

Anliegen, seinen Forderungen und seiner Besitzethik erweist sich Paulus lediglich als ein treuer Nachfolger Jesu (die einzige Stelle an der sich Paulus in der Apg in seinen Reden auf ein Herrenwort beruft ist in Apg 20.35 mit dem das Almosengebot Jesu Zusammengefasst wird, 281, auch hier geht es ums Geben!) Verschweigt Lukas die umstrittene paulinische Kollektaktion in der Apostelgeschichte, um deren Anliegen und Durchführung (vielleicht unter einem neuen Vorzeichen) zu verteidigen und mit der autoritativen Lehre des historischen Jesus zu untermauern? Haben altkirchliche Traditionen (Origenes, Eusebius, Chrysostomos, 18. *Homilie zum 2Cor*), die den im Zusammenhang der paulinischen Kollekte erwähnten „Bruder... dessen Lob wegen seines Dienstes am Evangelium durch alle Gemeinden geht“ (aus 2Kor 8.18) mit dem Evangelisten Lukas und seinem schriftlichen Evangelium identifiziert, etwas wesentliches erkannt oder gar festgehalten (vgl. Ph. Bachmann)? Auch bei der differenzierten Darstellung der Pharisäer im Doppelwerk (und deren Ausmaß!) dürfte der Widerstand pharisäisch-judenchristlicher Kreise (vgl. Apg 15.5) gegen die umstrittene paulinische übertrittsfreie Heidenmission im Hintergrund stehen (vgl. P., S. 312, der ebenfalls Pharisäer und Besitzverzicht in Verbindung bringt).

Die früher in der deutschsprachigen Acta-Forschung als so gravierend angesehenen theologischen Unterschiede zwischen Lukas und Paulus (z. B. E. Haenchen), werden in der neueren Forschung teilweise zurecht anders bewertet (vgl. S. E. Porter, *The Paul of Acts*. WUNT 115; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1999; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001, 187-206; vgl. meine Rez. in ThLZ 125, 2000, 1021-24). Sie sind kein Argument gegen diesen möglichen Zusammenhang.

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Horrenda Secta

Untersuchungen zum frühchristlichen Montanismus und seinen Verbindungen zur paganen Religion Phrygiens

Vera-Elisabeth Hirschmann

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Historikerin Vera-Elisabeth Hirschmann begründet in ihrer Dissertation die These, dass der Montanismus schon in seinen Anfängen von der alten phrygischen Religion geprägt gewesen ist. Hirschmann zeigt, dass die Aussagen der Kirchenväter zur heidnischen Prägung des Montanus nicht einfach als kontroverstheologische Polemik abgetan werden dürfen. Es ist aus den Quellen nicht eindeutig zu klären, ob er Priester des Apollon oder der Kybele gewesen ist. In beiden Kulturen gibt es prophetische und ekstatische Elemente.

Besonders die ekstatische Prophetie sei weniger für das Christentum, viel mehr für phrygische Religion kennzeichnend. Mit weiteren Argumenten erhärtet die Autorin ihre Ansicht, dass es sich beim Montanismus um eine synkretistische Mischreligion handelt. Eine ausführliche deutschsprachige Rezension findet sich unter der Internetadresse <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2006-1-123>

SUMMARY

The historian Vera-Elisabeth Hirschmann in her Dissertation establishes that Montanism from its beginning was marked by the ancient religion of Phrygia. Hirschmann shows that the comments of the church fathers concerning the pagan character of Montanus ought not simply to be ignored as polemical. From the sources it is hard to say whether Montanus had been priest of Apollo or of Cybele. There were prophetic and ecstatic elements in both cults. Above all ecstatic prophecy was more a sign of Phrygian religion than of Christianity. The author reinforces her view with further arguments that Montanism was a syncretistic religion. One can find a fuller (German) review at : <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2006-1-123>

