

TONGUES-SPEECH: A PATRISTIC ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this article is to present selected historical data relevant to the possible presence of tongues-speech in the era immediately following the apostles. The word *akolalia* will be used with the familiar glossolalia and xenolalia to make technical distinctions between various types of tongues-speech. Glossolalia is a form of speech that does not directly correspond to any known language, while *akolalia* describes that phenomenon in which the speaker uses one language and the audience "hears" the words in (a) different language(s). Xenolalia refers to one speaking in a known language that the person has not learned by mechanical methods.

As to method of research, it should be noted that primary sources have been used for nearly every writer. It is difficult to establish objective criteria for determining the presence of tongues-speech where no explicit claim is made regarding its presence or absence. In view of the association of prophecy with tongues-speech in the book of Acts, and since one form of tongues-speech is listed among the charismata enumerated in 1 Cor 12:8-10, wherever the term *charismata* or various gifts listed in 1 Corinthians 12 are in evidence, especially prophecy, it will be considered to indicate the *possibility* of the presence of tongues-speech.¹

The writings of the apostolic fathers are primarily pastoral—not theological—in orientation. Thus when Clement of Rome says to the Corinthians that "the Holy Spirit was poured out (*ekchysis*) in abundance (*plērēs*) on you all"² he may be alluding to the day of Pentecost because *ekcheō* is the word used for the working of the Spirit in Joel 2:28 (LXX) and Acts 2:17-18 (see John 4:14; 7:37-39). This would be in keeping with Clement's exhortation to "let each be subject to his neighbor as his particular *charisma* dictates."³

Ignatius repeatedly (*Rom.* introduction; *Magn.* 8:2; *Eph.* 17:2; *Pol.* 2:2; *Smyrn.* 9:2) refers to the contemporary reality of the charismata. Michael Green

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¹Many relevant passages and writers have been omitted due to limitations of space. But there remain numerous complex problems. Notice two major concerns: First, the flexibility of the word *charismata* can be seen by its use in NT passages other than 1 Corinthians 12. Second, although there is no exegetical warrant, the history of the Church testifies to the practical usefulness of classifying some of the gifts, including tongues-speech, as "extraordinary." It is, however, with some hesitation that this study has the underlying thesis that testimony to "primitive," "spectacular" elements is sufficient reason to believe a given environment is likely to have produced the tongues phenomenon. It is possible that even during the apostolic Church there were "high" and "low" points in the activity of tongues-speech. It may well be that the tongues accounts in Acts were written with a view to calling the Church of the author's day back to the worship of the earliest communities.

²Clement *Ep. Cor.* 1:2:2 LCL 24:10-11. Notice the Lucan use of *plērēs* in Acts 6:8 *et passim*.

³Clement *Ep. Cor.* 1:38:1 LCL 24:72; cf. L. Goppelt, *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) 193; A. C. Piepkorn, "Charisma in the NT and the Apostolic Fathers," *CTM* 42, 372.

and Lindsay Dewar are among those who conclude that the gift of prophecy is in view when Ignatius says: "I cried out. . . I spoke with a great voice, with God's own voice . . . but He in whom I am bound is my witness that I had no knowledge of this from any human being, but the Spirit was preaching and saying this."⁴ Ignatius (*Symrn.* introduction) described the church in Smyrna as abounding in every charisma and later said to their bishop Polycarp: ". . . pray that the invisible things may be revealed to you, that you may lack nothing and abound in every *charisma*."⁵

The Didache describes itinerant prophets reminiscent of Agabus (Acts 11:28; 21:10) and argues that the basis of our giving is that "the Father's will is that we give to all from the *charismata* we have received."⁶ Papias (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 3.39) claims to have been told by the daughters of Philip of the resuscitation of a man from the dead, and he also tells of a certain Justus who drank poison but experienced no physical harm. The Epistle of Barnabas, which acknowledges the existence of the gift of prophecy (*Barn.* 16:9), speaks of "so innate a grace (*charin*) of the spiritual (*pneumatikēs*) gift (*dōreas*) that you have received. Wherefore also the more I congratulate myself hoping to be saved, because that I truly see the Spirit poured out (*ekkechymenon*) among you from the riches of the bounty of the Lord."⁷ The Shepherd of Hermas includes accounts of visions, revelations and transportations in the Spirit while attempting to vindicate the true form of prophecy.

Among the apocryphal writings of the second century is *Acts Thom.* 10:20, which alludes to tongues-speech. Thomas is said to have been sent to India, but great consternation is generated because he knows only the Hebrew language. The story does not clearly say that Thomas received some miraculous linguistic gift, but the account given of a resulting vision of the Lord implies the possibility of xenolalia. Similarly *Acts John* 106 mentions *charismata*, while *Acts Paul* (Appendix: Stay in Ephesus) relates an occasion when Paul and an angel spoke in tongues.

The churches of Lyons and Vienne wrote to the churches of Asia and Phrygia

⁴*Ign. Phil.* 7:1-2 LCL 24:245-247. See M. Green, *Evangelism in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 201; L. Dewar, *The Holy Spirit and Modern Thought* (London: Mowbray, 1959) 88; W. Lewis, *Witnesses to the Holy Spirit* (Valley Forge: Judson, 1978) 41.

⁵*Ign. Pol.* 2:2 LCL 24:270-271. Some have seen an intimation of charismatic activity when it is said of Polycarp, *Mart. Pol.* 7:3 LCL 25:321, that "he stood and prayed—thus filled (*plērēs*) with the grace (*charitos*) of God—so that for two hours he could not be silent, and those who listened were astounded." See G. H. Williams and E. Waldvogel, "A History of Speaking in Tongues and Related Gifts," *The Charismatic Movement* (ed. Hamilton; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 106; Goppelt, *Apostolic*, 193; H. B. Swete, *HSAC* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1912) 14; D. F. Wright, "Ignatius," *NIDCC* 498.

