whole in its public witness. It may be that the image of the trees was chosen because of the likeness of the outstretched arms to the outstretched branches.²³⁵ In numerous such graphic symbols, the identity of Christ is mingled with the identity of the community. Apart from Christ, the Christian has no identity, whether considered individually or collectively: "They became my members, and I was their Head",²³⁶ the Odist makes

Christ say.

Since the community bears the identity of Christ, it relives his presence in this world until the *parousia* when the vision of paradise is fulfilled. The sign of the cross not only identifies the Christian Church, it defines the course of its life. "The sign is the Way for those who cross in the name of the Lord."²³⁷ This course of the community's life will be examined in greater detail in later chapters, together with its eschatological significance; but for the present, it is sufficient to note that the Odists regularly cite Old Testament messianic prophecies as prescriptive for his own life and the life of the Church.²³⁸ And the life of Christ is spoken of in such a way that it is indistinguishable from the life of the community.

The overwhelming affirmation of the Odes of Solomon regarding the Christian community is that it exists solely by the action of Christ. Nowhere in contemporary literature is this so strongly and consistently stated. God responded to the needs of mankind in sending his Son, the purpose of whose life was the establishment of his people.

And I made a congregation of living among his

[Death's] dead.

And I spoke with them by living lips;

In order that my word may not be unprofitable.

And those who had died ran towards me;
 And they cried out and said, Son of God,
 have pity on us.
 And deal with us according to Thy kindness,
 And bring us out from the bonds of darkness.
 And open for us the door
 By which we may come to Thee;
 For we perceive that our death does not touch Thee.
 Then I heard their voice,
 And I placed their faith in my heart.
 And I placed my name upon their head,
 Because they are free and they are mine.²³⁹

Finally, the identity of the Christian community in Christ is the very basis of the posture assumed by Ignatius in both his hortatory and polemical purposes. He exhorts his addressees to know their common life as the very evidence of both the humanity and the divinity of Christ. Jesus Christ is our "inseparable life" (τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν),²⁴⁰ embracing both the humanity and divinity of the congregation. Ignatius greets his addressees in Rome as those "named after Christ (χριστῶνυμοι) . . . united in flesh and spirit";²⁴¹ and he sings the praise of all churches and prays that "in them there may be a union of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ".²⁴² The Christian congregation re-duplicates the very incarnation of Christ in the flesh.

In his criticisms of the Docetists of several congregations which had experienced their schismatic influence,²⁴³ Ignatius appeals for unity by citing the unity of flesh and spirit which exists in Christ's incarnation. His warnings against false teachings appeal to Christ's conception by the Holy Spirit in the Virgin Mary to establish the true basis of life in the community.²⁴⁴ At the same time, any threatened fragmentation of the community is tantamount to a fragmentation of Christ himself. The integrity of the Church validates Christ; its threatened separation into spiritualism makes the Gospel a lie.²⁴⁵

The community not only participates in Christ's incarnation, it also participates in his atoning acts, especially in the passion. It is the cross, above all, that defines the life of the Christian body, and in that cross, the Church fulfills its work in the world. Ignatius addresses the Smyranean congregation:

I give glory to Jesus Christ, the God who has thus given you wisdom; for I have observed that you are established in immoveable faith, as if you were nailed to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh and in the spirit (ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί καὶ πνεύματι) . . . [Here follows a virtually credal statement of Christ's being of the

lineage of David, birth as son of God,
 baptism, and crucifixion] that he might
 set up a signal for all ages through his
 Resurrection for his saints and believers
 . . . in his one body, the Church.²⁴⁶

Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians,
 echoes this urgency of the community's participation
 in Christ's death and Resurrection, for thereby "we
 are worthy citizens of him"²⁴⁷ (πολιτευοῦμεθα ἁγίως
 αὐτοῦ). It is in this communal participation in Christ
 that Ignatius likewise understands the sacraments, both
 baptism and eucharist. "Be careful to use one Eucha-
 rist--for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ
 and one cup of unity with his blood."²⁴⁸ Indeed the
 very act of Christian assembly is itself connected with
 the passion of Christ; in the unity of assembly, the
 Christian finds himself in concert with the passion. To
 be elsewhere is to be separated from the passion.²⁴⁹

Ignatius uses the same image of the building as
 was used by his contemporaries to describe Christ's cor-
 porate structure among his people. It is used primar-
 ily as a symbol for the unity of the community of Christ,
 a place within which Christ's word is spoken and prayers
 are unanimously raised to him. In its assembly, the
 Church provides a residence for Christ: "Let us do all
 things as though he were residing within us, that we

might be his temples and that he might be a God within us."²⁵⁰ Though we be, individually, temples of God, we together comprise "one temple of God, as one altar, one Jesus Christ".²⁵¹ Although the resident of the temple is Christ, the temple image offers in Ignatius one of the few Trinitarian statements of the early second century; yet it is a Trinitarian formula defined from a Christological perspective.

You are the stones of the temple of the Father,
made ready for the building of God the Father,
carried to the heights by the crane [contrivance,
device, lever (μηχανή)] of Jesus Christ,
that is his cross, and using as rope the Holy Spirit.²⁵² Your faith is your windlass
and love is the road which leads up to God.
You are all fellow travelers, God-bearers,
temple-bearers, Christ-bearers, and bearers of the saints ²⁵³

The Christian koinonia is the temple in which Christ resides, built for the glory of his Father, by means of his cross which is used by his Holy Spirit to fit us together in the unity of bearing both Christ and his saints. As in the Odes of Solomon, the image assumes a dynamic meaning, however, because of the activity of Christ (trinitarianly understood) and the movement of Christians as travelers on the road. In

fact, Ignatius, by his use of this image, would appear to describe a middle course between the rigid moralizing of Hermas to qualify persons for inclusion in the tower of Christ and the more election-oriented understanding of the Odes.

Ignatius's most beautiful metaphor for corporate Christian identity is not the tower, however, but the choir or orchestra. His attraction to the musical image is due to its suitability to Ignatius's concern for harmony and concordance, as well as the beauty of the produced melody itself. Yet all aspects of the community's harmonic melody are defined in terms of Christ. It is also an image often used in the Odes of Solomon,²⁵⁴ but in Ignatius it attains its more profound meaning as an expression of a congregation's fundamental purpose. And, although harmony (ὁμολοία) is certainly a central concern in other authors of the period,²⁵⁵ it is not so graphically portrayed as in the choir image of Ignatius. Although Ignatius may individually perceive his life, especially his martyrdom, as a hymn to God,²⁵⁶ the harmony or melody of a congregation bespeaks the beautiful oneness which exists in the Godhead. In his farewell sentences to the Magnesians, Ignatius bids them "Farewell in the harmony of God, you who are in possession of an undivided spirit [κεκτημένοι ἁδιάκριτον πνεῦμα], this is Jesus Christ."²⁵⁷ It also bespeaks the harmony of flesh and spirit which is in

Christ himself.²⁵⁸ Even the structure of the congregation--its bishop, presbyters, and deacons--represents this harmony of the Godhead and of the natures of Christ.²⁵⁹ The congregation, attuned to the bishop and presbytery, by its harmony and symphony (συμφωνία) sings Jesus Christ.

Now each of you join in this choir, that, being symphonious in harmony and receiving the key (χρῆμα) of God in unison, you might sing in one voice to the Father through Jesus Christ, so that he may both hear you and know that you are members of his Son.²⁶⁰

For Ignatius, the community of Christians is nothing less than the corporate Christ which, in union with the Father and the Holy Spirit, literally represents him on Earth. Just as the Christian identifies himself by this new life in Christ, so also the congregation necessarily extends this identity to include others. For the individual is a microcosm of the macrocosmic koïnonia; it in turn is a microcosm of the catholic Church throughout the world,²⁶¹ all of which represents the unity of Christ and the Godhead. Apart from Christ neither the individual, the congregation, nor the catholic Church has any form or substance.

Identity as the Life/Death of the Christ/Community

It is necessary, at this point, to note certain consistencies which occur in the writings we have considered of the early second century whenever the Church reflected on its common identity or the challenge to that identity. Although the language used is lacking in theological precision, filled with images and incomplete thoughts which confound extensive systematic explanation, and often addressed to situations about which we have little insight, we can, nevertheless, suggest constant tendencies which illuminate the individual community's understanding of itself. The assumption is made, in doing so, that, while such themes as Christology, ecclesiology, soteriology, and the Christian ethos cannot be independently delineated clearly, it is of great importance to note the associations which are made between these and other theological themes whenever they are addressed. Although the content of such separate themes is admittedly confusing, the context of interwoven thought processes betrays certain consistencies which were commonly followed.²⁶²

In the first place, wherever the identity of the individual in Christ is described, it is so defined in the context of the collective community. The new life in Christ, the radical transformation of the convert from non-being to fullness of life, the contrast

between the Christian who lives in light, hope, and sacredness and the pagan who lives in darkness, despair, and futility, are all predicated upon a participation in the Christian assembly.²⁶³ Whether it is described in the more legalistic terms of obedience and piety, the sacramental images of birth and regeneration, or the almost mystic participation of the believer in the life of Christ, that new life was inconceivable apart from the fellowship of those with whom it was shared. If there was anything that was shared in those scattered communities, it was not described in economic, sociological, or psychological language, but in the language of new life, individually appropriated but collectively realized. Apart from that shared community, a Christian could not know Christ or be saved by him. Whether one saw oneself saved in that Church (as an end in itself) or through that Church (as a means for salvation), salvation was not possible apart from the Church. This was not only true of one's ultimate salvation, but also was maintained for one's identity while awaiting salvation; apart from the corporate assembly, one could not identify himself in any terms but pagan darkness and death. Any presentation of individual Christian life or salvation was set squarely within the context of congregational unity and purpose.

Furthermore, whenever the congregation reflected

on its life, it did so in uniquely Christological language. Early Christians perceived their assembly as created by Christ, governed after his mandates, guided by his will, nurtured by his power and mercy, defined by his life, involved in his promised parousia. Even when purely functional, structural, house-keeping matters are suggested, the reference is to Christ, his nature, his participation in the Godhead, his external purposes.²⁶⁴ When Jewish antecedents of the Church as Israel's people of God are portrayed, they are brought into vision through the focus which Christ alone provides. Varying ecclesiological definitions regarding structure, nature, and mission are directly dependent on different interpretations of Christ's atonement. By those who regarded Christ as the revealer of God's commandments, the assembly was defined in terms of purity; by those who saw Christ in sacrificial images, the assembly was defined in terms of obedience to his example; by those whose central accomplishment of Christ was his cross, the assembly was defined more sacramentally. But in any case, the community of Christians was always reflected upon in the context of the incarnation and atonement of Christ. The early Church derived its life, its worship, its ethos, and its mission from Christ.

Finally, whenever this Christ~~as~~ is spoken of by the early second-century Church, the context was always

within the congregation which confessed him as its life and Lord. His divinity is never an abstraction; it is portrayed as the expression of the congregation's worship and praise: it is not an object of speculation or even adoration--it is sung, obeyed, and duplicated in the community. Christ's humanity is never analyzed in biological, genealogical, or anthropological terms; it is proclaimed as the substance of the all-too-human aspect of the community's common life, its suffering, its weakness and fragility, its humility.²⁶⁵ Certainly, there was no question in the minds of those writers under consideration whether the historical Jesus was not the same as the Christ in whom they believed, yet there was very little reference to the actual life and times of that historical Jesus. Nor was there any apparent problem, among the authors under consideration, concerning Christ's natures. When such matters were discussed, they were addressed in terms of the life of a congregation as it expressed the life of Jesus or the confession of his full divinity and humanity. Reflection upon Christ was always translated into the idioms of an assembly's life and ministry.

What then was this new life which was necessarily shared in a fellowship defined in reference to Christ? What were the themes of that community's self-reflections if they were neither separately Christological nor ecclesiological? They might helpfully be summarized as the

life/death of the Christ/community realized in baptism and the cross.

The integral relationship between Christ and his community, between Christology and ecclesiology, has already been noted. In much the same way, life and death were integrally and indistinguishably associated with each other. Corresponding to the Pauline themes of life and death, new creation and old creation, new Adam and old Adam,²⁶⁶ the process of birth which gave life to a Christian was also viewed as the process of his death. As he became alive in the Christ-community, he put to death his old nature. The event of baptism was tantamount to the Resurrection itself.²⁶⁷ The baptized was made alive in the Christ-community and there participated in the progressive crucifixion-death which marked the common life of himself and his fellow sojourners. While fully alive and human, he shared not only the continuing death of his former nature or alternate existence, but the passion and death of Christ by which he and his companions were made alive. A Christian's death was, for him, an occasion of birth; but it also brought life to the community, especially if it was a death patterned after the self-given sacrifice of Christ. Reflections on the birth, life, and death of Christian individuals were thus related to the birth, life, and death of Christ, specifically that birth, life, and death which were shared within the community's

experience. Those who have suggested that the early second century was morbidly preoccupied with thoughts of death and self-sacrifice have failed to note this profound connection, for the era was also distinctly aware of the fullness of life.²⁶⁸ This is apparent, however, only when the organic Christ-community reflected on its collective involvement with Christ.

Baptism was regarded as an individual's initiation into the life of Christ and his sacred community. Because of a person's baptism, he defined his identity differently than he would otherwise have done, and related himself to others in the community in ways which he perceived as different from other relationships or associations. Adopted within the *familia Christi*, "the solidarity of the family in baptism and not the individual decision of the single member was the decisive factor".²⁶⁹ Dedication and decision were certainly expected of baptized Christians, yet the emphasis was placed on the new life of the Christian that emerged from the baptismal waters rather than the conversion that prompted him to be baptized. Baptism is related more often to the image of the primordial, vivifying waters of creation than to the Israelite act of covenant.²⁷⁰ Nor can baptism be regarded as a cleansing rite comparable to Jewish antecedents; John the Baptist is never mentioned as a precursor of the Christian sacrament. Baptism is always into the life of Christ,

not just the forgiveness of Christ. Although Christ died to cleanse sinners, baptism has more to do with his incarnation and Resurrection than with his self-sacrifice on the cross. The images used to describe baptism were complex and included a broad range of Old Testament allusions to such diverse images as that of Adam entering paradise, Noah and the flood, and Moses and the Exodus through the Red Sea.²⁷¹ In all of these allusions, the Jewish *testimonia* were reinterpreted Christologically. Jesus was the initiator of Christian baptism, the baptism of Jesus was the pattern, and the atonement of Christ was its object.²⁷² In comparison with Jewish and pagan purificatory rites, Christian baptism, though sharing many similar elements, must be clearly identified in its Christological uniqueness.²⁷³ In baptism, the Christian became a new creation, joined a new race and family, acknowledged his true origins and destiny, and thereby put to death his former self; all of this being defined in relation to Christ.²⁷⁴

There were varying interpretations of the baptized new life of the Christian in the several writings which reflect the previously mentioned Christological differences. Believers were admonished to regard the baptized as the "saved" people of God in I Clement, whereas Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon saw the baptized as "being saved". In either case, the concern

of Nock that we guard against considering baptism (or the eucharist) as a specific rite must be noted.²⁷⁵

The sacrament was considered as the initiation of the Christian into the whole economy of salvation. It was an event which, considered in the context of Christ's entire act of salvation, brought the Christian into the whole way of life (*Lebenspraxis*) of the early community.²⁷⁶ It established a certain boundary between the people of God and the rest of the world, a distinction which prescribed the entire course of the Christian's life. Furthermore, although assemblies for worship included the occasional baptism,²⁷⁸ the baptismal catechesis became crystalized into the earliest creeds;²⁷⁹ baptism was a unitive factor of their common life, and the constant source of liturgical reference and images.²⁸⁰

In baptism, a person became marked and named for life,²⁸¹ identified by a sign common to all Christians, the sign of the cross,²⁸² and named by the name common to all Christians, the name of Christ. He wore the crown common to all,²⁸³ was clothed in the garments of the saints,²⁸⁴ carried the same ensign²⁸⁵ and was identifiable by the same seal:²⁸⁶ the crown, garments, ensign, and seal in each case being that of Christ himself.²⁸⁷ These common baptismal images were not only introduced by uniquely Christological allusions; whatever other cultural antecedents they may have had,²⁸⁸ they concentrated on the event of the cross for their meaning. The death of Christ was the

birth of the Christian and of his common corporate experience of the community. Certain baptismal expressions identified the community to the continuing revelation of God among his people, as will be noted in Chapter III. Other images expressed the community's baptismal identity in more morphological language which, though sometimes realized in the historic experience of God's people, transcended time to express the primordial designs of God in Christ, as will be noted in Chapter IV. As continuing efforts of this thesis seek to describe the elements of the koinonia's self-reflected identity and purpose, the language of an individual's initiation and incorporation into the community of Christ can never be far away. For the present, however, it is sufficient to underscore the importance of baptism as a Christian's initiation in to the community of the name, sign, seal, ensign, garment, crown, and image of Christ. "The entire doctrine and sacramental practice of the Old Church are perpetuated by this profound feeling for the symboloc relationship between the reality of the charismatic mystery and the communal life of the brethren."²⁸⁹

This intricately interwoven pattern of a Christian's life/death in the Christ/community was evident at the event which stood in apposition to baptism, martyrdom. Men were martyred in the name of Christ, shared thereby in his sign of the cross and seal of immortality,

were decked by the robes and crown of Christ, and fulfilled his image and type. The language of the community in describing the common baptismal heritage was the same as the language used to describe the martyr: both baptism and martyrdom were experiences which granted life to the Christian in the mystery of the crucifixion. Martyrdom, like baptism, was also understood as involving the whole corporate community of Christ. The martyr died on behalf of the fellowship and, at his death, was admitted to a fellowship his earthly life had only partially realized. In this sense, martyrdom was, like baptism, an experience of initiation into the corporate Christ. In participating in a death like Christ's, the Christian was born into the fellowship of saints gathered in Christ's presence and sharing his glory.

Nor was the early second-century reflection on martyrdom framed by the community's response to repeated threats, intimidations, and persecutions. The era of widespread and official persecution of Christians would be many decades in the future. "There can be no narrative history of Roman persecution before Decius."²⁹⁰ Persecutions were sporadic, initiated by undirected Roman governors, Jewish instigators, or even uncontrolled mobs. The earliest document of Roman officialdom relating to the treatment of Christians, the letter to Pliny from the Emperor Trajan, specifically

forbids unjust and wholesale Christian persecution, though it clearly classes Christianity as a troublesome pestilence to be curtailed wherever it caused public conflict.²⁹¹ Although such scholars as W. H. C. Frend have suggested widespread and repeated persecutions of Christians,²⁹² especially under more demented and depraved emperors, a more discriminating analysis by T. D. Barnes²⁹³ concludes that no emperors before the end of the second century systematically persecuted Christians, nor were any eras more repressive than others. That occasional persecution and martyrdom occurred is undeniable; but they resulted from conflicts and disorders in individual locations with no official sanctions or initiatives other than that a provincial governor was concerned for civil order.

The most upsetting cultural eruption of the early second century was provided by the conflicts of Christians and Jews. It was this which brought the repressive tyranny of the Roman power. The Jews themselves were in continual turmoil over national autonomy and identity. Christians may have been mistakenly suppressed owing to their close association with Judaism. Jewish apocalyptic millennialism may have affected certain suppressed Christian sects, causing official Roman reactions, yet Christians were more often directly persecuted by Jewish revolutionaries for their refusal to acknowledge kinship with Jewish nationalism.

Christian chiliasm would sometimes be expressed in Jewish apocalyptic language, yet it hoped for an eschatological community based on the image of Christ, not a messianic Zionism.²⁹⁴ Jews anathematized Christians perhaps as early as 90, and their continuing contact often resulted in civil unrest,²⁹⁵ thus provoking Roman reprisals which were conducted like those applied to any civil disorder. It is significant that the Roman Pro-consul examining Polycarp before his martyrdom asks him to swear by the genius of Caesar and thus placate the mob.²⁹⁶ And it is recently suggested, with persuasive analysis of the letters of Ignatius, that he was not a victim of a structured anti-Christian policy, but of internal quarrels with Judazing factions within the communities of the Syrian province.²⁹⁷

Although admittedly regional and sporadic in the early second century, the persecution of Christians, whether by Romans or Jews, provided a constant and catholic "atmosphere of emotional tension which profoundly affected Christian corporate life Though an individual Christian might never himself be persecuted or harassed, the church became and remained a fellowship of martyrs".²⁹⁸ Indeed, the only face of Christians known to the general populace was that of the martyr, and by martyrdom, the Christian "witnessed" to a whole life style, a radically separated mode of existence.²⁹⁹ The cultural attitude of persecution, whether provoked by

any possible threats, isolated the Christians of the early second century into a separatism which was of their own choice because it coincided with the corporate identity they knew in Christ. The Christian community so defined its identity in Christ that his death became descriptive of their life, whether or not persecutions were currently threatened.

The understanding of martyrdom which was expressed by the early second-century community was certainly closely related to Jewish antecedents,³⁰⁰ especially the martyrdom of Eleazar reported in IV Macabees. Yet the purpose of the Jewish examples was to sacrifice oneself rather than compromise moral principles;³⁰¹ even though the martyr might thereby purify his people, he did not hope for an experience of life emerging from death, both for himself and his community, as early Christians did in Christ. The Christian martyr was viewed not only as the hero of the congregation, but as its typical member, both before Christ at his welcome into glory and also before the world as a witness to a faith which disdains the ultimacy of death. In his impressive study of the theology of the martyr, *Confesseurs et Martyrs*, M. Lods identifies three currents of thought which are combined and expressed regarding the Christians' attitude towards the suffering and possible death they faced in Christ.³⁰² In the first sense, the martyr/confessor sought to suffer and

die in order to free himself from this world and attain God. Although the language might sometimes be considered Stoic, the thought is thoroughly Christian, for there is no hint of a dualistic hatred of creation; rather, the single theme is the hope for the fullness of freedom and life already promised to creation by Christ.³⁰³ Secondly, the martyr/confessor suffered and died for Christ Jesus. Martyrdom, even more than baptism, represented a dedication and commitment of the self to Christ.³⁰⁴ Finally, and most importantly, the martyr/confessor suffered and died "comme Jésus Christ en participant à sa passion."³⁰⁵ He entered the life/death of Christ himself, just as he had at baptism, and through his martyrdom, he expressed triumphantly and publicly what had formerly been muted and private: Christ was alive in, with, and under his own life and death.³⁰⁶ To be a martyr was regarded as sharing in the fullest possible measure of Christ.³⁰⁷

That sharing (κοινωνία) of the martyr in the life of Christ was also the sharing (κοινωνία) of the community. In the experience of the martyr, the congregation suffered vicariously; the ministries to the imprisoned confessor continued by the congregation at great risk to its members,³⁰⁸ and the care for the martyrs' corpses, expresses the shared sorrow of the community. There was a fellowship of suffering that

surrounded the martyr; his associates suffered on his behalf, and, at least in the West, he died on their behalf. Together, the confessor/martyr and his community relived the Paschal mystery.³⁰⁹ At his death, the martyr opened the way for his fellow Christians to follow; he interceded for them to Christ, and stood ready to welcome them into glory.³¹⁰ He was the community's delegate before the throne of Christ, its representative in heaven. Finally, the martyr left behind an example of perfect love, the very self-giving love of Christ, for his successors to remember and imitate. He bore witness to the very ethos which held the community together; in the death of his body, the body of Christ attained a sense of unity and wholeness not realized elsewhere.

Everything that took place witnessed the Gospel. Just as the Lord did, he [Polycarp] too waited that he might be delivered up, that we might become his imitators, not thinking of ourselves alone, but of our neighbors as well. For it is the mark of true and solid love to desire not only one's own salvation, but also that of all the brothers.³¹¹

Baptism and martyrdom, the life/death moments of the Christian community, thus indicate the integral relationship the believer found in the early second

century between his understanding of Christ and the life he shared within the corporate life of the Church. Just as Christ's life and death became his identity, so they became the form and substance of the common life which Christians shared. Whatever the cultural situation was in the early second century, this element of the shared life in Christ as a unique source of individual and corporate identity was neither reflective of it nor responsive to it. Origins of Christian koinonia cannot be found in the cultural circumstances of the early second century. Nor can they be found in the religious antecedents to the early second century, particularly Judaism. As has been indicated, corporate identity for Christians, though expressed in often traditional Jewish idioms, was markedly different from Jewish national self-image. The identity of Christians, both individually and as a church, was derived from reflections on Christ as he was shared in the common life.

It is interesting at this point to cite the testimony provided by non-Christians regarding these early Christian communities. For the most part, they are amazingly perceptive, although they often identify as weaknesses what those very communities would regard most prized. The pagan critics never questioned the data of Christianity, the alleged miracles, divinity, or resurrection of Christ. Instead, they contend with the Christian's intimate interpersonal contacts, his

dependence on others of like mind, his obsession with the divine presence in himself, and his radically unique personality.³¹² The Christian was pictured as a mindless peasant who had sacrificed both reason and integrity to follow a mob of iconoclastic malcontents. Tacitus's account of Nero's persecution justifies his brutalities, since Christians were a "vile multitude, a dangerous mob".³¹³ Pliny's letter would speak of them as a contagion, prolific among the masses which are ignorant and gullible.³¹⁴ Lucianⁿ of Samosata would later (ca. 170) mock Christians for their love of the brethren and contempt of death. He describes the one-time cynic, Peregrinus, as an exhibitionist and rogue who, awaiting possible martyrdom as a Christian, becomes overwhelmed with money, food, and attention from Christians who regard him as a hero. "Those Christians are poor, superstitious wretches who, believing in immortality, give themselves willingly. For their first lawgiver [Jesus] deluded them that they are all brothers of one another. Therefore they look down upon things indiscriminantly and consider them common property."³¹⁵ It was Celsus who provoked the most famous Christian response (ca. 178) to a work in which he described his repulsion at the Christian rebels, wranglers, and malcontents for their presumption to be the chosen people of God.³¹⁶ "Christians appear to me like a host of bats or ants who come out of their hiding places . . . or

worms who hold a meeting in a corner of a manure pile and say to one another: to us God has revealed and proclaimed everything "³¹⁷ Behind the sophisticated sarcasm of the non-Christian detractor lies something which was apparently known by even uninformed witnesses; Christian identity was radically defined in relation to both Christ and the community of like-minded believers.

Another corollary which might be considered regarding the identity of the Christ/community is the much-debated issue of rationales for Christian conversion and the eventual success of Christianity among competing religions of its era. The early second century witnessed the beginnings of the phenomenal growth of Christianity which would continue unabated for several centuries. Yet the literature of that period indicates no self-conscious intentions for evangelization and no reflection on the growth that was apparently taking place.³¹⁸ Several apologists would later speak of their conversion experience, attributing it to the rationality, piety, and antiquity of the Old Testament witness to Christ, a rationale which must be measured by the Greek audience to which their several Apologies are written in response to Greek accusations that the Christian faith is senseless, immoral, and only recently devised.³¹⁹

The statements by Justin, who was probably

converted in ca. A.D. 135,³²⁰ included in his Dialogue with Trypho, are the most helpful, especially when related to another account of his conversion recorded in his Second Apology. Though Justin regards Christianity as the true philosophy after which he had sought in a quest that had led him through several philosophical systems and schools, the conversion itself was effected by a "passionate yearning for the prophets and for those men who are friends of Christ (οἱ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ φίλοι)".³²¹ The statement of the Second Apology³²² that Justin was attracted to Christianity by the example of Christian courage and integrity in the face of persecution identifies these "friends of Christ" more specifically. Yet, for Justin, both the prophetic witness and the martyr's witness coincide in Christology.³²³ The impressive embodiment of the truth in the total life and death of Christians exceeded the speculations of empty rationality and provided for Justin an historical and human fullness he had not previously known, summarized by an identification between Christ and his friends.³²⁴

Different elements of Justin's and his contemporaries' witness have received focus by modern efforts to describe the dynamics of early Christian growth. Some would highlight the moral example of Christians, the quality of Christian life which stood in contrast to pagan immorality as a silent witness,³²⁵ together with

the assurance that the past sins would be totally renounced and forgiven and the future would be endowed with sufficient grace to withstand temptation and live a life of sinlessness. "The real novelty of Christianity was the motive it supplied for good conduct and the abhorrence of past bad conduct which it demanded."³²⁶ Others seem more attracted to the social dimensions of this moral sensitivity of the early church, the love which was shared among believers, the openness with which they accepted others regardless of social, racial, or economic distinctions, the value placed on human lives in the community.³²⁷ This social cohesiveness is described as exclusivity and separation by some, features which were uniquely attractive in a pluralistic and heterogenous culture, and led to a distinctive Christian identity and effectiveness.³²⁸ Requiring the total commitment of its adherents, Christianity alone could survive the syncretizing compromises of doomed cultural religions. Finally, more traditional and conservative scholars identify the unique and transforming person of Christ: Christianity succeeded because people were attracted to him, to his life, his forgiveness, his atoning death, his resurrection and promise of eternal glory.³²⁹

It is possible to document any of these several rationales for conversion and Church growth on the basis of such scant evidence as Justin's early-second-

century conversion. Yet explorations which concentrate on individual salvation or community solidarity do not consider the necessary connection between them. Similarly, explanations for growth which abstract the person of Christ from the community which identified itself as his body are unconvincingly simplistic. The complex relationship of individual and corporate identity as the total life and death of the Christ and his community must always be regarded.

It has been attempted in this chapter to demonstrate the interrelationship of themes that provided the profundity of early-second-century reflection on the shared Christian life and faith, the *koinonia*. The very essence of *koinonia* was expressed as the writers of the early second century addressed issues of individuals in corporate terms, life in terms of death, Christ in terms of community. It is important to trace this self-reflection of the community on its common life in two distinguishable dimensions--history and form, *Geschichte* and *Gestalt*--indicated by the frequent appeal that as the community reflected on itself, it should remember and imitate Christ.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

1. J. Jervell, "The Mighty Minority", ST, 34 (1980), pp. 13-38. Jervell takes issue with the common opinion expressed by B. Reicke, The New Testament Era, translated by David Green (London, 1969), pp. 249-251, that the distinction between Christians and Jews was well established by A.D. 65. Jervell defines a more gradual process in which Judaism slowly died in the 2nd century church with the increase of Gentile converts.
2. Paul's practical concern about Christians who eat meats sacrificed to pagan gods is matched by 2nd century issues of hospitality to travelers (I Clem. 1) and the circulation of systatic letters (Mart. Poly. 13).
3. E. R. Dodds, Pagan and Christian in the Age of Anxiety, (Cambridge, 1965), p. 101.
4. G. Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion (Oxford, 1925), The stages are outlined as: (1) Saturnalia Regna (primitive), (2) Olympian Conquest (literary), (3) The Great Schools (Stoic, Cynic, Epicurean, etc.), (4) Failure of Nerve (Roman domination), and (5) The Last Protest (post-Christian). In the 2nd century, religion became progressively more elitist and attached to political and social ideals. Hence, with an increase in despair over the complexities of life, the idealism was slowly eroded into a sense of failure, apathy, and social disintegration.
5. Nock, Conversion, p. 14.
6. H. B. Timothy, Early Christian Apologists and Greek Philosophy (Assen, 1973), pp. 16-17.
7. Murray, Five Stages, p. 18.
8. Nock, Conversion, pp. 120ff.
9. P. de LaBriolle, La Réaction Paienne (Paris, 1942), p. 46.
10. Nock, Conversion, p. 121.

11. Timothy, op. cit., p. 17.
12. Justin, I Ap. 1:14. Note also the discussion in Dodds, op. cit., pp. 27-35, regarding Marcus Aurelius, to whom the world is evil and man's place in it is merely a resignation to a contempt for the human condition.
13. Nock, Conversion, p. 212.
14. Dodds, op. cit.
15. P. Brown, The Making of Late Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass., 1978).
16. Ibid., p. 4.
17. Ibid., p. 56.
18. The social antecedents of Christianity are summarized in an excellent discussion in L. E. Keck, "On the Ethos of Early Christians", Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 42 (1974), pp. 437ff.
19. A. D. Nock, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, Vol. II, edited by Z. Stewart (Oxford, 1972), pp. 566-574.
20. R. MacMullen, Roman Social Relations (50 B.C. to A.D. 284) (London, 1974), pp. 26-27 and pp. 121-127.
21. J. Plescia, "On the Persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire", Latomus, 30 (1971), pp. 120-130. Plescia correctly attributes the persecutions to cultural reactions to Christian innovation. Christianity was threatening to the conservatism of Roman culture.
22. MacMullen, op. cit., pp. 113-120.
23. L. W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford, 1961), pp. 41-55.
24. P. Keresztes, "The Jews, the Christians, and the Emperor Domitian", Vigiliae Christianae, 27 (1973), p. 4. Each community had ghettos of merchants and tradesmen with separate systems of social welfare for the Jews.
25. Ibid., pp. 14ff.

26. E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175B.C. to A.D. 135), Vol. I, revised edition, edited and revised by G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 521.
 27. Ibid., pp. 521-527.
 28. R. A. Kraft, The Apostolic Fathers: Barnabas and the Didache, Vol III (New York, 1965), pp. xviiff. The midrashic, targumic, halakic, and haggadic traditions of interpretation were, according to Kraft, derived from Hellenistic rationalism.
- Barnard, Studies in the Ap. Fathers, p. 44, comments that Judaism gave Christianity the allegorical and pesher methods.
- Nock, Essays on Religion, Vol. II, pp. 573f, claims that Alexandrian Judaism gave Christianity not only its Jewishness, but also its restraint from not being entirely Jewish in the allegorical exegetical method.
29. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, Vol. I (London, 1974), p. 312. The central feature of the Torah was the spiritual self-affirmation of Jewish identity. The concept of the Torah as truth was fundamentally Greek (pp. 253ff).
 30. Schürer, op. cit., p. 527, states that the Dead Sea Scrolls represented the variety of Greek-Hellenistic sects current in Judaism.
 31. M. Simon, Verus Israel (Paris, 1948), pp. 242-243.
 32. Note Justin's meeting with Trypho, who is returning from a Jewish revolt, in which Justin claims that Israel is totally ended, both politically and theologically. Barnabas also claims that Israel temple is no longer needed, its claims on God have expired.
 33. Schürer, op. cit., p. 555.
 34. G. Theissen, Sociology of Palestinian Christianity, translated by J. Bowden (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 93.
 35. Ibid., p. 31.
 36. Ibid., pp. 31-95.
 37. Keck, "On the Ethos...", pp. 440-441.

38. Ibid., p. 441, note 26.
39. A. J. Malherbe, Social Aspects of Early Christianity (London, 1977), pp. 21f.
40. Note the Pauline attribution of the Christian ethos of the new creation to the kerygma (II Cor. 5:16-19, Gal. 6:13-15). See also I Peter 2:4ff.
41. II Clem. 1:6,8. ἡθέλησεν ἐκ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς.
42. It is important to note the context of II Clem. 2:1: it follows from a quotation of Isaiah 54:1, "Rejoice thou barren that bearest not: break forth and cry thou that travailest not: for the children of the deserted are many more than hers that hath a husband."
43. Ig. Phil. 6:1. Note the helpful discussion of this in S. Zañartu, "Les Concepts de Vie et de Mort Chez Ignace d'Antioche", VC, 33 (1979), 324-341 (pp. 326f).
44. Poly. Phil. 7:2. ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν.
45. Barn. 4:9b, 10a. φύγωμεν ἀπὸ πάσης ματαιότητος.
46. Ep. Diog. 2:1a. γενόμενος ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος.
47. The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antonius, edited and translated by A.S.L. Farquharson (Oxford, 1944), Vol. I, bk. 2:11, p. 33. Note also 10:1-3, in which is expressed the fatalism of resignation to mankind's half-life.
48. The Gospel of Truth, edited by K. Grobel (London, 1960). In his introduction, Grobel treats gnosticism as an emerging phenomenon within Christianity, not identifiable until well into the 3rd century (pp. 21ff). This same view is expressed in the introductory chapter of Ménard's work, J. E. Ménard, L'Évangile de Vérité (Leiden, 1972).
49. Ev. Ver. 27:26-28, 30-33.
50. Ev. Ver. 28:16-21.
51. Ev. Ver. 29:5-11.

52. Ey. Ver. 32:38-39, "You are the children of heart-understanding..."
53. Odes of Solomon 13:1-2.
54. Ev. Ver. 34:18-19. This translation is Grobel's (op. cit., p. 152, defended on pp. 153-154), though R. M. Grant, Gnosticism: An Anthology (London, 1964) translates 'animate mold' as 'psychic form', neglecting the context in which Valentinus speaks of sour, shallow earth and cold, stagnant water from which the aroma is separated from God (p. 156).
55. Menard, op. cit., pp. 33-34. Note also the definition of the gnostic in H. C. Quispel, The Jung Codex (London, 1967) as "man reestablished and remembering himself, conscious of what he really is" (p. 29).
56. Menard, op. cit., p. 33.
57. Ibid., p. 17.
58. N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin (London, 1924)
59. Ibid., pp. 171-173, 177-184. Barnabas mentions the Adamic fall (12:5), but also stresses the need for Christians to choose between two ways which correspond to dual human inclinations (chapters 19-20).
60. Note Diog. 2:3-10, where gods of stone and wood cannot change man into a new being. See also Ig. Smyr. 5:2, Ig. Eph. 19:3, and II Clem. 19:3. This is not unlike Paul's "Just as Christ was raised..., so also we might walk in newness of life" (Rom. 6:4).
61. For the best discussion of the doctrine of election in the Apostolic Fathers, see T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Edinburgh, 1948).
62. Loc. cit.
63. Regarding the sojourner theme, see Ig. Eph. 9:2, Diog. 5:4-16, and Odes of Sol. 3:6 ("In Christ I shall be a stranger to the world.")
64. Ig. Mag. 5:2.
65. Regarding the Christian as a 'new substance', see:

Ig. Trall. 11:1. "You possess a mind free from blame, not from habit but by nature."
 Barn. 6:11. "He made us another type."
 Mart. Poly. 16:1f. Since Polycarp's body was not consumed by fire, "all the crowd marvelled that there was such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect."
 Diog. 6:1-2. "What the soul is to the body, that the Christians are in the world."
 Odes of Sol. 25:8. The garment of skin is exchanged for the "covering of thy Spirit".

66. Μετάνοια is only used to relate to Christians with reference to post-baptismal sins and double-mindedness. When used to relate to non-Christians, it refers to a non-moral change of life.
67. I.Clem. 7:4.
68. I Clem. 8:2.
69. Herm. Mand. 4:2:3.
70. Barn. 16:9.
71. Ig. Eph. 10:1,3.
72. Mart. Poly. 11:1. ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κρείττωνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια.
73. Ignatius (Rom. 6:1-2) expresses a similar thought in his appeal that the Roman congregation not interfere in his intended martyrdom, for "the pains of birth are upon me... When I have come there I shall be a man." (ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἔσομαι.)
74. Regarding the varied uses of διψυχία; note I Clem. 11:2, 23:2-3; II Clem. 11:2, 19:2; Did. 2:4; Did. 4:4, 7; Barn. 19:5, 7; Herm. Vis. 3:10:9, Man. 9:7:7ff, 10:1,1, Sim. 8:7:2.
75. Barn. 19:6; Herm. Sim. 8:7:2.
76. Herm. Sim. 8:7:1. Note also Revelation 3:1b-3, "You have the name of being alive... yet you are dead... Remember what you have received and heard; keep that and repent."
77. Herm. Vis. 2:2:7.

78. O. J. F. Seitz, "Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James", JBL, 63 (1944), pp. 131-140, relates $\delta\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha$ to anthropology, not ethics; and in Seitz, "Antecedents and Signification of the Term $\delta\psi\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha$ ", JBL, 66 (1947), pp. 211-219 (pp. 213-217), he further attributes its use to the Jewish anthropology of the divided or double heart.
79. W. Rordorf, "Un Chapitre d'Éthique Judéo-Chrétienne: Les Deux Voies", Recherches de Science Religieuse, 60:1 (1972), pp. 109-128. The two ways represent the fundamental choice an early Christian of the martyred community must make, a choice between compromise which meant the betrayal of life and faithfulness which meant life itself.
80. Did. 1:1.
81. Barn. 18:1.
82. Herm. Man. 6:2:1-4.
83. Herm. Man. 6:1:1-2.
84. S. J. Case, The Evolution of Early Christianity (Chicago, 1914), p. 344.
85. R. C. Moberly, Atonement and Personality (London, 1901), p. 284.
86. M. D. Hooker, "Interchange in Christ", JTS, New Series XXII, Pt. 2 (1971), pp. 349-361.
87. Philippians 2.
88. Hooker, op. cit., p. 358.
89. R. S. Franks, The Work of Christ: A Historical Study of Christian Doctrine (Revised Edition) (London, 1963), p. 6.
90. A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, translated by John Bowden (Revised Edition), Vol. I (London, 1975), pp. 85ff.
91. E. Best, One Body in Christ (London, 1955), pp. 44-64. Excellent exposition of the phrase "we died with Christ".

92. C. F. D. Moule, The Origin of Christology (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 107-126.

J. G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (London, 1975), pp. 194ff.

Moule and Dunn develop the thesis that human life and experience are regarded as derived from Jesus' life and dependent upon him for their meaning. Hence, life only makes sense when its derivative and dependent character is recognized.

93. Barn. 4:8.

94. Barn. 5:6.

95. Barn. 14:6.

96. Barn. 16:8, 10.

97. Did. 10:2.

98. G. Kittel (ed.), Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Vol. III, translated by G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, Mi., 1965), pp. 605-614. The heart (καρδία) is described as the seat of physical, spiritual, and mental life - the most inclusive term describing man: it is "the place in man at which God bears witness to himself" (p. 611).

99. Barn. 6:11-13.

100. Barn. 6:13.

101. Barn. 1:4.

102. Barn. 1:6.

103. Note Did. 11:4 where prophets are to be tested as to whether they possess the Spirit of Christ on the basis of whether they have the behavior of the Lord. The Christian is to pattern his life on the gospel of the Lord (Did. 15:4).

104. Herm. Sim. 9:16:3.

105. Herm. Sim. 9:21:4. In Hermas, the tempter uses women to seduce the righteous from their constancy. Herm. Man. 4:1:1-6, Vis. 2:2:3.

106. L. Pernveden, The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas, translated by I. and N. Reeves (Lund, 1966), pp. 126-144.
107. Ibid., p. 144.
108. Herm. Sim. 5:7.
109. Herm. Sim. 6:3:6.
110. Herm. Man. 3:1.
111. Herm. Man. 5:2:5-6.
112. Herm. Man. 12:4:5.
113. Note: Herm. Vis. 3:9:1; Man. 3:1, 4:2:2; Sim. 9:33:1-3.
114. Herm. Sim. 9:33:1.
115. Herm. Sim. 8:11:1.
116. Herm. Man. 4:1:8.
117. J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (London, 1958), pp. 140ff.
118. Pernveden, op. cit., p. 70.
119. Note: Herm. Sim. 9:12, Vis. 3:3.
120. Herm. Vis. 2:4:3.
121. I Clem. 36:1.
122. I Clem. 36:1-3.
123. I Clem. 34:7,8.
124. I Clem. 39:3.
125. I Clem. 59:1-3.
126. I Clem. 7:3,4.
127. I Clem. 2:1.
128. I Clem. 21:2,9.
129. I Clem. 37:5-38:1.
130. I Clem. 19:3.

131. I Clem. 49:6.
132. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition, p. 86, notes Clement's persistent use of doxologies (32:4, 38:4, 43:6, 58:2, 61:3, and 65:2) as evidence of the emphasis on the figure of Christ. Yet even in these doxologies, his glory is expressed in terms of what he has done in and for mankind (note especially 58:2).
133. R. Bultmann, "Ignatius and Paul", in Existence and Faith, introduction and translation by S. M. Ogden (London, 1961), pp. 267-277. Though he treats Ignatius as an eschatological existentialist, Bultmann is excellent in capturing the dynamic Christ-centered sense of new life in Ignatius.
134. Ig. Trall. 11:2.
135. Ig. Eph. 3:2.
136. Ig. Eph. 15:3.
137. Ig. Mag. 5:2.
138. Ig. Rom. 6:1-3.
139. Ig. Rom. 7:3-8:1.
140. Ig. Eph. 18:1.
141. Ig. Smyr. 5:3.
142. Ig. Mag. 1:2.
143. Ig. Phil. 4:1. Note Zañartu, op. cit., pp. 326-329.
144. Ig. Mag. 12:1.
145. J. Colson, "Agape chez Saint-Ignace d'Antioche", Studia Patristica Vol. III, pt. 1 (1959), pp. 341-353 (p. 346).
146. Ig. Rom. 6:1b-3a. Note also the theology of martyrdom expressed in Mart. Poly. (esp. 14:2-3).
147. J. H. Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon (Oxford, 1973), p. 18. Charlesworth makes a textual comment that, though  is often translated 'soul', the Jewish sense of 'person' or 'heart' is most appropriate to this context.

148. Ibid., p. 18. 'Rest' (also found in 11:12, 16:12, 20:8, 25:12, 26:3, 12, 28:3, 30:3, 36:1, 37:4, and 38:4) refers to the seventh day of creation (n. b. Odes of Sol. 16:2). Baptismal waters were regarded as the waters of 'rest'.
 149. R. Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, Vol. II: Translation with Introduction and Notes (Manchester, 1920, p. 216, translates βασαν as 'alienation', 'grudging separation', 'discord'.
 150. The form, ζωη, means both 'life' and 'salvation'; hence, "he who delights in the salvation will become as one being saved."
 151. Odes of Sol. 3:5-9.
 152. Odes of Sol. 11:19.
 153. Odes of Sol. 19:21.
 154. Odes of Sol. 34:4,5.
 155. Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 123.
 156. Odes of Sol. 34:6.
 157. This thought is also expressed by I Clement, though in less specific form (I Clem. 2:4, 59:1,2). Note the discussion of W.C. VanUnnik, "Le Nombre des élus dans la première épître du Clément", Révue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse, XLII (1962), pp. 237-246.
 158. Odes of Sol. 7:9, 10.
 159. Odes of Sol. 7:12.
 160. Odes of Sol. 7:4.
 161. Odes of Sol. 8:13.
 162. Odes of Sol. 8:18.
 163. Odes of Sol. 8:20-21.
 164. R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting, (translated by R. H. Fuller (London, 1956)).
- C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development (London, 1936).

165. O. Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall (London, 1959).

F. Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity, translated by H. Knight and G. Ogg (London, 1969).
166. Moule, The Origin of Christology, pp. 53-54.
167. Ibid. p. 54.
168. Ibid. p. 107-126.
169. Ibid. p. 126.
170. Ibid. pp. 127ff.
171. J. M. Robinson and H. Koester, Trajectories Through Early Christianity (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 206-231.
172. Ibid. p. 217.
173. Ibid. p. 230.
174. Moule, The Origin of Christology, p. 50. This view is shared by Moberly, Atonement and Personality, pp. 280ff, and by Case, The Evolution of Early Christianity, pp. 331ff. "Union with Christ and his church resulted in the development of a new constituent element in personality" (p. 368), in that while Christianity was emphatically a faith for the individual soul, it also satisfied the group-consciousness by assembling a new community to constitute the Kingdom of God on earth.
175. K. G. Jung, Memories, Dreams, and Reflections (London, 1963), p. 238.
176. M. Eliade, Images and Symbols (London, 1961), p. 161.

L. Beirnaert, "La Dimension Mythique dans le Sacramentalisme Chrétienne", Eranos Jahrbuch, XVII (1949), pp. 255-286.
177. I Clem. 37:5-38:1.
178. I Clem. 29:2,3; 59:3,4; 64:1.
179. I Clem. 19:2, 20:11.
180. II Clem. 8:2.

181. II Clem. 8:2. See also 8:6.
182. II Clem. 9:1-5.
183. II Clem. 14:1-3.
184. II Clem. 17:3.
185. Barn. 6:11.
186. Barn. 4:8.
187. Barn. 7:5.
188. Barn. 7:11.
189. Barn. 14:6.
190. Barn. 14:8.
191. Barn. 16:6.
192. Barn. 16:8.
193. Barn. 16:8.
194. Barn. 16:6, 8.
195. Did. 9:5.
196. Did. 10:2.
197. Did. 14:3.
198. Did. 9:4.
199. Did. 4:1-2.
200. Note also Did. 16:1-2.
201. Herm. Vis. 3:3:5.
202. Herm. Vis. 3:3:3-5.
203. Herm. Vis. 9:10.
204. Herm. Sim. 9:10:4.
205. Herm. Sim. 9:12:1.
206. Herm. Sim. 9:12:6.

