
A table of contents for *The Expositor* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_expositor-series-1.php

their fellow-men. Temptation by an unseen tempter, is an experience as familiar to every spiritually-observant man, as rescue by an unseen deliverer.

Nor is there any abstract reason why we should refuse credence to this evidence of our experience reinforcing the evidence of holy writ. All thinkers will agree that our mind is unable to comprehend the origin of evil, and this is no mean confirmation of the doctrine that it did not originate among beings of our rank but was imported to us from other spheres. If so, the question is at an end. And if *our* fall has been able to inflict calamity upon the whole creation which groaneth, why should this principle be confined to us? What abstract reason can be urged against the existence of Beelzebub which would not also disprove the possibility of Heliogabalus, Philip the Second, and the Napoleons? Evil, that is the portent, and not the existence of evil spirits any more than evil men.

And concerning the existence of evil one can only say that Christianity is no more responsible for it than theism, while atheism, the rival of both, can neither explain evil nor good, except by confounding them with the profitable and the injurious, sin with a bad accident, remorse with pain, the joy of an approving conscience with that of a good investment.

G. A. CHADWICK.

ST. PAUL'S FIRST JOURNEY IN ASIA MINOR.

III.

IT is characteristic of the way in which the figure of Paul dwarfed that of Barnabas in the memory of later generations in Asia Minor, where the *Acta Theklæ* was written, that no reference to the latter occurs in these Acta. The companions of Paul are only the treacherous Hermogenes and Demas. I allude to this point because it suggests why

αὐτοὺς was changed to αὐτόν in Acts xiv. 1, as it appears in Codex Bezæ. The corrector thought only of Paul.[1]

According to the route described, Paul and Barnabas entered Iconium from the west, having a good view of the extensive gardens and orchards, which form such a charming feature of the suburbs. C H give a very fair account of Iconium,[2] of the great part that it played in later history, and of the natural features amid which it is placed, at the western extremity of the vast plains of Lycaonia, with a mountainous country beginning to the west about six miles away, and hills on the north and south at a distance of about ten or twelve miles.

Iconium was in early times a city of Phrygia, situated on the eastern frontier, where Phrygia borders on Lycaonia; but in later times it was called a city of Lycaonia. It is important for our purposes to discover at what period it began to be called a city of Lycaonia and ceased to be Phrygian. Modern geographers all state that no writer later than Xenophon calls Iconium Phrygian; but this is erroneous. In Acts xiv. 6 the apostles, being in danger at Iconium, are said to have "fled to the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe, and the surrounding country." The writer obviously considered that in their flight from Iconium to a town eighteen miles distant they crossed the Lycaonian frontier, and his view is precisely that of Xenophon, who also entered Lycaonia immediately after leaving Iconium.

[1] I hope to discuss the readings of Cod. Bez. relating to Asia Minor in a volume which will shortly appear, and to give reasons which suggest that certain changes were introduced by a reviser familiar with the topography of Asia Minor as it was between A.D. 100 and 150.

[2] But they ought not to quote Leake's incorrect statement that Mount Argæus in Cappadocia is visible from the outskirts of the city. Hamilton has rightly expressed his disbelief in this statement. The two snowy peaks which Leake saw are the peaks of the Hassan Dagh, a lofty mountain north-west of Tyana, which I have seen from a still greater distance. The summit of Argæus is single, and though it is higher than Hassan Dagh, being about 13,000 feet, it could not possibly be visible from such a distance as Iconium: moreover Hassan Dagh lies right in the way.

The coincidence between the two journeys is perfect: the phrase in Acts is a striking instance of local accuracy and a sufficient proof that even in the first century after Christ Iconium was by the natives reckoned as Phrygian. It is true that Cicero, Strabo, and Pliny make Iconium a Lycaonian city. This constitutes a perfectly satisfactory proof that such was the general usage between at least 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., founded on the fact that for administrative purposes Iconium was united with Lycaonia; but it is quite consistent with the view that the Iconians continued to count themselves Phrygian, and to distinguish themselves from their Lycaonian neighbours even after they were united with them in one governmental district. The witness to this view actually visited Iconium, came into intimate relations with the people, and spoke according to the native fashion.