⁶*Did.* 1:5 LCL 24:310-311. The "primitive" elements in the Didache (it even refers to the continuation of apostleship) have led many historians to postulate either a first-century dating or a Montanist redaction. See R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) 43; Williams and Waldvogel, "Tongues," 65; Piepkorn, "Charisma," 373; C. M. Robeck, Jr., "The Gifts of the Spirit in the Antenicene Literature," unpublished graduate research paper (Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1976) 3-4. The treatment of the Didache by B. Bresson, *Studies in Ecstasy* (New York: Vantage, 1966) 25, is fairly accurate. Unfortunately Bresson's helpful work generally falls victim to reading historical data through pentecostal glasses.

⁷*Barn.* 1:2-3 LCL 24:340.

about persecution and mentioned a Phrygian physician named Alexander who was "not without a share of the apostolic *charisma*."⁸ A similar work, *Passio Felicitatis et Perpetuae*, may have been edited by a Montanist, perhaps even by Tertullian himself.⁹ The work speaks of visions and unusual courage while noting that Perpetua (*Passio* 2:3) gave utterance to a name unknown to her while she was under the influence of the Spirit.

Despite the fact that (on more than one occasion) Justin Martyr refers to charismata, several contemporary writers have appealed to his works as incontrovertible evidence that tongues-speech did not survive the first century A. D.¹⁰ The hotbed of attention is a list of gifts in which Justin excludes mention of tongues-speech. The underlying assumption of many modern investigators has been that the list, given in *Dialogue* 39, is taken from 1 Corinthians 12 and hence any omission of tongues-speech is deliberate. But if the passage in question is compared to the texts of 1 Cor 12:8-10 and Isa 11:2-3, and to *Dialogue* 87 where Justin explicitly declares his intention of dealing with Isaiah, it becomes apparent that *Dialogue* 39 is not related to 1 Corinthians 12 but is a "Christianized" version of Isa 11:2-3. Notice the main ingredients of each passage given in parallel columns.

<i>1 Cor 12:8-10</i>	<i>Dialogue 39</i>	<i>Isa 11:1-3</i>	<i>Dialogue 87</i>
wisdom		wisdom	wisdom
	understanding	understanding	understanding
	counsel	counsel	counsel
knowledge		knowledge	knowledge
faith			
healing	healing		
miracles			
		might	might
	foreknowledge		
prophecy			
discern spirits			
	teaching		
tongues			
interpretation of tongues			
	fear of God	fear of the Lord	fear of the Lord

There are many reasons for this dependence on Isa 11:2-3. First, the use of Isaiah is consonant with the patristic reliance on OT authority. Second, the object of Justin's apology was Trypho, a Jew. Third, the thought expressed by the phrase "Sevenfold Spirit," which is derived from Isa 11:2-3, is commonplace in

⁸"Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lugundum to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia," ANF 8:782.

⁹J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster: Newman, 1950) 1:181; Lewis, *Witnesses*, 87; R. E. Wallis in the introduction to "Passio," ANF 3:697; D. F. Wright, "Perpetuae," *NIDCC* 765; L. Bouyer, *One in Christ* 10:2, 152; L. Bouyer, "Some Charismatic Movements in the History of the Church," *Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal* (ed. O'Connor; Notre Dame: University Press, 1975) 119.

¹⁰One of the charismata references is as follows: "Dialogue With Trypho" 88, *Corpus Apologetorum Christianorum* (Iaenae: Prostat Apic Fidier, 1847) 1:284. *Dōra* is used similarly in *Dialogue* 82. See E. Lombard, *De La Glossolalie* (Lausanne: George Bridel, 1910) 100. Those who use Justin as evidence of apostolic cessation include G. B. Cutten, *Speaking With Tongues* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927) 34; C. J. Rogers, "The Gift of Tongues in the Apostolic Church," *BSac* 122, 137; G. W. Dollar, "Church History and the Tongues Movement," *BSac* 120, 137.

patristic literature. It seems to have been something of a theological axiom to say that as Jesus was empowered with the Spirit at his baptism in fulfillment of Isa 11:2-3, so now the risen Christ passes on the same endowment to his followers. Tertullian makes explicit what is implicit in Justin as he quotes both Isaiah 11 and 1 Corinthians 12 and argues for unanimity in thought. After listing gifts from both passages and just before indicating the contemporary reality of tongues-speech Tertullian says, "See how the apostle agrees with the prophet both in making the distribution of the one Spirit, and in interpreting his special graces."¹¹

In an attempt to discredit Montanism, Miltiades says of the apostle Paul: "For the apostle grants that the prophetic *charisma* shall be in all the church until the final coming, but this they could not show, seeing that this is already the fourteenth year from the death of Maximilla."¹² To vindicate the orthodoxy of the mainline Church, Miltiades singled out Ammias of Philadelphia and Quadratus as a contemporary prophetess and prophet that followed in the line of Agabus, Judas, Silas and the daughters of Philip.¹³ Melito of Sardis could have been mentioned because he was the author of a work on prophecy and was considered to be a prophet.¹⁴