Most manuscripts include a 3rd s. fem. pronoun, 'she' or 'it'. A single source of the Odes in the Pistis Sophia has a 2nd s. pronoun which, with other variations, addresses the Ode to Christ. Harris, op. cit., pp. 326f, accepts the latter as more clearly expressing the context of the Ode. Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 91, prefers the majority of manuscripts, interpreting it to refer to 'kingdom' from the mouth of Christ. This is confusing, however, since Christ is clearly the subject of vs. 7-12, not the speaker.

226. Odes of Sol. 22:12.
227. Odes of Sol. 6:8.
228. Odes of Sol. 17:14.
229. Odes of Sol. 38:17b-20.
230. Odes of Sol. 11:16a-16e, 22.
231. Note also Odes of Sol. 37:3 and 1:2.
232. Note also Odes of Sol. 17:4.
233. Odes of Sol. 20:7.
234. Odes of Sol. 27:1-3, 35:7.
235. The posture of outstretched arms is variously treated in the Odes of Solomon. Note Ode 27:1-3, in which the outstretched hands invite the Word which bears fruit. In Ode 8:2-3, the fruits of the holy life are the result of a tree-like posture. In Ode 21:1, the lifted arms are clearly meant for praise, yet tied to the compassion of Christ. There is another correlation with Ignatius (Trall. 11:1-2), for whom the cross of Christ and the branches of the fruitful person are equated.
236. Odes of Sol. 17:16.
237. Odes of Sol. 39:7b.
238. Harris, op. cit., p. 265, clearly believes that all of the Odes are midrashic commentaries on certain Psalms and prophetic utterances, especially Isaiah.
239. Odes of Sol. 42:14-17, 19, 20.
240. Ig. Eph. 3:2.

241. Ig. Rom. Proem.
242. Ig. Mag. 1:2.
243. Note Ig. Eph. 16, 17; Trall. 6; Phil. 2, 3.
244. Note Ig. Eph. 16, 18; Trall. 9:1.
245. Ig. Trall. 10:1; Eph. 13:1.
246. Ig. Smyr. 1:1-2.
247. Poly. Phil. 5:2.
248. Ig. Phil. 4:1. See also Ig. Rom. 7:2-3 regarding baptism and eucharist as element of the true life of the Christian in the death of Christ. Smyr. 7:1-2 counsels heretics to abstain from the eucharist because they do not hear the gospel in which the Passion is revealed and the resurrection accomplished.
249. Ig. Phil. 3:3. See also Ig. Eph. 20:1-2 in which the suffering and resurrection of Christ are seen as revealed in the common meeting of Christians, and Eph. 13:1 in which the assembly is the destroyer of Satan and the reconstitution of the cross.
250. Ig. Eph. 15:3.
251. Ig. Mag. 7:2.
252. The crane, μηχανή, may be taken quite literally and graphically as a lever, a rotatable bar supported at the top of a stable upright post, in the form of a cross. The rope, guided from below and attached to the end of the rotating bar opposite that which bears the weight, would raise it and position the weight properly before release.
253. Ig. Eph. 9:1-2. ἁγιοφόροι is used only by Ignatius here and Ig. Smyr. Proem. It is usually translated 'bearers of holiness' or 'bearers of holy things' - either as a metaphor for Christians or as cultic vessels. However, as in the use in I. Smyr., where it is listed as one of several substantives set in apposition to ἐκκλησία (Ἰγνάτιος ἐκκλησία θεοῦ πατρὸς... ἡλεημένη... πεπληρωμένη... θεοπρεπεσιότη, ... καὶ ἁγιοφόρων), a preferred translation would seem to be 'bearers of the holy ones'.

254. Odes of Sol. 6:1-2, 14:7-8, 40:3.
255. I Clem. 60:4, 63:2, 65:1 - as oneness of mind, I
Clem. 30:3, 9:4, 11:2, 20:3 - as unity of faith.
256. Ig. Mag. 1:2.
257. Ig. Mag. 15:1.
258. Ig. Phil. 11:2.
259. Ig. Mag. 6:1-2.
260. Ig. Eph. 4:1.
261. Ig. Smyr. 8:2. The bishop is to the congregation
as Christ is to the catholic church.
262. J. Pelikan, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition
London, 1969), pp. 1-8.

B. Lonergan, The Way to Nicaea, translated by C. O'
Donovan (London, 1976), pp. 1-17.
263. The single exception to this appears to be the Gospel
of Truth.
264. Note I Clement and Ignatius, eg. I Clem. 21:8-9.
265. The adoptionist language in Hermas, the Odes of Soloman,
and II Clement may be attributed to a confusion
between the Christ and the adopted, elect
congregation. The immediate transition from
the events and challenges of the community
into Christological language led to unclear
distinctions regarding either.
266. Romans 6:3-4.
267. It is of note here that it is not the birth of
Christ which appears to initiate his life,
but his baptism. There are no references to
the circumstances of the birth of Christ;
but there are frequent and significant ref-
erences to his baptism. This is so because
baptism itself was the birth event of the
Christian community, not the nativity of
Christ.
268. Ig. Rom. 2:2 is most often cited as the death wish
of Ignatius, yet it follows a praise of the
earthly fellowship and love of the Roman
congregation, an affirmation of the unity of
flesh and spirit in the Christian (Rom. Proem.).

269. J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, translated by D. Cairns (London, 1960), p. 23.

K. Aland, Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? (London, 1962), pp. 88-94.

Though Aland reacts to Jeremias' insistence on ancient infant baptism, both authors agree that baptism was a rite of initiation involving the whole household into the family of the church.

270. Even in Barnabas, baptism is related to images of the water of creation and the cross of Christ (Barn. 11:8-11). The true covenant is related to discipleship, to those who are steadfast in fulfilling their baptismal rebirth (Bar. 4:8-9, 13:1-7). Both Ishmael and Jacob are born of Rebecca, yet only Jacob observes the true covenant of the greatness of God.
271. For a thorough treatment of these and other baptismal images, see J. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri: Études sur les Origines de la Typologie Biblique (Paris, 1950), pp. 37-45, 55-96, 131-202.
272. Note Ig. Eph. 18:2 - "He (Jesus) was born and was baptized, that by his suffering he might purify the water " (ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθαρίσῃ).
273. For a discussion of pagan and Jewish cleansing rites, especially those comparable ceremonies revealed in the Qumran texts, note J. Daniélou, History of Early Christian Doctrine, Vol. I, The Theology of Jewish Christianity (London, 1964), pp. 315-331.
274. L. Hartman, "Baptism into the Name of Jesus and Early Christianity", Studia Theologica, 28 (1974), pp. 21-48 (p. 48).
275. Nock, Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background (New York, 1964), p. 126.
276. G. Kretschmar, "Christliches Passa im 2. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung der Christlichen Theologie", Recherches de Science Religieuse, 60 No. 2 (1972), pp. 287-323 (p. 323).

277. Note Polycarp's refusal to deny the Christ. He cites the course to which he must be true as having been confirmed and initiated at his baptism (Mart. Poly. 9:3).
278. The only specific reference of the period to the rite of baptism itself is Did. 7.
279. Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 19-21.
280. J. H. Bernard, "Odes of Solomon", JTS, XII (1910-1911), pp. 1-31 (p. 2).
281. Ig. Rom. Proem - Christians are named after Christ. Did. 9:5 - baptized into his name (Barn. 11:1). Odes of Sol. 42:20 - at baptism the name of Christ is set upon the Christian's head. Herm. Sim. 9:13:3.
282. The baptismal sign is a symbol of purity in I Clem. 6:8, II Clem. 12:1.
283. Note Odes of Sol. 17:1, 20, 7; II Clem. 7:2-6; Asc. Is. 9:23f.
284. Note Herm. Sim. 9:13:2-3, Sim. 8:2:3-4; I Clem. 30:3; Ig. Poly. 1:2; Odes of Sol. 11:9-10, 15:8, 21:2.
285. Note Ig. Smyr. 1:1-2.
286. Note I Clem 43:5, 51:3-5; II Clem. 6:8-7:6, 8:6.
287. See the excellent discussion in Daniélou, Theol. of Jewish Christianity, pp. 316-331.
288. Ibid., p. 327.
289. E. Buonaiuti, "Symbols and Rites in the Religious Life of Certain Monastic Orders", in The Mystic Vision: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks (London, 1968), pp. 168-209 (p. 171).
290. T. D. Barnes, Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study (Oxford, 1971), p. 163.
291. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, III:33.
292. W. H. C. Frend, Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church (Oxford, 1965).
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294. Even Frend (Mart. and Persecutions, p. 184) concedes that the single continuing theme of cultural hostility in the era 70-135 was Jewish-Christian.
295. D. R. Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution of the Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 4-18, cites cultural rather than uniquely theological matters as the cause of persecution and conflict, esp. the rejection of Jewish solidarity, nationalism, and the struggle for leadership.

C. W. Dugmore, The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office (Westminster, 1964), p. 119, quotes a synagogue prayer of ca. 90-117; "Let the Christians and heretics perish in a moment, let them be blotted out of the book of the living and let them not be written with the righteous. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant." It may be questioned if this prayer is to be regarded as that early in the second Century.
296. Mart. Poly. 10:1-2.
297. W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, translated by Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, edited by R. Kraft and G. Krodel (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 68f.
298. Barnes, Tertullian, p. 163.
299. Nock, Conversion, pp. 193-195.
300. Note IV Maccabees where Eleazar and the seven brothers are martyred under Antiochus Epiphanes, in which the martyrs evidence that "for all these martyrs, by their contempt of suffering unto death, have given demonstration that Principle (λογισμός) does not possess control over the passions" (Bk IV, ch. 1:7-10).
301. The Five Books of The Maccabees, edited by H. Cotton (Oxford, 1832), pp. 221ff.
302. M. Lods, Confesseurs et Martyrs (Paris, 1958), pp. 18-27.
303. Note Mart. Poly. 14:2, where martyrdom is the gateway to heaven, and the Scillitan Martyrs (ch. 4) where martyrdom ushers the Christian to the court of God.

G. W. H. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology", in Eschatology: Four Papers, edited by W. Monson (Edinburgh, undated), p. 29.

- H. Paulsen, Studien zur Theologie des Ignatius von Antiochien (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 99-110, states that the martyr represented the 'Gemeinde'.
304. Note Ig. Rom. 4:1, Ig. Poly. 3:1.
305. Lods, op. cit., p. 27.
306. Note Ig. Smyr. 1:1, Rom. 6:2; Mart. Poly. 14:2, 17:3. In the Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons (40-41), Blandina, at her death, put on Christ".
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308. Note the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas (17:1-3), in which the victims have an agape feast before their death.
309. L. W. Barnard, "The Epistle of Barnabas - A Paschal Homily?", Vigiliae Christianae, 15 (1961), pp. 8-22, suggests that, even though Barnabas does not specifically mention martyrdom, the emphasis is so strongly on the Paschal feast that it may be assumed as the major theme. Note especially Barn. 6, in which baptism is associated with a violent death. See also Mart. Poly. 14:1.
310. Regarding the intercessory role of the martyr, note Mart. Poly. 1:2, 17:3. Martyrdom is intended for the salvation of all the brethren (Mart. Poly. 2:1).
311. Mart. Poly. 1:2.
312. LaBriolle, La Réaction Païenne, pp. 9-13.
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314. Eusebius, Ec. Hist., IV:33:2.
315. Lucian of Samasata, The Passing of Peregrine, translated by A. M. Harmon, Vol 5 of the Loeb Classical Library (London, 1936), pp. 13-15.
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CHAPTER III

KOINONIA IN HISTORY

Introduction

The Christian community of the second century discovered its identity through self-reflection which was, in part, structured in categories of history. Although Christians regarded themselves as unique and separate among persons, they realized that their experience was shared by predecessors who, with them, constituted God's holy people. In Christ, they participated in a koinonia which had been established before creation and would persist beyond the end of the age. Just as they recognized a catholic koinonia which tied the geographically isolated congregations together in the common body of Christ, so also they knew that the saints of the past and the future were participants integral to their fellowship.

It is difficult to apply twentieth century tenses of past, present, and future to their reflections. The events of creation and God's continuing creative acts could become corollaries to their current life together, yet Adam could be used in references which were equally

prehistoric, prophetic, incarnational, or eschatological. The Old Testament witness to the people of God could be interpreted as a history of human folly and failure or as an example of Christ's presence on earth before Bethlehem. Christ was viewed as much as the logos of creation and the common identity of the second century Christian as he was the historical Jesus. The apostle and the prophet are sometimes historically indistinguishable; yet both are presented as media through which God addressed his people to reveal his will. Finally, the enormous confusion of apocalyptic, millennial, eschatological, and teleological languages betrays a complex of symbols, myths, and promises which defies systemization or thematic development.

It is apparent throughout the literature of this era that history was itself a critical source for the community's self-reflections. Just as the individual Christian defined himself in terms of the corporate community, so also the immediate experience of the koinonia was defined in terms of the historic experience of those who shared the same identity in Christ.

It would be Justin Martyr who would first develop the historic reflections of the second century church into an attempted theology of history. It was Justin who completed the process which had been emerging in the community's life of equating the church to Israel itself.¹ To him, Christians became the inheritors of Israel's traditions, scripture, name, promise, and election.²

Israel had perverted the purposes of God so that the identifiable people of God were no longer Jews, but Christians.³ In fact, the unrecognized content of the revelation of God to the Jews had been Christ himself, the logos of God operating incarnationally within the events of Hebrew history. It was Christ who conversed with Moses in the burning bush,⁴ just as he had empowered Elijah to prophesy,⁵ Solomon to rule, priests to circumcise, and the people of God to cross the Red Sea. Both Christ and his church pre-existed in the Old Testament witness, revealing themselves in divine theophanies⁶ which provide continuity for the church and proof of its sacral antiquity.⁷ The Christ/community was not an innovation of vanity or rebellion; it was as ancient as the purposes of God. To know those purposes, the Christian (and only the Christian) might remember the manifestations of God's mysteries which have been incarnate, not only in Christ's birth, but in the continuous theophanies of the Old Testament. Even the events of Christ's life were reminiscences (ἀπομνημονεύματα)⁸, a term which probably referred to our synoptic Gospels.⁹ In all, Justin's treatment, though often formed in philosophical circumlocutions which indicate his creative wrestlings with both Judaism and Hellenism, is an attempt by a devoted Christian to reflect on the community's identity in history.

Although Justin may have initiated the first systematic Christian philosophy of history,¹⁰ he was himself, in this regard, the inheritor of a century of hist-

orical reflection within the Christian community. His was the first exposition of a Christian understanding of sacred history addressed to or relating to a non-Christian. His was one voice of a Christian/non-Christian dialogue; and in his position he represented the Christian understanding thoroughly and in terms comprehensible to his addressees. Literature previous to his represented conversations within the Christian community regarding issues to which history addressed a message; yet the issues are often obscured from the modern reader and the message was merely a small part of every Christian's corporate experience. If the primitive Christian community may be portrayed as a household, it was Justin who tidied up its interiors to invite strangers inside for a tour (although probably a bit staged and untypical), while his predecessors allowed the outsider to glimpse aspects of interior activity through single windows. From the occasional and partial glimpses, however, we may know that the household reflected a corporate experience of history which drew its members together. The teacher reflected on the same Old Testament passages as did the preacher, the liturgist, the polemicist, and the martyr writing to friends.¹¹ Each drew upon a past event or future hope which was shared by all participants within the household and from which all derived a common meaning. Individual writers indicate several possible rationales for this sense of corporate historical

consciousness.

Certainly the most frequently cited motive for historical reflection in this primitive era was the need of the community to claim the revelation of God in the Old Testament. "In the second century, the heart of the Christian message lay in the relation between the Old and New Testaments."¹² The good news of God's act of the new Adam was developed and interpreted in Old Testament structures of thought. Especially in the emergence of Christology, disputations appear to have centered on the meaning of Jewish history.¹³ This was even more true later in the century when controversies with Gnostics and Marcion¹⁴ led Irenaeus and his contemporaries to develop an Old Testament hermeneutic based on the church's role as preserver of the authentic revelation of Christ,¹⁵ whereas in the writings of the early second century the polemical issues had not yet become so easily recognized - no heretic had suggested a wholesale rejection of the Old Testament or a totally allegorical interpretation of a historical parousia. In the literature of the early second century, the meaning of history was not drawn for polemical purposes as much as for pastoral needs of the communities: not as they faced critics from outside their ranks, but as they addressed problems which jeopardized the fellowship within the troubled community. For these purposes, the dynamic identity of the koinonia which was developed in the previous chapter, the life/death of the Christ/community, helpfully illustrates the character and motive for early second century historical reflection.

The radically new life which was shared by Christians in their common struggles presupposed an old life, an alternate existence prior to or apart from the life in Christ, and a fulfilled life, a τέλος, ἔσχατον, or ἐρχόμενον towards which (or whom) the new life was preparatory or anticipatory. To be a Christian meant to participate, with other Christians, in the life, death, and resurrection of Christ - the historic sequence of new life offered to believers. But more than simply a participation in the historical life of Jesus, the believer, through the form of that life, death, and new life, participated in the very process for which creation was intended and in which God's purposes would ultimately be fulfilled.¹⁶ The life/death of each Christian in Christ, and of each community which comprised his body, was the measured cadence of history itself; from creation to eschaton, Christ and his people were portrayed in repeated variations on the central theme of God's fundamental purpose, that creation should arise out of nothingness, freedom emerge from slavery, resurrection prevail over death, new life survive the drowning waters, and victory triumph over martyrdom.¹⁷ The meaning of these early historical reflections was, therefore, more practical than theological, more related to specific needs of the community than to its dialogue with Jews regarding their common property of Old Testament traditions or with the pagan Hellenists regarding their conflicting views of history's cyclic nature and matter's uncreated origins.

The early Christian community struggled to comprehend its own experience of life and death, new birth and martyrdom, within the context of God's eternal intention from the creation to the fulfillment of history. That which was shared in common, the life/death of Christ, was the only true reality, the only valid history, the sole key to self-understanding and identity. Historical reflections were, therefore, used to provide comfort and hope for the afflicted, censure for the wayward, truth for those in error, models for belief and behavior for those needing pattern or discipline. Behind the community's reflection lies the assurance that, no matter what problems or pains were endured, sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper et in saecula saecularum.¹⁸

Furthermore, the community reflected on history with the assurance that in so doing, it was identifying itself with the revelation of God in Christ. Just as participation together in bread and wine brought the reality of Christ's presence to the community, so also Christ's presence was realized by historical reflection itself. By remembering the mighty acts of God among his people, the community was reconfirmed in its identity with Christ, its sacramental participation in the continuing revelation of God. Christ and his community became identified with each other so that reflection on past events or future promises of the people of God became a reflection on Christ, which in turn became a self-reflection for purposes which illuminated the meaning of the present. Christ was the lord of history itself, the

'ancient of days' who had always been manifest among his people. Consequently, though the new age had dawned and the community found its corporate birth in Christ's death, there remains the constant assumption that the Christian community was an ancient fellowship, even at its inception.¹⁹ History betrayed Christ's aged presence among his people, 'so ancient and so new', so that to reflect on that historic community was an act of devotion to Christ himself, to be undertaken with an attitude of worship. History was never treated as a documentation for a theological position; it was as if any historic example or attestation would properly be prefixed "Christ has revealed among us that. . ."²⁰ Failure to perceive this ancient connection between Christ, the revelation of God, and his historic people would not only render the Christian community an innovative and secular institution, it would also deprive it of its fundamental corporate identity in Christ. Hence, historical reflection was Christocentric self-reflection, forever relating the historic images of Christ's activity among and embodiment within his people to the writer's immediate situation.

Before individual works of the early second century can be scrutinized regarding their perception of the role of history as the identity of the koinonia, it must first be stated which sorts of expressions might be considered historic. Having said that historical reflection was a practice essential to the life of the community, it must quickly be added that there are, in the literature of this era, no traces of any efforts to write a history of God's

people. The Apologists would later treat history more systematically, but in the earlier sources, history was used to document or illustrate themes which betray little understanding of a broad historic insight, sequence, or hermeneutic. Yet historical citations are frequent and might be identified and delineated as such using five broadly defined indications of time-related reflection.

Historical Images

Processes of the Natural Order The first sort of historic consideration is the most difficult to define: that of processes evident in the natural order which illuminate the events of the community. Strictly speaking, these are not often related to specific historic events, though they are usually used in association with certain Old Testament narratives and symbols. The suggestion has been made, especially in the case of I Clement and Ignatius, that such references to creation's processes employ a Stoic rationale and metaphysic.²¹ This, however, neglects to note the same procedures and symbols in the Old Testament itself, especially in Wisdom literature, and ascribes to the early Christians a certain philosophical sophistication they probably did not have.²² In these allusions, images are used which presuppose a process of time and maturation, a readily recognizeable history that does not require a specific event to be cited to demonstrate its meaning. The daily rising and falling of the sun and moon, the growth of trees, the unpredictable course of the wind, the flow of

the river towards its mouth - these and other examples from natural processes describe circumstances in which the course of time is itself the central theme. These allusions, far from being residual symbols of nature-cults and primitive mythologies or philosophies, are profoundly historical and attempt to tie the community's immediate experience to the cosmological drama of Christ's movement and maturation in time. In these nature references the Christ/community is inextricably tied to the whole of creation. Although there are natural symbols in which time has little meaning, those here considered portray history itself as the essential message; the divine activity is necessarily historical, though related to processes of the fellowship of creation rather than the fellowship of humans. The assumption is that the natural processes and the human processes are both examples of a divine paradigm, the full revelation of which is found in the Christ.

Old Testament Remembrances A second historical consideration of this era is the frequently noted use of the Old Testament, its narrative history of God's chosen people and, more frequently, individuals of faith or courage who inspired or directed those people through examples which continue to address the sacred community.²³ These are the 'remembrances' most often cited and reverently treasured by the community in its internal communications. That certain Old Testament stories were commonly shared and regarded is evident from their frequent use, particularly

where fragments of a given narrative are related with the assumption that everyone hearing the merest fragment would be reminded of the entire narrative.²⁴ The reference might be to an historical event, ancient personality, or a symbol repeated in several historical situations. Although the citations appear in several forms and refer to several possible transmissional and interpretive procedures within the community, it is critical to note, before considering these issues, the use to which authors employed Old Testament historical reflections.

The narratives, personalities, and promises of the 'ancient race', the Jews, were selected, repeated, and interpreted because of their immediate reference to Christ or his people. If the reference was to Christ, it would usually be to his divinity, ancient origin, or the eternal purpose revealed in him; a divinity, origin, and purpose which the community shared with him. Though presented in thoroughly Jewish interpretive methods,²⁵ the reference would not be intended to inform a deeper understanding of Jewish history or even of God's revelations in history; it would instead usually be employed to illuminate the meaning of an immediate (and sometimes urgent) situation in the second century community. The reference was intended to illustrate or inform in such a manner as to change the minds and hearts of the fellowship, to bring repentance, rebirth, a renewed sense of sacredness, a zeal and commitment to obey God's commandments and believe his promises. The historic reference itself was meant to create repentance,

holiness, obedience, and faith. Herein lies the connection between the Old Testament historical reference and the allusion to the process of creation to which former mention was made: both are intended to reduplicate in the koinonia the original power and purpose of the reference itself. God's work was creation and re-creation, done eternally in the natural order and specifically in his people, Israel. To remember God's work was to reassert that same work in the present experience. History, especially the history of God's revelation among his people in the Old Testament, was thus always an object of pious awe; it had a seminal quality which mysteriously contained the energies and purposes of creation itself. Out of this thoroughly Jewish understanding of the words as themselves endowed with creative power would emerge the later logos Christology articulated by Justin in his reflection on Old Testament texts. For the present, let it suffice to say that the purpose of historical reflections on the Old Testament was to implant God's historic creative power and purpose into the immediate community.²⁶

The most conspicuous and often-noted fruit of this implanted creation of God's historic acts into the community would be the sense of unique identity of the community itself: the creation of the 'new people'. This theme might be expressed as the creation of the Christian church as the third (or even fourth²⁷) race succeeding the barbarians, Greeks, and Jews,²⁸ This is the basis of

Harnack's contention that second century Christianity is a synthesis of Greek and Jewish antecedents and represents a new composite of the cultural admixture of Hebrew and Hellenistic thought.²⁹ But it is more often described as the secundum genus, the alternative race which was created by God for his purposes and image by its reflection on God's activity among his people.³⁰ Christians were seen as taken from all nations to be the unique body of Christ, just as Israel was chosen among the nations to become the bearer of God's word. In early second century sources, the radical contrast is not sequential but demonstrates the radical difference between the elect believer and the unbeliever.³¹ The unbelievers are those who have not heard, understood, obeyed, or believed the ancient witnesses of God.³² They are a different people, a race in which God's word, his history, has not created a new people. By historical reflection on the Old Testament the new people of God was created. When the community shared the ancient stories of Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, something happened to its people that had happened at the historic events themselves and at every succeeding reiteration of them. The word of God had been expressed (self-disclosed³³), Christ had been made manifest, and the community had been created or recreated. Hence, the historical use of the Old Testament was the birth/death of the Christ/community.

The question of the form in which these Old Testament narratives and references were kept by the community has provoked a fruitful scholarly discussion in this century.

Rendel Harris, in an impressive analysis of early Christian literature, indicates the existence of at least two separate books of Old Testament testimonia, one written before the New Testament for the conversion of the Jews, another, the logia of Matthew to which Papias refers, written to convince the Greek mind that Christ is the true Israel of the ancient Jewish tradition.³⁴ No such collection of Old Testament proof-texts has been discovered, yet the frequent use of certain Old Testament passages and the disregard of others suggests that there were, within the community, certain pericopes used for missionary evangelism and catechesis.³⁵

C. H. Dodd questioned the existence of a specific anthology of Old Testament texts, yet catalogued several 'types' of Old Testament testimonia which gave a picture of the "whole plan" of God.³⁶ "They were small elements which symbolized the whole revelation of God."³⁷ The early church lacked the technical expertise necessary to provide catalogues or concordances, so that such testimonia were oral traditions within the community, remembered by the association of certain graphic Old Testament symbols and corporate images.³⁸

Or, if written, they were passed on as single sheets, tracts which arranged a methodical selection of texts for community teaching, apologetics, discipline, etc.³⁹ Whatever the form of the testimonia may have been, it allowed the widespread circulation of easily recognized stories and symbols from the Old Testament history which became the common resource of scattered communities, a resource which was itself viewed as evoking the creation of the community.⁴⁰

One of the most frequently used methods of using Old Testament historical reflections illustrates this commonly held reservoir of Old Testament symbols - typology. Although typological references were often made to reflections which were not derived from the Old Testament narrative events, both historical and non-historical, the practice of citing a series of events of similar nature through a continuity of Old Testament narratives and symbols was a common means of establishing authority. Whatever authority the church had was provided by its identification with the historic people of Israel recorded in the scripture.⁴¹ That scripture was not only authoritative in and of itself; it documented its authority by testifying to God's consistency among his chosen people: his will was never compromised, his divinity was never adulterated, his judgments were totally dependable and impartial, and his mercies were always redemptive. "Typology is based on the consistency of God's activity in the life of his chosen people."⁴² The large deposit of typological traditions recorded in the early church evidences the community consciousness of certain types as well as their universality.⁴³ The scriptural type provided for the church a language with which to proclaim the historic faith as well as a means of defining itself in relation to Judaism; but most importantly, it provided Christians with a sense of their own identity as fundamental to the essential and eternal purposes of God; purposes which pervaded God's historical revelations to his people.⁴⁴ Although non-historical and non-scriptural

typologies would be used, the Old Testament historical type would dominate as the criterion for selecting the real and true history, God's history, the only one which brought true life and meaning,⁴⁵ since the Old Testament history alone recorded God's activity, his continuous revelation, within a chosen community. Other forms of historical reflection regarding creation's processes, human social changes, eschatological promises, or even the life and ministry of Jesus were not so ideally suited to the need of the community's identity through self-reflection.

Reflecting on the Exodus experience, for instance, the church recalled other past events of Israel's history which maintained and enriched the faith and hope of God's people in times of persecution and dedication: the events of the Exodus became identified with contemporary events of the community and with its hope for future deliverance. Yet the typological narrative would not only be selected because of its relevance for the community's self-understanding, but for its relevance to Christ. There is scarcely any mention of such Old Testament themes as the promise of a land or communal purification laws.⁴⁶ Indeed, types are employed which refer to Christ's life and example with more integrity than to any Old Testament event in its original context.⁴⁷ Christ was himself the prophet, priest, and king, his name and sign were evident throughout the Old Testament, his word and work were the content of the Old Testament witness. Whatever self-awareness these writers attributed to Christ, of this there was no question -

Christ must surely have believed himself to be the fulfillment of God's dealings with his ancient people, and his disciples must have learned that truth from him. It would be difficult to find any other satisfactory explanation for the rapidity with which the first Christians came to see that the theme of God's covenant with his people was really the theme of Christ, since Christ was the central and culminating point of that long historical process of the unfolding of God's purpose for Israel.⁴⁸

In the use of Old Testament historical typology, the sources of the early second century demonstrate that the connection between Christ and his community corresponds to the fundamental historical revelation of God's purposes.

The Historical Jesus and his Generation of Apostolic Witnesses

Closely related to the historical reflections of the community on Old Testament narratives and symbols are reflections on Christ or his generation of apostolic witnesses. This third historical consideration of the sources is often difficult to isolate because of the tendency of the early Christians to make Christ contemporary with their own experience.⁴⁹

Yet a distinction must be made, one which will be developed more extensively in the next chapter, between temporal and non-temporal images derived from the historical Jesus. In addition to an understanding of the historical Jesus, his birth, life, ministry, death, and resurrection, there is also an eternal Jesus which testifies to his timeless form, his lordship over time itself. This timeless form of the Christ was regarded as present to the community in its moments of suffering, hope, and martyrdom - a timeless Christ who has transcended history to make his kingdom immediately available to the believing community. This non-historic Christ was regarded as no less real than the

historical Jesus, yet he was understood by the community in spatial categories of nearness, intimacy, wholeness, and fullness. To this non-temporal sense of Christ's presence, many references which might otherwise be considered as Christ's 'realized eschatology' will be assigned.⁵⁰ Nor are references included here which refer to Christ's future eschatological parousia. For the present, under consideration are those events and images defined and limited by the temporal life and ministry of Jesus and his contemporaries in the past.

Of these historical references, there are strikingly few. In fact, in several distinctly Christian texts of this era, the name of Jesus is never mentioned.⁵¹ It is not the lack of Christological historical awareness that results in this silence about the historical Jesus - it is instead the total assumption of the Christocentricity of all history, past, present, and future, which precludes focusing on the single era of the historical Jesus. This historical Jesus has so informed the meaning of all of history that the community derives its vision from him, yet it does not remain focused on him. Once the light of the world had come, the focus of the church is directed upon its own situation. The literature of this era concentrated on the events of Christ reflected in human life, not on the life of Christ itself. The reflection of the life of Jesus on his contemporaries (for all practical purposes, St. Paul was commonly regarded as contemporary to Jesus) was more noted than were the specific events of Jesus' life. Cer-

tainly the crucifixion and resurrection loom above all other events in Jesus' life, yet those events are not types or evidences of God's revelation. They are the supreme revelation by which all other types and evidences are measured. For the early second century sources are not referring as much to an historical Christ as to a Christological perspective of history.⁵² The centrality of Christ in history allows him to interpret all of history, especially the life of the historic community which confesses his lordship. H. E. W. Turner points out, in considering the difficulty in establishing a particular Patristic doctrine of redemption (ie.: the Christus Victor theme proposed by Aulen), that this is largely due to the failure of the primitive church to select any decisive moment in the incarnate life of Christ. Somehow, the whole of Christ's incarnation and resurrection was seen as involved in the act of redemption; for more emphasis, Turner observes, is placed on the effects of redemption on the life of the Christian church than on the precise moment itself.⁵³

"This certainty of Christ's redemption bound the history of the whole world together; ... it became a life-story of the people of God in the midst of the world."⁵⁴

Processes of Change or Transition in Human Society.

A fourth form of historical reflection that was practiced in the early second century Christian community was that which described processes of change or transition within human society. Though sometimes related to Old Testament references, these historical allusions, as in the creation

allusions, need not have referred to any specific event. Though they were infrequent, their use indicates that the early Christian community saw itself as governed and defined by dynamics which operate within all human society. Theirs was not an entirely spiritual fellowship, its zeal would tend to cool with the passage of time, its young would tend to be impious and impulsive, its people errant and disobedient, just as any similar group would witness under certain conditions. Of concern here are not group characteristics, but group processes, time-related transitions and changes to which any community would be subjected.

Eschatological Images Finally, the community reflected on the historical event of the parousia with language that spoke of history's goal, fulfillment, and end. That future event was regarded as no less historical than was the past;⁵⁵ in fact, the future parousia would bring a fullness to history which neither the past nor the present allowed. The wholeness of time would reveal the fullness of Christ. Since time until then would be partial and preparatory, the community reflected on the ancient promises to approximate that fullness in the immediate situation. The language used to describe worship, especially the eucharist, was often heavily weighted with eschatological historical symbols.⁵⁶ As C. F. D. Moule noted regarding the use of futurist eschatological terminology in the New Testament, the setting of the language of the historical parousia is most often that of a collective of committed Christians, a setting in which corporate consciousness and identity of

the community is reinforced by reflections on God's promises for the age to come.⁵⁷ By participation in the fullest possible dimension of Christ's wholeness, the gathered Christian assembly, the believer was also seen as participating in the fellowship of the fullness of time, the feast of the kingdom of God, the marriage banquet which celebrated the final union of lovers.⁵⁸

It was common, in describing that future history of Christ's community, to use distinctly Old Testament symbols and allusions. This was so because the fulfillment of history was knowable only on the basis of the remembered promises made in the Old Testament revelation to God's chosen people. The eschaton would be the final realization of a process which was itself a unity;⁵⁹ throughout the history of God's people, his ultimate purpose had been revealed in Christ, a revelation which would become fully known only at its ultimate historical moment. It might be stated as well of early second century writers as it is of Justin, that their "primary concern is not for eschatology, but for the whole Word of the historical revelation of Christ."⁶⁰ These reflections on the future history of God's people became intricately symbolic, filled with types and signs that tax the Old Testament exegete's skill; yet the purpose was always the same - to maintain the constancy of God's promise from the Exodus to the eschaton.⁶¹

The historical reflection of the community on the end of time often employs references to the beginning of time. This was especially true in language which might be

considered apocalyptic,⁶² though a whole range of eschatological symbols and references indicated a correlation between creation and the parousia. In these symbols, the birth/death syzygy was developed so that the teleological and ultimate intention of God for his community in creation would be realized in the second coming of Christ, the millennial seventh day. In these eschatological reflections, the processes and purposes of creation, the Old Testament history of God's revelation among his people, the witness of Christ and his apostles, the evolutions of human society, and the remembrance of God's promises combine. As nowhere else, eschatological language illustrates the wealth of early second century historical reflection. Yet eschatology was not itself a primary theme, nor was the delay of the parousia an apparent problem to the community.⁶³ Instead, eschatological historical allusions are drawn which gave direction, purpose, and discipline to the community as it addressed problems of purely practical nature: persecution, disunity, corporate identity, etc.

In defining these classifications of early second century historical references, it must be pointed out that the purpose is not to indicate that historical reflections were thus compartmentalized. Given examples often illustrate several categories drawn from natural processes, the Old Testament, or Jesus' promise of coming again. Instead, these classifications are intended to indicate the full scope of historical and time-related considerations with the effort to include natural and social processes, as well as certain Old Testament and eschatological symbols, which

are not usually included in studies of early Christian historiography,⁶⁴ especially those concerned with certain narrowly-defined heilsgeschichtliche themes.⁶⁵ For the community of the early second century, the concern was not simply that of discovering the role of God's people in history, but of discovering to what extent Christ was lord of time and the extending this identity to the Christ/community. The koinonia, it will be shown, regarded itself as participating in Christ's drama of salvation; it shared time and eternity with him and found its real existence most vividly in reflection on his image, wherever or whenever that might be glimpsed.⁶⁶ Any event of birth/death, creation/new creation, ἀρχὴ/ἔσχατον was freely appropriated to demonstrate Christ's activity to the community which sought, by remembering him, to actualize his real life. The full scope of the early community's identity in relation to time and history will become apparent as the several authors of the era are individually considered.

Before examining individual sources from the early second century church, it is necessary to define the scope of that scrutiny. Of concern in this study is the use to which historical reflections were put in the life of the koinonia, the extent to which time and history became part of the community's self-reflections and resultant identity. This study is not concerned with the history of the sources themselves or their importance in shaping the history of the early church. Nor is it specifically seeking an understanding of early Christian historiography.⁶⁷ The concern

for the pedagogy of the community,⁶⁸ especially as it relates to Old Testament history and tradition, is certainly germane to this study, yet only in the effect that pedagogy had on forming the community. Pedagogy was preliminary to the community's reflection on history and its application of history to its immediate circumstance. Finally, this study will not address the question, exciting as it is, of early Christian hermeneutics, with its corollary issues of scriptural inspiration, transmission, and exegesis. Divine inspiration is presumed by every writer of the early second century of both the Old Testament and the sayings and remembrances of Jesus and the apostles. The concern for secretly-transmitted esoteric sources of truth had not yet arisen, and the exegetical methods, though diverse, conform to patterns already common in Jewish contemporaries.⁶⁹ It will be necessary, however, to scrutinize the sources for the role of Christ in time and history, since, as indicated above, self-reflection in the community was often indistinguishable and undifferentiated from Christological reflection.

First Pattern of Historical Reflection on the Koinonia -
The Epiphanic

I Clement. The first source to be considered is I Clement; first because he demonstrates a paradigm to which other smaller works may be referred, and also first because I Clement portrays a disciplined reflection on time and history as the major resource for a congregation's needs for a common life. I Clement was, above all, an inter-congregational correspondent, addressing the Corinthian congregation with an understanding which the Roman congregation (ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ παροικοῦσα Ρώμην)⁷⁰ believed related to certain common problems.⁷¹ In its own reflections on its needs and concerns, the Roman congregation⁷² had found resources in certain easily-neglected lessons from the history of God's people, resources with which the Corinthians were also familiar. By reminding the Corinthian congregation of these lessons, the Romans presumed that repentance would immediately follow: the new life of a congregation depended on the creative (or re-creative) task of being reminded of history's lessons. Clement clearly writes on behalf of his whole congregation,⁷³ gladly seeking to instruct Christians who are his equals, if not his superiors, in the faith.⁷⁴ In concluding his comments, Clement affirmed that "we had the more pleasure in reminding you of these things (concerning faith and repentance and true love and self-control...) because we knew well that we wrote you as men who were faithful and

reputable and had studied the oracles (λόγια) of the teaching of God."⁷⁵

The situation of the Corinthian congregation dictated the outline of Clement's letter. Apparently, young and impetuous elements of the congregation had become jealous of the leadership of the older, more prudent men, so that the peace and harmony of the congregation were jeopardized by the removal of the elders from their offices.⁷⁶ This had disrupted the entire congregation, since those extruded leaders had had apostolic appointment, the consent of the church (συνευδοκήσας ⁷⁵ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης), and a blameless and fruitful ministry of service to Christ's flock.⁷⁷

Clement's response was not only to seek to heal this breach, but to use it as an example, together with similar examples drawn from creation and history, to indicate that which alone is salutary, Jesus Christ. For it was by a deliberate and repeated rhythm that Clement addressed the Corinthians with their immediate problem, the historic examples of that problem, the revelation of God which had historically responded to that problem, the God of history who had created the congregation, and the Christ whose history lives in that congregation. The momentum was subtle, not always followed with the same consistent elements, yet moved to redirect the congregation's attention away from itself, through God's revelations in time and history, to a more proper concentration on Christ and his chosen people. Clement's method is best stated immediately after his analysis of the Corinthian problem of jealousy:

Let us put aside empty and vain concerns and come to glorious and solemn rule of our tradition (παράδοσις). Let us behold whatever is good and pleasing and acceptable to Him who has created us. Let us concentrate our attention on the blood of Christ and know how precious it is to his Father, because it was poured out for our salvation and brought the grace of new life for all the world. Let us survey all the generations, and let us learn that in generation after generation the master has given a place for new life to those who are willing to return to him.⁷⁸

Clement immediately adds the examples of Noah and Jonah to illustrate God's historic promises in the Christ. He thereby evokes the whole of time and history to be surveyed by the Corinthian congregation, commanding its attention and transporting that attention to a history which is ultimately more true than its separated and static inertia. History thus not only had a pedagogic purpose in response to Corinth's problem of jealousy and schism,⁷⁹ it had the greater purpose of uniting the individuals of the congregation with the continuing historic unity (ὁμολοία) of Christ and his church. Considerations of time and history refocused the congregation to the lord of time and history; and in that renewed vision, new life and identity were created in the koinonia itself.

The rhythmic procession of I Clement begins, after introductory greetings to the Corinthian church, with a statement of the time-worn fundamental sin of mankind - the sin of envy, caused by the devil, "by which death entered the world,"⁸⁰ resulting in a loss of citizenship.⁸¹ For it was jealousy leading to fratricide that infected the human race from its very beginning.⁸² For the purpose of understanding Clement's focus on the Corinthian community's problems in the koinonia, the origin of sin, it is important

to note, was not by Adam's fall, but by Cain's murder of Abel. "From this arose jealousy and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity:"⁸³ a chain-reaction of evil began that would be exemplified not only in Cain and Abel,⁸⁴ but in Joseph and his brothers,⁸⁵ Moses and his followers,⁸⁶ Aaron and his detractors, David and Saul,⁸⁷ Peter, Paul,⁸⁸ and all who "contended in the days nearest to us,"⁸⁹ including the martyred women of common knowledge to Corinth and Rome.⁹⁰ Not only is this human condition graphically portrayed in Old Testament and apostolic witness which is repeated in the martyr's example, it is that which is evident in the alienation of wives from their husbands and the conflicts of neighboring cities and nations.⁹¹ All persons, of both sacred and secular example, share the same struggle.⁹² Therefore, Clement commends the Corinthians not to be overwhelmed with empty and vain cares, but to concentrate on the blood of Christ which alone redeems time and grants new life.⁹³ Since sin is essentially defined as the breaking of human relationships, grace is therefore the re-establishment of true human community through the ultimate example of Christ and his blood. Sin equals disharmony with and among men; grace equals re-created harmony with and among men. But since disharmony is historic and germane to humanity, grace is also regarded as historic in Christ and endowed with humanity that leads to peace and love as the ultimate purposes of creation.⁹⁴ When these purposes are perfected, those who have lived in Christ's love "shall be made manifest in the visitation of the kingdom of Christ"

(οἱ φανερωθήσονται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ χριστοῦ)⁹⁵

The eschatological hope is therefore identified with the creative purpose now possible in Christ - that men should live in the harmony of love and peace. History manifests that continued rhythm of creative purpose which overcomes disharmony: history manifests the rhythm of Christ with his community.

The rhythm of the new life that overcomes fratricide and jealousy begins with examples of Noah and Jonah,⁹⁶ whose preaching of the new life echoed the master of all things (δεσπότης πάντων), a term used for the creator, in promising that though the "sins be redder than scarlet or crimson,"⁹⁷ images assigned to the blood of Christ, yet shall a "holy people" be given a "share in new life."⁹⁸ The rhythm of promise that led to Christ's blood is immediately followed by examples of obedience in Enoch and Noah, faithfulness in Abraham, hospitality in Abraham, Lot, and Rahab,⁹⁹ concluding again with the Christological refocusing, "especially remembering the words of the lord Jesus."¹⁰⁰ This was immediately made relevant to the Corinthian situation and its needs for peaceable and pious humility.¹⁰¹ But the pause to consider Corinth is brief, followed quickly by another historical excursus to remember the humility portrayed in Isaiah's prophecy of the suffering servant,¹⁰² the humility which we are asked to imitate from the example of Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel,¹⁰³ and the penitential psalms of David.¹⁰⁴ The purpose of these rhythmic reflections on history is then confirmed: "Seeing then that we have received a share in

many great and glorious deeds, let us hasten on to the goal (σκοπός) of peace, which was given us from the beginning, and let us fix our gaze on the Father and creator of the whole world and cleave to his splendid and excellent gifts of peace, and to his good deeds to us."¹⁰⁵ The Corinthian Christian is asked to remember the examples of the past, that by remembering he might perceive a greater reality of which he is a part. Even creation confirms this greater reality in the orderliness and harmony of the sun and moon, the seasons, the limits of the seas, and the integration of animal life on the earth.¹⁰⁶ These natural processes are specifically related, not only to the peace and harmony of God's people, but to Christ, who in his nearness to us is aware of all thoughts and deeds.¹⁰⁷ The image of the tree enables Clement to relate both the historic example and the Christological nearness to the immediate Corinthian situation:

Oh, foolish men, compare yourselves to a tree: take a vine, first it sheds its leaves, then there comes a bud, then a leaf, then a flower, after this the unripe grape, then the full bunch. See how in a little time the fruit of the tree comes to ripeness. Truly his will shall be quickly and suddenly accomplished, as the scripture also bears witness that 'he shall come quickly and shall not tarry, and the lord shall suddenly come to his temple, and the holy one for whom you look'.¹⁰⁸

History, together with the natural processes of time, has been brought to the Corinthians, the history of Christ's ultimate will and purpose. His nearness, which had been considered spatial, becomes temporal as well. Though frustrated by the Corinthian schism, this nearness of Christ in the congregation will ultimately and inexorably combine the creative purpose (fruitfulness) with the eschatological

event (ripeness). The rhythmic integration of history, Christology, the Corinthian situation, creation and eschaton has again run its course.

Much attention has been drawn to Clement's use of natural symbols and processes, especially in chapters 20 and 24. His concern for the eschaton causes Clement to seek examples of the resurrection in the processes of nature. The resurrection-parousia is thus reinforced as an act of creation. Yet the concern has been the extent to which Clement here reflects Stoic and other Hellenistic ideas, both in his treatment of nature and his use of the examples of history. The Stoic commonly expressed a coincidence between the processes of nature and man, thereby urging man to accept a role nature assigns and allows, while exalting virtues of harmony and orderliness which the logos had expressed in material manifestations. This philosophic orientation is said to have been reinforced in I Clement by ancient rhetorical methods of proving an argument by citations taken from ancient examples, not unlike that method of Demosthenes.¹⁰ Though there are certainly Greek cultural influences reflected in I Clement, the most obvious of which is his citation of the phoenix myth as an example of the resurrection,¹¹⁰ these influences must be considered in the context of wholly different orientations regarding time and nature in Clement. Both time and nature are not only the arenas of God's activity, they were created by God and express his revelations (φανεροποίησας).¹¹¹ In this creation of time and nature, Christ became the agent of the father's action;

his name bears the continuing creative power.¹¹² Furthermore, as George Florovsky has pointed out, there is in Clement and his early Christian associates a concept of time as created by God and linear, beginning at creation and concluding at an eschaton, a notion which violated the Stoic Greek assumption.¹¹³ To the Hellenistic mind, time was eternal, matter was uncreated, and the gods brought order and harmony to the otherwise chaotic time and nature. To Clement, however, God through Christ created, ordered, and would eventually fulfill both time and nature. The method of argument, which may indeed bear comparison with Hellenistic models, is, as Daniélou has indicated, one commonly used by the typically Jewish haggada, in which Old Testament examples are presented as object-lessons for certain virtues, not unlike the method evident in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews.¹¹⁴

I Clement proceeds to develop continuing lessons from history's storehouse of exemplary saints who combatted disharmony and fratricide. They are portrayed before the community of God's elect, who are separated from among the nations, the sons of Adam, as a people in the midst of other peoples, a consecrated community from which Christ would come to reconfirm the ancient promise of resurrection.¹¹⁵ God's people sojourn among the nations,¹¹⁶ as they have since creation, that through them Christ's manifestations might be known. They "are the portion of the one who is holy,"¹¹⁷ richly blessed so that the same "testimony might be given to our good deeds as was given to our forefathers."¹¹⁸

Another rhythm in Clement cites historic examples of the good deeds of the forefathers that brought God's blessings to Jacob¹¹⁹ and Israel's kings and rulers.¹²⁰ The Corinthian community itself has been elected in Christ for good deeds. This is the basic pattern of creation's goodness,¹²¹ leading ultimately to the coming of the Christ who reveals the good works of the community.¹²² Appealing again to the Corinthian situation, Clement urges them to come to a single mind (*ὁμόνοια*) that they may "share the promised gifts."¹²³ This is related to Christ "through whom our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms towards the light."¹²⁴ This repetition of Old Testament examples, allusions to natural processes, applications to Christ, relevances to Corinth, directions towards the eschaton, etc., continues throughout. It is used to re-establish authority and obedience to order in the church,¹²⁵ to illustrate the causes of the persecution of the righteous,¹²⁶ to cite love as the fulfillment of God's purposes in Christ and his people,¹²⁷ to appeal for forgiveness.¹²⁸ In each case "this has been in the past and will be in the future the conduct of those who live without regrets as citizens of the city of God."¹²⁹ For Christ is the lord of all time (*δεσπότης τῶν αἰώνων*)¹³⁰ apart from whom there is no future.¹³¹ The concluding prayer¹³² is addressed to a lord in whom all creation, all history, and all hope are combined in the manifestations of Christ among his people.