RÉSUMÉ

L'historienne Vera-Elisabeth Hirschmann montre dans cette thèse que le Montanisme a été influencé dès son origine par l'ancienne religion de la Phrygie. Elle argue que les remarques des pères de l'Église concernant les tendances païennes de Montanus ne doivent pas être négligées sous prétexte qu'elles seraient purement polémiques. À partir des sources, il est difficile de savoir si Montanus avait été un prêtre d'Apollon ou de Cybèle. Il y avait des pratiques prophétiques et extatiques dans les deux religions. La prophétie extatique était davantage une caractéristique de la religion phrygienne que du christianisme. L'auteur apporte encore des arguments supplémentaires renforçant sa conviction que le montanisme était une religion syncrétiste. Pour une recension plus complète, se reporter au site : <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2006-1-123>

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Research into Montanism, a religious grouping of the second half of the 2nd century AD with Christian features and strong prophetic-ecstatic leanings, peaked spectacularly with the recently successful localisation of Tymion, a small town in Phrygia which together with another small town by the name of Pepouza formed the heart of the Montanist movement.¹ Even though the dividing lines between classical studies and theology are still fought over by the more daring in the two fields, precious few ancient historians have made inroads into the subject of Montanism. Hirschmann's dissertation, written at Düsseldorf university under Anthony Birley, ventures into its depths and is to be congratulated for its boldness. A classic dilemma in connection with the origin of Montanism, a movement that was relatively quickly labelled a heresy by the church, is the question of its religious

background. Willem Schepelern concluded in 1929 that Montanism was Orthodox Christian in origin and that it was only later so heavily infused with pagan elements.² Hirschmann's theory opposes this now widespread view. According to her, Montanism was rooted in the local Phrygian religion from the very beginning.

After an introductory walk through the history of this field, Hirschmann presents, in the second chapter, the state of existing research and examines Tertullian's Montanism in an excursus. She then discusses the "date of origin" of Montanism. Hirschmann follows the prevalent early dating, which, with Epiphanius of Salamis (pan. 48,1), places the first appearance of Montanus, the 'founder' of the movement, in the year 157. "It is possible," according to Hirschmann, "that Montanus and his disciples were active in Phrygia even earlier than 157" (p 46). If so, the disputed chapter 4 of *Martyrium Polycarpi* (155/56) would remain the earliest report of Montanism, or, as Hirschmann puts it, a "proto-Montanism".³ The year 157 then merely marks the movement's first known public appearance. A presentation of the main characters of early Montanism follows, along with Montanus himself and the two prophets Maximilla and Priscilla. The leading role of women is one target of the church's criticism of Montanism. Another is the dominance of ecstasy, which is condemned as mania and false prophecy. Criticism is further directed at Montanus' past life: he is believed to have been a pagan priest, either of Apollo or – since Hieronymus refers to him as a semivir – Cybele, before his conversion to Christianity.

Hirschmann does not dismiss the assertions of the church fathers as mere polemic, but takes them seriously and, in her third chapter, goes in "search [of] the roots" of the phenomena mentioned. It is debatable whether it is necessary to treat the history of the two gods Apollo and Kybele as thoroughly as Hirschmann does in her presentation of Montanus' non-Christian prehistory. Most important are two points concerning the cult of these gods in the Phrygian and Mysian region. Firstly, prophetic and ecstatic elements are found in the cults of both gods. In view of this, Hirschmann contends that it is possible that Montanus brought elements from his time as a pagan priest into the "New Prophecy" (p 74 & 99). Secondly, it appears that Apollo and Cybele could be worshipped together. This could explain the church fathers' apparently contradictory statements regarding Montanus' pagan priesthood.

