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The Expository Times Guild of Bible Study.

As already intimated, the subjects of study for the session 1898-99 are the First Book of Psalms (Psalms i.-xli.) and the First Epistle of St. Peter.

Those who desire to study one or both of these portions of Scripture between November 1898 and June 1899 are invited to send their name and address to the Editor of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. There is no fee or other obligation. The purpose of the Guild is to encourage systematic study of Holy Scripture as distinguished from the mere reading of it, and the conditions are made as simple as possible. The best commentary available should be used. There are excellent editions of both books in the 'Cambridge Bible for Colleges.' And if the member can study the Hebrew and Greek, he will know that Delitzsch's (Hodder & Stoughton) or Cheyne's *Psalms* (Kegan Paul) are scholarly and suggestive, while an edition of a portion of St. Peter by the late Professor Hort has just been published by Messrs. Macmillan.

Students are invited to send short papers as the result of their study, and the best of these papers will be published, one at least every month if found suitable. And the writers of those papers that are accepted will be asked at the end of the year to select a volume out of a list which Messrs. T. & T. Clark will furnish.

NEW MEMBERS.

- Rev. Frank Holmes, Withernsea, near Hull.
 Rev. James Vivian Rogerson, The Manse, Gladstone Place, Hanley, Staffs.
 Rev. A. W. Woolverton, Curate, 17 Sylvan Grove, Old Kent Road, London, S.E.
 Rev. Samuel P. Warren, Rector of Balbriggan, Co. Dublin.
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 Rev. T. Lionel Brooke, B.A., Curate of St. Mark's, Southampton.
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 Mr. G. Castle, 8 Bath Terrace, Bicester, Oxon.
 Mr. Thomas Ellis, 110 Ingleby Drive, Dennistoun, Glasgow.
 Rev. John Kellas, Manse of Rathen, Lonmay.

The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual.

BY PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., ABERDEEN.

XI. PROPITIATION AND EXPIATION.

WHEN the punishment has been inflicted the sufferer propitiates the god or goddess (*εἰλασάμενοι*) *Μητέρα Ἀνάειτιν, ἰλασάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστῶν, εἰλάσαστο τὸν θεόν, εἰλασαμένη εὐλογοῖ Μητρί*). This verb is rare in the New Testament, and much more frequent in the Old. The thought which lies in it, according to its ordinary sense, was too material for the spirit of Christianity. The process of propitiating the god is described in one case, in which the guilty person had offended by eating the sacred flesh of the goat; 'by purifications and

sacrifices, I propitiated the Lord' (*καθαρμοῖς καὶ θυσίαις εἰλασάμεν τὸν Κ[ύριον]*). Some kind of gift or offering may be understood as the means of propitiation in every case; the public statement and confession on a *stèle* was apparently a sufficient acknowledgment and propitiation; in others, the inscription and confession were engraved on the basis supporting the gift dedicated to the god. Thus the favour of the god was bought with a gift; and it may be in order to avoid this suggestion that the word is rather avoided in the New Testament. It occurs in Lk 18¹³, where the publican says, 'May God be propitiated towards me, the sinner'

(ὁ Θεὸς ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ), and in He 2¹⁷, 'To make propitiation for the sins of the people' (εἰς τὸ ἰλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ).¹

In making propitiation for the Christian's sins, Christ himself is the propitiatory gift; and hence He is called the *ἰλασμός* *περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν* in 1 Jn 2² 4¹⁰, and *ἰλαστήριον* in Ro 3²⁵.² To the Christians Christ is the only propitiatory offering to purify their sins. These terms require a note. *ἰλασμός*, formed like *καθαρμός*, is not found in the inscriptions, but is used several times by Plutarch, e.g. *Solon*, 12, *ἰλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἰδρύσεσι*; both *καθαρμός* (found in *C.B.*, No. 42), and *ἰλασμός* are rather too literary in type to be common in inscriptions. *ἰλαστήριον* is more the type of word likely to be used in the epigraphic style. Just as the monument of dedication and thanksgiving to the god is called *εὐχαριστήριον* (see sec. iii.),³ so we might expect that the actual offering by which the god is propitiated should be called *ἰλαστήριον*. The word, though not as yet found in the hieratic documents, occurs as the supposed inscription on an offering dedicated to Athena of Ilium as a propitiation by the Greeks at Troy (*ἰλαστήριον Ἀχαιοὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰλιάδι*). Dio Chrysostom, who describes this supposed offering in his speech to the people of Ilium (xi. 121; *Arn.* i. p. 146) was accustomed to the hieratic language of Asia Minor, his own country; and we cannot doubt that he uses for this imaginary dedication a form of words with which his hearers were familiar. We may, therefore, confidently expect that, when discoveries increase, this word will be found actually engraved on the basis of a dedication.

