

testing. At any rate, it is an interpretation that appears to us to merit a closer and more careful inspection than it has yet received ; and we should rejoice to see it thoroughly argued and examined by competent scholars, who would handle the subject with impartiality, having, as Locke happily expresses it, "an equal indifferency to all truth."

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

THE CHIEF PAULINE NAMES FOR CHRIST.

IN reading through the Pauline Epistles with a special aim in view, I have found it needful to mark by the way the most frequent designations given to our Lord, to enumerate and to classify them. The results of this side-study present considerable food for reflection, and I have thought it worth while to put them in tabular form for the convenience of others. The subjoined table forms the substance of this contribution. I have ventured to add a few remarks by way of explaining the chart and also by way of calling attention to some of its more important statistics.

1. I have followed Westcott and Hort's text (edition 1881) in every case, not heeding the brackets in the body of the text, nor the alternative readings suggested in the margin.

2. I use the word Pauline as a convenient adjective to describe all those epistles (excepting that to the Hebrews) which have been rightly or wrongly ascribed to Paul. I venture to think that the figures contained in the table may help to throw some light on the question of authorship in the case of certain epistles : as I shall indicate later.

3. The epistles are tabulated, in the main, in chronological order.

4. The application of the term *κύριος* to Jesus is the chief if not the sole essential in the early Christian confession, as

NAMES OF JESUS IN THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

Jesus is Called	1 Thessalonians.	2 Thessalonians.	Galatians.	1 Corinthians.	2 Corinthians.	Romans.	Philippians.	Philemon.	Colossians.	Ephesians.	1 Timothy.	2 Timothy.	Titus.	Total.
<i>κύριος</i> { explicit { uncertain	3 } 8 5 }	4 } 6 2 }	1 } 2 1 }	10 } 21 11 }	2 } 8 6 }	6 } 14 8 }	5 } 13 8 }	1 } 3 2 }	1 } 7 6 }	3 } 12 9 }	0	0 } 4 4 }	0	36 } 98 62 }
<i>ὁ κύριος</i> { explicit { uncertain	2 } 9 7 }	3 } 10 7 }	1 } 1 0 }	13 } 30 17 }	4 } 13 9 }	5 } 7 2 }	2 } 2 0 }	2 } 2 0 }	2 } 6 4 }	4 } 7 3 }	0	1 } 10 9 }	0	39 } 97 58 }
<i>ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν</i>	7	6	2	11	3	12	0	0	1	5	5	2	0	54
<i>Ἰησοῦς Χριστός</i>	5 } 7 2 }	9 } 9 0 }	8 } 15 7 }	12 } 19 7 }	5 } 8 3 }	17 } 31 14 }	7 } 20 13 }	2 } 5 3 }	1 } 4 3 }	7 } 16 9 }	2 } 14 12 }	1 } 13 12 }	2 } 4 2 }	78 } 165 87 }
<i>Ἰησοῦς</i>	9	3	3	7	10	6	2	1	2	4	0	0	0	47
<i>ὁ χριστός</i>	1	1	4	14	16	9	5	0	12	23	1	0	0	86
<i>Χριστός</i>	2	0	19	30	23	25	11	3	9	7	0	0	0	129
<i>υἱὸς Θεοῦ</i>	1	0	4	2	1	7	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	17
<i>κύριος</i> with or without addi- tions { expl. { uncert.	12 } 24 12 }	13 } 22 9 }	4 } 5 1 }	34 } 62 28 }	9 } 24 15 }	23 } 33 10 }	7 } 15 8 }	3 } 5 2 }	4 } 14 10 }	12 } 24 12 }	5 } 5 0 }	3 } 16 13 }	0	129 } 249 120 }
<i>Ἰησοῦς</i> do.	16	12	18	26	18	37	22	6	6	20	14	13	4	212
<i>Χριστός</i> do.	10	10	38	63	47	65	36	8	25	46	15	13	4	380

appears from 1 Cor. xii. 3; Rom. x. 9; Phil. ii. 11. But *κύριος* is also the name employed in Greek to denote יהוה and יהוה in the O.T., and consequently it is a designation commonly used in the N.T. for the Father. This fact makes it at times exceedingly difficult to distinguish the *κύριος* = ὁ πατήρ and *κύριος* = Ἰησοῦς. Very frequently, indeed, the writer does not seem clearly to distinguish to his own mind which Person he would characterize; for in the Divine sovereignty which ruled the Church, Father and Son were to him practically identical. This absence of distinction has obliged me to make a double entry in the table in the case of the titles *κύριος* and ὁ *κύριος*. Those passages in which the reference to Jesus seems to me unmistakable, I have entered as "explicit"; those which are less definite I have marked "uncertain." The cases in which *κύριος* was evidently used of the O.T. יהוה or N.T. πατήρ, I have left out of count. Here—in each of the three classifications—there is room for difference of opinion, and different investigators might accordingly give different numerical results.

