

# The New Prophecy or "Montanism"

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Entry tags: Roman Religious Traditions, Asia Minor, Heresy, Prophecy, Phrygia, Tertullian, Christian Traditions, Carthage, Gaul, Rome, Apocalyptic Movements, New Prophecy, Montanism, Anatolian Religions, Religious Group, Early Christianity, Roman Religions

The New Prophecy refers to the Christian prophetic movement led by the prophets Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla. Later known as "Montanism," the movement began in the second half of the second century CE in Roman Phrygia, which is in the west-central part of Anatolia, present-day Turkey. It quickly spread beyond Phrygia and, by the mid-third century, had reached Rome, Carthage, Thrace, and Gaul. By the early fifth century, no adherents of the New Prophecy movement remained in North Africa (Optatus of Milevis, *Against the Donatists* 1.9; Augustine Letter 118.12) or Rome (Praedestinatus, 1.86). In the mid-sixth century, Emperor Justinian I's forces, led by John of Ephesus, attacked Pepouza and burned the group's literature, bringing a decisive end to the already dwindling New Prophecy in Asia Minor. The New Prophecy was controversial. Critics took issue with the movement's ascetic rigor, eschatological beliefs, and the prominent role women played in leading it. However, the most significant source of controversy was the ecstatic prophecies the group's adherents claimed to receive from the Holy Spirit. The movement proclaimed their prophecies constituted supplementary divine revelations with equal or greater authority than those of the previous apostolic traditions. Like the apostle Paul, the New Prophecy, thus, appealed to divine visions as the source of their familiarity with and authorization from Christ. As such, the prophetic movement posed an aggravating challenge to contemporaneous Christian groups whose authority rested entirely upon apostolic succession. In the late third century, the movement was condemned as a heresy. The term "Montanism" was bestowed by fourth-century heresiologists. Later commentators also called adherents of the New Prophecy Cataphrygians, Pepouzians, Quintillianists, and Priscillianists. Scholars have traditionally referred to the New Prophecy movement of the second and third centuries as "Montanism," despite the fact that it is a fourth-century neologism and imbues connotations of heresy not associated with the movement until the late third century. The New Prophecy is known almost exclusively through the third- and fourth-century heresiological accounts of the movement's opponents. These sources also provide fourteen oracles, which scholars believe are genuine expressions of the New Prophecy. A few inscriptions and Tertullian's early third-century writings constitute the only evidence for New Prophecy that survives independently of heresiological texts. Identifying specific texts from Tertullian's corpus as "Montanist" has prompted scholars to take Tertullian's views as representative of the broader New Prophecy movement. However, scholars have debated the extent to which Tertullian's early third-century writings represent the New Prophecy movement and its teachings. Several of Tertullian's so-called "Montanist" works convey idiosyncratic thoughts that are not consistent with the other evidence for the movement. As such, Tertullian must be treated exclusively as a witness to the New Prophecy's Carthaginian reception in the first decades of the third century and not representative of Montanism elsewhere or at other times.



Date Range: 165 CE - 550 CE

Region: Locations of the New Prophecy

Region tags: Africa, Central Asia, Asia Minor

The regions of the Mediterranean with New Prophecy communities in Late Antiquity.

## Status of Participants:

✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists    ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

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### Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Nasrallah, Laura Salah. *An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity*. Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2003.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

- Source 1: Trevett, Christine. *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996
- Source 2: Tabbernee, William. *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments : Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Source 3: Marjanen, Antti. "Montanism: Egalitarian Ecstatic "New Prophecy" ". In *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"*, edited by Antti Marjanen and Petri Luomanen, 185-212. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

- Source 1: Trevett, Christine. "Montanism." In *The Early Christian World, Volume 2*, edited by Philip Francis Esler, 928–951. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Source 2: Trevett, Christine. "Montanism." In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by R.S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C.B. Champion, A. Erskine and S.R. Huebner. Wiley: Oxford, 2012.
- Source 3: McKechnie, Paul. "Montanism Part 1: The Origins of the New Prophecy." In *Christianizing Asia Minor: Conversion, Communities, and Social Change in the Pre-Constantinian Era*, edited by Paul McKechnie, 96–122. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

### Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <http://danielrjennings.org/AncientReferencesToMontanism.html>
- Source 1 Description: An extensive listing of ancient and medieval references to the movement.
- Source 2 URL: <http://www.tertullian.org/>
- Source 2 Description: The Tertullian Project provides an introduction to Tertullian for non-experts. Aside from a few inscriptions, Tertullian's writings constitute the only evidence for New Prophecy that survives independently of heresiological texts. However, he must be treated exclusively as a witness' to the New Prophecy Carthaginian reception in the first decades of the third century, and not representative of the movement elsewhere or at other times.
- Source 3 URL: <https://www.earlychurch.org.uk/montanism.php>
- Source 3 Description: Provides extensive bibliography and on-line articles for the New Prophecy.

### Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

- Source 1 URL: <https://www.scribd.com/document/346578286/Tabbernee-1997-Montanist-Inscriptions-and-Testimonia-Book>

– Source 1 Description: The New Prophecy Movement is known almost exclusively through the third and fourth century heresiological texts of the movement's opponents. The heresiological sources also provide fourteen oracles, which scholars believe are genuine expressions of the New Prophecy. Eleven of these oracles have been attributed to Montanus, Maximilla, or Priscilla, and the other three have been attributed to later leaders of the movement. These are provided in Ronald E. Heine, *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia* (Belgium: Peeters, 1989), 2-12.

– Source 2 URL: <https://www.loebclassics.com/view/LCL153/1926/volume.xml>

– Source 2 Description: The most significant heresiological sources for the New Prophecy movement are Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* and Epiphanius's *Panarion*. Eusebius purports to preserve quotations of late second-century or early third-century opponents to the New Prophecy, including Gaius, a third-century Roman Catholic who claims he debated with the New Prophet Proclus (Hist. eccl. 2.25.6-7; 3.31.4); Apollonius, who seems to have written somewhere outside of Phrygia forty years after Montanus began prophesying (Hist. eccl. 5.18); Serapion, the Bishop of Antioch, between 191 and 211 CE (Hist. eccl. 5.19); and with an anonymous presbyter, who addressed his work against the Prophecy to a certain Avircius Marcellus (Hist. eccl. 5.16-17).

– Source 3 URL: <https://brill.com/view/title/21620>

– Source 3 Description: Epiphanius treats two different subsets of the New Prophecy in *Panarion*: the "Phrygians" in Chapter 48, and the "Quintillians" in Chapter 49. Epiphanius's anonymous source in Chapter 48 appears to draw on both oral and written traditions related to the New Prophecy.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

## General Variables

### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: The origins and interactions of the New Prophecy movement have been a point of debate among both nineteenth-century and contemporary scholars. Many of the hypotheses that nineteenth-century scholars proposed continued to shape later evaluations of movement by scholars from the mid-twentieth century onwards. German historian Augustus Neander argued that the New Prophecy emerged primarily as an "anti-Gnostic" movement, but drew some aspects, such as ecstatic prophesying, from local Phrygian pagan cults. In 2005, Vera Hirschmann revived and extended Neander's earlier argument that the New Prophecy movement emerged from Phrygian "pagan" religion. She argues that the fourth-century references to Montanus as "the priest of an idol" (*Didymus, De Trinitate* 3.41.3) and the "priest of Apollo" (*Dialogus Montanistae et Orthodoxi* 4.4) are not Polemic charges, but evidence that the New Prophecy had its roots in Phrygian paganism. Soon after proposing his theory of the New Prophecy as an "anti-gnostic" movement, Neander's contemporary Albert Schweigler contended that the New Prophecy arose out of the Ebionites, a "Jewish Christian" movement of the first centuries CE. While scholars remained skeptical that the New Prophecy had a specifically Ebionite connection, the notion that the movement had developed from "Jewish-Christianity" experienced a resurgence in the late twentieth century. On the other hand, Wilhelm Schepelern denied that the New Prophecy had its roots in either Judaism or Phrygian religions. In his view, Montanism began as a purely Christian movement and later adopted the Phrygian "pagan" practices of the Cybelene cult, including aspects of their baptismal rite and the place of women within the cult. Christine Trevett advances this interpretation more convincingly, persuasively

demonstrating the Johannine apocalyptic and Pauline charismatic emphases of movement. As the movement grew and spread outside of Phrygia, adherents of the New Prophecy interacted with the Christian and non-Christian groups within their particular locality. The Phrygian following of the three prophets was significant enough to catch the attention of the bishops and presbyters from the neighboring areas and cause them enough concern to travel to Pepouza to confront the New Prophets occasionally (Hist. eccl. 5.16.16-17; 5.18,13; 5.19.3). In both the anonymous presbyter and Serapion's accounts of these confrontations, the New Prophecy's followers prevented the various bishops and presbyters from engaging Maximilla and Priscilla, which may provide some indication of the size and nature of the group that the movement had attracted. Their accounts also suggest the hostility with which some Christian communities met the New Prophecy. References: August Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1825-1852), 1, 3:573-98. Albert Schweigler, *Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter in Den Hauptmomenten Seiner Entwicklung* (Tübingen: Ludwig Friedrich Fues, 1846). J. Massingberd Ford, "Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian Heresy?," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 17, no. 2 (2011). Vihelm Ernst Schepelern, *Der Montanismus Und Die Phrygischen Kulte : Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1929), 125-33. Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 42-45, 129-31.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Is the cultural contact neutral:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Yes

Notes: Members of the New Prophecy partook in the same rites as other Christians, such as baptism and the eucharist. The intricacies of the New Prophecy's rituals sometimes differed from those of contemporaneous Christian groups. For example, in some areas, the movement's baptismal ceremony may have included an unusual practice of marking or tattooing initiates (Jerome, Epistle 41.4). Evidence indicates that adherents to the New Prophecy also partook in the eucharist. In North Africa, adherents to movement, as well as their opponents, Marcion's followers, fed the newly initiated a mixture of milk or cheese and honey at the baptismal Eucharist (Tertullian, De Corona 3.3; Adversus Marcionem 1.14.3; Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis 1.2). Elsewhere, however, the baptismal Eucharist of other Christians consisted of wine and bread. As such, the baptismal Eucharist of the New Prophecy in North Africa seems to be a product of local practice and not representative of the movement elsewhere or at other times.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

– No

Notes: Followers of the movement underwent baptism. In the early years of the New Prophecy, followers of the movement largely included adults. However, as the movement developed, infants were also initiated into the group.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned by personal choice:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned by class:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned at a specific age:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned by gender:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned by participation in a particular ritual:

– Yes

Notes: Baptism functioned as the initiatory ritual.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Assigned by some other factor:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– Yes

Notes: According to Apollonius, Montanus provided salaries to those who preached his doctrine (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.18.2).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Does the religion have official political support

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Are apostates prosecuted or punished:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy believed that God would punish apostates in the final judgment and/or afterlife.

