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pied with the thought of death and the last things ; but how differently does he express himself in the second letter ! He had learned that the expression used in the earlier was open to misconception and therefore unsuited for his purpose.

Gradually he learned to fulfil his task better, viz., to interpret the wisdom of God, to explain Christ who is the wisdom of God (1 Cor. i. 24, 30), not merely to destroy the false sham wisdom, but to build up the true wisdom, to be the wise master-builder, who lays the foundation on which others may complete the superstructure. Such is the development of Paul, the adequate expression of Christian higher thought for the first time in the Greek tongue, and not in a technical jargon nor in a barbarous Hebraicising kind of Greek, but in the natural familiar language of the Greek-speaking races.

W. M. RAMSAY.

*NOTES ON DR. LEPSIUS' INTERPRETATION OF THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE OF THE APOCALYPSE.*

(1) THE planet-angels with which the seven cities of Asia are associated in Dr. Lepsius' interpretation of Apocalypse i. 20, are not their *θεοὶ πολιούχοι*. In the case of Pergamon, however, there is an interesting "convenientia" between the angel of Mars and the cultus of Rome and Augustus, of which Pergamon was the chief seat in the province of Asia.

The founder of Rome was the son of Mars. After his death he was worshipped as a god, under the name of Quirinus. Mars, therefore, was one of the "patriarchs" of the Roman People (Cicero, *Phil.* iv. 2, 5). Romulus, on his mother's side, was a descendant of Ascanius Iulus, son of Aeneas. The Julii claimed Iulus as their genarch, and by adoption Augustus was a Julius. Augustus avoided

the style and title of royalty, but his principate was really a restoration of the old kingship, and he and his successors were habitually spoken of as βασιλεῖς by the eastern provincials. He was regarded, and not without reason, as the second founder of Rome. Vergil makes mention of him in the *Georgics* (iii. 27) as "Quirinus," and the restoration of more than eighty temples in Rome was typical of the work he sought to accomplish on the whole fabric of the *Respublica Romana*.

It is hardly possible that the author of the Apocalypse was acquainted with the legends of Aeneas and Romulus. Still, it is an interesting coincidence that on the one hand he gives the title of "Satan's throne" to the chief Asian seat of the worship of those Martial divinities, Rome and Augustus, while, on the other hand, Jewish angelology identified Satan with the spirit or "genius" of the planet whose name in the speech and literature of Latium is Mars. The coincidence results from the application of the names of the seven cities, taken in a certain order (which is clearly explained in Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches*, chap. xv.), to the planetary scheme. But apart from this, "Satan's throne" exactly conveys the aspect and significance of an Augusteum or Cæsareum to the Christians of primitive days. Cæsar demanding the things that were God's was the great "adversary," *the* Satan, *the* Diabolos, opposing and oppressing the Church, "the kingdom of the saints of the Most High" (*op. cit.* pp. 293-294).

(2) Dr. Lepsius supposes a transposition in the planetary scheme which substitutes Venus for the Sun in the fourth place (EXPOSITOR, February, pp. 174-175). The necessity of this transposition is not made clear. With the planet-names taken in due order, according to the orbital scheme (p. 174) the Angel of the Church in Thyatira is the Angel

of the Sun. The θεὸς πολιοῦχος *par excellence* of Thyatira was Apollo Tyrinnaios, or Helios (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 320). The Letter to Thyatira is sent from "the Son of God, who hath his eyes like a flame of fire,<sup>1</sup> and his feet like unto shining<sup>2</sup> bronze," and the promise to "him that overcometh," over and above crushing victory over the heathen, is, "I will give him the morning star" (*op. cit.* p. 329). The Son of God speaks of Himself, in the epilogue of the Apocalypse, as "the bright star of the morning." It is possible that the "morning star" in both instances means the Sun, Christ being "the Sun of Righteousness" (Apoc. xxii. 16; Mal. iv. 2).

Why is the Sun of Righteousness portrayed with "feet like unto shining bronze" looking as though they were glowing in a furnace" (Apoc. i. 15; ii. 18)? No doubt this portraiture has some connexion with the guild of bronze-workers at Thyatira. Is there any probability in supposing reminiscence of bronze statues of Apollo Tyrinnaios, with their smooth shining surfaces, and of Apollo-statues elsewhere—e.g., at Rhodes, which the writer of the Apocalypse may have visited?

(3) The Angel of the Church in Smyrna is identified with Zedekiel, the Angel of the planet Jupiter and the sixth heaven (p. 177). Zedekiel is "the lord of the tribunal and guardian of right" (*ibid.*). So, according to Hellenic tradition, the authority of judges was from Zeus (*Iliad*, i. 237-239; ii. 100-103), and among the various titles of Zeus was Themistios (giver of "statutes and judgments"). Zeus also is the witness of oaths (ὄρκιος) and the protector and avenger of strangers and suppliants (ξένιος).

The Angel of Zedek or Jupiter is "the judge of life and

<sup>1</sup> And whose face is "as the sun shining in his strength" (Apoc. i. 16).

