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vol. xxii. pp. 10–13. In Jubilees, Epstein holds, two different kinds of calendar reckonings are used. There was the civil solar year of twelve months, with eight months of 30 days and four of 31 days each; and there was besides an ecclesiastical year of thirteen months, with 28 days in each month. The entire number of days in the year is in each case 364, and the difficulty about the date of the Feast of Weeks vanishes absolutely, for the festivals would naturally be fixed in accordance with the ecclesiastical, instead of the civil year. Unless, therefore, another working hypothesis at least as good as that of Epstein be proposed, we are bound to regard this solution—provisionally at any rate—as the correct one.[1]

One point more, and this part of our subject is finished. As according to Jubilees the heptadic arrangement of the calendar dates in an unbroken sequence from the Creation, it follows that the first day of each month of twenty-eight days or four weeks must always fall on the first day of the week (Sunday), the day from which Creation dates; and as furthermore the Feast of Weeks fell on the 15th of Siwān, and Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles began on the 15th day of Nīsān and Iyyār respectively, it is clear that Sunday invariably ushered in the great festivals. The Day of Atonement, on the other hand, as falling on the 10th day of Tishsi, was always celebrated on Tuesday.

This, then, was the calendar of the Book of Jubilees, which, as we have seen, must also have been that of the documents which we are now considering. In both works stress is laid on the belief that the bulk of the nation had lamentably gone astray with regard to the correct dates of the divinely instituted festivals, and in both is the lively consciousness expressed that the upholders of their own special calendar principles were the true depositories of the immutable heavenly decrees concerning times and seasons.

[1] Professor Charles holds the same view, though perhaps with rather less determination (see his notes on pp. 54–55, 105–107 of his edition of *Jubilees*). He sees a difficulty in the fact that the four days of remembrance at the beginning of the four quarters of the year (chap. vi. 23–29) are determined by the reckoning of the solar year of twelve months, instead of the lunar year of thirteen months. But as those festivals are not in canonical Genesis and owe their institution to a special set of events, they may be allowed to stand on a footing of their own.

Studies in Pauline Vocabulary.

By the Rev. R. Martin Pope, M.A., Keswick.

Of the Heavenly Places.

Readers of the Pauline Epistles have, doubtless, noticed that the Apostle not infrequently sums up the argument or the standpoint of a given Epistle in one outstanding term or phrase. Such is the δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ of Romans, the πίστις Χριστοῦ of Galatians, the πλήρωμα of Colossians, the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία of 1 Timothy, and τὰ ἐπουράνια of Ephesians.

Without discussing the question of the authenticity of the last-named Epistle, whether (in other words) it is Pauline or sub-Pauline, it is sufficient for our present purpose to point out that the occurrence of the unusual expression, τὰ ἐπουράνια, supports rather than otherwise the traditional view. Not only does the phrase appear five times in the Epistle; but it is so remarkable in itself, and so characteristic of this particular writing, that it is hardly likely to have been employed by one who sought to disguise his identity under a general resemblance to St. Paul's style and thought. The word ἐπουράνιος does not occur in the LXX, except as an epithet of Θεός in two passages in 3 Mac. So far as Hellenistic Greek is concerned, it is a distinctively N.T. epithet; but it is also found in Homer and Plato, and therefore is evidently drawn from the classical Hellenic stock.[1] While ἐπουράνιος is found elsewhere (four times) in the Pauline Epistles, τὰ ἐπουράνια is found only in Ephesians; and it is the use of the phrase in Ephesians which concerns us now.

[1] Nägeli (*Der Wortschatz des apostels Paulus*) notes its occurrence in 2 Ti 4^{18}, but does not include it in his list of Ionic-poetic Pauline words, where it may fitly find a place. I have had no opportunity of referring to the evidence of papyri and inscriptions for the use of the word.

It is clear that τὰ ἐπουράνια is equivalent to 'the unseen world' or 'the unseen,' and might fitly be so translated. It is not to be regarded as a mere synonym of heaven, if by heaven we mean a future state of being. For St. Paul it eternally exists: it is a sphere outside of time, a spiritual universe; a vast realm of the noumenal behind the world of sense. By its use, 'St. Paul warns us,' says Dean Armitage Robinson, 'that he takes the supra-sensual view of life.'

The following are the salient points of the five passages referred to:—

(1) ὁ Θεὸς . . . ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ (1³).
(2) καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (1²⁰).
(3) συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (2⁶).
(4) ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ (3¹⁰).
(5) ἡ πάλη . . . πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (6¹²).

Taking the last two passages together as introducing us to the conceptions of Jewish angelology, we discover that in the Apostle's mind the unseen world was peopled by spirits both good and evil. While in the Epistle to the Colossians he speaks with impatience of the elaborate orders of the celestial hierarchy as conceived by Gnostic Judaizers, here and elsewhere the Apostle reveals no divergence from the current Jewish views of the spiritual world. When he regards the heavenly sphere as the habitation of hostile powers arrayed against the Christian warrior, we are immediately reminded of the speculations of the Jewish apocalypses. The supra-terrestrial region is the counterpart of a visible world, where good and evil are in perpetual conflict. 'The prince of the power of the air' (2²), with his legions that 'rule this dark world' (6¹²) (κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου), occupies the unseen world, and carries on his operations there—a defeated and inferior,[1] although malignant, being. The conclusion which the Apostle draws from this remarkable conception of the heavenly sphere as the scene of a spiritual warfare is the practical injunction: 'Put on the whole armour of God.' The warfare is spiritual, therefore the weapons must be spiritual.