Again, a sacrifice or gift dedicated to bring salvation, or to give thanks for salvation, is called *σωτήριον*; thus *Herodian* iv. 4, on the death of Geta, Caracalla, *προσκυνεῖται βύσας ἑαυτὸν ἐς γῆν ὁμολογεῖ τε χαριστήρια ἕθνε τε σωτήρια*; here all the terms are technical hieratic terms (*ὁμολογέω*, *χαριστήριον*, *προσκυνούμαι*), and so also must *σωτήριον* be. It is in this sense that *σωτήριον* is used in Lk 2³⁰ 3⁶, Ac 28²⁸, Eph 6¹⁷; it is not a mere variation of *σωτηρία* (according to the Authorized

and Revised Versions), but the thing that produces *σωτηρία*.

On these grounds we must conclude that *ἰλαστήριον* was a technical term, indicating the offering or dedication by which expiation is attained, i.e. among the Christians Christ.

Similarly, as the verb *λύω* was used in the sense of expiating one's faults, so *λύτρον* was the sacrifice whereby the expiation was effected (sec. viii. p. 6); and to the Christians Christ was the *λύτρον* (Mt 20²⁸, Mk 10⁴²).

The process of cure after the god was propitiated is hardly ever referred to in the class of inscriptions here discussed; the interest of the *hieron* was not primarily medical, as at the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus. Only in one case, Charite, having met with an accident, was treated with incantations by the priestess, and paid her vow (*περίπτωμα σχούσα καὶ ἐξασθείσα ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας εὐχήν*, *Athen. Mittheil.*, 1887, p. 254). In this case Charite's illness was not understood by her to be a chastisement. She had an accident; she vowed a gift if she were cured; the priestess cured her by chanting hieratic formulæ over her; she paid her vow. This sense of *ἐξάδω* is not elsewhere found, and the aorist passive is unknown; but the meaning seems certain, as Professor J. H. Wright points out. The verb elsewhere means to charm away a spell, to disenchant.

XII. THE CONFESSION.

The confession of the sin is in the pagan inscriptions expressed by *ὁμολογέω*, or, more commonly, *ἐξομολογέομαι*.⁴ These are characteristic Christian words. An interesting case occurs in Ac 19¹⁸, where many of the new Ephesian converts came 'confessing and declaring their deeds' (*ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν*). Their action seems to be exactly what they had been accustomed to regard as the proper procedure in their pagan belief; they confessed their wrong actions (*πράξεις* used in a bad sense here) and made proclamation of them, probably in the way of warning to others. 'Confessing their sins' (*ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας*) is a typical Christian phrase; and public confession is urged by James (5¹⁶) as a duty on all (*ἐξομολογεῖσθε*

¹ Deissmann points out (*Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 52) that the only other parallel that occurs to this use of *ἰλάσκεσθαι ἁμαρτίας* is in the inscriptions of Xanthos.

² The analogies quoted seem to show that *ἰλαστήριον* is noun, not adjective, in this place; though some distinguished scholars prefer to make it an adjective.

³ *χαριστήριον* is very common in epigraphy.

⁴ *ἐξομολογέω* (Lk 22⁶) has a different sense, 'he confessed.' *ὁμολογέω* has usually the sense of acknowledging something honourable; but *ὁμολογῶμεν τὰς ἁμαρτίας* (1 Jn 1⁹).

ἀλλήλους τὰς ἀμαρτίας), precisely as it was often demanded by the gods. The idea that a guilty person was 'sent (to the temple) to make confession' (πενθθεῖς[εἰς ὄμο]λο[γ]ίαν), occurs in *C.B.*, No. 51 (where the restoration has high probability, but is not certain); similarly, in He 3¹, Christ is ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν.