In the third century another visitor's testimony assigns Iconium to Phrygia. This witness is Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. It is certain that he had visited the city, for he implies that he was present at the council held there about 215 A.D.[1]

The supposition that the Iconians clung to their old nationality, after it had become a mere historical memory devoid of political reality, may appear rather hazardous, as the ancients are certainly rather loose in using geographical terms. But one who has studied the history of Asia Minor realises how persistently ethnical and national distinctions were maintained, and how strong were the prejudice and even antipathy felt by each tribe or nation against its neighbours. The Iconians cherished their pride of birth; and in all probability difference of language originally emphasized their diversity from

[1] See Cyprian, Epist. lxxv. 7. On the other hand, Ammianus xiv. 2, 1, speaks of it as a town of Pisidia; the re-arrangement of the provinces about A.D. 297 led to this temporary connexion, which does not concern us. (See *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 393).

their Lycaonian neighbours. It is inconsistent with the whole character of these races to suppose that the Phrygians of Iconium could be brought to call themselves Lycaonians, and to give up the old tribal hatred against their nearest neighbours. It was precisely the nearness which accentuated the hatred.

This tribal jealousy is characteristic of Asia Minor still. The traveller frequently finds the people of two neighbouring villages differing from each other in manners and in dress; they speak the same language, profess the same religion, but they have little intercourse with each other and no intermarriage, and each village regards the other as hateful and alien.[1]

But I should hardly have ventured to state this supposition publicly, were I not able to prove it by the testimony of the only native of Iconium whose evidence is preserved to us. In the year 163 A.D. Hierax, one of the Christians associated with Justin Martyr in his trial before the Prefect of Rome, Junius Rusticus, was asked by the judge who his parents were. He replied, "My earthly parents are dead; and I have come hither (*i.e.* as a slave), torn away from Iconium of Phrygia."[2]

By this single testimony of a native, preserved in such an accidental way, we are enabled to realise that the expression in Acts xiv. 6 was contrary to general usage and peculiar to Iconium, and that it could hardly have occurred except to one who had actually lived in the city and caught

[1] After the "Union of the Lycaonians" was established towards the middle of the second century after Christ, Iconium was not a member; but we are precluded from using this fact as evidence that Iconium still held aloof in social matters from the Lycaonians, for it had been made a Roman colony by Hadrian, and as such it was raised far above the level of the "Union"; the colony Lystra, also, though originally a Lycaonian city, did not condescend to join it.

[2] Rusticus was prefect in A.D. 163, as Borghesi has shown. Hierax was in all probability a slave of the emperor. It is noteworthy that Ruinart proposed to change Phrygia in the text to Lycaonia, not recognising the importance of this testimony. (See *Acta Justini*, 3.)

the tone of its population. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to reply to the possible objection that Cicero also visited Iconium, and yet he calls it part of Lycaonia; no one who has comprehended the reasoning would make this objection. Cicero was a Roman governor, who looked on Iconium merely as the chief city of the government district. He did not mix with the natives or catch their expressions. He was devoid of interest in the people, the country, the scenery, and the antiquities; the smallest scrap of political gossip or social scandal from Rome bulked more largely in his mind than the entire interests of Lycaonia. No better proof of the entire change of feeling towards the provincials which was produced by the Imperial government can be found than the contrast between Pliny's letters and Cicero's written from their respective provinces.

The two instances which have been mentioned in this paper, show how accidental is the preservation of the knowledge which enables us to refute negative arguments. But for the answer given in the Roman trial by a native of Iconium in 163 A.D., we should be unable to reply to the argument that the phrase in Acts is inaccurate because Iconium was universally entitled Lycaonian in the centuries immediately before and after Christ; and but for the accident that in 1884 the present writer persevered in minutely examining a hillock in the plain, which had previously been passed by other travellers unnoticed, we should be unable to answer the presumption that the term "Royal Road" as applied to a Roman Imperial road indicated rather a second than a first century date.