Johannes Behm, Emile Lombard, Maurice Barnett and George H. Williams suggest that tongues-speech was exercised by the Christian heretics known as gnostics: "Among Gnostic groups, glossolalia of the type requiring interpretation was common, and there exist several transcribed Gnostic prayers in the Coptic tongues in which are included several lines of ejaculated glossolalic syllables or single vowels and consonants."¹⁵ Irenaeus (*Ag. Her.* 1:13) tells of the gift of prophecy exercised by the gnostic Marcus, and later Origen preserves the Platonist Celsus' description of prophecy to which is added a phenomenon that may have been tongues-speech: "To these promises are added strange (*agnōsta*), fanatical (*paroistra*), and quite unintelligible (*panta adēla*) words of which no rational person can find the meaning; for so dark are they, as to have no meaning at all; but they give occasion to every fool or impostor to apply them to suit his own purposes."¹⁶

¹¹Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5:8:9, ANF 3:446. Note the use of this concept in the following authors: *Gelasian Sacramentary* 1:43:45; Origen, *Homily on 1 Samuel 18 on 2:5*; Ambrose, *The Sacraments* 3:2:8; *Ordo Romanus* XI. J. De Soyres, *Montanism* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1878) 66-67, argues that Athenagoras of Athens, Justin Martyr and Montanism shared the same view of prophetic inspiration. This view, according to De Soyres, changed as a result of the argument of Epiphanius that true prophecy was to have been "conscious and intelligent."

¹²Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.17.4 LCL 153:485.

¹³*Ibid.* Cf. Piepkorn, "Charisma," 374. It is a point of confusion whether it is the same Quadratus that was prophet, apologist and/or bishop.

¹⁴Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 4.26; B. Altaner, *Patrology* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1962) 133; Quasten, *Patrology* 1:242; M. Green, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 201-202; P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* 1:2:333; B. Yocum, *Prophecy* (Ann Arbor: Word of Life, 1976) 21-22.

¹⁵Williams and Waldvogel, "Tongues," 63. See Lombard, *Glossolalie*, 105; J. Behm, "Glōssa," *TDNT* 1, 723; M. Barnett, *The Living Flame* (London: Epworth, 1953) 102.

¹⁶Celsus quoted in Origen's *Contra Celsus* 7:9 ANF 4:614. The Greek is taken from *Origène—Contre Celse*, Borret (Paris: Derf, 1959) 4:36. So also Barnett, *Flame*, 102; Cutten, *Tongues*, 36; Hinson, "Brief History of Glossolalia," 50-51; Green, *Holy Spirit*, 201; Williams and Waldvogel, "Tongues," 62; Hinson, "Significance of Glossolalia," 75.

The first parachurch movement distinguishable for its involvement with primitive elements of worship is Montanism. The Montanists may be described as enthusiastic Christians with questionable theological tendencies. The material extant concerning the original group has come from those opposed to them. With varying motivations and conclusions many modern historians have suggested the Montanists to be a theological precedent to the classical pentecostal movement. In light of this, it is interesting to note that there does not appear to be any explicit indication that Montanus and/or his immediate followers spoke in tongues. Eusebius passes on an anonymous description of Montanus: "He began to be ecstatic and to speak (*lalein*) and to talk strangely (*xenophein*), prophesying contrary to the custom which belongs to the tradition and succession of the church from the beginning."¹⁷ M. Barnett, R. A. Knox and G. Hinson are among those that single out the term *xenophein* as a reference to tongues-speech.¹⁸ Such a conclusion, however, is not beyond doubt. There remains the possibility that *lalein* may be a reference to some form of tongues-speech because *laleō* can be used of either intelligible or unintelligible speech.¹⁹ It is my judgment that both terms are important to the discussion of whether Montanism was condemned for the style and/or content of its prophecy, but the terms themselves are inconclusive indicators of tongues-speech.

The final second-century figure to be consulted is Irenaeus, who not only refers to the contemporary exercise of general charisms but also tongues-speech:

. . . the apostle says (*phēsin*), "We speak wisdom among those that are perfect," calling those perfect who have received the Spirit of God and who speak in all tongues through the Spirit, just as he himself spoke, and just as we hear (*akouomen*) many brethren in the Church, who have the prophetic charismata and who by the Spirit, speak all kinds of tongues (*pantodopais glōssais*) . . . whom the apostle terms (*kalei*) spiritual.²⁰

¹⁷Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.7 LCL 153:474-475. Some, including F. D. Bruner (*Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 36), parallel Montanism to classical pentecostalism because they view both as sectarian, if not heretical, deviations from the orthodox Church. Others, including H. Evans ("Pentecostalism in Early Church History," *Paraclete* 4/3, 21-28), have said that both groups recaptured the original gospel for an ailing Church. In view of the findings of this article that prophecy and tongues existed in the mainline Church until the third century, I cannot view Montanism as recalling the Church of its day to its beginning. I rather believe that the Montanists had excesses in both the style of their worship and in the content of their teaching. Most modern writings pay attention to Tertullian's denial of Praxeas' patripasianism, when in fact part of his point (*Against Praxeas*, ANF 3:597) is that the bishop of Rome had acknowledged the prophetic gifts of Montanus, Prisca and Maximilla before being brought to a different conclusion through the false accusations of Praxeas.

¹⁸Barnett, *Flame*, 119; Knox, *Enthusiasm*, 30; E. Mosiman, *Das Zungenreden: geschichtlich und psychologisch untersucht* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1911) 50; K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953) 128; Hinson, "Tongues," 48. Cf. "*Xenophōneō*," *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (ed. Lampe; Oxford: 1961) 932. G. W. Bromiley, "The Charismata in Christian History," *Theology, News and Notes* (Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary, March, 1974) 3, judges the phenomenon to be prophecy, not tongues. See D. F. Wright, "Why Were the Montanists Condemned?," *Themelios* 2/1 (September 76) 17.

