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tullian (*de Idol.* 9) has no doubt that wandering magicians as typified by Simon Magus are agents of idolatry; astrology and similar practices are species of the genus magic and therefore also idolatrous. I cannot envisage a Montanist who would simply say that these practices 'lead to' idolatry. Nor do I find it easy to suppose that the work is a fragment from a popular Jewish manual, since orthodox Judaism, though it did not regard *περικαθάρσεις* with favour, did not apparently make any serious attempt to condemn them. The passage seems to me to date from the period c. A.D. 100, when the Church had broken with the synagogue, but was finding it difficult to deal with all sorts of extraneous influences, such as the Gnosticism of Simon and Menander or the cults alluded to in Eph. v 6 sqq.; even Ignatius *ad Trall.* 5. 2 is a trifle vain about his knowledge of astrology. It suggests the situation in Bithynia described by Pliny *ad Tra.* 96. 6, when there are many converts who lapse at the first sign of persecution, not that in the adjoining region of Pontus and Paphlagonia described by Lucian (*Alexander* 25. 232) less than a century later when the Christians are the only people except instructed Epicureans who can be relied on not to follow an impostor. It is not for me to say whether the stylistic differences referred to by Prof. Creed (*loc. cit.* p. 374) are decisive in favour of a separate source for this section. I can only express a considerable doubt as to the probability of the insertion by an archaizer of a passage which introduces a term which later Christian writers seem not to understand. The earlier use of the phrase in *Apost. Const.* shews that the compiler could only give a wrong explanation; the later use is in a long list of practices each described by a single word, in which one might easily be left in even though it was not intelligible. I find it hard to suppose that the *Didache* would have left an unintelligible word with no attempt at an explanation in so short an insertion, though it cannot be said that it is impossible.

WILFRED L. KNOX.

## THE MEANING OF *EKKΛΕΙΕΙΝ* IN GALATIANS iv 17

*Ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς (ἡμᾶς, Beza) θέλουσιν ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε.* The A.V. renders 'exclude you' (M 'us'), the R.V. 'shut out'. These meanings are too indefinite. They at once raise the question, From what are these people to be excluded?, which has been answered in various ways: 'from Christ' (Lightfoot); 'from me' (Luther); 'from perfect knowledge' (Chrysostom); 'from Christian freedom' (Erasmus). At its face value the word would be an insult to the Galatians. Beza avoided that by reading *ἡμᾶς*. The key word is

ἐκκλείσαι, but ζῆλουσι is the ward of the key. Bengel (*Gnomon* ii 244) gives the right meaning definite and direct—'non putarim eo sensu dici ut Latinis *excludi* dicuntur pulli'. In Rom. iii 27 Paul uses ἐξεκλείσθη in the sense of exclusion, but he often uses a word in different senses. I submit that he used ἐκκλείειν in the Latin sense of 'excludere', hatch out, and ζηλοῦν after the Latin use of 'fovere' in the same connexion. Lucretius v 802 has 'ova relinquebant exclusae', Cicero *N. D.* 2. 52 'excludere' of young birds, and, *de Oratore* iii 21, metaphorically of hatching out stump orators 'pulos excludere clamatōres'. This idea is supported here by ζηλοῦσι (in 2 Cor. xi 2 of favouring people). Cicero *N. D.* 2. 48 has 'excludere' and 'fovere' together of birds—'pulli a matribus exclusi fotique'. In Suetonius (*Tib.* 14) Livia kept warm ('fovit') in her hands an egg—'ovum fovit quoad pullus exclusus est'. 'Fovere' of supporting a person often in Latin, e.g. Cicero *Fam.* 1. 9. 10 'fovebant hostem meum'. 'Exclusion' is the technical name for the process by which the chick leaves the egg. This rendering gives point to the context. 'They are cultivating you but not for an honourable purpose, for it is their intention to bring you out to exploit you, so that you may cultivate them.' These people had made the Galatians regard him (Paul) as their enemy. This metaphor of a bird hatching out her young leads to another expression of the same sort—τέκνα μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω, 'I have been your *mother* twice over.' In 1 Cor. iv 15 he used the figure of a father, ἐγέννησα. With the former compare the *logion*, ὃν τρόπον ὄρνις τὴν ἑαυτῆς νοσοῖαν ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας (ἐπισυνάγει), Lk. xiii 34, Matt. xxiii 37. Our Lord here is the mother bird. ὠδίνω has also a point. Euripides (*Her.* 1039) has ὣς τις ὄρνις ἀπτερον καταστένων ὠδῖν α τέκνων. Nicander (*Al.* 165) ὄρταλίχων ὠδῖς of an egg. Eurip. *Electra* 897 οἰωνοῖσιν αἰθέρος τέκνοισ. Thus birds can be called τέκνα.