Iconium was, under the Persian Empire, a part of Phrygia. Afterwards geographical situation prevailed over tribal character, and it came to be recognised by the world in general as the chief city of Lycaonia. This may probably have taken place during the third century B.C., when it was part of the vast realm ruled by the Seleucid kings of

Syria. It was perhaps in 63 B.C. that a tetrarchy of Lycaonia, containing fourteen cities, with Iconium as capital, was formed. This tetrarchy was given to King Polemo in 39 B.C. by Mark Antony; but soon afterwards it passed into the hands of King Amyntas, and on his death it became a Roman province in 25 B.C. The tetrarchy included Derbe, which was the frontier city of the Roman Empire in this quarter down to the year 72 A.D.

Under the Roman Empire one of the most prominent features in the development of society in Asia Minor was the way in which it was affected first by the Greek and afterwards by the Græco-Roman civilisation. The Greek civilisation was dominant in a few great cities, which had been founded or reorganised by the Greek kings, and into which many foreigners, Greeks, Syrians, and Jews, had been introduced. But it never affected the country very strongly until Roman organisation began to spread abroad that mixture of Greek and Roman ideas which we may style the Græco-Roman civilisation. Few questions relating to Asia Minor during the first two centuries of the Empire can be understood properly without appreciating the true character of this movement, which took the form of a conflict between the native, primitive, oriental, "barbarian"[1] manners of the country and the new European fashion. The western civilisation and spirit spread first through the towns, and at a later time very slowly through the country districts. All who got any education learned the Greek language, adopted Greek manners and no doubt Greek dress also, called themselves, their children, and their gods by Greek names, and affected to identify their religion with that of Greece and Rome. All this class of persons despised the native language and the native ways; and just as they adopted Greek mythology and Greek

[1] The term "barbarian" is of course used in the ancient sense to indicate all that is opposed in character to "Greek."

anthropomorphic spirit in religion, so they often professed to be connected with, or descended from, the Greeks.[1]

In Iconium especially, the metropolis of the tetrarchy, the population, we may be sure, prided themselves on their modern spirit and their high civilisation; and they naturally distinguished themselves both from the rustics of the villages, and from the people of the non-Roman part of Lycaonia. Now it is a fact that the latter were called at this time Lycaones; the name appears on the coins of Antiochus IV., who was their king from A.D. 38 to 72.[2] In contrast to them, the Iconians prided themselves on belonging to the Roman province; for the loyalty of the Asian provinces to the empire was extraordinarily strong. But, if they contrasted themselves with the Lycaonian subjects of a barbarian king, by what ethnic or geographical name could they designate themselves? "Phrygian" was equivalent in popular usage to "slave." There was no possible name for them except that which was derived from the Roman province to which they belonged. I can entertain no doubt that about 50 A.D. the address by which an orator would most please the Iconians, in situations where the term "Iconians" was unsuitable, was ἄνδρες Γαλάται, "gentlemen of the province Galatia." This general term was still more necessary in addressing a mixed audience drawn from various towns of the Roman part of Lycaonia.[3] Some term applicable to all, yet not calculated

[1] It is characteristic of the inconsistencies and curiosities of "patriotism," that the same persons who stubbornly maintained that they were Phrygians in contrast with their Lycaonian neighbours, also were flattered by any suggestion that they were of the Greek style and kindred. Myths of the Greek origin of Phrygian cities are common (see *e.g.* Synnada, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 14). It would have been, of course, treasonable to coquet in any way with the name "Roman."

[2] With a brief interval, 39–41, during which he was deprived of his kingdom by Caligula.

[3] But when we take into account that Antioch also was one of the churches addressed, the term "Galatians" becomes still more necessary. In the apostrophe, "Ye foolish Galatians," the adjective is softened by the polite and

to grate on the ethnic prejudices of any, was needed for purposes of courtesy. Besides using this generic term, the skilful orator would also introduce allusions to the Greek feeling and culture of his audience, assuming that they belonged to the more advanced and intelligent part of the population.