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Determining the population of almost any early Christian community before the fifth century is challenging. In the case of the New Prophecy, it is impossible to estimate the size of the movement. The ancient literary record does not provide us with information regarding how many followers the New Prophecy had. Moreover, establishing that a particular building or inscription belongs to the New Prophecy, rather than a different Christian community, is extremely difficult. As such, it is also not possible to estimate the size of the movement from the material record. It is clear that within a few short years of establishing the movement, Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla had established a sizable following in Asia Minor. According to the anonymous presbyter and Serapion, this early following was significant enough to catch the attention of the bishops and presbyters from the neighboring areas and cause them enough concern to travel to Asia Minor to confront the New Prophets. In both the anonymous presbyter's and Serapion's accounts of these confrontations, the New Prophecy's followers prevented the various bishops and presbyters from engaging Maximilla and Priscilla, which may provide some indication of the size and nature of the group that the movement had attracted. However, as Christine Trevett notes, we cannot determine the size of the movement in Pepouza or how many people sought to visit the city to visit the shrine of the Prophets. References: Ramsey MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity, A.D. 200-400* (Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2009). Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 201. William Tabbernee, "Portals of the Montanist New Jerusalem: The Discovery of Pepouza and Tymion," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 1 (2003): 87-93.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Determining the population of almost any early Christian community before the fifth century is challenging. In the case of the New Prophecy, it is impossible to estimate the size of the movement. The ancient literary record does not provide us with information regarding how many followers the New Prophecy had. Moreover, establishing that a particular building or inscription belongs to the New Prophecy, rather than a different Christian community, is extremely difficult. As such, it is also not possible to estimate the size of the movement from the material record. It is clear that within a few short years of establishing the movement, Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla had established a sizable following in Asia Minor. According to the anonymous presbyter and Serapion, this early following was significant enough to catch the attention of the bishops and presbyters from the neighboring areas and cause them enough concern to travel to Asia Minor to confront the New Prophets. In both the anonymous presbyter's and Serapion's accounts of these confrontations, the New Prophecy's followers prevented the various bishops and presbyters from engaging Maximilla and Priscilla, which may provide some indication of the size and nature of the group that the movement had attracted. However, as Christine Trevett notes, we cannot determine the size of the movement in Pepouza or how many people sought to visit the city to visit the shrine of the Prophets. References: Ramsey MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity, A.D. 200-400* (Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature Press, 2009). Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 201. William Tabbernee, "Portals of the Montanist New Jerusalem: The Discovery of Pepouza and Tymion," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 1 (2003): 87-93.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Nature of religious group [please select one]:

– Small religious group (seen as being part of a related larger religious group)

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy was first led by the prophets Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla. According to the anonymous presbyter Eusebius cited (Hist. eccl. 5.16.7), Montanus first displayed his frenzied, ecstatic, prophetic behavior in Ardabau, a small village in Roman Phrygia in the late second century CE. Soon after, Priscilla and Maximilla seemed to have joined Montanus and also began to prophesy in the same frenetic manner. Christine Trevett has argued that Maximilla and Priscilla, rather than Montanus, may have been the actual founders of the movement, but concedes we can only speculate due to lack of evidence (1996, 14, 159-60). Within the Phrygian community, according to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. 5.18.2), adherents to the New Prophecy earned salaries for preaching on the movement's behalf. There were communities of adherents to the New Prophecy peppered throughout the major cities of the Mediterranean. Many of these communities did not exist in opposition to other Christian local groups, but were integrated within them. For example, as David Rankin has argued, Tertullian's writings indicate that Carthage's New Prophecy community occupied the same social and religious space as the so-called Catholic mainstream (1995).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

– Yes

Notes: While the nature of the hierarchical relationships between the various leaders is elusive, there is evidence that hierarchies did exist within particular communities. For example, in his heresiological account of Phrygian New Prophecy, the anonymous author of the fifth-century *Praedestinatus* asserts that Pepouzians considered themselves superior to other "Montanist" communities because of their connection with Pepouza – the place where the movement's founders had lived (1.27).

Specific to this answer:

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↳ A single leader of a local community:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



↳ Multiple religious communities each with its own leader, no hierarchy among these leaders:

– No

Specific to this answer:

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↳ "Regional" leaders who oversee one or more local leader(s) (e.g. bishops):

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

Notes: Although the original sources of the earliest phase of the New Prophecy are not extant, aspects of the Phrygian movement's teachings can still be gleaned from the charges later heresiological accounts issued against it. The emphasis Apollonius and Epiphanius Anti-Phrygian place on exposing the falseness of Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla's prophecies indicate a discomfort with the Phrygian movement's attitudes to revelation. The reason for this uneasiness is not entirely clear. There is little consensus whether the notion of the Paraclete as the source of prophetic inspiration among the New Prophecy characterized the very beginning of the movement in Phrygia or whether it only developed in Rome some twenty or thirty years later, as Heine has argued (cf. Trevett 1996, 62-66; Heine 1987, 1-19). If the New Prophecy had already laid claim to the Paraclete, then, for the earliest adherents to the movement in Phrygia, the oracles of the New Prophets constituted supplementary divine revelations, which took precedence over the sayings of Jesus or the apostles. In this case, the anxiety over the prophetic character of the movement was likely rooted in the claim for greater authority than that of the previous apostolic traditions, which accompanied it. Alternatively, if the notion of Paraclete had not developed within Phrygian New Prophecy yet, the anxiety over the Prophecy's oracles were more likely rooted in a broader concern of the period with distinguishing between true and false prophets, and the potential danger of receiving wayward prophets, as 1 John and the Didache 11 attest. From their accounts of face-to-face confrontation between the prophetesses and the bishops and presbyters who traveled to Pepouza, it seems that Eusebius' Anonymous presbyter and Serapion, at least, were focused on distinguishing true prophets from false ones (Hist. eccl. 5.16.16; 5.18.13; 5.19.3). It is clear that Zoticus of Cumane and Julian of Apamea's attempt to exorcise Maximilla, described by Eusebius' anonymous presbyter, is an effort to determine whether the prophetess' oracles were genuinely inspired (Hist. eccl. 5.16.10). The anonymous presbyter informs us the men went to Pepouza "for the purpose of testing (δοκιμάσαι) and conversing with the spirit [of Maximilla] as it spoke." As Tabbernee notes, 1 John 4:1 attests to the notion of testing spirits to see whether they belong to false prophets: "Beloved do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from God; for many false prophets have gone out into the world" (Tabbernee 2007, 89). The anonymous presbyter's repetition of the verse's testing language (δοκιμάσαι) further indicates Zoticus' and Julian's desire to determine the nature of Maximilla's prophecy motivated their travel to Pepouza.

Reference: Ronald Heine. The Role of the Gospel of John in the Montanist Controversy. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 6(1)

Reference: Aaron Milavec. Distinguishing True and False Prophets: The Protective Wisdom of the Didache. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2(2)

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– Yes

Notes: The minimal evidence available for the movement's leadership selection process indicates that procedures were locally and temporally specific. In contexts such as early third-century Carthage, in which the New Prophecy functioned as an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, the movement's leaders likely underwent a similar selection process as their unaffiliated colleagues. For example, in *De Anima* 9.4, Tertullian describes a woman within their congregation who regularly receives revelations during church services. After the service concludes, she remains to recount her visions to the clergy, who examine her accounts "with the most scrupulous care so that [the visions'] truth may be probed." Here, the Catholic clergy and leaders of the New Prophecy are the same body.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Since adherents to the New Prophecy understood the prophetic revelations as "true," they would have likely viewed them as authoritative. How this worked in practice remains a mystery.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– Yes

Notes: Epiphanius, Tertullian, and Hippolytus all concur that the New Prophecy valued the same

scripture as other Christian groups (Epiphanius, Pan. 48.1.3-4; Hippolytus, Haer. 8.19; Tertullian, De monogamia 4.1). However, according to the movement's critics, the New Prophecy produced additional literature, none of which survives today (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.18.5, 6.20.3; Hippolytus, Haer. 8.12.1-2).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are they written:

– Yes

Notes: Epiphanius, Tertullian, and Hippolytus all concur that the New Prophecy valued the same scripture as other Christian groups (Epiphanius, Pan. 48.1.3-4; Hippolytus Haer. 8.19; Tertullian, De monogamia 4.1). However, according to the movement's critics, the New Prophecy produced additional literature, none of which survives today (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.18.5, 6.20.3; Hippolytus, Haer. 8.19.1-2). The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian claims that, in the mid-sixth century, John of Ephesus incinerated the New Prophecy's literature.

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Are they oral:

– Yes

Notes: Literacy rates in antiquity were relatively low. It is likely that both scriptural material and the oracles attributed to the leaders of the movement circulated both as texts and oral traditions.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Is there a story (or a set of stories) associated with the origin of scripture:

– Yes

Notes: According to Epiphanius, adherents to the New Prophecy appealed to many of the same Hebrew and Christian scriptural traditions as other contemporaneous Christian groups (Pan. 48.7), such as Genesis, Isaiah, Ezekiel, the Gospel of Matthew and Paul's Epistles. It is thus likely that the movement understood the origin stories of these traditions as true. We also know that the New Prophecy also possessed its own inspired writings (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 6.20.3; 5.18.5), which likely consisted of the collections of the oracular statements that Hippolytus claims circulated under the names of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla (Haer. 8.12). According to the New Prophecy, these oracles were prophetic gifts bestowed upon the movement's founders by God.