On the other hand, there is a hierarchy of good spirits in the unseen; and it is evidently of these that the Apostle thinks when he utters his glowing words regarding the function of the Church. The community of Christians who are saved by faith in Christ exist to set forth 'to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places the variegated wisdom of God.' 'Ecclesia,' says Calvin, 'quasi speculum in quo contemplantur angeli mirificam Dei sapientiam quam prius nesciérant.' Yet we cannot but believe that the apostolic vision also included, even in this connexion, the forces of the unseen which were opposed to the Divine will. The good and evil Potencies of the heavenly sphere are regarded as spectators of the Church, which is to enlighten their ignorance of the Divine purpose—a purpose which was formed before the creation, in that it centred in the eternal Christ.

It is clear from the tenor of these passages, especially when taken along with the phrase already quoted from 2², 'the prince of the power of the air,' that St. Paul's view of the heavenly places is not wholly liberated from the sense of space and locality, which colours Jewish angelology. Lightfoot[2] has pointed out that 'things in the heaven' are not quite equivalent to 'things unseen' in Pauline language. 'Heaven and earth together comprehend all space; and all things, whether material or immaterial, are conceived . . . as having their abode in space.'

But in considering the other three passages, we leave behind us Jewish ideas and pass into a Hellenic order of thought. The unseen world for St. Paul is focused in Christ. He no longer knows Christ 'after the flesh'; that is, Christ is no longer to be apprehended through the forms of sense-perception: He is a spiritual Person. Hence the conception of the exalted Christ lifts St. Paul into the noumenal world; to use his own phrase, Christ makes him to sit, together with all the saints, 'in the heavenly places' (2⁶). 'The heavenly places' are the home of the exalted, spiritual Christ (1²⁰). The saint who is 'in Christ' shares His life, and therefore has access to His home. He is therefore fitly described as blest 'with all spiritual blessing' (1³).

Such is the language of one who views all things

[1] Cf. Edwards (on 1 Co 5⁵), dealing with the Jewish conception of Satan. 'The correct view seems to be that Christ and His apostles combined the Zoroastrian doctrine of an antagonist of God with the early Hebrew doctrine of Satan's inferiority to God (cf. Is 45¹⁸).'

[2] See note on Col 1⁶.

sub specie aeternitatis and to whom 'the supersensible has the reality of the sensible.' If sometimes St. Paul's diction recalls Aristotle, it more frequently reminds us of Plato. That the Jewish world was subtly interpenetrated by the influences of Greek philosophy, we can no longer doubt. If we wish to realize how the mind of a Jew could absorb Greek philosophy and become for its age the mind of a new theologian, we have but to turn to Philo, with whose writings the Apostle was well acquainted, if the judgment of competent scholars may be accepted. Readers of Kingsley's *Hypatia* will remember with what cogency Raphael Aben-Ezra expounded the Platonic origin of St. Paul's doctrine of the archetypal Man. Dr. James Adam, in his *Religious Teachers of Greece*, points out the affinities of Plato's psychology and St. Paul's. Lightfoot and Professor Ramsay agree in the conviction that the influence of Stoicism is very marked upon the diction and the doctrine of the Apostle: and we cannot doubt that the teachings of the Academy were equally familiar to him. For both St. Paul and Plato 'the visible is an image of the invisible.' Dr. Garvie[1] is hardly convincing, when he objects that 'in this there is nothing peculiar to the two thinkers, it is the general attitude of religion.' It is surely not too much to say that but for the Platonic theory of ideas St. Paul's conception of the spiritual Christ would not have been framed in the terms which are familiar to us in his Epistles, especially those to the Colossians and Ephesians, while the Platonism of his thought undoubtedly inspired the prologue of the Fourth Gospel and the argument of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

At the same time, St. Paul by his identification of the historical Jesus with the spiritual Christ escaped the abstractness which attaches to Plato's presentation of the ideas and avoided the superfluous dualism of the sensible particular and its spiritual counterpart, to which Aristotle, not without reason, objected in his criticism of the Platonic theory. The Christ of the heavenly places is not a logical abstraction: He is one with the crucified Jesus. Thus St. Paul's mystical conception of the unseen is never divorced from reality. To be ἐν Χριστῷ is not a vague aspiration, but a practical experience. Christ does not, like the Platonic idea, transcend existence: He bridges in Himself the chasm between earth and heaven, the seen and the unseen.

Thus, while St. Paul's language in his case of the phrase τὰ ἐπουράνια suggests mysticism, his mystical conception of the unseen as the spiritual background of human life is always *practical*. It is never a mere nebulous idealism that stands out of relation to the common experiences of life, its changes, its sorrows, its daily frictions and disappointments, its rises and its falls. In the midst of all, St. Paul

> by the vision splendid
> Is on his way attended.