Certain characteristic features of I Clement may be identified within the intricacies of his statement of

Christian harmony. Together, these features both declare Clement's intention in writing to the Corinthians and, in a broader context, define the identity of the Christian community. The church's identity is derived from remembering or being reminded.¹³³ The community has a corporate memory of the examples of history and of the declared purposes and promises of God;¹³⁴ it is the repository into which God had revealed himself throughout history.¹³⁵ From creation itself the revelation of God had been consistently manifest, but the Christ has brought in himself the more knowledge, the wholeness and harmony, of what might otherwise appear fragmentary,¹³⁶ especially the commandments. The epiphanic λόγια of God had been complete, but man's vision and understanding of them had been compromised by human jealousy and disunity.¹³⁷ The community of Christ, his body, is as ancient as are the λόγια, for by revealing himself the people of God are created.¹³⁸ The koinonia, the community which shares and reflects upon the common history, is itself the primary purpose of God, in creation, in the cross of Christ, and in the promised day of fulfillment. The koinonia is the place in which God has made manifest the Christ; it exists to preserve the remembrance of that epiphany in time and history, to represent the unity of purpose and wholeness of example that are in Christ until the final day. Consequently, the relationship of persons in the koinonia which assures unity and wholeness is the ultimate preconditions for Christ's presence.

Since the community has received and known the epiphany of God since creation, and since the Christ has

revealed himself throughout all time and history, it might well be asked what Clement perceives as new in the incarnation of Christ. Harnack, Lightfoot, and Knopf rightly observe that I Clement's fundamental theological concern is soteriology,¹³⁹ yet that salvation for I Clement had degenerated from the Pauline ideal to become a new nomism.¹⁴⁰ Though the legalism of I Clement is certainly evident,¹⁴¹ it must be said that Clement is not concerned with issues of atonement, the satisfaction of divine justice, or individual righteousness before God. It is never completely clear whether Christ has made total satisfaction for man's sins or the Christian is yet obligated to fulfill all God's commandments: this is not a question Clement addresses. Salvation is related to the incarnation of Christ, yet this is explained no further.¹⁴² Strictly speaking, it is through the mysterious 'insanguinization' of Christ, his shedding of his own blood, that salvation comes to man. Yet that 'red thread' of Christ's blood is knowable in the Old Testament as well as in the crucifixion.¹⁴³ Though no consistent theology of the atonement is therefore possible, soteriology remains the central concern - Clement is urgently appealing for a fully corporate saving community. His concern is not the salvation effected through Christ, but the salvation manifested in and through the Christ/community. Christ's unique role in bringing salvation is ambiguous, but the role of the harmonious and humbly obedient community in bringing salvation is unequivocally stated. The resurrection is knowable in nature, in history, in Christ (even in the Phoenix); yet it will be

claimed only by those who share a portion together as God's separate and unique people.¹⁴⁴

New Testament Sources. Certain of Clement's characteristic perspectives on the role of history in defining the identity of the koinonia are shared by several of his contemporaries. They are cited not because they concur with I Clement in his purpose, language, or basic theological orientation, but because they perceive time and history as a continuity from creation to eschaton, a continuity which, though interrupted by sin and death (discord, disharmony, disobedience, etc.), is eternally revitalized by the epiphanies of Christ within his community.

Contemporary New Testament writings certainly reflect many of these themes. The Catholic epistles all address schismatics within Christian congregations with the hope of reminding those who are in discord with the historic examples which would recreate and re-establish true community, thus bringing faithfulness to Christ.¹⁴⁵ In several instances, a perspective regarding the relationship between the community's self-reflection and history is expressed which comes close to that of I Clement. The Third Epistle of John addresses a situation in which lack of hospitality shown to travelers, especially strangers among the brethren,¹⁴⁶ jeopardizes the very truth of the community's witness.¹⁴⁷ The Epistle of James repeats I Clement's diagnosis of congregational discord as jealousy and covetousness¹⁴⁸ resulting in disorder and immorality¹⁴⁹ that are tantamount to murder.¹⁵⁰ James also employs the

familiar figure of Rahab,¹⁵¹ time related processes of creation,¹⁵² and the heightened responsibility of the teachers in the community.¹⁵³ Yet seldom in James (only in the brief allusions to Abraham, Rahab, Job, and Elijah)¹⁵⁴ and never in III John are Old Testament references made, and neither applies history to Christology. The activity of God, nevertheless, is epiphanic, though less historically conditioned or Christologically defined. God reveals himself to his people as a light without shadow, an implanted word, a wisdom from above,¹⁵⁵ and he has done so since creation and will until the eschaton.¹⁵⁶ As will become apparent in examining the Didache, the less historical categories are used in the community's self-reflections, the less Christological is the definition of that community.

The Christology of II Peter, however, is intricately developed in historical categories. The Old Testament narrative provides examples of the defilement of the community.¹⁵⁷ Since creation itself, a remnant has been preserved¹⁵⁸ which maintains the very virtues, listed in a succession ending in love, not unlike the rhythmic virtues of I Clement,¹⁵⁹ and which confirms the call and election of the members of the eternal kingdom. As an equal, just as in I Clement, II Peter writes to remind¹⁶⁰ a troubled congregation of the complete continuity of God's revelations in all history. Those who defile the community not only jeopardize its purity and fullness at Christ's coming,¹⁶¹ "they deliberately ignore this fact, that by the word of God heavens existed long ago, and an

earth formed out of water and by means of water, through which the world that then existed was deluged with water and perished (except Noah and the seven with him¹⁶²). But by the same word the heavens and earth that now exist have been stored up for fire, kept until the day of judgment and the destruction of ungodly men."¹⁶³ The revelation of the word is clearly Christ, whose transfiguration provides the example of how God operates among his people to be "as a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts."¹⁶⁴ This profile is anticipated in Jude, for whom the historic examples (both in the processes of nature¹⁶⁵ and in the Old Testament¹⁶⁶) are endowed with Christological meaning, applied to the situation of congregational disharmony, and projected through all time and history.¹⁶⁷

Papias. Although merely scattered fragments are preserved of his work, Papias would also seem to illustrate this same pattern of historical reflection. The twentieth century student is likely to regard Papias as an exception among his peers, with his insistence on preserving an oral witness to the remembrances (ἀπομνημονεύματα) of Christ which fulfill Old Testament history,¹⁶⁸ yet to his contemporaries his concerns were probably commonly shared. The fellowship itself enshrined and transmitted the history of God's revelation even more faithfully than the written word. His works are called oracles (λογίων κυριακῶν),¹⁶⁹ and by them he attempted to instruct the church with the apostolic witness to Christ that would be the pattern for the millennial reign to come. This

millennial age would reduplicate the six days of creation, Christ, and the whole church.¹⁷⁰ The scant fragments indicate that, even among the most unlettered Christians, historical testimonia were not only preserved, but used in daily reflection on the community's meaning and ultimate purpose.¹⁷¹

Didache. This sense of history's use in the daily life of the church, especially in its assembly for worship, is evident in the few references which the Didache makes to history, either past or future. In teaching the two ways inherited from the apostles, the text is devoid of either historical references or Christological reflection.¹⁷²

However, when those teachings are related to the worship life of the congregation,¹⁷³ or problems of unity or discipline,¹⁷⁴ the historical allusions (to the lives of the saints, the times and traditions of the sabbath, the Passover haggadah, creation, the events of Christ's life, or the eschaton) are immediately employed in conjunction with the Christological reference. Generalized ethical paraenesis is stated in the same forms as in James and III John, yet a situation of current significance to the community involves Christological language and historical reflection. The final prayer of the Eucharist typifies this connection: "Thou, Lord Almighty, didst create all things for thy name's sake, and didst give food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they may give thanks to thee, for thou hast blessed us with spiritual food and drink through thy Child."¹⁷⁵ The 'Gospel of the Lord'¹⁷⁶ instructs and regenerates the congregation until Christ's

coming, when the "signs of the truth shall be manifest "¹⁷⁶
 (φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας), signs which had been
 since the creation of mankind. The community becomes for
 the Didache a place in which the revealing signs, manifest-
 ations, light, and truth of Christ have been known since
 creation and will be fulfilled at the eschaton. It is,
 however, most succinctly stated where attention is focused
 on the worship and hospitality of the congregation.

II Clement. The homily which is commonly called II Clement
 must also be considered among those sources which reflect
 characteristics similar to those above regarding the role
 of history in the community. It must be noted, however,
 that II Clement bears characteristics of another historical
 perspective, that of Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon,
 which is quite unlike that of I Clement; yet elements of
 both types appear in II Clement side by side. The author's
 basic concern is much the same as that of II Peter: to
 direct to the attention of a troubled congregation the
 awesome judgment that Christ will bring to those who
 defile his commandments and pervert the purposes for
 which God created the community.¹⁷⁷ An attitude had
 emerged in the congregation which is characterized by
 the denial of the Christ, disregard for fellowship,
 condescension to the values of the world, lack of repen-
 tant zeal for purity, and a denial of the judgment and
 resurrection of the flesh in the promised coming of the
 Christ.¹⁷⁸ The result of these evils has been a lack of
 peace and love among the brethren, a disharmony of not

"all having the same mind, gathered together unto life."¹⁷⁹ The community is asked to repent of its 'double-mindedness' and to remember the λόγια of God which have been manifest among his people.¹⁸⁰ The full and final manifestation (ἐπιφανεῖα) is that of the Christ, in creation, in the flesh, and at the final day.¹⁸¹

There is a confusion in II Clement, however, regarding the community's position in history. The central argument stresses a future realization of the revelation of Christ among his people, that at the final day (and only at the final day), the lessons of history will bear fruit, lessons which have been in the church since creation.¹⁸² Yet a second theme also appears; that history ended with Christ's incarnation, the sojourn of the church in the world is completed, and the Christian community has attained its fulfillment.¹⁸³ The community no longer simply manifests the Christ, it bears in itself the full and final form of the Christ.

Thus, brethren, if we do the will of our Father, God, we shall belong to the first church, the spiritual one which was created before the sun and the moon (note the comparison with I Clement (20:32), in which the church's harmony is compared to the periodic rising of the sun and moon, with no indication of a pre-historic or pre-creation existence); ... Now I imagine that you are not ignorant that the living church is the body of Christ... Moreover the books and the apostles declare that the church belongs not to the present, but has existed from the beginning; for she is spiritual, as was also our Jesus, but he was made manifest in the last days that he might save us; and the church, which is spiritual, was made manifest in the flesh of Christ.¹⁸⁴

Though this confession of II Clement may be regarded as a mixture of futurist and realized eschatologies, it also

demonstrates a fundamental difference between self-reflections of the community which place its identity within the continuous community into which God has revealed himself from creation to eschaton and the self-reflections which identify the community as the goal of history realized in the incarnation of Christ.¹⁸⁵

Summary of the Epiphanic Pattern of Historical Self-

Reflection. Each of these second century works exhibits a certain pattern which is most fully expressed in I Clement's letter. Though elements of this pattern appear in all second century writers (Barnabas also relates Old Testament events to illustrate congregational situations, Ignatius interprets God's revelation as being manifest to an uniquely chosen people, etc.), in those considered above, there is a consistency and cohesion not found in the several alternate patterns which follow. Though the symbols may vary, together with the testimonia and nature-process images which are used, the place of the koinonia in time and history is similarly established. God elected his people pre-historically and created his unique and separate community from the beginning of time.¹⁸⁶ The whole of history has been permeated with manifestations of God's creative purpose, manifestations which the community has received and used for its disciplined faithfulness and harmony. The intention of God's creation will ultimately bear fruit for the community at the coming of Christ, but that coming has been delayed until the whole body of Christ (the full number of the elect¹⁸⁷) has been gathered and

and unified in him. That united body has become jeopardized because, in spite of God's continuous and complete manifestations to his people, disharmony has entered the community and fragmented its unity. Christ was incarnate and crucified to reaffirm God's commitment to his body in the flesh, to heal the fragmentation through substituting a whole body, and to embody the fullness and wholeness of the purpose of creation. The discontinuity (death) brought by jealousy and envy (fratricide) is concurrent with the continuity (new life) of the manifest Christ; and it will be until the parousia. Life and death are equally continuous in history, uninterrupted by the incarnation and crucifixion; but in the incarnation and crucifixion their true nature has been exposed in the Christ. As Christ's life and death culminated in his resurrection,¹⁸⁸ so shall the Christ/community resolve its life/death history in the parousia for which it waits in the pattern of Christ. While waiting, the function of the koinonia is to remember, preserve, and embody the unity of God's manifested purposes for creation. Historical reflection, therefore, defines the connection between creation and eschaton in terms of the immediate situation of the Christ/community.

It is important to note, in this pattern best represented by I Clement, the role of revelation in the life of the community. In contrast to later patterns, revelation is here considered as epiphanic;¹⁸⁹ it conveys manifestations, examples, oracles, glimpses, of light or truth. These epiphanies occur in all historical processes and events, but especially among those people whom God has

selected as his own. The epiphanies of God not only reveal, but, in the Jewish sense of creation, they create and recreate (provide new life and μετένοια). The meaning of these epiphanies is best stated in Christ: he is the content of the history of God's light and truth, in him the manifestation is whole and perfect, united as a single body. The community may reflect on the manifestations of God without Christ, but their relevance to the community's immediate situation is known only when the epiphany is Christologically translated. The manifestation of God addresses the life/death of the community only in terms of the life/death of Christ. The community is itself the proprietor of those epiphanies, as it is created by them; its members share both the manifestations of God and the common lot of jealousy. They are united in a fellowship with history itself, with the examples of the saints of divine λόγια and the promises of temporal nearness to the end of time. The end-time is the fullness of time, when history is itself perfected, the community is united and whole, and Christ is fully manifest.¹⁹⁰

Second Pattern of Historical Reflection on the Koinonia -

The Epiphoric

A second paradigm for the community's historical self-reflection is that which is best demonstrated in the Odes of Solomon and the letters of Ignatius. Though they both have Syrian origins, the perspective on history which they exhibit is by no means unique to them or their region.

It is also typically expressed by martyrologies, apocalyptic writings, and hymnic-poetic material,¹⁹¹ as well as the already mentioned II Clement. Nor is it entirely absent from works whose historical reflections are of quite a different sort.¹⁹² If the former paradigm may be summarized as presenting an epiphanic perspective of history's relationship to the community, the profile of this second pattern might be termed epiphoric, for in it the community is viewed as bearing the Christ, carrying upon or within itself the life, death, and resurrection of Christ which is the goal and meaning of history. The community's life is historic only insofar as it approximates the life of Christ in the world.

Odes of Solomon. The basic pattern for this perspective can be found in the Odes of Solomon. Assuming that they may be considered as a single unit with common authorship,¹⁹³ they will be scrutinized to demonstrate a pattern of an epiphoric community's historical reflections on its own identity, one which regards itself as bearing the revelations of Christ. Although generally regarded as odes used in the worship of the late first and early second century Syrian church, they also betray a certain devotional character which would indicate that they were used by individuals as personal exercises in spirituality.¹⁹⁴ The suggestion has been made that, even though the Odes are most often sung in the first person singular (which has failed to impress those who consign them to exclusively cultic use), they nonetheless often give evidence that

they reflect a collection of mixed historical testimonia and serve as commentaries or interpretations of them.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, even though no Old Testament historical figures or events are directly mentioned and no attempt is made to claim specific Jewish origins for Christianity, "the odist himself lives next door to the synagogue and in the Jewish quarter of his city,"¹⁹⁶ because of his use of material from the traditions of the Targums not unlike material used by the hypothetical Essene community of the Dead Sea scrolls. All modern interpreters accept the odist as thoroughly Christian, yet based upon a sense of history (especially prophetic messianism) common in sapiential literature.¹⁹⁷ Similarities to the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Truth are also well documented, yet it is sufficient for present purposes not to examine the origins of the Odes, but to affirm that they demonstrate widely employed hermeneutical and literary methods, evidence symbols and images shared by many divergent sources, and betray a diverse and complex pattern of traditional assumptions and testimonia known throughout the community which used them. The Odes reflect accepted early Christian patterns of historical reflection.

That community which wrote and made common property of the Odes of Solomon reflected on time and history in ways quite distinct from I Clement. For the odist, God had created this world through Christ by the power of his Word, in the complete perfection of his paradise:

It is he who made the earth broad (he = the Word)
And placed the waters in the sea...

He fixed the creation and set it up...
 And the hosts are subject to his word...
 And by their acceptance one of another
 They complete the beauty of God.
 And there is nothing outside of the Lord,
 Because he was before anything came into being.
 And the worlds were made by his Word.¹⁹⁸

The purpose of creation was devised before history began,¹⁹⁹ as well as was the purpose for the church.²⁰⁰

For the whole of creation was created on behalf of God's people because of the love God had for those who would one day know him and worship him.²⁰¹ The elect ones of God are his unique workmanship, as Christ says:

I willed and fashioned mind and heart,
 And upon my right hand I have set my elect ones.
 And they are my own.²⁰²

They have walked with Christ and God has promised them his name, even before their earthly life.²⁰³ Yet the promise was manifest to Christ, not to man. From the beginning the people of God appeared before Christ, so that there is no possible rejection for those whom God has chosen before creation itself.²⁰⁴ The Odes, therefore, are concerned to establish the pre-historic relationship of Christ and his people, not their historic continuity. For the pre-historic intention of God was never realized until the incarnation, until the end and purpose of God had been fulfilled, the *τέλος* toward which time and history were directed. From its moment of birth, creation had also witnessed death. Brought on by the evil powers with their indelible poison,²⁰⁵ death had perverted the birth and life which God had intended. Reminiscent of the language of I Clement, the odist regards death as the result of jealousy; but, whereas all humanity had formerly succumbed

to jealousy, since Christ's death, victory is possible.²⁰⁶ Consequently, all human history before Christ was the history of death. Life before Christ is compared to a "parched crown that blossoms not",²⁰⁷ and, using the image of Psalm 84:10, one hour in the sanctuary of Christ is "more excellent than all days and years".²⁰⁸ The pre-historical τέλος of creation was held in secret, in the silence of God's Word, awaiting the end of time when deathless life would begin. There is no sense in the Odes of God's having manifested himself to anyone before Christ, nor is there any purpose to remembering a time or history before Christ. Indeed, Christ is more ancient than human memory would allow.²⁰⁹ Paradise, the τέλος of creation in the mind and heart of Christ, remembers God's people,²¹⁰ and the father of truth remembers his promise of Christ.²¹¹ Neither man nor his community gain any meaning from remembering time before Christ; unless it is redeemed by Christ, it is only barrenness, despair, and death.

But in Christ, time has ended. To be more precise, time as life/death has ended. For death has been destroyed, and time and history are concluded in the life/death of Christ. Henceforth, death has ended; Christ has captured the world;²¹² the warfare of life and death is over;²¹³ only life exists for those who live in Christ's eternity.²¹⁴

And I shall be no stranger there (in eternity)
 Because there is no jealousy with the Lord most
 high and merciful.
 I have been united with him (Christ), because the
 lover has found the beloved,
 Because I love him who is the Son, I shall become
 a son.
 Indeed he who is joined to him who is immortal

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Shall be truly immortal.
And he who delights in the life
Will become living.²¹⁵

This becomes possible for the Christian through baptism, a participation in the death of Christ. The Odes of Solomon are filled with baptismal symbols and references which portray this transformation.²¹⁶

The Christian community begins where death ends, at the crucifixion of Christ which brings new life, true life, deathless life. A door has opened to admit a community of deathless persons.²¹⁷ Christ's people now participate as his members, elements of his deathless life.²¹⁸ Time and history continue only as the time of Christ - insofar as he lives, time has meaning;²¹⁹ otherwise it is rendered futile and empty. Not only is the crucifixion itself the point at which the time of death ends and the koinonia of life begins; the descensus is also the point at which the dead are themselves redeemed and made into a community, a community they had not formerly known. Christ is heard to say:

I made a congregation of living among his (death's)
dead;
And I spoke with them by living lips;
In order that my word may not be unprofitable.²²⁰

Sheol was shattered, the graves were emptied, and the unfulfilled promises made to the Patriarchs were honored.²²¹

Again, in words assigned to Christ:

He who caused me to descend from on high
And to ascend from the regions below;
And he who gathers what is in the middle (ie. on the
earth)²²²
And throws them to me; ...
He who overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven
heads,²²³

And set me at his root that I might destroy his
seed;
Thou wert there and helped me,
And in every place thy hand surrounded me,
Thy right hand destroyed the evil poison...
And it (God's hand) chose them from the graves
And separated them from the dead ones.
I took dead bones and covered them with flesh.
But they were motionless.
So it (the flesh) gave (them) energy for life.
And the foundation of everything is thy rock.
And upon it thou hast built thy kingdom.
And it became the dwelling-place of the holy ones.
Hallelujah!²²⁴

In the crucifixion, death is destroyed, and life, the life of Christ's people, begins; in the descent into hell, the fellowship of Patriarchal saints is claimed. History is thus redeemed. History is not seen by the Odes as revealing the redeemer (as was the case with the epiphanic view); instead, the redeemer redeems history. History has not completely ended - only the time of death has ended. History henceforth is the life of Christ among his people. And that life of Christ among his people embodies the pre-historic $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ of God.

The connection between the redeemed community and the purpose of God in creation cannot be overemphasized, for it has been overlooked by many analyses of the Odes of Solomon. Harris and Barnard, for instance, interpret Ode 11, in which the odist is granted a vision of paradise, as an eschatological ode,²²⁵ though Harris elsewhere claims that, because of the odist's belief that eternal life is attainable in the present life, the doctrine of last things is empty.²²⁶ This current is even more strongly expressed by Aune who claims that Ode 11, like all odes, was written to express "the proleptic participation of the worshipping

community in the benefits of eschatological salvation,"²²⁷ a salvation which, though made possible by the incarnation of Christ as the restoration of God's purpose for creation, is realized in the sacramental life of the community.

Daniélou, however, claims that the paradise referred to in Ode 11 is an allusion to the church itself as presently existing, that the odist's vision enables him to perceive its true nature.²²⁸ Yet it could, and, because of the constant motif of creation expressed in the Odes, it should be interpreted that the paradise vision transports the believing community into a perception of the creative purpose of God; that the koinonia is fundamental to those purposes and that all history since creation has been redeemed by Christ to re-establish those purposes. Reflections on paradise,²²⁹ the 'rest' of the saints (the sabbath day, after creation but before the fall),²³⁰ the sanctuary of the saints,²³¹ and the visions of the 'heavenly books'²³² speak to the central concern of the purpose of God in creation. The purpose of God has been realized in Christ. This is reinforced by the concentration on Christ's humiliation and crucifixion (no reference is made in the Odes to Christ's resurrection or glory) which is regarded as the decisive event whereby the community is formed. When death died, Christ descended into hell to reclaim his saints and form them into a community. The line between teleology and eschatology is admittedly indistinct in the Odes, yet it is because of the very blending of themes of creation, redemption, and the last days that the full understanding of God's purpose in time and history, specifically as it creates and

redeems a community, must not be compromised by a narrow view of the eschatological event. If the proper focus is to be claimed, it must be at the point of the crucifixion, for it is in the crucifixion that the ancient purpose of creation, the community of the redeemed, is realized. Furthermore, it is in the crucifixion of Christ that the community finds the most appropriate expression of its present life.

The historical drama of God's creative purpose, the redemption of history in Christ, and the establishment of the Christ/community, is central to the odist's view of the role of the koinonia, its self-reflective identity and purpose. Since death has been destroyed and the congregation constituted in Christ, the people of God 'wear' him and bear him; they are no longer in bondage, bearing the chains of slavery, but, the gates having been opened by the stranger,²³³ they wear Christ himself. As Christ is made to say:

They became my members (parts of my body)
And I was their head.²³⁴

Worn as a crown, a living garland reserved for the victorious athlete, Christ is portrayed as that which gives his body (his members) the symbol of incorruptible salvation.²³⁵ The image is not so much used to convey Christ's regal station as to stress the relationship between the living community and the living Christ which surmounts and defines it.²³⁶ Christ is similarly worn as the garment of the baptismal community, the people of God put him on as a cloak of incorruption in a redeemed creation.²³⁷ The entire meaning of the incarnation is thus that:

He became like me that I might receive him.
 In form he was considered like me
 That I might put him on. ²³⁸

But that Christ which is worn by his people must be pictured as the living and life-giving apparel of the community. In an interesting couplet, the odist first compares Christ to a yoke worn by his people, "I threw over them the yoke of my love;" then he feels constrained to add:

Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride,
 So is my yoke over those who know me. ²³⁹

The epiphoric nature of the community is reinforced by a succession of images which thus stress that God's people, created by Christ's conquest over death, now bear him in a deathless life, a history redeemed from death. The community bears the water of baptism, ²⁴⁰ thereby wearing Christ's death. It is to them a seal, a mark upon their bodies which identifies them. ²⁴¹ By their sign and seal they become recipients of Christ's love and grace, ²⁴² worn as frontlets. Although the priest offers Christ among his people, ²⁴³ the people themselves bear his words, ²⁴⁴ his light, ²⁴⁵ and his joy. ²⁴⁶ Indeed, Christ lives among his people, ²⁴⁷ borne in their midst after the pattern of Mary, the God-bearer. Just as she bore the Christ, ²⁴⁸ so that his life was present even in the darkness of the womb, so the community bears the Christ in the darkness and death of the world. ²⁴⁹ Mary not only bore the Christ, she delivered him without pain:

She labored and bore the son but without pain...
 And she did not require a midwife,
 Because he caused her to give life. ²⁵⁰

Since pain and weakness are associated with a history under

the domination of death, the labor was painless and like that of a "strong man with purpose".²⁵¹

The community's life began with Christ, by Christ it is defined, and in the life of Christ it pursues its course. This must not be confused to say that it is originated, defined, and limited to the earthly life of the historical Jesus; but in the event of the historical Jesus, a living Christ was incarnate, a Christ of life whose life-story would replace the futility of the death-story which had marked history before Jesus. Yet this life-story initiated in Christ, together with the community which was also initiated in him, is no less historic than the death-story. If anything, it is more historic, since it alone is real history; for the Christ alone is real, all else is transitory in the darkness of Sheol.²⁵² Time has meaning insofar as it is lived in the Christ/community. The deification of the believer has not yet occurred, nor has the eschaton arrived. Themes of sanctification, heavenly courtyards, banquets, and judgment are virtually absent in the Odes. Time is suspended at the crisis of the crucifixion, and, although Christ is regarded as the resurrected and ascended lord, those images are faint and the Christ/community remains in the world as the oppressed redeemer, the bringer of light to darkness, the living among the dead.

Although the Odes of Solomon do not appear to have arisen out of any specific crisis of persecution, the theme of the persecuted and martyred community remains their most profound symbol for the role of the community in the newly redeemed history, the redeemed time of Christ. The victory

of new life in Christ surpassed even the most terrible onslaught of suffering and death to which the Christian could be subjected. The confessor church writes:

I was rescued from my chains
 And I fell upon thee, O my God.
 Because thou art the right hand of my salvation,
 And my helper.
 Thou hast restrained those who rise up against me,
 And no more were they seen.
 Because thy face was with me
 Which saved me by thy grace.
 But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many,
 And I was in their eyes like lead...
 I was covered with the coverings of the Spirit.
 And I was removed from the garments of skin.
 Because thy right hand exalted me...
 And all my adversaries were afraid of me,
 And I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord.

Though the references of the Odes remember the baptismal ceremony, symbols, and meaning,²⁵⁴ those familiar images are used to interpret the life incarnate in Christ with the horror of the historical event of the persecutions.²⁵⁵ The Christian community is living a truly historical life, redeemed, strengthened, and empowered to itself bear the life-story of the Christ; and it will continue that life-story in the midst of a darkened and dying world until Christ comes again.

The eschatological hope of the Odes, though often confused with the language of creation and redemption in Christ, is thoroughly for the future. Though the holy day of Christ which fulfills the purpose of paradise has come, the community yet lives in hope.²⁵⁶ That hope, however, is not a plea for salvation; it is the overflow of a life which knows itself saved in Christ. Hope for the future is the 'natural' anticipation of promised gifts of Christ

by those who already share his life.

As honey drips from the honey-comb of bees,
And milk flows from the woman who loves her children,
So also is my hope upon thee, O my God...
And whoever is afraid shall trust in him
And redemption shall be assured in him.
And his possession is immortal life,
And those who receive it are incorruptible.²⁵⁷

Yet the language of futurist eschatology, the assured possession of Christ's life, is seldom divorced from that of creation's pre-historic τέλος and Christ's historic redemption. They are interwoven themes of a worshipping community. As the community integrates the language of creation and parousia in its experience of Christ's life-story, it proceeds through a redeemed history as the bearer of that life-story. The koinonia of that community is established by its common sharing in that very bearing of the Christ: Christians are those who share in bearing Christ. Their community is epiphoric, created by Christ to bear his presence until he comes again.

Ignatius. This role of the koinonia as created in the death of Christ to carry his deathless life until the last day is also perceived by Ignatius as the dominant historical reflection. Though his emphasis does not express the odist's concern for such ideas as the pre-historic election of the community or the same regard for the Old Testament prophet, he follows much the same outline for the common life and interrelationships of persons in the community as a reflection of God's fundamental historic purpose.

Although God has elected his people and predestined their salvation in Christ,²⁵⁸ Ignatius does not suggest that

the community was pre-historically formed. It had been 'prepared by God',²⁵⁹ but there is no mention of a primitive intention of God or of a pristine community. The suggestion, instead, is that there exists a separate heavenly sphere for God and his angels and principalities,²⁶⁰ that in that impenetrable domain of silence and mystery²⁶¹ true reality and true history are known.²⁶² This world, the realm of the created, is subject to the prince of darkness and death,²⁶³ the devil whose singly-mentioned evil is jealousy.²⁶⁴ So complete is the separation between the created order and the divine counterpart that, except for Christ and his church, there is no intercourse between them. The familiar allusions of I Clement and those who share his epiphanic view of the relation of time to the community, that nature's processes reveal God's purposes, are entirely absent in Ignatius.²⁶⁵

The treatment by Ignatius of Old Testament personalities would, at first sight, appear to violate the radical newness of Christ and his formation of his people. Christ is credally referred to as the Son of David,²⁶⁶ yet only to emphasize his total humanity, his incarnational reality. David is in no way portrayed as self-conscious of his sacred progeny's gospel, nor is he regarded as part of a saving community. In Magnesians, Ignatius presents a more complete view of the role of the Old Testament personality in the history of God's dealings with mankind. While addressing the problem caused in the community by so-called Judaizers, Ignatius seeks to put the history of Judaism within the context of the community's life in Christ.

If we are living according to Judaism, we confess that we have not received grace. For the divine prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. Because of this they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace to bring fullness to those who disobeyed; for God is one, he manifested himself through Jesus Christ his son, who is his word proceeding out of silence.²⁶⁷

There is no implication that the prophets were self-conscious of living according to Jesus Christ or that they formed any sort of sacred fellowship with others who shared that self-consciousness;²⁶⁸ on the contrary, it is claimed that grace proceeded entirely from silence until it was manifested as Jesus Christ. Furthermore, the content of this grace was hope itself; that they would no longer live according to laws which brought no life, but would be disciples in the spirit of him "to whom they looked forward as their teacher."²⁶⁹ The content of the prophet's faith was twofold, a despair at the futility of the law to give life and a longing for a new life. "Put aside then the evil leaven, which has grown old and sour, and turn to the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ."²⁷⁰ Again, there is no sense of Christ as the content of the prophet's hope, nor is there any sense of a sacred fellowship within which the prophets spoke their despair and were plagued with persecution. Only in Christ would their despair be redeemed and their hope become possible.

In Ignatius, as in the Odes of Solomon, the theme of Christ's descent into hell is integral to the community's understanding of its role in history. Contrary to the comment by Daniélou that the descensus represents in Ignatius a mythological cosmology which is of minimal importance,²⁷¹

it is central to the way the community claimed that the relationship which they found in their life together through Christ had also, at Christ's death, created a community among those whose hope had anticipated him. Christ is "the door of the Father, through whom Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the prophets, the apostles, and the church enter; all these into the oneness of God."²⁷² And because Christ alone is the manifestation of God and the access to him, "he whom they awaited righteously, when he came, raised them from the dead."²⁷³

Ignatius uses epiphanic language in speaking of God's revelation, yet it is only used to refer to the incarnation of Christ, his crucifixion, or the last time.²⁷⁴ His focus on the historical Jesus is more intense than I Clement's, more focused even than that of the Odes of Solomon. As noted above, he relates credal formulae which insist on Christ's being fully human, flesh and blood, bearing the curse of mortality.²⁷⁵ He urges this 'historic Jesus' portrait in defense against docetists who would deny Christ's full humanity and thereby fragment the wholeness of the community itself.²⁷⁶ But, since Judaizers and docetists appear to have been bedfellows in at least several congregations,²⁷⁷ Ignatius accuses docetists of the same errors as Judaizers. They have both failed to see the central importance of Christ as fully human, thereby creating in his death a fully human community, one which arose from total death and darkness.

In the death of Christ, death died. In a cosmic conflict with the prince of this world, God was manifest

as man according to the plan by which death was to be abolished.²⁷⁸ At his crucifixion, the victory was won which destroyed death and granted life to those who would believe on him. The 'real' world of God was implanted on earth to grant that, alongside the world which led to the despair and death the prophets dared to see, those who defined themselves by the death of Christ would no longer be subject to death's history. In Christ, an option to death has been won.²⁷⁹ There is in Ignatius no direct reference to the odist's image of participating in Christ's death through baptism, yet the thought is no less present; one claims life by dying in Christ.²⁸⁰ Though not baptismally defined, this life is realized whenever the community gathers in the "common meeting in grace" to share the eucharistic bread of Christ's flesh, "which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live forever in Jesus Christ."²⁸¹ Christ is life; his manifestation on this earth brought a life which had not been known before and could not be known apart from him. As the antidote against death, he is the physician who brings "true life amidst death (ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή)." ²⁸² The expression of Christ as the 'true life' is frequent and underscores the contrast between the historic reality he brings to oppose the false hope that death had formerly offered.²⁸³

A community of Christ was created as death was destroyed. It had not formerly existed in any form, for only in his death were persons allowed the sort of life which permits them, in their sharing of Christ, to be alive to others.

The work of coming together has been completed in the blood of Christ, the fire having been made alive for man in Christ's act of salvation.²⁸⁴ "Through his passion he calls you who are his members."²⁸⁵ It is as if men were nailed to the cross of Christ, thereby being among his saints, those who participate in his resurrection.²⁸⁶ Out of the death of Christ emerged a resurrected community, the marks of which are faith and love, faith towards Christ and love towards the community. The Christian community can only survive because death has been defeated in Christ, the life-story is only possible in the Christ/community. Christians are alive when they are together and dead when torn apart by discord; they have life only when they are united as members of the body of Christ.²⁸⁷ The unity and harmony of the church are, therefore, derived from its identity as the community created by Christ's single offering of flesh and blood in the cross.²⁸⁸

To that living community which was created by Christ's death the task has been entrusted to bear that Christ until he comes again. True life, real history, persists in the congregation which bears the Christ. Hence the community's historical reflections on its origins and its relationship to time give it, for Ignatius, the epiphoric identity which was noted in the Odes of Solomon. The manifestation of Christ was complete in his cross and resurrection, so his community lives to embody that moment of revelation throughout whatever history remains, brief though Ignatius believed that to be.²⁸⁹ Christians together share in bearing the

ensign of Christ's cross,²⁹⁰ the name which brings life,²⁹¹ the bonds of Christ,²⁹² and other symbols of his life and death. They are elements of the temple which contains the Christ,²⁹³ compared with the mother of Christ as hidden from the prince of this world.²⁹⁴ The community bears fruit, it lives and is generated in its fruitfulness, because of the life it has in Christ.²⁹⁵ Indeed, as the representative of his community, Ignatius is himself called Theophoros, the God-bearer.²⁹⁶ The historic example for the community regarding its ministry and life is that of the apostles and disciples. They were united to Christ as a prototype of those who would follow, by their example one-mindedness and harmony might prevail among those who share their faith.²⁹⁷

The Christian community lives nothing less than the life, death, and resurrection of Christ. This is its fulfillment, its purpose which coincides its life to that of the heavenly court. The community vicariously relives Christ's life, death, and resurrection through its members, and together they embody that which is individually lived.²⁹⁸ They share the life of discipleship, the model set for the community by Peter and Paul, in imitating the suffering and death they endured with Christ.²⁹⁹ This sharing of Christ's death attains its most profound meaning in Ignatius' sharing of his martyrdom for the community itself. In his death the community participates; it forms the chorus of a hymn at the altar where Christ is sung.³⁰⁰

Although the community participates in the death of Christ to attain its life, it will not participate in Christ's resurrection until the parousia. The community attains to

Christ³⁰¹ in an age to come.³⁰² The life-story initiated by Christ's resurrection is not yet completed; the world is still dominated by Satan's legions. Yet the suffering and death which appear to define it do not have power over Christians; for death is, in the life-story of Christ, really birth.³⁰³ But that birth is only known in this age as hope.³⁰⁴ The eschaton has not been realized in Christ's resurrection, nor is it realized in the life of the community.³⁰⁵ Only the death and resurrection of Christ have been realized, and from them life has been given. The resurrection of Christ which brings the fulfillment of life (the 'attaining' to God) has not yet appeared in the community and will not until Christ comes again.

Polycarp. This epiphoric pattern of the meaning of historical reflection for the life of the early Christian community which has been detailed in the Odes of Solomon and the letters of Ignatius is shared by several other contemporary writers. Polycarp also describes a community elected in Christ's death.³⁰⁶ More to the purpose of his letter, he urges the Philippian congregation to bear the name of Christ,³⁰⁷ bear his fruit in the world,³⁰⁸ a fruit of life and hope. As Christ has borne our sins on the cross, Christians also bear him,³⁰⁹ the life he gave to us and to our fellowship together. We are also commanded, even more forcefully than in Ignatius,³¹⁰ to hope for Christ's coming to raise his saints in glory,³¹¹ that we might be a community of the resurrected. These terms and symbols are frequent in the early martyrologies, where the martyrs are compared to Mary, die on behalf of a whole community which bears

Christ's life, death, and resurrection, and claim life only through Christ's death.³¹² In the Martyrdom of Polycarp, he is arrested in the 'upper room' and taken to 'Herod', the Jewish crowds call for his execution, and he dies thanking God that he had been able to "share in the cup of thy Christ along with the number of martyrs."³¹³

Ascension of Isaiah. As a final example of the Christian community's epiphoric reflections on its role in history, mention must be made of apocalyptic writings, of which the Ascension of Isaiah illustrates the early second century pattern.³¹⁴ In a vision, Isaiah is guided by the Holy Spirit to heaven where he beholds the promised Christ undertake successive transformations to assume the form and likeness of man on earth.³¹⁵ He is painlessly born of Mary, is crucified, resurrected, and ascends through the seven heavens to await his saints' arrival. Isaiah is ordered to keep his vision a secret,³¹⁶ since the Christ would not be manifest on earth for centuries³¹⁷ and his community would not appear until after the crucifixion.³¹⁸ At the end of time, the Holy Spirit is promised to Isaiah, that he would be drawn to receive the garments and crowns of glory which are reserved in heaven. The Christian community to be realized at Christ's death will be a duplication of the heavenly pattern which it will approximate. "For as it is above, so it is also on the Earth."³¹⁹ Furthermore, the community thus created by Christ's death will bear the likeness and image of his heavenly presence; his saints will look and behave like him, united in the word which becomes their

common identity.³²⁰ Isaiah is apparently granted this unique vision because, in his forthcoming martyrdom, he too bears the image of Christ. The intention of the narrative is to portray that in his incarnation and crucifixion, Christ has redeemed the Old Testament prophetic figure; he has redeemed the past from the death to which it was consigned.³²¹

Summary of Epiphoric Pattern of Historical Self-Reflection.

I Clement and those described with him have been regarded as indicating an epiphanic view of the relation between the community of Christ and history. Christ appeared in his community, revealing his purpose from creation to eschaton; in the midst of a world of death, the life of Christ has always been known among his people. Persons within the community were asked to regard the historic examples of this, in God's people Israel as well as in all time and creative processes, to discover the lessons of their koinonia. Their koinonia was created and directed through history by the epiphanies of God in Christ, epiphanies which brought life (unity, light, truth, harmony) to the Christ/community. A second pattern of the relation between the community and history has been characterized by Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon. In this understanding, here called epiphoric, the community bears the incarnation and crucifixion of the Christ who alone created a sacred and saving koinonia. Though history began at creation, it was the history of death until Christ's cross, at which time it became a redeemed history, a history of life. Christ is himself

the manifestation of God's power and purpose; not known before the incarnation, and not fully realized in the community in his resurrected form until the parousia. Though God's purpose in Christ was divinely ordained and God's people in Christ were elected by God prior to and independent from human history, neither God's purpose nor God's people took real form on earth until Christ made life possible in his death. With Christ the real history of God's purposes and people begins, but it is only known within the community that Christ died to create. Indeed, only at Christ's death did the meaning of previous history become known when Christ descended to redeem the ancient prophets and patriarchs and include them in his kingdom. Christ revealed the meaning of history by conquering death and granting new life, and he redeemed history by bringing to earth the life-giving purposes of the heavenly court. The community thus created finds its fellowship, its koinonia of persons, in the Christ whom its members commonly share and bear. Bearing the name, ensign, cross, fruit, life, and martyrdom of Christ, the community attains fellowship not by remembering the lessons of the historic examples of Christ, but by continuing a history of Christ whose death initiated true history. History does not reveal Christ to the community - the community of Christ reveals the meaning of history, it embodies the life/death of Christ.

Third Pattern of Historical Reflection on the Koinonia -

The Purgative

A third paradigm of historical reflection by the early second century community is that typified by the Epistle of Barnabas, Hermas, and the Gospel of Truth. In this form, the community fulfills the ageless revelation of Christ in purging the human race of its historic defilement. It is itself created by the pure and holy commandments of God, yet requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood as the ultimate demonstration of God's purifying love of mankind in order to attain the fulfillment of his law and truth. This paradigm is similar to those already mentioned in many ways, yet it assigns to the community a role which is neither obvious nor expressed in them: that the community's inner life must be primarily directed towards 'counseling' its members on the perfect law and truth of Christ which alone qualifies them for purity. This role is made necessary because of the understanding of God's action with his people in history.

Barnabas. The sequential development of Barnabas betrays the complex relationship between the Christ/community's self-reflections and its historical reflections. It is not unlike the pattern of I Clement in its interwoven references to Old Testament history, creation, Christology, and the immediate situation of the community. Yet, whereas I Clement employs the Old Testament and creation's processes as examples of the manifestation of God's gracious purposes for his people, Barnabas employs the Old Testament to provide evidence of

the failure of God's people to fulfill his suprahistoric commands for purity. Barnabas introduces himself to his addressees, whom he calls his sons and daughters (not the brothers and sisters of I Clement and Ignatius), as one who understands the way of righteousness.³²² The addressees have received a certain basic doctrine (δόγμα) of the "hope of life",³²³ yet the judgment which proceeds from and results in righteousness and the love of joy which is derived from righteousness are apparently absent among them. Barnabas would instruct them, as one among them, regarding this judgment and righteousness, since "the lord has made known to us through the prophets the things past and present and has given to us the firstfruits of the things to come."³²⁴ Although the world is dominated by evil, God has overcome evil history with the true law of Christ³²⁵ which alone gives life to the obedient. Unlike the old law of the Jews which resulted in bitterness, constraint, and arrogance, the new law, the true law (true to the holiness of God and renewed in Jesus³²⁶) leads to purity.³²⁷ The task of disciplining the people of God is urgent, Barnabas warns, since lawlessness threatens to overwhelm the community, people are tempted to become compromised by the evils of the world, and the day of judgment is advancing.³²⁸ The history of God's dealings with his people in the Old Testament, together with the history of the evils of the world, are comprehended Christologically, in that Christ came to cleanse his people by his sprinkled blood, destroy death, and reveal the desperate sins that dominate mankind.³²⁹ Continuing chapters demonstrate the purificatory purpose of God for his people in facing the

sins history has created, his supreme sanctification in Christ, and his continuing work among his Christ/community. Cleansing is tied to the purpose of creation, the sea, the land flowing in milk and honey, that the last days would erase the defilement of the earth itself.³³⁰ The Old Testament testifies that the Jews misunderstood God's intentions of purity and, by their distortions, further polluted the people of God. They did not see fasting as a symbolic act of cleansing leading to the Christ,³³¹ nor did they properly understand sacrifice as purity,³³² circumcision as self-denial,³³³ the food laws as cleanliness,³³⁴ or the baptism of Christ on the cross as a catharsis.³³⁵ Each event was intended by God as an act of divine cleansing, a statement of God's commandment summarized in the blood of Christ.³³⁶ Hence, there are two nations, two radically different peoples: one is bound to the history of error and sin,³³⁷ the other is redeemed and prepared as a holy people.³³⁸ Those who have the light and walk the true way³³⁹ will know a Sabbath³⁴⁰ and a new temple,³⁴¹ avoiding the way of darkness³⁴² to become counselors of one another until the day of judgment.³⁴³

Examining the letter of Barnabas more carefully to note its treatment of themes related to the koinonia which have already been observed in contemporary writings, it is apparent that, though the language is often similar, a quite different perspective of the role of God's people in history emerges. In the first place, time is itself portrayed as evil. Though God has always acted in history among his people, he was forced to do so to purify stains and sins that history brought. "Let us hate the error (πλάνη) - a word often used

in early gnostic sources such as the Gospel of Truth to describe history) of the present time, that we may be loved in the time to come."³⁴⁴ The time of one's life is of no value unless it resists the evil time, the distorted and wicked time which is controlled by Satan.³⁴⁵ When Barnabas speaks of the recapitulation of history (ανακεφαλαιώσις) which Christ provided, it is not the Irenaeic summing-up of God's logos in history, but the computation of the total of the sins of mankind (τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώση).³⁴⁶ The revelation of God is not made known in the historical event, as in I Clement, but in confrontation with history itself; God speaks words of censure, law, and judgment to address history's sins.³⁴⁷ Though there is in Barnabas no sense that creation is evil, creation contained within its origins the need for cleansing. The 'parting of the waters', presumably on the fourth day of creation, took place to reveal the cleansing and regeneration of God.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, the 'second creation', the parousia, will be as the first was meant to be, so that the faithful will possess a creation which is washed from the sins the intervening history has deposited.³⁴⁹

Throughout the evil history, God has continued to reveal himself;³⁵⁰ perhaps, it might be said, in spite of history. What's more, the revelation has been complete, even before Christ's incarnation, about the Son of God and the judgment he would bring.³⁵¹ The prophets revealed to God's people the righteousness and judgment of his law,³⁵² Moses proclaimed the law of Christ,³⁵³ the patriarchs witnessed to the purity commanded by God,³⁵⁴ and David

interpreted the ancient doctrines in his Psalms.³⁵⁵ Yet the people of God rejected Moses,³⁵⁶ abandoned the prophets,³⁵⁷ and repeatedly disobeyed God in turning to the evils of this world.³⁵⁸ Marcel Simon sees in this thoroughly denunciatory view of Israel's history a characteristic of Barnabas and his peers: to explain Israel as diametrically opposed to the revelation of God addressed to his people, thereby redeeming the church as the unique people of God while affirming the revelation of God enshrined in the Old Testament.³⁵⁹ Whatever his motives may have been, Barnabas clearly intends that, though God repeatedly sought to create a purified people, the history of Israel testifies to man's sin and God's eventual abandonment of Israel.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, there is in Barnabas the implication that time itself pertains to death while perfection (the completion of all time and history) brings life.³⁶¹ It is a contradiction, therefore, to speak of a history of the community of God's people. Until Christ, it is only possible to speak of a history of mankind's failure to form a community of God's people; for God's people, to be a community, must become pure.

