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covenantal-character written so plainly on the face of the transaction there described, we find it exceedingly hard to believe. And in other instances similar doubts arise especially in connection with the *διαθήκη* that has a *μεσίτης* in Hebrews (where Behm makes *μεσίτης* = *ἔγγυος* without, it seems to us, sufficient warrant). The question can hardly be brought to a satisfactory solution without taking into account the possibilities of the Aramaic idiom having supplied a word either specifically expressive or at least without difficulty understandable of the covenant-idea. What possibilities in this line existed we are not competent to judge. In general it ought to be remembered that to prove the possibility of understanding *διαθήκη* in a given case as "disposition" is not without more equivalent to proving that it can not have had to the original writers or readers the sense or the associations of covenant.

In regard to Gal. iii. 15, 17 we should have liked to have more weight attributed to Ramsay's suggestion, that here not the ordinary Roman conception of a "testament", but a Graeco-Syrian conception of the same, according to which a *διαθήκη* made under certain circumstances accompanying adoption was from the outset unalterable. How the Apostle's argument about the unalterableness of the *διαθήκη* given to Abraham, after once it was made, can apply to the Roman-law testament, which so long as the author lives remains subject to alteration, we are not able to see. To our surprise the author, while dismissing Ramsey's suggestion in a note, does not himself face the difficulty or offer any other solution.

We wish to say—and that not perfunctorily but sincerely—that the strictures made are not indicative of a lack of appreciation on our part of the high quality and unusual instructiveness of the author's work. The present treatise has the same merits even to a stronger degree that distinguished the author's previous contribution on the "*Handauflegung im Neuen Testament*" noticed by us in a previous number of this REVIEW. No New Testament scholar will peruse either without substantial profit.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischen Zeitalter. Mit Berücksichtigung der paulinischen Schriften (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Neue Folge. 2. Heft). Von LIC. HANS BÖHLIG, Gymnasial-Oberlehrer in Dresden. Mit Abbildungen im Text. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1913. Pp. 178.

Every biography of Paul must begin with Tarsus. And it must begin with a puzzling problem. What kind of influence did Tarsus exert upon the greatest of her citizens? With a view to the solution of this problem, Böhlig has entered upon a systematic study of the religious and philosophical culture of Tarsus at the time when Paul was one of the inhabitants.

In the first division of the study, which is devoted to the popular

religion of Tarsus, the most interesting figure is Sandan, the chief representative of the "active gods" as distinguished from the "exalted gods". (For the distinction, Böhlig refers in an interesting way to Acts xiv.) According to Böhlig, he is closely related to or identical with the Hittite divinity Teschup. Originally, Böhlig believes, he was a vegetation god, and is essentially the same as the god which in Syria was called Adonis, in Phrygia Attis, in Egypt Osiris, and in Babylon Tammuz. When Greek culture made itself felt in Tarsus, Sandan was identified more or less closely with Hercules. Hercules, however, was originally quite distinct, and the union between the two was never really completed. The dying and subsequent exaltation of Sandan, Böhlig believes, stands in striking analogy to the Pauline conception of the death and exaltation of Christ. But in the present monograph Böhlig does not try to develop the significance of the parallel (compare p. 168, where apparently the Pauline Christology is derived not from the pagan conception, but from the Jewish idea of the Messiah plus the Damascus vision). Böhlig believes, however, that Paul's frequent application of the term *κύριος* to Christ may well have been induced by the religious uses to which the word was put in Tarsus.

Considerable attention is devoted, of course, to the mystery cults. Here the sources are confessedly even more meagre than they are for the popular religion. But Böhlig is pretty confident that not only other mysteries but also the mysteries of Mithras were prevalent in Cilicia in the first century. What is more, he is confident that the mysteries exerted a profound influence upon the religion of Paul. The Pauline idea of union with Christ and the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit are to be explained not by Palestinian Judaism, but by Syrio-Hellenistic mysticism, tempered, it is true, and prevented from being non-ethical by the religious genius of Paul working on the basis of his Jewish inheritance.

Paul's conception of the cosmos is built, Böhlig believes, on Aryan rather than Semitic lines. The Aryan conception is built upon the numbers three and nine, the Semitic upon seven and twelve. And Paul has three heavens, not seven. The Aryan number three can be discovered in almost numberless places in Paul if one will only search. And Böhlig has searched. He has pressed into service "Jews, Gentiles and elect", "not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble", "but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified", to say nothing of the benediction in Second Corinthians and "faith, hope, love"!

A special section is devoted to the Mithras cult. Through it, Böhlig believes, a number of important Persian ideas found their way into the religion of Paul—for example, the peculiar idea of "glory" and the peculiar contrast between light and darkness or truth and falsehood.