Specific to this answer:

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↳ Revealed by a high god:

– Yes

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↳ Revealed by other supernatural being:

– Yes

Notes: A significant point of contention for Hippolytus (and many other heresiologists) is the New Prophecy's claim that the Paraclete, whom Jesus had promised in the Gospel of John (14:15-21, 16:7-15), was the source of their prophetic inspiration (Haer. 8.12). There is little consensus whether the notion of the Paraclete as the source of prophetic inspiration among the New Prophecy characterized the very beginning of the movement in Phrygia or whether it only developed in Rome some twenty or thirty years later, as Heine has argued. However, it is clear that eventually, certain logia were understood as revealed to the movement's founders through the Paraclete.

References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 62-66. Ronald E Heine, "The Role of the Gospel of John in the Montanist Controversy," *The Second Century: a Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 1 (1987): 1-19.

↳ Inspired by high god:

– Yes

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↳ Originated from divine or semi-divine human beings:

– Yes

Notes: Like other Christians, adherents of the New Prophecy understood their scripture as divinely revealed.

↳ Originated from non-divine human being:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy Movement is known almost exclusively through the third and fourth century heresiological texts penned by the movement's opponents. The heresiological sources also provide fourteen oracles, which scholars believe are genuine expressions of the New Prophecy. Eleven of these oracles are attributed to Montanus, Maximilla, or Priscilla, and the other three are attributed to later leaders of the movement.

↳ Are the scriptures alterable:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy developed a belief in supplementary, divine revelation delivered through prophetic visions. The oracles that their adherents received were authoritative. However, it is unclear whether the oracles attributed to the movement's founders were regarded as authoritative on a par with, or superior to, apostolic traditions.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are there formal institutions (i.e. institutions that are authorized by the religious community or political leaders) for interpreting the scriptures:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Is there a select group of people trained in transmitting the scriptures:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Is there a codified canon of scriptures:

– No

Notes: The Christian canon was not yet fixed before the fourth century. As mentioned, the movement generally appealed to the same biblical scriptures as their Catholic contemporaries. Christine Trevett has argued that the New Prophecy also were familiar with sources such as 4 Ezra, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Shepherd of Hermas.

Reference: Christine Trevett. *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.131-135

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– No

Notes: According to the anonymous presbyter Eusebius cited (Hist. eccl. 5.16.7), Montanus first displayed his frenzied, ecstatic, prophetic behavior in Ardabau, a small village in Roman Phrygia in the late second century CE. In the earliest years of the movement, the followers of the Prophecy gathered in Pepouza and Tymion, two other small villages in Phrygia, which the movement eventually came to call Jerusalem. The locations of ancient Ardabau, Pepouza, and Tymion within Phrygia remain mysteries. Scholars have suggested that Ardabau may not be a real geographical location, but a reference to Ardat, the place named in 4 Ezra (9:26) where Ezra communed with God and had a vision. The location of Tymion is somewhat less debated. In 1988, the Usak Archaeological Museum in Turkey purchased a marble slab with a Greek and Latin bilingual inscription that mentioned Tymion, providing the only independent or epigraphic confirmation of the existence of the city referenced by Apollonius. The location of the tablet's discovery suggests that the ancient city existed near the Turkish village of Susuzören. Tabbernee has claimed to have located Pepouza near the modern town of Karayakuplu after undertaking excavations in the area in 2000, which uncovered an ancient city with evidence of habitation throughout the second to approximately eighth century CE, as well as ecclesiastical buildings. However, none of the archaeological or epigraphic material recovered from the excavations thus far indicates that this site is Pepouza. More likely, it is another ancient city inhabited at the same time as Pepouza. References: Heinz Kraft, "Die altkirchliche Prophetie und die Entstehung des Montanismus," TZ 11 (1955): 260. Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 25-26. Antti Marjanen, "Montanism: Egalitarian Ecstatic 'New Prophecy'" in *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"*, ed. Antti Marjanen and Petri Luomanen (Brill, 2005), 199-200. William Tabbernee and Peter Lampe, *Pepouza and Tymion: The Discovery and Archaeological Exploration of a Lost Ancient City and an Imperial Estate* (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2008).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Is iconography present:

– Yes

Notes: Some of the funerary inscriptions, which Tabbernee has attributed to the New Prophecy movement, feature common Christian motifs, such as bread and altar tables. References: William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Patristic Monograph Series (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 59-87.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

– Some public spaces

Notes: On some funerary monuments, which Tabbernee has attributed to the New Prophecy movement. References: William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Patristic Monograph Series (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

Notes: The Phrygian New Prophecy movement developed a particular eschatology that shaped and was shaped by the landscape of its adherents. The scope of this discussion only allows us to explore the development of the Prophecy's eschatology within Phrygia. However, it is important to note that this eschatology changed, developed, and gained new nuances in various times as commentators often fail to distinguish the temporal and geographic particularities of the movement's many eschatologies and have readily assumed that a fervent apocalypticism was integral to the New Prophecy from the movement's beginnings in Phrygia. Nineteenth and twentieth century commentators, such as Adolf von Harnack and Timothy Barnes, connected the expectations of the imminent end, which they attributed to the earliest stages of the New Prophecy, with the chiliastic emphasis, according to which adherents expected the beginning of a millenarian kingdom in the heavenly Jerusalem descending in Pepouza. Recently, however, scholars are less comfortable with reconstructing early Phrygian New Prophecy as fervently apocalyptic, especially in light of the few references to the imminent end and the role of the descending Jerusalem in the earliest sources. Most reconstructions of the earliest phases of the New Prophecy as chiliastic have depended on an account of a Christophany that either Priscilla or Quintilla experienced in Pepouza, which Epiphanius describes in *Panarion* 49.3. Though Epiphanius's source is unsure which of the two prophetesses actually had the dream, the source is positive that one of them shared an oracle, detailing that Christ had appeared to her in female form, infused her with wisdom, and declared that at Pepouza the New Jerusalem would descend. The oracle is one of the few witnesses to the New Prophecy's expectation that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepouza. Recently, scholars have placed the oracle in the fourth century, rather than in the early period of the movement. This new dating suggests that the linkage of Pepouza to the heavenly Jerusalem may have been a later and uniquely eastern development of the movement's eschatology.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Are sacred sites oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

Notes: According to a medieval Syriac source, individuals traveled to the shrine of the first Prophets in Pepouza for healing. In the mid-fifth century, Justinian's forces, led by John of Ephesus, destroyed the shrine. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 201. William Tabbernee, "Our Trophies are Better than your Trophies': The Appeal to Tombs and Reliquaries in Montanist-Orthodox Relations," *StPatr* 33 (1997): 206-17

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



How strict is pilgrimage:

– Optional (rare)

## Beliefs

### Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Yes

Notes: Adherents of the New Prophecy understood the body and soul as intricately intertwined. They pursued ascetically rigorous practices, such as fasting, which they viewed as conducive to prophetic revelation. Apollonius and others attest to the ascetic rigor of the earliest phase of the New Prophecy when they state that Montanus mandated fasting and "taught the dissolution of marriages" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2). However, scholars have often failed to differentiate the witnesses to the ascetic practices of the New Prophecy outside Asia Minor from the witnesses to the Asian movement. Consequently, it is often assumed that the early movement in Asia Minor performed certain practices that are only attested to by New Prophecy communities in other regions. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 89.

Reference: William Tabbernee. *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments*. BRILL. isbn: 9789004158191.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than



other body parts:

– Yes

Notes: Tertullian is our principal source on this point. However, he must be treated exclusively as a witness to the New Prophecy's Carthaginian reception in the first decades of the third century, and not representative of Montanism elsewhere or at other times. In *De anima* (c. 210-213 CE), Tertullian describes the soul as having qualitatively different powers than other body parts, including the mind. Written as a response to an argument with the Hermogenes, *De Anima* espouses a Stoic view of the soul as corporeal and insists on its epistemic capabilities, especially in ecstasy and dreams. According to Tertullian, the soul shares some attributes of divinity, and, like the body, is a "natural property of each individual" (*De anima* 35). The soul is distinct from the spirit, however, since the spirit is an external gift bestowed by the grace of God (*De anima* 35). The qualities the human soul shares with God make it susceptible to prophetic dreams. Tertullian identified three classes of dreams. The first, and the most common, are sent by demons; these dreams often convey an auspicious message, but always aim to deceive the dreamer (*De anima* 47). The second type are dreams sent by God, through the grace that overflows out of the Holy Spirit. Since the divine's bountiful virtue emanates indiscriminately, these dreams are sent "with grand impartiality" to both just and unjust humans (*De anima* 47). God-sent dreams, according to Tertullian, are how "the greater part of mankind get their knowledge of God" (*De anima* 47). The third and most elusive category of dreams comes from the soul and from ecstasy. This type of dream cannot be "intelligibly related" and is "beyond the reach" of "usual interpretation," but contains real and powerful prophecy ( *De anima* 47). Both dreams sent by God and those that belong to ecstasy, according to Tertullian, provide the dreamer with knowledge of the divine. While Tertullian provides criteria with which the dreamer can distinguish dreams that belong to ecstasy from dreams sent by God, he does not explain how the dreamer might distinguish between God-sent and demonic dreams. As such, he constructs ecstatic dreaming as the most authoritative type of revelation since it cannot be conflated with demonic delusion. Tertullian's argument responds to the accusations leveraged against the New Prophecy movement, as preserved in Epiphanius' *Anti-Phrygian* source, which claimed the prophecies of the movement's adherents were not the product of rational thought, but their unstable minds. References: Laura Salah Nasrallah, *An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2003), 56-194.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

– No

Notes: According to Tertullian, the soul is corporeal.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Other spirit-body relationship:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

### Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: The early third-century martyr act the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas provides some evidence for the Carthaginian New Prophecy movement's belief in and imagination of the afterlife. Although scholars have debated the nature of the relationship between the Passion and the New Prophecy, most generally agree that the North African branch of the movement certainly influenced the text. In the Passion, Perpetua has several visions of the afterlife, which bear a striking resemblance to Aeneas' in the Aeneid. Perpetua sees two regions of the afterworld: heaven (4.1-10) and a hot, "dark place" with many people (7.1-9). In her vision of heaven, she ascends a tall ladder where she encounters a grey-haired man in shepherd's clothing, milking sheep in a large garden populated with thousands of people in white garments. The man offers Perpetua some milk, which leaves a sweet taste in her mouth. Most certainly, this aspect of the story is an allusion to the mixture of milk and honey fed to initiates following their baptism. In her vision of the dark place, she sees her deceased younger brother Dinocrates, suffering alongside countless others; he is hot, thirsty, and still plagued by the cancer that had killed him. He reaches for water from a pool, but it is beyond his reach. References: Rex D. Butler, *The New Prophecy and "New Visions": Evidence of Montanism in The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 2011). Andrew McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 160-162.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

### Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

### Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– No

Notes: William Tabbernee has linked several tombstones to the New Prophecy movement based on their inscriptions. Few of the many inscriptions Tabbernee collected seem to have any clear connection to the New Prophecy. However, if they do belong to adherents of the movement, then they are evidence that the group entombed their dead. References: William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Patristic Monograph Series (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

### Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Are grave goods present:

– Field doesn't know

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ As cenotaphs:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– Yes

Notes: William Tabbernee has linked several tombstones to the New Prophecy movement based on their inscriptions. Few of the many inscriptions Tabbernee collected seem to have any clear connection to the New Prophecy. However, if these tombstones do belong to adherents of the movement, then some of these inscriptions attest to family internments. References: William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Patristic Monograph Series (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Other formal burial type:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Since establishing that a particular inscription belongs to the New Prophecy is extremely difficult, it is impossible to rule out whether adherents made use of other types of burials.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: According to Tertullian, while the human soul shares attributes of divinity, God is fundamentally different from humans (De anima 35).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy believed in God and valued Jesus. However, the nuances of the movement's conception of God's nature remain elusive. Tertullian understood the Son and the Spirit as emanations of God's own being (Adversus Praxean 4). God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one substance, but three separate persons (Adversus Praxean 9). God brought the Son into existence, using a portion of his divine matter. Then the Son, using a portion of the divine substance God shared with him, fashioned the Spirit. As Andrew McGowan has shown, Tertullian's trinitarian theology aligned closely with Carthage's "psychic" Christian community who opposed the New Prophecy. It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the New Prophecy movement outside of Carthage shared Tertullian's trinitarian theology. Hippolytus conceded the closeness of the New Prophecy's doctrine of God to that of "the Church," but also noted that some "Phrygians" espoused a Monarchian theology (Haer. 8.12). Some scholars have argued that the early Phrygian New Prophecy movement was monarchian in theology. However, as McGowan has contended, this is unlikely since a close association with this doctrine would have solicited more significant criticism from both Tertullian and the movement's critics.

References: Andrew McGowan, "Tertullian and the 'Heretical' Origins of the 'Orthodox' Trinity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14, no. 4, (2006): 437-457.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– Yes

Notes: God can assume many forms, some of which are anthropomorphic. In one of the movement's particularly intriguing oracles, uncertainly attributed by Epiphanius to either Priscilla or Quintilla, Christ assumed the form of a luminous woman to place

Wisdom inside a prophetess (Pan. 49.1.3).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

– Yes

Notes: According to the New Prophecy, God did not exclusively occupy the sky. However, there is some association between the divine and the celestial sphere. In the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas, a martyr narrative with some ties to the New Prophecy, Perpetua has a vision in which she ascends a tall, bronze ladder into the sky. The ladder leads her to a paradisaical garden where she encounters a grey-haired man in shepherd's clothing who welcomes her as his child (Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis 4.1-9). The passage's biblical allusions identify the divine shepherd as the Lord. Moreover, the eschatological expectation that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepouza also indicates a conception of God's kingdom as celestial.

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

– No

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

Notes: The king and the divine were not fused. However, in some cases, the New Prophecy rhetorically imagined the divine as enthroned. For example, the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas, a martyr narrative with ties to the New Prophecy, ascribes a vision to Perpetua's teacher Saturus. In Saturus' vision, he and Perpetua have already been martyred. After they "depart from the flesh," four angels carry Perpetua and Saturus east to a luminous, immense garden (Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis 11.1-10). Once in the garden, the angels invite Perpetua and Saturus to greet the Lord (Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis 11.10). Perpetua and Saturus enter a gated place made of light and stand before the Lord, who is seated upon a throne and surrounded by elders (Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis 12.1-6).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 313 CE

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:

– No

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

– Yes

Notes: Although Tertullian's writings are not representative of the broader movement's beliefs, his treatises indicate how the early third-century New Prophecy community at Carthage may have conceived of God's goodness. According to Tertullian, God is unquestionably good. God revealed divine goodness by creating humans in the image of God and giving them the divine attribute of free will (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.2-7). According to Tertullian, humanity had to have the ability to choose righteousness over unrighteousness to be worthy of knowing God. According to Tertullian, "If man had never sinned, he would simply and solely have known God in his superlative goodness" (*De resurrectione carnis* 14). However, since humanity sinned, it must also know divine goodness through God's judgment. As Tertullian explains in *Adversus Marcionem*, God is not fully good unless he is an adversary of unrighteousness (*Adversus Marcionem* 1.26). Being an adversary of unrighteousness requires God to punish and discipline (*Adversus Marcionem* 1.26). Punishment for sin, according to Tertullian, is an extension of the divine goodness (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.13).

↳ Other feature(s) of supreme high god:

– No

↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:

– Yes

Notes: As Hippolytus conceded, adherents of the New Prophecy, like the other Christians at Rome, believed that God was "the father of the universe and the creator of all things" (*Haer.* 8.12). As the creator of all things, God has knowledge of all realms.

↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– No

Notes: As Hippolytus conceded, adherents of the New Prophecy, like the other Christians at Rome, believed that God was "the father of the universe and the creator of all things" (*Haer.* 8.12). As the creator of all things, God has knowledge of all realms.

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– No

Notes: As Hippolytus conceded, adherents of the New Prophecy, like the other Christians at Rome, believed that God was "the father of the universe and the creator of all things" (Haer. 8.12). As the creator of all things, God has knowledge of all realms.

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample region:

— Yes

Notes: As Hippolytus conceded, adherents of the New Prophecy, like the other Christians at Rome, believed that God was "the father of the universe and the creator of all things" (Haer. 8.12). As the creator of all things, God has knowledge of all realms.

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:

— Yes

Notes: As Hippolytus conceded, adherents of the New Prophecy, like the other Christians at Rome, believed that God was "the father of the universe and the creator of all things" (Haer. 8.12). As the creator of all things, God has knowledge of all realms.

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

— Yes

Notes: In both *Adversus Marcion* and *De anima*, Tertullian affirms God's omniscience and asserts that the divine is uniquely capable of judging humanity's sinfulness.

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

— Yes

Notes: In both *Adversus Marcion* and *De Anima*, Tertullian affirms God's omniscience. As an omniscient entity, the divine sees everything.

↳ The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

— Yes

Notes: In both *Adversus Marcion* and *De Anima*, Tertullian affirms God's omniscience. As an omniscient entity, the divine sees everything.

↳ The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):

— Yes

Notes: In both *Adversus Marcion* and *De Anima*, Tertullian affirms God's omniscience. God uniquely possesses the capacity to judge humanity's

character.

↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– No

Notes: According to Tertullian, when creating humanity in the divine image, God gave humanity the divine attribute of free will (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.4). God's capacity to foreknow future events does not mean God determines what choices an individual will make. These choices are products of an individual's free will (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.5-6).

↳ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

– Yes [specify]: As an omniscient entity, God possess all knowledge of this world.

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can reward:

– Yes

Notes: Tertullian must be treated exclusively as a witness' to the New Prophecy Carthaginian reception in the first decades of the third century, and not representative of Montanism elsewhere or at other times. His writings indicate that the community at Carthage understood that God would reward them with eternal bliss in the afterlife.

↳ The supreme high god can punish:

– Yes

Notes: God can mete out punishment. According to Tertullian, "If man had never sinned, he would simply and solely have known God in his superlative goodness" (*De resurrectione carnis* 14). However, since humanity sinned, it must also know divine goodness through God's judgment. As Tertullian explains in *Adversus Marcionem*, God is not fully good unless he is an adversary of unrighteousness (*Adversus Marcionem* 1.26). Being an adversary of unrighteousness requires God to punish and discipline (*Adversus Marcionem* 1.26). Punishment for sin, according to Tertullian, is an extension of the divine goodness (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.13).

↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:

– Yes



Notes: According to Tertullian, the human soul has the same emotions and sensations as God (Adv. Mar. 2.16.6). However, God uniquely possesses and expresses these emotions perfectly.

↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:

– Yes

Notes: According to Tertullian, the human soul has the same emotions and sensations as God (Adv. Mar. 2.16.6), including wrath, jealousy, and sternness. God, however, uniquely possesses and expresses these emotions perfectly.

↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:

– No

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:

– No

Notes: However, a fourth-century Numidian graffito suggests that some later adherents of the movement may have equated Montanus with the Holy Spirit. The graffito reads, "Flavius Avus, domesticus, has fulfilled what he promised in the name of the Father and of the Son (and) of dominus Muntanus." The prophet's name, thus, appears where one would expect to find the "Holy Spirit" written, implying the worship of a Montanus as a divinity. However, it is also possible that the inscription refers not to the founder of the New Prophecy, but a local martyr. As Tabbernee notes, there are other North-African graffiti that record the fulfillment of vows, which similarly invoke a martyr's name alongside the name of Father and the Son. References: William Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, Patristic Monograph Series (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 445-52.

↳ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:

– No

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:

– Yes

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ In waking, everyday life:

– Yes

Notes: Prophetic proclamation was the central tenet of the New Prophecy movement. Adherents to the movement believed that the Holy Spirit spoke through Montanus and his followers and regarded themselves as inheriting the charismata bestowed by God upon earlier prophetic figures, such as

Agabus, Silas, and Philip's daughters (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.17.1-4).