This tone of courtesy and solicitude for the feelings of his audience, which we attribute to the supposed orator of the period, is precisely the tone in which Paul addresses the "Galatians"; and he introduces in iii. 28 an allusion to them as Greeks, when he contrasts them with the Jews.

Why then, an objector may urge, does St. Paul countenance the expression, "the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe"? Simply because in the narrative he is expressing himself geographically, and is using the precise words in which his advisers and informants might have described his route to him when he was arranging his flight from Iconium, whereas in the epistle he is using the language of polite address.

The most instructive commentary on St. Paul's way of addressing the Galatians is to be found in the orations of Dio Chrysostom half a century later, addressed to the people of Nikomedeia, of Nicæa, of Apameia in Bithynia and of Apameia in Phrygia. In the latter case he pointedly avoids an ethnic term: "Phrygians" had a bad connotation, "Asians" was too general; and he styles them simply "Gentlemen." But he uses the old historic name Kelainai, not the modern name Apameia, and he speaks of their country sometimes as Asia, sometimes by the more precise geographical term Phrygia.

An objection may be urged that Christianity was opposed to such a tone as is here implied in the civilised townspeople towards the ruder population of the uncivilised

general ethnic: it would have been personal and rude to say, "Ye foolish Antiochians and Iconians, etc.

extra-Roman districts. But this objection seems not to be in keeping with the facts. The Christian Church in Asia Minor was always opposed to the primitive native character. It was Christianity, and not the Imperial government, which finally destroyed the native languages, and made Greek the universal language of Asia Minor. The new religion was strong in the towns before it had any hold of the country parts. The ruder and the less civilised any district was, the slower was Christianity in permeating it. Christianity in the early centuries was the religion of the more advanced, not of the "barbarian," peoples; and in fact it seems to be nearly confined within the limits of the Roman world, and practically to take little thought of any people beyond, though in theory "Barbarian and Scythian" are included in it.

The account of Iconium by F differs greatly from that which has just been given. He calls it "the capital city of an independent tetrarchy," says that it was not in the province of Galatia, and that "the diversity of political governments which at this time prevailed in Asia Minor was so far an advantage to the apostles that it rendered them more able to escape from one jurisdiction to another." In so far as it concerns antiquities, this view is against the evidence,[1] and in so far as it concerns the character of Paul's action in trying to escape from one jurisdiction to another, is opposed to the theory which is here advocated.

Lystra is about six hours S.S.W. from Iconium. The road passes for a mile or more through the luxuriant gardens of the suburbs, and then across the level plain. It ascends for the first fourteen miles so slightly that it needs a barometer to make the fact perceptible. Then it reaches a range of hills, which stretch outwards in a south-easterly

[1] It would be tedious and unsuitable for the present occasion to discuss the evidence; but the allusion to evidence against him made by F in note 1, p. 378, is sufficient to disprove his own case.

direction from the mountainous country that bounds the vast Lycaonian plains on the west and separates them from the great depression in which are situated the two connected lakes Karalis and Trogitis, now called Bey Sheher and Seidi Sheher lakes (the former the largest in Asia Minor). This range of hills, which entails a further ascent of about 500 feet, gradually diminishes in height as it stretches further away towards the east, and finally sinks down into the plain about ten miles away. After crossing these hills, the road descends into a valley, in breadth about a mile, down the centre of which flows a river [1] towards the south-east; and on the southern bank of the river about a mile from the place where the road leaves the hills, stands the village of Khatyn Serai, "The Lady's Mansion." The name dates no doubt from the time of the Seljuk Sultans of Roum, when the village was an estate and country residence of some sultana from Konia (as Iconium is now called). Its elevation, about 4,175 feet above the sea and 427 above Iconium, fits it for a summer residence.[2]

This situation for Lystra was guessed in 1820 by Colonel Leake with his wonderful instinct, and was rejected by succeeding geographers. To Prof. Sterrett belongs the credit of having solved this most important problem by discovering epigraphic proof that Lystra was situated beside Khatyn Serai. The exact site is on a hill in the centre of the valley, a mile north of the modern village, and on the opposite side of the river. The hill rises about 100 to 150 feet above the plain, and the sides are steep. Few traces

