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Second¹ and Third Persons. 'La répétition du mot *credo* avant la confession de chacune des personnes divines est une particularité du symbole gallican attestée par la presque totalité des documents qui nous sont parvenus.'²

J. E. L. OULTON.

PARALLELS TO THE N.T. USE OF *σῶμα*

It happens that the nearest parallels to the N.T. use of *σῶμα* for a 'body of people' or a 'society' are in Latin and therefore the word *corpus* is used. I hope to show that this is merely due to the accidental way in which the literature of the Hellenistic age has come down to us.³

According to Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* 9. 78 *ap. v. Arnim Stoic. Vet. Frr.* ii 1013 p. 302 Chrysippus distinguished between *σώματα* united by a single *ἐξίς*, and a *σῶμα* such as the cosmos, which was united not merely by *ἐξίς* but by God; for it was necessary that the cosmos, as containing all kinds of nature, should be held together by the highest kind of nature. He denied that a body of men, such as an army, though it might be a body, was a body of such a kind that 'if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it'.⁴ The use of the simile of the body and its members for the state rather than the cosmos seems to have been an extension by the later Stoics of the teaching of Chrysippus as to the cosmos into a sphere where Chrysippus would not have applied it. Seneca, whose importance will appear below, follows Chrysippus in *Ep. Mor.* xiv 4 (92) 30 *totum hoc quo continemur et unum est et deus; et socii eius sumus et membra*, cf. *ib.* xv 3 (95) 52 *membra sumus corporis magni*.

But the use of a society, not merely of the cosmos, is a commonplace of the Hellenistic Jewish homiletic tradition incorporated by Philo; the most striking passage is *De Spec. Legg.* iii 23 (131, M. ii 321), where the High Priest is kinsman of the whole nation (Philo is explaining the reason why the involuntary homicide must stay in one of the cities of refuge till the High Priest dies), who settles its disputes and offers sacrifice for it *ἵνα πᾶσα ἡλικία καὶ πάντα μέρη τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς ἐνὸς σώματος εἰς*

¹ Not always before the Second, presumably because, the clause professing faith in God the Father being short, the *et* before *in Iesum Christum* was easily referred back to the opening *Credo*.

² H. Leclercq in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, tome sixième, première partie, p. 583.

³ The conventional simile of the body and its members in describing the state can be Greek, Latin, or even Hebrew (Livy ii 32 = Dion. Halic. *Antt. Rom.* vi 86. 1 sqq. = Rom. xii 4 and 1 Cor. xii 14 sqq., cf. *Mekilta* in Exod. xix 6 (tr. *Bahodesh* i 2 ed. Lauterbach ii 205).

⁴ The closeness of Pauline usage to that of the Stoics appears from 1 Cor. xii 23 (cf. Zeno *ap. Maximus Florilegium* 6 *ap. v. Arnim op. cit.* i 236, p. 56).

μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρμόζονται κοινωνίαν. Cf. *De Virt.* (*De Human.*) 12 (103, M. ii 392), where proselytes are to be accepted as members of the nation ὡς ἐν διαιρητοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν εἶναι ζῶν δοκεῖν ἀρμολομένης . . . τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ κοινωνίας. ζῶν here replaces σῶμα for purely stylistic reasons. In *De Praem. et Poen.* 19 (114, M. ii 426) and 20 (125, M. ii 429), we have an interesting adjustment of the view that the good man or city or nation dominates those around him or it 'as the head does the body' to the language of Deut. xxviii 13. The metaphor is sufficiently commonplace in Philo for him to describe Ptolemy Philadelphus as being 'in a sense the head of kings, as the ἡγεμονεῦον is of a living creature'. (*De Vit. Moys.* ii 5 (30, M. ii 139).)

The first passage is, however, the most interesting as suggesting that possibly the conception of the High Priest is to be understood as implying in the last resort the cosmic simile; there are traces of the cosmic simile in *De Somn.* i 23 (144, M. i 642), where the earth is the base and root of the air, while the heaven is its head. (This cosmic usage is apparently a pure commonplace, since in *De Vit. Cont.* 19 (78, M. ii 483) the letter of scripture is compared to its body, the hidden sense to its soul.¹ The change of the 'head' to the 'soul' is significant.) The reason for supposing that the cosmic simile underlies the reference to the High Priest is that the description of the High Priest's robe is used to represent him as a cosmic figure. This symbolism is remarkable as appearing in all our Jewish-Hellenistic sources. It is fully worked out by Philo in *De Vit. Moys.* 12 sqq. (117 sqq., M. ii 153); his long robe represents earth, water, and air on account of its colour, the ephod the heaven, the twelve stones the zodiac, the breastplate (λογεῖον) into which they are fitted the Logos (this is necessitated by the play on the words), the mitre the two attributes of goodness and justice. The symbolism with variations is recorded by Jos. *Antt.* iii 7. 7 (183 sqq.) and referred to as a matter of common knowledge in Wisd. xviii 24. But the remarkable fact is that the symbolism is really drawn from the conventional figure of Zeus in pagan images, as shown in A. B. Cook, *Zeus* i 33 sqq. and 56 sqq.² where the blue robe, symbolizing the air and the crown of stars, leave no doubt of the source. The medium through which the imagery was drawn was no doubt the Orphic-Stoic convention, which had already been incorporated into Jewish propaganda by Aristobulus (*ap. Eus. Pr. Ev.* xiii 12. 8 where God sits on His throne in heaven while His feet rest on the earth, and His hand touches the ocean.) This cult-figure reappears in the

¹ Cf. Posidonius *ap. Sext. Emp. adv. Math.* vii 19 for philosophy as a ζῶν of which ethics are the soul.