5. Many of the names and titles here enumerated occur in combination, but are entered separately. For example, ὁ *κύριος* ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is entered, one under head ὁ *κύριος* ἡμῶν and one under head Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; and ὁ *κύριος* Ἰησοῦς is entered, one under head ὁ *κύριος* and one under head Ἰησοῦς. But Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is only entered under Ἰησοῦς Χριστός and not under the two heads Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός. Only when Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός occur alone or in conjunction with other words, such as *κύριος*, υἱός, etc., are they entered under the separate heads. Similarly, ὁ *κύριος* is never entered under *κύριος*, and ὁ *κύριος* ἡμῶν never under ὁ *κύριος* or *κύριος*. These remarks of course do not apply to the three lowest lines of the table, which are concerned with totals and expressly defined.

I have sought carefully to distinguish between Χριστός

proper name and *ὁ χριστός* as common name. Hence when I have come upon the expression *ὁ χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς*, I have made two entries,—one under head *ὁ χριστός*, and one under head *Ἰησοῦς*; while *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* would count only as one entry under head *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς*.

6. The totals naturally arouse our attention first. Of all the designations *Χριστός* is used most frequently. It occurs 129 times, whereas, counting uncertain as certain, *κύριος* occurs only 98 times. On a similarly liberal interpretation *ὁ κύριος* comes next with 97 cases. Then follow *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* (87 times), *ὁ χριστός* (86 times), and *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* (78 times). *ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν* comes seventh in order of frequency with 54. *Ἰησοῦς* alone, which is the commonest title in the Gospels, is in the Pauline Epistles the least frequent (47). Thus:—

<i>Χριστός</i>	occurs	129 times.
<i>κύριος</i>	..	36 or perhaps 98 ..
<i>ὁ κύριος</i>	..	39 or perhaps 97 ..
<i>Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς</i>	..	87 ..
<i>ὁ χριστός</i>	..	86 ..
<i>Ἰησοῦς Χριστός</i>	..	78 ..
<i>ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν</i>	..	54 ..
<i>Ἰησοῦς</i>	..	47 ..

7. It is to be observed that the double name *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* or *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* occurs more frequently than any other designation, *viz.* 165 times.

<i>Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς</i> , 87	}	occur 165 times.
<i>Ἰησοῦς Χριστός</i> , 78		
<i>Χριστός</i>		occurs 129 ..

8. Taking up the greater totals which are formed by counting the number of times the words occur (whether as proper or common names, whether in combination or alone), we find that

<i>Χριστός</i>	occurs	380 times.
<i>κύριος</i>	..	129 or at most 249 ..
<i>Ἰησοῦς</i>	..	212 ..

9. The proportion in frequency of use of *Ἰησοῦς* and *χριστός* which prevails in common parlance can claim Pauline precedent for itself. Thus singly *Χριστός* is used nearly three times as often as *Ἰησοῦς*; singly or in combination nearly twice as often.

10. It is interesting to note the various proportions of frequency of the several names in the different Epistles. Taking all the explicit and uncertain *κύριος* designations as referring to Jesus, and lumping these with the frequencies of *Ἰησοῦς* and *χριστός* alone or in combination to get the guiding totals, we can present in tabular form the proportion in which each of the three commonest titles (*κύριος Ἰησοῦς χριστός*) with or without additions, appears in each epistle:—

IN	<i>χριστός</i> OCCURS	TOTAL.	THE PROPORTION.
1 Thessalonians	10	50	= '200
2 Thessalonians	10	44	= '227
Galatians	38	61	= '623
1 Corinthians	63	151	= '417
2 Corinthians	47	89	= '528
Romans	65	135	= '481
Philippians	36	73	= '493
Philemon	8	19	= '421
Colossians	25	45	= '555
Ephesians	46	90	= '511
1 Timothy	15	34	= '441
2 Timothy	13	42	= '309
Titus	4	8	= '500
TOTAL	380	841	= '452

I have heard it stated that the use of the term *χριστός* increased in frequency as the N.T. age advanced. Now from the above table we see a rapid increase from 1 and 2 Thessalonians to Galatians, but the proportion of *χριστός* is greater in Galatians than in any of the other and later epistles. We may attribute this swollen proportion to the special polemical occasion of Galatians.