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



#### In dreams:

— Yes

**Notes:** Adherents of the New Prophecy regarded dreams as one means by which the divine communicated with individuals, and, as such, often claimed to acquire prophetic authority through visionary experiences. According to Tertullian, dreams that belonged to ecstasy and the soul provided the dreamer with divine revelation. He contended that even when experiencing dreams of ecstasy, dreamers maintain their faculties of the mind and of sense perception, and as such, can remember the visions and the knowledge they gleaned (*De anima*. 45). Tertullian's conception of dreaming responded to the accusations leveraged against the New Prophecy movement, as preserved in Epiphanius' Anti-Phrygian source, which claimed the prophecies of the movement's leaders were not the product of rational thought, but their unstable minds. Adherents to the New Prophecy also turned to scripture to defend their belief in dreams as a conduit of divine revelation. As Laura Nasrallah has shown, the movement upheld Genesis 2:21 as an example of the sort of ecstatic dreaming through which all individuals had the potential to receive real prophecy (Epiphanius, Pan. 4.4-7; Tertullian, *De anima* 43-45). The Apostle Peter was also central to the debate Tertullian waged over prophecy and divination with his opponents over the movement's legitimacy. Tertullian argued that the Holy Spirit had revealed Elijah and Moses to Peter while he was in a state of ecstatic dreaming (*Adversus Marcionem* 4.22). Tertullian claimed that his New Prophecy community, unlike their "psychic" opponents, had, like Peter, received the full glory of God through their ecstatic dreams. References: Laura Salah Nasrallah, *An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2003), 51-148.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



#### In trance possession:

— Yes

**Notes:** Adherents to the New Prophecy often received prophetic knowledge while in ecstatic trances. Members of the movement regarded ecstasy as a sign of true prophecy. Critics of the New Prophecy, such as Epiphanius, however, argued that ecstatic trances were the product of mental disturbance and not true prophecy (for example, Epiphanius, Pan. 48.1.4-13.8). References: Laura Salah Nasrallah, *An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2003), 29-58, 95-196.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Through divination practices:

– No

Notes: The New Prophecy's conceived of prophetic dreams as a product of "natural" divination. While some communities may have seen ascetic practices such as fasting and celibacy as conducive to spiritual experiences (Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis* 10.5, quoting Priscilla), others certainly did not believe that prophecy could be solicited through artificial means.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Only through religious specialists:

– No

Notes: According to the movement, everyone had the potential to access prophetic knowledge. For example, in *De anima*, Tertullian argued that all humans had access to divine prophecy through the natural processes of dreaming and ecstasy.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Only through monarch

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Other form of communication with living:

– No

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: According to Tertullian, angels and demons also exist. They are God's creation and spiritual entities. However, Tertullian's conception of angels and demons is developed before his exposure to the New Prophecy, and, thus, not reflective of the movement's beliefs.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– No

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: Angels and demons are also present.

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– No

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Yes

Notes: According to Tertullian, God created angels and demons. They are spiritual entities and less powerful than God.

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– Yes

Notes: According to Tertullian, demons fell from heaven and operate on earth, instigating wickedness.

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– No

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The evidence for the New Prophecy does not provide us with clear information regarding the divine monitoring of human behavior. Tertullian's later writings, which must be treated exclusively as a witness to the New Prophecy's Carthaginian reception in the first decades of the third century, indicate that God functioned as a judge vis à vis human sinfulness (*Adversus Marcionem* 2.11-15). However, Tertullian's concern with leading a virtuous life in anticipation of the final judgment predates his association with the New Prophecy (cf. *De resurrectione carnis* 16; 25; *De Anima*, 35).

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Notes: As Trevett notes, Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla lived in climate familiar with the Gospels' and Revelation's promise of Christ's second coming. Maximilla had foretold her followers of future wars and revolutions (Eusebius. Hist. eccl. 5.16.18). As Trevett argues, her predictions may have been related to the signs preceding the final days and the possible wrath of God that the unrighteous would suffer. While Tertullian's writings certainly suggest that the New Prophecy in Carthage believed God would punish the unfaithful, we can only hypothesize that the movement in Asia Minor anticipated the same. There is tenuous evidence that in later centuries the New Prophecy movement developed a more robust notion of divine punishment. Jerome, for instance, accused the New Prophecy of teaching that there was no second chance of repentance for post-baptismal sins (Epistle 41.3). Similarly, according to the eighth-century patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, the New Prophecy movement claimed that children born of fornication or adultery would suffer terrible punishments (De synodo et haeresibus 5). References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 364-66.

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: According to Tertullian, "If man had never sinned, he would simply and solely have known God in his superlative goodness" (De resurrectione carnis 14). However, since humanity sinned, it must also know divine goodness through God's judgment. As Tertullian explains in *Adversus Marcionem*, God is not fully good unless he is an adversary of unrighteousness (Adversus Marcionem 1.26). Being an adversary of unrighteousness requires God to punish and discipline (Adversus Marcionem 1.26). Punishment for sin, according to Tertullian, is an extension of the divine goodness (Adversus Marcionem 2.13).

↳ Done only by high god:

– Yes

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– No

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– No

↳ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]

– No

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:

– Yes

Notes: According to Tertullian, "If man had never sinned, he would simply and solely have known God in his superlative goodness" (De resurrectione carnis 14). However, since humanity sinned, it must also know divine goodness through God's judgment. As Tertullian explains in

Adversus Marcionem, God is not fully good unless he is an adversary of unrighteousness (Adversus Marcionem 1.26). Being an adversary of unrighteousness requires God to punish and discipline (Adversus Marcionem 1.26). Punishment for sin, according to Tertullian, is an extension of the divine goodness (Adversus Marcionem 2.13). Punishment awaits those who fail to adhere to God's commands. Later New Prophecy communities may have also regarded post-baptismal sins as one cause of divine punishment.

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– Yes

Notes: Many early Christian communities maintained a belief in God's final judgment and the second coming of Christ. While it is unlikely that the New Prophecy's stance on punishment exclusively or uniquely enforced adherence to ritual practices, such as baptism, it may have provided some rationale for the ritualized, rigorous asceticism that certain New Prophecy communities practiced.

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Yes

Notes: Tertullian claimed that ascetic practices, such as fasting, spiritually and physically readied the believer for possible imprisonment and divine judgment (*De jeunio adversus Psychicos*). However, it is not clear that the New Prophecy's eschatological expectations produced and sustained the adherents' ascetic rigor outside of Carthage. As Trevett rightly notes, the rationale for fasting offered by 4 Ezra, a text that she argues informed the New Prophecy in Asia Minor, is to solicit visionary experiences. Similarly, the Asian movement does not seem to have used their apocalyptic expectations as the rationale for their sexual continence. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105-121.

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:

– No

↳ Done randomly:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: As Trevett notes, the literature that likely influenced the early New Prophecy movement in Asia Minor preached that punishment awaited the unfaithful. However, we can only hypothesize that the early Phrygian movement foretold the sufferings that the unjust would experience in the afterlife. The New Prophecy movement in Carthage certainly believed God

would punish the unfaithful in the afterlife. Tertullian claimed that after death, individuals would experience suffering or comfort according to their souls' merits (*De Anima* 54-55). The *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*, a martyr act with ties to the North African New Prophecy, provides a similar imagination of punishment in the afterlife. While in prison, Perpetua has a vision of her deceased brother Dinocrates, suffering alongside countless others (*Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 7.3 – 8); he is hot and still pained by the cancer that had killed him. She watches as her thirsty brother reaches for water from a pool that is just beyond his reach. In later centuries, the New Prophecy appears to have developed a more robust sense of the punishments God bestowed upon the unfaithful in the afterlife. In the eighth century, Germanus of Constantinople asserted that the movement had believed that, in the age to come, the unjust would be burned by "fire-breathing dragons and lions and suspended by their flesh" (*De synodo et haeresibus* 5). The accuracy of Germanus' charge is dubious; the New Prophecy had ceased to exist centuries before the Patriarch of Constantinople penned his work. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105-121. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 364-384.

↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The early third-century New Prophecy community at Carthage emphasized the punishments God bestowed upon the unfaithful in the afterlife. We can only speculate, however, the extent to which adherents of the movement elsewhere and at other times emphasized the sufferings that awaited the unjust.

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– Yes

Notes: Those punished in the afterlife experienced sensory displeasure. For example, in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*, a martyr act associated with the New Prophecy community at Carthage, Perpetua has a vision of her deceased brother Dinocrates, suffering alongside countless others; he is hot and still pained by the cancer that had killed him (*Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 7.3 – 8). She watches as her thirsty brother reaches for water from a pool that is just beyond his reach. In later centuries the movement may have developed a more robust sense of the physical torment that God bestowed upon the unfaithful in the afterlife. In the eighth-century, Germanus of Constantinople writes that the New Prophecy movement believed that in the age to come, the unjust would be burned by "fire-breathing dragons and lions and suspended by their flesh" (*De synodo et haeresibus* 5). The accuracy of Germanus' charge against the movement is dubious; the New Prophecy had ceased to exist centuries before the Patriarch of Constantinople penned his account. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105-121. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 364-384.

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Yes

Notes: Those punished in the afterlife experienced sensory displeasure. For example, in the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas, a martyr act associated with the New Prophecy community at Carthage, Perpetua has a vision of her deceased brother Dinocrates, suffering alongside countless others; he is hot and still pained by the cancer that had killed him (*Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 7.3 – 8). She watches as her thirsty brother reaches for water from a pool that is just beyond his reach. In later centuries the movement may have developed a more robust sense of the physical torment that God bestowed upon the unfaithful in the afterlife. In the eighth-century, Germanus of Constantinople writes that the New Prophecy movement believed that in the age to come, the unjust would be burned by "fire-breathing dragons and lions and suspended by their flesh" (*De synodo et haeresibus* 5). The accuracy of Germanus' charge against the movement is dubious; the New Prophecy had ceased to exist centuries before the Patriarch of Constantinople penned his account. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105-121. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 364-384.