¹⁹See W. Bauer, "*Laleō*," *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Chicago: University Press, 1957) 464; G. Kittel, "*Laleō*," *TDNT* 4, 76; Lampe, "*Laleō*," 790f; R. Laurentin, *Catholic Pentecostalism* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977) 62. Cf. *lalein heterais glōssais* in Acts 2:4.

²⁰Taken from the Greek text in *Contre Les Heresies* (Paris: 1969) 2:73-75. Some charismata references are: Irenaeus, *Ag. Her.* 2:32:4; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5:7; Irenaeus, *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* 99. Cf.

Some have questioned whether Irenaeus was actually an eyewitness of the phenomena by pointing out that a major Latin recension of the text uses the past tense (*audimus*) rather than the present tense given in the Greek text (*akouomen*). Irenaeus wrote in Greek, and renowned patrology scholar Johannes Quasten suggests that the dating of the Latin text is most uncertain. The majority opinion of recent scholarship proposes a later date than previous estimates.²¹ In fact it seems that Irenaeus makes a temporal antithesis between the Pauline original and a later occurrence—namely, his own time. This was the understanding of Eusebius, because when he included the passage (*Hist. eccl.* 5.7.6) he used the present tense. To eliminate the phrase “in like manner we also do hear,” which appears to be indicative of an experience contemporary to Irenaeus, would necessitate special pleading. Similarly *kalei* does not relegate the matter back to Paul’s day because just as in the introductory phrase “the apostle says (*phēsin*),” the present indicative is being used as a historic present.²² Also, since there is a substantival parallel made to the Pauline practice of tongues-speech, the intimation of xenolalia (*pantodopais glōssais*) should not be considered problematic. And finally it should be noted that on at least one occasion (*Ag. Her.* 3:12:15) Irenaeus substitutes the word “prophecy” when the Biblical text (Acts 10:46) to which he refers specifies tongues. Irenaeus is not alone, for the same thing is done (later) by Gregory Nazianzen (PCC 36:185, 188) among others.

Hippolytus, a third-century writer from the west, authored a work entitled “On Charismatic Gifts” that has been lost. In his writings that are available he wrote, “If anyone says, ‘I have received the *charisma* of healing,’ hands shall not be laid upon him; the deed shall make manifest if he speaks the truth.”²³ Similarly, Tertullian wrote a seven-volume work entitled *Ecstasy* that has been lost. Tertullian has much to say about the charismata even in his pre-Montanist writings. He later relates the story of a woman who would have visions during the church service and would wait until the conclusion of the worship to pass on her

Lombard, *Glossolalie*, 100-101; K. McDonnell, “The Holy Spirit and Christian Initiation,” *The Holy Spirit and Power* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975) 80. Contra J. Jividen, *Glossolalia from God or Man?* (Fort Worth: Star Bible Publications, 1972) 63. The doctoral thesis written by L. M. V. E. Vivier, “Glossolalia” (University of Witwatersrand), is found in many bibliographies. This is an M. D. thesis, however, and its strength lies in its psychological assessment and not the historical section, which is dependent upon secondary sources. Vivier’s treatment (80) of Irenaeus demonstrates the lack of acquaintance with original sources as he gives full trust to the scholarly yet somewhat prejudiced work of Baptist G. B. Cutten. In fact S. J. Burgess, “Medieval Examples of Charismatic Piety in the Roman Catholic Church,” *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism* (ed. Spittler; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), complains that Cutten took over quotations from J. J. Gorres without checking the original sources.

²¹Quasten, *Patrology* 1:290-291. Contra S. D. Currie, “Speaking in Tongues,” *Int* 19, 277.

²²Contra A. A. Hoekema, *What About Tongues-Speaking?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966) 14; C. Clemen, “The ‘Speaking in Tongues’ of the Early Christians,” *Exp Tim* 10, 346.

²³*The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* 15 (ed. Easton; Ann Arbor: Anchor, 1962) 15. Cf. p. 85. The Greek is taken from *AT of Hippolytus* (ed. Dix; New York: Macmillan, 1957). This quotation is taken over in *The Testament of our Lord*. J. E. Stam, “Charismatic Theology in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus,” *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation* (ed. G. Hawthorne; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 271, says that “Hippolytus (like Irenaeus) uses the terms *charis*, *charismata*, and *dorea* interchangeably for any gift of divine grace, including the Holy Spirit himself.” See H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power* (Stanford: University Press, 1969) 177; McDonnell, “Christian Initiation,” 80.

experience. Tertullian introduces the account with these words: "For seeing that we acknowledge spiritual charismata, or gifts, we too have merited the attainment of the prophetic gift."²⁴ In the context of defending the unity of the OT and NT God, Tertullian encourages the practice of speaking in tongues: "When he mentions the fact that 'it is written in the law, how that the Creator would speak with other tongues and other lips, whilst confirming indeed the gift of tongues by such a mention.' . . ." ²⁵

Cyprian, a pupil of Tertullian, relates of an environment that could have harbored tongues-speech: "For besides the visions of the night, by day also, the innocent age of boys is among us filled with the Holy Spirit, seeing in an ecstasy with their eyes, and hearing and speaking those things where the Lord condescends to warn and instruct us."²⁶ Novatian pointed to the present reality of spiritual gifts, of which tongues is explicitly mentioned: "This is he who places prophets in the church, instructs teachers, directs tongues, gives powers and healing . . . and arranges whatever other gifts there are of charismata."²⁷