IN	Ἰησοῦς OCCURS	TOTAL.	PROPORTION.
1 Thessalonians	16 :	50 =	·320
2 Thessalonians	12 :	44 =	·271
Galatians	18 :	61 =	·295
1 Corinthians	26 :	151 =	·172
2 Corinthians	18 :	89 =	·202
Romans	37 :	135 =	·274
Philippians	22 :	73 =	·301
Philemon	6 :	19 =	·315
Colossians	6 :	45 =	·133
Ephesians	20 :	90 =	·222
1 Timothy	14 :	34 =	·411
2 Timothy	13 :	42 =	·309
Titus	4 :	8 =	·500
TOTAL . 212 :		841 =	·252

The high proportion in the Pastoral Epistles is very striking, but it must be borne in mind that *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* or *Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς* is with them almost the only title in use. The case of Colossians is remarkable in the opposite direction, the proportion sinking to ·133, which is ·119 below average.

IN	κύριος OCCURS	TOTAL.	PROPORTION.
1 Thessalonians	24 :	50 =	·480
2 Thessalonians	22 :	44 =	·500
Galatians	5 :	61 =	·082
1 Corinthians	62 :	151 =	·410
2 Corinthians	24 :	89 =	·269
Romans	33 :	135 =	·244
Philippians	15 :	73 =	·205
Philemon	5 :	19 =	·263
Colossians	14 :	45 =	·311
Ephesians	24 :	90 =	·266
1 Timothy	5 :	34 =	·147
2 Timothy	16 :	42 =	·381
Titus	0 :	8 =	·000
TOTAL . 249 :		841 =	·296

Putting aside for a moment the remarkable leap down

in the proportion in Galatians, we notice a steady reduction in frequency of use from 1 and 2 Thessalonians to Philip-
pians; then the figure rises in Colossians to above the average. In the Pastoral Epistles the variations are striking.

Roughly to summarize these proportions, one may say that on the average, upon mention of our Lord's name, *χριστός* in one form or another would occur three out of seven times, *Ἰησοῦς* one out of four times, *κύριος* more frequently than one out of four, but not so frequently as one out of three: further, that though *χριστός* averages three out of seven, it at first occurs one out of five, and later rises to more than three out of five; *κύριος* at first occurs about once out of twice, sinks to occurring only once out of twelve times, and is entirely wanting in Titus, while maintaining an average of over once out of four: the use of *Ἰησοῦς*, which averages one out of four, presents no striking variation except in Colossians, where the word occurs barely over once out of nine times, and in the Pastoral Epistles, where it is used nearly once out of thrice.

11. Certain striking peculiarities in the use of these names may serve, if supported by other and weightier considerations, to elucidate the authorship of the Epistles in which these peculiarities occur.

(a) Is it not remarkable that in 2 Thessalonians the name *Χριστός* alone does not occur once, and *ὁ χριστός* only once? Yet these are on the whole the names most frequently used in Pauline Epistles.

(b) Is not the extraordinary frequency with which *ὁ χριστός* (noun with article) occurs in Ephesians specially significant? In Galatians *ὁ χριστός* occurs four times only; in Romans nine times; in 1 Corinthians fourteen times; in 2 Corinthians sixteen times; but in Ephesians it occurs twenty-three times. We cannot overlook the fact that Ephesians is much smaller than either 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, or Romans, and mentions the name of the

founder (90 times as *κύριος* or *Ἰησοῦς* or *χριστός*) much less frequently than Romans (135 times), and 1 Corinthians (151 times).

(c) The infrequency of *Ἰησοῦς* in Colossians (six out of forty-five times) naturally excites remark. *Ἰησοῦς* alone occurs only twice. Can this be taken—of course only if supported by other facts—to point to a time of composition far distant from the early gospel days, when *Ἰησοῦς* was the common designation for our Lord?

(d) But the Pastoral Epistles present the most striking divergencies from the general nomenclature of Paul. 1 Timothy and Titus never use *κύριος* or *ὁ κύριος* (without *ἡμῶν*). 2 Timothy and Titus never use *ὁ χριστός*. All three epistles agree in never using the name *Ἰησοῦς* alone, *Χριστός* alone, or *υἱὸς Θεοῦ*. These are most important facts in regard to the question of authorship.

