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THE CHURCH, HER COLLEGES AND THE CAR- NEGIE FOUNDATION.

The history of Education in America is inwrought with the history of the Christian Church. The early annals of the Church record the narratives of the state of Religion, the missionary journeys among the Indians, the opening of new preaching stations in the settlements of the West, and, along with these as of equal claim upon the interest of the Church, the progress made in the establishment of academies and colleges. The preacher and the teacher were one in aim and often one also in person. The fear of the Lord was recognized to be the beginning of wisdom. Intelligence, integrity and piety in happy combination were the end that was sought. Perhaps the strongest motive in establishing the earlier academies and colleges was the need of an able and competent ministry. The records show that the ministry led the way to the establishment of what are now our oldest institutions and they were seconded by the most devoted members of the churches. This support was by earnest prayer, by self-denying effort and by gifts which in their day were as notable as the great gifts of to-day.

I.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE COLLEGES

From the beginning, the problems of support pressed upon the fathers of the Church. They were braver men than some of their sons, for they launched their movements with resources which in our day would be wholly inade-

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE

JALABERT'S "ÉPIGRAPHIE" AND THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO.¹

The kindness of Dr. R. E. Brünnow has made it possible for me to give an account of an article on "Épigraphie" by Père L. Jalabert, S. J. in the *Dict. apol. de la Foi catholique* now in course of publication. The article possesses the lucidity so uniformly characteristic of French writers. It is concise in form, broad in conception, and rich in content and bibliographical information. Its historical method and the treatment of its theme with especial reference to the New Testament and the early Church make it unusually interesting and valuable to Biblical students. The discussion and bibliography alike disclose the author's mastery of his subject and its Biblical relations; they reveal also his command of the literature, his insight into current Biblical questions and his skill in presenting the more important epigraphical data which bear on their solution.

The first part of the article discusses Christian inscriptions. In comparison with pagan inscriptions, which are estimated at 300,000, the Christian amount only to about 45,000 or 50,000, of which about 30,000 come from Rome alone. The pagan texts cover a period of from 8 to 9 centuries; the Christian (neglecting the Byzantine) a period of from 4 to 5 centuries (2nd to 7th). The explanation of this is found in the persecutions of the Christians, in their poverty and humble station, and in their spiritual conceptions; but account must be taken also of the probability that early Christian inscriptions were frequently cryptic in form and scarcely distinguishable from those of pagan origin. The explicit mention of Christian faith on tombs (*χρηστιανός*) appears relatively late (end of the 3rd century; cf. col. 1408), and the presence of designations such as *πρεσβύτεροι, ἐπίσκοποι* or *ἀδελφοί* is not always indicative of Christian origin.

¹ *Épigraphie*. Par L. Jalabert. Extrait du *Dictionnaire apolo-gétique de la Foi catholique*. Publié sous la direction de M. Adhémar d'Alès. Tome 1er, col. 1404-1457. Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. 1910.

The Christian inscriptions come from an extensive area including the world about the Mediterranean,—from Mesopotamia and the Arabian desert to the cataracts of the Nile and the African boundary on the west, and from the Euphrates through Armenia and southern Russia, passing around the Black Sea and along the Danube to the Rhine, and extending to Britain, Gaul and Spain (col. 1409). Early inscriptions are few,—at Rome for instance, a fragment from the 1st century, two inscriptions from the 2nd century, 23 from the 3rd, and 206 from the first three quarters of the 4th century (col. 1410). The method of dating the inscriptions, where this is not fixed by reference to some era or other system of reckoning, is determined by considerations based upon the form of engraving, the style and contents, and especially the presence of Christian symbols such as the “anchor”, “monogram”, “dove”, “vase”, “fish”, or “cross” in different forms. It is known for instance that the “anchor” is one of the most ancient Christian symbols in Gaul; the “dove” appears in 378 and disappears about 631;² the “fish” is used from 474 to 631; the “cross” in epitaphs from 448 till shortly after 585 (col. 1411). Some of the early crypto-Christian inscriptions reveal the influence of pagan formulas either unchanged as in *Dis Manibus*,³ or with some modification as in the addition of ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ to οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος (col. 1412).⁴

The second part of the article treats of the apologetical value of the inscriptions in relation to the New Testament and the Church. Here, as is natural, the discussion is not confined to the Christian inscriptions but includes epigraphical evidence from any source whatever that contributes to the elucidation of the textual, linguistic and historical phenomena of the New

²Le Blant, *Épigr. chrét. en Gaule, etc.*, p. 22 gives 612.