The concern for establishing a cleansed people of God dominates Barnabas' anthropology and Christology. Although there is no mention of a fall of man in history, there is also no indication of a primitive state of human purity. Even when Barnabas quotes the traditional text of man's pristine created innocence, "let us make man in our own image", he uses it to describe the incarnation of Christ, not the origin of man.³⁶² Man originated in God's act of creation, but became defiled, deserting the cleansing

ablutions of God's law and abandoning the fountains for 'cisterns of death'.³⁶³ Evil is man's condition of drought, corruption, foulness, and death.³⁶⁴ Any effort to create a community of God was quickly rendered futile by the steady incursion of sin and corruption into men's hearts; for true fellowship could only exist where hearts were pure.³⁶⁵ Where that purity is reclaimed, supremely in Christ's cleansing blood, true fellowship becomes possible, and with it, life. The historic human problem (which to Barnabas is the condition inhibiting the well-being of his addressees' congregation) is impurity. Like I Clement's disharmony, it is historic and brings death. Yet the problem of the community cannot be resolved until time is destroyed, history completed, and the cleanliness finally established. Like the Odes of Solomon and Ignatius, the Christ/community is portrayed by Barnabas as having brought history to an end. Yet there is no movement of history beyond Christ's cleansing blood, just a continued moratorium on further defilement of the community created by his blood.³⁶⁶ True community is possible only in the suprahistorical realm which defies defilement, a realm Barnabas identifies with Christ's kingdom. For there are two distinctly contrary ways, two nations;³⁶⁷ "over the one are set the angels of God who bring light, over the other the angels of Satan. And the one is lord from eternity unto eternity (from pre-history to suprahistory), and the other is the ruler of the time of current evil."³⁶⁸

Christ's pre-incarnational existence was made known in numerous Old Testament testimonia,³⁶⁹ usually exhibiting

images or events of purification. His cross is the hyssop sprinkled on the people in the Old Testamentsacrifice,³⁷⁰ used that the people might be purified (ἀγνίζονται) from their sins. The land cleansed by the flow of milk and honey is his people created afresh in the remission of sins.³⁷¹ The baptism of the cross is a cleansing, an ablution of unclean food, as David realized.³⁷² Christ's incarnation brings springs of life which fruitfully flow as a river.³⁷³ "We go down into the water (of Christ's cross) full of sins and foulness (γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου) and come up bearing fruit in the heart, having fear and hope in Jesus in the Spirit."³⁷⁴ Yet the purgative element of Christ's revelation, both to Old Testament history and in his incarnation, was not primarily for forgiveness of sins, a phrase seldom used by Barnabas, but for the revelation of the conditions needed for purity, the commandments. People purified themselves by observance of the ten commandments Christ had delivered through Moses,³⁷⁵ the new law which he himself embodied,³⁷⁶ and the revelation of human sinfulness the Christ/community provides.³⁷⁷ God does not require an oblation or burnt-offering to make satisfaction for sins, but a "new law of our lord Jesus Christ" without oblation.³⁷⁸

The community of Christ consists of those who, through their awareness of the enormity of sin revealed by Christ, the cleansing offered by his blood, and the perfection they seek to refine themselves as they await the end of time, share with others this knowledge. Faith is of value, yet only the beginning of "holiness towards the lord", for

wisdom, intelligence, understanding, and knowledge (σοφία, σύνεσις, επιστήμη, γνῶσις) complement faith and other Christian virtues.³⁷⁹ Barnabas addresses a congregation with the assumption that the knowledge of purity and holiness might bring a perfection to augment faith.³⁸⁰ The community consists of those who share this knowledge of purity and holiness, and it exists in order to share this knowledge both among its members and with the world. Though that community was persistently formed by the ancient prophets and patriarchs, it never attained real life; for it always succumbed to the evil which permeated history. But in Christ, "in order to fulfill the promise made to the fathers, he prepared for himself a new people."³⁸¹ Yet the preparation for a new community and the realization of that community are vague in Barnabas. Whether the fellowship of Christ's cleansed people exists on earth is doubtful. References to the fellowship of Christians are vague regarding whether it is an accomplished reality or a desired perfection to be sought. "You must remember (note the contrast between Barnabas' remembering as a hope for the future rather than a lesson from the past) the day of judgment both day and night, and you must seek the presence of the saints every day (ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων)."³⁸² Is the object of one's daily search available on earth or does it await the judgment day? If it is created and actual since the incarnation, Barnabas would likely view its membership as small.³⁸³

Christ's death did not create the community, as was the case for Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon; it prepared the possibility for persons to qualify, by purity and holiness,

for the formation to be effected at the judgment day. It is of interest to note, in this regard, Barnabas' treatment of martyrdom. While describing the Christological significance of the sacrificial lamb who is accursed and reviled for the sins of the people, Barnabas claims that in that lamb "the type (τύπος) of Jesus is manifested",³⁸⁴ destined to suffer in bearing the scarlet wool (the bloody wool of the lamb being the scarlet robe of the scourged Christ). The scarlet wool was placed among thorns - Jesus was scourged and placed in the church. Therefore, all are witnesses that "whoever wishes to bear the scarlet wool must suffer many things because the thorns are terrible and he will gain it through suffering."³⁸⁵ Those who would claim Christ's kingdom become purified through pain, just as the people of Israel sought purity through the scapegoat's suffering.³⁸⁶ The red thread of I Clement was the sign of hospitality and faith which Rahab prophesied existed in the blood of Christ that brought hope and harmony,³⁸⁷ It was a sign of life in the midst of death. For Ignatius, as for Barnabas, it represents suffering leading to martyrdom. But the Ignatian pain undergone in approximation of the fullness of the life and death of Christ, the death of death, has become, for Barnabas, a purificatory participation in the cathartic of pain itself. Martyrdom is not sought to emulate the deathless life in Christ, but to prepare the suffering and dying Christian for a life and a community which is only possible once purified perfection is attained.³⁸⁸

For Barnabas, life begins only when corruption ceases, only when death has finally completed history's defiling

processes. He therefore suggests a millennial reign of Christ among his perfected saints ³⁸⁹ when creation will be as it was intended to be and life in community will be actualized on earth. ³⁹⁰ This will be preceded by an imminent day of resurrection for judgment, ³⁹¹ though that day is cut short. The apocalyptic vision ³⁹² of an eighth day, "the beginning of another world," ³⁹³ which now exists in the name of Christ, is in the process of being realized among men: "This is the spiritual temple being built for the lord." ³⁹⁴ But its completion awaits the purification of those who will be saved, the eighth day for the establishment of the millennial community, the true Sabbath prophesied by Moses. This will come when the "Son comes to destroy the time of the evil one and will judge the godless ones... Furthermore, he (Moses) says 'Thou shalt sanctify it (the true Sabbath) with clean hands and a pure heart'. If, then, anyone can keep holy in cleanliness of heart that which God has sanctified, we are deceived in everything... But when we are able (to do so) and have received the promise - when there is no more lawlessness, but all things are made new by the lord - then we will be able to sanctify it (the Sabbath), having ourselves been sanctified." ³⁹⁵ In the meantime, to whatever extent persons share a common life, they do so to inform one another, counsel one another, "be lawgivers among yourselves, persevering as faithful advisors to each other, removing all hypocrisy from among you." ³⁹⁶ But the koinonia is not yet one of true life; it is merely, during this brief, interim time, a sharing in the task of the final scourging of death. The koinonia of the life of the Christ/community

comes only at the parousia. Because of this perspective on history, the meaning of time and the processes of creation and history, the reflections of the community represented by Barnabas indicate a quite different self-identity from the other forms, an identity awaiting birth while purifying itself and its members.³⁹⁷

Hermas. This same understanding of the church as a purgative agent of the law of Christ, cleansing those who await the true life and fellowship of Christ, is shared by the Shepherd of Hermas and the Gospel of Truth, though in less dramatic images. Whereas Barnabas' narrative relies on Old Testament resources, Hermas depends on direct revelation (ἀποκαλύψεις) and the Gospel of Truth argues from the esoteric experience of spiritual introspection. Nevertheless, they betray a similar perception of time and history in their reflections: that history is itself the arena of evil and decay, that Christ has come to offer the way by which mankind (at least a select few) might be cleansed, that the brief interval since Christ's incarnation is intended to effect repentance and purity, and that Christ will soon establish his life-giving community at his second coming, thereby fulfilling the purpose of creation.

Hermas does not reflect on historical themes or temporal processes in relation to the community. Yet he perceives that the fundamental issue to which the revelations of Christ are addressed is the sin of the family, the corruption that infected Hermas' wife and children.³⁹⁸

The family, in fact, is the church, and Hermas is called

to instruct its leaders (προνυομενοι) that they should reform their children so that their seed might give birth.³⁹⁹ As will be indicated, Hermas' family has not yet been fully formed, its members are still undisciplined strangers to each other.⁴⁰⁰ Though the church was created before creation itself,⁴⁰¹ and for the sake of the church the natural world and all its beauty came into existence,⁴⁰² the world is black with evil,⁴⁰³ the devil is in control,⁴⁰⁴ and the angel of wickedness defiles all men.⁴⁰⁵ There is in Hermas no remembrance of any time since creation when God's people or his earth have not been overwhelmed by corruption; remembering for Hermas is always and only the remembrance of sin.⁴⁰⁶ The commandments of God, established in creation itself, are pre-historic,⁴⁰⁷ not known in the historic events of Moses or the covenant community, but revealed from God in forms that confront and confound time's corruptions.

In the incarnation of Christ, God has issued a new law⁴⁰⁸ which allows the possibility for persons to be cleansed of former sins and to rid themselves of the stain of subsequent sins.⁴⁰⁹ The present moment is intended for the cleansing of those for whom Christ delivered the law.⁴¹⁰ Once cleansed by the repentance and baptism of Christ, they are in a moritorium between the death to which they were enslaved and the fellowship and life in Christ for which they are now freed. At this present moment, the believer does not bear the life of Christ by baptism into his name; when he bears the name of Christ he merely bears the enormous weight of his sins.⁴¹¹ Christ did establish an apostolic church⁴¹² to which he gathered his elect children;⁴¹³

yet there is no mention of its being constituted by Christ's death, fulfilling any vital function, or living beyond his resurrection. Like Hermas' family, it is suggested that its birth was solely for purposes of preparing persons for the purity necessary to enter the koinonia of the saints.⁴¹⁴ Whatever its purpose or duration, the church has failed miserably,⁴¹⁵ become time-weary and aged,⁴¹⁶ been led astray by a false shepherd.⁴¹⁷ This false shepherd produced a koinonia of evil, the signs of which were admittedly joy, proximity to the shepherd, vigor, and beauty; yet it led only to the historic corruption of death. Hence, even the apostles themselves would need to be reclaimed and redeemed at the last day.⁴¹⁸ The descensus for Hermas is not for the sake of the Hebrew patriarchs, but for the Christian apostles.⁴¹⁹ Any sense of a present family or koinonia is interpreted by Hermas as evil in need of cleansing.

The present time, the interim between the incarnation and the parousia, is fundamentally intended for purgatorial purposes. Though Hermas suggests no interim purgatory after death, his description of man's current life in this world lacks little purgatorial color. If Christians find themselves living a life of joyful community, believing that they are saved, they are living an illusion created by the Satanic powers. "Therefore, all persons who live by enjoyment and being misled (τρυφῶν καὶ ἀπατῶμενος) are thus tormented, because though they have life, they have given themselves to death."⁴²⁰ The 'great tribulation' predicted by Hermas' visions will further purify those who await the establishment of the eschatological community; it is part of a larger

eschatological plan.⁴²¹ He does not, however, relate the purgatorial sufferings of the church to those of Christ; they rather prepare for the coming of Christ, as gold is refined before it adorns the king.⁴²² There is in Hermas no sense of the confessors' or martyrs' bearing the cross of Christ. Instead, the persecutions endured by Christians are intended to discipline and purify the family,⁴²³ to prepare Christians for their eventual place in the living community of Christ. The true shepherd, whether the Christ-figure or those who perpetuate his law, produces the discipline of the penitent. In language reminiscent of John the Baptist in the Gospels, Hermas punishes and purges the sinful world to prepare for fellowship with Christ. This theme is repeated throughout. Images that were used by other contemporaries for entirely different purposes are also employed by Hermas. The image of the tower is used to describe the relationship of Christians in the church, but it is a tower that will be built according to Christ's plan when its constituent stones have been sufficiently shaped, purified, and hardened.⁴²⁴ The image of trees, so frequently used to describe the growth and fruitfulness of the church by other writers, is adapted to an opposite meaning by Hermas. For him, there is no growth or fruitfulness on this earth; the sole point seems to be that, while some barren winter branches die, others, while appearing equally lifeless in the winter season, will eventually blossom.⁴²⁵ The victory of the trees is not their fruitfulness, but their survival of the purgatorial winter of time. The true life of the trees is unknowable until the judgment day. All we can know is

that there will be no fruit to comfort mankind on this earth.⁴²⁶ The world of death cannot produce life until it is cleansed of its death.

True life, true unity of persons in the body of Christ, is possible only when time has ended, at the coming of Christ. Then the stones of which the church will be constructed will be gathered and cemented together. Then some of the twelve mountains will give up their treasures (apostles, martyrs, prophets, the simple and guileless, etc.), stones to form a new community, while others will be utterly condemned to the death in which they have always existed.⁴²⁷ Those who had not been related to each other before will be gathered into a new city, foresaking the old city of this 'strange country'.⁴²⁸ Life in that new city, the situation in which Christians are truly related to each other as a family, is in the future, originating in the parousia for which God's law is performing its purifying action.⁴²⁹ The unity and harmony which are the signs of the fellowship of Christ's people are goals to be attained only in that purified community at time's end. "After these have been rejected (the wicked, hypocrites, blasphemers, etc.) the church of God shall be one body, one mind, one spirit, one faith, one love, and then the Son of God shall rejoice and be glad in them, when he has received his people in purity."⁴³⁰

In the interim time between the incarnation and the parousia, the people of God, though not yet living in the true life of community, are entrusted with this task of purging the world. Hermas is instructed to guide his family (his church) into the purity which will make its members

eligible for inclusion in the true life of community. The Christians' reflections on history, particularly the relationship of the life in Christ to the life of the faithful, led him to regard the community as fundamentally purgative in its present purposes. True koinonia, true life shared in Christ, would be life lived with the purified.⁴³¹ The purposes of the community of Hermas are very much like those described in the Manual of Discipline found among the texts at Qumran and, though Hermas never says so in such exact words, he would seem to agree that the laws of God (given, in Hermas' case, through Christ) are "the ordinances on which one must meditate and in accordance with which one's relation to other persons will be determined."⁴³²

Gospel of Truth. The Gospel of Truth repeats the same reflections on history's relation to a community of Christ. The theme of the purity of the Christian in obedience to the law that was found in Barnabas and Hermas has, in the Gospel of Truth, become a concern for a certain purity of the mind. Creation has been seeking, in anguish and terror, its origins which were lost by error (πλανά).⁴³³ At the incarnation of Christ, error was enraged and sought to destroy him. But he succeeded in giving his elect people a way which is truth,⁴³⁴ a secret book which, in his death, would teach others the instruction (ΝΕΤΑΝΘΡΩ) which the father has entrusted to him.⁴³⁵ At the future 'reunion' each person named in the book will purify himself in many ways "as it (gnosis) eats up the matter within him like a flame eats up darkness."⁴³⁶ Gnosis becomes a path by which one may return to the father; yet there is no sense whatever of any sacred journey to that

goal, no sense of a community apart from the eventual 'rest' to which the elect are moving. In the interim time, the truly spiritual few have the task of strengthening those who wish to rise, awakening those who sleep, "for you are the understanding that rescues."⁴³⁷

Summary of Purgative Pattern of Historical Self-Reflection.

This third paradigm of historical reflection, here termed purgative, places the true community of Christ outside history itself and defines the interim Christian condition as one of preparing persons for a true koinonia which is yet to come. It has been said of Barnabas that he "completely destroyed any historical understanding of the Old Testament,"⁴³⁸ and of the Gospel of Truth that it illustrates Gnosticism's total neglect of history.⁴³⁹ These judgments are undeniable, yet neither Barnabas nor the Gospel of Truth (nor Hermas, for that matter) would claim that history has any salutary meaning to the community. The truth of Christ and his sacred community is at war with the sordid story of error, evil, and apostasy which history betrays. Between creation and redemption, there is an empty chasm of historical neglect, sin, error, defilement, and death. Christ's incarnation interrupted the inevitability of death's final judgment by offering the possibility of a purity of mind or heart which would remove history's curse. Christ delivered a law which would perfect persons, an ἀποκαλύψις of a possible redemption at history's end. At the parousia, the intention of creation, the original purpose of the church, would be realized for those who thus purified themselves:

a new Eden would become established in which persons would know a unity with Christ and each other. Until then, the church, in whatever state it may be said to exist, is constituted to cleanse the sins of the past, purify persons to survive the agonies to come, and proclaim the law and truth of Christ in ever more intensive and rigorous dimensions.

Conclusions

Having examined the literature of the early second century in its several varieties regarding a Christian community's perception of its historical aetiology, purpose, and goal, certain common features may be identified. Though individual resources have been grouped according to their reflections on the identity and purpose of the Christian community in history, whether epiphanic (that the community is that agency through which the epiphanies of Christ have been revealed), epiphoric (that the community bears the Christ as his presence in the world), or purgative (that the community prepares persons to enter a relationship with Christ which awaits formation), there are certain features which bridge the distinctions between these several paradigms and within which these paradigms become cleared. It must also be noted that several writings contain mixed images that make classification difficult,⁴⁴⁰ while others contain very little historical reflection, making precise classification arbitrary.⁴⁴¹ In delineating certain common elements, however, these three paradigms variously interpret a given theme. The great variety which exists among early second century authors cannot be minimized or violated by

summary generalizations which are too rigidly applied.

Origin of the Koinonia. A first conspicuous element of a community's historical self-reflection is the tendency to concentrate on creation. Virtually every early second century source makes a specific issue of placing the creation of the church in the intention of God before or at the moment of creation.⁴⁴² Since Christology and ecclesiology have been shown to be intricately combined, this may be attributed to an insistence on Christ's pre-incarnational activity and status based on his divinity. Yet there is a more frequent reflection on the church's purposes and goals which were pre-existent in the intention of God than on Christ's pre-incarnational purposes and goals. Both a pre-existent Christ and a pre-existent church seem to be universally assumed. However, distinctions must be made between the creation of the church, the realization of an actual community, and the actualization of the koinonia, just as distinctions must be made between the pre-existent, incarnate, and resurrected Christ. Virtually every source in the early second century assumed or expressed a concept of a pre-existent church, created in the intention and/or election of God, yet diversity of opinion exists regarding precisely when people share a community on earth which realizes in human form that divine election or intention. Even greater diversity exists regarding when that community begins to be aware of its common divine election and purpose to define itself according to God's work of grace on this earth. The pre-existence of the church was certainly important for apologetic reasons,⁴⁴³

as well as being a corollary of Christological reflection; yet its incarnation on earth and its self-reflection on its work of salvation is more problematic.

The distinction formerly made between the church, the community, and the koinonia is crucial to this understanding of the creation of God's people. For those who express an epiphanic view of the relation of the people of God to history, the church, the community, and the koinonia of Christ are all coextensive throughout time. Though the church may be seen as pre-historic, it becomes a community at creation, when time began and Christ first manifested himself on earth. Since that manifestation of Christ draws persons in self-conscious relationship to him and to others, the koinonia also begins at creation. Clement of Rome would not understand any distinctions being made between the three. The people of God, created in and for the epiphanies of Christ, would continue to reach its final created purpose, already fully revealed, in the parousia.⁴⁴⁴ For those who suggest a perspective of the people of God as epiphoric agents of history, bearing the fullness of Christ in the world, the church was intended from creation yet apparently never realized in any actual form until the incarnation. Those pre-Christian witnesses to Christ were unaware of the message they carried, isolated in time, and separated from relationships with others who shared their message. Though the elect people of God had existed from creation in a realm separated from a history defiled by death, they did not assume real life together until after Christ had destroyed death in his crucifixion and opened the possibility of a

life-story in his resurrection. For the Christian koinonia, the shared bearing of Christ in the world, would become perfected in the parousia, when the intentions of God's creation paradise would be fully realized. Finally, those who represent the view that the community's historic purpose is to purge persons of corruption and death viewed the koinonia as supra-historical. The church had been created pre-historically and would exist on earth in a millennial or post-historical realm; but the human race had been defiled by history's sins, corrupted by the death that history deserved. The law and truth had been delivered to God's people in history, but they had lived in a 'clouded' community which resisted any realization of their meaning or message. In Christ a new possibility emerged in the revelation of God's law and truth, and in him people have been granted the final revelation which would qualify them for a koinonia to be formed at the parousia. Until then, the Christian community exists in fragmentary form in order to instruct persons in the law and truth which alone are salutary. At the end of history, and only at its end, the intention of creation will be possible and the Christian koinonia will be formed. In all three patterns, the church as a divine purpose and the koinonia as a human fulfillment of that purpose are described and defined in terms of creation's images. Creation itself finds its wholeness and unitive goal in the Christian koinonia.

Because each early second century source appears to define the koinonia in terms of creation, God is always the agent of the emergence of the koinonia. In thoroughly

theistic language, God is described as having revealed himself in his creation, a revelation which, though God is forever hidden, betrays the image of Christ.⁴⁴⁵ The community thus created by God's revelation of himself is described in terms appropriate to that which a given author considers as God's primary purpose of self-disclosure. For I Clement, God's revelation is the epiphany of Christ's integrative, unitive love and faith: the koinonia is thus created wherever that love and faith are incorporated in a community. For Ignatius, God's self-disclosure is the power of Christ which destroys death and creates life: the koinonia is created wherever persons in Christ's form recreate his destruction of death. For Barnabas, God's revelation is his law which makes men pure: the koinonia is created when Christ comes to acknowledge and gather those who have purified themselves through that revealed law. In each case, the koinonia is the fulfillment of God's revelation at creation; it is a new creation described according to God's primordial purpose.

Accordingly, when the early Christian community reflected upon itself in historical categories of thought, it did so in terms of creation. Several corollaries might be suggested from this reflection, especially regarding the self-conscious and inter-related Christian koinonia. It would appear that ecclesiastical structure may have arisen as an effort to incorporate within the koinonia certain current concepts of order in creation.⁴⁴⁶ Because the community owes its origin to creation, the quest for ecclesiastical structure is not unlike the quest for paradise, an Eden in which all persons relate in harmony and unity.⁴⁴⁷ It would

also appear that, contrary to those who would seek to describe God's grace solely in terms of redemption,⁴⁴⁸ God's gracious activity among his people in the early second century is described more broadly in terms of creation. Salvation is not effected so much by making persons justified in the redeeming gift of Christ and his cross as it is by God's having graciously re-created persons in this gift of the Christ. Finally, it might also be suggested that, with the focus of historical reflection on creation, any concept of nature or cosmology in these sources cannot be derived apart from ecclesiological considerations. As it is suggested by St. Paul,⁴⁴⁹ cosmological reflections involve an ecclesiological precondition. This becomes more apparent in subsequent gnostic systems in which arbitrary distinctions between the demiurge of the natural order and the God revealed by Christ are accompanied by distinctions within the community between a less spiritual and more spiritual fellowship.

Christological Perspective on History. A second common element of the community's historical self-reflections is the insistence that Christ alone reveals the meaning of history. Writings which betray little historical reflection also indicate little Christological reflection; for the meaning of the community in history is a Christological meaning. Whether Christ is revealed through history, as is the case with the epiphanic view of the community, or that history is revealed and redeemed through the Christ, as in the epiphoric perspective, or that Christ redeems the world from history, as in the purgative system; Christ is the connection between the believing community and history, Bultmann has

rightly observed that there is in early Christian literature no genealogical connection between the Christian people of God and the history of Israel: "Jesus is genealogically connected - but our connection to the Old Testament is only through him."⁴⁵⁰ Christ is the agent of creation and redemption in history and all revelations of history's meaning are manifest through him.⁴⁵¹ The community of Christ shares with him that focal key to history's meaning. All history is interpreted in service to the community: if a perspective on history proved unsuitable for a community's needs for wholeness and koinonia, it was discarded, just as Christologies which failed to affirm the incarnational wholeness of Christ as fully human and divine were discarded. The historical reflection of the early second century was therefore in no sense objective chronology; it was intended to assist the community to define itself more integrally in terms of the Christ. Historical reflection was virtually indistinguishable from Christological reflection. The Christ who revealed himself in or beyond history would alone bring life to his community.

Conflicts become apparent in the early second century community regarding the several perspectives on the relationship of the church to history, conflicts which are manifested in Christological categories. The purgative perspective on the community's role in history described Christ as the true νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ. This was not just a perspective on redemption, that a Christian is acceptable to God by a faithful obedience to the law, but also a medium for cosmological and historical interpretation, that God's

ultimate purpose for creation is comprehensible only in the law which Christ revealed. It may be observed that in the Septuagint, both torah (the law of God) and dabar (the creating and life-giving power of God's word) are often used interchangeably as either νόμος or λόγος, and both terms assumed meaning in wisdom literature that spoke of pre-existent, super-historical realities.⁴⁵² The use of νόμος in the early church would, however, gradually recede because of the implications of a νόμος Christology on the life of the community. Because of controversies with Judaizers who relegated salvation to the observance of the torah, Justin Martyr would qualify νόμος Christology as the καίριος νόμος.⁴⁵³ The conflict with later second century Montanists regarding rigorism would further limit the use of νόμος Christology as inappropriate to a community in which all persons are to be regarded as equally eligible for God's grace.⁴⁵⁴ And as a result of the issues in Rome regarding the status of those who had denied their faith under persecution,⁴⁵⁵ νόμος Christology would slowly recede in the reflection of the community because its implications in the life of the community caused factionalism, disorder, and a violation of a certain wholeness the community as a representation of the wholeness of Christ. A legalistic exclusivism tended to arise within the koinonia as a result of a νόμος Christology which caused it to discard the purgative perspective on its role in history.⁴⁵⁶

A second Christological conflict of the early second century which had its origins in the community's historical reflections is best described as a need to reconcile the

epiphanic and the epiphoric perspectives. If the Christian community is the witness to God's continued revelations, begun at creation and completed at the parousia, of Christ's will and grace, the radical newness of the Christ/community is difficult to isolate and the redemptive uniqueness of the cross becomes compromised. This is the 'classic heilsgeschichte thesis', ⁴⁵⁷ that all history betrays the single Christological purpose and that Christ provides the continuity between the Old Testament people of God and the church. On the other hand, if the Christian community is regarded as bearing the presence of Christ as it was uniquely defined in his incarnation and crucifixion, any understanding of Old Testament origins of the community must be set aside in radical apposition to the Gospel, with the emphasis placed on a discontinuity which tended to violate the unity of Christ with creation and history. ⁴⁵⁸ Any fragmentation of history ultimately resulted in a fragmentation of the Christ/community, as I Clement observed.

The resolution of the conflicts posed by the epiphanic and epiphoric perspectives on history would concentrate on Christology and increasingly employ a concept already expressed in germinal form - logos Christology. It might be said, from this perspective, that logos Christology was developed, in part, as an attempt to reconcile the unity of history with the uniqueness of the Christ/community. Certainly this is most clearly expressed in Justin, ⁴⁵⁹ yet Justin honors the integrity of the several currents of historical reflection of the communities which preceded him. ⁴⁶⁰ Logos Christology in earlier writings had not only provided a

conceptual language for a Christology which honored the Johanne witness, it had also been used to describe the community's reflections on its historical identity. For instance, I Clement refers to the λόγια which is to be remembered by the community to heal the fragmented body of Christ.⁴⁶¹ Christ and the prophets illuminate the life of the community and the harmony of its fellowship. In the Didache, λόγοι are that which enlighten and reveal the lord, where they are spoken, Christ is present.⁴⁶² The epiphanic community witnessed the germinal logos before the incarnational logos without distracting from the uniqueness of the later revelation in Christ. While addressing the issue of congregational disharmony, James entreats his readers to "put away all filthiness and rank growth of wickedness and receive with meekness the implanted word."⁴⁶³ In Ignatius, the logos is more specifically identified with Christ as well as descriptive of a divine activity in history. Christ is the word of God,⁴⁶⁴ he embodies in himself the door which opens to reveal the 'secret things' of God, the prophets and the patriarchs,⁴⁶⁵ who reside in the silence (ἡσυχία) of God.⁴⁶⁶ It would appear that there is an unspoken word made manifest throughout history, a mystery knowable only to the Christian, and a spoken word, the statement of God made on the cross. But the connection of the Old Testament, the incarnation, and the continuing community of Christ is maintained by Ignatius using the language of logos Christology when he himself claims in his martyrdom to be a word of God, that in himself that statement of Christ's cross might inform the silence he asks of

the Roman congregation.⁴⁶⁷ It must be noted that, as in the case of I Clement and James, Ignatius' use of the logos image is concerned with neither a theological statement of Christology nor a philosophical Stoic ontology: logos seems to him a suitable term to describe a connection between the community's contemporary experience and the revelation of God in Christ in the past.⁴⁶⁸

The emerging richness of logos Christology, especially as it related to a community's life, is best demonstrated in the Odes of Solomon. The logos images (or, if a Syriac authorship is accepted, the mēltā images) are distinctly Jewish in their origin, since they are associated with creative power and wisdom.⁴⁶⁹ The whole of creation rose from the mouth of God in the very language of Genesis 1.⁴⁷⁰ Though invisible, the word of God allowed succeeding generations to speak and to learn his speech.⁴⁷¹ In Christ, true life was created when death was destroyed by the word.⁴⁷² Therefore, though Christ both proclaimed and embodied the word of God, the Christian claims that same identity,⁴⁷³ bearing the word, its power and its presence, in the world. The historical nature of the word is portrayed in the beautiful images of Ode 39. Referring to the raging rivers of Ode 6 which satisfy the thirst of mankind while inundating the temple of the Old Testament, the word of God is portrayed as the bridge by which a person crosses (by a beam of wood placed in a cruciform pattern) from one side to the other through baptism.⁴⁷⁴

These examples of the emergence of logos Christology and the disappearance of νόμος Christology in the early

second century community demonstrate the focus of historical reflection. Christ is regarded as the key to history's meaning; the historical identity of the community is a Christological issue. The quest was to define the circumstance of the congregation within the scope of God's full revelation to his people while maintaining the consummate uniqueness of Christ.

Fulfillment of the Christ/community. On the basis of the two formerly stated common features of historical reflection, that it tended to concentrate on the community's origins from God's intentions at creation and that all history was understood from a Christological hermeneutic, a third common element would be that for all sources creation's purposes and Christ's unique redemption would attain a final realization at the parousia. That parousia, however, is comprehensible only in terms of the purposes of God in Christ revealed at creation. With the reservation that not all so-called eschatological language of the early second century reflects an historical perspective, as will be discussed in the next chapter, there is no question among its authors of compromising a futurist eschatology. Whatever a 'realized eschatology' may be, there is no hint that the future event of Christ's fulfilled presence on earth has already taken place.⁴⁷

The issue is the extent to which God's plan for his people at creation has been accomplished and Christ's redemptive work on the cross has established his intended koinonia. At the same time, each of the authors considered might be said to evidence a certain 'realized eschatology', for in Christ God's final intentions for his people have become the basis

for a community of the end of time.⁴⁷⁶ There is no question that the benefits of Christ's salvation have not already affected the life of Christ's church, that his kingdom is not, to some extent, present on earth among his saints, or at least inaugurated.⁴⁷⁷ The question may be asked, however, whether the historical purpose and fulfillment (the τέλος and πληρωμα) of the community is best understood in terms of eschatology. From the standpoint of the koinonia, a more illuminating question might be posed in terms of the parousia (the coming, presence, being-alongside) of Christ. Since Christ and his community are indistinguishably linked, the question of the extent to which Christ is historically present on earth demonstrates the extent of the realization of his kingdom; the extent to which the purpose of God in creation has been realized in the crucifixion and resurrection.

This issue is not simply a matter of atonement, the extent and meaning of Christ's work on earth, to which later reference will be made below, but to the dimensions of God's election at creation and Christ's new creation of the koinonia. Here again, concentration is directed to the historical meaning of Christology rather than the meaning of the historical Jesus. The latter concern anticipates a focus on eschatology which does not honor the eschatological concern for the Christ/community nor the koinonia made possible in the life/death of that Christ/community. Charles Moule has attempted to respond to this problem of eschatological focus in the New Testament, realizing the variety of forms which are used to describe an immediate, realized, futurist, or millennial reign of Christ, by suggesting that different

eschatological emphases respond to circumstances to which individual writers are responding.⁴⁷⁸ In general, realized eschatology tends to relate to individuals (especially the committed), while futurist eschatological language addresses the collective (with Christ as judge for the uncommitted and as king for the committed). Though it is difficult to determine whether a particular discourse is directed to a collective or to the individual within the community, and even more difficult to know the extent of a person's commitment, Moule is correct, at least for early second century literature, in affirming that eschatological language cannot be understood apart from the community to which it was addressed, that eschatology is not simply a statement about the coming of Christ, it is a statement about the arrival of the community. For those writings considered herein, the outcome of the community depends entirely on its point of origin and chosen purpose. Moule is therefore correct in stating that the real tension is not between futurist and realized eschatology in their several forms, but it is the tension of the incarnation itself, the extent to which an imperfect body (the church) is already adapted to a perfect head (the Christ).⁴⁷⁹ In suggesting this, Moule is thereby redirecting the attention of the believer away from the end of time (whether realized or futurist) to the beginning (whether by birth or rebirth), since it is at history's origins that the purpose of history's conclusions for God's people is defined.

If God intended that the purpose of history was to reveal the fullness of his will, commandments, and knowledge,

as it is so defined by those who portray the community's role as epiphanic, the conclusion of history takes place when the full revelation of God has been realized by the full number of those elected by God at creation. The eschaton occurs when the total of the koinonia is attained, for the telos and parousia of history have endured since creation. In I Clement, the ἀριθμός of the elect,⁴⁸⁰ to be accomplished at the coming of Christ, will be the product of the history of God's full revelation among his people: the eschaton is thus the fruit of the community's united fellowship.⁴⁸¹ II Peter would account for the eschaton's delay by citing God's forbearance in order that the whole number of the elect should attain a new life.⁴⁸² There is a disciplined training, not unlike the purgative purposes advocated by Barnabas and Hermas, expected of the Christian as he awaits the second coming. However, that discipline takes place within an established community's relationships and that day for which the Christian strives will be brought about by the realization of true unity and harmony within the koinonia.⁴⁸³ The koinonia is therefore the agent of the eschaton, for in and through the koinonia of Christ's church, his revelations effect the completion of creation's election and purpose. Furthermore, the eschaton is most typically described as the coming of the Christ to that community within which his revelation has been historically manifested since creation.⁴⁸⁴ Christ comes to the community when he determines, according to unknown criteria established at creation, that the total of those whom he has elected is completed.⁴⁸⁵

By way of contrast, the second paradigm of a community's historical reflections more often perceives the eschaton as effected by the community in its complete realization of the image of the Christ which it bears. Christ does not so much come to the community as the community, in its *koinonia*, realizes the *πλήρωμα* of Christ which was the prototypical or archetypical intention of all creation. History, which was inaugurated as life in Christ's crucifixion/resurrection, is concluded when the *koinonia* attains the fullest possible expression of that Christ, in a sacrificial death like his, a unity of flesh and spirit like his, a rebirth in a baptismal grace like his. Christ is himself the end of history, its perfect fulfillment, as well as its beginning, its initiating power and life-giving purpose.⁴⁸⁶ In Ignatius, the last times are present to the community so that, for fear of God's anger or love of his grace, the community is commended to be found *ἐν Χριστῷ*.⁴⁸⁷ The Christian hopes to attain (*ἐπιτύχειν*) to Christ,⁴⁸⁸ to imitate him, to reduplicate his life and death. Far from being an individualistic goal of piety, this is accomplished in the full unity and harmony of the *koinonia*⁴⁸⁹ in which division, discord, and alienation are reconciled in the unity and harmony of Christ's flesh and spirit. The image of that fullness of Christ is clearly conditioned by God's purpose in creation,⁴⁹⁰ as a heavenly prototype for his people. It might be suggested that the pattern for Ignatius' structural hierarchy is based on his understanding of the correspondence between the eschatological community which realizes Christ's true life and the intentions of God in

creation.⁴⁹¹ As has been indicated above, these themes appear in similar forms in the Odes of Solomon and the more apocalyptic Ascension of Isaiah.⁴⁹²

It is in the context of this epiphoric perspective of a community on its eschatological meaning, its ultimate purpose of embodying the fullness of Christ, that the most fruitful considerations of early second century atonement theology might be developed. In the thought of I Clement and his colleagues, atonement theology is obscure, yet probably most clearly described by H. E. W. Turner's classified strain of 'Christ the illuminator',⁴⁹³ especially if the illumination which appears in Christ is focused on his crucifixion; whereas for Barnabas and Hermas, Christ is clearly the giver of the law. But it is in Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon that Turner's description of Christ as the giver of incorruption and deification appears most vividly. The eschatological meaning of the atonement is clearly that the future is "the principal category of theology",⁴⁹⁴ though in later generations the process of deification becomes interpreted in an increasingly metaphysical significance. Turner describes this strain as emphasizing a 'light' view of the fall of man, a participation or union of the believer with God through Christ, a strong sense of the sacramental, and an ideal of filiation.⁴⁹⁵ This strain certainly appears in other contemporary sources,⁴⁹⁶ yet it becomes, in Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon, integrated with a particular theological definition of a continuing process within the life of the koinonia, that of being progressively more representative of the life/death of

Christ. It is in this context that any suggestion of 'realized eschatology' in the early second century must be placed. Marc Lods has rightly developed the concept of realized eschatology as being derived from this sense of the divinization (or deification) of man,⁴⁹⁷ to which it might be added that the sense of the divinization of man is in turn derived from a perspective from which certain writers reflected on their community's historical identity. As it relates to the individual Christian:

Le croyant un est déjà, en quelque sorte, revêtu dans cette vie terrestre, par une action progressive de Dieu... Cette prise de possession du Salut a lieu par participation de l'homme à la vie du Christ.⁴⁹⁸

As it relates to the whole community, Christ's saving work therefore accomplished that purpose of creation by which mankind should be in the image of God. The atonement of Christ as deification is derived from a reflection on the course of human history since creation, particularly the birth of the koinonia in the death of Christ.

The third paradigm of a community's historical reflection, the purgative view represented by Barnabas and Hermas, includes an eschaton which is primarily a final judgment. Neither does the koinonia become more Christ-like nor does Christ come to the koinonia; instead, persons come to Christ for his judgment and, if vindicated, form a koinonia. Christ is occasionally perceived as an advocate at that day of judgment,⁴⁹⁹ but the more common image of him is that he is himself the judge.⁵⁰⁰ In either case, the eschaton is the perfection (τελειότης) of the people of God, for which the reward will be fellowship with God and each

other.⁵⁰¹ As God's people seek the safety of Christ's vindication in the great tribulation which inaugurates the end of time, history ends in divinely wrought death and destruction. In Barnabas, this eschatological establishment of God's people is a new creation,⁵⁰² a millennial kingdom of those whose purity and obedience to the law qualifies them for a new world, a true life together.⁵⁰³ Though God initiates the signs of the end time, it culminates in the gathering together of the people who have attained purity. Since the establishment of the true *koinonia* of life is the purpose of God since creation, once the interruption of history's evils and corruptions has been assured by the law of Christ, true reconciliation is imminent. But until that dread day, Christ is absent from his creation, his *parousia* is known only in the process of an individual's personal purgation.

In all these paradigms of the early second century, eschatology is treated as a secondary reflection on both Christology and corporate identity. The particular eschatological emphasis of a given resource depends entirely upon the purpose of Christ's presence among his people and upon the role which God is seen to have assigned to his community at creation. It is certainly not the delay of the *parousia* which caused frustration and conflict in early Christian communities under consideration. Instead, significant and diverse conflicts appear over the role of Christ in history and the role of his people in fulfilling his purposes which were established at creation.

Cosmological Scope. A final common feature of historical reflections is that the Christian communities sought thereby to attain a cosmic, pan-historic scope for the Christ/community. Earlier reference has been made to the origins, in the early second century, of the later developed logos Christology, yet this is merely one expression of the community's need and purpose to provide for itself an historical identity which is both exclusively Christ-centered in its total demarcation from secular history and, at the same time, comprehensive of all time and history from creation to eschaton. The exclusivism of the Christian community dictated that its historical reflections would maintain a distinction between true time, the time in which or at the end of which Christ's koinonia would emerge and embody his purposes, and false time, the time which, through illusion and darkness, perpetuated the demonic horror and futile decadence of humanity. All historical reflection presumes this dichotomous assumption between history's purpose in conveying a unique Christ and its aimless counter-valence of the reality of sin, error, and non-existence. An equally pervasive, though less noticed, assumption affirms that the Christ/community alone brings meaning to the whole of history.⁵⁰⁴ The community is not concerned with its origin from among the many peoples on the earth; it is convinced that the community itself anticipated all time and peoples and from itself all history and humanity would be given meaning.

The Christ/community was able to maintain this holistic conception of its role in history because of the conviction

that it saw history with the eyes of Christ. To whatever extent the Christian was privileged to know the mind of Christ, whether by being the object of his revelation, the bearer of his presence, or the fulfiller of his law and truth, he regarded himself as able to interpret history in the light of God's purpose and understand its course.⁵⁰⁵

By modern standards, this claim would appear arrogant if not outrageous, as indeed it produced a sometimes outrageous historical hermeneutic; yet it is based on the humble conviction that all time and creation belong to Christ and are comprehensible only by the light which he provides. Since the community shared the Christ, it also shared the common license to comprehend all history according to its perspectives.

In their holistic perception of history, different sources would regard time as essentially redemptive, in that Christ revealed himself in and through historic events of the community, while others regarded time as essentially evil, in that Christ's revelation was intended to remove the stain that time had brought. The former position, maintained by those who reflected on the community's epiphanic and epiphoric roles, would become affirmed in the developing orthodoxy of the catholic church: the latter would be perpetuated by those communities which became increasingly heterodox.⁵⁰⁶ Those who despised history's positive relevance to the community - the gnostics, Marcion, Montanists, and Judaizing rigorists - also despised an integral sense of wholeness within the community. Within their ranks certain distinctions arose between spiritual and psychic, old order

and new order, former revelations and new revelations, sinner and sanctified, which fragmented the community to produce a special elite order of true Christians.⁵⁰⁷ This tendency became increasingly intolerable to the 'great church' and produced, in later generations, divergent theological systems. But in the early second century, the symptoms of later pathologies become apparent in the several ways communities reflected upon and evaluated their relationship to the whole of history, from creation to eschaton. In the perspective which prevailed to become orthodoxy, all time was regarded as summed up and hallowed in Christ, and all those who are baptized into Christ's fellowship equally share the heritage of common identity which Christ has historically provided. Hence, the uniqueness of the community and the wholeness of history became integrated in Christology.

To speak of the reflections of the early second century as being historical in any modern definition of the term is a misnomer. If history is regarded as a consequential narration of related temporal phenomena, the reflections would more properly be termed mythical or poetic. There was little concern for the data of events or the sequence of incidents which mark modern historiography. Instead, time is seldom considered in dimensions which exceed the confines of the processes of human life - conception, birth, maturation, suffering, and death: history is intended to portray the wholeness of the life of the human organism. A political, economic, or social history would have been inconceivable to the early Christian community, as

would have been a biography, the events of a whole life. Their historical reflections were confessional admonitions concerning the fundamental nature of all creation as life and/or death. The themes of life/death, new creation/old creation, birth pains/martyrdom, Eve/Mary, old Adam/new Adam, etc., are dramatic juxtapositions which highlight the fundamental contrast between time which is in Christ leading to life and non-time which is apart from Christ leading to death. The former is marked by order, harmony, unity, purpose, and fulfillment; the latter is doomed to chaos, discord, fraction, despair, and condemnation. The temporal life of Christ is thus reduplicated in the structure, ethics, and meaning of the Christian koinonia.

In this chapter, attention has been drawn to texts which indicate the use of history in the development of the identity of the early second century Christian community. Such considerations were both Christologically focused and self-reflectively translated. Yet not all reflections on the community were related to time or history; others concentrated on a certain morphology of relationships within the community and certain ethical standards which govern those relationships. To these non-historical considerations attention must now be given.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. P. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church, Vol. 10, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 1-10.
2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Justin: Dialogue with Trypho, 14:1, 29:1-2, 55:3, 63:5, 87:5, 116:3, 125:1.
4. Ibid., 60. See also chapter 29 regarding Scripture as a Christian document.
5. Ibid., 24, 34, 49.
6. D. C. Trakatellis, The Pre-Existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr (Missoula, Mt., 1976), pp. 84-92.
- E. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr (Amsterdam, 1923), pp. 111ff.
- W. A. Shotwell, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr (London, 1965), pp. 13-20.
7. H. Chadwick, "Justin Martyr's Defence of Christianity", John Rylands Library Bulletin, Vol. 47, No. 2 (March, 1965), pp. 276-297. Regarding the importance of memory, ἀνάμνησις, see R. Holte, "Logos Spermaticos, Christianity and Ancient Philosophy according to St. Justin's Apologies", ST, 12 (1958), pp. 166f.
8. Justin: I Apology 66, Dialogue with Trypho 106.
9. L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought (Cambridge, 1967), p. 74.
10. Chadwick, Op. cit., p. 297.
11. Note, for instance, the treatment of the Paschal Psalms in Did. 12:1, regarding the hospitality due to the prophets; II Clem. 5:5, regarding sojourners who in this world seek the Christ promised by the prophets; and Barn. 5:13, regarding the prophets who testify to Christ.

12. J. Daniélou, The Gospel Message and Hellenistic Christianity, Vol. II, History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea (London, 1973), p. 198.
13. Note the interesting treatment of Ignatius in this regard in C. K. Barrett, "Jews and Judaizers in the Epistles of Ignatius", in Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity, edited by R. Hamertton-Kelly & R. Scroggs (Leiden, 1976), p. 242.
14. E. C. Blackman, Marcion and his Influence (London, 1948), p. 119.
15. P. Carrington, Christian Apologetics of the Second Century (London, 1921), pp. 31-47. Note the role of interpreting Jewish scripture in the conversion of the apologists.
16. A strictly linear understanding of history (as, for instance, is in Cullman, Christ and Time) does not fully account for the theme of the repeated Christ-image in history. Nor is a cyclical paradigm of history appropriate. A concept of spatial emergence seems more suitable.
17. Eschatology cannot be comprehended without a perspective of creation. Eschatology is properly regarded as a fulfillment of creation, not its destruction.
18. E. Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC - AD 135), Vol I, Revised Edition, revised by G. Vermes & F. Millar (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 70. The mishnah is a repetition (δευτέρωσις) used to teach the law in such a way that the law of the past was made contemporary and alive to hearers. This repetition and remembering is an act of recreation of the Torah itself. This was the use of history by Patristic Christians.
19. J. Fenelly, "Primitive Christian Values of Salvation and Patterns of Conversion", in Man and His Salvation, edited by E. Sharpe & J. Hinnells (Manchester, 1973), p. 110.
20. This is demonstrated in the 4th century by Eusebius' sense of awe and humility (Ec. Hist. I:2:2&7) as he faces the task of writing a church history, and his history is prefaced with prayer (I:1:3).
21. G. Bardy, "Expressions Stoiciennes dans la Prima Clementis", RSR, 12 (1922), pp. 73-85.