[1] This river is wrongly represented in every published map. It has had a considerable course before it reaches Khatyn Serai, draining a large part of the mountain district, in which Kiepert's latest maps represent the water as flowing westwards to Bey Sheher Lake. My friend, Prof. Sterrett, has erred in this point in his *Wolfe Expedition*, pp. 159 and 190. The map in my *Hist. Geogr.* is also wrong: I examined this point in 1891, but the map was complete before that time.

[2] The heights, which are only approximate, are calculated from my friend Mr. Headlam's aneroid observations.

of ancient buildings remain above the surface. A small ruined church, of no great antiquity, stands in the low ground beneath the hill on the south-west; and beside it a fountain gushes forth from beneath a low arch. This fountain is still counted sacred, and is called Ayasma (*i.e.* ἁγίασμα), a generic name in Asia Minor for fountains visited as sacred by the Christians. As Khatyn Serai is a purely Turkish village, this fountain, which has retained its character among the Christians of Iconium, must mark a spot which was peculiarly sacred in ancient Lystra.

A little personal reminiscence, concerning the greatest disappointment of my exploring experiences, may perhaps be pardoned. It gives some idea of the chances of travel, and puts in stronger relief Prof. Sterrett's patience and skill in exploration, to which we owe the discovery of the site of Lystra and all the results that follow from it. When I was travelling in 1882 in the company of Sir Charles Wilson, we had set our hearts on discovering Lystra. Leake's conjecture, confirmed by the fact that Hierocles implies Lystra to be near Iconium, turned our minds to Khatyn Serai; and when we heard that it was reported to contain great remains, we left Iconium with the full expectation of finding Lystra there. But in the village six inscriptions were discovered, four of which were Latin. This preponderance of Latin inscriptions made me certain that a Roman colony must have been situated there; and as Lystra was not a colony, it must be looked for elsewhere. Sir C. Wilson did not admit my reasoning, and maintained his own opinion that Lystra might be there. On the morrow, we rode up the water two hours' distance to Kilisra, and spent great part of the day examining the interesting and really beautiful series of churches, cut in the rock, which prove that an ancient monastery (rather than a town) was situated there. As we returned in the afternoon, our road passed near the ancient

site beside Khatyn Serai, and we thought of crossing the river to examine it. But the day was far spent, and the camp had been sent to a village four hours beyond Khatyn Serai, so that time was short. Had we gone over[1] to the small hill, to a considerable extent artificial, on which the ancient city was built, we should have discovered the large inscribed pedestal on which the colony Lystra recorded the honour which it paid to its founder, the Emperor Augustus, and we should have found that both our opinions were right—Sir C. Wilson's that Lystra was situated at Khatyn Serai, and mine that a Roman colony was situated there. But at that time no evidence was known, no coin of Lystra had been preserved to prove that it was a colony; and the fact remained unknown till 1885, when Prof. Sterrett's exploring instinct guided him to the marble pedestal. Then other evidence came to light: Monsieur Waddington possessed a coin of the colony Lystra, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer another, and the British Museum has recently acquired a third.

Situated on this bold hill, Lystra could easily be made a very strong fortress, and must have been well suited for its purpose of keeping in check the tribes of the mountain districts that lie west and south of it. It was the furthest east of the fortified cities, which Augustus constructed to facilitate the pacification of Pisidia and Isauria;[2] and for seventy years after its foundation it must have been a town of considerable consequence, proud of its Roman character and its superior rank. As a Lycaonian town Lystra had been quite undistinguished; as a Roman garrison town it was a bulwark of the province Galatia, and a sister city to the great Roman centre at Antioch. A contemporary memorial of this pride of relationship is preserved in the

[1] I must bear the blame for this omission; I had had fever, and was suffering greatly during that part of the journey, and I was ready to take any excuse to get to camp an hour earlier.

