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We throw out the suggestion, therefore, that the Coptic originally read *Cauda* with Codex B. In that case the scale is turned. We have an original reading *Cauda*, attested by Antiochene and Alexandrian antiquity. This has been changed at Cesarea by some critical hand. The Antioch revision has taken up the Cesarean reading and perpetuated it. We conclude, therefore, to edit *Cauda*, with Westcott and Hort, and against Tischendorf. The result is, as so often happens in this kind of work, not exactly what we expected when we came across the proofs of the extreme antiquity of both readings. It looked as if a later and popular form *Cauda* had displaced an archaic *Clauda*. But this appears not to be the case. It

is true that *Clauda* is, historically, the dying form: but it is a correct form, and its introduction into the N.T. may, after all, be only a piece of pedantry.

We have shown conclusively that paleographical considerations have to be ruled out of the argument, whose balance seems now to be in favour of the reading of Codex B. But it is a balance that might easily be turned by a fragment of fresh evidence.

Incidentally we have arrived at two curious results: first, there is a clear proof that the paleographer is sometimes not the final authority for readings; second, there is a suspicion that some early hand has revised the place-names in the New Testament.

Studies in Pauline Vocabulary.

BY THE REV. R. MARTIN POPE, M.A., OXFORD.

I. Of the Triumph-joy.

THERE is a remarkable richness and suggestiveness in the language of this doxology. The word *θριαμβέοντι* (*leadeth in triumph*) awakens in the mind a host of subtle associations, which carry us back, on the one hand, to the beginnings of Greek tragedy in the *θρίαμβος*,¹ a hymn sung in honour of Dionysus; on the other hand, to the colour and movement of a Roman *triumphus*.

In his *Religious Teachers of Greece* the late Dr. Adam has dwelt on the significance of that extraordinary drama, the *Bacchae* of Euripides. The play stands alone among the creations of a mind which for the most part shows itself in revolt from the national faith. Euripides is in effect the new theologian of Athens in the fifth century before Christ: but in the *Bacchae* he strikes into a vein of religious feeling or emotion, as if he were deliberately endeavouring to do justice to the inwardness and power of the mystery-element in

τῷ δὲ Θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβέοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν δόξην τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν παντί τόπῳ (2 Co 2¹⁴).

the old Greek religion. Though the *Bacchae* may not amount to a recantation of a previous rationalism, it is at least the tacit acknowledgment of the potency of enthusiasm in the experiences of the soul. Nothing can be more sympathetic than his spiritualization of Dionysus-worship. The *motif* of the drama is 'The world's Wise are not wise.'² Dionysus is introduced to the conventional life of Thrace as 'a god of the wild northern mountains, a god of intoxication, of inspiration, a giver of super-human and immortal life.'³ His cult is intimately connected with certain forms of tree-worship, more particularly the vine. He is the wine-god, banisher of care and giver of peace.

It is well known that Orphism, which was really a revival of religion on mystic and emotional lines, and originated in the sixth century B.C., laid hold of the Dionysus-cult and transformed it. But in his portraiture of the Dionysus-worship Euripides appears to go back to the primitive pre-Orphic

¹ The more familiar word is *διθύραμβος*. Cf. the word *ἐπιχορηγία* for another link between St. Paul's language and Greek drama.

² See *Bacchae*, 395: τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία.

³ See *Introduct. Note*, G. Murray's translation of the play.

setting of the faith, just as Sir Edwin Arnold, in his *Light of Asia*, reverts to the legendary *fontes* of Buddhism. Now, the frenzy of the Bacchanal has its terrible side, as, *e.g.*, in the tearing asunder and slaying of wild animals; while there is something revolting to the religious instinct of civilized humanity in the semi-sensuous fury of the whirling, dancing Mænad. But such phenomena take their place among the multitudinous expressions of religious enthusiasm familiar to the student of Comparative Religion; and Euripides undoubtedly brings out the nobler and more beautiful elements of the worship in those touches which emphasize the kinship with nature and the passion for personal purity characteristic of the god-possessed devotee. One may quote in illustration Professor G. Murray's exquisite translation of one of the choruses of the *Bacchæ* ('Some Maidens')—

Will they ever come to me, ever again,
The long, long dances,
On through the dark till the dim stars wane?
Shall I feel the dew on my throat, and the stream
Of wind in my hair? Shall our white feet gleam
In the dim expanses?

O wildly labouring, fiercely fleet,
Onward yet by river and glen . . .
Is it joy or terror, ye storm-swift feet? . . .
To the dear lone lands untroubled of men,
Where no voice sounds, and amid the shadowy green
The little things of the woodland live unseen.

Then follows a characteristic expression of the Euripidean faith or philosophy.

What else is Wisdom? What of man's endeavour
Or God's high grace, so lovely and so great?
To stand from fear set free, to breathe and wait;
To hold a hand uplifted over Hate;
And shall not Loveliness be-loved for ever?

In the history of Christianity religious exultation has taken on many forms, fantastic and even grotesque, which remind us of the strange frenzies of pagan religions. One may mention the 'tarantism' of mediæval saints, the levitations of some of St. Francis' followers, and the curious phenomena of Shakerism. That St. Paul recognized in the Christian joy a kind of intoxication is proved by his injunction to the Asiatic converts, 'Be not drunken with wine, wherein is excess; but be ye filled with the Spirit' (Eph 5¹⁸). The Christian religion has a place for the *Gott-etrunkene*, the God-intoxicated souls; and it cannot escape us that the phraseology of St. Paul's ascription of

praise in the passage before us recalls those earlier forms of religious emotionalism with which the exultation of the Christian saint may at least be compared, though its source is wholly different and its expression more ordered and self-controlled.