(e) There are, however, considerations arising out of these statistics, which require us to be cautious in using them as guides to authorship. *Κύριος* without addition, which occurs so frequently in all other Pauline Epistles, is in Galatians only once explicitly applied to Jesus; it can though with uncertainty be referred to Him in only one other case in this epistle. *Ὁ κύριος* is only once used, and *ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν* twice. This infrequency of *κύριος*, taken together with the unparalleled frequency of *χριστός*, may be explained by the peculiar conditions under which the epistle was written. *Κύριος* was the title used of Jesus by those within His Church; the Galatians were regarded by Paul as little short of apostates, or at least as persons rather standing outside the Church and requiring to be convinced before they acknowledged the *κυριότης* of its Head. Paul, in proceeding to convince them, approaches them from the side of Israelitish history, and seeks to show how Jesus is the consummation of the O.T. order. He naturally, therefore, uses *χριστός* more frequently than any other

name (but chiefly *Χριστός*, not *ὁ Χριστός*). This is an interesting example of the way in which the apparently external matter of names lies closely bound up with the inmost spiritual substance of the Epistle. A similar instance appears in the use of *υἱὸς Θεοῦ*, which occurs most frequently in the great theological Epistles; in Galatians four times; and in Romans seven times.

But these variations of name-frequency in different epistles which are on all sides admitted to be from Paul's hand, forbid us making too rigid inferences from even greater deviations in the case of disputed epistles. Yet if no explanation can be found in the different occasions of the epistles in question, the difference in name-frequency is not to be set aside in discussing the authenticity of the several Pauline Scriptures.

12. Our table suggests a kind of criterion (or help to such) for the date of the origin of our gospel histories. The Pauline literature before us shows that in the earliest period of it *κύριος* and *Ἰησοῦς* are the most frequent titles for our Lord; at the end of it (excluding for the nonce the Pastoral Epistles) *Χριστός* is far and away the commonest; and that not merely as solemn official title, but as historical proper name. Does this Pauline literature mirror, or did it create the current nomenclature of the early Church? Then in either case we might, broadly speaking, maintain that other writings may be placed early or late accordingly, as the current name in them for our Lord is *κύριος* and *Ἰησοῦς* (alone) or *Χριστός*. With due caution I think this canon might help in discovering and distinguishing the dates when our evangelic narratives were written.

Take one instance. Pfeiderer maintains that Mark—which he regards as the first gospel—was written by a Paulinist, who tinged the narrative so far as he could with Pauline doctrine, and sought to vindicate from the lips of the Master the Gentile Christianity of the Gentile apostle.

Now is it likely that an author, soaked *ex hypothesi* in Pauline literature, would rarely or never slip into the use of the most frequent Pauline name for Jesus? But in Mark the term *χριστός* has its full official significance and has not become a proper name equal to *Ἰησοῦς*. Only once (ix. 41) is *Χριστός* used by Mark in what is not necessarily an official sense.

The writers of our gospels were naïve and unsophisticated, and would drop most readily into the current nomenclature. To watch their use of the words *χριστός*, *κύριος*, *Ἰησοῦς*, might thus lead to instructive results.

I should be glad if these tabulated statistics, along with the fragmentary notes, serve as suggestion for fresh lines of investigation more thorough and complete.

F. HERBERT STEAD.

AT THE SIGN OF THE BIBLE.

In the story of Mary's anointing the feet of Jesus at Bethany (Mark xiv. 3-9; John xii. 1-8), both gospels speak of the perfume as *μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς*. The adjective, if it is a pure Greek word, must mean either "liquid" or "genuine." But neither alternative is free from objection, and many scholars have inclined to find in it a local designation, or possibly a commercial term of foreign origin. Following up this clue, the Rev. W. Houghton has observed that the main ingredient of spikenard, which is the unguent we have to do with, is the root of an Indian plant, which among other names is called *pisitā* in Sanskrit. He therefore suggests that the *πιστικός* of Scripture is the Greek form of a technical designation of the nard, derived from the name of this its principal and most costly constituent.

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The incident of the anointing throws a curious sidelight on our Lord's conduct in respect of almsgiving. The distribution of charity, even with every care and precaution, is not an unmixed