Hirschmann's next step is to compare Montanistic prophecy with the Christian understanding of prophecy, as it appears in the Old and New Testaments. She reveals profound differences. The Christian view is characterised by "conscious speech" (p 140), despite the occasional – but always subordinate – occurrence of speech in tongues. Christian prophecy, Hirschmann points out, mostly has a rational element. Ecstatic prophecy is found to be the exception in the Bible, not the rule. For Montanism, however, the connection between ecstasy and prophecy is central, as seen in particular in the well-

known "lyre oracles". According to Montanus, God uses his prophets as instruments bereft of free will, he plays on them as on a lyre. Hirschmann derives these ideas – correctly, in the opinion of this reviewer – from pagan ideas, and thus concludes: "In view of the correspondence of the pagan view of prophetic speech and the prerequisite relationship between God and man, on the one hand, with Montanistic prophecy on the other, it seems more fitting to see the New Prophecy rooted in Phrygia's pre-Christian tradition than in the tradition of the Old and New Testaments." (p 99)

Hirschmann also derives the role of female prophets in Montanism from non-Christian ideas, and she compares it with that of an "ecstatic cult prophetess" in Oriental religions. The leading position of women, who also held offices in the Montanistic congregations, is a result of the Montanists' radical reinterpretation of the Biblical Eve. By taking the forbidden fruit, Eve is not seen to have committed the original sin, but rather to have brought knowledge into the world (p 104). Hirschmann further suspects that the use of bread and cheese – instead of bread and wine – for the Eucharist did not just occur in a Montanistic splinter group, the Artotyrites, but was widespread in the whole movement. If this is the case, it is probably another reinterpretation: the Christian Last Supper is no longer understood to be a symbolic representation of the body and blood of Christ, but the presentation of sacrifices of basic foodstuffs. Here too the link with pagan cult practice is indicated (p 119-123, 142ff). The little we know about the structure of Montanistic churches also demonstrates that different organisational forms were used from those of the Christian church. The 'office' of *koinonós*, widespread among Montanists, is however not found in pagan cult circles, and so the claim that its use by the Montanists demonstrates "a further embedding into the native tradition of their country" (p 144) does not appear plausible to this reviewer.

Hirschmann has collected a number of arguments for her theory of a pagan influence on Montanism even in its early days. In particular, her distinction between the Christian and Montanistic understanding of prophecy is convincing. The argument that Montanus injected convictions and ideas from his time as a pagan priest into Montanism can only be countered by writing off the church fathers' claims about Montanism as worthless polemic. Hirschmann's methodical premise is precisely to avoid doing that and instead to take the church's statements at face value. This approach is certainly not wrong per se, but should have been better supported by argument.

If Montanism is heavily influenced by paganism from its early days, the question arises of how to evaluate the movement. Is the "Christian" label really appropriate, or is this not rather another of the numerous varieties of antique syncretism, within which Christian elements can now also exist as additional features? Hirschmann ultimately identifies the "mixture of both", i.e. Christian and non-Christian, "religious currents" (p 145) in Montan-

ism. Her claim that Montanism demonstrates the “compatibility” (p 145) of both currents appears unfounded to this reviewer. Indeed her initial argument shows that Montanism is no genuine Christian product but rather draws from other elements as well as Christian. In the opinion of this reviewer it would therefore have been more consistent to refer in the subtitle of the book under review not to “early Christian” but merely “early” Montanism.

NOTES

- 1 The inscription which led to this identification, a rescript from Septimius Severus and Caracalla to colonis Tymiorum et Simoen[tium], has now been published by Peter Lampe and William Tabbernee in three different places: *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 8 (2004), p 498-512; *Epigraphica Anatolica* 37 (2004), p 169-178; Lampe, Peter & Tabbernee, William, *Pepouza and Tymion* (in preparation). Given its importance for both classicists and theologians, this multiple publication is without doubt justified. It is only regrettable that the already sometimes difficult dialogue between the two disciplines has been further damaged by the – according to Lampe – unauthorised edition of the text by Tor Hauken et al in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 36 (2004).
- 2 Schepeleern, Willem, *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte*, Tübingen, 1929.
- 3 On the question of whether Mart. Polycarpi 4 is critical of the Montanists’ martyrial behaviour, Boudewijn Dehandschutter has recently opined in the negative: The Martyrdom of Polycarp and the outbreak of Montanism, *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 75 (1999), p 430-437; cf. id. in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 55 (2001), p 101-104.