22. Regarding the use of Old Testament symbolism in the New Testament and Patristic writings, see G. A. F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the Old Testament (London, 1959), especially in the illustration of the images of the vine (pp. 167ff.) and of the holy city (pp. 305ff.).
23. For comprehensive treatment of these themes, see:
M. Simon, Verus Israel (Paris, 1948).
P. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church (Cambridge, 1969).
R. N. Longenecker, Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period (Grand Rapids, MI, 1975).
24. Note the example of Noah in I Clem. 7:6 regarding Noah's preaching of repentance, I Clem. 6:8 regarding Noah's prophecy of a new beginning of the world, II Clem. 6:8 regarding the need of Noah's children to cleanse themselves, each of which presumes a knowledge of the full narrative of Noah. In the Ascension of Isaiah, Noah is cited as the model of faithfulness among the saints, yet there is no reference to the flood to which all allusions refer.
25. A. Lukyn Williams, Adversus Judaeos (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 3-13.
26. H. U. von Balthasar, Man in History: A Theological Study (London, 1968), pp. 103-108. To von Balthasar, history is itself a word of God and the creative power of God.
27. Note the Ap. of Aristides (Chap. II) regarding the four races of men in this world: barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians.
28. "Kerygma Petrou", in E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. II, edited by W. Schneemelcher, trans. by R.M. Wilson (London, 1965), p. 100. Quoted from Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis VI:5:39-41.
29. A. Harnack, History of Dogma, Vol. I, pp. 150-155, 175-180.
30. Richardson, Israel in the Apostolic Church, pp. 22ff.
31. Mart. Poly. 16:1; II Clem. 17:4-5; I Clem. 59:2-3; Barn. 13:1.
32. I Clem. 17:3, 5-6; Barn. 14:1-6.
33. W. Pannenberg, Basic Questions in Theology, Vol. II (London, 1971), pp. 8-13.

34. R. Harris, Testimonies, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 117-128.
35. The most frequently cited Old Testament sources are Isaiah, Psalms, and Zechariah.
36. C. H. Dodd, According to the Scripture (London, 1952), pp. 57-88.
37. Ibid., p. 94.
38. L. W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford, 1961), pp. 111f.
39. Williams, Adversus Judaeos, pp. 12f.
40. For studies of testimonia as they were employed by second century writers, note:
P. Beskow, Rex Gloriae: The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church, trans. by E. J. Sharpe (Upsala, 1962) regarding the theme of Christ's kingly role;
J. Daniélou, Études d' Exégèse Judéo-Chrétienne (Paris, 1966) regarding certain images of the Psalms.
41. In the arguments for episcopal or presbyterial authority in I Clement and Ignatius, the appeal is documented by reference to the Old Testament types. The ultimate authority is therefore not simply scripture, but the typological constancy demonstrated in scripture.
42. D. L. Baker, "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament", Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1976), p. 149.
43. J. Daniélou, Sacramentum Futuri: Études sur les Origines de la Typologie Biblique (Paris, 1950), pp. 257-258.
44. G. W. H. Lampe and K. L. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology (London, 1957), p. 24f.

J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (London, 1958), pp. 69-75. To Kelly, typology is the primary patristic technique for establishing a sense of historic continuity.
45. M. Eliade, Images and Symbols (London, 1961), pp. 157-161.
46. For the best treatment of the Old Testament promise of the land as it is interpreted by early Christian sources, see W. D. Davies, The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine (Berkeley, CA, 1974).

47. The typological treatment of the image of being clothed in Christ is variously treated. It refers to an adoration of his royal role in the Odes of Sol. (11: 9-10, 15:8), Ignatius (Ig. Poly. 1:2), Hermas (Sim. 9:13:3). Yet the image more closely fits the robes of suffering, the garment of Christ's crucifixion in I Clem. (30:3) and the Odes of Sol. (21:2).
48. Lampe and Woollcombe, Essays on Typology, p. 25.
49. M. Eliade, Symbolism and History (London, 1968), pp. 171f. This is an excellent discussion of the meaning of Kierkegaard's concept of contemporaneity as it relates to the symbolism of early Christian sources.
50. D. Aune, "The Presence of God in the Community: The Eucharist in its Early Christian Cultic Context", SJT, Vol. 29, No. 5 (1976), pp. 454ff. Aune claims that the anticipated salvation of Christ is the basis of early Christian worship. Worship is the present experience of the future presence of Christ.
51. Neither the name of Jesus or the title of Christ are mentioned in Hermas, the Odes of Solomon, the Gospel of Truth, and the Epistle to Diognetus.
52. K. Löwith, Meaning in History (Chicago, 1949), pp. 182-189.
53. H. E. W. Turner, The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption (London, 1952), pp. 19-21.
- C. F. D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament (London, 1962). "In the earliest days, the Christian conviction seems to have been expressed less as a statement about who Jesus was than as evidence about what God had done in him for his people." (p. 56)
54. G. Kretschmar, "Christliches Passa im 2 Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung der Christlichen Theologie", in RSR Tome 60, Numero 2 (1972), pp. 287-323 (p. 323).
55. This is contrary to the opinion of Bultmann that, at least in Ignatius, the eschaton is non-historical since Christ has already come to usher in the non-historical age. R. Bultmann, "Ignatius and Paul", in Existence and Faith, Introduction and trans. by S. M. Ogden (London, 1961), pp. 267-277.
56. G. W. H. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology", in Eschatology: Four Papers, edited by W. Manson (Edinburgh, no date), pp. 17-35 (p. 22).
57. Aune, "Presence of God in the Community", pp. 454ff. "Early Christian worship functioned primarily as

a vehicle for celebrating the realization of salvation in and through Jesus Christ." (p. 455) Aune describes this as 'realized eschatology', a questionable term, since there is little sense in the Christian's having arrived and a strong sense of the remembered Old Testament promises.

58. C. F. D. Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Eschatological Terms", JTS, Vol. XV (New Series), (1964), pp. 1-15 (p. 10 regarding the setting of the gathered Christian community).
59. Lampe, "Early Patristic Eschatology", p. 29, discusses the unity of historical processes of eschatology.
60. L. W. Barnard, "Justin Martyr's Eschatology", Vigiliae Christianae, Vol. 19 (1965), pp. 86-98 (p. 97).
61. J. Danielou, Primitive Christian Symbols (London, 1961), p. 2.

M. Eliade, Images and Symbols, p. 157.
62. M. Lods, Précis d'Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne du II^e au début du IV^e Siècle (Neuchatel, Suisse, 1966), pp. 121-138.
63. The problem of II Peter and II Clem. is a concern for moral purity in the face of non-Christian values, not eschatological backsliding.
64. Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, in which symbols are attributed to Hebrew sources, not simple reflections on processes of nature and creation.
65. D. H. Wallace, "Heilsgeschichte, Kenosis, and Chalcedon", in Oikonomia: Heilsgeschichte als Thema der Theologie, edited by F. Christ (Hamburg, 1967), pp. 248-258. See also O. Cullmann, Christology of the New Testament, trans. by S. C. Guthrie and C. A. M. Hall (London, 1959). "All Christology is heilsgeschichte and all heilsgeschichte is Christology." (p. 326).
66. Note the discussion of Jewish and Hellenistic concepts of the notion of pre-existence, where Jewish thought means real existence and Hellenistic thought means spiritual existence in L. Pernveden, The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas, trans. by I. & N. Reeves (Lund, 1966), pp. 32-37.
67. Regarding midrashic methods see: R. M. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit (London, 1957), Chapter I.
68. For early Christian pedagogy, especially as it relates to Greek philosophy, see: W. Jaeger, Early Christian and Greek Paideia (London, 1957), pp. 12-26.

69. Regarding issues of inspiration and exegesis of scripture in the Apostolic Fathers, see: Grant, Letter and Spirit, pp. 58ff.
70. I Clem., Proem.
71. Regarding the role of Rome in the early church, note I Clem. 7:1: "We write ... to remind ourselves; for we are in the same arena, the same struggle is before us. " Rome is not in a priority or authoritative position, it is simply a sharer of the same problem.
72. It is possible, argues Jalland (The Church and the Papacy (London, 1944), pp. 80f.), that there was not just a single ecclesiastical structure or a single bishop in Rome during I Clement, but a diverse congregational organization with several bishops in the city, each with a separate house-church.
73. see: I Clem. 7:2 regarding the common rule of tradition, and 63:3 in which several men are cited as representing the whole community.
74. I Clem. 1:2-2:8.
75. I Clem. 62:3.
76. I Clem. 3:1-4, 44:1-6.
77. I Clem. 44:3-6.
78. I Clem. 7:2-5.
79. R. L. P. Milburn, Early Christian Interpretations of History (London, 1954), pp. 28-30.
80. N. P. Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin (London, 1927), pp. 171-173. Williams fails to note I Clement because he is concerned with an Adamic fall, though I Clement presents a similar, though brief, portrayal of the fall using a social, family context rather than the individualized idea of current Jewish literature.
81. I Clem. 3:4.
82. I Clem. 4:7.
83. I Clem. 3:2.
84. I Clem. 4:1-8.
85. I Clem. 4:9.

86. I Clem. 4:10.
87. I Clem. 4:11-13.
88. I Clem. 5:1-7.
89. I Clem. 5:1.
90. E. W. Fisher, Soteriology in I Clement (Ann Arbor, MI, 1974), pp. 122f.
91. I Clem. 6:3-4.
92. I Clem. 7:1.
93. I Clem. 7:2-4.
94. I Clem. 49:5, 50:5.
95. I Clem. 50: 3.
96. I Clem. 7:6-7.
97. I Clem. 12:7.
98. I Clem. 8:1-5.
99. I Clem., chapters 10-13.
100. I Clem. 13:1.
101. I Clem., chapters 14-15.
102. I Clem., chapter 16.
103. I Clem., chapter 17.
104. I Clem., chapter 18.
105. I Clem. 19:2.
106. I Clem., chapter 20.
107. I Clem., chapter 21.
108. I Clem. 23:4-5.
109. Jaeger, Early Christian and Greek Paideia, pp. 15-16.
110. I Clem., chapter 25. The phoenix bird may also have been a Hellenistic-Jewish symbol.
111. I Clem. 60:10.
112. I Clem. 59:3. Note the discussion of this in Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, pp. 147ff.

113. G. Florovsky, Christianity and Culture, Vol. II
(Belmont, MA, 1974), pp. 26ff.
114. Danielou, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
115. I Clem., chapters 26-29.
116. Note I Clem. Proem. Because the people of God are
pilgrims on this earth, hospitality among Christians
becomes a mark of their unity (I Clem. 11:1, 12:1).
117. I Clem. 30:1.
118. I Clem. 30:7.
119. I Clem., chapter 31.
120. I Clem., chapter 32.
121. I Clem., chapter 33.
122. I Clem., chapter 34.
123. I Clem. 35:4.
124. I Clem. 36:2.
125. I Clem., chapters 41-44.
126. I Clem., chapter 45.
127. I Clem., chapters 49-50.
128. I Clem., chapters 51-54.
129. I Clem. 54:4.
130. I Clem. 55:6.
131. I Clem. 57:2.
132. I Clem., chapters 59-61.
133. Note I Clem. 7:1, 22:6, 45:8, 62:2-3.
134. Note I Clem. 19:1-2, 36:1-2, 63:1.
135. Note I Clem. 38:3-4, 45:1-3, 50:3-7.
136. Note I Clem. 36:1-2, 41:4.
137. Note I Clem. 5:2ff, 39:7, 43:2, 63:2.
138. Note I Clem. 13:4, 19:1, 53:1, 62:3.
139. Fisher, Soteriology in I Clement, pp. 186-200.

140. M. Simon, Verus Israel, p. 100. For Clement, "le message du Christ vient couronner l'enseignement moral de la loi Juive."
141. I Clem., chapters 33-34.
142. Fisher, op. cit., pp. 203f.
143. Note I Clem. 12:1. See Danielou, Sacramentum Futuri, pp. 206ff, in which it is claimed that if men believed on the 'sign' of Rahab they would have redemption through the blood of the Lord.
144. Note I Clem. 29:2-30:1.
145. Note the difference between the way faith is defined in the Pauline and Catholic epistles of the New Testament (a problem to the Reformers). Contrary to the traditional protestant interpretation (see G. Bornkamm, The New Testament: A Guide to Its Writings (London, 1974), re. Catholic epistles), which state that in the Catholic epistles faith is regarded as obedience to doctrinal formulae, it appears that faith is more clearly defined in terms of the community's life. The emphasis is on the activity of God creating within man a new life by grace - a life which is realized in the Christian community.
146. III Jn. 9-10, 5-7.
147. III Jn. 3-4, 12.
148. James 2:1-8, 3:13-16.
149. James 3:1-2, 16.
150. James 4:1-2, 5:6.
151. James 2:25-26.
152. James 1:11, 3:11-12, 5:7.
153. James 3:1, compare with I Clem. 41:4.
154. James 2:21-23, 25-26; 5:11, 17-18.
155. James 1:16-17, 3:17, 1:21.
156. James 1:18, 5:7-11.
157. II Peter 2:1-2.
158. II Peter 2:4-10.

159. II Peter 1:5-10. Knowledge leads to self-control, to steadfastness, to godliness, to brotherly affection, and finally to love (ἀγάπη). Regarding the equality of status of all Christians, note II Peter 1:1.
160. Note II Peter 1:12-13, 15; 3:1-2.
161. The most consistent contemporary understanding of II Peter is that his argument is formed by a sense of eschatological disappointment (note Bornkamm, op. cit.). But the mention of the second coming is made in the context of the greater concern for God's judgment. The central question is "What sort of persons ought you be in lives of holiness and godliness, waiting for and hastening the coming of the day of God?" (II Peter 3:11-13) Note the understanding of C. H. Talbert, "II Peter and the Idea of the Delay of the Parousia", VC, Vol. 20 (1966), pp. 137-145.
162. II Peter 2:5.
163. II Peter 3:5-7.
164. II Peter 1:19.
165. Jude 10, 12-13, 23.
166. Jude 5-7, 9, 11, 14-15.
167. Jude 3-4, 8, 16-22, 24-25.
168. R. M. Grant, The Earliest Lives of Jesus (London, 1961), pp. 16-20.

R. M. Grant, The Letter and the Spirit (London, 1957), pp. 62ff.
169. Eusebius, H.E. III:39:1.
170. Fragment IX, taken from Anastasias Sinaita, Vol. I, p. 155, Ante-Nicene Fathers.
171. A. F. Walls, "Papias and Oral Tradition", VC, Vol. 21 (1967), pp. 137-140.
172. Did. 4:1-5, 7:1-10:7, 14:1-3.
173. Did. 1:1-3:10, 4:4-6:3, 13:1-13:7.
174. Did. 11:1-12:5 re. wandering prophets, 15:1-4 re. authority in the community.
175. Did. 10:3.
- 176¹. Did. 15:4. See also 11:3.

- 176.² Did. 16:6.
177. II Clem. 1:1, 8:1-6, 14:1-2, 17:3.
178. II Clem. 4:1-3, re. disregard for fellowship; 3:1-4 re. denial of Christ; 5:1-7, 6:1-9 re. condescension to the world; chapters 7-8 re. discipline of athletes needed for self-perfection; 9:1-7 re. resurrection; and 10:1-4 re. the promise of the future.
179. II Clem. 17:3.
180. II Clem. 13:3-4, 17:1-3.
181. II Clem. 12:1 & 4, 14:3, 17:4, 20:5.
182. II Clem. 11:3-5, 16:3, 20:2. Note the discussion in K. P. Donfried, "The Theology of Second Clement", HTR, Vol 66, No. 4 (1973), pp. 487-501.
183. Note the conflict inherent in 5:1 and 5:5 regarding the forsaken sojourner and the brief residency of the prophet. See also 1:6-2:1 and 14:3.
184. II Clem. 14:1-3.
185. This contrast is not unlike Augustine's distinctions between the Civitas Dei and the Ecclesia.
186. But there is no sense of the creation of the community pre-historically, except in II Clement. Hence, there is no kerygma of the pre-existence of Christ.
187. F. F. Bruce, "Eschatology in the Apostolic Fathers", in The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of Georges V. Florovsky, edited by D. Neiman and M. Schatkin (Rome, 1973), pp. 77-89 (pp. 77-79). Regarding I Clem. 2:4 and 59:2, Bruce states that Christ's coming is dependent on the completion of the church's number of the elect. Also found in Did. 16 and II Peter 3:3-10.
188. Note II Clem. 1:3-4, 19:3, and I Clem., chapters 24 and 26. The parousia is to the community as the resurrection was to Christ. His purpose (atonement) was to exemplify this historic promise.
189. Note the use of ἐπιφάνια and φαινόμενα (with not use of ἀποκαλύψεις).
190. H. R. Schlette, Epiphany as History, translated by N. D. Smith (London, 1969), pp. 93-110.
191. See the Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons, Polycarp, and II Clem., chapter 14.

192. Note I Clem. 49 re. bearing the mark of perfection.
See also Barn. 6.
193. R. Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, Vol. II
(Manchester, 1920), pp. 68-69.
194. Note the summary of the classification of the Psalms
by Abramowski and Gunkels in Aune, The Cultic
Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christ-
ianity (Leiden, 1972), pp. 175-176.

J. H. Bernard, "Odes of Solomon", JTS, Vol. XII (1910-
1911), pp. 1-31 (pp. 3f, 42). Bernard views the
Odes as hymns for the preparation of individuals
for corporate baptismal ceremonies.
195. Harris, Odes of Solomon, pp. 265f. re. Ode 10. Re. Ode 6,
pp. 239f. See also Aune, Cultic Setting, pp. 174-
184.
196. Harris, Op. cit., p. 91.
197. Ibid., pp. 78f.
198. Odes of Sol. 16:10-19 (sel.). See also Odes of Sol.
6:4-10, 26:5-7.
199. Odes of Sol. 6:6 & 8.
200. Odes of Sol. 4:1-3, 7:9 & 14, 8:13-16.
201. Odes of Sol. 9:4, 20:7, 22:12.
202. Odes of Sol. 8:18.
203. Odes of Sol. 33:13.
204. Odes of Sol. 4:11-14.
205. Odes of Sol. 22:2-6, 24:1-8.
206. Odes of Sol. 28:12.
207. Odes of Sol. 1:4.
208. Odes of Sol. 4:5.
209. Odes of Sol. 28:17-20, 30:6.
210. Odes of Sol. 11:22-23.
211. Odes of Sol. 41:9-10.
212. Odes of Sol. 10:4, 15:9.
213. Odes of Sol. 9:9, 29:9.

214. Odes of Sol. 5:14, 15:8-9, 22:8-12, 28:8.
215. Odes of Sol. 3:6-9.
216. See above, chapter II. Note Odes of Sol. 6:8-18.
217. Odes of Sol. 17:4 & 11, 30:1, 41:3.
218. Odes of Sol. 17:16.
219. Odes of Sol. 41:4 re. the new day, 15:3 re. the holy day, 12:4 re. the new generations.
220. Odes of Sol. 42:14.
221. Odes of Sol. 31:13, 42:11. See also 6:12-18, 24:1-8, 31:1-4.
222. J. H. Charlesworth (ed. and trans.), The Odes of Solomon (Oxford, 1973), p. 90.
223. Compare with Revelation 12:3 re. death and the devil.
224. Odes of Sol. 22:1-2, 5-7, 8-10, 12.
225. Harris, Odes of Solomon, pp. 265-267.
226. Ibid., p. 84.
227. Aune, Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology, p. 188. Re. Ode 11, note pp. 184f.
228. Daniélou, Theology of Jewish Christianity, p. 115.
229. Odes of Sol. 11:16-18, 23-24; 20:7.
230. Odes of Sol. 3:5, 20:8, 26:3, 37:4.
231. Odes of Sol. 18:1-2, 36:1-2.
232. Odes of Sol. 23:5-9, 9:12-13. See also Daniélou, Op.cit., pp. 198-203. In I Clement the books are for memorials to the Saints (I Clem. 45:8). In the Odes of Sol. the book is a record of Christ's victory for the sake of the saints: the book is Christ himself, addressed to his saints (Odes of Sol. 9:12-13, 23:5-9).
233. Odes of Sol. 17:6. Note the motif of the soujourner as it also appears in I Clem. 1, III John.
234. Odes of Sol. 17:16.
235. Note the image of the living crown in Odes of Sol. 1:1-3, 5:12, 9:8-10, 17:1, 20:7-8.

236. P. Beskow, Rex Gloriae: The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church (Upsala, 1962), trans. by E. J. Sharpe, pp. 42-73.
237. Odes of Sol. 4:8, 11:11, 15:8, 20:7, 33:12.
238. Odes of Sol. 7:4.
239. Odes of Sol. 42:7-8. Note the image of the bride and bridegroom in Ode 38:11, where evil tries to produce life by imitating the bride and the bridegroom, only to produce corruption.
240. Odes of Sol. 35:1-2.
241. Odes of Sol. 4:7-8, 8:13 & 16.
242. Odes of Sol. 2:1, 4:6, 23:2 & 3.
243. Odes of Sol. 20:2 & 4.
244. Odes of Sol. 12:1 & 12.
245. Odes of Sol. 10:6, 21:3, 32:1.
246. Odes of Sol. 23:1.
247. Odes of Sol. 10:2.
248. Odes of Sol. 19:6-10.
249. Odes of Sol. 11:19, 15:1-3. Note H. Graef, Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion, Vol. I (London, 1965), for a full discussion of the images of Mary in the early church.
250. Odes of Sol. 19:8-9.
251. Odes of Sol. 19:10. See Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 84 regarding the painless labor of Mary. See also Ode 21:4, where it is asserted that in Christ there is no sickness or affliction or suffering.
252. Odes of Sol. 22:11, 24:3-7, 31:1-3.
253. Odes of Sol. 25:1-5, 8-9, 11.
254. Daniélou, Theology of Jewish..., pp. 326ff.
255. See Odes of Sol. 5:4-10, 18:7, 28:5-6, 19.
256. Odes of Sol. 5:2 & 10, 9:4, 29:1, 40:1.
257. Odes of Sol. 40:1, 5-6.
258. Ig. Eph. Proem., Ig. Trall. Proem., Ig. Phil. 11:1.

259. Ig. Eph. 19:3.
260. Note the sense of the heavenly prototype in Ig. Smyr. 11:2, Ig. Trall. 5:2. See Beskow, Rex Gloriae, pp. 165-172, regarding the hierarchy of the church and the hierarchy of heaven.
261. Regarding the 'silence', see Ig. Eph. 19:1, Ig. Trall. 2:1-3 (the mystery of the structure of the church). See H. Chadwick, "The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius", HTR, Vol. 43, No. 2 (1950), pp. 169-172 (p. 170).
262. Real history, real meaning, is hidden except as Christ reveals it, even to the present community. Note Ig. Rom. 3:3.
263. Ig. Eph. 13:2, 18:2; Mag. 1:2; Phil. 6:2.
264. Ig. Trall. 4:2.
265. Possible exceptions are the images of the sun and moon (Ig. Rom. 2:2) and the trees (Ig. Eph. 14:2), but there is no change or growth involved in using these symbols, only fruitfulness or light in stark contrast with barrenness and darkness.
266. See Ig. Trall. 9:1 for a typical credal formula. Christ is of the family of David, born of Mary, ate, drank, was persecuted under Pilate, crucified, died, and was raised. This is also in Ig. Smyr. 1:1. A more sacramental credal formula is in Rom. 7:3, in which Christ's flesh in the bread is the seed of David.
267. Ig. Mag. 8:1a-2a.
268. Ig. Eph. 18:2. Christ alone purified the water by which life comes.
269. Ig. Mag. 9:2.
270. Ig. Mag. 10:2.
271. See Daniélou, Theology of Jewish..., p. 236.
272. Ig. Phil. 9:2.
273. Ig. Mag. 9:2.
274. See Ig. Mag. 6:1, 8; Eph. 19:3.
275. Ig. Phil. 8:2, Trall. 9:1-2, Smyr. 1:1-2.
276. Ig. Smyr. 2:1, Trall. 10:1, Phil 8:1-2.

277. Ig. Eph. 5:3, 3:2; Phil. 2:2, 6:1; Mag., chapters 9 & 10.
278. Ig. Eph. 19:1-3. See also Ig. Smyr. 3:2.
279. Ig. Mag. 5:1-2.
280. Ig. Rom. 6:1-3, Trall. 2:1.
281. Ig. Eph. 20:2.
282. Ig. Eph. 7:2.
283. In Ig. Eph. alone it occurs in 7:2, 11:1, 14:1, 19:3.
284. Ig. Eph. 1:1.
285. Ig. Trall. 11:2.
286. Ig. Eph. Proem., 1:1-2, 17:1, 18:1; Trall. Proem.;
Smyr. 5:3; Phil. 9:1-2.
287. Ig. Eph. 4:2, Smyr. 8:2. Note also Ig. Smyr. 2:1,
where those before or outside Christ are said to
be living a phantom existence.
288. Ig. Eph. 3:2.
289. Ig. Eph. 11:1.
290. Ig. Smyr. 1:2, Mag. 4:1.
291. Ig. Eph. 7:1.
292. Ig. Trall. 12:2, Mag. 4:1. Note the discussion in
Moberly, Atonement and Personality, p. 327, re-
garding Ignatius' use of the cross of Christ.
293. Ig. Eph. 15:3.
294. Ig. Eph. 18:2 - 19:1.
295. Ig. Eph. 14:2, Trall. 1:1.
296. Note the Proem to all Ignatian letters.
297. Ig. Eph. 11:2-12:1.
298. Ig. Trall. 9:1-2; Smyr. 1:1-2; Rom. 2:2, 6:3; Phil. 8:2.
299. Ig. Eph. 3:1, 1:2, 10:3; Mag. 9:1.
300. Ig. Eph. 4:1, 11:2; Rom. 2:2, 6:3; Smyr. 4:2.
301. Ig. Trall. 9:2, Rom. 5:3, Smyr. 9:2.
302. Ig. Eph. 11:1.

303. Ig. Rom. 6:1.
304. Ig. Eph. 21:2, Smyr. 10:2, Mag. 11:1, Trall. 2:2, Phil. 5:2.
305. This is contrary to the opinion of F. F. Bruce, "Eschatology in the Apostolic Fathers", pp. 79-82, where Ignatius is said to have had a strong sense of realized eschatology, especially in regard to the eucharist. Note also the opinion of W. M. Swartley, "The Imitatio Christi in the Ignatian Letters", VC, Vol. 27 (1973), pp. 81-103 (pp. 88f), that Ignatius lacks any dimension of an historical eschatology.
306. Poly. Phil. 1:1.
307. Poly. Phil. 6:3.
308. Poly. Phil. 1:2, 12:3.
309. Poly. Phil. 8:1-2.
310. Bruce, "Eschatology...", p. 82-83, suggests that Polycarp spoke against efforts to create a realized eschatology.
311. Poly. Phil. 2:2, 8:1.
312. "Martyrs of Vienne and Lyons", Eusebius, H. E. V:1:45-46.
313. Mart. Poly. 14:2.
314. See Asc. Is. 4:15-16 regarding the creation of a millennial reign of Old Testament saints, 4:18 regarding the purging of the earth at the eschaton.
315. Asc. Is. 7:35-8:10.
316. Asc. Is. 11:11. Note also Luke 9:28 as it is compared to Asc. Is. 11:39. See also the Odes of Sol. 7:15 and 17:9.
317. Asc. Is. 3:23-30.
318. Asc. Is. 4:3, 11:22-23.
319. Asc. Is. 7:15.
320. Asc. Is. 8:5-7.
321. R. H. Charles (ed.), The Ascension of Isaiah (London, 1900), pp. 42ff.
322. Barn. 1:4. See also Barn. 2:3, 21:5.
323. Barn. 1:4&6.

- 324. Barn. 1:7.
- 325. Barn., chapter 2.
- 326. Contrast the 'new law' of Jesus in Barn. 2:6 with the 'yoke of necessity' in Jewish law. Note Barn. 3:6 regarding the long-suffering God who prepared his true law long before Christ.
- 327. Barn., chapter 3.
- 328. Barn., chapter 4.
- 329. Barn. 5:1, 6, 11.
- 330. Barn., chapter 6.
- 331. Barn., chapter 7.
- 332. Barn., chapter 8.
- 333. Barn., chapter 9.
- 334. Barn., chapter 10.
- 335. Barn., chapter 11.
- 336. Barn., chapter 12.
- 337. Barn., chapter 13.
- 338. Barn., chapter 14.
- 339. Barn., chapters 17-20.
- 340. Barn., chapter 15.
- 341. Barn., chapter 16.
- 342. Barn., chapter 20.
- 343. Barn., chapter 21.
- 344. Barn. 4:1.
- 345. Barn. 4:9. See also Barn. 2:1.
- 346. Barn. 5:11.
- 347. See Daniélou, Theology of Jewish..., pp. 360-368, regarding Barnabas' use of certain gnostic themes of the knowledge of God as that which comes from a non-historical sphere to combat an historical world.
- 348. Barn. 11:4-7.

349. Barn. 6:13 & 17.
350. Barn. 1:7, 5:3, 7:1.
351. Barn 12:8.
352. Barn. 1:7, 2:4, 4:4, 5:6, 6:2&4 etc.
353. Barn. 4:6, 6:8, 10:1-5, 12:2-8.
354. Barn. 8:4.
355. Barn. 10:10.
356. Barn. 4:8, 14:4.
357. Barn. 4:14.
358. Barn., chapter 5.
359. Simon, Verus Israel, p. 91.
360. Barn. 4:14.
361. Compare with the Odes of Solomon, 10:4, 15:9, 41:9-10.
362. Barn. 5:5, 6:12.
363. Barn. 11:2.
364. Barn. 11:3, 5:1, 20:1, 8:6.
365. Barn. 16:8. Note the discussion of evil hearts against one's neighbor in 2:8-10.
366. Barn. 5:1-9, 11:11-12.
367. Barn. 13:2, 18:1.
368. Barn. 18:2.
369. Regarding the use of testimonia in Barnabas, see P. Prigent, Les Testimonia dans le Christianisme Primitif: L'Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses Sources (Paris, 1961), pp. 29-182.
370. Barn. 8:1 & 6.
371. Barn. 6:8-11.
372. Barn. 10:10 & 12.
373. Barn. 11:2, 5, 8-10.
374. Barn. 11:11. Note G. Q. Reijnders, Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature (Nijmegen, 1965), p. 186. The cross is an image of incorporation into God's people, a belonging to Christ.

375. Barn. 7:3. Note the discussion of A. T. Hanson, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament (London, 1965), p. 80.
376. Barn. 2:6, 15:1. Note the concern of R. L. P. Milburn, Early Christian Interpretations of History (London, 1954), pp. 24ff.
377. Barn. 6:7, 5:9, 14:5.
378. Barn. 2:4 & 6.
379. Barn. 2:3.
380. Barn. 1:5.
381. Barn. 5:7.
382. Barn. 19:10.
383. Barn. 4:14.
384. Barn. 7:7.
385. Barn. 7:11.
386. Barn. 7:9 & 11.
387. I Clem. 12:1-8.
388. See R. A. Kraft, The Apostolic Fathers: Barnabas and The Didache, Vol. 3 (New York, 1965), pp. 13ff, regarding Barnabas' view of salvation as perfection.
389. Barn. 6:13-18, 10:11, 15:4f, 16:6-8.
390. Barn. 15:4.
391. Barn. 4:12, 5:9, 7:2, 15:5, 21:1 & 3.
392. Barn. 4:3-5, 9; 2:1. Note the treatment of this in Bruce, "Eschatology in the Ap. Fathers", pp. 84ff. and Daniélou, Theology of Jewish..., pp. 397ff.
393. Barn. 15:8.
394. Barn. 16:10.
395. Barn. 15:5-7.
396. Barn. 21:4.
397. Kraft, Ap. Fathers, Vol. III, Barn. and Did., p. 38, regards the community as already formed, yet concedes that futurist eschatology is the sole concern of that community (pp. 27-29).

398. Herm. Vis. 1:3:1, Vis. 2:2:2-4, Vis. 2:3:1.
399. Herm. Vis. 2:2:6-7.
400. Herm. Vis. 3:9:1-10, Vis. 3:13:4.
401. Herm. Vis. 1:3:4, Vis. 2:4:1.
402. Herm. Vis. 1:1:6.
403. Herm. Vis. 4:3:2.
404. Herm. Man. 4:3:4.
405. Herm. Man. 6:2:1-7. S. Giet, Hermas et Les Pasteurs (Paris, 1963), pp. 256-258, claims that Hermas reflects several historical perspectives, but that all of them have the same outline regarding history as defilement.
406. Herm. Sim. 9:33:1.
407. Herm. Vis. 2:4:2-7, Sim. 1:7.
408. Herm. Sim. 5:6:3, Sim. 8:3:2.
409. Herm. Vis. 2:2:4-5.
410. Herm. Sim. 6:5:1-4.
411. Herm. Vis. 3:1:9.
412. Herm. Vis. 3:5:1.
413. Herm. Man. 4:3:4, Vis. 2:1:3, Vis. 4:3:5.
414. Herm. Vis. 1:3:2.
415. Herm. Vis. 3:9:1, 7-10; Sim. 5:6:1; Sim. 5:7:1.
416. Herm. Vis. 3:13:4.
417. Herm. Sim. 6:1:5-7:1.
418. Herm. Sim. 6:1:6, Sim. 9:16:5-7.
419. Herm. Sim. 9:16:5-7.
420. Herm. Sim. 6:5:4.
421. R. J. Bauckman, "The Great Tribulation in the Shepherd of Hermas", JTS, Vol. XXV - Pt. 1, New Series (1974), pp. 27-40 (pp. 32-36).
422. Compare Herm. Vis. 4 to Daniel 12:10 where refinement is related to the judgment of God.
423. Herm. Man. 2:7.

424. Herm. Sim. 9.
425. Herm. Sim. 3:2-4, Sim. 4:1-8.
426. Herm. Sim. 3:3.
427. Herm. Sim. 9:17-29.
428. Herm. Sim. 1:1-7.
429. See Herm. Man. 4:2:4, Man. 4:4:4, Man. 10:3:4, Sim. 6:3:6, Sim. 8:6:6, Sim. 8:11:3-4.
430. Herm. Sim. 9:18:4.
431. Herm. Sim. 10:3:4.
432. W. D. Davies, Christian Origins and Judaism (London, 1962) p. 228, quoted from Fragment 20, Column IX, lines 12-16 of the Manual of Discipline.
433. Ev. Ver. 17:1f, 29:10, 32:33. See also the relationship of the Gospel of Truth to gnostic paraenetic terminology discussed in Kraft, Barnabas and the Did., pp. 24ff.
434. Ev. Ver. 20:10-30.
435. Ev. Ver. 21:5.
436. Ev. Ver. 25:17.
437. Ev. Ver. 33:14.
438. W. A. Shotwell, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr (London, 1965), p. 65.
439. E. C. Blackman, Marcion and His Influence (London, 1948), pp. 119-123. Blackman refers to the "exultation of soteriology at the expense of history" characterized by Marcion and the gnostics.
440. II Clement, II Peter, Didache, Diognetus.
441. Ev. Verit., Didache, Ep. of Diognetus, Papias, Mart. Poly.
442. I Clem. 19:2, 20:1-12 (though 29:1-3 suggest it began at the fall); II Clem. 14:1-3; II Peter 2:4-5; James 1:16-18; Odes of Sol. 4:1-3, 7:9&14, 8:13-16; Herm. Vis. 1:1:6, Vis. 1:3:4, Vis. 2:4:1; Barn. 6:11-17; Ig. Eph. 19:3 (regarding predestination from eternity).
443. NOTE the urgent claim of Justin (I Ap.) for the antiquity of the church (antiquity is the church's legitimization). See B. Kominiak, The Theophanies of the Old Testament in the Writings of St. Justin, Studies in Sacred Theology (Second Series), No. 14, Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C., 1948), pp. 3ff.

444. It can be said that I Clem. and II Peter both contain a strong note of realized eschatology; the parousia is definitely future, but it will hold few surprises. They do not attack a realized eschatology. Instead, they criticize an eschatology which is less than that which we know is coming, especially an eschatology of judgment.
445. Note the discussion of Justin's theology of the pre-existent state of Christ in D. C. Trakatellis, The Pre-existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr (Missoula, Mt., 1976), pp. 84-92.
446. Discussed at length in Chapter IV.
447. Note the role of Eve in Barn. 12:5 and Ep. Diog. 12:8.
448. T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Edinburgh, 1948), pp.
449. Colossians, 1, Ephesians 2.
450. R. Bultmann, History and Eschatology (Edinburgh, 1957), p. 35.
451. Note Kominiak, Theophanies of Justin, pp. 13ff. regarding Justin's understanding of angels as agents of the Christological purpose.
452. E. L. Copeland, "Nomos as a Medium of Revelation - Paralleling Logos - in Ante-Nicene Christianity", ST, Vol. 27 (1973), pp. 51-62 (pp. 52f.).
453. Note Justin: Dialogue with Trypho 10, 24, 47, 122. Copeland, Op. cit., p. 58, cites the reasons for the eventual demise of nomos Christology as:
1. too complex and ambiguous a concept,
 2. fear of antinomianism,
 3. not dynamic enough in its contemporary useage,
 4. no real Biblical precedent.
454. P. deLapriollé, La Crise Montaniste (Paris, 1913).
455. Tertullian: Jud. 3:8.
456. Note Justin's treatment of Judaizers in the church as limiting the dimensions of the salvation community (Dialogue with Trypho 47).
457. Presented as the 'Jewish view' of history as heils-geschichte by S. G. F. Brandon, History, Time, and Deity (Manchester, 1965), pp. 106-147.
458. Ibid., pp. 148-205. Brandon classifies the Ignatian perspective on history as the 'two-phased plan'.

459. L. W. Barnard, "The Logos Theology of St. Justin Martyr", Downside Review, No. 295, Vol. 89 (1971), pp. 132-141 (pp. 137f.). Logos Christology is an attempt to understand the Old Testament, not just the incarnation and crucifixion.
460. Copeland, "Nomos as a Medium of Revelation...", p. 58, Even nomos Christology is used by Justin when addressing the Jews.
461. I Clem. 46:7. See also 13:1-4, 42:3.
462. Did. 4:1-2. See also 1:3, 2:5, 3:8.
463. James 1:21.
464. Ig. Mag. 8:2.
465. Ig. Phil. 9:1, 11:1.
466. Ig. Eph. 15:2.
467. Ig. Rom. 2:1.
468. R. Holte, "Logos Spermatikos, Christianity and Ancient Philosophy According to St. Justin's Apologies", ST, Vol. XII (1958), pp. 109-168. Justin derived his logos terminology from Philo, claims Holte. Barnard, "The Logos Theology of St. Justin Martyr", pp. 140f., more correctly states that logos terminology, though it has Stoic origins, was developed to grasp the universalistic element of Christianity, to sum up the whole of history as finding its consummation in Christ.
469. Odes of Sol. 7:7-8, 16:8-16.
470. Odes of Sol. 16:19, 41:14.
471. Odes of Sol. 12:8.
472. Odes of Sol. 29:9-10.
473. Odes of Sol. 10:1-2; 12:2-3, 12; 32:2.
474. Odes of Sol. 39:1, 9-12. See also 6:8, 11:3-7.
475. Futurist eschatology is indicated in: I Clem. 34:2-4 (prepare for Christ's coming, 35:4); II Clem. 16:3 (the day of judgment is immanent, 5:5); Barn. 21:3-6; Ig. Poly. 2:3-3:2 (the time of Christ is coming); Did. 9:4, 16:2-8 (eucharistic hope in the banquet of Christ).
476. Realized eschatology is indicated in: I Clem. 36:1-5; II Clem. 14:2-3; Barn. 6:13-15; Ig. Mag. 9:1, Odes of Sol. 15:3-8.

477. Florovsky's term 'inaugurated' eschatology, though aimed to include both futurist and realized eschatological strata, is problematic because it assumes that the point of origin of the end time is the crucifixion/resurrection, whereas in early second century literature it would appear that the eschaton was inaugurated at creation.
478. Moule, "The Influence of Circumstances on the Use of Eschatological Terms", pp. 1-15. Op. Cit.
479. Ibid., p. 13.
480. I Clem. 2:4, 59:2.
481. I Clem. 24:4-25:1. See also 50:3, where Christ comes to those who have realized the purpose of his love.
482. II Peter 3:9 & 15.
483. II Clem. 11:3-7, 14:3-5, 16:1-3, 20:1-2.
484. Regarding the eschaton as the coming of Christ:
I Clem. 17:1, 34:2, 35:3-4, 50:3-7; II Clem. 16:3, 20:2; Did. 10:5-6, 16:1-2; II Peter 3:10.
485. Regarding the 'secret' day of Christ's coming:
I Clem. 24:5; II Clem. 16:3; II Peter 1:19.
486. It is interesting, in this regard, to contrast two modern perceptions of the role of Christ in history as they relate to the distinctions between the epiphanic and epiphoric paradigms herein outlined. Bultmann, Existence and Faith, pp. 226-241, champions Ignatius' supposed existential perspective, while Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 17-33, perceives Christ at the center of history in much the same understanding as I Clement.
487. Ig. Eph. 11:1, Trall. 9:2, Mag. 5:2.
488. Ig. Rom. 5:3, Eph. 10:3.
489. Ig. Phil. 5:2; 7:2; Eph. 1:1; esp. Mag. 7:1-2.
490. Ig. Eph. 19:3, Smyr. 11:2, Trall. 5:2.
491. Ig. Smyr. 11:1-3.
492. Odes of Sol. 4:1-3, 7:9 & 14, 8:13-16; 10:4, 29:1, 33:12, 40:1.
493. H. E. W. Turner, The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption (London, 1952), pp. 29ff. Turner would also cite Ignatius as reflecting this view (p. 37).
494. Ibid., pp. 70-95. Ignatius and the Odes might best be described by Turner's first two variants which he

494. (cont.) claims to center on the historic Christ rather than the metaphysical logos (pp. 71-77).
495. Ibid., p. 73.
496. Note II Peter 1:4.
497. Lods, Précis d'Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne du II^e au début du IV^e Siècle (Neuchatel, 1966), pp.144f. Salvation is a seed which has been planted in the life of the believer to bear fruit in the eschaton.
498. Ibid., p. 144.
499. Herm. Vis. 2:4:1.
500. Barn 21:2-6, 20:2, 19:10; Herm. Sim. 6:3:6, Vis.3:9:5.
501. Regarding the koinonia as established at the eschaton: Barn. 16:1-8; Herm. Sim. 8:6:6, Vis. 4:3:5, Sim. 9:18:3.
502. Barn. 6:13-18, 15:4f, 16:6-8; Herm. Sim. 1:1-5, Vis. 3:2:4-9.
503. Barn 6:11.
504. D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, The Greek Patristic View of Nature (Manchester, 1968), discusses the attempt of early Christians not to depreciate this world and nature in favor of the next world. What he says regarding nature could also be said about history.
505. Hence the use of the allegory as a devise for interpreting the true intention of Christ's revelation in history.
506. Note Labriolle, La Crise Montaniste, pp. 86f., Blackman, Marcion and His Influence, pp. 113-124.
507. Heresy in the early second century was unmistakably a phenomenon within established congregations. Yet it has not yet been theologically defined except as it affects the unity, harmony, and corporate identity of the community. Note I Clem. 3:1-4, Ig. Mag. 10:2-3, and Ig. Phil. 6:1-2 (heresy as a divided heart).

CHAPTER IV

THE SHAPE OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Introduction

When the early second century Christian community reflected upon itself and attempted to define the unique common life of its members, it did so by affirming its identity as comprehended in the life and death of Christ. The incarnation, life, teachings, suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ, not only as an historical event, but as intended in the purposes of creation and ultimately to be fulfilled in the eschaton, provided the language by which the Christian described his common life with other Christians. The resources for the community's self-reflections were claimed by remembering, by recognizing in history and historical processes the revelation of God to or among his chosen people. In the previous chapter, the themes and varieties of that historical, Christological self-reflection have been examined.

Although the resources of the community's identity were historical and Christological remembrance, the result for the community's life was clearly the imitation of Christ. The community which claimed to reduplicate Christ's presence on earth certainly needed to remember Christ's historical pres-

ence, purpose, and teachings; thereby it discovered its unique character and its role in human history. Yet the common life of Christians occupied certain dimensions which, though informed by historical remembrances, resulted in an identity which they considered timeless, eternally descriptive of themselves, not conditioned by temporal events but imitative of a form and image of Christ which transcended time. In their daily beliefs and behavior together, they did not view themselves as simply imitating certain historical patterns, but as guided by unconditional forms which fulfilled Christ's consummate image.

When Christians gathered, they met at a specific place, a home, an altar, a public building. Together they assumed a certain shape which included some within their fellowship while excluding others. They behaved towards each other in ways which they believed were different from the behavior of those outside the community. They had a certain kinship with each other which they did not share with the general population. To be sure, they shared a common history; yet, because of the pluralistic nature of the community, that history was an outline which defined their common heritage, not a prescriptive formula for their continued communal relationships. The forms of their worship, the understanding of their ministry, the values of their common life, and the beliefs of their faith were not regarded as solely derived from historical repristination. Instead, they were derived from the conviction that there were dimensions of their life together which corresponded to patterns which approximated the very form and fullness of Christ. When Christians gather-

ed, the place of their congregation was a sacred place, the configuration of their communion was a sacred shape, the events which transpired among them corresponded to a sacred pattern.

Considerable attention has been given to the liturgical, cultic aspects of the early Christian community, as well as to the roles and offices of the community's structure. The several references to liturgical forms and offices of the early second century have provided a wealth of exhaustive, though sometimes speculative and polemical, research.¹ But it is the assumption of this study that, before those issues may be addressed, the community's self-reflected identity must be scrutinized. A community which was self-conscious of its common life produced liturgical and structural forms appropriate to itself, not the other way around. The more carefully the literature of the early second century is examined, the more apparent it is that considerations of unity, mutual support, enrichment, common faith and life, collegial well-being and wholeness overwhelmingly outweigh concerns for specific liturgical or structural forms. The community itself sought forms and patterns which faithfully imitated the image of Christ. The worship and structure of the community were developed to promote and express that more fundamental premise: the whole Christian community was itself in the pattern of the Christ.

At the same time, due regard must be taken that considerations of the early Christian community's patterns and forms are not confused with the more philosophical concepts of ideal forms and archetypes which were current in contem-

porary Platonic and Middle-Platonic philosophical thought. Though the language used to express early Christian concerns is sometimes similar to usages of more philosophical contemporaries, there is no indication until the latter half of the second century of any author with even the slightest philosophical sophistication or precision, nor are Christian authors addressing issues of concern to or even related to contemporary philosophical polemicists. The setting out of which, in the literature here considered, the language of patterns, types, forms, shapes, truths, and values of timeless quality, emerges, is the self-reflection of the community in analogies which illuminate its current circumstance. There is no consideration of space and time, the ideal and the real, the archetype and the type, absolute truth and its approximation in human knowledge, the summum bonum of life, or any such more intellectual theme.

Instead of the more practical considerations of congregational worship and structural form and the more philosophical concerns of the second century, this study will, in the present chapter, be concerned with forms and patterns of the common life of Christians which are derived from their understanding of Christ. As was the case in the community's historical self-reflections, so it will be indicated to be in its efforts to imitate certain forms and patterns: Christology is the single unitive criterion. The community perceived itself as being a participant in a certain form which expressed the fullness of Christ, obliged to live by patterns appropriate to his life, constrained by a faith which he taught or embodied. Christ was himself the sacred form or pattern.