Some of the Cnidian formulæ of execration are instructive as to the importance attached to confession. Thus in one case 'may Antigone go up to (the shrine of) Demeter, consumed with the fire (of fever) and confessing her sin': *i.e.* may punishment be sent on her by the goddess, and force her to go to the temple, and confess her sin, and seek forgiveness: ἀναβαῖ Ἀντιγόνη πᾶ(ρ)Δάματρα πεπρημένα ἐξομολ[ογ]ου[μέν]α:¹ the term 'go up' is regularly used of going to the temple in the hieratic inscriptions of Asia Minor. Another example is, 'may he bring to Demeter (the things which he has stolen, clothes, etc.), he himself and any other that has my property, consumed with fever and confessing his sin.' It is characteristic of the way in which the Greeks tended to turn solemn religious ideas into a commonplace or a jest, that these formulas of execration seem to be at Cnidus often little more than advertisements of lost property.

XIII. THE ANNOUNCEMENT AND WARNING.

In the inscriptions of Dionysopolis the conclusion of the whole matter is a public confession and announcement engraved on a *stèle*, either as a warning that he who sins will have the *stèle* and its inscription as an example (ἕξει τὴν στήλην ἐξεμπλάριον), or as an order and command not to despise the god (παραγγέλλω πᾶσι μὴ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ). This use of παραγγέλλω is very common in Luke and Paul; *e.g.* 1 Ti 6¹⁷, τοῖς πλουτοῖς παράγγελλε μὴ ὑψηλοφρονεῖν. The use of ἐξεμπλάριον cannot be paralleled from the Bible; but it occurs in Ignatius in the first quarter of the second century (see Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*,

¹ So Dr. Wuensch ingeniously reads in No. 3536 (Bechtel, *Dialektwtschr.*), except that he has the incorrect active voice ἐξομολ[ογ]οῖ[σ]α (against Newton and Bechtel). He fails to observe that the middle voice is regular in the compound verb; and hence restores in No. 3537 ἐξ[ομολογ]ῶν, where Sir C. Newton (followed by Bechtel) more correctly restores ἐξ[αγορεύ]ων, comparing Plutarch, *de Sup.* 168D ἐξαγορεύει τινὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ (a common Septuagint usage). But possibly the Cnidian writer of 3537 used bad Greek; and Wuensch's restoration might be thus possible.

i. p. 296, ii. p. 34), and its employment there has been actually turned into an argument that the Epistles attributed to Ignatius must be late, for this use of the Latin word in Greek could not be early. The Roman legal term *exemplar* became familiar to the natives, and was probably adopted in the temple formulæ as early as the first century, though the three inscriptions, *C.B.*, 46-48, which contain it, cannot well be earlier than the second century, and might possibly be as late as the third.

The use of καταφρονεῖν in the New Testament is common, but does not offer any close parallel to the epigraphic phrase 'despise the god.'

In the Katakekaumene the facts are much the same, but the formulæ are different. An inscribed *stèle* is erected at the temple (ἔγγραφον ἕστησαν, or [ἔγρα]ψα καὶ ἀνέστ[η]σα τὴν] στήλην),² or an altar with inscription is erected (ἀνέστησαν τὸν βωμόν, ἀνέθηκαν τὸν βωμόν).

In the Katakekaumene the worshipper often ends by blessing the god (sec. iv.); and hence the *stèle*, which bears the inscription, is called 'a blessing' in one case, ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην δλόκληρος (*C.B.*, No. 52).³ By a similar figure the present of money, accompanied with a blessing, made by the Church of Corinth, is called their 'blessing' (2 Co 9⁵, τὴν προκατηγγελημένην εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν).

In one case, 'bearing witness' is substituted for 'blessing' (see sec. xv.).

The *stèle* is also called a dedication (ἱεροπο(λ)ημα); and the phrase is ποιεῖν τὸ ἱεροπο(λ)ημα. Like στήλη, this word does not occur in the New Testament, in which such testimonies would be wholly out of place.

XIV. THE COMMAND OF GOD.

Probably the most characteristic and frequently recurring feature in the Anatolian votive inscriptions is the influence exercised by the Divine command. Slaves are set free (*C.B.*, No. 37, 39), dedications of statues are made (*C.B.*, No. 37), etc.

