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something which he takes for granted, and not as one propounding anything new.¹ Does not this bring us back very near the foundation-head of all Christian doctrine? Should we not be led to suspect, even if we had had no Fourth Gospel, that Christ Himself had laid the foundation on which His followers were building? But if that is so, the absence of this doctrine from the Synoptics and its presence in the Fourth Gospel only means that it has preserved what they had not preserved. And the argument on which so much stress has been laid turns out to be not against but for the ancient view, that we have in it the work of one who had lain on the breast of the Lord.

W. SANDAY.

*SAINT PAUL'S FIRST JOURNEY IN
ASIA MINOR.*

THE intention of this paper is, presupposing as already familiar to the reader all that is said in the careful and scholarly work of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson and in the picturesque pages of Dr. Farrar,² to add some notes and make a few corrections in points where fresh discoveries or more intimate acquaintance with the localities necessitate a revision of their statements. The present writer has seen every place named in the following pages except Perga, and writes as an eye-witness; and his object is to fix more precisely the exact situation of the localities visited by Paul and Barnabas, and the roads along which they travelled, and to draw some inferences as to the direction in which further knowledge may be hoped for.

¹ For this reason I think the view that the doctrine owes its origin to St. Paul, and that the other writers are all dependent upon him, very questionable.

² These works are, for brevity's sake, alluded to throughout as CH. and F.

In general, the narrative in Acts xiii. and xiv. wants the vividness and individuality of the scene at Ephesus, Acts xix. Whereas the latter must embody without substantial alteration the account given in great detail by some one present at the scene, the description of the journey is so slight, so vague, and so wanting in individualized details of place or of time, that it can hardly be more than the account given by one who had only second-hand information of a very brief kind to work on, and little or no knowledge of the localities to guide him. The references to Derbe and Lystra, however, are much more precise than the rest of the narrative, and contain some details which can be put to the test, and which become more full of meaning when compared with the actual localities. For example, "Jupiter before the city" at Lystra is a trait that can be proved or disproved at a cost of £100 spent in digging; and one particular site for the temple is so probable, that a couple of days' work might perhaps show where it stood.

F. explains this want of detail as due to the absorption of the apostle in his mission, and his indifference alike to the beauty of nature and to the discomforts of travel.¹ But this does not sufficiently account for the absence of details which show real acquaintance with localities, seasons, and surroundings. Such slight touches of local colour abound in parts of the book, and it is more natural to explain their absence here from the fact that the writer of the book had to depend entirely on brief notes, or brief oral accounts given by the actual travellers, and that he had little personal acquaintance with the localities. It is worth remarking, that the book purports to be written by

¹ CH. are in this point truer to nature and to the records; they quote the apostle's own words, showing that the dangers of travel were vividly felt by him: "In journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the wilderness, in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst" (2 Cor. xi. 26, 27).

a person who claims no acquaintance with Perga, Antioch, etc., but who does claim to have seen Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra.

It is even impossible to determine the season of the year when the journey was made. CH. indeed, followed by F., argue that Paul and Barnabas came to Perga about May, and found the population removing *en masse* to the upper country, to live in the cooler glens amid the mountains of Taurus. In this way they explain why the apostles are not said to have preached in Perga: they went on to the inner country, because no population remained in Perga to whom they could address themselves. But CH. can hardly be right in supposing that general migrations of the ancient population took place annually in the spring or early summer. The modern custom which they mention, and which they suppose to be retained from old time, is due to the semi-nomadic character of the Turkish tribes which have come into the country at various times after the twelfth century. Even at the present day it is not the custom for the population of the coast towns, who have not been much affected by the Turkish mixture of blood, to move away in a body to the interior. The migrations which take place are almost entirely confined to certain wandering tribes, chiefly Yuruks. A small number of the townsmen go up to the higher ground for reasons of health and comfort; and this custom has in recent years become more common among the wealthier classes in the towns, who, however, do not go away from the cities till the end of June. But a migration *en masse* is contrary to all that we know about the ancient population. The custom of living in the country within the territory of the city is a very different thing; and this was certainly practised by many of the people of Perga. But it is practically certain that the territory of Perga did not include any part of the upper highlands of Taurus; and there can

be no doubt that the festivals and the ceremonial of the Pergæan Artemis went on throughout the summer, and were celebrated by the entire population. The government was kept up in the same way during summer as during winter.