At the junction where heaven and earth meet, where the sacred is revealed to the human, Christ is the very form of reality itself, the center of creation; and in him the divine form and pattern of human life are to be perceived. Thus the manifestation of God in Christ is not tied to specific events or activities, but, through personal relationships in a community, to the radically unique body of persons who know themselves as elect by God for this purpose.² In imitation of Christ;

They (Christians) do not dwell in cities in some place of their own, nor do they use any strange variety of language, nor practice an extraordinary kind of life... yet they show forth the amazing and confessedly strange character of their citizenship (θαυμαστὴν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παρὰ δόξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἐαυτῶν πολιτείας).³ They pass their time upon earth, but they have their citizenship in heaven.⁴

from which God has communicated to them, in Christ, "A great design, too wonderful for words."⁵

Images of Non-historical Forms of the Community

Before examining the literature of the early second century, it is necessary to identify the varieties of non-historical reflections which provided a form and pattern to the community's identity. These may be identified by their use of certain symbols for the family, the altar, the kingdom, etc. which are used to suggest a correlation between the community and a sacred pattern, a certain τύπος, μορφή, or μίμημα according to which the community is described, or descriptions of righteousness or truth by whose standards its faith and life are directed.⁶ No clear distinction can often be made between the historical self-reflection and the

eternal forms and patterns of the community, especially where historical examples or logia are cited to illustrate the latter; yet there remain many idioms which are clearly not derived from reflections on history or the processes of time, idioms which motivated the community to identify itself in the imitation of Christ. For purposes of clarification, perspectives on the community which are presented on the basis of Jewish history, natural processes, or ethnic traditions were previously considered, whereas the present examination is directed to an identity provided by morphological symbols and axiological principles.

Morphological Symbols. Morphological idioms of the community's self reflections include references to images which attempt to illustrate or concentrate on a certain form or shape (Gestalt) of the community. When Christians thought of their corporate identity, they did so by alluding to familiar referents which convey a range of implicit meanings which were easily recognized within the community. For instance, reference has already been made to the frequent image of the temple which, though it certainly conveyed a sense of shape and function to the community, was included among historical reflections because of its obvious reference to Jewish antecedents of the Christian community. By using the image of the people of God as a temple, implicit within the image are concepts such as the temple's architect, architecture, centrality in the community, sacral nature, permanence, proportion, as well as the relationship of its constituent building stones and their position in the temple's construction.⁷ More

specifically non-historical morphological images for the community include those which refer to the home or household, political structures, natural organisms, or, to the mind of the second century which was no less familiar with images of a heavenly kingdom than with the earthly counterpart, the celestial throne-room.

Domestic Images. In its most basic form, the community was a family, living in intimate relationships, aware of a common kinship, occupying a specific household when it was at its most normal state together. "The church is the household of God and the redeemed family of mankind. Apart from the church, God would be the heavenly father without an earthly family... There is no incarnation of the word without the cooperation of the Virgin Mother."⁸ The family of Christ was a 'place', a separate locus of the sacred, fenced off, as it were, from the profane. In its midst human life was nurtured and transformed by certain familial relationships into the uniquely characteristic shape which manifested the lineaments of an hereditary lineage.⁹ This is the most constant of all early second century images for the community. On the basis of the single image of the οἶκος, the community built (οἰκοδομέω) a family (οἰκία) which distinguished itself from its neighbor (παροίκος). It taught and observed a certain discipline of servanthood (οἰκόνομος) which culminated in salvation itself (οἰκονομία). Using terms of the most common parlance, the language of the home and household, the domestic image was suitable to concepts which sought to include the sonship of Christ to the father, the adoption of persons into

his brotherhood, the relationship of the resultant family to the world, the organization necessary to perform certain roles and tasks, the discipline expected of persons living in closeness and harmony, the profound sentiments of fear, grief, suffering, and triumph to which they were subjected by outside forces. Certainly the range of domestic symbols had origins in Judaism as well as other cultural antecedents, yet in the Christian community they spoke of an eternal shape of human relationships without reference to historical processes. Though the phrase, 'the people of Israel', was common enough in reference to their identity, they were the 'family of God', not the 'family of Israel'.

Archeological remains of the earliest Christian meeting-places suggest that the early second century fondness for references to the household and family arose because of the prevalence of house-churches. In both Rome and Dura Europus, excavations have revealed houses which were adapted to purposes of Christian assembly in the late second and early third centuries.¹⁰ The New Testament references to house-churches¹¹ have provoked a fascinating, though unresolved, controversy over the incidence of infant baptism in the early church,¹² concluding, for present purposes, that the private household was the most common locus of Christian assembly. Indeed, the several activities of Christian assembly corresponded to the several rooms of the house; the dining room was the probable setting of the eucharistic meal, the more formal reception rooms were used for teaching, the larder was for the distribution of charity to the poor.¹³ It has been suggested that the primitive office of the bishop was probably that of the

'householder', with each large city having as many bishops as it had regional house-churches.¹⁴ This would explain the diversity of theological language that existed within the same geographical area. It further demonstrates the distinction often made between the resident offices of the congregation (the bishop, presbyter, and deacon) and the itinerant minister to congregations (the apostle, prophet, and kerygmatic teacher).¹⁵ As the pilgrim image slowly receded in the community's storehouse of symbols, the householder image became more dominant, even as early as the beginnings of the second century,¹⁶ and the 'parsonage' of the congregation and its assembly center were identical. The church was the familia Dei.¹⁷

Included within this category of symbols of the community as a family or household are those which refer to the intimate relationship of Christ to his bride, the church, or to his mother, the church, though the latter has previously been discussed to the extent that the reference was to the historical Mary. The church early regarded itself in the form of Christ's bride, the virgin maiden without spot or blemish, the new Eve, the indentured maiden bought (redeemed) by the bridegroom.¹⁸ There appear to be at least two distinct usages for this symbol. In the first, the bride of Christ, having been purified in baptism, is married to Christ in his martyrdom.¹⁹ The death of a Christian, especially the sacrificial death of the martyr, is a spiritual marriage, the fulfillment of the engagement made at baptism, the emphasis being on the work of Christ in saving his faithful and beloved intimates. In an opposing use of the same symbol, the church

as Christ's bride is the object of Christ's judgment, for she has failed to obey his mandates, been unfaithful to his covenant, and violated his love.²⁰ The church's infidelity has destroyed the family and sent its members whoring after other gods. In both usages, however, the image of the bride is a collective image, used to convey to the whole community that its entire life was seen as related to Christ as a lover, and that by this relationship, the collective personality bore fruit and provided a family identity to an otherwise illegitimate world.²¹

Not only was the image of marriage intended to expand the familiar idiom of the community as Christ's family, but other relationships within the family or household were similarly selected to be used for self-reflection. Parent-child relationships dominate several discussions of authority and discipline, sibling relationships are frequently cited as the foundation for ethics and harmony, and the role of the servant or slave of Christ is clearly set within the context of the household. In each case, the family and household images defined a certain shape to the collective body, a certain form for its common life, and a sense of interrelatedness for any of its individual members.

Political and Geographical Images. A similar, though less frequently used, set of images referring to a social collective is that which portrayed the community as a political entity, a kingdom, a nation, corporate power, or authority. The church assumed a certain profile which was comparable, in some respects, to the profile of a state. It had a certain structure of authority, maintained a certain economy for the welfare of

its members, advocated certain common rights and freedoms, and asserted itself in a certain sense of militancy. Though the Roman state was used in persecuting the community, there was little hesitation by the church in defining itself by images derived from political powers. Caution must be exercised to distinguish political self-reflections on the form of the community from those considerations of the community as the historical heir to Israel's national promise which have been previously considered.²² The references to the form and pattern of early Christian relationships within the community and to the identity derived from self-reflection upon these relationships were less conditioned by Israel's history than by the immediate circumstance of any community living as a corporate entity within any political state. Nor were Christological issues of lordship, kingship, or messianic promise considered in this category; Christ was more likely to assume the variable roles of judge, general, or advocate than that of the messianic Israelite king. Here again, the contrast between the historical reference to the early Christian community as the new Israel and the non-historical consideration of the church as a politically defined structure of loyalties, laws, ethos, and interrelationships was evident. Studies which have considered only the historical antecedents to the church's identity, either in Judaism or other Near-Eastern monarchies, have neglected the more varied images which were attempts to define the community's form, not its history.²³

It is important to note, in regard to the church's considerations of its political self-image, the treatment of

land or territoriality. W. D. Davies has identified the uniquely Christian treatment of Old Testament references to God's promised land in the New Testament literature,²⁴ that the concentration on the land of Israel was translated into a broader, more spiritually incarnational consideration of the "loving-universal community".²⁵ The continued development of a non-geographical political identity becomes highlighted in the sources under consideration in this study by two further considerations which were foreign to the historical Jewish identity of God's people.²⁶ On the one hand, if there were neither racial nor geographical definitions of the nation, what then were to be its boundaries? And, at the same time, if territoriality was not an issue, how did the Christian community administer its unique justice, defense, and public welfare in the midst of coordinate yet contrasting civil systems? These questions are not resolved only by references to Christ's unique lordship over the true Israel, but by the unique form of the cross of Christ as a non-historical form for the people of God. The sign of the cross was a designation of the community's extension and purpose, not just a symbol of its origin.²⁷

Cosmological Images. Closely related to these political idioms of the community's form and pattern, and often combined in confusing integration, were images which are more properly described as cosmological. In them, the community was defined in reference to a heavenly counterpart, usually a royal court where homage was paid to and justice administered by the despot-king. The reference to the historic Israel was common in such images, especially by use of the enthronement

psalms. Yet the focus was often not on the imperial throne nor on the heritage of the people in the Old Testament symbols, but on the gathering of the elect of God, the selection and relationship of the saints who would otherwise not be citizens and not be interrelated. The community did not so much continue or even fulfill the historic pattern of Israel as it imitated on earth a cosmic configuration, a heavenly form in approximation of which it lived out its earthly relationships.

To the mind of the early second century, reality was mirrored on several levels of existence. Corresponding to the earthly church, there was a heavenly pattern in imitation of which its daily life and structure were described. This heavenly pattern was shrouded in mystery, silence, and glory;²⁸ yet it was knowable by a sense of harmony realized in the community which approximated that pattern in its common life. Robert M. Grant cites New Testament examples of this phenomenon in the Pauline letters²⁹ as the basis for Paul's concern for Christian life in imitation of Christ, yet denies any Platonic origin or historical referents.³⁰ Whether in regard to the relationship of persons in the ecclesiastical structures and roles or in regard to the community's ministry on earth, there is seen to be a continuity between the forms prescribed by the heavenly councils and the forms realized by their earthly counterparts; and where this continuity is jeopardized, discord and apostasy result.³¹ The hierarchical role of Christ with his angels certainly has historical referents, especially as it was realized in the role of the bishop in the congregation;³² yet this was but a single use of a wide-

spread idiom. For the heavenly court references often focused on the saints, their appearance, their apparel, their posture, their fellowship together. The Christian who left the earthly fellowship at death did not simply join Christ; he or she joined the heavenly fellowship which corresponded to the earthly community.³³ Furthermore, by the same understanding, there was a corresponding community in hell (sheol) to which Christ descended at his death to claim his saints and to which the sinners were consigned, a community which mirrors the chaos and formlessness evident outside the Christian community.³⁴

References to the community which compare it to a celestial counterpart are often brief, presupposing a scene familiar to the congregation of the early second century. The angels of God may be referred to in terms of their common clothing or sign, both relating to their baptism, their having shared a particular sameness with Christ, especially through martyrdom, or even their common posture, either standing or at rest. The saints of heaven were usually portrayed as gathered around the throne of Christ (or God himself) either singing with perfect harmony or listening with single mind to God's revelations. They would, in the configuration of the group, often portray a certain symmetry which disallowed any hierarchy among them. Whatever distinctions existed among persons on earth, the heavenly chorus knows no classes, races, offices, or special honors (except, perhaps, a special place and role for the martyrs); in fact, the sameness of all was underscored by their common resemblance to Christ.

These references which are here termed cosmological,

relating to a particular form or pattern of the heavenly community, have often been confused with similar eschatological images which forecast the final gathering of Christ's saints at the eschaton. The term 'realized eschatology' has been applied to explain the complete lack of futurist language in such references. As will be demonstrated in certain cosmological references, however, there is little sense of eschatology involved. Indeed, it is specifically stated that there is a reality which corresponds to this world's structures and forms, yet which remains hidden from those who do not possess the gracious vision of its mysteries.³⁵ The concentration in such images is not on the final judgment, triumph, or vindication of Christ's presence on earth, but on an assembly of saints or angels which celebrates Christ's timeless lordship in heaven. The fellowship of heaven is often portrayed as a current reality which corresponds to the fellowship of Christ's saints on earth. The concern is not so much with the historical presence of Christ, whether futurist or realized, as it is with the celestial assembly of his holy ones. Nor is there, in the texts to be considered, an indication that a cosmological concern for the form and pattern of the assembly slowly replaced a strictly futurist eschatology.³⁶ Instead, a fully futurist eschatology seems, in some cases, to be based on the premise that there is a heavenly assembly to whose life the life of the earthly community corresponds.

Organic Images. A final type of morphological idiom of the community's self-reflections is that which is most richly

Christological and therefore most poignant, that which describes the community in terms of its organic unity with Christ. Ἐν Χριστῷ is a place, the locus where believers are found.³⁷ Christians are in Christ and Christ is in them; to be joined to Christ is to become part of an organic whole, a unity which expresses the oneness of the believers and their environment, Christ. The image at times conveys a sense of adoption into the family of Christ,³⁸ yet the most consistent usage refers to a biological, generic oneness of the believing community with Christ. Christ's image circumscribes the form and pattern of the assembly of Christians. Such images of the community as the 'body of Christ', the τύπος of Christ, the εἰκὼν of Christ, the fullness of Christ, the life of Christ and others express the most profound identity of the community as the very identity of the Christ, as has been demonstrated formerly.

It is not sufficient, however, to consider these images of the community's organic unity with Christ in a strictly historical sense. Certainly the fellowship shared the life, death, and resurrection of the historical Christ. Yet the organic unity of the believing congregation with Christ also conveyed a more vast meaning of a transformation of all human relationships which characterized the Christian's life together. As Thornton has so ably stated, the 'body' (whether considered as a person or as a corporate whole) was, in the ancient world, a 'place', a locus for the sacred, a temple in itself.³⁹ The body not only reduplicated the form of its antecedents, it was a living organism whose many parts and functions corresponded to eternal patterns of health and wholeness. Christians relate

to one another in ways which correspond to patterns formed by an image of Christ as the perfect human. Together they form a wholeness, a totality of fragmented human possibilities which, when combined, resemble the image of Adam, mankind, the pattern fully realized in Christ.

An interesting extension of this image of the organic oneness of the community with Christ is that which refers to Mary, the mother of Christ, as the church in such a way that Mary is regarded as being born from the pierced side of Christ on his cross. As Christ died on earth, the church was born; just as Eve was born of the side of Adam, the church came from the blood of Christ's wound. Used by sources which, as defined in the previous chapter, regarded the community as bearing within itself the Christ and assuming flesh in his crucifixion, the central theme of this image conveys the sense of the community's oneness with Christ by virtue of its participation in his very blood.⁴⁰

In addition to the domestic, political, cosmological, and organic images of the community's form or pattern, there are several other morphological allusions which are less frequently used and, when used, are less expansive in their meaning. The community is portrayed as a herd of sheep, guarded and guided by Christ, the shepherd who keeps them together and protects them from all dangers. Again, the church is likened to a woven tapestry, a fabric of which Christ is the assumed artist, which demonstrates an overall pattern according to his design. Or, in a still more artistic allusion, the community is a lump of clay, formed by Christ to conform to his own image. In all such morphological images

there is a specific shape to the community itself, an identifiable configuration by which the community reflects upon its identity. Furthermore, its reflections are, at the same time, distinctly related to its perceptions of the Christ.

Axiological Symbols. A second group of non-historical images of the koinonia is that which might be termed axiological, for these images are intended to relate certain values of goodness or truth according to which the Christian community defines its life and faith. Usually employed to give pastoral guidance or censure to the community, they are based on the conviction that there is an inviolable criterion for both the behavior and the belief of Christians, that those standards correspond to axioms revealed in Christ, and that the integrity of the community is fulfilled by its realization of those patterns in imitation of Christ. Although there is often no clear dividing line between ethical and doctrinal teachings, a distinction may usually be made between beliefs (confessional, catechetical, or kerygmatic) and behaviors (the translation of the faith into certain disciplines, responsibilities, or allegiances).

Ethical Images. Regarding early second century Christian ethical patterns, numerous studies have not properly appreciated the variety of forms by which the early church sought to delineate the uniqueness of its common life.⁴¹ Dismissed as a return to Judaistic legalism,⁴² discounted as an aesthetic expression of rigorism,⁴³ or lamented as a distortion of the Pauline insistence on the freedom of the Christian under

grace,⁴⁴ the concentration of current literature on the distinctly Christo-centric identity which ethics provided to the community is neglected. In contrast to pagan ethical systems which were markedly philosophical, rational, and abstracted from the daily life of decision-making and behavior, the Christian ethos was distinctly intended to allow persons to attain, in their common life, a greater sense of corporate identity, a sense of worth in their relationship with God and others in the community.⁴⁵ Christ had embodied a certain pattern, or sometimes a complex network, which man could imitate and by which he could attain a more intensive sense of reconciliation (atonement) within the community and with God. It was believed that if a stranger were to appear in a given location, he could immediately recognize the Christians living there because of the unique character of Christian life. Especially in their relationships with each other, Christians were said to reveal the unique image of the Christ. Within the context of this earnest quest to actualize the Christ in the behaviors of the Christian life, there are numerous forms of ethics which may be grouped into three broad categories. Each category must be considered as derived from a particular perspective on the atoning work of Christ in his church.

The first and most common of all early second century Christian ethical patterns has been appropriately called the household codes.⁴⁶ In these ethical reflections, the most frequent concern is for the relationship of persons within the community, their treatment of each other, their common regard for hospitality, unity, charity, and the honor due to persons in leadership positions. Though the ultimate ethical

value is that love of the brethren which imitates Christ's love, it is practically interpreted in terms of service, humility, obedience, patience, self-control, sexual integrity, and stewardship to others and the whole family of Christ. The pattern for these codes is usually that of the family itself, the domestic unit, though it could also be the household of heaven or of the state.

The use of morphological images for the community which are not strictly derived from the pattern of the family indicates a dimension of the household codes which expands their meaning: neighborhood codes. For the family of Christ regarded itself as living in an alien environment, one from which it must distinguish itself but towards which it must bear a witness. The community is the domestic agent to which Christ reveals himself, by which he is manifested among his people, and through which he is known to the world. Hence, the household codes serve a triple function; they relate the household of Christ to the heavenly purpose, they relate members of the household to each other, and they relate the Christian household to the non-Christian environment. Greater emphasis would be placed on each of these three functions by the several authors to be considered, depending on their separate perspectives on Christ's role in the community.

It may be noted that these household codes are especially prominent in literature which was formerly defined as epiphanic, in which the community is regarded as the historic fellowship in which the epiphanies of Christ take place, just as the morphological idioms of the household and family are most common in this particular view of the Christ/community.

To live the distinctly Christian life, in this view, is to live in a unity of communal behaviors and beliefs which is consistent with the manifestations of Christ. It is an ethics of order, emulating and imitating the pattern of life Christ manifested.

A second and more abstract ethical pattern is developed, sometimes in close conjunction with the first, as an ethic of wholeness. In this system, the primary concern is a more visionary ideal that the community approximate, in its life together, to the very wholeness of the Christ whom it represents on this earth. Because it not only reveals the Christ but also lives the fullness of his life on earth, the integration of the members of the community realizes the fullness of Christ, living his life of self-sacrifice, love, suffering, and death. Because Christ is one, the unity of the community is itself the mysterious incarnation of Christ; and by its unity it affirms Christ's presence and witnesses to the world. Though the internal life of the community requires an ethic of relationships and disciplines, this more idealistic definition is not so much imposed upon the community by the manifestations of Christ as derived from within the community as an expression of its authentic unity with Christ. The oneness or wholeness of God's people imitates Christ because it is Christ; it bears the Christ as the central pattern of its life together. Hence, this ethical pattern is more consistently expressed by those sources formerly defined as portraying an epiphoric view of the Christ/community. It is important to note, as these sources are individually considered, that the ethical pattern is seldom illustrated by references

to historical examples, since it is not the Christ-like example that is of importance, but the very fulfillment of Christ known only in the community created by his crucifixion.

A third and final pattern for ethical exhortations is the ethic of purity. Though the appeal for Christians to live a sanctified and undefiled life is common throughout both previous patterns, in them purity is attained through relationships within the community, unity, harmony, love of the brethren, wholeness, and the fulfillment of Christ. In this third pattern, however, purity is the precondition for Christian relationships. Only those who are purged of all immorality and uncleanness are eligible to enter the sacred community of Christ. On the basis of the law revealed by Christ, the individual is enjoined to practice a rigorous self-discipline of individual purgation which will cleanse him from sin and prepare him for life with others who are similarly cleansed. The pattern portrays an ethic of purgation, corresponding most consistently with the purgative perspective of the Christ/community itself. The imitation of Christ is not accomplished in community, but as a prerequisite for joining the community which will be established by Christ. Though there is a Christian household on earth, it exists only to proclaim those rigorous disciplines revealed by Christ which will enable its members to qualify for admission to the true community of Christ which is to come.

In each of these three ethical patterns, the sources will indicate that there is a stated or presumed pattern according to which the behavior of Christians is guided and judged. Though the pattern may be reinforced by historic

examples, it was itself regarded as timeless, at least since the incarnation of Christ. Furthermore, if that pattern were followed and expressed within the community of Christ, the resultant profile of the community would bear the image of Christ, revealed, embodied, or purified with an absolutely unique image.⁴⁷ The imitation of that image was the very identity of the common life of Christians. The ethical expressions of the early second century are not so much inherited from Judaism or Hellenistic culture as they are conscious self-reflections on the Christological uniqueness of the community's life.

Confessional Images. Although post-Reformation theology has reinforced a distinction between ethics and faith, between behavior/works and belief/confession of faith, such a distinction would have been unknown to the early second century. Truth, the other axiological pattern to be considered, was regarded as both ethical and confessional. Christians believed in and sought to follow the pattern of Christ. Error was defined in terms of wicked behavior as well as confessional deviation. As will be noted, it is only among those sources that evidence early gnostic language that error is considered a matter of misdirected belief;⁴⁸ by others it is as much a matter of failure of the community to realize in its common life the full harmony, unity, and purity of Christ.

There was, however, an undeniable catechetical and kerygmatic tradition which, in its several forms, came to be identified by the community as its faith. This primitive (stereotyped, according to Kelly⁴⁹) kerygmatic confession

related to a pattern of teachings which was not so much that which united those who adhered to it as it was a unity of those who shared it; persons did not unite to form a community because of their common faith, but, being united, that which was shared as unitive was called the 'faith', while that which was divisive or individualistic was called 'error'. The primitive confession of faith was not theological but associated with the experiences of baptism, persecution, and martyrdom.⁵⁰ The Christological symbols which were the foundation for the catechetical instruction preceding baptism identified a certain form of experienced truth which gave direction to the common life and became the same confession by which the martyr's death sentence was sealed. The confession of faith witnessed to the unity between the community of the baptized and the martyred representative. The 'faith' did not unite them; their unity in Christ was itself the faith. There was no such thing as defined orthodoxy until late in the second century,⁵² but there was a definite pattern of unity, deviation from which constituted error. The contrast of the faith was not between orthodoxy and heresy, but between harmony, unity, and purity on the one hand and discord, divisiveness, and uncleanness on the other. The former was patterned on the image of the Christ, the latter was a fragmentation or distortion of him. The axiological pattern of truth was thus not derived from theoretical theological absolutes, but from the approximation of the image of Christ in the congregation's common life of unity, harmony, and purity. Virtually every writer of the early second century employed language and formulations which would be considered heretical

and erroneous by a later more theologically sophisticated generation's concern for orthodoxy. Such later perceptions of truth, however, do not relate to the truth which was earlier defined exclusively in terms of the community's approximation of the fullness of the image of Christ. To the early second century church, to be orthodox meant simply to be united in the common life of Christ.

In considering the non-historical reflections of the community's forms and patterns by which it defined its common life, the same order will be followed as was introduced in the preceding chapter, corresponding to the three perspectives on the Christ/community, the epiphanic, the epiphoric, and the purgative. In regard to the shape and pattern of the community, as was the case in its role in history, distinctive variations emerge which indicate great variety and, as these patterns are developed in subsequent theological reflection, considerable and irreconcilable problems regarding Christology. These patterns which became apparent in the community's self-reflections on its basic morphology and axiology lead to the theologian's emerging concentration on Christology as the focus of theological thought. Since the imitation of Christ was clearly the pattern of the Christian common life, the unresolved issues would increasingly call for a more precise definition of the person of Christ.

First Pattern of the Koinonia's Form - The Epiphanic

I Clement

The Gestalt of the community of Christ is characterized by I Clement primarily in terms of its harmony (ὁμόνοια). A certain orderliness, symmetry, and peace is the mark of the fellowship itself, so that, by virtue of this patterned, disciplined condition, the uniqueness of the community is identifiable as the very uniqueness of Christ. Since from creation until the parousia the community is the recipient and transmitter of the manifestations of Christ,⁵³ the form of the community reflects, if it is faithful, the content of those epiphanies. They are structured, ordered, constant, faithful, and gentle, always betraying in God's chosen people the same face and form. Because God chose his people through Jesus Christ as a 'special people' (εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον), he has endowed them with special properties, "faith, fear, peace, patience, and long-suffering, self-control, purity, sobriety,"⁵⁴ that are consistent with God through Christ. The purpose of Clement's letter is to touch on every aspect of "faith, true love, self-control, ... that you please God devoutly, being forgivingly in harmony (ὁμονοοῦντας ἀμνησικακῶς), in love and peace with gentle eagerness."⁵⁵ The community must not violate in its common life the perfect form of harmony which has been entrusted to it through Christ.

Clement's concern for the pattern of the Corinthian community as harmonious no doubt arises from his perception of problems facing the congregation. Yet harmony itself is a central motif, not only prescriptive to the immediate situation

of conflict in the Corinthian congregation, but descriptive of the very design of God himself. In an extended closing argument, Clement concludes that love is the supreme disposition of God to man in Christ and the highest expression of persons within the brotherhood - "this is the gate of righteousness which opens on to life."⁵⁶ God created mankind in love, so love unites God's people to himself, especially when expressed towards others after the model of Christ's self-sacrificing love.⁵⁷ Those who are Christ's perform his 'loving precepts' (προστάγματα) in the harmony of love (ἐν ὁμονομίᾳ ἁγάπης).⁵⁸ By virtue of its harmony, the community is able to be univocal in its witness and prayer, to "share in the great and glorious promises."⁵⁹ The harmony of the congregation reduplicates the harmony of the heavens,⁶⁰ the earth, and, most importantly, the harmony of the revelation of Christ.

It is supremely in imitation of Christ that the shared life of Christians takes place. "Since we are a share of the holy one (ἁγίου οὖν μερίσσι ὑπάρχοντες), let us do all things of holiness... Let us join ourselves to those to whom grace from God is given. Let us clothe ourselves with harmony."⁶¹ Those who are called by God in Christ,⁶² elected according to his promises, reflect the image of that election. They pattern themselves according to Christ's image, especially to the image of Christ's crucifixion,⁶³ thus confirming the choice God has made of them.

There is little sense of an organic unity between the believing community and Christ in I Clement. Though the image of the body of Christ is not entirely absent, it assumes a posture by which it reflects Christ while remaining distinct.

from him. The community is itself a body, with members that fulfill roles appropriate to the body's harmonious life; "strong and weak, rich and poor are integrated in a common subjection for the health of the whole body (εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι ὅλον τὸ σῶμα)." ⁶⁴ Yet the body is not distinctly identified with Christ, it is "given health in Christ Jesus." ⁶⁵ In parallel harmony with Christ, though not in integral unity with him, the community attains its identity. Indeed, by perceiving through Christ, as through a window, the form of its common life in heaven, the congregation knows the very countenance of Christ. ⁶⁶ The form of the community is thus known through (διὰ) and corresponds to (ἐν) Christ, living in harmony with Christ.

The countertype of the assembly of Christ's elect on earth is the heavenly assembly of angels. In that assembly, the vision of which is granted through Christ, the order (τάξις) places and persons, and structured ordinances (προστάγματα) are revealed. ⁶⁷ In like manner, the Corinthian congregation is entreated to "gather together with harmony," ⁶⁸ praising God in the same manner as his angels. The pattern (ὑπογραμμὸς) is discernible not only through heavenly insight, but through the examples of the historical Jesus and other Christian congregations. ⁶⁹

The most frequent images by which I Clement exhorts his addressees are those which relate to the domestic life of a family, household, and neighborhood. The Corinthian situation is itself likened to a family conflict in which younger, more spirited and impulsive sons rebel against the defined positions of their elders to jeopardize domestic harmony, ⁷⁰ not unlike the situation created by overindulgent parents. Like the

familial fragmentation of Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, et al., brotherhood is sacrificed by discord and the pattern of harmony is broken.⁷¹ Though the Corinthian congregation had formerly been an exemplary community, with the young, women, husbands, and rulers living in a well organized rule of subordinate roles for the management of the household (οἰκοῦργεῖν), that pattern had been destroyed.⁷² Those household codes which were provided by Christ to guide the community were characterized primarily by the temperance, patience, and gentleness of Christ.⁷³ The household's identity is never defined in terms of strictly domestic ideals, but is derived from Christ and devoted, in its economies, to him:

Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us, let us respect those who rule us, let us honor the aged (πρεσβυτέρους), let us instruct the young in the fear of God, let us lead our wives to that which is good... Let our children share in the instruction which is in Christ, let them learn the strength of humility before God.⁷⁴

It must be noted, however, that there is a distinctly transitory quality to Clement's household of Christ. Its members are sojourners in this world (παροικοῦσα),⁷⁵ for whom the whole cosmos is the dwelling place (οἰκουμένη).⁷⁶ In Christ, God has entrusted his bedouin people with a 'travel allowance' (τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ).⁷⁷ The importance Clement attaches to hospitality is derived from this sense of God's family being on a pilgrimage, a migration which is accomplished only by the adherence of everyone to a certain formation, structure, disciplined pattern peculiar to itself.⁷⁸ His analogy to the community as an army, no doubt an expeditionary force for the liberation of hostages, may be viewed in this perspective;⁷⁹ with ranks of soldiers

advantageously arranged for effectiveness, emperor, generals, prefects, centurions, petty officers, each person integrally related to 'good order' (πῶς εὐτάκτως).⁸⁰ In the same regard, the community is a wandering flock of sheep whose shepherd, Christ, saves the afflicted, reveals himself to those in need, heals the sick, returns the straying, feeds the hungry, ransoms the captive, raises the weak, and comforts the fainthearted; each humble Christian accepting his role in the disciplined pattern of the herd of sheep.⁸¹

As a migratory household, the community has a uniqueness which distinguishes it from its neighbors; yet Clement, unlike several of his contemporaries, does not view his non-Christian neighbors with disdain or avoidance. Even though the environment causes suffering to the Christian community, the suffering is willingly, even enthusiastically borne.⁸² "Surely those who lead a godly life and love would rather suffer tortures themselves than have their neighbors do so, and would rather bear condemnation themselves than have it fall upon the harmony well and uprightly handed down to us."⁸³ The Christian grieves over the sins of his neighbor, even though he is the victim of those sins.⁸⁴

It is in the context of the pattern and structure of the household that I Clement speaks of truth as commonly-held beliefs that provide corporate harmony. Those who rebel against the order and pattern of the community's harmony are said to inhabit houses of clay, even the same clay of which Christians were formerly made; and because there was no shape (οὐκ μορφῇ πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν) they perish.⁸⁵ They die because they have no wisdom (σοφία), the lack of wisdom being a failure to

discern the pattern of the community. Faith is itself combined with other values of self-control, harmony, and gentleness as a mixed collection of virtues that reconcile the Christian to God as father and all men as brothers.⁸⁶ The error of a community is not determined on propositional, doctrinal criteria, but solely on the basis of dissent, disharmony, and discord within the community. Since error is tantamount to rebellion, truth is fulfilled in harmony.

A final image of the community employed by I Clement is that of the nation of which Christians exercise a responsible, obedient citizenship. The Corinthian conflict is likened to a civil uprising⁸⁷ of a state of which Christ is king.⁸⁸ In these allusions, reference is made to Old Testament themes of the people of Israel's heritage of the land. Yet whenever Clement quotes texts citing the land as an element of the political identity of the people, he anthropomorphizes the land to be the people.⁸⁹ The political images poorly suit Clement's central themes, however, since it is clearly the relationship of persons within the corporate community rather than the establishment of the power or authority of the structure that concerns him. In all things, love is the ultimate; it unites the believer to his fellow brethren,⁹⁰ and, through this familial relationship, unites the community to God.⁹¹ In the community of love, the epiphany of Christ takes place, an epiphany which authenticates the truth and harmony of the congregation. Though Clement may speak of an ethical system which purifies a person for a closer life with God,⁹² the supreme purity is attained in the relationship of love found in the Christian common life. Though he cites

the penitential Psalm 51 with its passages on personal piety and purgation, he employs it as an example of humble obedience and harmony among people.⁹³ The shape of the community is always defined in terms of the relationship between its members, as is its truth and its goodness. Christ manifests himself in the internal dynamics of Christians living in common life.

As stated in the previous chapter, this perspective on the community typified by I Clement and termed epiphanic is shared by several of his contemporaries. Using similar idioms regarding the unique form and ethos of the community, the pattern of those authors who perceive the koinonia as the arena of God's epiphanic revelations of Christ is consistent with that of I Clement in their concentration on household and family images, ethics of household relationships, and the integration of confessional and ethical standards. Though not concentrated on harmony as a central motif for the community, they nonetheless define the ideals of Christian purity in terms of Christian interrelationships within the community.

II Clement. The Homily of Clement defines Christians as the sons of God, brethren of Christ.⁹⁴ Since they do the will of the father, expressing their oneness with Christ, they foresake evil and live separated lives.⁹⁵ They are unique among men yet not isolated from their pagan environment in which they are sojourners.⁹⁶ "Be well assured, brethren, that our sojourning in this world in the flesh is a little thing and lasts a short time."⁹⁷ The family image of II Clement is mixed, however; for while the community is the family of

God's children, it is also the bride of Christ.⁹⁸ Though formerly seen as barren, the church has been sustained by the visitation of Christ in its situation of helplessness, sinfulness, and abandonment. The marriage of Christ and his people is complicated by II Clement's combination of this image of the church as Christ's bride with an image of the Church as the body of Christ. "The living church is the body of Christ. For the scripture says that 'God made man male and female': the male is the Christ, the female is the church."⁹⁹ By this image, the partnership of Christ and his people, the harmony so crucial to I Clement, becomes expanded into the unity of Christ and his people. II Clement suggests an ontology of this unity of male and female in the one body of Christ in stating, regarding the sacred union of God and man in Christ's visitation (ἐφανερώθη), "Now if we say that the flesh is the church and the Spirit is Christ, he who has abused the flesh has abused the church."¹⁰⁰

This perfect unity of Christ and his people will only become realized at the awaited day of the coming kingdom of God,¹⁰¹ yet "when the two shall be one, ...and the male and the female neither male nor female, when a brother sees a sister with no thought of her as a female," the day will come.¹⁰² When the household, whether as a family or as a bride, attains unity within itself, it is thereby united to Christ and anticipates that ultimate fulfillment. This sense of unity with Christ becomes the basis of the timeless form of Christian ethics for II Clement, an ethics of community relationship.¹⁰³ God is molding his people as the body of Christ as if they were clay in his hands; though the form has not yet hardened to

perfection, the community demonstrates in its ethos the will of its artist.¹⁰⁴

It must be underscored that, for II Clement, whose central concern is certainly the obedience and purity of God's people as they await Christ's coming,¹⁰⁵ ethical purity is always defined in terms of relationships within the community. Furthermore, the relationships within the community define its confession of faith:

For he (Christ) says, 'Not everyone that says to me Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that does righteousness.' So, then, brethren, let us confess him in our deeds, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, nor speaking against another, nor being jealous, but by being self-controlled, merciful, good; and we ought to sympathize with each other... By these deeds we confess him.¹⁰⁶

The confession of the community, its faith in Christ, is affirmed through the ethics of the community, ethics which are distinctly relational. Purity is virtually synonymous with collegial unity within the community. It is not sufficient for Christians simply to hear and believe the exhortations of the faith, but continually to meet together, recall the commandments of the Lord, and progressively refine the harmony of the community "that we may all have the same mind," the summation of which is to be "gathered together unto life."¹⁰⁷

The presence of a gathered, united, and loving community not only bears witness to the Christ,¹⁰⁸ it also authenticates the truth of the sayings of God; and the absense of such a community blasphemes the name of Christ and invalidates the message.¹⁰⁹ The ethics of II Clement are therefore primarily communal ethics, prescribing an objective form of the koinonia,

a form which witnesses to the Christ and, at the same time, will be recognized by the Christ as his own when he appears at his awaited kingdom.¹¹⁰ The community manifests the hidden mystery of Christ through the form it assumes in its life of fellowship. Hence, each Christian in the community bears a responsibility to maintain the integrity of that form, since each person is accountable for the effectiveness of the community in which others are to be saved by God: Christians are responsible for the salvation of others within the community.¹¹¹ The appeals made by II Clement for purity and self-denial are based, therefore, not on the individual Christian's pursuit for righteousness, but on the discredit and ineffectiveness the community would inherit from the impiety of its members.¹¹² The essence of Christian purity is defined in terms of one's baptism into the Christ/community. "Those who have not kept the seal (σφραγίς) of baptism" pure and undefiled are not fit for the "palace of God,"¹¹³ the eschatological fulfillment of the household of God. This seal is regarded as the common identity of Christians, the blemishing of which violates the faith.

It is important to note that II Clement perceives the form of the Christian community as timeless, an image which must be maintained in the vicissitudes of time and circumstances. Christians are enjoined to "run the straight race, the imperishable struggle,"¹¹⁴ for the community is alien to this world. "Let us forsake our sojourning (παροιμία) of this world.. For our sojourning in this world in the flesh is a little thing and lasts a short time,"¹¹⁵ while the purposes and promises of Christ are eternal. There is a sense of a

pilgrim community moving through the world, maintaining its undefiled identity and image in Christ, in the hope of eternal life. In its pilgrimage, it remains forever the family of God's people.

James. The letter of James underscores this sense of the church as a pilgrim family. Addressing his letter to the tribes of the dispersion,¹¹⁶ he bids them to remain steadfast, pure, and humble. Each member of the community is urged to restrain his fellow travelers from wandering into error¹¹⁷ and to direct the course of the community according to the will of God. As in II Clement, the truth of the faith is validated by the purity of the relationships of those within the community.¹¹⁸ In that community, the posture of every member in his relation to others is patterned according to the image of Christ.¹¹⁹ The most consistent symbol for Christian ethics is, as in I and II Clement, the interrelatedness of the members of the family of God.¹²⁰

The issue of maintaining the integrity of the Gospel while the pilgrim family awaits the parousia is also a central theme of II Peter; it too is addressed to the "exiles of the dispersion."¹²¹ False prophets are cited as leading persons astray, so that defiling passions and a disregard for those in authority have left the community ineffective and unfruitful. A hierarchy of values is prescribed, at the summit of which is brotherly affection.¹²² Thus the community escapes the error and corruption of the world and manifests its epiphanic role of being a "lamp shining in a dark place."¹²³ In both James and II Peter, the appeal is made that the community should maintain the steadfastness of the faith, but

faith is not here regarded as the content of what is believed, but an acknowledgment that the believer is a member of the community of the saved, the church in and through which the gift of salvation is given.¹²⁴

Didache. The last writing which has been defined as presenting an epiphanic perspective of the community in the early second century, the Didache, defines the unique shape of that community in entirely ethical terms. No mention is made of morphological symbols, images, shapes, signs, or places. The timeless identity of the Christian community may well be based on such understandings as have previously been noted among other epiphanic authors, but in the Didache the central focus is the definition of the unique 'way' of the Christian which is manifested in the love of God and neighbor. It is difficult to determine whether that neighbor is a fellow member of the Christian community or a pagan, but, in either case, there is no apparent distinction between the ethics prescribed towards those who are clearly within the Christian community and those who are termed neighbors.¹²⁵

The basis of the ethical teachings of the Didache appears to be a randomly selected compendium of sayings of Christ derived from Matthew's Gospel:¹²⁶ "Perform your prayers and alms and all your deeds just as you have (them) in the Gospel of the Lord."¹²⁷ In this assortment of paraenetic instructions, the author's concern is to reclaim in the Christian community the ethic of self-sacrifice and humility taught and epitomized by the Christ. Though there is no mention of an image of Christ which defines the community, there is clearly a unique pattern to the Christian life which

witnesses to the radical identity found in Christ.¹²⁸ Indeed, where Christ is honored and shared, there he is present, manifesting himself in the presence of his saints.

Self-sacrifice and humility are expressed by the members of the Christian community in generous gifts to the poor,¹²⁹ self-abnegation,¹³⁰ personal honesty towards others¹³¹ and the constant pursuit of harmony and reconciliation.¹³² Each person is not only required to observe the ethical patterns of Christ, but to assume responsibility for the encouragement, instruction, and reproof of others.¹³³ The highest expression of the 'way' of Christ is to love others in the community more than one's own life,¹³⁴ for it is the eucharistic prayer that Christ would deliver his church "from all evil and make it perfect in love, gathered together in holiness."¹³⁵

It is interesting to note that a less accepting and more suspicious counsel is given in the Christian's relationship to the wandering prophet than is given to the neighbor or member of the household. If the prophet clearly brings a message of Christ which is not compromised by his actions, he is to be welcomed, honored, and supported.¹³⁶ The true revealer of Christ must have the "behavior of the Lord. From his behavior the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known... And every prophet who teaches the truth, if he do not what he teaches, is a false prophet."¹³⁷ Clearly, the truth of a teacher's message is not verifiable by doctrinal or confessional standards, but solely by the criteria of his ethical and relational consistency. For if that itinerant prophet or teacher remained in the community for more than several days without joining the community as a participant

in its uniquely Christian koinonia and observant of its Christian ethos, he was to be censured.¹³⁸

The above sources which are described as epiphanic bear certain common characteristics which distinguish them from the epiphoric and purgative patterns. Frequent reference has been made to the central themes of household, familial, or domestic ethics which appear to be of common concern. There is virtually no indication of the ethics of wholeness which characterize the epiphoric sources,¹³⁹ nor is there much concern for personal Christian purity.¹⁴⁰ Instead, the household themes of orderliness, structure, mutual care, nurture, and brotherly love dominate. The motive for such ethics is clearly the manifestation in the relationships of persons in the community of the image, pattern, and likeness of Christ. Furthermore, in each, the understanding of the truth of the faith is either validated or compromised by the effectiveness of the community's familial relationships. Ethics must be considered the dominant theme of all epiphanic sources, the ethics of familial relationships.

To support this central ethical concern, there are certain common morphological symbols descriptive of the community's timeless Gestalt. Though I Clement likens the community to a political kingdom, his purpose is to reinforce a sense of belonging and of citizenship. And though both I Clement and II Clement employ the organic image of the community as the body of Christ, the image is clearly used to demonstrate the relationship between the body's members. It is thus clear that the primary motive for morphological symbols is to reinforce a more basic concern for axiological definitions

of the community. Those axiological concerns undoubtedly reflect the situations of discord and conflict experienced within the churches to whom the epiphanic writings were addressed. But it also honors the fundamental perspective of the role of the koinonia as the means God has chosen through which to manifest his eternal message. The central concern is to maintain the integrity of the Christ in the form of the community's common life. The lack of specific Christological references, especially in James and the Didache, does not imply a perspective which is less than fully Christian; it rather indicates that, because these sources prescribe the form of the community which is best suited to maintain the integrity of the Christ, the manifestation of Christ may be presumed. Since Christ is revealed through the community, the focus is on the human relationships of flesh and blood which become the agents of that divine purpose.

Second Pattern of the Koinonia's Form-

The Epiphoric

In the writings which have been defined as epiphoric (Ignatius, the Odes of Solomon, Polycarp, Diognetus, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Martyrdom of Polycarp) there is a distinct shift in the focus of attention from the Gestalt of a community which acts as Christ's manifesting agent in the world to a community which is itself Christ's embodiment on earth. As will be demonstrated, the central images for such a community are not so much axiological as they are morphological; there is a marked tendency towards more organic and cosmological images, and the language of familial structures

and relationships is softened in deference to a concern that the community demonstrate a unity and wholeness which is appropriate to its incarnational oneness with Christ. The community is the union of the flesh and spirit in which Christ continues his presence on earth.

Ignatius. Ignatius most vividly demonstrates this epiphoric pattern in his perception of timeless forms which define the Christian koinonia. By a wealth of reflections and symbols he portrays for the communities to which his epistles are written a distinct form for the koinonia which they are to imitate. The primary image of the community to Ignatius is that it is the union of the human and the divine, the flesh and spirit of Christ: "Faith, which is the flesh of the lord, and love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ."¹⁴¹ It must be noted that in this understanding the community is not regarded as simply the flesh of Christ into which his spirit comes, but it is itself the culmination of the unity of flesh and spirit; it is not potentially sacred, it is a corporate embodiment of the fullness of Christ's natures. Nor is the community regarded as the body of Christ, the composite of those who comprise its several members; it is the personification of Christ, and each of its members reflects the whole of that symbiotic incarnation of flesh and spirit. The emphasis is not so much on the relationship between persons in the body of Christ as it is on the oneness of those persons to Christ and to each other. In a single passage where Ignatius uses the image of the church as the body of Christ, the emphasis is upon its oneness which has been established in the crucifixion as "a mark of identity (σύσσημα) for all ages."¹⁴²

This ontological union of flesh and spirit is the timeless image of koinonia and thus provides the basis for its wholeness and harmony.

The union of flesh and spirit as the form of the Christian community is based, in Ignatius, on the pattern established by the oneness of Christ with the Father. "I pray that in them (the churches) there may be a oneness (ἐνωσις) of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, who is our everlasting life, a oneness of faith and love, to which nothing is preferable, but supremely a oneness of Jesus and the Father."¹⁴³ The subjection of Christ to the Father (seen as a subordination of Christ into the very nature of the Father) is the pattern for the oneness of both flesh and spirit in the apostles and the whole church.¹⁴⁴ The community is thus united in flesh and spirit according to the cosmic pattern of the unity of the Father and the son. Ignatius greets the Roman congregation as "named after Christ, named after the Father... those who are united in flesh and spirit... filled with the grace of God without wavering."¹⁴⁵ The terrestrial community is an imitation, a duplication, of the heavenly synergy.¹⁴⁶ Such a pattern establishes the community "in an immovable faith, as if nailed to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, both in flesh and spirit."¹⁴⁷ Since the union of Christ and the Father is indivisible, so also whatever is done by the community betrays the indivisible unity - "even what you do according to the flesh is spiritual."¹⁴⁸ The most sublime expression of the form of the community as the union of flesh and spirit is realized in the eucharist, the flesh and blood of God.¹⁴⁹ In this mystery, the community is a parti-

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cipant in the oneness of Christ and the Father.