During the third century eastern writers like Clement of Alexandria refer to charismata in general (*The Instructor* 1:6) and tongues in particular (*Stromata* 4:21), apparently as a contemporary reality. A reading of the Greek manuscript of *Who is the Rich Man That Shall be Saved?* 38 suggests that Clement envisioned the cessation of tongues-speech to be futuristic. Origen gives witness to various charisms, including exorcisms, healings and predictions (*Comm. John* 6; *De Principiis* 1:3:7, 8; 2:7:2; *Ag. Celsus* 1:46; 7:6-8). It appears that Origen, in commenting on 1 Cor 13:8, presses the cessation of tongues to the future.²⁸ When commenting on Ps 65:4 (PCC 23:632), Pamphili Eusebius says that the blessings of God's house are the charismata of the Holy Spirit, by which the Church has been adorned. Eusebius A. Stephanou has this to say about the famed historian:

He speaks of the charismata as "flashes of light that make the church radiate." He compares the divine powers and operations of the Seraphim with the "holy men of God among men who shared in the most excellent charismata, as prophesying fu-

²⁴Tertullian, "A Treatise on the Soul" 9 ANF 3:188.

²⁵Tertullian, "Against Marcion" 5:8 ANF 3:446. Hinson, "A Brief History of Glossolalia," 50, places this after Tertullian's conversion to Montanism. Another tongues passage to be consulted is "Exhortation to Chastity" 4 ANF 4:53. Cf. H. Wamble, "Glossolalia in Christian History," *Tongues* (ed. Dyer; Jefferson City: Le Roi, 1971) 28-29.

²⁶Cyprian, "The Epistles of Cyprian" 9:4 ANF 5:290. See "Epistles" 70:3; "Treatise" 5:5 ANF 5:378, 462 respectively.

²⁷Novatian, "Treatise on the Trinity" 29 ANF 4:641. Primarily dependent on the passage cited here, R. Kydd answers in the affirmative the question, "Novatian's *De Trinitate* 29: Evidence of the Charismatic?," in *SJT* 4 (1977) esp. 314-315.

²⁸*JTS* 10, 35. *Contra* Wamble, "Glossolalia," 29-30. See the following: "On Prayer," *Alexandrian Christianity*, LCC 2:273, 290, 242; "Exhortation to Martyrdom," *ibid.*, 398. Cutten, *Tongues*, 36, disputes Origen's familiarity with tongues-speech because in *Comm. Rom.* 1:13, PCC Latin 11:422 (a passage that Cutten does not document) Origen describes tongues as xenolalic. In view of Acts 2 and the argument of other fathers, the fact that Origen believed Paul to have experienced xenolalia would not appear to be a denial of familiarity with tongues-speech. Cf. F. A. Sullivan, "'Speaking in Tongues' in the NT in the Modern Charismatic Renewal," *The Spirit of God in Christian Life* (ed. Malalesta; New York: Paulist, 1977) 24.

ture events, healing diseases, raising the dead, and speaking in tongues, and sharing in wisdom and knowledge" (Comm on Isa VI,2).²⁹

From this general period on, records indicate that the most likely center of activity of tongues-speech is the monastic movement. Antony, founder of anchoritic monasticism in Egypt, was involved with healings, extraordinary perceptions and exorcisms.³⁰ Pachomius, who in the meantime established coenobitic monasticism in the southern provinces of Egypt, was reported to have prophesied and to have exercised xenolalia.³¹ Jerome relates the account of a monk, Hilarion, using xenolalia in a battle with a demon-possessed man.³²

In Palladius' *Lausiac History* 17 the story is told of Macarius of Egypt who received "the gift of fighting spirits and of prophecy." Also the church historian Sozomen (*EH* 3:14) writes that Macarius was endowed with divine knowledge, wrought extraordinary works and miraculous cures, and restored a dead man to life. The work entitled *Fifty Homilies of Macarius of Egypt* was most probably not authored by Macarius but by someone unknown to us. Speaking of his own day the writer (*Homily* 36:1) specifies tongues as one of the gifts of the Spirit and tells (*Homily* 29:1) about some who possessed gifts of the Spirit but failed because they fell short of love. Isidore supported (*Ep.* 2:246; PCC 78:685) the exercise of spiritual gifts in the Christian community. Palladius' *Lausiac History* 1:1-5 relates ecstatic experiences of Isidore and adds numerous accounts of the presence of the charismata among the monks up to his own day. Palladius tells about the problem with demons (18:6), about the gift of healing (12:1), the gift of knowledge (38:10), the gift of prophecy (17:2), and of visions (32:1).

Returning to figures from the mainline Church we can see that tongues-speech and related phenomena have not yet entirely ceased. Hilary of Poitiers lists all the charismata of 1 Cor 12:8-10 and says, "Clearly these are the Church's agents of ministry and work of whom the body of Christ consists, and God has ordained them."³³ In an attempt to verify the unity of the work of the Trinity while citing examples in particular, Ambrose (*On the Holy Spirit* 2:13, 150-152; 3:11:70-71) refers to the gifts listed in 1 Corinthians 12 and Mark 16:17, explicitly mentioning tongues-speech as an ongoing phenomenon. The *Ambrosiaster*, most

²⁹E. A. Stephanou in an unpublished paper entitled "The Charismata in the Early Church Fathers" (1975) 11. The reference can be found in PCC 15:72. See also Eusebius, "Comm on Ps 77:18," PCC 23:900. Cf. A. T. Floris, "The Charismata in the Post-Apostolic Church," *Paraclete* 34, 9.