But the *θρίαμβος* of Greece became the *triumphus* of Rome. The central object of Roman worship was the god Mars (Mavors, Marmor), and the most ancient priesthoods of Rome were consecrated to his cult. Among these—once more by way of religious analogy—we may mention the *Salii*—a band of youths who in the month of March performed a dance in honour of the god and accompanied it by a song. A litany has been preserved of the twelve 'Field Brothers'—the *Fratres Arvales*, a college dedicated to the worship of *Dea Dia*, the creative goddess—which curiously enough gives us the word 'triumpe' as an exclamation of joy:

Enos, Marmor, iuvato!
Triumpe!¹

But the term was destined to express the celebration in pomp and splendour and processional magnificence of a great national victory. Was the Apostle moved to use the word *θριαμβεύω* by reflecting upon such a scene as that which is depicted on the bas-relief of the Arch of Titus at Rome? He did not, indeed, live to see that particular triumph into which were imported the spoils of the Holy City—the seven-branched candlestick, the golden trumpets, and the shew-bread; but as a *civis Romanus* he would be familiar with the general features of the spectacle. The *triumphus* was granted only to a dictator, consul, or prætor, and in imperial times to the emperor alone, because the conquering generals were merely his *legati*. Let us imagine the streets adorned with garlands and the temples opened. The procession was headed by the great officials of the state and the senate, followed in order by the trumpeters, the captured spoils and trophies of the fight, the white sacrificial bulls, the prisoners spared to grace the triumph prior to imprisonment or execution, the musicians, and finally the general himself. 'To triumphe,' shouted the spectators, as the splendid pageant moved slowly up the Forum to the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter. There is a touch of the brilliant scene in the *δομή* of the Apostle's words. The air is filled with odours of spice flung around

¹ See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i. 230.

or burnt by attendants. In the only other passage where *θριαμβεύω* occurs (Col 2¹⁵), we read of Christ displaying (*ἐδειγμάτισεν*) the powers of evil like captives, or trophies in the procession, with the addition of *θριαμβέουσας*, 'leading them in triumph'¹ on His Cross.

We pass from these side-lights on the history and meaning of the word and note that while the Colossian passage depicts Christ's triumph over His foes, the Apostle here conceives of God leading His subjugated saints in triumph, chained as captives to His car. Their defeat—the subduing of their rebellious passions and wills—is the secret of an abounding joy; for they share in the Conqueror's triumph, not as sullen, broken-hearted, and doomed captives, but as those who rejoice to be His prisoners and *δούλοι*, and are proud to be trophies which grace His victorious might.

Further, let us note the 'always' (*πάντοτε*) and 'in every place' (*ἐν παντί τόπῳ*)—expressions typical of the universal outlook of the Apostle whenever he deals with Christian experience. Times and places are all alike to him in the transcendentalism of his union with Christ. How closely he allies *Θεῷ* and *Χριστῷ* in his thought here, as elsewhere! Whatever the environment of the Christian life, and wherever it may be lived, the source of joy lies in the fact that Christians are 'in Christ,' are so united with Him as to partake in the perennial gladness of His victory. The victory was won on the Cross: our victory over sin and self is involved in our crucifixion with Him—that identification of humanity with its Representative, by which the believing enter on the experience of forgiveness and inward peace. To St. Paul such a life as that which the saint lived 'in Christ,' was, so to speak, intoxicated with the sheer, vivid consciousness of His reality and power; or rather it might be likened to a triumphal march in the train of One, whom the author of the Epistle to Hebrews calls the *ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας*, 'the author (or captain) of their salvation.' Out of it springs a fragrance diffused through the air, invisibly interpenetrating the community—the 'fragrance' that springs from 'the knowledge of Him.' To know Christ is to carry an aroma of beauty into the strifes and

vulgarities of human intercourse. Flung back from the stress and strain of things, often discomfited and baffled and forlorn, we rest on that incommunicable *γνώσις*, our apprehension of Christ. In itself, in its fulness, we may never be able to unfold it to others; but 'the fragrance' of it—the sweetness as of a hidden violet—is borne on the breeze and manifested in every place.

Wm. Watson sings of the first spring skylark fluttering in the serene upper air and carolling in gladness above the vexed earth,

O high above the home of tears,
Eternal Joy, sing on!

But the Apostle felt a kinship with the Divine Joy, and a near fellowship with it in the midst of tribulation and perplexity. It was not something above him; but something inwrought and indwelling in his consciousness. God 'setteth in pain the jewel of His joy.' And God was ever leading him in triumph with the great army of His saints. He stood not alone, but encompassed by a great brotherhood, 'a joy in widest commonalty spread.'

By this intoxication of spiritual joy, as if caught in the sweep of some world-wide triumphal progress, St. Paul is an exemplar for all time to the Christian who is apt to lose heart or faint in faith and prayer and hope. For with all the checks and drags upon its movement, the car of triumph, of Divine victory, still advances. Who cannot see the signs of the Son of Man in the renascence of Turkey, in the awakening of the Far East, and even in the passion of democratic ideals which infects great areas of society—in the weary sigh of multitudes awakened to the largeness and richness of life, precursor, as it seems, of some wider social reformation that will give us saner conditions of life and a more even distribution of the sources of well-being? When we centre our faith in Christ and draw from His teaching the eternal strength of wisdom and receive from His spirit the power that overcomes sin, God will verily lead us in triumph. There would be less pessimism, less concession to the secularism of the age, less falling away from a high ideal, if our hearts, like the Apostle's, were open to the potent assurances of the Divine Joy, and we could feel through the air the measured march of the army of the living God in its steady triumphal progress to the ultimate victory of faith and righteousness.

¹ R.V. 'triumphing over them in it'; but there seems no good reason for varying from the translation 'lead in triumph' which the R.V. gives in 2 Co 2¹⁴.