There are several complementary images employed by Ignatius to demonstrate this sense of the oneness of the community. The offices of deacons, bishops, and presbyters are described as corresponding to a type (τύπος) of the council of God;¹⁵¹ indeed, the angels and powers of heaven are subject to the same urgency for unity as is the community on earth.¹⁵² The heavenly community had formed a choir at Christ's birth to herald the manifestation of God as man.¹⁵³ This image of the choir is used as a pattern for the life of the community, the paradigm for its harmony and single-voicedness.¹⁵⁴ "I count you as blessed who are united as the church is with Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ is with the Father, so that all things might be in unison."¹⁵⁵ It is important to note that the harmony of this choir is not a harmony of different voices, but of one voice, testifying to the Father that the choir is the very limb of his son.¹⁵⁶

This choir which is a pattern for the community is placed within the sanctuary, the holy place.¹⁵⁷ This temple of God, at the altar of which the union of God's people congregate, is Christ himself. "Hasten to come together as to one temple of God, as to one altar, to one Jesus Christ."¹⁵⁸ This sanctuary is most often described in terms of one's relation to the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, as the holy place; but as such, whoever is within the sanctuary is inseparable (ἀχωρίστος) from Christ.¹⁵⁹ In similar language Ignatius speaks of the Christian community as a temple in which Christ dwells,¹⁶⁰ with the emphasis on the inherent sacredness of the holy place. These images of a

sanctuary, altar, or temple convey the central thought that among God's people the flesh and spirit of Christ form a sacred unity. The believing community bears the impressed "stamp ($\chiαρακτῆρ$) of God the father in love through Jesus Christ,"¹⁶¹ the representation of the divine unity.

These images are employed by Ignatius to reinforce an ethic which identifies the Christian community by its imitation of that unity of flesh and spirit. In the common life of human suffering, especially the suffering imposed upon the community by its persecutors and schismatics, the Christian completes the sacred oneness of Christ. Suffering is described as the most poignant identification between the community and Christ. Ignatius commends the Ephesian church as "imitators of God, having perfectly completed your brotherly work which was kindled by the blood of God."¹⁶² Those who cause the cruelties to be inflicted on the community may even become disciples by the example of Christian suffering. Christians are to be humble, gentle, and steadfast as imitators of Christ.¹⁶³ The addressees of Ignatius' letters are urged to view his own immanent martyrdom as the epitome of an imitation of Christ.

There are several strata of Ignatian concern for the form of the Christian community based on an ethic of imitation. At the first level, imitation is regarded as producing obedience, discipleship, and faithfulness to Christ.¹⁶⁴ It is in this context alone that he introduces household codes and an image of the community as a family. The bishop is the master of the household, so due regard is given to him and imitation is commended in obedience and love.¹⁶⁵ Within this household,

there are specific duties toward the poor, the widow, the slave, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, all done to the honor of God according to patterns set by Christ's actions towards his people.¹⁶⁶ In all things "be long-suffering with one another in gentleness, as God is with you."¹⁶⁷

The second stratum of ethical teachings is not concerned with disciplines and duties which produce order, but with Ignatius' more central concern for oneness, harmony, and unity within the community. Sharing a common imitation of Christ, Christians are identified with each other, thereby dispelling discord and division:

Do not attempt to make anything shine as praiseworthy by yourselves, but let there be one common prayer, one petition, one mind, one hope in love, in blameless joy - which is Jesus Christ, than whom there is nothing superior.¹⁶⁸

If the community thus imitates the unity found in Christ, division (μερισμός) does not allow the wolves (heresies) to snatch the sheep from the fold.¹⁶⁹ And those who look upon the unity of the community will repent and realize their error.¹⁷⁰ Thus the church faithfully represents the true Christ by imitating the unity of Christ. The imitation of Christ which determines the form of Christian community as unity is based on the example of Christ's humility and suffering. For instance, subjection to community leaders is not commended to Christians because of their authority, but because such subjection evidences the gentleness (πραΰναι) expected of all as exemplified in Christ.¹⁷¹ Especially in the example of the suffering of Christ, the community attains its most definitive form and image of unity. For the suffering Christ portrays the ultimacy of love, and love of the brethren is the

highest expression of unity.¹⁷² "Let no man regard his neighbor according to the flesh, but in everything love one another in Jesus Christ,"¹⁷³ being "united and chosen through genuine suffering by the will of the Father and Jesus Christ our God."¹⁷⁴

The third level of Ignatius' reflections on the community as representing the Christ and living in imitation of him is concentrated on the sacramental, eucharistic identity between Christ and the worshipping community. In the gathering of the congregation, division is dispelled and harmony confirmed.¹⁷⁵ In the flesh and blood of Christ, the community is a participant in his incorruptible love (ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος),¹⁷⁶ a love which marks the identity within the community and a Gestalt in the world. Regarding those who are outside this eucharistic community, Ignatius declared that "for love they have no regard... They abstain from Eucharist and prayer because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our savior Jesus Christ... Those who deny God's gift are dying in searching and perishing; it would be better for them to love so that they also might rise."¹⁷⁷

Though the imitation of Christ purifies the community and provides order and harmony,¹⁷⁸ it is also the very content of the faith of the community. Faith is regarded as oneness in Christ, the complete unity of love.¹⁷⁹ The faith which is regarded as salvatory is only found within a Christian community which epitomizes the wholeness and unity of Christ. Error is a corruption of the unity of Christ, the humility of Christ, a denial of his sufferings, an evidence of Satan's divisive work.¹⁸⁰ The imitation of the unity of Christ in the

community is a witness to the union of flesh and spirit, Jesus and the Father; and that very unity is itself the object of faith. To confess the Gestalt of congregational unity is tantamount to confessing Christ and his mysterious incarnation. To fulfill that faith in acts of love-motivated suffering and humility is tantamount to participating in Christ's atoning work. "None of those things are unknown to you if you possess perfect faith towards Jesus Christ, and love, which are the beginning and the end of life; for the beginning is faith and the end is love, and when the two are joined together in unity it is God."¹⁸¹ The axiological components of truth and goodness, faith and works, are thus united in the community which embodies the Christ. This oneness of faith and love provides an axiology of wholeness, a wholeness of the Christ who is alive in his people.

Polycarp and the Martyrdom of Polycarp. Polycarp echoes this same concern that the unity of faith and love provides a Gestalt for the community which is the very form of Christ. He introduces his letter:

I rejoice greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ that you have followed the pattern (μίμημα) of true love, ...that your firmly rooted faith still flourishes and bears fruit unto our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁸²

Household codes are cited to expand on the meaning of this love in the relationships of persons in the community.¹⁸³ In the community's life together, it is referred to "the example (ὑπογραμμός) he (Christ) gave us in himself, and this is what we have believed."¹⁸⁴ The political image of the community as a state of which Christ is ruler¹⁸⁵ is employed to command Christians to "follow the example of the Lord, firm and

unchangeable in faith, loving the brotherhood, affectionate to one another in the gentleness of the lord, despising no man."¹⁸⁶ Fragmentation and division within the community bear witness to the evil in the world, but straying members are to be welcomed to return "that you may make whole the body of you all."¹⁸⁷

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the author cites Polycarp's last prayer as a thanksgiving for having been allowed to share in the cup of Christ a pattern of life and death which both imitates the Christ and marks the radical difference between the non-believers and the community of the elect.¹⁸⁸ Polycarp is thus revered as a disciple and imitator of Christ, thereby providing a pattern for the community itself.¹⁸⁹

Odes of Solomon. Whereas for Ignatius and Polycarp the Gestalt of the Christian community is defined in terms of its imitation of Christ, for the writer of the Odes of Solomon, the focus shifts to the pattern of Christ which is known in faith and love in his 'holy place'. This holy place is uniquely detailed in worship setting, a corporate event of sharing the word of Christ and celebrating the mysteries of the Christ event. Whether the original purpose of the odes was for private devotion, the preparation of catechumens,¹⁹⁰ reflections on Christian identity,¹⁹¹ or as a psaltery for corporate worship,¹⁹² they betray little concern for contemporary events of the community, personalities or offices of leadership, or polemics against persecutors or schismatics. Instead, highly symbolic and poetic language, the répétition of refrains, the apparent dialogue between Christ and the community, all seem to propose a setting descriptive of the

liturgical drama.¹⁹³ In this drama Christ and the congregation (or its president) appear in conversation in an overall setting of worship.

This worship setting is the 'holy place', the sanctuary in which the living waters flow, the saints are crowned, and the word becomes incarnate:

No man can pervert thy holy place, O my God;¹⁹⁴
 Nor can he change it and put it in another place...
 For thy sanctuary thou designedst before thou didst
 make special places...
 Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers.
 Thy seal is known and thy creatures are known to it.
 And thy hosts possess it, and the elect archangels
 are clothed with it.¹⁹⁵

This sanctuary is Christ's heart (life) in the midst of his believers, it is the rock upon which the kingdom of God has been built, "and it became the dwelling-place of thy holy ones."¹⁹⁶ In the 'middle place', between heaven and hell,¹⁹⁷ God has gathered his people to establish a consecrated community which constitutes the holy place and lives in the pattern of the heavenly community, the cosmic paradise. "The likeness of that which is below is that which is above,"¹⁹⁸ a 'pleasing country' in which there is no division. Christ has also, at his descensus, made "a congregation of living among the dead"¹⁹⁹ which shares the same sign as those in the earthly sacred place. Though the 'holy place' of God's people is "without boundary and invisible,"²⁰⁰ it is, in the midst of the chasms, gulfs, and cliffs, "a haven of salvation... a place of immortal life."²⁰¹

Persons are brought to this 'holy place', the gathering of the elect, through the irresistible deluge of waters which sweep the earth and carry the elect in its wake:

For thou went forth a stream, and it became a river

great and broad.
 Indeed, it carried away everything and it shattered and
 brought (it) to the Temple.
 And the restraints of men were not able to restrain it,
 Nor even the arts of them who habitually restrain waters.
 For it spread over the surface of all the earth and it
 filled everything.
 For all the thirsty upon the earth drank,
 and thirst was relieved and quenched;
 Blessed, therefore, are the ministers of that drink...
 Because everyone recognized them as the Lord's,
 And lived by the living waters of eternity.²⁰²

Although references to the water as the constitutive element
 of the community are frequent in the Odes,²⁰³ and the most
 direct reference is obviously baptism, the symbol is also
 one which conveys the living and fluid power of the word of
 God as calling, gathering, and sanctifying the people of God.
 For the waters are "speaking waters" which establish the be-
 liever in a "land that blossoms and rejoices in its fruits."²⁰⁴
 This integration of the sacramental baptismal identity of the
 Christian with the spoken word suggests a worship setting in
 which word and sacrament are regarded as the central events.

The word of God, the incarnate Christ, speaks to his
 church, and, through his people, "gave a mouth to his crea-
 tion."²⁰⁵ The community is the voice of God:

He has filled me with words of truth that I may
 proclaim him.
 And like the flowing of waters, truth flows from my
 mouth, and my lips declare his fruits...
 And they (those who hear the word and gather to praise
 him) were stimulated by the word,
 And knew him who made them, because they were in harmony.
 For the mouth of the Most High spoke to them,
 And his exposition prospered through him.
 For the dwelling-place of the word is man.²⁰⁶

The word of God is self-originate,²⁰⁷ coming to men to con-
 struct bridges between those who were isolated from each other
 and from God, bridges made of wood placed in the form of a
 cross.²⁰⁸ The community exists through the hearing and under-

standing of that word; yet it also embodies the knowledge and forms a fraternity of those who bear the word's image:

Traces of light were set upon their hearts,
And they walked according to my life and were saved.
And they became my people for ever and ever.²⁰⁹

The community lives "fully through Him;"²¹⁰ it is a corporate body constituted by the word, a body of which Christ is the head.²¹¹

In another organic image of the community, it is regarded as the virgin bride of Christ in whom the incarnation occurs. By the grace of God, 'the perfect virgin' stands to preach and to summon, saying:

O you sons of men, return,
And you their daughters, come.
And leave the ways of that Corruptor,
And approach me.
And I will enter into you,
And bring you forth from destruction,
And make you wise in the ways of truth.²¹²

Christ sustains the church "like the arm of a bridegroom over his bride," and his banquet is spread for the nuptial celebration.²¹³ In one of the most graphic images for the second century, a cup of milk (sperm?)²¹⁴ is implanted in the Virgin's womb, milked from the Father by the Holy Spirit. The cup is Christ, and the Virgin "received conception and gave birth" to the son to become a mother. The birth was painless because Christ caused her to bear himself, being self-originate. As a mother "she loved with redemption and guarded with kindness and declared with grandeur."²¹⁵

Although this image of the church as the Virgin giving birth to the son creates the community, and by this mystery Christians are made sons of God in his image²¹⁶ and children of the sacred marriage,²¹⁷ there are in the Odes no reflections

on domestic relationships or household structures. Each member bears his own crown, the crown of truth,²¹⁸ fashioned from the cross of Christ,²¹⁹ with a complete equality derived from Christ himself.²²⁰ Christ is worn by each of his people.²²¹

The ethic which defines the form of the community in the Odes of Solomon is entirely based on the community's embodiment of Christ's love. Christ's members are united to him in their love for each other. No longer is a person a stranger; he "puts on the love of the Lord" and becomes dependent upon the "members of Christ" because of the love known in him.²²² "For I should not have known how to love the Lord if he had not continuously loved me."²²³ In its organic unity with Christ, the Christian community "abides in the love of the Lord."²²⁴ By the knowledge of this love of Christ, hatred is renounced,²²⁵ harmony is established,²²⁶ and gentleness marks a certain unique Christian beauty, the beauty of Christ himself.²²⁷

The setting in which the odist portrays this image of Christ is uniquely that of worship. As in Ignatius, where the epitome of love is the eucharist, for the Odes, love attains its most specific expression and distinct Gestalt in the praise and thanksgiving of the worshipping community. There the acceptance of others is complete, the eternal pattern established,²²⁸ and "by their acceptance one of another, they complete the beauty of God."²²⁹

Open your hearts to the exultation of the Lord,
And let your love abound from the heart to the lips.
In order to bring forth fruits to the Lord, a holy life.²³⁰

The event of corporate worship itself constitutes purity, the love expressed therein constitutes truth - "his truth is love."²³¹ No other axiological images are employed except

that of the gathered community which sings Christ's praise and embodies his presence in its love.

Ascension of Isaiah. This image of the gathered worshipping community is a central motif for the community in literature which is considered as predominantly eschatological and apocalyptic. Yet the images used by the odist to define the earthly congregation of Christ are the same as those used, for instance, in the Ascension of Isaiah to describe the apocalyptic heavenly chorus gathered in worship of the Christ. Isaiah is granted a vision of a "world which is hidden from all flesh."²³² At the summit of the heavens, the saints are gathered in complete equality (angels and saints indistinguishable from each other), all wear crowns and garments which bear witness to the form of Christ, and their voices are in harmony in praise of Christ.²³³ There is a community of saints in heaven which corresponds to the earthly fellowship, a community formed by the incarnation of Christ:

And those who are found in the body will be strengthened by the image of the saints in the garments of the saints, and the Lord will minister to those who are watchful in the world. And afterwards they will turn themselves upwards in their garments but their body will remain in the world.²³⁴

The purpose of Isaiah's vision is not simply to provide an eschatological hope, however. It is to provide an ontological and cosmological understanding of the form and pattern of Christian community. For, "as it is above, so is it also on earth, for the likeness of that which is in the firmament is also on the earth."²³⁵

Epistle of Diognetus. The final writing which has been

defined as epiphoric in its perspective of the Christian community, the Epistle to Diognetus, repeats themes concerning the timeless Gestalt of the community in reflections akin to those which have already been considered. Though the community is regarded as consisting of persons whose citizenship is not of this world, who are tied together as sojourners in the world, alien to it yet constituting the world's very 'soul',²³⁶ that image is not used in the same sense as was the case in I Clement, for whom the central issue was the domestic relationship of persons within the community. Instead, Diognetus' central apologetic concern is for defining the community as the sharing in the incarnation of Christ. Contrasting Christians to pagan and Jewish neighbors in a prolonged exposition of their mistaken faith in false images and forms, Diognetus cites the incarnation as providing the "great and unspeakable design"²³⁷ in the Christ. Though this design is inherent in creation, "he gave us all things at once, both to share in his benefits and to see and understand."²³⁸ The emphasis is on God's activity of sending, revealing, dispensing (οἰκονομέω), and sharing (ἀνακοινοῦν) the Christ.²³⁹ The community thus lives in imitation of Christ,²⁴⁰ especially in the love it bears.²⁴¹ The ethical images of simplicity, humility, self-denial, and suffering are defined as the expressions of this love which fulfills the design of Christ.²⁴² The suffering and love of the Christian community is, indeed, the proof (δείγμα) of Christ's presence on earth.²⁴³

These epiphoric sources present a common reflection on the community as the organic embodiment of Christ according to

timeless forms. The domestic images of the community as a family and the political images of the community as a kingdom or people of God are limitedly used and, when used, are intended to emphasize the organic wholeness of the community rather than its structure of relationships. The focus which dominates is that of perceiving the community in more specifically Christological terms, a Christology which concentrates on the incarnation of Christ within his body, his bride, his very life on earth. The dimensions of this community are furthermore described in terms of the whole of the cosmos; heaven and earth are understood as involved in the bearing of the Christ within the womb of the community. The non-historic Gestalt of the community is thus defined by epiphoric sources as the very identity of Christ in all his oneness and wholeness.

The axiological patterns which are prescribed by epiphoric writers seek to provide an ethic and truth which affirms the unique presence of Christ in his community by imitation of him, especially an imitation of his self-sacrificial love. This imitation of Christ's love is not primarily described in terms of specific behaviors or relationships within the community, as was the case with the epiphanic sources, but as a oneness epitomized in the sacramental worship gathering of a congregation. Purity is prescribed only in terms of the community's participation in the sacramental altar or font. Ethics is not, however, the central concern of epiphoric authors; the behaviors of Christians are barely mentioned. The overarching theme focuses, instead, on the hypostatic oneness between the community of Christ in all its wholeness and unity and the cosmic Christ whose incarnation and sacramental suffering

and death is now embodied in the community. This focus honors the fundamental purpose of those authors which have been defined as epiphoric, to portray the community as bearing the Christ, embodying his presence in the world.

Third Pattern of the Koinonia's Form -

The Purgative

In the writings of the early second century which have been described as portraying a purgative view of the role of the community (Hermas, Barnabas, and the Gospel of Truth) there is a major change of emphasis from the epiphanic and epiphoric patterns. The morphological concerns which appeared in the others are virtually absent. Although there are images which convey the historical sense that the community is in the process of being constructed, as considered in the previous chapter, there is very little indication that the community corresponds to any timeless forms or images. Since the true community of Christ is not yet constituted and the purpose of the church is to prepare persons for entry into that community by disciplines of purity and holiness, there is little sense of a corporate morphological Gestalt. Instead, the unique and timeless form which describes the community as it is being formed is derived from an axiological rigorism in pursuit of the true wisdom and purity taught by Christ. Christ is the revealer of a new law, a new truth. He is not himself the logos or the λόγος; he is the revealer of that word (be it a commandment or a secret mystery) which will enable the believer, through disciplines of purity, to become eligible for salvation. Salvation is not assured by any act of grace

or promise, it is hoped for by those who, through obedience, patience, perfection, and the avoidance of error, qualify according to standards revealed in Christ. These standards, criteria of salvation, rituals of purity and piety, become the basic Gestalt of the Christian and, even though limitedly defined, of the Christian community.

Barnabas. The suggestion has been made, with considerable merit, that Barnabas writes his Epistle to respond to the question of the meaning of human suffering.²⁴⁴ The situation of suffering may have been imposed on Christians by persecutors or schismatics, but it seems more likely that Barnabas is seeking to define a community's understanding of self-imposed suffering (self-denial, discipline, avoidance of the pleasures of the world). He does so with the repeated argument that God commands of Christians certain forms of suffering in order to purge his people and prepare them for salvation.²⁴⁵ Suffering is not a reality of the created order against which the Christian is empowered by God's revelation in Christ, as it is in I Clement; nor is it a pattern of the Christ which the Christian accepts because of his identification with him, as it is in Ignatius - suffering for Barnabas is a conscious act of purification which is self-imposed, commanded by God, and salvatory. Since purification is the purpose of the Christian, the form of the Christian community is almost entirely defined in terms of an ethic of purity, especially the purity achieved through suffering.

The several morphological images Barnabas employs to define the Christian community are not developed into any sort of ontology of the community. Instead, they become submerged

within his greater paraenetic concern for Christian purity. For instance, a common morphological symbol is that of the community as the household of God, with Christians described as members of that domestic image. They are Barnabas' sons and daughters,²⁴⁶ the household of God,²⁴⁷ living in neighborhoods which are alien, and observing the obedience due to the master.²⁴⁸ The nearest Barnabas comes to a household code is when he urges Christians to be humble, sexually pure, truthful, loving, and generous with their neighbors, while sons and daughters and other members of the community are to be treated with reproof and discipline which molds them into the pattern prescribed by Christ's commandments.²⁴⁹ The purpose of obeying these household codes is that "you shall keep your soul pure... remember the day of judgment."²⁵⁰

It is important to note that, in Barnabas' treatment of the community as a household, ethics of interrelationship of the members of that household are regarded solely as matters of mutual discipline.²⁵¹ While Christians are commanded to love each other, they do so because God's command requires it, and no instances of mutual love are commended.²⁵² The practice of love produces neither a better community nor a more fulfilling Christian life for others; it is commanded because its lack jeopardizes salvation. No mention is made of mutual dependence, harmony, unity, familial roles, courtesies, or concerns for family members. Even when the household image is employed to speak of the Christian's relationship with his neighbor, there is little concern for service or witness.²⁵³ In fact, in other contexts, the neighbor of the Christian is to be avoided as potentially dangerous to the Christian's purity.²⁵⁴

The ethics of neighborliness would not be a relational ethic, but a disciplinary ethic, intended to foster self-denial and promote Christ's new law in the life of the Christian for the sake of purity.

Barnabas' treatment of morphological images of the household and the family need to be understood in relation to the issue addressed in the previous chapter. Since the Christian koinonia has not been accomplished and awaits the consummation of Christ's new law to his people, there is no room for a self-conscious reflection on the meaning of interpersonal relationships. The church is a community to Barnabas, because its members share the common onus of preparation for the judgment day. But it is not a koinonia in the fuller sense of the word, since there appears to be little satisfaction, strength, comfort, harmony, or unity to be derived from relationships between Christians. Therefore, if Barnabas' image of the household or family is a Gestalt of the church, the focus is clearly not on the relatedness of its members, but on the pedagogical disciplines taught by its master. Barnabas himself apparently accepts this role of a master, a counselor and director of the formation of his fellow Christians,²⁵⁵ because he has a unique ability (ἡδυνήθην) which places him in this posture in the community. His is not a role or an office, but a prophetic calling apparently based on his knowledge and learning of the secrets of God.²⁵⁶ These timeless mysteries of God are variously expressed as types (τύποι), numerologies,²⁵⁷ and doctrines (δoγμᾶτα) which require the interpretation of such a master of the household as Barnabas. This intriguing ecclesiastical personality of the master counselor or

teacher has been virtually neglected by those modern students of early Christian ecclesiastical offices; but, whatever its origins and function, it is clearly based on a distinctly purgative self-reflection of a Christian community on its purpose in preparing its members for the last judgment.

In another image of the Christian community, Christians are urged to participate in common assembly, usually described under the image of a temple or its ceremonies. The people of God not only attend the temple, they become the temple, but they do so not on the basis of their corporate identity or interrelatedness, but on the hope that, by virtue of Christ's presence in their hearts,²⁵⁸ their lives become fit to be sacrificial altars at which offerings are accepted by God.²⁵⁹ The temple has no apparent worship or sacramental functions (except perhaps baptism, which is defined entirely as a purificatory rite²⁶⁰), but is a place where Christians gather to exhort each other, to offer fasting and obedience in the service of Christ.²⁶¹ The Sabbath is reserved for purposes of sanctification, as Christians gather for purity of hands and hearts.²⁶² These temple and worship images are employed not for morphological purposes, but for axiological purposes, to reinforce the dominant theme of the cleansing of the people of God.

In the context of the issue of the identity of the Christian community, there appears in Barnabas a sense that distinctions are made between Christians and pseudo-Christians, a distinction which is central to the writers who have been described as having a purgative perspective of the community. This distinction is not based on personal growth or maturation

in Christ in the Pauline sense as much as it is derived from an understanding of a Christian's fundamental status in relation to the law of God. A Christian person either willingly understands the commandments of God and obeys them for the assurance of salvation, or else he fails to comprehend them, lapses into error, and lawlessness, and falls under judgment.²⁶³ Barnabas is clearly addressing a community which presumes to be Christian, yet in doing so he drives a wedge between its members and others who fall short of its purity.²⁶⁴ Perhaps those outside the purified community are Jews,²⁶⁵ perhaps other Christians.²⁶⁶ In either case, the true Christian claims his authenticity through obedience to a certain doctrine of truth which is timeless and immutable. On the basis of this doctrine, the community assumes a distinct Gestalt, clearly distinguishing itself from the chaos which characterizes the pseudo-Christians on the basis of certain ethical (even rigoristic) behaviors and disciplines of purity. It must be asked whether Barnabas' concern is not only the commandments of God, of which few specific observances are mentioned, but also a more fundamental concern for a radical Christian identity which can distinguish true Christians from pseudo-Christians or non-Christians. His ethical rigorism may well be derived from contemporary Jewish rigorists' cultic practices, but he berates those practices while asserting an even more rigorous discipline than that of the Jews. Rigorism could also fulfill the need of the early Christian community to assert its unique identity in a system of behaviors which are distinct from those who are not in the Christian fellowship. Barnabas' senses a need to distinguish (even isolate) Christians from their

neighbors,²⁶⁷ a need which both asserts the radical uniqueness of the Christian community and provides it with a visible form derived from the identity of Christ. These concerns for Christian uniqueness and identity are not based on the historical preservation or promulgation of the people of God; they are tied to a confession of an eternal shape to the Christian life and community, a shape defined by the commandments of God.

The Gestalt of the community for Barnabas is ultimately based on axiological concerns. The ethical rigorism which marks his 'doctrines' is a rigorism which takes little account of interpersonal or relational ethics within the koinonia. The community is instead concerned with the personal devotion and discipline of its members which will assure them of being unstained by the world and accepted by God. Since the world (time and history) is evil, the world-to-come is the only hope for true koinonia with God or with fellow Christians. Hence, the meaning of koinonia is derived from the hope of the future, and although the "righteous both walks in this world and looks forward to the holy age,"²⁶⁸ he does so by concentrating his attention and devotion on certain timeless commandments which will guide him safely to that future.

Hermas. The church appears to Hermas in three forms (μορφαί); as an ancient lady sitting in judgment on a weak and double-minded community of sorrows and sins, overcome by the frailties of her body; as a more youthful woman who seeks to create vision and hope in the church, and as a young and beautiful maiden whose vigor is restored by the repentance and chastening of the lord.²⁶⁹ These three forms portray the community as it is, as it should be, and as it will become. Hermas is

instructed to convey a message to his disorderly and sinful family²⁷⁰ that it has violated the commandments of Christ and stands in danger of condemnation unless it purifies itself and returns to the truth for which God created it. Although there are distinctive differences between Hermas and Barnabas - the natural order is considered beautiful in Hermas,²⁷¹ there is more concern for Christian relationships,²⁷² and it is asserted that God's grace and strength will uphold the weak-hearted more generously²⁷³ - the central issue of the identity of the community remains the same. In the midst of a wicked humanity, God is preparing his people for a new world²⁷⁴ to come by demanding a purity which qualifies them for true fellowship with God and true koinonia in Christ. The afflictions and suffering of this world prepare the Christian for the great day, as the shepherd (Christ) says, "when, therefore, they have been afflicted with every affliction, they are handed over to me for good instruction" (παίδειαν).²⁷⁵ By the faithful censure and guidance of those who are stronger in the faith,²⁷⁶ the community thus prepares its members for that awesome judgment day.

A special dispensation has been announced to Hermas that God would forgive the sins of those whose impurity currently stains the community. Since this forgiveness is available only once,²⁷⁷ there is a sense of urgency in the mission which Christ has entrusted to the church. The true koinonia is at hand, the tower's designs are ready,²⁷⁸ the new city stands waiting,²⁷⁹ the names of the elect are already recorded.²⁸⁰ It remains for the community to 'fill out' this form, to accomplish this πορφή, to realize the purity accord-

ing to which it may become acceptable to God. Once this dispensation has ended, the gates will be shut on those within the koinonia and the rest of humanity will suffer the punishment appropriate to its sins.

As is the case for Barnabas, so it is for Hermas, that the form of the Christian community is fundamentally axiological an axiology of purity and righteousness. The purpose of all ethical behavior is the purification of the believer. "You have these commandments; walk in them and exhort those who hear that their repentance may be pure for the rest of the days of their life."²⁸¹ Through self-denial, suffering, humility, charity, and fasting, the Christian purges himself.²⁸² These rigorist ethical purgations are given the status of the 'truth' of the Christian faith, a truth which violates the deceits of the world to command obedience.²⁸³ The faith which the Christian is to honor in its truth is not defined credally or even intellectually (it has little to do with the incarnation or atonement of Christ); it is defined exclusively in terms of the pursuit for righteousness:

First of all believe that God is one, who made all things and put them in order (καταρτίσας)... Believe then in him and fear him, and in your fear be controlled. Keep these things and you shall cast away from yourself all wickedness, and shall put on every virtue of righteousness, and shall live to God, if you keep this commandment.²⁸⁴

Since faith is commanded, its beliefs become indistinguishable from the behaviors which are commanded by God's law. The opposite of faith is not disbelief, but lying and deceit, acts of willfull behavior.²⁸⁵ A confession of the incarnation or lordship of Christ expresses itself in the Christian who earnestly and constantly seeks repentance, purity, and righteous-

ness before God through the faith (commandments) taught by Christ. Though Hermas expresses the message of grace and promises of strength and fortitude from God, these assurances quickly become obligations:

You see then, that faith is from above, from the lord, and his great power; but double-mindedness is an earthly spirit, from the devil, and has no power. Do you, there serve the faith which has power and you shall live to God.²⁸⁶

The familiar pattern of Christian corporate identity based on a fellowship of purgation, discipline, and the quest for righteousness which was evident in Barnabas remains the primary outline for the form of the Christian community for Hermas. Both Hermas and Barnabas **appear** to accept for themselves a reformer's stance in the community. They are concerned to purify an already defiled church; there is a sense of scorn for the condition of the church and an affirmation that a 'born again' purity is necessary to assure the salvation of its members.²⁸⁷ The issue faced by Barnabas and Hermas is not simply a pattern of rigorist ethics which would guarantee salvation to that defiled church, but an attempt to define what an untainted Christian community might be like. That definition of reformed and purified community directs them towards a Gestalt of the community as it might become and will need to be, but is not.

Gosple of Truth. The same concern for the pattern of Christian identity based on purity and errorlessness is also the dominant theme of the Gospel of Truth. Here, though, the ultimate agents of purity and truth are not rigorisms of piety and righteous behavior, but a rigorism of knowledge, a disciplined consciousness in persuit of the truth. Through a 'passionate

subjectivity",²⁸⁸ the error (plane) of this world's deceitful reality is abandoned in search of a gnosis which, by discovering the origins of one's own soul in God, qualifies the believer to enter the 'rest' of God, the 'space' of God. But this quest is not defined as an historical process (as noted earlier, there is no sense of history in the Gospel of Truth) of growth or maturation, but the gnosis revealed in Christ is an ontological reality which confronts the illusions of this world's historical orders with a sense of a meta-reality known by a meta-science of perception. This meta-reality exhibits a timeless form with which the believer identifies himself, abandoning the formlessness of materiality to claim the *πλῆρωμα* in which the father resides, a place of specific form and reality which contravenes the formlessness and illusion of the material world.

Mankind has earnestly sought the truth, anxiously longing for God,²⁸⁹ not knowing that the truth of God lies not in the longings of the material order, bound by history and error (*πλᾶν*),²⁹⁰ tormented and scourged²⁹¹ and led into a forgetfulness which substitutes truth for illusions of beauty (materiality).²⁹² Man is rendered formless and uncompleted,²⁹³ without any shape or spatial dimension. This condition of lostness, original sin, is described as a lack of knowledge of the father, an a-gnosis. "Thus has everyone done, sleeping in the time when he was a-gnostic."²⁹⁴ But the father has given a "special boon"²⁹⁵ from the pleroma (heaven)²⁹⁶, a gift of his logos which is the thought and mind of the father.²⁹⁷ This logos bears the truth, a timeless truth which is "unchangeable, unperturbed, unembellished."²⁹⁸ This truth lies behind

the visible Christ as an invisible word, a name which conveys the very mystery of the One.²⁹⁹ Knowing this name, mankind becomes that truth which the logos reveals.³⁰⁰ The secret mystery³⁰¹ of the meta-reality of the father is revealed on the cross of Christ, that in the transcendence of gnosis over the flesh, humans might be fed with a "finding"³⁰² of the "face-forms" of the father, the shape of the space (*μυστήριον*) of God.³⁰³ By sacrificing his flesh, Christ demonstrated his true *ὄψις*,³⁰⁴ the true corporate reality which is the true goal of gnosis.³⁰⁵ The mystery of Christ and his church is not incarnationally expressed, but ensomatotically; revelation does not occur in the human flesh, but by the knowledge of a reality which transcends the illusions of the flesh. Christ came to demonstrate this as a teacher, a revealer of the Book, a testamentary disposition,³⁰⁶ The church is therefore a school,³⁰⁷ but one in which persons are taught individually, "apart, alone, receiving themselves from the father."³⁰⁸

The Christian community, in the Gospel of Truth, is defined solely as an agent of the gnosis revealed in Christ. In the church, the members of Christ (the pneumatikoi)³⁰⁹ are given completeness and perfection of knowledge.³¹⁰ But this knowledge is not a propositional assertion about the Christ or a theological statement of the faith he embodies, it is a vision of the face-form of God,³¹¹ a vision which brings perfection³¹² to enable the believer correctly to understand his own origins, his own meta-reality. Purified of the illusions of the flesh and the errors of materiality, Christians are taught by the church³¹³ to "receive themselves".³¹⁴ This purification is likened to an awakening from a dream, a "straightening up as

if awakened."³¹⁵ The community is commissioned to provide "that understanding that rescues"³¹⁶ God's chosen people from the error of $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta$. It has a shape, a Gestalt, in that it provides the form of true existence through the gnosis it conveys. But there is no indication of any relationship between persons in that community except the mutual sharing of gnosis for the purgation of its individual members.

Full community is attainable only at the 'reunion'. Whether this is a temporal eschaton or an ecstatic condition of the total purification of the individual believer is not entirely clear. "In the reunion each one shall receive himself again. In a gnosis he will purify himself in many ways in a reunion, as gnosis eats up the matter within him like a flame and the darkness with a light, the death with a life."³¹⁷ It would seem that, at least for those gnostics who have already died (whether the saints of the Old Testament or the deceased Christian is uncertain), the reunion will fulfill their incompleteness.³¹⁸ But a future eschatological time is vague; there appears to be too little sense of time, past or future, to suggest an eschatological event. More appropriately, the Gospel of Truth may be said to proclaim an eschatological condition, a spatial realization of divine reality, a specific place ($\mu\delta\epsilon\iota\tau$) of oneness with the father.³¹⁹

This timeless place of man's ultimate purification and community (his true koinonia with God and others) is that realm in which persons who are otherwise dormant in the mind of God become persons.³²⁰ It is the place where the defiled become holy,³²¹ characterized as a dwelling place (not necessarily a domestic image, since Coptic frequently uses the term to

mean "world") or the reunion.³²² At the μδελτ, the true scheme of reality becomes apparent, matter destroyed, perfection accomplished, and purity claimed.³²³ Unlike the apocalyptic vision of the heavenly court of festive celebration of the Lamb of God, the Gospel of Truth envisages the ultimate place as primarily a place of rest, repose, even silence. All the children of the father are complete and worthy there, at peace, having found a resting place in the knowledge of their root.³²⁴ In that rest one finds paradise,³²⁵ and all the turmoil and struggle of life's errors are ended. It is a condition which results from the purgation of one's mind and materiality by the gnosis of Christ; it is a locus with a Gestalt defined by perfect, timeless knowledge of one's origins in God.

The concerns of the Gospel of Truth may, at first sight, appear quite different from those addressed by Barnabas and Hermas. Their concept of purity and the fulfillment of the new law of Christ, with rigorist ethics, a imminent judgment day, and qualifications of purity virtually overwhelming any understanding of an earthly koinonia. Their focus is an ethic of purgation, an almost desperate attempt to remove the stains brought by sin's defiling lordship of the earth. Though these idioms are largely absent from the Gospel of Truth, a basic understanding of the shape of the Christian community continues. The community's sole function is to teach a gnosis of the truth which purifies individuals to qualify to enter the μδελτ, the rest of God, paradise. The ethical purity demanded by Barnabas and Hermas has become, in the Gospel of Truth, a purity of truth, the absence of error, the denial of the illusions caused by materiality and history. True koinonia with God and others

is projected into a realm (or perhaps a future time) in which error's perversions are removed and the believer is able to claim his true identity, his meta-reality origins, in the truth of Christ. This place of truth, a special locus of penultimate reality, has a specific Gestalt, a Gestalt described not in the form and image of Christ or in the shape of Christ's manifested revelations, but by the Christ who taught the true form and dimension of reality, especially the reality of the individual Christian person.

There is little concern in any of these writers here termed purgative for Christian relationships apart from relationships of nurture, instruction, and censure. Christians do not respond to each other in any emotional or relational categories except that of teacher. But this is not to underrate the basic importance of that relationship. That it is so uniquely focused does not imply that it is unimportant for Christians to be in community and to relate in this single way. Indeed, apart from the instructions of the community, there is no knowledge of the law or truth of God and no possibility of salvation. Since salvation is the stated purpose of the Christian life, since the knowledge of salvation is available only within the community of Christ, and since that knowledge alone purifies the person to become acceptable to God, the Christian community is by no means compromised. What marks the contrast, however, between this purgative paradigm and the epiphanic and epiphoric patterns, is not the centrality of the community, but the scope and meaning of relationships within the community. In purgative communities, a vertical relationship exists between the teacher (exemplar, shepherd, guide, counselor, or pneumatikoi) and the

initiate, catechumen, or confirmant. The relationships within the community are not based on symbols of authority devised by the community itself (the corporate personality, elected bishop or presbyter, etc.), but imposed on the community by a criterion of expertise in divine revelations of goodness or truth. The previously defined sense of common life, with koinonia as a shared fellowship of common persons who together comprise a greater identity of wholeness, is virtually absent. The ethical ideal of love, the only relational ethic mentioned, is commanded of Christians not because love enhances common life or contributes to the well being of persons in the community, but because love is commanded by God as a prerequisite to salvation.³²⁶ Barnabas, Hermas, and the Gospel of Truth share a common sentiment that relationships between persons in the community are only valued inasmuch as they contribute to the purgation requisite for salvation.

In these writings of the purgative perspective on the community, the integration of ecclesiology and Christology is maintained. Just as the purpose of the church is to prepare persons for a salvation community yet to be attained, the most important office in the community is that of the teacher, a role which describes the atoning work of Christ. Just as the church is victimized by the stains of a corrupting and defiling world, Christ's crucifixion is regarded as a tragic demonstration of the power of evil.³²⁷ Just as the true church remains hidden behind its human facade, the true meaning of the Christ is a mystery knowable only to those who cleanse themselves of humanity's sins and errors. Just as the church shall become the ultimate reality of koinonia, so Christ shall

establish a kingdom (new reality) and reign forever. The connection is maintained, so that the community's self-reflected identity becomes the very purpose of the incarnation and atonement of Christ.

Conclusions

With diverse images and perspectives, the Christian community of the early second century described itself in terms of a timeless form or shape, a configuration of a Gestalt by which relationships between its members were valued, a correlation to cosmic patterns was claimed, a dynamic of organic life was affirmed, and eternal values of righteousness or truth were defined. Sometimes that form of the community was graphic, descriptive of a specific locus of Christian community which set it apart as unique in a sacred place; sometimes it was a more poetic expression of an ultimate meaning for common life in terms of a timeless $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$. Within the categories of the epiphanic, epiphoric, and purgative perspectives on the community, considerable variety has been cited among the many writings; yet certain issues appear equally important. Each of these issues could be said to arise from a central concern that the Christian community perceives its identity in a specific Gestalt which both defined its koinonia and respected the unique and distinctive form which had been timelessly provided in the revelation of God's purpose. Furthermore, there is the common conviction that this form of the koinonia is knowable by the members of the community and attainable in the life of the community.

The Christological Identity of the Koinonia. The most obvious and frequently cited Gestalt of the Christian community in the writings under consideration is that it exists in the form of the Christ. Although variously perceived, the Christ figure determines the identity of the community, and the language of whatever self-reflection and relationships there are within the koinonia is most profoundly Christological. The extent to which a given community becomes self-reflective and inter-related depends upon the dimensions of its Christ-image. Where the image of Christ is spoken of in terms of the wholeness and unity of flesh and spirit, as in Ignatius, for instance, the koinonia is portrayed in those same images. Where the image of Christ is portrayed as the manifestation of God's harmony and purpose on this earth, as in I Clement, the koinonia is similarly defined. And where the Christ is portrayed as the teacher of the truth or righteousness of the father, the single mark of the koinonia's self-reflections becomes defined in pedagogical terms. The dimensions of the form of the koinonia are the dimensions of the Christ.

It must be noted that this Christ-image is not simply the historical Christ event, the life of the historical Jesus; nor is it an image derived from the successive manifestations of the Christ throughout history. The Christ-image is regarded as a timeless form which is prior to, independent from, and subsequent to all events of history. It is immutable and eternal, the ultimate form of reality itself, whether the reality of this creation or the meta-reality of a creation beyond the material order. Though Christ is the God-man, the divine person, his nature so defines the early second century

Christian's perception of reality that human existence in this world seems incapable of definition without him. This timeless image of the Christ provides the Christian community with a definition of itself, a definition which allows the community to position itself in the world, claim its uniqueness, and maintain its separation from the secular order. The Christian community is a specific 'place' in the schema of reality, the place nearest the nature and purpose of the Christ figure. The language for this nature and presence of Christ and his community is sometimes temporal; but it is spatial as well, referring to a certain extension of the Christ into the community which lives in imitation of him.

Several conclusions may be drawn concerning the several ways the form and image of Christ are portrayed by epiphanic, epiphoric, and purgative perspectives of him. In the first place, there seems to be a basic distinction between whether Christ is portrayed in primarily morphological or axiological language, a distinction which determines the posture of Christ in relationship with his koinonia. The more emphasis is placed on the image of Christ in ethical and confessional categories of goodness and truth, the more distinct and separate the Christ figure stands from the community. Although that community remains defined in terms of that Christ figure, there is less participation in him, involvement with him, or appropriation of him. Conversely, the more emphasis is focused on the image of Christ in morphological symbols of his form or shape, the more the Christ figure is indistinguishable from the community itself. The most morphological symbols are used by those writings with the epiphoric perspective on the

role of the community. In them, little mention is made of Christian behavior or belief, especially not in terms of a saving righteousness or a errorless faith; the central concern is Christian unity, a unity with others in the *koinonia* which is itself a unity with Christ. The posture of Christ is the same as the posture of the community. On the other hand, the most frequent use of axiological images occurs in those writings which reflect a purgative perspective of the role of the community. Very little mention is made in them of morphological images of Christ or the community. The shape of Christ is defined almost entirely by his commandments and truths. He addresses the community from a position outside itself, teaching that community the things necessary for the salvation of its members. There is limited relationship between the community and the Christ, yet his instructions alone are formative for its life. Christ, being more distant from the community, is not realized in the relationships between its members, nor is there any sense of communal sacramental participation. The epiphanic pattern employs both morphological and axiological images, yet the former are usually employed to reinforce the latter. The form of the Christ, manifested among his people, directs their behaviors and beliefs. Christ is present among his people, intervening in their daily life together; yet he represents a form which is commended to the community without being united with it.

To state this in another way, it could be said that the Christ-image is employed by the several authors in two very distinct polarities of Christ as a place, a locus, and Christ as a living body, an organism. In the purgative

perspective on the Christian community, the image of the Christ is that he is a temple, a tower, a 'place' which is set apart for those who have attained holiness. That locus of Christ is attained by knowing and obeying his word, a word spoken to the community from beyond this earth. In that place, Christ is not a living organism so much as he is a static 'rest', a cessation of organic struggle, growth, and change, a cessation of history. At the other extreme, among those writers termed epiphoric, Christ is a living voice which represents and embodies the unity of flesh and spirit. That voice creates the community as an organism of flesh and spirit on earth; and by this act of the new creation, the community is itself the incarnational embodiment of the organic struggle, growth, and change which Christ has brought to the world. For the epiphanic writer, the organic image and the image of the place are combined. The community is Christ's place, the locus in which his living voice is spoken. From creation, God has always had a sacred place to which his word was addressed, a household within which that divine revelation takes human form. Yet the human community remains human, sharing a divine epiphany which comes from beyond itself.

Another implication of the importance of the image of the Christ in the several expressions of the early second century is that the atonement of Christ (and the purpose of the community) is defined in three distinct forms. All three forms direct the Christian and his community to live in imitation of Christ, to be discussed shortly. But this imitation is commended to the community on the basis of the under-

standing of its atoning image of Christ; soteriology is variously presented both on the basis of the Christ-image and the community's purpose. Although no salvation is possible apart from the community of Christ, within that community, salvation is available *κατά* the Christ, *ἐν* the Christ, or *διὰ* the Christ. In the first, the purgative perspective, the community teaches the salvation of Christ according to which one is saved, the law or truth of God. In the second, the epiphoric, the community of Christ is saved by virtue of ~~the~~ being the community of Christ; Christ claims those who are members of his body. In the third, the community is the means of salvation through which Christ reaches out to manifest himself to his people. In each of these expressions, the common purpose of the atonement of Christ becomes the purpose of the community. The mission of the community is to fulfill the image of Christ. Hence, it could be said that the purpose of Christ is always divinization of his people, whether by becoming purified in his image, in unity with his image, or in harmony with his image.

The Imitation of Christ. In each of the expressions of Christ's atonement, the common appeal is that his people become more Christlike, living in fuller imitation of him. A consistent formula is that the community must remember (or understand, in the Gospel of Truth) and, once the image is established, must imitate. Yet the imitation of Christ is variously defined in terms of the image of Christ. It is to purify one's self of sin and error in the imitation of his example of righteousness and truth, as in the purgative perspective; to integrate one's life into a unity with others which embodies the form

of Christ on this earth, as in the epiphoric perspective; or to so live in harmony and love that one's life becomes an instrument through which Christ is manifested, as in the epiphanic perspective. This imitation of Christ does not depend on an understanding of the historical events of Jesus' life, it rather is derived from an image of the Christ which history may confirm and even inform, but which is eternally a reality apart from history. The form of the Christ which is offered to be imitated is a form established at creation.

It is from this understanding of a timeless image of the Christ that the community of the early second century was able to affirm the ultimate value of a person's life. The Christian convert was not only led to believe that God had performed a great deed in the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus, but that that same miraculous event redefined human life in presenting to mankind an image according to which, in which, or through which life was now rendered more precious. When a Christian was commanded to imitate that Christ-image, he was at the same time commanded to affirm and claim a new value to his own life. In the imitation of Christ, the Christian participated in the miracle of that incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection. For the writer with the epiphanic perspective, the form of the Christ directed that human life was of ultimate value because it was the locus of God's great deed of salvation; human life was a sacral vessel. For the writer of the epiphoric perspective, the Christ-image was shared with the believer; in him and his community the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection were the on-going ultimate realities of human life, making human

life the embodiment of the union of flesh and spirit. For those who represented the purgative perspective, the form of Christ as the teacher of the true righteousness and purity of God gave to the Christian a role and purpose which must be imitated in order to transcend the impurities of the mundane world to claim an identity commanded by God. In all cases, the true meaning of human life was provided in the Christ-image; and the imitation of that image provided the form which gave the life of the Christian a new and priceless value. It is within this context that one may speak of the atonement of Christ as deification. Although to some writers deification is interpreted soteriologically as sanctification unto salvation, to most it is a statement about the form and image of the Christian person in Christ. The contrast between the person whose identity within the community was established by the image of Christ and the non-Christian was so marked as to assert that, as a Christian, one's life assumed the form of the God-man.

It is the function of the Christian koinonia to teach, embody, or manifest the image of Christ so that its members might thereby attain an identity which lived in imitation of him. Every source of the early second century contains this ideal, an ideal based on several portrayals of the Christ-image. With each portrayal, however, the community is commended to fulfill, to realize, to perfect, to purify itself to become authentic to that image, thereby imitating its Gestalt both in the life of the community and in the individual lives of its members.