² Cf. *ib.* ii 386 for Zeus Oromazdes at Commagene and other Oriental deities in a similar costume, and Macr. *Sat.* i. 18. 22 for a similar role of Dionysus.

'Egyptian' theology of Manetho *ap.* Diod. Sic. i 11. 1 sqq., where Osiris and Isis as the sun and moon have been fitted into a system in which the whole body of the nature of the universe depends on the sun and moon, which represent the head, while the five elements ('spirit', fire, dryness, moisture, and air) represent the other parts of the body. Reitzenstein (*Hell. Myst. Rel.* 224) regards this as Iranian, not Egyptian; this may be right, but the whole conception of the cosmos as a 'body' with the sun as its head could easily be fitted into the conventional figures of Hellenistic religion; there is a variant of the theme in the Egyptian Pthah in Porphyry *ap.* Eus. *Pr. Ev.* iii 11 30 (note that the god whose feet are joined together appears in Eudoxus *ap.* Plut. *De Is. et Os.* lxii 376 c as Zeus).¹

It was not difficult for orthodox Stoicism to adjust this religious conception of Zeus, or any other deity, as a supreme ruler whose throne was in heaven while his power reached to earth, to their doctrine of a divine element of reason or fire immanent in the cosmos, more especially when this was modified by the belief in a special concentration of this element in the firmament itself, a modification which provided the cosmos with a *ἡγεμονικόν* to correspond to the *ἡγεμονικόν* in man (Diog. Laert. vii 139). From this point of view it became equally possible to describe the divine element as the 'head' of the cosmos, in so far as it was concentrated in the firmament (or in the sun by Cleanthes), or as its 'soul' or 'mind', a description which is implied in Philo's statement that the letter is the 'body' of scripture and the hidden meaning its soul.

It is possible that the simile of the body and its members as applied to the state or the cosmos might have been developed by Paul into the simple metaphor of the 'head' of the 'body' in Col. i 18. But the same metaphor appears in Seneca *De Clem.* ii 2. 1; Nero is the head on whom the good health of the body, the Empire, depends. In i 5. 1, however, we have a significant variation: *Tu animus reipublicae tuae es, illa corpus tuum.* Seneca is using a convention in which the more or less deified ruler can be either the 'mind' or the 'head' of the state; the passages in Philo *De Praem. et Poen.* above suggest that the wise man may have held this position before it was transferred to the ruler.

Since Seneca elsewhere uses the simile of the body and its members of the cosmos, not of the state, it would seem that Nero is the head or mind of the Empire because the Empire is practically a cosmic body.²

¹ Cf. also the robes in which Demetrius Poliorcetes appeared at Athens as described by Doris *ap.* Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12. 50 (535 f).

² Cf. the position of Egypt as the 'heart' of the earth in *Corp. Herm. Exc.* xxiv 11 (Stob. *Ecl.* i 49. 45, Scott i 500). The heart was often regarded as the seat of the *ἡγεμονικόν* by the Stoics, notably by Cleanthes (Diog. Laert. *loc. cit. sup.*); presumably this was necessary if the *ἡγεμονικόν* of the cosmos was in the sun. The macrocosm and microcosm had to correspond, and the position of the sun as

and Nero is practically the 'head' of the cosmos. If this is correct, it confirms the view that the High Priest in Philo is 'head' of the nation in virtue of his cosmic significance, not merely as the head of a state.

In any case, the metaphor of the 'head of the body' used without the elaborated simile in Col. i 18 seems to be derived not from an abbreviation of the simile but from the usage which appears in Seneca. That usage reflects an amalgamation of the cosmic 'head of the Body' in Hellenistic religion with the Stoic 'mind' or 'soul' animating the body of the cosmos. How far the religious idea of Zeus or the sun as 'head' of the cosmos, i.e. as a transcendental ruler, was responsible for the later Stoic conception of a concentration of the divine element in the firmament or the sun, as against the pantheism which was postulated by Stoic logic, is a further question, which does not concern us. It is possible that Cleanthes and Posidonius were influenced by Oriental religious ideas, but it is also possible that they felt that some such view was necessary if religion and *cultus* were to be justified. The Pauline metaphor in Col. i 18 is the same Hellenistic amalgamation; Jesus is head of the Church, which is here a more or less cosmic body, just as Nero is 'head' of the body, which is the Empire, and the High Priest is 'head' of the Jewish nation, while he also has a cosmic symbolism. The fact that *σῶμα* is not commonly found in Greek of a 'body' of people in precisely the Pauline sense appears to be simply another way of saying that we have only a few fragments of Posidonius in Greek and that we do not possess the doxographic manual of the Hellenistic synagogues, in which the Jewish nation as a body and the High Priest as its head may fairly be assumed to have appeared. Incidentally it shows how little Paul was interested in philosophy that he never describes Jesus as the 'mind' or 'spirit' of the cosmos; such a description was logically implied in the equation of Jesus with the divine Wisdom as the mind, wisdom, or reason immanent in the cosmos, but neither Paul nor Hellenistic Judaism were seriously concerned with the immanent Logos of Stoicism except as a means of commending Judaism or Christianity to Hellenistic thought.

Those who have an eye for the ironies of history will observe with interest that the rivals of Our Lord for the title of 'head of the Church' in the first century are the High Priest of Jerusalem, who may well have been Caiaphas when Philo wrote, and the Emperor Nero.

WILFRED L. KNOX.

roughly in the centre of the cosmos corresponds to that of the heart as roughly in the centre of man. In the Hermetic extract quoted (1 sqq.) the sun is the ruling power in the cosmos and the source from which kingly souls are drawn.