Thus the Divine wisdom would seem to have used Plato[2] as a preparer of His way and Platonic thought as a foregleam of 'a better hope'—the conception of the unseen as the Home of the Ideal Christ, the Spiritual Head of the Church. We owe not a little to such writers as the Cambridge Platonists for expounding from the standpoint occupied by St. Paul a similar view of religion as spiritualizing material things. Listen, for example, to John Smith in his famous sermon on *The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion*. 'True religion never finds itself out of the infinite sphere of the Divinity, and wherever it finds beauty, harmony, goodness, love, ingenuousness, wisdom, holiness, justice, and the like, it is ready to say, Here, and there is God: wheresoever any such perfections shine out, a holy mind climbs up by these sunbeams, and raises itself to God.' Or we may turn for an even more striking conception of the powers of the soul to a passage in the works of the greatest Christian Platonist among English poets, William Wordsworth. It occurred to the writer's mind a few nights ago when he witnessed a scene not unlike that described in the quotation. In the foreground a group of dusky firs and evergreens: beneath the overhanging boughs the gleam of the lake of Bassenthwaite: in the background the mysterious dim outline of Skiddaw—'and the moon was full.'

> Within the soul a faculty abides
> That with interpositions, which would hide
> And darken, so can deal that they become
> Contingencies of pomp; and serve to exalt
> Her native brightness. As the ample moon,
> In the deep stillness of a summer even
> Rising behind a thick and lofty grove,
> Burns, like an unconsuming fire of light,
> In the green trees: and, kindling on all sides
> Their leafy umbrage, turns the dusky veil

[1] See the recently published *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, p. 11.

[2] Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 13.

Into a substance glorious as her own,
Yea, with her own incorporated, by power
Capacious and serene—like power abides
In man's celestial spirit: Virtue thus
Sets forth and magnifies herself; thus feeds
A calm, a beautiful, and silent fire,
From the encumbrances of mortal life,
From error, disappointment—nay, from guilt;
And sometimes, so relenting Justice wills,
From palpable oppressions of despair.[1]

[1] *Excursion*, iv.

No image could more fitly express the transforming power exercised upon the experiences of life by the abiding sense of the unseen. Gleams of τὰ ἐπουράνια lit up for St. Paul the darkest disciplines of the soul, and he could face without despair 'the sufferings of this present time,' because he was able in the power of his Master ever to discern through time's many-coloured dome 'the white radiance of eternity.'

Literature.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

An English translation of the biography of *Saint Francis of Assisi*, by Johannes Jörgensen, has at last appeared (Longmans; 12s. 6d. net). It might have come earlier, for it was issued in Danish in 1906, and its devotional fervour and literary grace were at once recognized. Of course we have Paul Sabatier in English; but there is room enough for Sabatier and Jörgensen together.

The features of the book, we have said, are fervour of devotion and grace of style. Let it not be supposed, however, that these features carry with them uncritical credulity. Jörgensen has no horror of the miraculous, but he does not receive every miracle without question; he tries the miracles by the fair modern test of historical research. He is not, however, so much interested in possible cases of interference with natural law as he is in the development of the saint's character, in the events of his life, and the thoughts of his heart.

Not far from the beginning of the book there is this incident which occurred at the leper's hospital. It will give a fair notion of Jörgensen's manner of telling a story:

'On his walks in this place, Francis now and then passed by the hospital, but the mere sight of it had filled him with horror. He would not even give an alms to a leper unless some one else would take it for him. Especially when the wind blew from the hospital, and the weak, nauseating odour, peculiar to the leper, came across the road, he would hurry past with averted face and fingers in his nostrils.

'It was in this that he felt his greatest weakness, and in it he was to win his greatest victory.

'For one day, as he was as usual calling upon God, it happened that the answer came. And the answer was this: "Francis! Everything which you have loved and desired in the flesh it is your duty to despise and hate, if you wish to know my will. And when you have begun thus, all that which now seems to you sweet and lovely will become intolerable and bitter, but all which you used to avoid will turn itself to great sweetness and exceeding joy."

'These were the words which at last gave Francis a definite programme, which showed him the way he was to follow. He certainly pondered over these words in his lonely rides over the Umbrian plain and, just as he one day woke out of reverie, he found the horse making a sudden movement, and saw on the road before him, only a few steps distant, *a leper*, in his familiar uniform.

'Francis started, and even his horse shared in the movement, and his first impulse was to turn and flee as fast as he could. But there were the words he had heard within himself, so clearly before him—"what you used to abhor shall be to you joy and sweetness. . . ." And *what* had he hated more than the lepers? Here was the time to take the Lord at His word—to show his good will. . . .

'And with a mighty victory over himself, Francis sprang from his horse, approached the leper, from whose deformed countenance the awful odour of corruption issued forth, placed his alms in the outstretched wasted hand—bent down quickly and kissed the fingers of the sick man, covered with