The section on the Stoic philosophy of Tarsus, with a description of the university, is illuminating. Among the philosophers, Atheno-

dorus, who lived just before the time of Paul, is the most prominent figure. As for the influence of the Stoic philosophy upon Paul, Böhlig believes that it is sometimes exaggerated. Paul's idea of the conscience, it is true, exhibits a striking parallel to Stoicism, though in Paul the idea has been greatly enriched. And Paul's doctrines of the natural knowledge of God and of natural morality are probably influenced to some degree by Stoicism. But in general where the content as distinguished from the terminology of Paul's religion coincides with Stoicism, the contact is to be explained by a common influence of Syrio-Hellenistic mysticism. Oriental mysticism, not Greek philosophy, is the important factor in the religion of Paul.

In the instructive section on the Judaism of Tarsus, Böhlig emphasizes the difference between the Judaism of the dispersion and the Judaism of Palestine, and brings Paul into connection with the former rather than with the latter. "The Jewish ideas of Paul were derived not from Jerusalem, but from Tarsus and from the dispersion in general. Paul's connection with the disciples of Gamaliel was only an episode in his life" (p. 166). Much of the influence which Stoicism and oriental religion exerted upon Paul was not direct, Böhlig believes, but was probably mediated by Tarsan Judaism. For the Jewish schools of Tarsus were influenced, no doubt, by the Hellenistic culture of the day. Böhlig's employment of Paul's doctrine of the law as a proof that he belongs not with Palestinian Judaism but with the more liberal Judaism of the dispersion is open to special criticism. The liberal attitude assumed by the Christian Paul towards the ceremonial law is most emphatically not to be explained as due even in part to the exigencies of Jewish missionary activity. Such a view loses sight of some of the most outstanding facts in Paul's religious experience. Paul's very emancipation from the law is to be explained as starting from the strictest conceivable conception of the law. And in minimizing Paul's connection with Palestinian Judaism, Böhlig has perhaps done scant justice not only to the book of Acts, but also to Paul's own testimony in Galatians, Second Corinthians and Philippians. It is indeed a fact of enormous importance that Paul was born in Tarsus, not Jerusalem. As a Jew of the dispersion he was specially fitted for the Gentile mission. What Böhlig says in this connection about Paul's speech at Athens, for example, is worthy of careful consideration. But the difference between Paul's actual education at Tarsus and Jerusalem and the education which he would have received if he had been born in Palestine, though important, must not be exaggerated.

In view of the rather radical position which Böhlig assumes with regard to Paul's connection with pagan religion, his attitude towards the book of Acts is especially interesting. He is inclined to hold a high view of its historical value. Thus on page 159 (footnote 1) he defends with considerable vigor the report which Acts makes of Paul's speech at Athens. And this is only one instance among many. So that it is not surprising that Böhlig speaks (p. 158) with approval

of the tendency in recent criticism towards a higher estimate of Acts.

In its most characteristic theses with regard to the religion of Paul, Böhlig's monograph is decidedly unconvincing. But it brings important and interesting information about the world in which Paul lived.

Princeton.

J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres apocryphes (Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament publiés sous la Direction de J. Bousquet et E. Amann). Introduction, Textes, Traduction et Commentaire. Par LÉON VOUAUX, Agrégé de l'Université, Professeur au Collège de la Malgrange. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané. 1913. Pp. vii, 384.

This is a critical text of the Acts of Paul with Appendices treating of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, the Epistle to the Alexandrians, and the Correspondence of Seneca and Paul. The text is accompanied by a critical digest of readings and authorities on the left page, the right containing conveniently the translation and commentary. The Introduction discusses the contents of the Acts; the text and versions; the patristic testimony from the third to the tenth century; the character and doctrinal contents; the primitive condition of the text and its integrity; the author, place and date of composition; its points of contact with the New Testament and its historical value; the legend of Thekla; the influence of the Acts, and concludes with a bibliography. The author thinks the Acts in its original form was Catholic and not Gnostic (vs. Lipsius), heretical traits appearing in the later Latin versions. In character it is distinctly romantic not historical, although Thekla like Paul was a real person. It was written about the years 160-170 in Asia Minor, probably at Pisidian Antioch and by a priest [according to Tertullian, a presbyter]. M. Vouaux says (p. 132): "We conclude briefly. The *Acta Pauli* is simply a pious romance of two real persons, one of whom, St. Thekla, is known only from this source. It would be an illusion to seek in it authentic narratives. Did the priest of Asia who composed this work desire it to pass as history? So it would seem if we may judge from his deposition [according to Tertullian], for there would have been no need to proceed thus if, having only in view the edification of believers, he had given it out as his own production. In any event he attained his end in the following centuries only for the details of the life and martyrdom of Thekla. To us who can not accept even these he has rendered a service of which he scarcely thought; he has thrown light upon the spirit of certain Christian communities of the second century but little known and plunged almost completely into the shadow by the scarcity of authentic documents."

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.