All the *labour* of the apostle must be gone through again *μεχρις οὐ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*. The idea of the mother bird can be read here, for it is her incubation over the fertilized eggs that gives the embryo strength to be completely formed in the egg. So the Galatians need the fostering care of the apostle (καλὸν ζηλοῦσθαι (i.e. by me) ἐν καλῷ) if the image of Christ, the germ already sown in their hearts, but whose development has been arrested, is to be brought to matured reality. See a similar metaphor of the *brooding* spirit (raḥaph) (Gen. i) and the *protecting* eagle, Deut. xxxii 11. In 1 Thess. ii 7 we have the same simile ἦτοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ὡς ἐὰν τροφὸς θάλπη τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα. Cf. Deut. xxii 6 ἡ μήτηρ θάλπη ἐπὶ τῶν νοσοῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ὠῶν. τροφὸς is not nurse, for a nurse is gentle to other people's children—her 'alumni'—but mother. The mother bird is a τροφός. Aristoph. *Aves* 323 ἐτράφην 'I was hatched'; *Nub.* 199 νεοττοτροφεῖ. A mother who

gives her children τροφεία μητρός (milk, *Ion* 1493) is a τροφός. Cf. τροφοί in *Isa.* xlix 23 of 'nursing fathers'. ἤπιος denotes the gentleness of a parent. In *Odyss.* ii 47 it is used by Telemachus of Odysseus. νήπιος is due to dittography. Paul would not have contemplated a second childhood then. A on *Acts* xiii 19 has ἐτροφοφόρησεν bore them as a nursing mother. Philo used ὠδίνω metaphorically and Plato μαιεύεσθαι (ἢ μαιευτικὴ τέχνη). There are a number of terms Romans would appreciate more than Greeks, e.g. iv 4 ἐξηγόρασεν ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν. Cf. 'emancipare filium in adoptionem' (Cicero and Pliny); iii 1 προεγράφη, 'proscribere' is used of putting up notices, laws, verses, &c., in public places; iv 10 ἡμέρας . . . καὶ μῆνας καὶ ἐνιαυτούς, the Roman state religion was regulated by such, e.g. 'dies fasti' and 'nefasti', the monthly festivals (see *Fasti* of Ovid), the 'lustrum'. In A.D. 48 the 'lustrum' of Claudius would have been observed by Claudio-Derbe and Claudio-Iconium. iv 1 'minors' (νήπιοι) under 'tutores' (ἐπίτροποι) and 'curatores' (οἰκονόμοι) freed by 'lex quina vicenaria' (200 B.C.). See *Pseudolus* 1. 3. 69. τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαντες (iv 15); 'effodere oculos', frequent in Comedy, often used by slaves (see Plautus). οὐκ ὀρθοδοδοῦσι ii 14 'praevaricantur' (walk 'cruribus varis'); 'stigmata' (vi 17 often in Latin prose, as well as in Greek) of brands of slaves and marks of disgrace. Here metaphorical, of 'perpetua stigmata imposita' (Suet. *J. C.* 73). These Galatians were very probably not Celts but converted descendants of Roman 'coloni' intermarried with natives (Ramsay *Expositor* Sept. 1899). Among them would be poultry farmers who would appreciate the Latin use of ἐκκλεῖν as 'excludere', hatch out.

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

## TEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

EVERY student of the pseudepigraphic literature of the Old Testament is beholden to R. H. Charles for his scholarly and pioneering work in the Apocalypse of Baruch. It was he who maintained in 1896, much against the current assumptions of the times, that the Apocalypse was written in Hebrew and not in Greek. Other scholars, as Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* vi 234), Ryssel (*Apok. und Pseudepig.* A.T. 1900 ii 411), and Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* ii 555), subsequently upheld his contention with additional data.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence of a Hebrew original see R. H. Charles *The Apocalypse of Baruch* London 1896 p. xlv f. A later edition of the book appeared in the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* ii Oxford 1913, with many additions and corrections.