The one reason, therefore, why this journey has been supposed to begin in May is founded on an error. We must be content to know nothing about the time. Can we, however, determine what was the route by which Paul and Barnabas travelled from Perga to Antioch of Pisidia? In regard to this point some evidence exists.

The apostles, starting from Perga, apparently after only a very brief stay, directed their steps to Antioch, the chief city of inner Pisidia, a Roman colony, a strong fortress, the centre of military and civil administration in the southwestern parts of the vast province called by the Romans Galatia. There can be no doubt that there existed close commercial relations between this metropolis on the north side of Taurus and the Pamphylian harbours, especially Side, Perga, and Attalia. The roads from Antioch to Perga and to Attalia coincide; that which leads to Side is quite different. There can also be no doubt that in Antioch, as in many of the cities founded by the Seleucid kings of Syria, there was a considerable Jewish population. Josephus mentions that, when the fidelity of Asia Minor to the Seleucid kings was doubtful, 2,000 Jewish families were transported by one single edict to the fortresses of Lydia and Phrygia.¹ Being strangers to their neighbours in the country, they were likely to be faithful to the Syrian kings; and specially high privileges were granted them in order to insure their fidelity. These privileges were con-

¹ Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* xii. 3. It must be remembered that, though Antioch is generally called "of Pisidia," yet the bounds were very doubtful, and Strabo reckons Antioch to be in Phrygia. It was doubtless one of the fortresses here meant by Josephus.

firmed by the Roman emperors; for the imperial policy was, from the time of Julius Cæsar onwards, almost invariably favourable to the Jews.

The commerce of Antioch would in part certainly come to Perga and Attalia; in all probability the Jews of Antioch would play an important part in this commerce. Paul then resolved to go to Antioch; and the immediate result was that one of his companions lost courage, probably in view of the reported dangers of the road,¹ deserted the expedition, and returned home.

The commerce between Antioch and Perga or Attalia must of course have followed one definite route; and Paul would naturally choose this road. CH. and F. seem to me to select a very improbable path. The former incline to the supposition that the apostles went by the steep pass leading from Attalia to the Buldur Lake, the ancient Lake Ascania; and both CH. and F. state unhesitatingly that the path led along the coast of the Egerdir double lakes, the ancient Limnai, the most picturesque sheet of water in Asia Minor. But the natural, obvious, and direct course is up the Cestrus valley to Adada; and we must suppose that this commercial route was the one along which the strangers were directed.

Adada now bears the name of Bavlo. This is exactly the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name. In visiting the district I paid the closest attention to the name, in order to observe whether Baghlu might not be the real form, and Bavlo an invention of the Greeks, who often modify a Turkish name to a form that has a meaning in Greek.² But I found that the Turks certainly use the form Bavlo, not Baghlu. The analogy of many other

¹ If the road was frequented by commerce, it would of course be more dangerous. Brigands must make a living, and go where most money is to be found.

² For example, they have transformed Baluk-hissari, "Town of the Castle," into Bali-kesri, "Old Cæsareia." CH. quote a report heard by Arundel about

modern Turkish names for cities leaves no doubt that the name *Bavlo* has arisen from the fact that Paul was the patron saint of the city, and the great church of the city was dedicated to him. It is impossible not to connect this fact with the situation of *Adada* on the natural route between *Antioch* or *Perga*; the church probably originated in the belief that the apostle had visited *Adada* on his way to *Antioch*. There is no evidence to show whether this belief was founded on a genuine ancient tradition, or was only an inference, drawn after *Adada* was christianized, from the situation of the city; but the latter alternative is perhaps more probable. It is obvious from the narrative in *Acts xiii.* that Paul did not stop at *Adada*; and it is not likely that there was a colony of Jews there, through whom he might make a beginning of his work, and who might retain the memory of his visit.