<sup>2</sup> Does χαλκολιβάνη represent an original χαλκῶ λιπαρῶ? Cf. Theocr. xxii. 19 (λιπαρὰ γαλάνα), and xxiii. 8, ὄσων λιπαρὸν σέλας.

death" who surrenders his lordship over life and death to the Son of God (p. 177). Besides Zeus Olympios or Ouranios, and in some way a double of the God of the Sky, there was Zeus Katachthonios, the God of the dark underworld. The three judges of souls in the underworld were all sons of Zeus—his vicegerents in that region.

Christ is "the first and the last." The tradition of Hellenic minstrelsy enjoined the beginning and the ending of recitation with mention of the name of Zeus. *Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι* (Theocr. xvii. 1; cf. Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 2, v. 45; Horace, *Carm.* I. xii. 13-18). Zeus, the sky-god, had a domain reaching to illimitable distances, from beyond to beyond the ends of the earth.

He who is "the first and the last" also "died and came to life." The Seer of Patmos did not take the Divine title of "the first and the last" from any pagan writing or proverb to apply it to Christ; still less can we attribute to him any knowledge of Cretan Zeus-myths. But it is worth while noting that on Mount Ida in Crete a tomb of Zeus was shown—yet Zeus was king of the Immortals. Zagreus, son of Zeus and Persephone, was torn limb from limb by the Titans, but born again as Dionysos (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, pt. I. ch. i.; Jevons, *Intr. to the History of Religion*, pp. 356-7). Osiris, whom the Egyptians invoked as "Lord of Eternity," had been thrown into the sea, and his corpse afterwards dismembered. To him who had thus died, but through death had passed into life unending, the Egyptians made prayers which were prayers for "the crown of life."

The eagle, as the form in which the inhabitants of the sixth heaven, or sphere of Jupiter, gather in Dante's vision, is appropriate. Sophocles (*Fr.* 766) and Pindar (*Pyth.* i. 10) represented Zeus' favourite bird as having his customary resting-place on the sceptre of the Olympian king. The

sceptre was the symbol of the king's authority to judge and govern (*Iliad*, i. 237-239; Ps. xlv. 6; Esther iv. 11). In the Apocalypse, the eagle appears in one scene as a herald of coming judgment (viii. 13 and Dr. Swete's note).

(4) An astrological background for Apocalypse xii. was suggested some years ago by a contributor to the *Journal of Theological Studies*. The *twelve* stars in the crown of the woman who appears clothed with the sun and standing upon the moon suggest the *twelve* signs of the Zodiac.<sup>1</sup> A serpent (Draco) and an eagle (Aquila) appear in the astrology of Aratus. In the vision of Apocalypse xii. the Eagle is sent to save the Woman from the Serpent, and this deliverance of the Woman and her offspring is followed up by Michael, the Angel of the planet Mercury (p. 175), and his host assailing the Serpent and casting him down to the Earth. There may be in Apocalypse xii. a new application of an old astronomical or astrological myth which originated as the presentation of the celestial counterparts and accompaniments of terrestrial events.

The following is offered as a possible account of the matter. In its original form, the astrological myth was an allegory of the story of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. The Woman clothed with the sun, standing on the moon, and crowned with twelve stars, is the Chosen People (Dr. Swete's note on Apoc. xii. 1). Her pangs symbolise the misery of sorely-oppressed Israel (Isa. xxvi. 16-18; xxxvii. 3), or perhaps they are a collective representation of the travail of the Hebrew women, whose male offspring (Apoc. xii. 5) Pharaoh purposed to destroy (Ex. i. 15-22). The two interpretations of this detail are not indeed mutually exclusive. Most notable of all the male Hebrew children born in Egypt under the oppression was Moses. The

<sup>1</sup> It must be admitted, however, that ἀστέρων (not ἀστρων) makes this suggestion somewhat doubtful.

catching-up of the male child to the throne of God might symbolise Moses' escape into Midian and the region beyond Horeb "the mount of God" (Ex. ii. 15; iii. 1), but it might even better represent a belief that Messiah was born at that time and caught up to heaven, there to abide until the days of his manifestation to Israel. The Woman is carried "on eagles' wings" into the desert (Ex. xix. 4; cited by Dr. Swete on Apoc. xii. 14), despite the efforts of the Serpent. The ejection of a cataract of water by the Serpent may be taken as a kind of inverted representation of Pharaoh's attempt to surround the Israelites and bring them to a surrender on the shore of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 9). In Ezekiel xxix. 3 Pharaoh is the great dragon lying in the midst of the water: in xxxii. 2 he is spoken of as "gushing forth with waters" (Hengstenberg). The drama in Apocalypse xii. 13 f. is transferred from the celestial to the terrestrial region, but the actors are the same.

H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.

## LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.\*

### XXI.

*προσευχή*.—See *Notes* iii. on Strack's important collection in *Archiv* ii. 541 f. Strack seems to assume that a *proseucha* was a synagogue. In Egypt perhaps it was, for in BM iii. p. 183<sup>60</sup> (113 A.D.) we find a *εὐχεῖον* mentioned as well as a *προσευχή*. Both pay the same water-rate—we recall the fact that at Philippi the *proseucha* was by the river—but there must be some difference: was a *εὐχεῖον* a simple "place of prayer," perhaps not even roofed in, like what is called *προσευχή* in Acts? See *Notes* x., s.v. *ἀρχων* and

\* For abbreviations see the February and March (1908) *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.