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Diakonische Evangelisation: Die Anfänge des Deutschen Gemeinschafts- Diakonieverbandes 1899–1933

Frank Lüdke

Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003

304 pp., Euro 30,00, ISBN 3-17-017899-7

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Dozent am Theologischen Seminar Marburg Frank Lüdke beschreibt mit seiner Marburger Dissertation über den Deutschen Gemeinschafts-Diakonieverband (DGD) die Frühgeschichte des größten pietistischen Gemeinschaftsverbandes des 20. Jahrhunderts. Der DGD wurde (im Gegensatz zum älteren Pietismus überwiegend in Süddeutschland) stark von der internationalen Heiligungsbewegung geprägt. Alle diakonische Arbeit zahlreicher Diakonissen-Mutterhäuser, Brüderhäuser und sozialer Werke war primär evangelistisch ausgerichtet. Die Theologie war

vom Ideal persönlicher Heiligung zu diesem Zweck erfüllt und nicht-pfingstlerisch geprägt. Die maßgebliche Gründer- und Leiterfigur des DGD in seinen ersten Jahrzehnten war Theophil Krawielitzki (1866–1942). Seine Biographie (und daher auch die Geschichte zahlreicher DGD-Institutionen) ist nicht frei von kirchenpolitischer Fragwürdigkeit. Sah er doch im Nationalsozialismus die einzige Rettung vor der drohenden Machtübernahme durch den Kommunismus. Lüdke Arbeit, die archivalisch außerordentlich gut belegt ist, sollten weitere wissenschaftliche Monographien zur Geschichte der deutschen Gemeinschaftsverbände folgen.

SUMMARY

Frank Lüdke who teaches at the Theological Seminary in Marburg in this his Marburg dissertation on the Deutscher Gemeinschafts-Diakonieverband German Community-Diaconate Union (DGD) describes the early history of the great pietistic Alliance of fellowships in the twentieth century. The DGD was, in contrast to the older Pietism prevalent in Southern Germany, strongly influenced by the international holiness movement. All the ministerial work of the numerous houses of deaconess and brothers and social work enterprises had an evangelistic goal as priority. The theology was put into practice through the ideal of personal holiness and was not marked by pentecostal influence. The founder and leading figure in this movement in its first decades was Theophil Krawielitzki (1866-1942). His biography (and hence also the history of numerous DGD institutions) is not free of some dubiety in its church politics. Yet he saw in National Socialism the only salvation from the threatening advance of communism. Lüdke’s work which is extremely well backed up by archival material should be followed by more academic monographs on the history of the German Alliances of Fellowships.

RÉSUMÉ

Frank Lüdke enseigne à la faculté de théologie de Marbourg. Il a rédigé cette thèse sur l’Union Communautaire et Diaconale Allemande, dans laquelle il retrace l’histoire des origines de cette grande alliance de communautés du XX^e siècle qui se rattache au piétisme. Contrairement au vieux piétisme qui prévalait dans le sud de l’Allemagne, cette Union a été fortement influencée par le mouvement de sainteté internationale. Tout le ministère des nombreuses maisons de diaconesses et de frères, ainsi que les diverses actions sociales, avaient l’évangélisation comme but prioritaire. On y mettait en pratique une théologie faisant de la sainteté personnelle un idéal, et qui n’a pas été marquée par le Pentecôtisme. Theophil Krawielitzki (1866-1942) a été le fondateur et le chef de file de ce mouvement dans ses premières décennies. Sa biographie laisse entrevoir certaines pratiques douteuses (impliquant donc aussi de nombreuses institutions de l’Union) quant à sa manière de traiter avec les Églises. Il considérait le national-socialisme comme le seul moyen de salut face à la menace que constituait l’avance du communisme. Cet ouvrage, fruit d’une étude très solide des documents d’archives, devrait être suivi d’autres monographies académiques sur l’histoire de l’Union des Communautés Allemandes.