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:

– No

↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy communities that held millenarian beliefs likely imagined that God's elect would enjoy a paradisaical earth with the Redeemer. The prophetess Maximilla had foretold her followers of future wars and revolutions (Eusebius. *His. Ecc.* 5.16.18). As Trevett notes, her predictions may have been related to the signs preceding the last days and the possible wrath of God that the unrighteous would suffer during the final conflict. If so, we can assume that the prophetess imagined that the final conflict would bring punishment to the unfaithful in their lifetime. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105.

↳ Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The early third-century New Prophecy community at Carthage emphasized the punishments that God bestowed upon the unfaithful at the time of judgement. We can only speculate, however, the extent to which adherents of the movement elsewhere and at other times held millenarian beliefs.



↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:

– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of political failure:

– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of defeat in battle:

– Yes

Notes: The prophetess Maximilla had foretold her followers of future wars and revolutions (Eusebius. His. Ecc. 5.16.18). As Trevett notes, her predictions may have been related to the signs preceding the last days and the possible wrath of God that the unrighteous would suffer during the final conflict. If so, we can assume that the prophetess imagined that in the last days, the righteous would defeat the wicked in battle. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105.

↳ Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:

– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of disaster on journeys.

– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Punishment in this life consists of extreme sensory displeasure:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:

– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of impaired reproduction:

– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck visited on descendants:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

Notes: Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla lived in climate familiar with the Gospels' and Revelation's promise of Christ's second coming, and the New Prophecy in Phrygia likely held some apocalyptic beliefs. However, the movement's chiliastic enthusiasm and conviction that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepouza were likely third century developments. Tertullian claimed that God would mete out rewards and punishments after the final judgment (*De anima* 58.2). There is tenuous evidence that in later centuries the New Prophecy movement developed a more robust notion of divine reward. According to the eighth-century patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, the New Prophecy taught that "there were eight heavens" (*De synodo et haeresibus* 5). References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 63-105.

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:

– Yes

Notes: God bestows rewards upon those who obey divine law and who know of the Holy Spirit's sanctifying work.

↳ Done only by high god:

– Yes

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:

– No

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:

– No

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:

– No

↳ Done to enforce group norms:

– Yes

Notes: The promise of reward certainly motivated adherence to the New Prophecy's practices. Tertullian claimed that ascetic practices, such as fasting, spiritually and physically readied the believer for divine judgment (*De ieiunio adversus psychicos*). 4 Ezra, a text, which Trevett argues informed the New Prophecy in Asia Minor, connects ascetic discipline with divine revelation. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105-109.

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:

– No

↳ Done randomly:

– No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: As Trevett notes, the literature that likely influenced the early New Prophecy in Asia Minor preached that God would award the faithful in the afterlife. However, the available evidence only allows us to speculate that the early Phrygian movement foretold members about the comforts that the righteous would experience in the afterlife. The New Prophecy movement in Carthage certainly believed God would reward the faithful in the afterlife. Tertullian claimed that after death, individuals would experience suffering or comfort according to their soul's merits (*De anima* 54-55). The *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*, a martyr act with ties to the North African New Prophecy movement, provides a paradisaical imagination of the afterlife for the faithful (*Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (4.1 – 10). In later centuries, the New Prophecy movement developed a more robust sense of the rewards God bestowed upon the faithful in the afterlife. In the eighth century, Germanus of Constantinople wrote that the New Prophecy had proclaimed that eight heavens awaited God's elect (*De synodo et haeresibus* 5). The accuracy of Germanus' charge is dubious, however. The New Prophecy had ceased to exist centuries before the Patriarch of Constantinople penned his account. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105.

↳ Supernatural rewards in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The early third-century New Prophecy community at Carthage emphasized the rewards that God bestowed upon the faithful in the afterlife. It is likely that the movement elsewhere and at other times also preached visions of heaven and of a millennial reign with the Redeemer. We can only speculate, however, about the extent to which New Prophecy communities outside of Carthage emphasized these rewards. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105.

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– Yes

Notes: Accounts of the heaven, associated with the New Prophecy movement, imagine it as paradisaical.

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– No

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of eternal happiness:

– Yes

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as a superior life form:

– No

↳ Reward in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in a superior realm:

– No

↳ Other [specify]

– No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy communities, which held chiliastic beliefs, imagined that when the Parousia occurred, God's elect would enjoy a paradisaical earth with the Redeemer.

↳ Supernatural rewards in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The early third-century New Prophecy community at Carthage emphasized the rewards that God bestowed upon the faithful at the final judgment. It is likely that the movement elsewhere and at other times also preached that God's elect would enjoy a millennial reign with the Redeemer. We can only speculate, however, about the extent to which New Prophecy communities outside of Carthage emphasized these rewards. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105.

↳ Reward in this life consists of good luck:

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of political success or power:

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of success in battle:

– Yes

Notes: The prophetess Maximilla had foretold her followers of future wars and revolutions (Eusebius. *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.18). As Trevett notes, her predictions may have been related to the signs preceding the last days and the possible wrath of God that the unrighteous would suffer during the final conflict. If so, we can assume that the prophetess imagined that in the last days, the righteous would defeat the wicked in

battle. References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105.

↳ Reward in this life consists of peace or social stability:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of healthy crops or good weather:

– Yes

*Notes:* It is likely that the early New Prophecy communities, which adopted millennialism, imagined that when the Parousia occurred, God's elect would enjoy a paradisaical earth with the Redeemer. Generally, early chiliastic Christian groups believed that in God's kingdom on earth there would be a bountiful abundance.

↳ Reward in this life consists of success on journeys:

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– No

*Notes:* It is likely that the early New Prophecy communities, which adopted millennialism, imagined that when the Parousia occurred, God's elect would enjoy a paradisaical earth with the Redeemer. Generally, early chiliastic Christian groups believed that in God's kingdom on earth suffering, hardship, and oppression would cease. However, there is no clear evidence to suggest this time of peace and abundance included additional sensory pleasure, rather than the absence of displeasure.

↳ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– No

*Notes:* It is likely that the early New Prophecy communities, which adopted millennialism, imagined that when the Parousia occurred, God's elect would enjoy a paradisaical earth with the Redeemer. Generally, early chiliastic Christian groups believed that in God's kingdom on earth suffering, hardship, and oppression would cease. However, there is no clear evidence to suggest this time of peace and abundance included additional sensory pleasure, rather than simply the absence of displeasure.

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health:

– Yes

*Notes:* The New Prophecy communities, which held chiliastic beliefs, imagined that when the Parousia occurred, God's elect would enjoy a paradisaical earth with the Redeemer. Most imaginations of paradise in antiquity do not include illness.

- ↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success:
  - No
- ↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants:
  - No
- ↳ Other [specify]
  - No

## Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– Yes

*Notes:* The New Prophecy movement developed a particular eschatology that shaped and was shaped by the landscape of its adherents. However, it is important to note that this eschatology changed, developed, and gained new nuances at various times. Commentators often fail to distinguish the temporal and geographic particularities of the movement's many eschatologies and have readily assumed that a fervent apocalypticism was integral to the New Prophecy from the movement's beginnings in Phrygia. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars connected the movement's expectation of the imminent end, which they attributed to the earliest stages of the New Prophecy, with its later chiliastic emphasis, according to which adherents expected the beginning of a millenarian kingdom in the heavenly Jerusalem descending in Pepouza. Recently, however, scholars are less comfortable with reconstructing the early Phrygian New Prophecy movement as fervently apocalyptic, especially in light of the few references to the imminent end and the role of the descending Jerusalem in the earliest sources. No extant oracle attests to the chiliasm that the fourth-century heresiological sources associate with the movement. Moreover, only one of the eleven oracles attributed to the first-generation Prophets contains an allusion to the expectation of the imminent end (Epiphanius, Pan. 48.2.4). Most reconstructions of the earliest phases of the New Prophecy as chiliastic have depended on an account of a Christophany that either Priscilla or Quintilla experienced in Pepouza, which Epiphanius describes in Panarion 49.3. Though Epiphanius's source is unsure which of the two prophetesses had the dream, the source is positive that one of them shared an oracle, detailing that Christ had appeared to her in female form, infused her with wisdom, and declared that at Pepouza the New Jerusalem would descend. The oracle is one of the few witnesses to the New Prophecy's expectation that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepouza. As William Tabbernee has aptly noted, the oracle should be "seen as a confirmation rather than an initiation" of this tradition." Nevertheless, scholars have formulated reconstructions of the New Prophecy's eschatology based on this oracle, which differ vastly from each other. Proceeding on the grounds that Priscilla, rather than Quintilla, experienced the Christophany in Pepouza, Anne Jensen has proposed that at its early stage, the New Prophecy was not apocalyptic and adherents did not expect an imminent end, but did regard Pepouza as Jerusalem since it was the place of the Christophany. Christine Trevett has instead asserted that Quintilla received the dream in the third century. As such, she argues, that while Phrygian New Prophecy thought included some allusions to the imminent end, the apocalyptic and chiliastic features and the role of Jerusalem in the movement's eschatology was a third-century development. Tabbernee and Marjanen have presented another convincing argument; both place the oracle in the fourth century, rather than in the early period of the movement. They thus surmise that while the New Prophecy in Phrygia clearly had certain apocalyptic and chiliastic features, the Prophecy's idea of Pepouza as Jerusalem took place after the earliest phases of the movement, and

likely after Tertullian since he does not identify Pepouza as the site of the millenarian kingdom. The fact that some of the New Prophecy's later opponents in the west do not mention this tradition suggests that the linkage of Pepouza to the heavenly Jerusalem may have been a uniquely eastern development of the movement's eschatology. References: Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 130-31. Adolf von Harnack, "Millennialism," *Encyclopedia Britannica* 15 (1945) 496. Antti Marjanen, "Montanism: Egalitarian Ecstatic 'New Prophecy,'" in *A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics,'* ed. Antti Marjanen and Petri Luomanen (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 203-206. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 115-119. Anne Jensen, *God's Self-Confident Daughters: Early Christianity and the Liberation of Women* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 151-52, 57-58, 60-67. Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95-105; 63-69.

## Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: The early movement was not only defined by its prophetic character, but also its rigorist qualities. Apollonius and others attest to the ascetic rigor of the earliest phase of the New Prophecy when they state that Montanus mandated fasting and "taught the dissolution of marriages" (Hist. eccl. 5.18.2). However, scholars have often failed to differentiate the witnesses to the ascetic practices of the New Prophecy outside Asia Minor from the witnesses to the movement in Phrygia. Consequently, it is often assumed that the early movement in Asia Minor performed certain practices, such as veiling virgin women practiced by the Carthaginian adherents of the New Prophecy (Tertullian, *De velandis Virginibus*), because they are attested to by members in other regions. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 89.

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Yes



What is the nature of this distinction:

– Strongly present and highlighted



Are specifically moral norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy preached asceticism, moderation, and discipline. Adherents of the movement claimed that their ascetic rigor provided them with the moral high ground. Tertullian, for instance, argued that the Christian opponents ("psychici") of the New Prophecy were more concerned with defending their physical indulgence than pleasing their God, quipping "a fat Christian will be more pleasing to bears and lions [of the arena of martyrdom], perchance, than to God" (*De jeunio adversus psychicos* 17). References: Andrew McGowan, "Discipline and Diet: Feeding the Martyrs in Roman Carthage," *The Harvard Theological Review* 96, no. 4 (2003): 455-476.

↳ Specifically moral norms are implicitly linked to vague metaphysical concepts:  
– No

↳ Specifically moral norms are explicitly linked to vague metaphysical entities:  
– No

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked to impersonal cosmic order (e.g. karma):  
– No

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked in some way to an anthropomorphic being:  
– Yes

Notes: Adherents of the New Prophecy view ethical behavior as necessary to personal salvation and, likely, to prophetic experience.

↳ Specifically moral norms are linked explicitly to commands of anthropomorphic being:  
– Yes

Notes: Adherents of the movement viewed fasting and sexual continence as divinely revealed ethical practices, prescribed to them by God. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 142-150.

↳ Specifically moral norms are have no special connection to metaphysical:  
– No

Notes: Adherents of the movement viewed fasting and sexual continence as divinely revealed ethical practices, prescribed to them by God. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 142-150.

↳ Moral norms apply to:

– All individuals (any time period)

Notes: The ascetic rigor of the New Prophecy distinguished it from other Christian movements. Its adherents viewed practices, such as fasting and sexual continence, as a divinely revealed ethic that God expected all Christians to now follow. Members of the New Prophecy claimed that their discipline and moderation afforded them the moral high ground over less ascetic Christians (cf. Tertullian, *De jeunio adversus Psychicos*; Origen, *De Principiis* 2.7.3). References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 142-163. Laura Salah Nasrallah, *An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard Theological Studies, 2003), 140-154;174-193.



# Practices

## Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Notes: Although the New Prophecy did not require celibacy, some of the movement's members may have refrained from having sex. Epiphanius, for instance, mentions a group of white-clad prophesying virgins among the later Quintillianist branch of the New Prophecy movement (Pan. 49.2.3). Apollonius also reports that Priscilla was called a virgin (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.18.3).

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– Yes

Notes: Scholars have debated the extent to which the New Prophecy movement preached sexual continence. Apollonius claims that Montanus "taught the dissolution of marriage" and that Priscilla and Maximilla "deserted their husbands from the moment that they were filled with the spirit" (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.18.2-3). It is likely, however, that Apollonius' statement is a polemical exaggeration and that adherents of the New Prophecy did not reject marriage entirely. Tertullian, for instance, prized celibacy and virginity, but also regarded first marriages as acceptable (De monogamia 1; 14; 15; De Pudicitia 1; Adversus Marcionem 1.29; De uxorem 1.3.2). Remarriage, however, was truly unacceptable to him ( De uxorem 1.7.1.3-1.8.4; De monogamia 4.3). References: Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 109-114. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 151-153.



Monogamy (males):

– Yes

Notes: While marriage was acceptable to the New Prophecy, adultery was not. In *De pudicitia*, Tertullian condemned second marriages and claimed that adultery and fornication were unforgivable sins (1).



Monogamy (females):

– Yes

Notes: While marriage was acceptable to the New Prophecy, adultery was not. In *De pudicitia*, Tertullian condemned second marriages and claimed that adultery and fornication were unforgivable sins (1).



Other sexual constraints (males):

– No



Other sexual constraints (females):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Yes

Notes: Members of the New Prophecy undertook frequent and extended fasts (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 8.12). Hippolytus accused the movement of practicing dry fasts and eating meals of radishes (or perhaps cabbage) (*Haer.* 8.12). Tertullian viewed fasting as critical to spiritual experiences, as well as personal salvation. He encouraged the New Prophecy community at Carthage to undertake xerophagies and eat dry foods (*De jeunio adversus psychicos*).

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Yes

Notes: According to Hippolytus and Tertullian, adherents of the New Prophecy frequently practiced dry fasts and refrained from consuming wet foods (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 8.12; Tertullian, *De jeunio adversus psychicos*).

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The baptismal practice of some later New Prophecy groups may have included marking or tattooing initiates. Critics of the New Prophecy accuse the movement's members of pricking the bodies of infants with needles to make use of their blood in the sacraments (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 48.14.6; Augustine, *De haeresibus* 26). Scholars have traced the origins of these charges to a misconstrual of the movement's initiation ceremony. The cult of Cybele in Phrygia, according to Prudentius (*Peristephanon* 10.1075-1090), branded initiates. Prudentius' account has prompted scholars to postulate that the New Prophecy may have adopted this tradition and also permanently marked baptismal candidates. Later heresiologists may have incorrectly identified the New Prophecy's tattooing as a eucharistic, rather than a baptismal, practice. It is possible, however, that the movement's critics have preserved entirely inauthentic information. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 351-358.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The baptismal practice of some later New Prophecy groups may have included marking or tattooing initiates. Critics of the New Prophecy accuse the movement's members of pricking the bodies of infants with needles to make use of their blood in the sacraments (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 48.14.6; Augustine, *De haeresibus* 26). Scholars have traced the origins of these charges to a misconstrual of the movement's initiation ceremony. The cult of Cybele in Phrygia, according to Prudentius (*Peristephanon* 10.1075-1090), branded initiates. Prudentius' account has prompted scholars to postulate that the New Prophecy may have adopted this tradition and also permanently marked baptismal candidates. Later heresiologists may have incorrectly identified the New Prophecy's

tattooing as a eucharistic, rather than a baptismal, practice. It is possible, however, that the movement's critics have preserved entirely inauthentic information. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 351-358.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Yes

Notes: Adherents of the New Prophecy congregated both privately and publically (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.64-65), celebrated the eucharist, and prayed (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 48.14).

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy preached ethical renewal and repentance. Adherents of the movement viewed fasting and sexual continence as divinely revealed ethical practices, prescribed by God.

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Yes

Notes: Adherents of the movement met in private houses, as well as larger assembly spaces (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.64–65). New Prophecy communities likely performed a diverse array of rituals in many different types of spaces. Tertullian, for instance, describes members of his congregation carrying morsels of consecrated bread home with them their assembly to break their fast with it (*Ad uxorem* 2.5.3).



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to small-scale rituals.

– Hours: 3

Notes: The evidence for early Christian ritual practice conveys considerable diversity of form involving local traditions and theological concerns. Small-scale rituals, such as prayer, could take place whenever or wherever the adherent desired. Tertullian, for example, says that there is no rule as to when one should pray, "except, of course, to pray at every time and place" (*On Prayer* 24). Tertullian does specify, however, that individuals should "worship not less than at least thrice a day" and the common hours of 9:00am, 12:00pm, and 3:00pm as particularly good times to pray (*De oratione* 24-25). Tertullian's schedule was likely not representative of the practices of New Prophecy groups outside of early third-century Carthage. References: Andrew McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 183-216.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

– Yes

Notes: Adherents of the movement met in private houses, as well as larger assembly spaces (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.64–65). In communities with more members, celebrations of the eucharist and baptism likely had a larger attendance. However, these rituals could also be performed on a smaller scale. Critics often accused the New Prophecy of liturgical novelty. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 366-376.



On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: There is little evidence for the movement's size. As such, it is difficult to approximate how many participants gathered in one particular location at a given time. Presumably, communities that had a greater number of adherents to the New Prophecy, such as Pepuza, had a greater number of participants at their assemblies.



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

– Average interval [hours]: 24

Notes: There is no evidence for the assembly practices of the New Prophecy communities

outside of early third-century Carthage. Tertullian speaks of perhaps daily morning gatherings at Carthage, as well as evening banquets where only a portion of the community could assemble (De Corona 3.3; Apologeticum 39). However, Tertullian's account is only applicable to his community. Without evidence for the movement's practices in other regions, it is impossible to say how frequently communities met. References: Andrew McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 49-50.

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:

Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.

– No

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– No

↳ Does participation entail synchronic practices:

– Yes

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Interestingly, the limited evidence for the New Prophecy's eucharist practice suggests it may not have included wine. According to Epiphanius, the Quintillians ate bread and cheese at their eucharistic meal (Pan. 49.2.6). Members of the Phrygian prophecy may have substituted these items for wine, or consumed them in addition to wine. The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas alludes to a post-baptismal feeding tradition involving cheese or curd (4.8-10). Tertullian's community at Carthage fed the newly baptized a eucharistic meal of milk and honey after baptism and abstained from eating or drinking anything "that has the flavor of wine" (De Corona 3.3; De jeiunio adversus psychicos 1.4). The absence of wine from these traditions points to a wine-less eucharistic celebration. However, Andrew McGowan has argued that the New Prophecy community at Carthage likely only refrained from consuming wine on a season basis. References: Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 168-174. Andrew McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 160-163. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 358-360.