[2] They were really old cities, which Augustus remodelled and reconstituted.

following inscription found in Antioch [1] on a pedestal which once supported a statue of Concord :—

"To the very brilliant colony of Antioch her sister the very brilliant colony of Lystra did honour by presenting the statue of Concord."

When we consider these facts, we can hardly hesitate to admit that St. Paul might in a letter address the church at Lystra by the Roman provincial title.

Much may yet be discovered at Lystra. We should be especially glad to find some independent proof that a temple of Jupiter before the city (*Διὸς Προπόλεως*) existed there.[2] From the many examples of such temples quoted by the commentators on Acts, it seems highly probable that there was one at Lystra. The nearest and best analogy, which is still unpublished, may be mentioned here. At Claudiopolis of Isauria, a town in the mountains south-east from Lystra, an inscription in the wall of the mediæval castle records a dedication to Jupiter-before-the-town (*Διὶ Προαστίῳ*). In 1890 Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Headlam visited Lystra along with me; and our hope was to fix the probable position of the temple and perhaps to discover a dedication to the god. In the latter we were disappointed; but there is every probability that some great building once stood beside the pedestal dedicated to Augustus. This pedestal stands near the hill on the south-east side. Looking from the hill down the valley towards the open plain, one cannot fail to see it in front of the city, and the signs of concealed ruins beside it.

The pedestal of Augustus seems not to have been moved from its original place, and there is every probability that the worship of the Imperial founder was connected with the chief temple, as at Ephesus the Augusteum was

[1] Discovered by Prof. Sterrett in 1885; recopied by me in 1886.

[2] The reading of Cod. Bez. in xiii. 13 is so much more accurate and true to actual usage as to suggest that in this case it preserves a better tradition than the received text.

built within the sacred precinct of Artemis. The other possibility, that the Ayasma marks the peribolos of Zeus and retains the sacred character attaching to the spot in pre-Christian and Christian times alike, is not so probable.

Very little excavation would be needed to verify this identification, and probably to disclose the remains of the temple, in front of whose gates the sacrifice was prepared for the apostles.

The site of Derbe is not established on such certain evidence as that of Lystra. The credit of reaching approximate accuracy about its situation belongs again to Prof. Sterrett. His argument was that "in reading the account [in Acts xiv.], one is impressed with the idea that Derbe cannot be far from Lystra." [1] He therefore placed Derbe between the villages Bossola and Zosta, which are only about two miles distant from each other, and "the ruins of which, being so near together, represent one and the same ancient city." But after visiting the district in 1890, I should say that Bossola is only a Seljuk khan and halting-place on a great road, and that the remains at Zosta are not *in situ*, but have all been carried. The great site of this district is at Gudelissin, three miles W.N.W. from Zosta. Prof. Sterrett rightly observes that "here a large mound, in every way similar to the Assyrian Tels, shows many traces of an ancient village or town." But after thus correctly estimating the antiquity of the site, he proceeds to say with less accuracy that "most of the remains must be referred to Christian influence." [2]

Gudelissin is the only site in this district where a city of the style of Derbe, the stronghold of "the robber Antipater," could be situated. The remains at Zosta have been taken from it, so that it now presents a bare and

[1] *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 23.

[2] The site must have been inhabited till a comparatively recent time, as there is a large ruined building of no very ancient date on the upper part of the mound. This building is prominent in the photograph which Mr. Hogarth took of the site.

poor appearance; but excavation in the mound, which is obviously to a great extent artificial, would certainly reveal many traces of a very old city, of the style of Tyana or Zela. The mound belongs to that class which Strabo entitles "mounds of Semiramis," and which are a sure sign of ancient origin and oriental character. On this deserted site excavation would be comparatively inexpensive, the ground could be had for a few pounds, labour in those remote parts costs little, and no difficulty would be experienced with the excavated soil.