³Cf. also *Spic. Solesm.* iii. pp. 551f; N. Müller, *Herzog-Realencyklopädie*, ix. p. 177; K. Künstle, *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1885, p. 446 where seven instances of this usage in the inscriptions of North Africa from the 3rd to the 5th century are cited (*CIL.* viii. 9815, 181, 674, 673, 5191, 5193, 5394) and also the following forms which are interesting in this connection,—all from *CIL.* viii.—*fecerunt domum eternalem*, pp. 77, 444, nos. 9896, 9869, 10927, 10930; *sacerdotales*, p. 88 no. 8348; *flamen perpetuus*, no. 450.

⁴Cf. also Prentice, *AAES.* iii. pp. 206f, for the similar addition of ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ[τῶ] and Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 88 citing *CIL.* viii. 10516 where *christianus* is added to *flamen perpetuus*.

Testament or to a better knowledge of the history of the early Church both in its external relations and in its internal development.

The contribution of inscriptions to the restoration of the original text of the New Testament is important, if somewhat scanty. Its value lies in its freedom from the corruption which is involved in the process of repeated copying. When dated and localized this evidence is useful in the work of reconstructing the history of the text. Here, however, Père Jalabert—usually so careful in his conclusions—seems to go beyond the reasonable inference from the facts. From the existence of three inscriptions of Northern Syria having *εὐδοκία* instead of *εὐδοκίας* he concludes that *εὐδοκία* is the original reading in the *Gloria in Excelsis* of Lk. ii. 14 (col. 1419).⁴ No references and no dates are given for these inscriptions. Of the four inscriptions from Syria containing the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in whole or in part, published by W. K. Prentice none is earlier than the 4th century (*AAES.* iii. pp. 3f). Two contain the reading *εὐδοκία* (*AAES.* iii, 196; *PAES.* iii, 1064) and two, which are fragmentary, do not (*AAES.* iii, 197a, 213). As in the case of the inscriptions from North Africa having *in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*, in agreement with the Vulgate but manifesting also the influence of the Old Latin,⁵ the epigraphical evidence does not decide the question of the original text of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but it does confirm—which is important—the witness of the other evidence more particularly (as the inscriptions are so late) in regard to the *provenance* of the two readings.

After discussing the contribution of the inscriptions, together with the papyri and the ostraca, to the study of the

⁴ In Père Jalabert's contribution to the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale*, Beyrouth (Syrie), Tom. iii. Fasc. ii. (1909) entitled "Deux Missions archéologiques Américaines en Syrie" the same view is expressed in the words (p. 720): "Généralement ces citations lapidaires sont sans intérêt pour la critique textuelle des livres saints: il faut cependant faire exception pour une inscription d'il-Bârah (no. 196, cf. 197a et 213) qui donne la vraie leçon de Luc 2, 14: *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.*" The reading *εὐδοκίας* however is manifestly a typographical error for *εὐδοκία*.

⁵ *CIL.* viii. 10642, 11644 [462?], 16720; cf. Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afrique chrét.*, i. p. 155; Le Blant *Épigr. chrét. en Gaule, etc.*, p. 112; Diehl, *Lat. christ. Inschr.*, p. 41, no. 218.