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Yes

↳ Tattoos/scarification:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The baptismal practice of some later New Prophecy groups may have included marking or tattooing initiates. Critics of the New Prophecy accuse the movement's members of pricking the bodies of infants with needles to make use of their blood in the sacraments (Epiphanius, Pan. 48.14.6; Augustine, *De haeresibus* 26). Scholars have traced the origins of these charges to a misconstrual of the movement's initiation ceremony. The cult of Cybele in Phrygia, according to Prudentius (*Peristephanon* 10.1075-1090), branded initiates. Prudentius' account has prompted scholars to postulate that the New Prophecy may have adopted this tradition and also permanently marked baptismal candidates. Later heresiologists may have incorrectly identified the New Prophecy's tattooing as a eucharistic, rather than a baptismal, practice. It is possible, however, that the movement's critics have preserved entirely inauthentic information. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 351-358.

↳ Circumcision:

– No

↳ Food taboos:

– Yes

Notes: Members of the New Prophecy undertook frequent and extended fasts (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 8.12). Hippolytus accused the movement of practicing dry fasts and eating meals of radishes (or perhaps cabbage) (*Haer.* 8.12). Tertullian viewed fasting as critical to spiritual experiences, as well as personal salvation. He encouraged the New Prophecy community at Carthage to undertake xerophagies and eat dry foods (*De jeunio adversus psychicos*). He also claimed that his community abstained from eating or drinking anything "that has the flavor of wine" (*De jeunio adversus psychicos* 1.4).

↳ Hair:

– No

↳ Dress:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Generally speaking, members of the movement did not wear particular garments that differentiated them from others in their community. However, there are a few exceptions: Epiphanius mentions a group of white-clad prophesying virgins among the later Quintillianist branch of the New Prophecy movement (*Pan.* 49.2.3), and Tertullian discusses veiling virgins at Carthage (*De virginibus velandis*)

↳ Ornaments:

– No

↳ Archaic ritual language:

– No



Other:

– No

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Early Christian groups commonly used fictive kinship terminology. Most likely, the New Prophecy also employed familial rhetoric. Indeed, Tertullian used language such as "brethren" (for example, *De oratione* 18). However, Tertullian's early third-century writings constitute the only evidence for New Prophecy that survives independently of heresiological texts. As such, it is not possible to determine definitively whether his language is representative of the broader movement.

## Society and Institutions

### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– An empire

Notes: The New Prophecy movement took place in the Roman Empire.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

### Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

– No

Notes: Members of the New Prophecy shared communal meals. Although early Christian communities may not have intended for the eucharist to provide institutionalized famine relief, communal meals provided individuals with nourishment at a time when food insecurity was a widespread issue.

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: Christian groups provided their members with eucharistic meals. Although early Christian communities may not have intended for the eucharist to provide institutionalized famine relief, communal meals provided individuals with nourishment at a time when food insecurity was a widespread issue.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– Yes

Notes: As Éric Rebillard, Peter Brown, and Andrew McGowan have argued, communal meals, mutual service, and charity were central to Christian identity and practice in late antiquity. As a Christian movement, the New Prophecy also provided its members with comparable forms of social relief. However, features unique to the New Prophecy may have given the movement additional appeal to the socially and economically disenfranchised. According to Apollonius, Montanus, the movement's founder, provided salaries to those who preached his doctrine (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18.2). Moreover, from the movement's outset, women held leadership roles. The religious authority and economic benefit the New Prophecy granted women, including its founders Priscilla and Miximilla, was relatively unique among early Christian movements. References: Andrew McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 19-65. Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press:2009), 89-122; Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001).

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: As scholars, such as Éric Rebillard, Peter Brown, and Andrew McGowan, have argued, communal meals, mutual service, and charity were central to Christian identity and practice in late antiquity. Other contemporaneous Christian communities provided comparable forms of social relief. References: Andrew McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 19-65. Éric Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press:2009), 89-122; Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001).

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: There is no evidence regarding whether the New Prophecy provided institutionalized care for the elderly or infirm.

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: In the first centuries CE, doctors and healing centers, such as the Asklepeion at Pergamon, predominantly provided care to the infirm. In the fourth century, monasteries also became places healing, albeit predominately providing care to monastics. References: Helen King, *Health in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2005). Andrew Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

## Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– No



Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: In antiquity, children received their early, and usually only, education within the home. Typically, non-elites received vocational training, and elite families employed tutors for their children. Elite boys, and more rarely girls, might also pursue additional schooling, traveling to a particular teacher for instruction. Presumably, like other elite Christians, wealthy members of the New Prophecy also could study under an expert teacher outside the home.



Is extra-religious education open to both males and females:

– Yes

Notes: Religious and extra-religious education were not distinct at this time. Education was primarily accessible to wealthy men. However, women were not wholly excluded from philosophical circles or schools. The third-century philosopher, Plotinus, for example, lived and operated a philosophical school in the household of a certain Gemina, a wealthy, Roman widow. Of the fourteen regular members of this school mentioned by Porphyry, three were women: Gemina, her daughter, and a certain Amphiclea (Porphyry, *Vita Plotinus*. 9).

## Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy had the offices of patriarch, koinōnos, bishop, presbyter, deacon, and lam-bearers. Both men and women could be appointed to these offices. The movement's opponents fiercely criticized the New Prophecy for ordaining women, charging it with ministerial novelty. The function of the koinōnos is elusive. William Tabbernee has suggested the koinōnoi were regional bishops. References: William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 369-376. Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 185-196.

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– Yes

## Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The ancient literary record does not provide us with information regarding food storage. Moreover, the movement's places of assembly are not extant. As such, it is also not possible to ascertain whether New Prophecy communities provided food storage.

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– No

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The state provided some water management to certain parts of the Empire. Many cities continued to rely on the original Roman aqueduct system, which had fallen into disrepair. Few rural areas had dependable irrigation systems and, as such, relied heavily on rainfall. In rural areas, water management largely fell to estate owners and non-elite collectives.

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The state maintained the preexisting transportation infrastructure built by the Romans.

## Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy had collectors of money (Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 5.18.3). Apollonius charges these money collectors with prophesying for money (5.18.5-11). However, his accusation is likely an attempt to cast the group's leaders as false prophets.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Like all citizens of the Roman Empire, adherents of the New Prophecy had to pay taxes to the state.

## Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: All citizens of the Roman Empire were subject to the state's laws and governance. The Roman Empire did not support local or regional police forces. However, governors had local military forces at their disposal to assist with enforcing the law.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Christian leaders often served as informal arbiters in local disputes. Moreover, late imperial legislature allowed bishops to judge cases of a non-religious nature if both parties involved consented. However, the historical record does not indicate whether the New Prophecy provided its members with judges.

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Like all citizens of the Roman Empire, the New Prophecy's adherents could bring their civil and criminal disputes before the formal state system and have their case judged by a Roman official.

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: As citizens of the Roman Empire, members of the New Prophecy were governed by Roman law. In the second and third centuries, Christians experienced episodic persecutions at the hands of both local Roman administrators and various Roman Emperors. The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas may provide us with an example of the execution of an adherent to the New Prophecy, but the martyrdom's historicity is debatable. It is important to note, however, that Perpetua is not executed on account of affiliating with the movement, but for admitting to being Christian and refusing to sacrifice on behalf of the emperors.



Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:

– Yes

Notes: As citizens of the Roman Empire, members of the New Prophecy were governed by Roman law. In the second and third centuries, Christians experienced episodic persecutions at the hands of both local Roman administrators and various Roman Emperors. The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas may provide us with an example of the execution of an adherent to the New Prophecy, but the martyrdom's historicity is debatable. It is important to note, however, that Perpetua is not executed on account of affiliating with the movement, but for admitting to being Christian and refusing to sacrifice on behalf of the emperors.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:

– Yes

Notes: According to the Liber Pontificalis I, in the early fifth century, the bishop of Rome, Innocent I, exiled several "Cataphrygians" to an unspecified monastery.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:

– Yes

Notes: In the second and third centuries, Christians experienced episodic persecutions at the hands of both local Roman administrators and various Roman Emperors. These persecutions often involved torture and execution. The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas recounts the execution of a young woman who may have had ties to the New Prophecy movement in Carthage. It is important to note, however, that Perpetua is not executed on account of affiliating with the movement, but for admitting to being Christian and refusing to sacrifice on behalf of the emperors.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:

– Yes

Notes: According to the Liber Pontificalis I, in the early fifth century, the bishop of Rome, Innocent I, exiled several "Cataphrygians" to an unspecified monastery.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:

– Yes

Notes: Under Roman law, citizens could have their property seized by the state. While there is no account of a New Prophecy adherent having her individual property confiscated in a criminal dispute, this was a typical punishment. New Prophecy communities also had their places of assembly and literature seized. The Vita Constantini names Cataphrygians among those who will have their places of assembly confiscated by the state (Eusebius, Vita Constantini 3.65.1). Then in the sixth century, Emperor Justinian's forces burned the group's literature and the shrine of its first prophets.

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: As citizens of the Roman Empire, members of the New Prophecy were governed by Roman law.

## Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: As citizens of the Roman Empire, the New Prophecy's adherents were both protected by and subject to the Roman army.

## Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– No

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: Yes. Depending on an adherent's location and literacy level, he or she may have been familiar with Greek, Latin, Armenion, Phrygian, Syriac, or various other languages.

## Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy (in Asia Minor at least) followed a solar calendar and fixed the fourteenth day of the month for Passover accordingly (Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History 7.18). Most other Jewish and Christian communities at this time followed a lunar calendar. As such, the New Prophecy celebrated Easter on a different Sunday than other Christians. References: Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar, Chronology and Worship* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 99-104. Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority, and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 202-203. William Tabbernee, *Fake Prophecy and Polluted Sacraments: Ecclesiastical and Imperial Reactions to Montanism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 151-153.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the

religious group in question:

– Yes

Notes: The New Prophecy followed the same calendar as 1 Enoch and Jubilees References: Roger T. Beckwith, *Calendar, Chronology and Worship* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 99-104.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

## Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes

Notes: Baptized members were allowed to partake in the eucharistic meal.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

– Other [specify in comments]

Notes: The celebration of the eucharist involved a communal meal.

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Notes: Other Christian movements at this time similarly provided their members with food in the form of the eucharistic meal.

Specific to this answer:

Date Range: 165 CE - 300 CE

## Bibliography

### Entry/Answer References

Reference: Aaron Milavec. *Distinguishing True and False Prophets: The Protective Wisdom of the Didache*. *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2(2)

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