It is possible that some reference may yet be found in Eastern hagiological literature to the supposed visit of Paul to *Adada*, and to the church from which the modern name is derived. If the belief existed, there would almost certainly arise legends of incidents connected with the visit; and though the local legends of this remote and obscure *Pisidian* city had little chance of penetrating into literature, there is a possibility that some echo of them may still survive in manuscript. Rather more than a mile south of the city, on the west side of the road that leads to *Perga*, stand the ruins of a church of early date, built of fine masonry, but not of very great size. The solitary situation of this church by the roadside suggests to the spectator that there was connected with it some legend about an apostle or martyr of *Adada*. It stands in the forest, with trees growing in and around it; and its walls rise to the height of five to

the existence of *Bavlo* (or *Paoli*, as he gives it); but they suppose it to be on the *Eurymedon*, and far away east of the road which they select.

eight feet above the present level of the soil. One single hut stands about half a mile away in the forest; no other habitation is near. Adada itself is a solitary and deserted heap of ruins; there is a small village with a fine spring of water about a mile north-east from it. So lonely is the country, that our guide failed to find the ruins; and, when he left us alone in the forest, we were obliged to go on for six miles to the nearest town before we could find a more trustworthy guide. After all, we found that we had passed within 200 yards of the ruins, which lay on a hill above our path.

The ruins of Adada are very imposing from their extent, from the perfection of several small temples, and from their comparative immunity from spoliation. No one has used them as a quarry, which is the usual fate of ancient cities. The buildings are rather rude and provincial in type, showing that the town retained more of the native character, and was less completely affected by the general Græco-Roman civilization of the empire. I may here quote a few sentences which I wrote immediately after visiting the ruins.¹

“With little trouble, and at no great expense, the mass of ruins might be sorted and thoroughly examined, the whole plan of the city discovered, and a great deal of information obtained about its condition under the empire. Nothing can be expected from the ruins to adorn a museum; for it is improbable that any fine works of art ever came to Adada, and certain that any accessible fragment of marble which ever was there has been carried away long ago. But for a picture of society as it was formed by Græco-Roman civilization in an Asiatic people, there is perhaps no place where the expenditure of a few hundreds would produce such results. The opinion will not be universally accepted that the most important and interesting part of ancient history is the study of the evolution of society during the long conflict between Christianity and paganism; but those who hold this opinion will not easily find a work more interesting and fruitful at the price than the excavation of Adada.”

¹ *Athenæum*, July, 1890, p. 136, in a letter written in part by my friend and fellow traveller Mr. Hogarth; the description of Adada was assigned to me.

CH. are right in emphasizing the dangers to which travellers were exposed in this part of their journey: "perils of rivers, perils of robbers." The following examples, not known to CH., may be here quoted. They all belong to the Pisidian highlands, not far from the road traversed by the apostles, and considering how utterly ignorant we are of the character of the country and the population, it is remarkable that such a large proportion of our scanty information relates to scenes of danger and precautions against violence.

1. A dedication and thank-offering by Menis son of Daos to Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva, and all the gods, and also to the river Eurus, after he had been in danger and had been saved.¹ This inscription records an escape from drowning in a torrent swollen by rain. There is no river in the neighbourhood which could cause danger to a man, except when swollen by rain.

2. An epitaph erected by Patrokles and Douda over the grave of their son Sousou, a policeman, who was slain by robbers.²

3. References to *gens d'armes* of various classes (*ἀροφύλακες, παραφυλακίται*) occur with unusual frequency in this district. Very few soldiers were stationed in Pisidia; and armed policemen were a necessity in such an unruly country.³

4. A *stationarius*, one of the road-guards, part of whose duty was to assist in the capture of runaway slaves (always the most dangerous of brigands), is also mentioned in an inscription.⁴

¹ Abbé Duchesne in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellen.*, vol. iii., p. 479. The name of the river is uncertain, Eurus or Syrus; I tried in vain to find the stone in 1886, in order to verify the text.

² Prof. Sterrett in *Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*, p. 166.

³ *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 177 ff.

⁴ *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*, 1885, p. 77. Examples might be multiplied by including the parts of Taurus further removed from the road.

The roads all over the Roman empire were apt to be unsafe, for the arrangements for insuring public safety were exceedingly defective; but probably the part of his life which St. Paul had most in mind when he wrote about the perils of rivers and of robbers, which he had faced in his journeys, was the journey from Perga across Taurus to Antioch and back again.