language of the New Testament (col. 1421-24), Père Jalabert treats of the epigraphical evidence bearing on certain historical statements in the New Testament (col. 1425ff). Much of this evidence is familiar to students of the New Testament, but Père Jalabert's restatement of it is valuable for its correlation of the references to older collections with those of more recent date, for example: Lk. ii. 1—*CIL.* iii. 6687=Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 2683; *CIL.* xiv. 3613 = Dessau, *ILS.* 918; Lk. iii. 1—*CIG.* 4521 = Dittenberger, *Orient. Graec. Inscr. Sel.*, 606; *cf.*, *CIG.* 4523 = Cagnat, *Inscr. graec. ad res rom. pertin.*, iii, 1085; Acts xiii. 7ff—Cagnat, *IGR.* iii. 930; Acts xviii. 4—Deissmann, *Licht*, p. 8 [Eng. Trans., pp. 13f] [*συνα*] *γαγγή* 'Εβρ [αίων]; Acts xxi. 27-32—Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 598.⁶ Attention is called to the inscriptions bearing on Herod and Agrippa in Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 414-429,⁷ Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. orient.*, vii. 54-76, *CIL.* iii, 14387, *Jahr. d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, xvii. 107. In exposition of Acts xvii, 6-8 reference is made to Michel, *Rec. d'Inscr. grec.*, 1287.⁸

It will not be possible to follow Père Jalabert's discussion of the inscriptions bearing on the history and life of the Church. The Abercius inscription is given and its Christian character defended (col. 1436ff). In this connection the evidence adduced (col. 1415) for the use of professional manuals by engravers, and the consequent reproduction of older material is important. The Pectorius inscription is reproduced (col. 1445) and its relation to the sacraments is discussed. The article concludes with the treatment of the relation of inscriptions to other aspects of the internal development of the Church, and with the bibliography.

THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO AND THE DELPHI INSCRIPTION.

In Père Jalabert's account of the epigraphical data bearing on the historical statements of the New Testament reference

⁶ The reference to Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 11, 7 (col. 1431) is doubtless a typographical error for *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

⁷ Five of these are published also in *AAES.* iii. — 415 = 427b; 418 = 380; 419 = 428; 422 = 362; 424 = 404 *cf.* 409.

⁸ This should be supplemented by Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.*² 318 and the indispensable reference to Burton, *Amer. Jour. of Theol.* 1898, 598ff.

is made to an inscription which, although published in 1905, has not yet become well and widely known. As recently as June 9, 1909, Deissmann wrote: "No tablets have yet been found to enable us to date exactly the years of office of the Procurators Felix and Festus or of the Proconsul Gallio, which would settle an important problem of early Christian history, and Christian inscriptions and papyri of the very early period are at present altogether wanting".^{8a} Unusual interest therefore attaches to Père Jalabert's statement (col. 1428): "As an inscription of Delphi (Aem. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis imperatoriae aetatis*, Montepessulano, 1905, p. 63-64) permits us to establish the fact that Gallio was in office in 52, account must be taken of this datum for the controverted chronology of Paul's journeys". Unfortunately neither the inscription nor the facts upon which the chronological datum is based are given. Mr. Joseph Offord called attention to the relation of this inscription to the date of Gallio's proconsulship in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, for 1908, pp. 163f; C. Clemen made mention of Mr. Offord's note in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1910 (xxv), col. 656; and A. Deissmann, in a brief notice of Père Jalabert's article, has promised something further on the inscription in the near future (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1910 (xxv), col. 796. Neither the review of Bourguet's book by A. J. R. [einach] in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1905 (xviii), pp. 385ff nor that by E. Ziebarth in

^{8a} *Licht von Osten*,² 1909, p. 3; *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, p. 5. In *The Expository Times* for March (1911), p. 251, Principal James Iverach, in a review of Deissmann's book, quotes this passage and adds: "While this is true with regard to Felix and Festus, it is no longer true about Gallio. In various publications Sir William M. Ramsay has called attention to the inscription found at Delphi, in the French excavations". Specific reference is made only to Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, p. 207, —which doubtless corresponds to p. 237 of the American edition—where, however, Ramsay does not discuss the inscription but states simply his conclusion that "The time when Gallio governed the province Achaia has been determined by a recent inscription as A. D. 52 (probably from spring 52 to spring 53)". A foot-note concerning the inscription contains merely the statement "Found at Delphi during the French excavations". I regret that I have not seen any other of the "various publications" in which Sir William Ramsay has called attention to the inscription.

the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1907 (xxvii), col. 400ff discusses this inscription. This is true also of the article on "Apôtres [Actes des]" in the *Dictionnaire apol. de la Foi catholique*—to which a cross-reference (col. 268) has been added by the editor to Père Jalabert's article in this connection—and of the reference in Preuschen's *Griech.-Deutsch. Handwörterbuch*, col. 224. Père Jalabert has however been good enough to send me a transcript of the inscription, and I have been able also through the courtesy of the Library of Johns Hopkins University to consult the text of Bourguet. The inscription, together with Bourguet's comments upon it, is as follows (*op. cit.*, pp. 63ff):⁹

"Ab eodem imperatore, sex annis post, missa est ad Delphos epistula cuius initium ex quattuor fragmentis restituere tentaui (nn. 3883, 59, 4001, 2178).