³⁰This is from Athanasius' "Life of Antony," NPNF 2:4:195-221. See "Directions on our Holy Father Antony the Great on Life of Christ" 38, 41, 54 *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954) 45-47, 51. L. Bouyer, "Charismatic," 120-121, makes some pertinent observations on monasticism in general and Antony in particular.

³¹Palladius, "The Lausiac History" 32:1 ACW 34:91. It is the later work of A. Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints* (New York: May, 1914) 2:327, which recounts the repeated reports of xenolalia associated with Pachomius, saying that "though he never learned the Greek or Latin tongues, he sometimes miraculously spoke them."

³²Jerome, "Life of St. Hilarion" 22 NPNF 2:6:308. The demon also used a variety of languages according to the story.

³³Hilary, "On the Trinity" 8:23 NPNF 2:9:147. Cf. "On the Trinity" 8:30; 2:34; 8:29; 12:55 NPNF 2:9:146, 61, 145, 233 respectively. Cf. "Commentary on Ps 64:15," PCC Latin 9:422.

likely not the work of Ambrose, uses *evacuari*³⁴ (present tense) when referring to the *pausonta* (future tense) of 1 Cor 13:8, thereby intimating that the cessation of tongues-speech has not been completed but is in the process of ceasing.

In the east Athanasius, friend of Pachomius and biographer of Antony, talks (*Letter* 9:9; *To the Bishop of Egypt* 1:4) about miraculous phenomena and about the gift of discerning of spirits. The *Apostolic Constitutions* contain a section (8:1:1) dealing with spiritual gifts, wherein the author seems to suggest that on a limited scale his contemporaries manifested various gifts. The *Constitutions* 8:2:3 reiterate the author's concern for prophecy and similar phenomena but show that his greatest interest is ecclesiastical institutionalization. Cyril, a monk before becoming bishop of Jerusalem, suggests that he may have known first hand of tongues-speech because after speaking favorably of prophecy he added: "It is called Catholic then because . . . it universally treats and heals the whole class of sins, which are committed by soul or body, and possesses in every form of virtue which is named, both in deed and words, and in every kind of spiritual gift."³⁵

The Cappadocian fathers, all of whom had been monks, uniformly spoke of the contemporary exercise of charismata and perhaps also tongues-speech. In his *Shorter Rules* 278, answering the question of how a man's spirit prays while his understanding remains without fruit, Basil states that "this was said concerning those that utter their prayers in a tongue unknown to the hearers."³⁶ Gregory Nazianzen talked (*Oration* 32; PCC 36:185; *Oration on Pentecost* 41:12; *On the Holy Spirit* 5:12:30) about the charismata and perhaps tongues-speech as still present in his day. Likewise Gregory of Nyssa spoke frequently of the charismata.³⁷

The reaction of Epiphanius to the Montanists and Alogi was that the church should maintain the veritable charismata (PCC 41:856). Using present tenses, Epiphanius says of the work of the Holy Spirit: "To this one is given wisdom by the Spirit, to another tongues and to another power and to another doctrine."³⁸ When enumerating the attributes of the Holy Spirit, Didymus the Blind says that the Holy Spirit is "a fountain of exhaustless charismata."³⁹

³⁴*Ambrosiastri qui dicitur Commentarius in Epistolae Paulinas* (Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pichlet-Tempska, 1964) 2:148.

³⁵Cyril, "Lectures" 18:23 NPNF 2:7:139-140. See "Lectures" 17:37; 13:23; 5:11; 12:12 NPNF 2:7:133, 88, 31, 119 respectively. Stephanou, "Charismata," 13, says that the word for gift is charismata.

³⁶As quoted in Floris, "Charismata," 11, and Stephanou, "Charismata," 13. See Basil, "Rules" 58:2 FC 9:142; "Concerning Baptism" 2 FC 9:381; "Concerning Faith," FC 9:66, where the cessation is said to be futuristic. Some relevant charismata references are: "On the Spirit" 16:37 NPNF 2:8:23; "The Hexaemon" 6:11 NPNF 2:8:89; "Letter" 2:10:6 NPNF 2:8:249; "Rule" 60, 56:7 FC 9:144-145; 140. Cf. "On the Holy Spirit" 9:22-23; "Against Eunomis" 3:4.

³⁷*Gregorii Nysseni in Cantorum* (Leiden: 1960) 6:268, 209, 210; *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden: Brill, 1965) 50; "On Pilgrimage" NPNF 2:5:383; "On the Christian Mode of Life" FC 58:141.

³⁸PCC 42:296. See PCC 43:28, 152; 41:453.

³⁹Didymus, "De Trinitate" 2 PCC 39:452. See: PCC 39:452, 601, 1336, 1429, 1659; Palladius, "The Lausiatic History" 4:4.

Up to this point the understanding that the apostolic expression of tongues-speech has been greatly diminished in the majority of Christian communities has largely been based on inference. Though the implicit now becomes explicit, yet perhaps the phenomenon has not become obsolete.

The arguments devised by Chrysostom in the east have been repeated throughout the history of the Church. At the beginning of his commentary on 1 Corinthians 12 he says the passage is obscure because the spectacular no longer takes place. But he insists from earlier times that, upon baptism, adults "began to speak one in the tongues of the Persians, another in that of the Romans, another in that of the Indians, or in some other language."⁴⁰ Chrysostom suggested at least two reasons for this demise: The superiority complex of tongues-speaking Christians led to schism, and tongues were no longer necessary after the faith had been established.⁴¹ Theodore (PCC 82:764-765) speaks in a similar way about the "miraculous" gifts of the Spirit.