The Community as the Place of the Christ. As noted in several authors considered, the form of the Christian community is expressed as a specific place, a spatial configuration, a location set apart, a real world which transcends time. This place is sometimes described as paradise, as in the Gospel of Truth, or as a separate kingdom, as in I Clement, but it is always used to speak of the community's location in realms which are distinct from the secular world. The God-man has brought to mankind a special locus, the topography of which is the extension of the koinonia. The image of the holy place which appears in the Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of Truth is merely one indication of this topographical perspective of the community. Virtually every morphological and axiological image of the community's Gestalt conveys the same sense of a separate place. The domestic image of the household is not only familial, it is geographical, separating the family of Christ from its neighbors, distinguishing its location near to the Christ, determining its roles and relationships in relation to spaces within that household. In the political images of the kingdom or realm of Christ, the reference is clearly to a distinct and unique structure of autonomy and obedience, even though the Jewish association with the land of Israel is discarded. In the organic images, even the body of Christ is a place, a place of salvation and identity at which Christians are united with him, 'solid' with him.³²⁸

The cosmological images rely upon primitive understandings of the geographies of heaven and earth. The ethical law of God proceeds from the place of Christ, his temple, his holy book. And the gnosis of the father is revealed to lead the

pneumatikoi to the place of truth, the rest of God. In each case, there is a locative sense to the image.

These images of the form of the Christian koinonia which provide the koinonia with a timeless identity are often misinterpreted as eschatological (either futurist, realized, or inaugurated) images, an error which greatly confuses their meaning. For they do not refer to a time, whether past, present, or future, but to a form of the community itself. The community of Christ was not only described in terms of all history from creation to the second coming of Christ, but it was also portrayed as fulfilling a specific pattern, shape, and space which, by virtue of its timelessness, legitimized its existence as being in the very form of the eternal intention of God. Indeed, the very timeless shape of the Christian community provided its members with an orientation by which to understand the world in which they lived. Not only was the history of the Christ/community the only true history by which all other history is interpreted, but the timeless shape of the community's configuration in spatial terminology allowed the community to orient itself in realities of both heaven and earth. This sensitivity to the shape of the community was neither an eschatological nor a protological concern, for it focused on forms which assumedly knew neither creation or fulfillment. The family, the kingdom, the body, heaven, goodness, and truth were timeless realities which were unaffected by history; they were patterns which testified to the very reality of Christ's relationship with the father before creation and the reality of the community's relationship to Christ after history's conclusion. Without this spatial sense of the

form of the Christian community, it would be impossible to speak of its extension, its values, or its ultimate purposes. The Christian community existed as a microcosmic reality which provided the necessary perspective on the macrocosmic form and structure God intended in Christ. To interpret these images as eschatological images is to violate this dimension of the community's self-reflections.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

1. Note the discussion of Chapter I.
2. H. W. Turner, "The Christian Version of the Sacred Place and its New Testament Norm", Studia Patristica, Vol. V, Pt. II (1965), pp. 141-145. Turner examines the concept of the 'sacred place' noted in Eliade and VanderLeeuw to relate it to New Testament forms of the Christ. "Christ takes up in his person and work the functions of the holy place." (p. 144).
3. Diog. 5:2a & 4b.
4. Diog. 5:9.
5. Diog. 8:8.
6. G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology (London, 1957), pp. 61ff. A distinction is made between the historical typology of the Bible and the symbolic typology of Hellenistic thought. Although the concern here is with the latter sort of typology, D. L. Baker, "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament", Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1976), pp. 137-157, rightly identifies a distinctly 'verticle' typology throughout the New Testament and early Christian literature, not of specific Hellenistic origins, which testifies to a relationship between heavenly realities and their earthly counterparts.
7. Herm. Vis. 3:2:4-3:7:6, Sim. 9:1:1-9:7:3.
8. Thornton, Common Life in the Body of Christ, p. 310.
9. Ibid., p. 17.
10. F. V. Filson, "The Significance of the Early House-Churches" JBL, Vol. LVIII (1939), pp. 107ff.
 J. Peterson, "House Churches in Rome", WC, Vol. 23 (1969), pp. 264-272.
11. Note Acts 2:42 and 20:6-9 where worship clearly takes place in homes or households. The emphasis is on the οἶκος as a family, not just a meeting place in Acts 16:15, Romans 16:5, I Corinthians 16:24.

12. K. Aland, Did the Early Church Baptize Infants? (London, 1962), pp. 88-94.
- J. Jeremias, Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries (London, 1960), pp. 18-23. trans. by D. Cairns.
- J. Jeremias, The Origins of Infant Baptism, trans. by D. Barton (London, 1963), pp. 12ff.
13. Peterson, Op. cit., p. 265, describes the evolution of house-churches from being private households to being public buildings for Christian assembly.
14. Note the studies done by: V. Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch (New Haven, Conn., 1960), pp. 81-86.
- P. Donahue, "Jewish Christianity in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch", VC, Vol. 32 (1978), pp. -1-93.
- T. G. Jalland, The Church and the Papacy (London, 1944), pp. 80f.
15. Danielou, Theology of Jewish Christianity, p. 356, makes a distinction between the earlier pilgrim image of leadership and the later, more mature, image of the body of Christ. Even more prevalent, however, is the image of the household of the people of God. Note also Jalland, Op. cit., p. 75, who claims that the offices are based on Jewish prototypes, with the distinction between the prophet and the priest. Seldom, however, are Old Testament references cited to illustrate the idea of the congregation as a household.
16. Note especially the treatment of Ignatius Eph. 5:2, 5:20; Poly. 4:2, 6:1-2; Phil. 8:1.
17. G. Kretschmar, "Christliches Passa im 2 Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung der Christlichen Theologie", RSR, Tome 60, Nu. 2 (1972), pp. 287-323. (pp. 300-301), cites the example of Poly. Phil. 4:2-6:1, attributing the household to the Jewish concept of the "beth Yahweh" as a model for community and family. But Polycarp makes no such historical reference.
18. See II Cor. 11:2; Eph. 5:22-23; Rev. 19:7-9, 21:2-10.
19. Note the martyrdom of Blandina of the Martyrs of Vienne and Lyon (Eusebius: E. H. 5:1:35, 5:1:55). Perpetua (Perpetua and Felicitas 18:2) comes to the arena as a Matrona Christi. See Odes of Sol. 42: 1-9.
20. Herm. Vis. 1:2:4, Vis. 3:2:3; Odes of Sol. 38:9-13.

21. Two excellent studies, both of which combine the bride and the mother images, are:

C. Chevasse, The Bride of Christ (London, 1960), pp. 99-121.

A. C. Rush, "Death as a Spiritual Marriage: Individual and Ecclesial Eschatology", VC, Vol. 26 (1972), pp. 81-101. Rush states that the image of the church as a bride arose within Christian reflections on the eschatological community.
22. Note Chapter III.
23. P. Beskow, Rex Glorïae: The Kingship of Christ in the Early Church, trans. by E. J. Sharpe (Uppsala, 1962), pp. 33-73.

W. Bousset, Kurios Christos: Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaeus, zweiten Auflage (Göttingen, 1926).
24. W. D. Davies, The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine (Berkeley, Ca., 1974).
25. Ibid., p. 351.
26. H. H. Rowley, The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament (London, 1952), pp. 33-57, claims that the New Testament and early Christian sources combined the Old Testament concepts of kingship and servanthood (especially the model of the suffering servant of Is. 53) as a Christological identity and a corporate personality of the church.
27. G. Q. Reijnders, Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature (Nijmegen, 1965), pp. 184ff.
28. H. Chadwick, "The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius", HTR, Vol. 43, No. 2 (1950), pp. 169-172.

A. Blaise, La Vocabulaire Latin des Principaux Themes Liturgique (Brepols, 1970), pp. 369f, par. 225.
29. Romans 13:1-3; I Cor. 4:7-13, 3:22-23; I Thess. 2:14.
30. R. M. Grant, "Chains of Being in Early Christianity", in Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade, ed. by J. M. Kitagawa and C. Long (Chicago, 1969), pp. 279-289.
A similar idea is developed in the Introduction of the Ascension of Isaiah, R. H. Charles (ed.), The Ascension of Isaiah (London, 1900), pp. 42f. and W. M. Swartley, "The Imitatio Christi in the Ignatian Letters", VC, Vol. 27 (1973), pp. 81-103.

31. G. B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 63-130, interprets this phenomenon, where reference is made to a lack of harmony and apostasy based on discord, as an appeal to paradise, the heavenly design of God at creation, as in Barn. 6:13 and Diog. 12:1. However, the counterpart is also, as will be shown in Ignatius, I Clement, and Hermas, a contemporary phenomenon transcending the earthly existence of the community and corresponding to it.
32. Beskow, Rex Gloriae, pp. 165-172.
33. Ig. Smyr. 8:1. See also Rev., chapters 4 and 20.
34. Odes of Sol. 42.
35. In Ascension of Isaiah 6:15 Isaiah is granted a vision of a heaven which contains the angels gathered in joyous assembly, and "the vision which he saw was not of this world, but from the world which is hidden from all flesh." Though the assembly discloses the future incarnation of Christ, the heavenly assembly is itself contemporary to him.
36. Harnack, et. al.
37. Moule, The Origin of Christology, p. 54.
38. E. Schweizer, Jesus, trans. by D. E. Green (Cambridge, 1971) p. 107.
39. Thornton, Common Life, pp. 17ff.
40. E. L. Mascall, Christ, the Christian, and the Church (London, 1946), p. 134.
41. Analyses of second century Christian ethical systems have often betrayed the socio-political biases of their authors. Note Troeltsch's concern for social and political ethics, Case's evangelical concern for anti-clericalism and the freedom of the Christian democratic conscience. Note the discussion in A. J. Malherbe, Social Aspects of Early Christianity (London, 1977), pp. 21ff.
42. The position taken by most Protestant and Lutheran scholars.
43. The position taken by most Roman Catholic scholars.
44. T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Edinburgh, 1948), finds little early second century statement of the Barthian (Pauline) concept of Grace.

45. Dodds, Pagan and Christian in the Age of Anxiety. Note the discussion of this work in Chapter I.
46. G. Bornkamm: The New Testament Writings: A Guide to Its Writings (London, 1974), pp. 121ff.
K. E. Kirk, Vision of God (London, 1931), pp. 115-126.
47. Malherbe, Social Aspects of Early Christianity, p. 22.
48. Note the Gospel of Truth 17:1f. See the treatment of this in C. I. K. Story, The Nature of Truth in The Gospel of Truth and in the Writings of Justin Martyr (Leiden, 1970), pp. 100ff.
49. Kelly, Creeds, pp. 65-76.
50. Cullmann, Earliest Christian Confessions, pp. 19-21.
51. Ibid., pp. 25-30. See also: V. H. Neufeld, The Earliest Christian Confessions (Leiden, 1963), pp. 146ff.
52. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, trans by the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, edited by R. Kraft & G. Krodel (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 145. There is a problem with Bauer's contrast between heresy and orthodoxy as important issues of the early second century; a more critical contrast is between unity and disharmony.
A. Ehrhardt, "Christianity Before the Apostles' Creed", in HTR, Vol. LV, No. 2 (1962), pp. 73-119 (pp. 101ff).
53. Note Chapter III.
54. I Clem. 64:1.
55. I Clem. 62:2.
56. I Clem. 48:2.
57. I Clem. 49:5-6.
58. I Clem. 50:5. See also I Clem. 51:2, 60:4, 61:1, 63:2, 65:1.
59. I Clem. 34:7.
60. I Clem. 20:3.
61. I Clem. 30:1 & 3.
62. I Clem. 32:4. See also I Clem. 1:1, 2:4, 30:1, 46:4, 59:2.
63. I Clem. 49:1-6; 33:4-5, 8; 46:4-9.

64. I Clem. 37:5. See also I Clem. 38:2-3, 46:4-9. Note the parallelism in 46:7 between the "members of Christ" (τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ) and "our own body" (τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἰδίου). The phrases are parallel, indicating a likeness, not an apposition, of identity.
65. I Clem. 38:1.
66. I Clem. 36:2-3.
67. I Clem. 40:1-4.
68. I Clem. 35:5-7.
69. I Clem. 5:7 (St. Paul is the greatest example of all). See also I Clem. 16:;7, 33:8.
70. I Clem. 3:1-3.
71. I Clem. 2:4, 4:1-7, 13:1, 62:1.
72. I Clem. 1:3 (good example of household code).
73. I Clem. 30:3-4, 7-8; 57:1-2.
74. I Clem. 21:6 & 8.
75. I Clem. Proem.
76. I Clem. 60:1.
77. I Clem. 2:1.
78. I Clem. 1:2, 10:7, 11:1, 12:1, 35:5. Note the treatment of the theme of hospitality in H. Chadwick, "Justification by Faith and Hospitality", Studia Patristica, Vol. IV, Pt. II (1959), pp. 281-285. Schisms within a congregation create an unpleasant situation for the traveler.
79. I Clem. 37:1-4.
80. I Clem. 37:2.
81. I Clem. 57:2, 59:4.
82. It is difficult to determine whether the neighbor is a Christian or a pagan.
83. I Clem. 51:2.
84. I Clem. 2:6. See also I Clem. 38:1.
85. I Clem. 39:1-7. See also I Clem. 40:1-2, 47:7.
86. I Clem. 62:1-3.

87. I Clem. 2:8, 3:2-6, 6:4.
88. I Clem. 54:4.
89. I Clem. 8:4, 10:4, 14:4 (as a cause of jealousy within the community).
90. I Clem. 48:1.
91. I Clem. 49:5, 50:2.
92. I Clem. 16:10, 21:8.
93. I Clem. 18:1-19:1.
94. II Clem. 9:10. See also II Clem. 7:1.
95. II Clem. 10:1-5.
96. II Clem. 5:1.
97. II Clem. 5:5.
98. II Clem. 2:1-7.
99. II Clem. 14:2.
100. II Clem. 14:4.
101. II Clem. 12:1-2.
102. II Clem. 12:3-5.
103. II Clem. 14:3-4, 12:2-5, 16:4, 17:2.
104. II Clem. 8:1-3.
105. II Clem. 4:2-4, 8:4, 11:1, 12:1-5.
106. II Clem. 4:2-3a.
107. II Clem. 17:3.
108. II Clem. 14:3-4.
109. II Clem. 12:4-5, 14:1.
110. II Clem. 12:1-2.
111. II Clem. 15:1 & 5; 17:2, 19:1.
112. II Clem. 6:8-7:6, 8:6.
113. II Clem. 7:6.
114. II Clem. 7:3.
115. II Clem. 5:1 & 5.

116. James 1:1.
117. James 5:19-20.
118. James 1:26, 17-20.
119. James 5:7-11.
120. James 1:25-27, 2:14-17, 4:11-12.
121. II Peter 1:1.
122. II Peter 1:5-7.
123. II Peter 1:19.
124. E. Käsemann, "An Apologia for Primitive Christian Eschatology", in Essays on New Testament Themes (London, 1964), pp. 169-194 (pp. 174ff.).
125. Compare the ethics of the neighbor in Did. 1:3-5, 2:6-7, and 15:3 with the household codes in Did. 4:9-11 and 13:4-7.
126. Note, for instance Did. 1:3 and Matthew 5:14-47, Did. 3:7 and Matthew 5:5, Did. 8:2 and Matthew 6:9ff, Did. 9:5 and Matthew 7:6.
127. Did. 15:4.
128. Did. 4:1-4, 13-14; 6:1-2.
129. Did. 1:5-6, 4:5-8.
130. Did. 3:1-10, 4:10.
131. Did. 4:14, 1:5-7.
132. Did. 4:3, 14:2.
133. Did. 4:3-4, 15:3.
134. Did. 2:7.
135. Did. 10:5.
136. Did. 11:1-6.
137. Did. 11:8 & 10.
138. Did. 12:1-5.
139. Note the possible exception of II Clement's image of the community as a sculptor's work of completion in II Clem. 8:2f.
140. Note Did. 6:1-3, an appeal to ritual cleanliness for foods sacrificed to idols.

141. Ig. Trall. 8:1.
142. Ig. Smyr. 1:2.
143. Ig. Mag. 1:2.
144. Ig. Mag. 13:2.
145. Ig. Rom. Proem.
146. W. Swartley, "The Imitatio Christi in the Ignatian Letters"
VC, Vol. 27, (1973), pp. 81-103 (p. 82).
147. Ig. Smyr. 1:1.
148. Ig. Eph. 8:2.
149. Note Ig. Phil 4:1, Rom. 7:3.
150. See also Ig. Smyr. 3:3, 12:2, Ig. Poly. 8:3.
151. Ig. Trall. 3:1.
152. Ig. Smyr. 6:1, 7:1-2.
153. Ig. Eph. 19:1-3.
154. Ig. Rom. 2:2, Ig. Eph. 4:1-2.
155. Ig. Eph. 5:1.
156. Ig. Eph. 4:2.
156. Ig. Eph. 4:2. Note that the limb (member) of Christ is
not associated with an image of a human body in
Ignatius. Instead it is associated with the
branches of a tree which comprise the cross. Note
Ig. Trall. 11:2.
157. Ig. Rom. 2:2. For a discussion of the sacramental altar
image in Ignatius, see S. M. Gibbard, "The
Eucharist in the Ignatian Epistles", Studia
Patristica, Vol. VIII, Pt. II (1963), edited by
F. L. Cross, pp. 214-218.
158. Ig. Mag. 7:2.
159. Ig. Trall. 7:1-2. Note also Ig. Mag. 6:1.
160. Ig. Eph. 15:3.
161. Ig. Mag. 5:2.
162. Ig. Eph. 1:1.
163. Ig. Eph. 10:1-3.
164. Note the distinction made by Swartley, op. cit., p. 90.

165. See Ig. Smyr. 12:1-2, Ig. Eph. 6:1-2.
166. Ig. Poly., chapters 4, 5, and 6.
167. Ig. Poly. 6:2.
168. Ig. Mag. 7:1.
169. Ig. Phil 2:1-2.
170. Ig. Phil 3:1-2, 8:1. See also Ig. Phil. 7:3, Smyr. 7:2.
171. Ig. Trall. 8:1-2. See also Ig. Eph. 10:2-3.
172. Ig. Eph. 4:2, Ig. Mag. 7:1, Ig. Rom. Proem.
173. Ig. Mag. 6:2.
174. Ig. Eph. Proem.
175. Ig. Eph. 13:1-2.
176. Ig. Rom. 7:3.
177. Ig. Smyr. 6:2-7:1.
178. Regarding purity, not Ig. Eph. 10:3, Ig. Trall. 7:2.
179. Regarding the use of agape in Igantius, see J. Colson, "Agape chez Saint-Ignace d'Antioche", Studia Patristica, Vol. III, Pt. I (1959), pp. 341-353.
180. Ig. Eph. 8:1, Ig. Phil 3:3, Ig. Eph. 16:1, Ig. Trall. 7:1, Ig. Mag. 2:1.
181. Ig. Eph. 14:1. See also the union of faith and love expressed in Ig. Trall 8:1, Ig. Eph. 20:1, Ig. Mag. 1:2.
182. Poly. Phil. 1:1-2.
183. Poly. Phil. 3:3-5:3, 12:2-3.
184. Poly. Phil. 8:2.
185. Poly. Phil. 5:2.
186. Poly. Phil. 10:1.
187. Poly. Phil. 11:4.
188. Mart. Poly. 16:1, 17:3, 14:2.
189. Mart. Poly. 17:3, 20:1-2.
190. J. H. Bernard, "Odes of Solomon", JTS, Vol. XII (1910-1911) pp. 1-31

191. R. Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, Vol. I (Manchester, 1920), pp. 212-214.
192. J. H. Charlesworth (Ed. and trans.), The Odes of Solomon (Oxford, 1973), pp. viif.
193. Note the use of Ode 8, for instance, as an example of a three-voice liturgical responsory involving the odist, the word of Christ, and the congregation, or Ode 17, involving a president, Christ, and a congregational doxology.
194. This is regarded by Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 23, as a thoroughly Jewish reflection on the true temple as Christ instead of the destroyed Jerusalem temple.
195. Odes. of Sol. 4:1-3, 7-8.
196. Odes. of Sol. 22:12.
197. See Odes of Sol. 22:2, 30:6.
198. Odes of Sol. 34:4. See also Odes of Sol. 11:16-20 where the odist is granted a vision of paradise which defines the fellowship on earth.
199. Odes of Sol. 42:14, 20.
200. Odes of Sol. 30:6.
201. Odes of Sol. 38:3.
202. Odes. of Sol. 6:8-13, 18.
203. See Odes of Sol. 4:10, 6:6-8, 11:6, 16:10-17, 19:1-4, 26:13, 28:16, 30:5-7, 35:1, 36:7, 38:17-20, 39:1-13, 40:2-3.
204. Odes of Sol. 11:6, 12.
205. Odes of Sol. 7:25.
206. Odes of Sol. 12:1-2, 10-12.
207. Odes. of Sol. 32:2.
208. Odes of Sol. 39:5-10. Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 137, cites the implications of the wood as cruciform.
209. Odes of Sol. 10:6.
210. Odes. of Sol. 15:5.
211. Odes of Sol. 18:1-4, 13-14; 17:16.
212. Odes of Sol. 33:5-8.

213. Odes of Sol. 42:8-9.
214. This image of the milk of God has been regarded as flowing from his breasts (Odes of Sol. 19:3). Yet the conception of the son (19:3b, 6, 8) clearly indicates a double meaning to Ode 19.
215. Odes of Sol. 19:11.
216. See Odes of Sol. 3:7, 31:4.
217. Odes of Sol. 41:1-3.
218. Odes of Sol. 1:1, 5:12, 8:8-9, 17:1.
219. Odes of Sol. 20:7.
220. Odes of Sol. 12:9, 23:3.
221. Odes of Sol. 42:7.
222. Odes of Sol. 3: 1-2, 6.
223. Odes of Sol. 3:3.
224. Odes of Sol. 8:20.
225. Odes of Sol. 7:20.
226. Odes of Sol. 12:10.
227. Odes of Sol. 7:23.
228. Odes of Sol. 16:1-16.
229. Odes of Sol. 16:17.
230. Odes of Sol. 8:1-2.
231. Odes of Sol. 12:12.
232. Asc. of Is. 6:15.
233. Re. the equality of the saints, see Asc. of Is. 8:1-7; regarding crowns and garments; see Asc. of Is. 1:1, 4:16-17, 7:22, 8:14, 11:40; regarding the form of the Christ, see Asc. of Is. 8:26, 1:13.
234. Asc. of Is. 4:16-17.
235. Asc. of Is. 7:10.
236. Diog. 5:1-6:10.
237. Diog. 8:9.
238. Diog. 8:11.

239. Diog. 8:1-9:6. See J. Leinhard, "The Christology of the Epistle to Diognetus", VC, Vol. 24 (1970), pp. 280-289 (pp.283-285).
240. Diog. 10:4.
241. Diog. 5:6, 6:7, 11:8.
242. Diog. 5:6, ;0:6.
243. Diog. 12:9.
244. L. W. Barnard, "The Epistle of Barnabas - A Paschal Homily?", VC, Vol. 15 (1961), pp. 8-22 (p. 10).
245. Barn. 8:6, 7:11, 2:2, 3:6, 10:12, 15:1-6, 19:5.
246. Barn. 1:1.
247. Barn. 16:1.
248. Barn. 19:7
249. Barn. 19:1-5.
250. Barn. 19:8 & 10.
251. Barn. 21:4.
252. Barn. 1:4, "I am constrained to love you... (αναγκάζομαι)".
253. Note Barnabas' treatment of the Servant song (Is. 49) in Barn. 14:8-9. The emphasis in Barnabas is not on the servant, but on the preparation of a holy people to hear the words of the servant.
254. Barn. 10:3 & 11.
255. Barn. 1:4, 21:9.
256. Barn. 6:10.
257. Barn. 9:8.
258. Barn. 4:11, 6:15-17.
259. Barn. 7:3-5, 11; 16:1-10.
260. Barn. 11:11
261. Barn. 3:1-6, 4:11f.
262. Barn. 15:1, 6-9.
263. Barn. 4:1.
264. Barn. 10:10-12.

265. Barn. 13:1, 16:1-8.
266. Barn. 19:1-5.
267. Barn. 4:1-2.
268. Barn. 10:11.
269. Herm. Vis. 3:11:1-13:4.
270. Herm. Vis. 1:3:1-2, 1:9; Vis. 2:2:1-4; Vis. 2:2:6 (re. leaders of the church); Sim. 7:6-7; Sim. 10:3:2.
271. Herm. Vis. 1:1:3.
272. Herm. Vis. 3:5:1, 3:9:2; Mand. 8:9:10.
273. Herm. Man. 11:19-21, Vis. 4:1:3.
274. Herm. Sim. 1:1.
275. Herm. Sim. 6:3:6.
276. Herm. Sim. 3:9:10.
277. Herm. Man. 4:3:1-5.
278. Herm. Vis. 3:2:4-9, Sim. 9:4 & 13.
279. Herm. Sim. 1:1-5.
280. Herm. Vis. 3:2:4-9, Sim. 9:4
281. Herm. Man. 12:3:2.
282. Herm. Sim. 5:1:1-5.
283. Herm. Man. 3:1-5.
284. Herm. Man. 1:1-2.
285. Herm. Man. 3:2-4.
286. Herm. Man. 9:11.
287. P. deLaPriolle, La Crise Montaniste (Paris, 1913), p. 143.
288. R. M. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity (New York, 1959), p. 9.
289. Ev. Ver. 17:3-6.
290. Ev. Ver. 17:15-18:35.
291. Ev. Ver. 28:29, 31:22.
292. Ev. Ver. 17:20-23.
293. Ev. Ver. 21:15-20.

294. Ev. Ver. 30:6-9.
295. Ev. Ver. 16:31.
296. Note the comment by K. Grobel (ed.), Gospel of Truth (London, 1960), p. 35, that πρωμδ is not here the divine realm of the topology of later gnostics, but simply the "divine world, heaven; he came from above, from the father."
297. Ev. Ver. 16:35.
298. Ev. Ver. 17:26-27. See also Ev. Ver. 36:13.
299. Ev. Ver. 38:15-20.
300. Ev. Ver. 42:26.
301. Ev. Ver. 18:15, 24.
302. Ev. Ver. 18:29.
303. Ev. Ver. 19:32, 24:2. See R. Smith, A Concise Coptic-English Lexicon (Grand Rapids, MI, 1983), p.9
304. Grobel, Gospel of Truth, p. 105, notes that the word did not become flesh (as in John 1:14) to reveal, but the flesh became the σῶμδ.
305. Ev. Ver. 37:37-38.
306. Ev. Ver. 20:21, 26; 19:17-20.
307. Ev. Ver. 19:20.
308. Ev. Ver. 21:6-7.
309. Ev. Ver. 18:40. Note the comment of Grobel, op. cit., p. 55, re. the pneumatikoi.
310. Ev. Ver. 19:5-6.
311. Ev. Ver. 24:2.
312. Ev. Ver. 24:6.
313. Ev. Ver. 21:2.
314. Ev. Ver. 21:6.
315. Ev. Ver. 30:11-12.
316. Ev. Ver. 33:8-9.
317. Ev. Ver. 25:10-18.
318. Ev. Ver. 33:36-34:32.
319. M. Malinine, H-C. Puech, G. Quispel (eds.), Evangelium Veritatis (Zurich, 1956), p. 53. "Espace".

- 320. Ev. Ver. 27:31, 28:1-4.
- 321. Ev. Ver. 25:24.
- 322. Ev. Ver. 25:26.
- 323. Ev. Ver. 25:5-10.
- 324. Ev. Ver. 41:25-29.
- 325. Ev. Ver. 36:39.
- 326. Herm. Vis. 3:8:5-8, Sim. 9:15:2; Barn. 1:4, 21:9;
Ev. Ver. 43:2-8.
- 327. Ev. Ver. 18:21-24; Barn. 12:5-7, 8:5-6.
- 328. Best, One Body in Christ, p. 29.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING ISSUES

Continuing Unresolved Currents in Second Century

Theology

With diverse theological assumptions, patterns of community reflection, and images the Christian church of the early second century reflected on its identity and purpose. These reflections have been characterized as roughly twofold, reflections of history and reflections of Gestalt, corresponding to the frequently cited precepts to remember and to imitate. These dual tasks were further perceived as the basis for a self-conscious concentration on interpersonal relationships within a Christian community which informs that community's emerging theological formulations. In at least three distinct patterns the reflections on the koinonia of the community not only demonstrate the immediate theological issues of the early second century, they also provide a preview of continuing concerns which later generations would continue to address. In some instances, these unresolved currents of community conflict and variation have a modern re-statement in twentieth century theology and parish life. In each case, the insight provided by a concern for the reflections of the community on its koinonia enables

the observer to better understand the dynamics out of which the unresolved issues emerge. The examination of the conscious reflections of the community on its *koinonia* thus provides a hermeneutic device for discerning the leitmotifs of that community's theological expressions. Two such issues will be cited to demonstrate the value of this method for historical theological study: the issue of the continuity between the revelation of God to Israel and the revelation embodied in Jesus the Christ, and the issue of the extent of the saving work of Christ. Both issues demonstrate the characteristic translation of the problem into the concerns for Christology and ecclesiology as well as the needs for more systematic expressions of Christology and ecclesiology.

The first issue, that of the continuity of the revelation of God to Israel and the revelation embodied in Jesus the Christ has been variously posed as the relationship of Israel to the church, the relationship of the Old to the New Testament, the use of the Hebrew Scriptures and traditions in the Christian faith, or the fulfillment of the prophetic traditions in the Christ.¹ In its several expressions, it has been called the "great issue of theology"² for the church's first several hundred years. The usual definition of the issue focuses on a concern expressed in antiheretical writings for maintaining the integrity of the God of the Old Testament while asserting the uniqueness of the Christ event. Studies have examined first and second century hermeneutical methods

which accomplish this transition,³ Jewish cultural traditions that were refashioned according to emerging Christian needs,⁴ and the theological development of eschatology as the expression of the fulfillment of history in Christ.⁵ Each of these responses, while certainly helpful and historically legitimate, considers the issues solely in terms of historical continuity.

Within the context of the koinonia of the early Christian community, the issue of the continuity of Israel with the church did not appear as central as a concern that the parochial community maintain the intention of God. That is, while the community validated its experience and existence as the fulfillment of Moses, the prophets, and the historical experience of Israel, it did so with the conviction that Israel's history itself fulfilled, to some extent, God's purposes on earth. The community's concern was not simply that there is an historical connection between the Old order (or even disorder) and the new dispensation, it was the concern that the infant community of the church faithfully fulfill the intention for which God created it. The koinonia of the community of Christ, its reflection on identity and purpose, was primarily concerned with the issue of integrity, not historical continuity. Old Testament history was cited and connections made between that history and the community's events - but in all three patterns of early second century reflections on the koinonia of the community,

the people of Israel, though they were the recipients of God's revelations of his purposes, had consistently and flagrantly failed to understand and fulfill them. History was the source of God's revelation, but it also provided the example of human faithlessness and frailty. There had never been in Israel a golden age or a model community of faithfulness to which the elect of God were commended as an example. Nor did the community seem to select to be continuous with the historical revelation of God's purposes and discontinuous with Israel's errors. Instead, the issue of the relationship of the Old to the New was not a simply historical issue for the community. It was, instead, an issue of constancy and integrity. The continuity of the Christian community which is most essential to it is not a continuity with Israel's history but with creation itself. It is in creation that God's revelation of his purposes began and that revelation must be maintained in an uninterrupted and uncompromised integrity. Both historical and non-historical idioms are employed to accomplish this more basic purpose. The dual commands to remember and imitate are intended to serve the greater concern for the integrity of the community.

If the issue of continuity in the early second century community may be defined as a concern for the integrity of its identity and purpose, later generations would shift the focus of that concern to more specifically historical questions. Marcion's disavowal of the Old Testament and the gnostic's disdain for history itself would

challenge the more catholic communities to affirm their historical connections more urgently. Montanus' claims of continuing revelations through prophetic figures would also require that the church state that the revelation of God was fulfilled and concluded in the Christ. But even Marcion, the gnostics, and Montanus would assert that their ultimate concern was to maintain the connection between God's revelation and the community in full integrity and faithfulness.

Perhaps nowhere is this continuity of integrity more evident than in the characteristic arena of stress within which the early second century sources appear to have been written. Whether the stress was due to internal conflict,⁶ intellectual wrestling,⁷ reforming spirits,⁸ or the dangers of external persecutions,⁹ there remains an intensity of thought and a rigidity of a beleaguered defense. It is not historical continuity or discontinuity which causes this situation, but an unquenchable passion to maintain the integrity of the faith in continuity with God's purposes. Nor is this simply an issue of purity, as in those sources herein described as purgative. For the epiphanic sources, the concern is that the community be a fit receptacle for God's purposes.¹⁰ For the writer herein described as epiphoric, the concern is that the community maintain the integrity of the Christ, that in its flesh it embodies the Christ.¹¹

Since Christ is unequivocally regarded as the essence of God's revealed purpose and the source of the community's

identity and purpose, the concern for maintaining the integrity of the community can be described as an issue of Christology. The tension inherent in affirming both the ancient and the new revelations of God is a tension which required the church to focus on the unresolved issues of Christology. With Christology at the center of its concern, the stress of the community to maintain its integrity is, on the one hand, regarded as the very tension and drama of the passion and crucifixion of Christ and, on the other hand, a preparatory vision of the great parousia. Although the Christ is revealed in history, history is itself subject to his judgment and comprehended only according to his image. At the same time, the image of the Christ is established as the fundamental pattern of creation itself, that Gestalt according to which all things "live and move and exist".¹² The Christian community's quest for its identity and purpose is therefore not only resolved in its continuity with the Christ, that central focus on the identity of Christ commands a more intense struggle to affirm and maintain the authentic Christ, the Christ whose purposes and patterns are not compromised by alien influences. The issues of the continuity of the revelation of God is, in its early second century expression, an affirmation that the community must exist in the unadulterated, undiluted, and unadorned image of the Christ. The awesome mystery of his flesh and blood, the universal extension of his ministry of the gospel, his uncompromising commands for truth and purity must be maintained.

This perspective which regards the issue of continuity from a focus on the reflections of the community on its identity and purpose in Christ may be further viewed as an awareness that the true discontinuity between the divine and the human is filled by the community which seeks its existence in the God-man, the divine-human. In the Christ, the divine revelation of God has become human, the word has become flesh, resolving the discontinuity between the divine and the secular in the dual natures of Christ. In the community which lives in the image of that reconciling Christ, the discontinuity between the cosmic intention of God and the twisted and soiled course of human history is resolved. But this is not here an ontological reflection on the dual natures of the Christ or his sacred community, it is an attempt by the community to understand its identity and purpose in the daily exercise of its faith.

This intense preoccupation in the early second century on the continuity of the authentic Christ in his faithful community is the origin of both the heresy and the orthodoxy of later generations. While such later heretical systems as gnosticism and Montanism tended to follow the pattern herein characterized as purgative and their roots were clearly set in the generations under consideration, the proto-gnostic and proto-Montanist shared a common concern for isolating the fundamental and authentic purposes of the unadulterated Christ from the errors, abuses,

and compromises which had distorted his purer image. Similarly, the orthodox reaction to the emerging heresies was preoccupied with the preservation of the authentic image of Christ. Though the heretic and the orthodox thinker treated the historical continuity of the Christian community differently, they commonly sought an authentic continuity between themselves and the Christ as the most important issue facing the community. This issue would not be simply solved.¹³ It qualifies as a perennial concern of the church which, in the intensity of its expression, drives the Christian community to both the over-zealous reformer's distortions and the defensive preserver's rigidities. While continuity may be regarded as a quest to reclaim a pristine period of history (such as the Apostolic Age) or a concern for history's whole drama of redemption from creation to the present, this historical focus is but one expression of a more basic fervor and ardor to maintain within the community of Christ the authentic purpose, image, and purity of the Christ. Indeed, the concern for continuity may be expressed in non-historical categories of ethical or doctrinal purity. The concern is not, however, to maintain the integrity or authenticity of history or of the ethical codes and dogmas of the faith. Instead, it is to maintain the integrity of the koinonia itself. There is little question that the Christ of the community is well defined and authentic:¹⁴ the issue is whether the community is truly faithful to its Christ.

A second unresolved issue of the Christian community

of the early second century has been identified as the concern for the extent of God's salvation in Christ. What is the content of a saving faith, who shall be included among the community of God's truly faithful persons, what are the perimeters of the saved band of followers? These questions have been variously posed, usually from the perspective of the extent of the atoning work of Christ. From the perspective of a focus on the reflections of the *koinonia* on its boundary, however, the issue is more central to the concerns of the early second century. The radical identity of the Christian community and its resultant separation from the world led to an issue which is implicit, if not explicit, throughout the literature of the period. How may this isolated community define the extension of its membership, who is to be excluded from the fellowship of that community, and how shall the boundaries remain sufficiently flexible to allow for converts? This issue would manifest itself in numerous situations, each betraying a fundamental unresolved tension. On the one hand, the sense of the radical Christian identity led the community to narrowly define its extension as an isolated and beleaguered light in a vast ocean of darkness. On the other hand, the universality of the Christian claim called that community to regard that darkness as an object of care, correspondence, and even conversion.¹⁵ The former case separated the Christian from the world (or even fragmented the comm-

unity itself into several strata, each with its own boundaries) in postures of defense and suspicion of the alien forces of persecution and the dangers of syncretism. The latter case motivated that same community to address the world with its gospel message and bear witness to its faith in its very state of alienation.

Although the boundary between the Christian community and its world may be defined in terms of credal or behavioral norms, as was surely the case with those authors herein described as having a purgative view of the community, there appears a more basic concern for a particular sort of reflection on Christian common life in the community as a more fundamental and inclusive definition.

The community of believers in Christ is closed. If A and B are members and C and D are not, then A and B stand in a relationship to Christ and to one another which is different from the relationship of C and D to Christ and of A to C and D, B to C and D, and of C to D. To say that the community is closed does not, however, mean that it cannot be extended - C or D may be brought within it.¹⁶

Although the members of the community shared a common heritage of historical identity as well as common non-historical images of the community's form, these considerations were employed to support more basic reflections on the meaning of Christian relatedness. The boundary of the community was the perimeter of that consideration, the enclosure within which the self-reflection of the koinonia took place. That boundary also defined the extent of the saving work of Christ.

As noted earlier,¹⁷ the separation of the Christian community had Jewish antecedents. Israel had repeatedly

reaffirmed its boundary in terms of an ethnic faithfulness to God. The Qumran community had even urged its members to hate its enemies and shun any contact with outsiders,¹⁸ its boundary defined solely in terms of an 'inner group ethic'.¹⁹ The Christian community repeats the Jewish prohibition of partnership with unbelievers,²⁰ contrasting the community and the pagan world as a *koinonia* of light and a *koinonia* of darkness. Yet for the Christian community, the separation is neither ethnic nor consistently an inner group ethic. Those which maintained an ethical or behavioral identity for the Christian community (with its accompanying ethical prerequisites for salvation) are clearly precursors of later heretical developments, defining the boundary of the community too narrowly for those who share a common life. Among most early second century authors, however, the Christian sense of separation from the world appears to be informed by two aspects of the radical identity of the community: the election of the community from creation and the sojourn of the community in the world.

The community of Christ regarded itself as intended by God from creation, gathered by God in the atonement of Christ (variously defined), and its members elect by God for salvation. Whether this election is fixed or fluid,²¹ conditioned by grace or foreknowledge,²² or intended for present or eschatological realization, it is the election of God which circumscribes the boundary of the community. Although God's election takes place in history, the elect bear the common symbols, images, and types of the Christ.

Neither the history nor the images determine the boundary, nor does any specific code of actions or beliefs: the election of the community is evident only in an interior sense of radical Christian identity. Christians know of their chosenness and the inclusion of their peers because they share a common sense of participation in the purposes of God. No writer under consideration considers that he may not be integral (if not essential) to God's purpose on earth. This consciousness of the individual Christian and his community as co-extensive with God's will and purpose is integral to the community's sense of its boundary. God elects his chosen people according to his will, gathers those people into his community, and fixes the dimensions of that community according to its fulfillment of his purposes. The manifest life of the community, especially its harmony, unity, discipleship, devotion, piety or purity, confirms its chosen status and the divine election of its members.²³ The will of God not only promotes the extension of the community by the gathering of his elect into its ranks, that same will of God also limits that community to those who fulfill that will. The notion of election thus betrays the unresolved tension of the community regarding its extension in the world.

The second aspect of radical Christian identity which assisted the Christian community in defining its boundary is the sense of the people of God as sojourners in the world, alien and rootless, travelers whose ever changing migrant status forbids any definition of boundary

which is based on territorial or generic models. Christians have no definitive ethnic history, they exhibit no special specie in the world.

They (Christians) dwell in their fatherlands, but as if sojourners in them; they share all things as citizens, and suffer all things as strangers. Every foreign country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country... Their lot is cast in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their time on the earth but have their citizenship in heaven. To put it shortly, what the soul is in the body, that the Christians are in the world...²⁴

Though in the world, subject to its powers and perversities, Christians are not of the world, their boundaries are, as Florovsky describes them, extra-territorial.²⁵ Christian community in the early second century was by nature missionary, so it could not detach itself from the world. At the same time, it was alienated from the very world in which it sought to build a kingdom of God on earth. The tension of this aspect of the Christian community's perception of its boundary would remain unresolved. It might be said that efforts to resolve this tension by either declaring the world unqualifiedly hostile to the God of the gospel, as in the case of the gnostics, thereby limiting the boundary of the community to those who are truly spiritual, or seeking to cleanse the community by increasingly rigorous purifications, as in the case of the Montanists, thereby limiting the true community to those whose obedience qualifies them - such efforts appear to consistently evolve into heretical systems which, though they establish that boundary, violate the gospel.²⁶

The notion of divine election and the sense of the people of God as sojourners on this earth were most clearly expressed as an inner consciousness, a sense of corporate identity and purpose, rather than a visible manifestation of the community in the eyes of the world. While this consciousness may be regarded as a sense of spirituality and obedience, it is only so in the corporate dimension. The corporate dimension of being God's chosen people sojourning in the world was clearly the boundary of the community. Those who shared this consciousness were included; those whose mindset was fragmented were excluded. The community was not so much concerned with the soteriological issue, the gathering of those who had been saved, as it was with the eschatological issue, the gathering of those who await the fulfillment of God's purpose for his elect sojourners. The boundary of the community was thus related to the ultimate purpose of God in creation. As long as that ultimate purpose was not accomplished, the boundary of the community would remain open and efforts to define its perimeters would violate the penultimate condition of the community.

This issue of the extension of the Christian community remains an unresolved issue. Subsequent generations of Christians would offer ecclesiastical, credal, behavioral, and even ethnic definitions of the boundaries of the Christian community, thereby attempting to circumscribe objectionable elements of both Christian and non-Christian populations. Such definitions have invariably been

challenged by subsequent generations, usually within the very community created by their boundary. Although Christians sense the inner conviction of their inclusion in the elect community, there remains an ominous temptation to circumscribe its boundaries to exclude others. At the same time, while the community must clearly minister to and relate to all creation, it violates its unique identity and purpose in Christ if it extends its boundaries to include those who compromise that witness. Within the dynamics created by this tension in the community itself, the soteriological issue remains unresolved.

The Leitmotif of the Koinonia as a Hermeneutic for Second Century Theology

The above unresolved issues of the early second century Christian community indicate the value of regarding theological themes and their development from the perspective of the koinonia of the community. Investigations of the leitmotif of the koinonia thus provide a hermeneutical perspective from which to view theological discourse, ecclesiastical development, and corporate creeds and behaviors. Other issues than the above could be selected with equally fruitful results. Reflections of the community on its corporate identity and purpose could be analyzed in regard to the tension created by the religious experience and insight of the individual and the historic faith of the community, the tension between the community as pre-existent in the mind of God and manifest on earth in all

its human frailties, the tension between the divine and human natures of the church (or of the Christ in whose image the church seeks its identity). Each of these and other issues would become perennial in the Christian community, affecting not only the corporate life of the community, but, on a more systematic level, the development of theology. The heirs of the early second century would particularly need to concentrate their energies on the ambiguities and variations of Christological thought, and subsequent generations testify to the importance of Christology in responding to the issues cited in community life.

The reflections of the Christian community on its corporate identity and purpose, its common life in the faith, in the early second century provide a valuable position from which to view a wide range of concerns which the modern investigator has sought to address.

NOTES

CHAPTER V

1. Note Pelikan, The Emergence of The Catholic Tradition, Vol. I of The Christian Tradition, pp. 12-27; Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, Vol. I of The History of Early Christian Doctrine, pp. 405-408.
2. P. Brown, The Making of Late Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 200.
3. Note, for instance, the discussion of midrashic forms in George Wesley Buchanan, To the Hebrews (Garden City, NY, 1972), pp. xvii - xxx.
4. Note the exemplary work of Davies, The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine (Berkeley, CA, 1974)
5. This is the approach most consistently found in Bultmann and post-Bultmannian authors.
6. Note Herm. Vis. III:1, Ig. Trall. 6:1-2.
7. Note Ev. Ver. I:13-37.
8. Note Barn. 21:1-4, Did. 16:1-3, Ig. Eph. 10:2-4.
9. II Clem. 20:2, Ig. Rom. 3:1-3.
10. I Clem. 51:1-3, 54:4, 59:3-4; II Clem. 20:2-5.
11. Ig. Eph. 3:2; Odes Sol. 9:8-12, 41:3.
12. Acts of the Apostles 17:28.
13. Vokes, Riddle of the Didache, p. 136, comments that the Montanist was primarily concerned with a rigorism which would distinguish true from false Christians, that the attempt to add continuing revelations of the Christ (whether through the Holy Spirit or otherwise) would plague the church throughout its history.
14. Although, as has been noted in chapters III and IV, the definition of the Christ remained different among the three patterns of community self-reflection.

15. The martyr became the primary image of the community's care for the world, since he or she died for the sake of the world (Ig. Rom. 2:2) as well as its primary witness to the world.
16. E. Best, One Body in Christ (London, 1955), p. 184.
17. Chapter II, Introduction.
18. H. H. Rowley, "The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins", John Rylands Library Bulletin, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Sept. 1961), pp. 119-156 (p. 123).
19. Ibid., p. 120.
20. Thornton, Common Life, p. 13, cites the Pauline prohibitions of partnership with unbelievers (II Cor. 6:14-7:1).
21. The community is fixed in I Clem. 2:4, where the number of the elect appears to be set, but fluid in Diog. 10:1-3, where conversion is heralded as an option, as in Ig. Eph. 11:1.
22. The strongest statement of unmerited election is in Ev. Ver. 38:24-39:28, while foreknowledge is the basis of election in Barn. 16:8.
23. II Peter, Ig. Ep. 13:1, 20:2.
24. Diog. 5:5-6:1.
25. Georges Florovsky, Christianity and Culture, Vol. II (Belmont, MA, 1974), pp. 26ff.
26. Eusebius, H.E., VI:20:3.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Sources:

Asc. Is.	Ascension of Isaiah
Barn.	The Epistle of Barnabas
I Clem.	The First Epistle of Clement
II Clem.	The Second Epistle of Clement
Diog.	The Epistle to Diognetus
Did.	The Didache
Ev. Ver.	The Gospel of Truth
H. E.	Ecclesiastical History
Herm.	The Shepherd of Hermas
Vis.	Vision
Man.	Mandate
Sim.	Similitudes
Ig.	The Epistles of Ignatius
Eph.	To the Ephesians
Mag.	To the Magnesians
Trall.	To the Trallians
Rom.	To the Romans
Phil.	To the Philadelphians
Smyr.	To the Smyrnaeans
Poly.	To Polycarp
Mart. Poly.	The Martyrdom of Polycarp
Odes of Sol.	The Odes of Solomon
Poly.	The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philadelphians

Journals:

HTR	Harvard Theological Review
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
SJT	Scotish Journal of Theology
SP	Studia Patristica
ST	Studia Theologica
VC	Vigiliae Christianae

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