According to the command of the god, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ (or τῆς θεοῦ, or a special deity is named). This is the commonest phrase; 'and it

² This inscription is not restored properly in *Smyrna. Mousseion*, No. 747.

³ It probably, but not certainly, belongs to the Dionysopolis district.

is a relic of the primitive purely theocratic form of government, when the life of the population round the central *hieron* was guided mainly by the will of the god declared through his priests or prophets' (*C.B.*, p. 134).

The Pauline phrases, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου Θεοῦ, or τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ, form an exact parallel to κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Κυρίου Τυράννου Διός (le Bas-Wadd., No. 667), and many similar phrases. The word ἐπιταγὴ is not used in the Bible except in the letters of Paul.

In some cases the Divine command was given when the worshipper had voluntarily sought advice: 'I asked the god: I erected to the Mother of the gods a *stêlê*, blessing thy powers' (ἐρώτησα τὸν θεόν· ἀνέστησα Μητρὶ θεῶν στηλῆν ἐ(ὶ)λογῶν σου τὰς δυνάμ(ε)ις). The expression here is elliptical, and evidently implies, 'The god demanded from me a *stêlê* for the Mother.' In many cases where the word is not used, it is probable that such a question was addressed to the god, and that the ἐπιταγὴ followed.

In sepulchral inscriptions the διατάσσομαι is quite a technical term in the inscriptions of South-Western Asia Minor (especially at Aphrodisias), in the sense of 'to give directions by will,' a sense which occurs sometimes in literature (Plutarch, *de lat. viv.* iii. p. 1129a; *Anth. Pal.* xi. 133, 3); and διαταγαί are the stipulations in the last will and testament engraved on the tombstone.¹ According to Judeich, these directions are called in one inscription (*C.I.G.*, 4300), θέλαι διαταγαί; and in a Trallian inscription τὰ διατάγματα καὶ οἱ πατριὸν νόμοι denote 'the testamentary directions on the tombstone and the old-standing laws of the country' (*Bull. Corresp. Hellén.* v., 1881, p. 344). διατάξεις is used in a similar sense.

¹ I quote almost *verbatim* from 'Judeich' in *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, by Humann, etc., 1898, p. 111.

No example which can be placed on a parallel with these seems to occur in the New Testament. But G. Hirschfeld,² following L. Ross, held that διατάσσομαι and the cognate nouns in all the above-mentioned class of inscriptions refer, not to the directions given in the will of the deceased, but to an ancient law of the country (οἱ πατριὸν νόμοι) re-enacted by the Roman emperors (θέλαι διαταγαί); and διατάγματα is the regular translation of *mandata*, the instructions and charges given by the emperors to provincial governors. In this sense Luke and Paul frequently use διατάσσομαι, διατάσσω, διαταγή (twice), διάταγμα (He 11²³ of the Egyptian king), for the law and instructions given by God or by Christ to all Christians (ὁ Κύριος διέταξεν, 1 Co 9¹⁴; τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ, Ro 13²), or by Paul himself to his churches or to a subordinate official (1 Co 7¹⁷ 10³⁴ 16¹, Ti 1⁵).

In *C.B.*, No. 38, we find a foundling who was exposed in accordance with a vision (κατὰ ὄν[αρ ἐκτεθέντα], ὃν δ[έ]θεψεν Νεκηφόρ[ος]). The phrase, κατὰ ὄναρ, expressive of a revelation of the Divine will, occurs in Matthew, e.g. 2¹², χρηματισθέντες κατ' ὄναρ μὴ ἀνακάμψαι πρὸς Ἡρώδην. This phrase was felt to be out of keeping with the character of Christian revelation, for it is used only in the first two chapters of Matthew, which partake more of the nature of popular tradition, and in the message of Pilate's wife (27¹⁹). Elsewhere the word ὄραμα (ὄρασις and ἐνόπνιον much less characteristic) is substituted, which are not known in the religious language. Was ὄναρ felt to approximate too near to popular superstition, and the more general term ὄραμα substituted, even where a dream is clearly meant (as in Ac 16^{9,10} 18⁹)?

The demand which was in many cases made by the god (see sec. x.) was one of the forms in which his commands were expressed.

² *Königsberger Studien*, 1885, i., p. 121 f.