The teaching in the west would appear to have been much the same since Augustine repeatedly denied the contemporary reality of the exercise of tongues-speech. In an exposition of 1 John 3:23 Augustine declares that the signs were adapted to the times:

In the earlier times, "the Holy Ghost fell upon them that believed and they spake with tongues," which they had not learned, "as the Spirit gave them utterance." These signs were adapted to the times, for there behooved to be that betokening of the Holy Spirit in all tongues, to show that the Gospel of God was to run through all tongues over the whole earth. If then the witness of the presence of the Holy Ghost be not given through these miracles, what is it given? . . . If he loves his brother, the Spirit of God dwelleth in him.⁴²

⁴⁰Chrysostom, "Homily on 1 Cor" 29:1 NPNF 1:12:168. Something of Chrysostom's own perception can be seen in the story he relates of a certain deacon named Romanus who had his tongue cut off during the Diocletian persecution yet was able to speak, to which Chrysostom added the rejoinder, "Encomium to Martyr Romanus" 50 PCC 50:613-614, "Where is now Macedonius who fights the Paraclete who has given (to Romanus) the gift of tongues?"

⁴¹He bases the latter claim on 1 Cor 13:8 but does not point to a completed canon. See "Homily on 1 Cor" 29:1; 34:2; 37:37 NPNF 1:12:168, 202, 219-220 respectively. Chrysostom seems to have waged an all-out war on tongues-speech. See NPNF 1:12:168, 172, 186-187, 189, 209, 211, 217, 218, 233; NPNF 1:11:501. Did this attitude result from an experience that Chrysostom had as a monk?

⁴²Augustine, "Homilies on 1 Jn" 6:10 NPNF 1:7:497. See "Sermon" 21:19 (17:19) NPNF 1:6:324-325; "On Baptism, Against the Donatists" 3:16:21 NPNF 1:4:443; "Homilies on 1 Jn" NPNF 1:7:334; "Christian Instruction," FC 4:21-22. Augustine also denied the continuance of the apostolic form of healing and advocated a practice known to medieval catholicism. See "The Retractions" 1:12:7 FC 60:55; A. J. Mason, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism* (London: Longmans, Green, 1891) 99-100. C. J. E. Kingston, C. Brumback and G. Jeffreys, who may be independent sources, uniformly quote Augustine as affirming the existence of tongues-speech in his day. See Kingston, *Fulness of Power* (London: Victory, 1939) 168; Brumback, *What Meaneth This?* (Springfield: Gospel, 1947) 91; Jeffreys, *Pentecostal Rays* (London: Walker, 1954) 122. They offer no documentation, and in view of the explicit denials of Augustine the saying should be considered apocryphal. It may be that their quotation is based on a faulty translation of either Augustine's "Homily on 1 Jn" 6:10 or his "On Baptism, Against the Donatists" 3:12:51. The latter quotation, however, is given correctly by R. C. Dalton, *Tongues Like As of Fire* (Springfield: Gospel, 1945) 122, who Brumback has listed in his bibliography. Also to be rejected is the contrived "jubilation" argument given by E. Ensley, *Sounds of Wonder* (New York: Paulist, 1977) 7-8.

Pope Leo the Great did not see any use for the "spectacular" charisms,⁴³ and as he exerted his authority the exercise of this phenomenon in the west was given a blow from which it would not soon recover. After this we are ushered into the medieval period in which there is the least amount of evidence for tongues-speech among Christian groups both east and west, although my research done elsewhere has concluded that there may not be a century without tongues-speech appearing somewhere among Christians.

There are various ramifications of the data presented in this article, first of which is that the historical sketches outlined by the dispensationalists and Warfield and his followers are not adequate. Warfield concluded that tongues-speech did not survive the death of the apostles or at least the death of those upon whom the apostles laid hands, while dispensational colleagues George W. Dollar and C. J. Rogers insist on apostolic cessation.⁴⁴ The cumulative effect of the foregoing material, however, is that tongues-speech continued in the mainline Church through the third century, at which time monasticism probably became the center of such activity.

This study also suggests certain restraints on the classical pentecostal evaluation of tongues-speech. Many present-day pentecostals have more or less assumed that the historical precedents of tongues-speech were usually glossolalic. This study, however, has found that when the fathers clarified the nature of the tongues-speech being practiced they most usually specified them as being xenolalic. In fact, modern pentecostals might be surprised to know that alleged cases of xenolalia were quite prominent in the early phase of classical pentecostalism. The 1896 North Carolina revival, the January 1, 1901, experience of Agnes Ozman and the 1906 Azusa Street revival all gave glowing accounts of xenolalia. The initial tongues experiences of both T. B. Barrett and A. J. Tomlinson were xenolalic, and many newly initiated pentecostals went to foreign lands expecting to be endowed supernaturally with the appropriate language, but it was Charles Parham who remained the outspoken critic of tongues that were not xenolalic.⁴⁵

The amount of known material that deals with tongues-speech is not as

⁴³Williams and Waldvogel, "Tongues," 68. *Contra* R. L. Carroll, "Glossolalia: Apostles to the Reformation," *The Glossolalia Phenomenon* (ed. Horton; Cleveland: Pathway, 1966) 90, who misunderstands *Sermon 75:2* of Leo (NPNF 2:12:190).

⁴⁴B. B. Warfield, *Counterfeit Miracles* (London: Banner of Trust, 1972) 23-24; Dollar, "Tongues Movement," 316-321; Rogers, "Tongues," 134-143. An excellent treatment of the theological commitments of dispensationalism is given by R. L. Thomas in *Understanding Spiritual Gifts* (Chicago: Moody, 1978). An early spinoff of the work appeared in *JETS* 17/2 (1974) 81-82 under the title "'Tongues . . . will cease'."