Τιβέ[ριος Κλαύδιος Κ]αῖσ[αρ Σεβαστ]ῶς [Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξου-]
 σίας [τὸ IB, αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ ΚΓ, π[ατῆρ πα]τρίδ[ος
 πάλ[ιν? τ]ῆι π[όλει τ]ῶν Δελφ[ῶν προθ]υμ[ό]τατα χαίρειν.
 χ . . ισα ἐ[πε]τήρη[σα τῆ]ν θρησκ[είαν] . . οιαπο
 νῦν λέγεται καὶ ἰ τῶν ἔργ εἶναι ω [Λ. 'Ιού-]
 νιος Γαλλίων ὁ [φίλος μ]ου κ[αὶ ἀνθύ]πατος [Ἀχαιῶν
 ἔτι ἔξειν τὸν πρ[
 λων πόλεων κα
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρε[. συμ-]
 φώνως πολε
 [τ]αί με τῷ κ
 α]ὑτοῦ

⁹ Translation:

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, in the 12th year of his tribunician power, imperator for the 26th time, father of his country . . . again sends most cordial greetings to the city of Delphi.
 . . . I observed the worship
 is now said and . . . of the . . . to be L. Iun-
 ius Gallio my friend and proconsul of Achaia . . .
 shall still have the
 . . . cities
 to them in ag-
 reement
 . . . me
 . . .

I have made but one alteration in Bourguet's text, correcting what

Omnia supplere nequeo, sed duo dignissima sunt quae memoria teneantur, primum imp. Claudium rebus delphicis, etiam si supplementum u.3 πάλ[ι]ν non probetur, curiose studuisse nec religioni tantum (θρησκείαν u.4), sed, nisi fallor, terminis quoque et finibus sacri agri (ἄλλων πόλεων, fortasse u. 7 ἔτι ἕξειν τὸν προ[ότερον] ὀρισμόν); deinde eo quod L. Iunii Gallionis, Senecae fratris, procos. Achaiae nomen adfertur atque Claudius imp. XXVI appellatur, hanc fragmentorum compagem confirmari."

Both the 26th and the 27th acclamation of Claudius as "imperator" were received in the year 52 A. D.—the latter sometime before the first of August.¹⁰ The name of Gallio and part of the title proconsul thus occur in an inscription from Delphi which contains in the title of the Emperor Claudius the number 26. This number is referred most naturally to the acclamation as "imperator", and this fixes the date of the inscription in the year 52 and sometime before the first of August. Gallio may therefore have gone to Corinth in the spring or early summer of 51 or 52 and continued in office until the arrival of his successor a year later in 52 or 53.¹¹ Considerations based upon the less specific evidence of the literary sources concerning the career of Seneca and of the Apostle Paul render the latter date the more probable. Heretofore in

seems to be a mere typographical error, by reversing the second half of the first bracket-pair in the third line. The date of the inscription,— "six years after" that of the preceding inscription from 46 A. D.— is 52 A. D. The numbers (3883, etc.) are explained by a note on p. 13: "in catalogo omnium rerum quae Delphis effossae sunt". The fragmentary character of the inscription makes it difficult of interpretation beyond the important fact to which it witnesses, namely, the coincidence of the number 26 in the title of Claudius and the name Gallio with part of his official title. As I have not attempted a further emendation of the text, the rendering which is given is purely formal.

¹⁰ Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*,³ p. 478; Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 104; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Ency.*, iii. 2. col. 2813; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, no. 218.