Derbe was the frontier city of the Roman province on the south-east, and on this account a certain importance attached to it, which led Claudius to remodel its constitution and to honour it with the name Claudio-Derbe. Probably this took place in the earlier part of his reign; and the hypothesis may be hazarded that Iconium was made jealous by such an honour to another city of the Tetrarchy, and by representations at Rome succeeded in obtaining the same honour towards the end of Claudius's reign, A.D. 50–54.[1]

The preceding description of the political situation in Lycaonia in the first half of the first century shows how mistaken are some of the statements which are commonly made about St. Paul's action on this journey. C H consider that "after the cruel treatment they had experienced in the great towns on a frequented route," the apostles retired to a wilder region, "into which the civilisation of the conquering and governing people had hardly penetrated," viz. to Lystra and Derbe. We now see that Lystra was a town of precisely the opposite character, a centre and

[1] The approximate date is assured by C. I. G., 3991, if we may assume that the title *ktistes*, there applied to Pupius Præsens, procurator of Galatia about 53–55, implies that the re-modelling of Iconium was conducted by him. The governor of Galatia about this time was Afrinus. A coin of Claudiconium bearing his portrait and that of Claudius is preserved at Paris in the national collection, and has been published by M. Babelon (*Mélanges Num.*, p. 57). Governors and procurators regularly held office for a number of years at this time.

stronghold for the "civilisation of the governing people." Paul's procedure was very different from that suggested by C H. So far from going to the less civilised parts, he always sought out the great civilised centres. The towns which he visited for the sake of preaching are as a rule the centres of civilisation and government in their respective districts —Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi. He must have passed through several uncivilised Pisidian towns, such as Adada and Misthia and Vasada; but nothing is recorded about them. He preaches, so far as we are informed, only in the centres of commerce and of Roman life, and among these rank Lystra Colonia and Claudio-Derbe.

This point is one of peculiar importance in studying the effect produced by the Christian religion on the Roman world. It spread at first among the educated more rapidly than among the uneducated; nowhere had it a stronger hold (as Mommsen observes) than in the household and at the court of the emperors. Where Roman organisation and Greek thought have gone, there Paul by preference goes.

Moreover it must be remembered that in the ruder parts of Lycaonia Paul could not have made himself understood. He had to go where Greek was known; and it is pretty certain that at this time Greek was known only in the more important cities, and that there the people were probably for the most part bilingual. In Lystra the Roman settlers no doubt knew Latin as well as Greek, while the native inhabitants, who were much more numerous, spoke both Greek and their native language. Greek then, and not Latin or Lycaonian, would be the common language of these two classes of the population.

In reference to the sacrifice and worship which were tendered to Paul as Hermes and Barnabas as Zeus, it would be quite a misconception to suppose that faith in the old native religion was stronger in Lystra than in more civilised towns, as is implied by C H and F. Where the

Græco-Roman civilisation had established itself, the old religion survived as strongly as ever, but the deities were spoken of by Greek, or sometimes by Roman, names, and were identified with the gods of the more civilised races. This is precisely what we find at Lystra : Zeus and Hermes are the names of the deities as translated into Greek, but the old Lycaonian gods are meant and the Lycaonian language was used, apparently because, in a moment of excitement, it rose more naturally to the lips of the people than the cultured Greek language. It is noteworthy that those to whose lips Lycaonian rose so readily were not converts, but the common city mob.

The commentators aptly compare the pretty tale, localised in these plains, of the visit paid by the same two gods to the old couple, Philemon and Baucis. For the right understanding of the story, we must remember that in this Asian religion Zeus and Hermes are the embodiment of two different aspects of the ultimate divinity, "the god," who was represented sometimes as Zeus, sometimes as Hermes, sometimes as Apollo, according to the special aspect which was for the moment prominent.

W. M. Ramsay.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

VIII. Certain Modern Theories.

In earlier papers I have endeavoured to expound the teaching of the various writers of the New Testament about the death of Christ in its relation to the salvation announced by Him. We found that these various writers agree to assert the absolute necessity of the death of Christ for man's salvation and trace this necessity to man's sin; and that St. Paul goes beyond the other Sacred Writers by tracing it to the Law and the Justice of God.