⁴⁵C. Brumback, *Suddenly from Heaven* (Springfield: Gospel, 1961) 24-25; V. Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971) 110-111; N. Bloch-Hoell, *The Pentecostal Movement* (New York: Humanities, 1964) 42-43, 87; *Glossolalia Phenomenon*, Horton, 192; A. O. LaBerge, *What God Hath Wrought* (Chicago: Herald) 29-30; S. E. Parham, *Charles Fox Parham* (Baxter Springs: 1969); A. J. Tomlinson, *Last Great Conflict* (Cleveland: Walter E. Rogers, 1913) 177-178; C. Conn, *Like a Mighty Army* (Cleveland: Pathway, 1955) 85; J. T. Nichol, *The Pentecostals* (Plainfield: Logos, 1966) 41; Laurentin, *Pentecostalism*, 67-68; G. F. Atter, *The Third Force* (Peterborough: College, 1970) 293. Obviously the credibility of these accounts must be called into question, but the point is that they believed actual known languages were involved. If there are implications for pentecostals, there is certainly an implied undermining of G. J. Sirk's thesis, "The Cinderella of Theology: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," *HTR* 6/2 (1957) 77-89, that the phenomenon on the day of Pentecost was simply an inspired midrash on a familiar OT prophecy.

voluminous as one would like. What follows is an attempt to understand the restrictions of the literature.

1. *Regarding those stages when there is complete silence.* (a) It is an *a priori* assumption of many modern historians that silence on the subject denotes absence. But one could just as easily argue that there would be little reason to expect expositions on a subject that was considered normative. The general rule of thumb for these early writings is that a subject was treated when there was sufficient abuse of the phenomenon or extraordinary academic interest to warrant a commitment to writing on the subject. (b) A great many of the communities that had the tongues experience were also especially concerned with the imminence of eschatological events and rarely saw the need for keeping any written records. (c) It is a questionable assumption that those men whose writings are extant were the most active and widely known in their own generation. Considering the degree of difficulty that people of the time encountered when attempting to publish it is likely that they had a certain psychological mindset—a mindset that perhaps would not be shared by an existential tongues-speaker. (d) It is well known that some valuable works have either been lost or destroyed. It is quite possible that archaeologists will provide additional material that will bring new light on the subject.

2. *The fathers themselves.* (a) None of the early fathers set out to write an unabridged systematic theology or elaborate commentaries on the books of the NT. Had this been the case the demand for explicit data would be more reasonable. (b) At times, some of the fathers substitute terms and concepts for specific references to tongues-speech and leave later generations to guess what was obvious to them.

3. *Modern historians.* (a) There are instances where modern authors have been of the opinion that tongues-speech is only one particular manifestation, and hence their writings do not include references that fall outside that understanding of the phenomenon. (b) If presuppositionless theology has been proven to be impossible, the same must be said of historical inquiry. The point, of course, is that one's conclusions are to be made independently of this influence. Unfortunately it would appear that the theological commitments of the Warfieldians, dispensationalists and pentecostals have proven to hamper objective analysis. Dispensationalists and disciples of Warfield begin with an unwarranted suspicion that any post-apostolic activity of this kind is of dubious credibility. Many pentecostals wrongly see their own doctrine of Spirit-baptism in a number of records of tongues-speech. Such theological reckoning must take into account the pneumatology of the writer, not simply "spectacular" phenomena associated with the person(s) in question. (c) I do not believe that any previous generation has seen a thoroughgoing scholarly analysis into the historical and theological ramifications of tongues-speech. Most polemical material written today is based on secondary sources, and unfortunately many of the works consulted have been in error. It is possible that, as intense research continues, important evidence will come to light that has escaped previous generations. Another unfortunate matter is that there are valuable works available on the subject that are either not widely known or are simply ignored.

Having come to some general conclusions about the continuation of tongues-speech I would like to add a word in closing about the conditions that brought about its demise in the majority of Christian churches.

1. There was the problem of the abuse of the phenomenon. There is considerable evidence that those congregations known for the prevalence of tongues-speech were also known for internal divisions. On the other hand there were cases like that of Marcus—as related by Irenaeus—where the phenomenon, being easily imitated, was used for a vicious egocentrism.

2. This period of time was vitally concerned with collecting and isolating those works that carried apostolic authority and had little interest in, if not direct opposition to, works/sayings by groups when the content could be construed as having contested apostolic authority and doctrine. An akolalic, xenolalic or interpreted glossolalic saying could have involved both the problem of an alleged identity of the spokesperson with the Spirit and the problem of revelation in addition to Scripture.

3. There are several reasons why a spontaneous act of worship would eventually be eliminated: (a) The sociological makeup of the congregation changed over the years, and when the upper echelon of the community (especially administrators) became part of the Church, existentialism was often replaced by a controlled liturgy. (b) There is an inherent tension between ecclesiastical institutionalization and spontaneous acts of worship. Episcopacy tended to develop at the expense of the exercise of gifts like tongues-speech. (c) Sacramental tendencies would aid in the disuse of the exercise of tongues-speech.

4. The relation of the Church and state as evidenced in the Council of Nicea in 325 would likely have produced certain unwritten rules that affected the exercise of a phenomenon like tongues-speech.

5. When the concept developed that one could distinguish certain “supernatural” gifts it was an easy step to isolate them in a way that would bring about their elimination.