¹¹ The departure of the proconsuls from Rome for their provinces was fixed by Tiberius before June 1st and by Claudius before April 1st (Dio Cassius, lvii. 14; lx. 11). Their office began with arrival in the provinces and ended with that of a successor, the duration of office being generally, though not universally, one year (Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*,³ ii. 254f; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*,² i. 535, 544 n. 6).

the absence of conclusive evidence the proconsulship of Gallio has generally been assigned to some year between 48 and 54: Harnack,¹² between 48 and 50; Blass,¹³ 50; Turner,¹⁴ not before 44, probably not before 49 or even 50; *Prosopographia*,¹⁵ 52; Clemen,¹⁶ and Ramsay,¹⁷ spring of 52-53; Cowan,¹⁸ 52-53; Anger¹⁹ and Wieseler,²⁰ between 52 and 54; Woodhouse,²¹ about 53; O. Holtzmann,²² 53; Hoennicke,²³ between 50/51 and 53/54, probably the latter; Zahn,²⁴ spring of 53-54; Lewin,²⁵ June 53-54.

Whether or not the Delphi inscription supplies the concrete evidence for fixing the date of Gallio's proconsulship within the limits of the two years from the spring or early summer of 51 to 53 will depend on the validity of Bourguet's piecing together of the fragments of which the inscription is composed.²⁶ The printed text of the inscription does not

¹² *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit. bis Euseb.*, ii. 1. *Die Chron. bis Iren.*, 1897, p. 237.

¹³ *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, p. 22.

¹⁴ Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, i. 1900, col. 417.

¹⁵ Dessau, *Prosopographia imp. rom.* ii. 1897, p. 238.

¹⁶ *Paulus*, i. 1904, p. 396.

¹⁷ *Pauline and Other Studies*, 1906, p. 361; *Pictures of the Apos. Church*, 1910, p. 237.

¹⁸ Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 1900, col. 105.

¹⁹ *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, 1833, p. 119.

²⁰ *Chronologie d. apos. Zeitalters*, 1848, p. 119.

²¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 1901, col. 1637.

²² *Neuteſtamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2te Aufl. 1906, p. 144.

²³ *Die Chronologie d. Lebens d. Apos. Paulus*, 1903, p. 30.

²⁴ *Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, 3te Aufl. ii. 1907, p. 654.

²⁵ *Fasti Sacri*, 1865, p. 299, no. 1790.

²⁶ Bourguet recognizes the difficulty and uncertainty of this work in general when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 10) "De inscriptionibus tantum loquor, quarum minutissima fragmenta coniungere et quasi resarcere diu quidem conatus sum, sed frustra saepius"; but he combines with this a sense also of positive gain, particularly with reference to the epistles of the Emperors, in the words (*op. cit.*, pp. 59f) "Denique et uiri docti de fragmentis quae hic publici iuris fecero melius exitum institutae rei expedient quam ipse consecutus sum et per molem reliquorum frustulorum uia facilius propterea reperietur quod nonnulla iam aggregata et certo composita praesto erunt". Meanwhile confidence in the scholarly cautiousness and painstaking accuracy of the editor is amply justified by his contributions to the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* and by his work on *L'Administration Financière du Sanctuaire Pythique au iv. siècle avant J.-C.*, 1905, of which (together with

reveal by lines or otherwise the demarcation of the several fragments. The editor finds in the coincidence of the 26th acclamation of Claudius with the name of Gallio confirmation (*confirmari*) of his grouping of the fragments. The dating of Gallio's proconsulship in turn depends on this coincidence. It will be important therefore to learn from a fac-simile or from some fuller description of the fragments the grounds on which this grouping rests. We may perhaps expect information on the subject from a more detailed publication of the Delphi inscriptions, of which a beginning has been made in the *Fouilles de Delphes* edited by M. Théophile Homolle.²⁷

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Colin's *Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* (*The Classical Review* says (vol. xxi. 1907, p. 82): "Both books show careful and laborious treatment of the material, and, since the results are arrived at by the strictest accuracy and most scrupulous adherence to the actual data of the inscriptions, the soundness and modesty of the method go far to counterbalance the poverty of the material."

²⁷ *Fouilles de Delphes* (1892-1903), publiées sous la direction de M. Théophile Homolle, Tome iii. Épigraphie. Texte par M. Émile Bourguet. Premier Fascicule, 1910; Texte par M. G. Colin. Deuxième Fascicule, 1909. Paris: Fontemoing & Cie.