Between Adada and Antioch the road is uncertain. One path leads along the south-east end of Egerdir Lake, traversing the difficult pass now called Demir Kapu, "the Iron Gate." But I believe there is a more direct and easy road, though further exploration is needed before it is possible to speak confidently.

CH. give a good account of Antioch, the site of which was demonstrated with certainty by Arundel. It would not be possible to add anything essential to our purpose to their account without discussing the history and constitution of the city more minutely than would be in place here.¹ The details given of Paul's first speech in the synagogue at Antioch are to a certain extent graphic, but are really such as would always characterize such a scene. The text gives no hint as to the length of the apostles' stay, and widely divergent opinions are held on this point. Almost all English authorities maintain that the whole journey was performed in one single summer, and Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe were all evangelized during that time. The continental authorities as a rule consider that months or even a year were spent at each city, and that the whole journey occupied from two to six years. On this supposition Paul would have settled down in each

On the whole subject see the paper of Prof. O. Hirschfeld in *Berlin Sitzungsber.*, 1891, p. 845 ff., on "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich."

¹ F. mentions Men Archaïos as the great god of Antioch; but the manuscripts of Strabo read Askaios or Arkaïos, and there can be little doubt that M. Waddington's correction, Askainos, must be accepted.

place to maintain himself by manual labour; and the events in each city, which are related so summarily, must have gone on very slowly. The fact that opinions are so divided is a sufficient proof that the words used above as to the want of precision and detail in the narrative do not overstate the case.

No certain memorial of the Jewish community, and few memorials of the Christian community, at Antioch of Pisidia¹ have as yet been found among the inscriptions of the district. One monument, which was probably erected in Antioch, about or shortly after the time when Paul and Barnabas visited the city, deserves mention.² It is a pedestal, which probably supported a small statue of P. Anicius Maximus, a native of Antioch. Anicius, beginning as a common soldier, was promoted from the ranks to be first centurion of the twelfth legion, then serving in Syria. When the emperor Nero's father was elected, about 32-40 A.D., to an honorary magistracy in Antioch, he nominated Anicius to represent him and perform the duties of the office. Anicius was an officer in the army that invaded Britain in 43, and was, for the second time rewarded for distinguished merit during this expedition. He was then sent to command the troops stationed in Egypt, and while he held this office, the city of Alexandria presented him with a statuette and an honorary inscription, to be erected in a public place in his native city. There is no evidence what was the nationality of Anicius; but of those inhabitants of central Asia Minor who rose to distinction in the Roman service, a remarkable proportion are known, even with our scanty evidence, to be Jews.³ If Anicius was a Jew, it would be easier to understand why he was

¹ One is quoted in THE EXPOSITOR, 1888, Oct., p. 263.

² *Corp. Inscript. Latin.*, vol. iii, Suppl., No. 6809.

³ See the statement quoted in Reinach's *Chroniques d'Orient*, pp. 503, 504.

selected for an Egyptian command, and why he was so specially honoured by a city where Jewish influence was so strong as Alexandria.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued.)

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

THE assertion has gradually settled down into a commonplace, that the miraculous in the Christian religion was a great help to its early diffusion, but is now the chief hindrance to its acceptance by modern thought, armed with rigorous and scientific tests. The miraculous was a very estimable superstition, used by Providence (somewhat unscrupulously, one must confess) to pass off upon the ages of credulity, for their good, a revelation which we, who are not thus to be imposed upon, may accept for its own merits.

It is therefore proposed to relieve the faith from this encumbrance, which served its generation by the will of God, but must now fall asleep. We are advised to reject as accretions, afterthoughts, all the supernatural events which surprise us in the story of Jesus and His followers, while reverently retaining the marvellous teaching, the lofty and unprecedented conception of life and duty, and the exquisite morality of the gospel.

Alas! we cannot thus reject the supernatural from Christianity, and retain its ethical forces. For the more closely we examine the Gospels, the more certain we shall become that the supernatural is by no means eliminated when one tears off the record of certain events, of the so called miracles, since these are only visible flashes from an atmosphere densely laden, surcharged throughout with the same electricity. The miraculous reaches far beyond the miracles,